

A Quantitative and Qualitative Assessment of Electronic Monitoring

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ABSTRACT

Research Purposes: The purposes of this research include: (1) determining the effect of electronic monitoring (EM) as a supervision enhancement for offenders in terms of absconding, probation violations, and the commission of new crimes; (2) providing an explanation of the findings; (3) documenting the implementation of EM; (4) identifying and documenting the impact that EM has on offenders' personal relationships, families, employment, and assimilation within the community; and (5) developing evidence-based recommendations to improve public safety and lessen negative consequences for offenders and their families.

Research Design and Methodology: Data sources include: (1) administrative data from the Florida Department of Corrections (FDOC), which include 5,034 medium- and high-risk offenders on EM and 266,991 offenders not placed on EM over a six year period; and (2) qualitative data collected through face-to-face interviews with 105 offenders, 36 supervising officers, and 20 administrators from fourteen counties in Florida. Random assignment of offenders to the experimental (EM) and control (non-EM) groups was not possible; therefore, propensity score matching was employed to establish the two groups. Propensity score matching, as a statistical procedure, is an effective method of selecting subjects for experimental and control groups whereby selection bias is minimized and the groups closely resemble each other across key variables (Rubin, 2006; Rosenbaum, 2002). One-hundred-twenty-two covariates were used to predict EM participation, which enhanced the predictive accuracy of the matching procedure. Cox's regression techniques were utilized to analyze time-to-failure for various outcome measures. The qualitative data, which included forced-choice and open-ended questions, were systematically analyzed and include descriptive statistics and illustrative quotes from respondents.

Research Results and Conclusions: The quantitative analysis demonstrates that EM reduces offenders' risk of failure by 31 percent and that global positioning system (GPS) monitoring results in 6 percent fewer supervision failures compared to radio frequency (RF). All categories of offenders, regardless of offense type, experienced fewer supervision violations as a result of EM; however, the effect was reduced for violent offenders. Offenders of all age groups and those on different forms of community supervision benefited from EM.

The findings from the qualitative analysis indicates that: (1) administrators reported that EM goals and objectives were being met; (2) officers' and offenders' opinions of EM's impact on reducing undesirable behavior are consistent with the findings from the quantitative assessment; (3) EM status and equipment does have negative consequences for offenders' families, employment opportunities, and adjustment in the community; (4) there is a need to refine the selection of offenders identified as the most appropriate for EM; (5) EM is used as an alternative to prison in approximately one-third of the cases; (6) EM devices frequently lose the satellite signal resulting in numerous, unnecessary alerts; (7) EM operations may benefit from increasing judges' understanding of the

equipment, the most appropriate subjects for EM, and key operational aspects of EM; and (8) the most important, recent enhancement to FDOC's EM program has been the statewide monitoring center that has significantly reduced the number of alerts. This reduction in alerts enables officers to devote more time to essential supervisory responsibilities.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background and Objectives

In recent years, electronic monitoring (EM) has gained prominence in corrections as a pre-trial supervision alternative to local jail, for medium and high-risk felony offenders placed on community supervision in lieu of incarceration, and as a mandated community supervision requirement for serious offenders released from prison. Additionally, there has been a recent proliferation of laws that require the use of EM, especially Global Positioning Systems (GPS), for specified sex offenders supervised in the community for enhanced supervision. With over 5.1 million offenders under some form of community supervision in the U.S., the potential for the growth in the use of electronic surveillance is enormous.

Advances in the EM technology, coupled with an increased awareness of its potential capabilities, likely suggests an increased reliance on the use of EM across state correctional agencies for a variety of offenders. Unfortunately, and as Gainey, et al. (2000) have pointed out, research has not kept pace with the rapid implementation of this particular penal strategy. A review of both the quantitative and qualitative literature on EM supports this claim.

In response to this research void on EM, five primary purposes guided the study: (1) provide empirical evidence of the effectiveness of EM among medium-to high-risk offenders on supervision; (2) provide an explanation of the findings on the potential effectiveness of EM; (3) provide a comprehensive examination of how electronic surveillance is implemented in community corrections; (4) present findings indicating how the EM experience impacts offenders in terms of their relationships with members of their families and friends, employment experiences, and adjustment to their communities; and (5) based on the findings, develop recommendations for how the EM may be improved from an operational and public safety perspective and reduce any negative consequences of EM that are identified.

The setting for this study is Florida, which particularly appropriate for this research for several reasons. First, EM for felony offenders under community supervision has been used for 25 years in Florida, with a focus on moderate-to high-risk offenders. Secondly, there are numerous types of supervision with varying degrees of requirements available to the judiciary ranging from regular probation to house arrest. Third, the number of offenders on supervision is significant as reflected in a population of 143,191 offenders and 2,392 on EM on June 30, 2009.

Data and Methodology

There were two primary sources of data collected for this study. First, for the empirical component of the study, datasets provided by the Florida Department of Corrections (FDOC) were used to determine the impact of EM on supervision outcomes. The source of these data is

FDOC's Offender Based Information System (OBIS) which is a comprehensive offender data management system for all offenders and the detail, breadth, and quality of FDOC's data on offenders under its jurisdiction are optimal for conducting empirical evaluation research of correctional strategies. These data cover a period of community supervision for Florida criminal offenders between June 1, 2001 and June 30, 2007. Florida community supervision authorities use these data to monitor and record the various events for offenders placed on community supervision. Second, a qualitative assessment of EM was conducted of policies, practices, and processes of the electronic monitoring (EM) program as it is utilized for felony offenders living in the community. Extensive personal interviews with 105 EM offenders, 36 probation officers who supervise EM offenders, and 20 administrators who oversee the EM program at the local level were conducted in fourteen counties throughout Florida.

The empirical assessment of the effect of EM on offender outcomes was limited to medium- and high-risk offenders, which we were able to distinguish from low-risk offenders based upon FDOC's risk classification in OBIS. Two groups of offenders were identified, first, those placed on EM at some point in their community supervision (the EM or "treatment" group), and second those offenders who were supervised without the use EM technologies (non-EM or "control" group). A fundamental problem in using observational studies to make causal inferences about the effects of a correctional intervention such as EM is that the units (people) are not randomly assigned to "treatment" therefore, the units that are treated may be very different on a set of one or more background characteristics that affect both their selection into treatment and their outcomes. Therefore, propensity score matching was used to develop equivalency in the EM and non-EM groups except for the experimental effect, which avoids the problem of "selection bias" resulting from some variable (or set of variables) that may determine who is selected for treatment that may also affect the outcome. The fundamental characteristic of propensity score methods is that the researcher is able to balance the characteristics of people in treatment with those in the comparison group, thereby approximating the characteristics of an experimental design, in which balance is achieved through randomization. Cox Proportional Hazards routines were used to analyze the data and determine the relative effects of EM on absconding, revocations for technical violations, and revocations for misdemeanor or felony arrests.

The analysis of the qualitative assessment based on the interviews conducted with offenders, officers and administrators began with grouping open-ended responses into meaningful categories that were conceptually similar. These data along with the responses to forced-choice questions were then analyzed by generating descriptive statistics. Additionally, illustrative quotes provided by the respondents were recorded for each of the interview questions.

Findings

Quantitative:

Ultimately, through the use of propensity score techniques, the study was able to compare offenders under different forms of supervision that were placed on EM compared to those offenders that were subject to less intrusive forms of community supervision. Additionally, the effect of EM across offenders placed on each of the two EM technologies used, Global Positioning Systems (GPS) and Radio Frequency (RF) were determined. Comparisons in the relative effects of EM on offenders under different types of supervision, those serving a sentence for various types of crime, and those of different ages were also assessed. The following is a summary the findings:

1. EM reduces the likelihood of failure under community supervision. The reduction in the risk of failure is about 31%, relative to offenders placed on other forms of community supervision.
2. GPS typically has more of an effect on reducing failure than RF technology. There is a 6% improvement rate in the reduction of supervision failures for offenders placed on GPS supervision relative to offenders placed on RF supervision.
3. EM supervision has less of an impact on violent offenders than on sex, drug, property, and other types of offenders, although there are significant reductions in the hazard rate for all of these offense types.
4. There are no major differences in the effects of EM supervision across different age groups.
5. There were no major differences in the effects of EM for different types of supervision.

Qualitative:

The qualitative assessment was guided by the following questions:

1. What are the goals and objectives of the EM program? Has the program been implemented with fidelity to achieve the goals and objectives?
2. Does supervising offenders in the community using electronic surveillance result in the established desired outcomes of increased compliance with the conditions of supervision while maintaining public safety?
3. Has EM impacted offenders in ways that were not intended by state laws and agency policies, in terms of family and personal relationships, offenders' self-concept, employment opportunities, and job retention?
4. Are the most appropriate offenders being ordered and placed on EM, given that it is a limited resource that can not be made available to all offender types?

5. Has EM been used as an alternative to imprisonment as intended?
6. What EM equipment-related issues arise and are there consequences for the offenders and FDOC?

Based on the information collected through the interviews with community corrections administrators, officers, and offenders on EM, the following conclusions and policy and practice recommendations can be drawn.

1. From the perspective of FDOC administrators, the primary goals of the EM program are to ensure offender compliance to the terms and conditions of their supervision as established by the judiciary, tracking offenders, and as a tool to reduce recidivism and protect the public and victims of crime. Overall, administrators believe these goals have been met; however, they see areas that need improvement. Additionally, they consider EM as only a tool that can assist officers in better supervising offenders that is not a substitute for diligent oversight by the officers through personal contacts with the offender.
2. Supervising officers and offenders generally believe that EM achieves the goal of resulting in lower levels of absconding, violations of court imposed conditions of supervision, and re-offending. However, the effects of EM on absconding were perceived as lower than other outcomes. These findings are consistent with the quantitative results and suggest that the EM program should be expanded to improve public safety.
3. Offenders and, especially officers, believe EM has negative consequences for the offenders in terms of their relationships with their spouses, significant others, and their children. Practitioners should determine if there are procedures that could be implemented that would reduce these effects.
4. A large proportion of offenders expressed a sense of shame about being on EM and felt they were stigmatized by others in a way that did not represent their actions. Additionally, the majority of offenders believed that media accounts of EM exacerbates the levels of stigma they receive. The current plan to reduce the visibility of the GPS device that receives the satellite signal should help reduce this consequence in the future.
5. Offenders and officers were almost unanimous in their assessment that the electronic tether is a serious detriment to offenders' ability to obtain employment and remain employed.
6. EM does not negatively impact offenders in obtaining adequate housing. However, the state, county, and city zoning restrictions on residency for sex offenders' results in

detrimental outcomes that are counter to their intentions. Officers and administrators overwhelmingly expressed that these residency restrictions have significant negative consequences that may result in actually jeopardizing, rather than enhancing, public safety. Policy makers should consider changes to the state laws and local ordinances that establish residency restrictions to address their unintended consequences.

7. A significant portion of offenders on EM who are required by the courts to reimburse the state for the cost of this technology are limited by their ability to abide by this requirement because of the infrequency with which jobs are available among this relatively unskilled and under-education population, other costs offenders must pay for supervision and treatment and other personal financial obligations relating to housing, food, and transportation, child care, etc. These reimbursement requirements should be reevaluated by policy makers to determine their appropriateness among this population.
8. The response obtained from officers who supervise both EM and non-EM offenders and who are intimately familiar with the lives and activities of these offenders and have witnessed countless failures and successes indicates that there is much room for improvement in the allocation of EM to ensure this form of supervision and surveillance is used on those offenders who need it most (i.e., those who pose the most risk to the public in terms of absconding, violating their conditions of supervision, and committing new crimes). This suggests that policy makers and the courts, who make the EM offender placement decisions, need to evaluate the current strategies of EM allocation to increase the efficient use of this limited resource and improve public safety.
9. Approximately 1 in 3 EM offenders would have served time in prison if not for the electronic surveillance option available to the courts. Given that it costs six times more to incarcerate an offender in state prison than to place them on EM, along with the additional long-term consequences of returning to the community after serving time in prison, the EM program appears to be a cost-effective method of dealing with offenders. Therefore, expanded use of EM for appropriate offenders should be considered.
10. A critical issue that arose during the interviewing process relative to the EM equipment—GPS specifically—was the sometimes frequent problem in which offenders' MTDs loses a signal with a satellite. Frequent occurrences of losing the satellite signal can be consequential for offenders at their places of work because they have to vacate their areas of responsibility. The FDOC and the EM vendor are well aware of the problem of maintaining satellite signals in certain locations and appear to be doing everything possible to diminish this problem to the extent possible. Continued evaluation in this regard should remain a priority of the EM program.

11. Judges and prosecutors need to be better educated about the EM equipment and how the technology is applied to offenders under community supervision. There also appears to be room for improvement for the judiciary to learn more about the potential negative as well as positive effects of EM on various types of offenders so they can make better offender EM allocation decisions.
12. The Statewide Monitoring Center, implemented in October 2007, is clearly one of the most successful enhancements to FDOC's EM program in the recent past. The strategy has resulted in drastic reductions in the number of minor alerts that officers have to address, which enables them to devote more time to other important matters relating to the supervision of offenders in the community and has expanded the lines of communication and enhanced the working relationship between the FDOC and the vendor to improve the general operation of the EM program. EM programs nationwide should consider including this strategy in their operation.

Future Research

Recommendations for future research are:

1. The present research examined felony offenders at the state level. The use of EM for offenders placed on pre-trial supervision to reduce jail populations has expanded significantly in recent years. Research is needed to study these populations and determine if EM is an effective strategy to divert arrestees from pre-trial incarceration in local jails and to identify appropriate changes to make EM more effective and cost efficient for this particular population of offenders.
2. Second, this study is based on only one state that is heavily vested in the use of EM for their felony offenders on supervision. Studies in other states to determine the relative effectiveness of EM and how their programs can be improved would further inform policy makers and practitioners on how to improve the EM process on a much broader basis.

Based upon this study, relying only on analysis of quantitative data to evaluate the effectiveness of EM is not adequate. The qualitative assessment of EM for this study demonstrated the value of gathering information directly from those that administer and experience EM to gain a more direct and comprehensive assessment of how EM impacts offenders and community corrections professionals. These qualitative studies are the exception because of the significant time and expense required to complete them. However, these qualitative findings are critical to providing compelling interpretations of EM's processes and outcomes as documented through quantitative assessments.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Electronic Monitoring and Corrections

By the end of 2008, there were 1.6 million offenders incarcerated in state and federal prisons in the United States (Sabol, West, and Cooper, 2009). Additionally, over 5.1 million offenders were under some form of community supervision at the end of 2008, an increase from 4.6 million in 2000 and an average annual growth rate of 1.4% (Glaze and Bonczar, 2009). In recent years, electronic monitoring (EM) has gained prominence in corrections as a pre-trial supervision alternative to local jail, for medium and high-risk felony offenders placed on community supervision in lieu of incarceration, and as a mandated community supervision requirement for serious offenders released from prison. Additionally, there has been a recent proliferation of laws that require the use of EM, especially global positioning systems (GPS), for specified sex offenders supervised in the community for enhanced supervision.

There is an urgent need for evidence-based re-entry strategies for the numerous offenders released annually from state and federal prisons and pre-trial supervision alternatives to jail. Over the years, EM has been widely promoted as a cost-efficient and effective means of supervising high-risk offenders released from prison including, sex offenders—who the courts consider suitable for community sanctions enhanced by electronic surveillance. However, and despite these positive claims, to date, EM has not been conclusively established to be cost efficient or to promote public safety.

1.2 Background

In May 2005, the governor of Florida signed into law the Jessica Lunsford Act, which was named after a 9-year-old girl who was abducted, sexually assaulted, and killed that same year. Under this legislation, anyone convicted of molesting a child under the age of 12 faces a life sentence with a minimum mandatory sentence of 25 years. If the offender is released back into the community, he or she is subject to EM for life. Furthermore, sex offenders placed on supervision after the law went into effect or sentenced to supervision following its passage are mandated to be placed on EM for the

remainder of their supervision. The law appropriated \$3.9 million in recurring funds to increase the number of EM (GPS units) by 1,200 units. The Jessica Lunsford case and the subsequent mobilization of Florida lawmakers to increase the penalties for and intensify the surveillance of sex offenders in the community through the mandatory use of EM quickly drew national attention, which led to similar legislation in several other states and the federal government.

In the wake of these events, it was expected that other states would experience future increases in the use of EM for sex offenders as well as other offender types considered to be moderate or high risk. Advances in the EM technology, coupled with an increased awareness of its potential capabilities, likely suggests an increased reliance on the use of EM across state correctional agencies for a variety of offenders. Unfortunately, and as Gainey, et al. (2000) have pointed out, research has not kept pace with the rapid implementation of this particular penal strategy.

A study by Padgett, Bales, and Blomberg (2006) examined the effectiveness of EM in relation to public safety and reduction in the likelihood of recidivism. This study was the first to examine the effect of EM on the likelihood of revocation for a new offense, technical violations, or for absconding, using data from a large sample of moderate-to high-risk offenders (75,661) and controlling for a range of other factors known to impact community supervision outcomes. The study found that both GPS and radio frequency (RF) monitoring led to reductions in the likelihood of offender failure and absconding, and that this effect held true for all offender types. However, the study did not address the question of how and why EM works or investigate unintended consequences of this supervision strategy. Additionally, the study was devoted to offenders on “house arrest” and did not include those sentenced to probation or other forms of community supervision, which have increasingly become subject to EM as a result of the Jessica Lunsford Act. The present research addresses these questions and extends the empirical findings related to the effectiveness of EM, as reported by Padgett et al. (2006).

1.3 The Study Context

Florida is a suitable site for a comprehensive evaluation of EM that will result in

scientific findings with relevant and timely policy implications for the following reasons. First, Florida has enhanced the community supervision of felony offenders sentenced to supervision for more than 25 years, with a focus on moderate- to high-risk offenders. Second, the Florida Department of Corrections (FDOC) has a comprehensive offender data management system for all offenders. The detail, breadth, and quality of FDOC's offender data make it optimal for conducting empirical evaluation research of correctional strategies. Third, the extensive experience of the research staff on this project, in terms of correctional research in general and with the FDOC specifically, makes them well suited to implement the present study. Fourth, the long history of the successful working relationship between FDOC and the Florida State University College of Criminology and Criminal Justice facilitates the present study as well as other empirical research.

Every state that utilizes EM differs in terms of the characteristics of the offender populations served, the types of community supervision, the organizational structure of the community corrections component, community characteristics, and the policies and practices that govern the operations of EM programs. Therefore, it is unknown whether the results of this research can be wholly generalized to other correctional jurisdictions or states. Assessing the level of generalizability of the findings reported here to other states would require cross-state comparisons of the characteristics in Florida noted above, which is not in the scope of this project. Therefore, policy makers and practitioners in other states should exercise caution and consider differences in state practices and offender populations relative to Florida when considering the present study's findings.

1.4 Purposes of the Current Study

Five primary purposes guided the current study: (1) to provide compelling empirical evidence of the effectiveness of EM among medium-to high-risk offenders on supervision; (2) to provide an explanation of findings on the potential effectiveness of EM; (3) to provide a comprehensive examination of how electronic surveillance is implemented in community corrections; (4) to present findings indicating how the EM experience impacts offenders in terms of their relationships with members of their families and friends, employment experiences, and their adjustment to communities; and

(5) to develop recommendations to maintain public safety while reducing negative consequences of EM.

Chapter 2

Review of the Electronic Monitoring Literature

2.1 Introduction

Since its introduction to correctional settings, electronic monitoring (EM) has garnered much attention. The first home confinement program that used EM was implemented in Palm Beach County, Florida in 1984. Discussions relating to the history, purposes, ramifications, and legal issues surrounding the use of EM abound in the literature (Berry, 1985; Blomberg et al., 1987; Corbett and Marx, 1991; Del Carmen and Vaughn, 1986; Gainey, 2000; Gowen, 2001; Payne and Renzema, 1991; Schmidt, 1991). However, in terms of scientifically-based outcome evaluation studies, the available studies have not kept pace with the increasing use of this new control technology (Gainey et al., 2000). Several studies have reported outcomes of various types, including technical violation rates, absconding rates, and re-arrests among EM offenders and the correlates of varying success rates or comparisons in success rates across different EM program types (Baumer et al., 1993; Courtright et al., 1997; Lilly et al., 1993; Lilly et al., 1992; Maxfield and Baumer, 1990; Roy, 1994, 1997). However, when comparing EM with traditional supervision, this body of research, while informative, does not address the critical question of whether EM is an effective and cost efficient correctional strategy that increases the level of monitoring and supervision of high-risk offenders while maintaining public safety.

2.2 Prior Quantitative Studies

EM studies that employ quantitative data vary significantly in the type of supervision program examined, the nature of the offender populations studied, and the scientific rigor of the methodologies. Table 2.1 presents a summary of key facets of six studies that report outcomes for EM and non-EM offenders during offenders' periods of supervision. While existing empirical studies of EM have produced salient observations about EM, the number of empirical studies from which sound policy decisions can be made is inadequate. Studies have almost ignored intensive supervision and house arrest programs and atypically examine offenders of varying risk levels and offense types.

Additionally, except for the study of federal pre-trial cases by Cadigan (1991) in which 30,123 cases were analyzed and home confinement in Florida by Padgett, Bales and Blomberg (2006), with 75,661 cases, the offender sample sizes has been relatively small, ranging from 77 (SPEC Associates, 2000) to 659 (Cooprider and Kerby, 1990). However, the Cadigan (1991) study lacked sound statistical controls to obtain valid comparisons between EM and non-EM cases while the study by Padgett et al. (2006) analyzed 75,661 cases. Finally, the statistical methods employed have been rudimentary, except in the Jolin and Stipack (1992) study, which used multivariate logistic regression, and the Padgett et al. (2006) study, which used proportional-hazards models to capture offenders' failure rates and the timing of failure.

If the level of scientific rigor of the methodologies employed in the six empirical studies of EM are not considered, the results are mixed in terms of the effectiveness of EM in reducing failure rates. Cooper and Kerby (1990) and Cadigan (1991) found that EM offenders were more likely to fail across all of the study's outcome measures. Jolin and Stipak (1992) found positive effects of EM for some of the types of offenders and negative effects for others. SPEC Associates (2002) and Padgett et al. (2006) results indicate significant reductions in failures among EM versus non-EM offenders across variants of offender types. Therefore, the prior empirical evidence of the effectiveness of EM on positive behavioral outcomes is mixed. Three of the six empirical studies included appropriate control variables or random assignment to make valid comparisons between comparable groups of EM and non-EM offenders (Courtright, Berg and Mutchnick, 2003; Jolin and Stipak, 1992; Padgett et al., 2006, SPEC Associates, 2002). Of these three studies, one found mixed results in which felony offenders in an intensive drug program (IDP), who did not complete the program and were on EM, were more likely to be re-arrested. In contrast, IDP offenders who were on EM and completed the program were less likely to be arrested than the comparison group (Jolin and Stipak, 1992). The research by SPEC Associates (2002), which used random assignment of EM among a sample of parole cases to form control and experimental groups, found significant effects indicating that EM is effective in reducing violations of parole conditions and failures of drug tests for clients who completed the treatment program. However, this study suffers from a small sample of cases (EM = 38, non-EM = 39). The

study by Padget et al. (2006) analyzed 75,661 EM and non-EM offenders placed on community control (i.e., house arrest) in Florida using proportional hazard models with sixty-two control variables and found significant reductions in the level of absconding, revocations for technical violations, and revocations for a new offense among EM offenders compared to non-EM offenders.

Table 2.1. Quantitative studies of the effectiveness of EM versus non-EM

	Coopriider and Kerby (1990)	Cadigan (1991)	Jolin and Stipak (1992)	SPEC Associates (2002)	Courtright, Berg, and Mutchnick (2003)	Padgett, Bales, and Blomberg (2006)
Type of Sanctions	Jail pre-trial release	Jail pre-trial release	Intensive drug program (IDP) with "around-the-clock electronic surveillance"	Parole	Probation	Community control (i.e., home confinement)
Type of Offenders	All types of crimes	Not reported	Felony offenders with substance abuse problems	Not reported	Driving under the influence (DUI) - adults only	All types on supervision for a felony
Number of Cases	Total = 659; Non-EM = 362; EM = 297	Total = 30,123; EM = 168; All cases in 17 federal districts = 7,234; national = 22,725	Total = 270; IDP = 70; ESP = 100 (doesn't explain ESP); Work release= 100)	Total = 77; EM = 38; Control = 39	Total = 113; EM = 56; non-EM = 57	Total = 75,661; EM = 7.3% (5,523); non-EM = 92.7% (70,138)
Comparison Groups	Non-EM offenders. Decision whether EM placement made by the court.	National FTA rates and FTA rates for the 17 federal districts	ESP - doesn't explain ESP; work release	Random assignment to EM versus Non-EM	Non-EM DUI offenders sentenced to jail	Non-EM offenders under community control. Radio frequency(RF) and global positioning system (GPS)
Control Variables	Class of felony	No statistical controls but asserts	Felony class; drug-related crime;	None (random assignment to	Age, gender,	Sixty-two control variables

	Cooprider and Kerby (1990)	Cadigan (1991)	Jolin and Stipak (1992)	SPEC Associates (2002)	Courtright, Berg, and Mutchnick (2003)	Padgett, Bales, and Blomberg (2006)
		that EM cases are "higher risk defendants" than non non-EM cases	alcohol related crime; risk assessment score, substance abuser; age married, female; employment, time at risk	EM and non-EM groups)	criminal history, years of education, treatment	including offender characteristics, current offense type, prior record, court-ordered conditions of supervision, education, treatment, and location of supervision
Outcome Measure(s)	Terminated on bond supervision (no, yes) as measured by new arrest, failure to appear, and technical violations	Failure to appear rates; re-arrest rates (felony and misdemeanor)	If re-arrested and average number of re-arrests	Violations of parole conditions; negative drug tests; counseling sessions attendance; maintaining employment	Number of arrests charges; type of first arrest charge; number of days to first arrest; detainers	Revocation for a technical violation; revocation for a new offense; absconding within 105 weeks (2 years) of placement on supervision
Statistical Methods	Success and failure comparisons between EM and non-EM within each felony class	Comparisons between EM and non-EM groups	Mean and percentage arrested comparison; Logistic Regression	Mean differences; t-test	T-test comparisons of matched groups of EM versus Non-EM	Proportional-hazards models (survival analysis)

	Coopridner and Kerby (1990)	Cadigan (1991)	Jolin and Stipak (1992)	SPEC Associates (2002)	Courtright, Berg, and Mutchnick (2003)	Padgett, Bales, and Blomberg (2006)
	level.				offenders	
Results	EM more likely to fail overall (19% versus 13%). EM offenders less likely to failure to appear or be re-arrested. The overall higher failure rates of EM cases results from significantly higher technical violations.	Failure to appear rates - EM higher 5.4%, 3.0% for same districts, 2.8% nationally; Felony re-arrest - EM higher 3.6%, 1.9% same districts, 2.1% nationally; Misdemeanor re-arrest - EM higher 2.4%, 1.0% for same districts, 1.0% nationally	IDP clients on EM are more likely to be re-arrested while on EM. IDP clients on EM who complete their supervision are less likely to be re-arrested than comparison groups.	EM cases significantly less likely to violate parole conditions (.23 times vs .94, p<.02); EM less likely to fail drug tests (2% versus 7%, p>.07); EM attend more substance abuse treatment sessions (mean=17 vs 13, p>.30)	No statistically significant differences in EM and non-EM cases, however, jail cases had higher rates of re-arrest and detainers. Only one of 56 EM offenders had their supervision revoked.	Offenders on EM significantly less likely to be revoked for a technical violation (RF=-95.7%; GPS = -90.2%); revoked for a new crime (RF=-94.7%; GPS= -94.7%); absconding (RF=-91.2%; GPS = -90.2%)
Methodological Shortcomings Noted by Author(s)	Low number of cases possibly invalidates some comparisons; Inability to control for additional relevant factors problematic	"The ability of electronic monitoring to successfully address risks of flight and danger has not been established empirically" (p.30).	None reported	None reported	None reported	EM effects only measured while offenders were on EM and not long-term post-EM outcomes. Also, the causal mechanisms of why EM is effective are not identified.

	Coopriider and Kerby (1990)	Cadigan (1991)	Jolin and Stipak (1992)	SPEC Associates (2002)	Courtright, Berg, and Mutchnick (2003)	Padgett, Bales, and Blomberg (2006)
Author(s) Conclusions	"In essence, electronic monitoring, as a component of bond supervision, enhances ability to supervise defendants in the community" (p. 35).	"Electronic monitoring was employed in higher risk pretrial release cases with only modest increases in the failure rates and re-arrest rates when compared to the national criminal defendant population" (p.30).	"Although admittedly somewhat tentative, the findings from this study provide evidence that this (EM for substance abuse offenders) approach works" (p.167).	"Although not all of the comparisons between GPS and control parolees showed statistically significant differences, all results were in the same direction - GPS parolees better on measures of compliance" (p.15).	"EM offenders do not pose a substantial risk to the community" and since jail inmates fail at a higher rate than EM offenders, "EM can be used as an effective alternative to jail for appropriate DUI offender" (p.49).	"We find that both radio-frequency and global positioning system monitoring significantly reduce the likelihood of technical violations, reoffending, and absconding for this population of offender" (p.201).

The balance of evidence from these studies shows that EM is effective in reducing supervision failure rates, as measured in a variety of ways. However, this review of the extant empirical literature on the effectiveness of EM, coupled with the importance of this relatively new correctional strategy, indicates the need for further research that is methodologically rigorous and generalizable to broader populations. Additionally, existing research, while identifying the empirical relationship between the use of EM for supervised populations and various outcomes, has not adequately explored explanations for the findings.

A geographically-relevant study conducted in Florida examined all offenders placed on community control (i.e., “house arrest”) from 1998 to 2002 (Padgett, Bales and Blomberg, 2006). Of this cohort of 75,661 offenders, 5,523 (7.3%) were placed on EM. A quasi-experimental design was conducted in which EM and non-EM offenders were compared in terms of their likelihood of revocation for a technical violation, revocation for a new offense, or absconding within 105 weeks of placement on supervision. Additionally, 62 control variables were employed to build equivalency between the two groups, including measures related to offender characteristics, current offense type, prior record, court-ordered conditions of supervision, education, treatment, and location of supervision. Comparable outcomes were assessed across two types of EM: radio frequency (RF) and global positioning systems (GPS). Using multivariate proportional-hazards models, the authors found that both methods of electronic surveillance effectively reduced the likelihood of the three outcome measures and that both were equally effective. Additionally, the positive effects of RF and GPS remained when subgroups of violent, property, and drug offenders were examined.

2.3 Prior Qualitative Studies

In addition to assessing the impact of EM using quantitative measures, it is critical to include process and performance measures to more completely understand the impact of the EM program and to offer explanations for its impact. The implementation and operation of such correctional programs as EM may be impacted by factors that may not be apparent when examining quantitative data in an outcome evaluation. However, studies that examine the effectiveness of EM programs by including a process evaluation

are few. Beck, et al. (1990) included aspects of a process evaluation in their examination of federal parolees on home confinement as did Payne and Gainey (1999). The researchers augmented these assessments of EM by including data on attitudes about EM, supervision practices, equipment functionality, failure rates, and exit interviews with probation officers and offenders. Data describing the supervision process and trends with alerts (equipment registering with officer) were also included. In their examination of the effectiveness of EM, Bonta et al. (2000) included such process measures as a comparison of the settings (corrections-based or court-based) in which EM programs operate and the types of supervision (custodial staff or probation officers) offered to offenders. This study examined the perceptions of offenders and staff and developed cross-site comparisons. Staff and offenders were surveyed to solicit perceptions of the benefits and effectiveness of the program as well as perceptions of relationships between offenders and supervisors. These authors reported disparities between offender and staff perceptions of EM.

Given the increasing reliance on EM as a correctional program (with prevention expectations) throughout the country, it is important to collect qualitative process and performance measures to identify *why* EM programs are effective or ineffective, how programs are implemented, and to explore the unintended consequences for offenders and the community supervision process. A qualitative assessment that includes information collected directly from the stakeholders (e.g., officers, administrators, offenders) offers a more in-depth examination into the causes of EM's impact.

2.4 Advancements in Methodologies Used in Prior Quantitative EM Studies

The study reported here builds on the quantitative research reported by Padgett et al. (2006) with several significant enhancements. First, the population studied includes offenders placed on several forms of community supervision rather than only those placed on community control (i.e., “house arrest”), including felony probation, drug offender probation, sex offender probation, addiction recovery, and three types of post-prison supervision: parole, conditional release, and provisional release. As documented in Chapter 3, only 284 of the 2,392 (11.9%) offenders on EM in Florida on June 30, 2009 were on community control.

Second, several changes have occurred in Florida’s EM program since the publication of the Padgett et al. (2006) article. Chapter 3 documents the significant expansion of EM and that GPS has become the dominant form of EM in lieu of RF. Also, Florida’s Jessica Lunsford Act of 2005 resulted in a significant increase in the application of EM for sex offenders, especially those who violate their supervision and are mandated to be placed on EM. For these reasons, the present study examines offenders placed on EM within the current context.

Third, the array of control variables included in the explanatory models is significantly more extensive, resulting in increased confidence in the relationships between EM and the outcomes included in the analysis. Specifically, the Padgett et al. (2006) study includes more control variables (62) than previous studies in order to achieve equivalency between the EM and non-EM offender groups; the present study’s analysis includes almost twice as many control variables (122).

Fourth, propensity score matching (PSM) method is employed in the present study to identify an EM experimental group and a non-EM control group; PSM is believed to produce more scientifically valid empirical findings than the traditional multivariate statistical models used in prior EM studies (Rosenbaum and Rubin, 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1985). Randomly assigning subjects to a control group and experimental is the ideal method to derive findings that can be described as causal in terms of the effect of an intervention. Random assignment of offenders to an EM group (treatment) and a non-EM group (control group) would result in equivalent groups except for the stimulus

(intervention of EM). However, this method is rarely possible in correctional settings due to legal issues regarding the denial of services that offenders need. Traditional methods employed to assess the effect of EM on offender outcomes are limited because offenders in the control and experimental groups may differ significantly on factors that may impact the likelihood of being placed on EM by the courts and their behavior while under supervision. The presence of significant differences in the two groups and not taking those factors into consideration may result in selection bias. Fifth, comparisons of the impact of EM across offender types (i.e., age and offense type) help determine the extent to which the somewhat limited EM resources need to be allocated differently.

2.5 Advancements in Methodologies Used in Prior Qualitative Studies of EM

This study makes a significant contribution to the relatively few studies of EM programs that have used qualitative research methods. First, prior studies have been narrowly focused, from a geographical perspective. The present study includes interviews with offenders, supervising officers, and community corrections administrators in fourteen counties throughout Florida. Second, the breadth of information collected through the interviews is more extensive than studies to date and allows an expanded array of issues to be examined. The present study collected qualitative data relating to the implementation and operation of EM, the consequences of EM for offenders, and the perceptions of EM's effectiveness. Third, prior qualitative studies examined only specialized offender populations and correctional officials. The current study involves interviews with a diverse offender population, in terms of the types of supervision they are under, and involves correctional officials at varying levels in the DOC organizational structure and with different responsibilities in community corrections, generally, and the EM program, specifically.

2.6 Summary

Building a body of research within a specific area is a cumulative process in which research studies attempt to build upon prior studies to expand the state of knowledge. For the reasons stated in this chapter, the present study advances the understanding of the effectiveness of EM for high-risk offenders under supervision in the

community. Additionally, the methodologies employed in this research will, in many respects, increase the credibility of the evidence and provide an in-depth understanding of the use and impact of electronic surveillance as a tool for community corrections official.

Chapter 3

Electronic Monitoring in Florida

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the electronic monitoring program (EM) in Florida. Section 3.2 describes the variety of supervision modalities used in Florida to supervise felony offenders. This section is followed by a history of the EM program (section 3.3) that describes the changes in technology since EM emerged as a tool designed to enhance the officers' ability to monitor the felony offenders placed on community supervision. Section 3.4 describes the laws and policies related to the operation of the EM program. Specifically, the Florida statutes that govern specific EM practices are summarized, as well as the FDOC policies that regulate the EM program across the diverse locations throughout the state. Trends in the use of EM over the past several years are presented, including the extent to which changes in the laws and policies have altered the prevalence and types of EM devices used. Section 3.5 examines the historical and current cost of EM to both the state of Florida and the offenders who are on EM. The final section, 3.6, discusses the residency restrictions placed on specified types of sex offenders by state law and city and county ordinances.

3.2 Types of Community Supervision

Currently, Florida law allows the courts to place felony offenders under several different types of offender community supervision. The rationale for having a variety of supervision modalities is that offenders differ significantly in the levels and forms of supervision needed to increase the likelihood that they will be successful in abiding by the conditions of their supervision and that public safety will not be compromised. Additionally, the services that offenders receive, based on treatment needs and forms of support, somewhat depend upon the specific type of supervision ordered by the courts. The types of supervision include: felony probation, drug offender probation, sex offender probation, and community control, as well as post-prison forms of supervision including conditional release, parole, and addiction recovery supervision.

3.2.1 Probation

Probation refers to “a term of community supervision under specified conditions for a defined period of time that cannot exceed the maximum sentence for the offense” (Florida Department of Corrections, 2009, p.54). An offender on probation must abide by all the conditions mandated by the court; violation of any of these conditions may result in the revocation of probation and the incarceration of the offender or changes to the offender’s type of community supervision. These conditions often include having a legitimate source of income and a place to live, remaining law abiding, abstaining from controlled substances, completing community service, and paying restitution to the victim.

3.2.2 Drug Offender Probation

Drug offender probation is a more intensive form of supervision “which emphasizes treatment of drug offenders and monitoring of offenders’ substance abuse through field supervision, contact with treatment providers, and random drug testing” (Florida Department of Corrections, 2009, p.54). Offenders on this form of probation may have special conditions established by the court to address substance abuse history and needs such as inpatient or outpatient treatment and more frequent drug testing.

3.2.3 Sex Offender Probation

Sex offender probation is a form of intensive probation specific to offenders who violate Chapter 794, F.S. § 800.04, F.S. § 827.071, or F.S. § 847.0145 (Florida Department of Corrections, 2009). The courts must also impose special conditions that are mandated by F.S. § 948.30. The offender must abide by all special conditions in addition to attending treatment and/or counseling. The Florida Department of Corrections (FDOC) provides the following “abbreviated version of the standard sex offender conditions of supervision” (Florida Department of Corrections, 2009, p.54):

- Mandatory curfews from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m.;

- If the victim was under 18, a prohibition of living within 1,000 feet of a school, day care center, park, playground, or other places where children regularly congregate;
- Active participation in and successful completion of a sex offender treatment program;
- Prohibition of any contact with the victim;
- If the victim was under 18, no unsupervised contact with a child under 18;
- If the victim was under 18, a prohibition of working for pay or as a volunteer at any place where children regularly congregate;
- Prohibited from viewing, owning, or possessing any obscene, pornographic, or sexually stimulating visual or auditory material;
- Make restitution;
- Submission to warrant-less search of person, residence, or vehicle;
- Participation at least annually in polygraph examinations;
- Maintenance of a driving log and prohibition against driving a motor vehicle alone without the prior approval of the supervising officers;
- Prohibition of using a post office box; and
- If there was sexual contact, submission to an HIV test at the probationer's expense.

3.2.4 Community Control

Community control, implemented in 1983 as a prison diversion program, is “a form of intensive house arrest in the community, including surveillance on weekends and holidays” (Florida Department of Corrections, 2009, p.54). Offenders are required to follow a strict daily activity schedule established by supervising officers, prescribing the times they are to be at specific locations such as home, work, school, treatment, and probation offices. Offenders diverted from prison who violate the conditions of community control may be sent to prison. The intensity of the supervision is evidenced by the requirement that the maximum community control caseload for officers is 25

offenders.

3.2.5 Conditional Release

Conditional release is post-prison supervision for offenders who meet two statutory requirements: first, the inmate was sentenced for murder/manslaughter, sexual offenses, robbery, or other violent personal crimes; and second, the inmate was previously committed to a state or federal institution or was convicted as a habitual offender or sexual predator. The length of time on conditional release supervision is based on the amount of gain-time accrued prior to an offender's release date that was applied to the service of the sentence. Due to Florida's minimum 85% of sentence served law, which affects all inmates with offense dates on or after October 1, 1995, the length of conditional release supervision is relatively short. Three out of four (75.7%), based on the 5,134 ex-prisoners placed on conditional release in FY2007-08 will be supervised for one year or less; the average length of supervision is 1.1 years, and one-half of offenders will serve 0.3 years or less (3.6 months or less) (Florida Department of Corrections, 2009, p.64).

The requirements of conditional release supervision are established by the Florida Parole Commission (FPC); however, the supervision is the responsibility of probation officers employed by the FDOC. If the supervising officer determines that an offender has violated his/her conditions of conditional release, the FPC officer determines whether to allow the offender to continue on supervision, modify the conditions of supervision, or revoke the supervision and return the offender to prison.

3.2.6 Parole

Parole is a period of post-prison supervision to be determined by the FPC, which is a separate agency from the FDOC. Parolees are supervised by FDOC probation officers who report violations to the FPC for final determination of the disposition of violations. The use of parole was eliminated in 1983 when the Florida Sentencing Guidelines were enacted for crimes committed on or after October 1 of that year. Today, approximately 5,000 inmates in Florida's prisons are parole eligible; only 39 of the

37,018 inmates released from prison in FY2007-08 were paroled (Florida Department of Corrections, 2009, p.39).

3.2.7 Addiction Recovery Supervision

Addiction recovery supervision is a type of post-prison supervision for offenders, who were convicted of crimes committed on or after July 1, 2001. Offenders must also meet the following criteria summarized by the FDOC (Florida Department of Corrections, 2009, p.54):

- A history of substance abuse or a substance addiction;
- Participated in any drug treatment;
- No current or previous convictions for a violent offense; and
- No current or previous convictions for: drug trafficking; unlawful sale of a controlled substance; or property offense, except for passing worthless checks, forgery, uttering, or counterfeiting, third degree felony grand theft (excluding a theft relating to firearms), third degree felony burglary of an unoccupied structure or conveyance; or a traffic offense involving injury or death.

The FPC establishes the conditions of supervision for offenders released on addiction recovery supervision, which include substance abuse treatment and random drug testing. FDOC probation officers are responsible for performing the supervision duties. If an offender violates the conditions of supervision, the probation officer reports the violation to the FPC, which makes the final disposition of the violation.

3.3 History of Electronic Monitoring

Electronic monitoring was authorized by the Florida Legislature in 1987, and the FDOC began using radio frequency (RF) in 1988 for offenders sentenced to community control, commonly known as “house arrest.” One of the conditions of community control supervision is that the offender must be home during certain hours of the day. RF involves a device that operates on a radio frequency and is used to alert the supervising officers if offenders violate home curfews. RF operates via an ankle bracelet worn by the offender that communicates with a base unit connected to the landline at the offender’s

home. The unit transmits a signal to alert a monitoring center when the offender moves beyond a pre-determined distance from the base unit during the times established.

Active global positioning system (GPS) was the second EM technology, implemented in Florida in 1997; it is a more advanced technology than RF, utilizing global positioning satellites to track offenders' locations in "real time." Offenders monitored with active GPS are required to wear ankle bracelets that communicate with a larger device carried by offenders at all times, called a monitoring tracking device (MTD). The MTD communicates with a satellite and transmits a signal to a monitoring center through a cell phone within the device. The MTD device has a liquid crystal display (LCD) screen to display messages to the offenders from supervising officers. Officers are able to track the exact location of offenders on a computer screen to determine whether they have violated their conditions of supervision by entering prohibited areas. Active GPS also transmits the location of an offender to the monitoring center, currently operated by FDOC EM vendor Pro Tech Monitoring, headquartered in Odessa, Florida. Officers may use the GPS computer software to establish "exclusion zones," which are geographical areas to where an offender is not allowed to enter. For example, a victim's neighborhood may be programmed in the GPS as an exclusion zone; for sex offenders, areas surrounding schools, parks, or daycare centers may be defined as exclusion zones. Additionally, "inclusion zones" can be established to define areas in which offenders must remain during the days and times set by officers. Typical inclusion zone includes an offender's residence. The officer and the monitoring center are alerted when offenders violate home curfews or are not within their inclusion zones according to their schedules.

The third type of EM is passive GPS, which involves equipment similar to active GPS with an ankle bracelet and a larger MTD that communicates with a satellite. A passive GPS device stores data throughout the day and transmits an entire day's worth of data to the supervising officer. The system identifies alerts generated during the previous day and forwards them to the supervising officer for review and action, as appropriate. This system generates the largest number of false alarms that require follow up (OPPAGA, 2005). This technology, implemented in 2001, was discontinued in April of 2006 due to the cost of passive GPS compared to active GPS, which is further discussed

below.

Table 3.1 displays the number of offenders on the types of community supervision described in this chapter and the number of offenders on RF and GPS. Probation is by far the most utilized type of community supervision, with 108,439 offenders under this form of supervision on June 30, 2009; 17,092 additional offenders were on drug offender probation, and 3,987 offenders were on sex offender probation. A total of 3,726 offenders were on one of three types of post-prison supervision, with the majority of them on conditional release (2,854), followed by parole (450) and addiction recovery (422).

Table 3.1. Number of offenders on supervision in Florida: June 30, 2009

Type of Supervision	Number	Percent
Probation	108,439	75.7%
Drug Offender Probation	17,092	11.9%
Sex Offender Probation	3,987	2.8%
Community Control	10,397	7.3%
Conditional Release	2,854	2.0%
Addiction Recovery	422	0.3%
Totals	143,191	100.0%

Note: Only supervision types which had offenders on EM are included in the table.

Source: FDOC (2009).

Table 3.2 shows that of the 129,518 offenders on probation, 1,472 (1.14%) were on EM. The majority of the EM cases were on GPS, which constituted 1.12% of all probationers. Of the 10,397 offenders on community control, that is, house arrest, 636 or 6.12% were on EM, with 5.65% of the 636 placed on GPS. Of the 3,726 offenders under supervision as a condition of their release from state prison, 284 or 7.62% were on EM, with 7.00% of the 284 on GPS.

Table 3.2. Number of offenders on EM in Florida: June 30, 2009

Type of Supervision	Radio Frequency (RF)			Global Positioning Systems (GPS)		Total EM	
	Number	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Probation¹	129,518	27	0.02%	1,445	1.12%	1,472	1.14%
Community Control	10,397	49	0.47%	587	5.65%	636	6.12%
Post Prison²	3,726	23	0.62%	261	7.00%	284	7.62%
Totals	143,641	99	0.07%	2,293	1.60%	2,392	1.67%

¹ Includes felony probation, drug offender probation, and sex offender probation.

² Includes parole, conditional release, and addiction recovery.

Source: FDOC (2009).

3.4 Electronic Monitoring Laws and Policies

Currently, the sentencing authority orders the placement of offenders on and off EM. However, prior to 2004, Chapter 948.03(2)(b)(1), F.S., authorized the use of EM for offenders on community control, at the officers' discretion. Based on correspondence with FDOC Central Office staff, there are still some circuits that continue to permit the discretionary placement of community control offenders on EM; yet with the implementation of a statewide supervision order, EM will be reserved for sex offenders or offenders deemed violent by the sentencing authority (personal correspondence with FDOC staff, September 29, 2009).

The EM program in Florida changed dramatically as a result of the Jessica Lunsford Act (JLA), passed by the Florida Legislature in 2005. Jessica Lunsford was a nine-year-old Florida girl who was kidnapped, raped, and murdered by John Evander Couey, a previously convicted sex offender. The JLA amended several statutes to elevate the severity of punishments, increased the severity of penalties for sex offenders who fail to register with authorities, created mandatory EM provisions for certain offenders, and appropriated funding for EM. The JLA also amended several administrative practices. The JLA extended the period that a sexual predator is eligible to be downgraded to a sexual offender, and requires biannual registration of sexual predators. The JLA also requires the Florida Department of Law Enforcement (FDLE) to provide information to local law enforcement agencies regarding sex offenders who fail to respond to address

verification attempts and clarifies background screening requirements for personnel who have access to school grounds. Additionally, the JLA created the Jessica Lunsford Task Force, charged with studying the collection and dissemination of offender information to the criminal justice system and the community.

The JLA amended F.S. § 947.1405 to require EM for prison releasees designated as sexual predators or for offenders who are over the age of 18, who violate certain statutes involving a victim under the age of 15. Florida Statute § 948.11, titled “Electronic Monitoring,” was amended to require “probationers, community controlees, or conditional releasees who have a current or prior conviction for violent or sexual offenses” to be monitored by a “system that actively monitors and identifies the offender’s location.” This refers to active GPS technology that allows authorities to monitor an offender’s location at all times. Florida Statute § 948.11 was also amended to criminalize damaging an electronic surveillance device as a third degree felony. Additionally, subsection (2) of F.S. § 948.30 was amended to require mandatory EM for sexual predators, probationers, and community controlees 18 years or older, whose victims were under age 15 and who committed crimes on or after September 1, 2005 or have been previously convicted of violating certain statutes.

The JLA also created F.S. § 948.063. This statute mandates that sex offenders or sexual predators, 18 years or older, who victimize persons under the age of 15 and have had a probation or community control sentence revoked, are required to be placed on active GPS if the sentencing judge places the offender on community supervision. Additionally, the Act amends F.S. § 775.082 to require EM for the rest of an offender's life if he or she is convicted of specified crimes. These crimes include kidnapping a child under the age of 13, false imprisonment of a child under the age of 13, luring or enticing a child, sexual battery, lewd or lascivious battery, and lewd and lascivious battery on an elderly person. Offenders convicted of any of these crimes must be electronically monitored for the rest of their natural lives, in addition to paying other penalties mandated by law.

In FY2005-06, the Legislature appropriated \$3,928,860 of recurring general revenue for the purpose of increasing the number of GPS units by 1,200 (as required by the JLA). Prior to the JLA, EM was not used to monitor the most dangerous offenders.

A 2005 OPPAGA report shows that at the end of 2004, 30% of offenders on EM were habitual or sex offenders. In contrast, 43% were convicted of property offenses, drug offenses, or less serious crimes. The JLA expanded EM eligibility, made EM a mandatory requirement, and required EM for certain offenders who violate parole, probation, or community control.

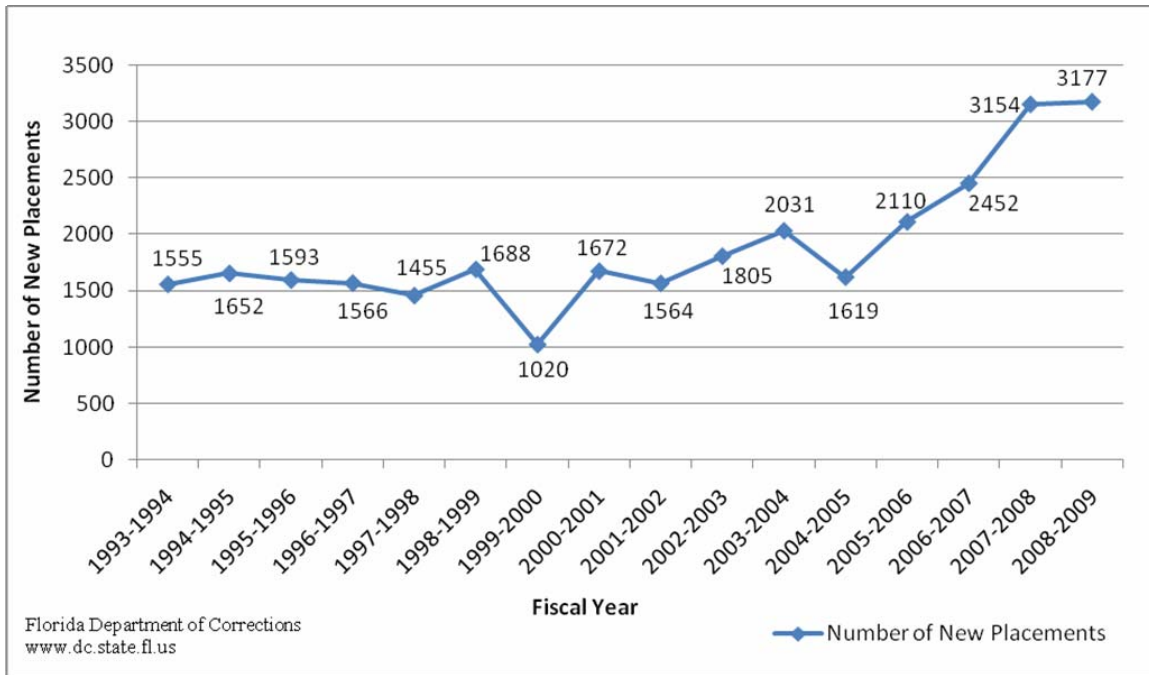
The FDOC has been reluctant to have offenders placed on EM without a court order or statutory requirement and has cited case law precedent that the department believes prohibits them from revoking the community supervision status of an offender placed on EM, if they were not originally court ordered to be under electronic surveillance (OPPAGA, 2005). Consequently, offenders who were eligible for monitoring were not placed on EM. The FDOC has described the EM program as having “high liability” because of the large amount of private data collected and examined (OPPAGA, 2007). Judges have been applying EM requirements to JLA offenders but not to all eligible offenders. Judges have cited the costs of EM to the offender and the amount of technical violations that occur with offenders on EM as reasons for not applying EM to all eligible offenders (OPPAGA, 2007). In 2008, the daily cost of GPS monitoring per offender was \$8.94.

3.5 Trends in Electronic Monitoring Placements and Populations

This section provides a historical perspective of the changes in the use of EM generally and, specifically, the three types of EM technologies discussed previously. Figure 3.1 shows that the number of new placements on EM over the past 16 years has been relatively stable at times but also showed fluctuations. From FY1993-94 to FY1998-99, the annual numbers ranged from a low of 1,455 new placements in FY1997-98 to a high of 1,688 in FY1998-99, with fluctuations from year to year. This was followed by a drop in the number of EM placements to 1,020 in FY1999-00. In personal correspondence, FDOC staff indicated that the sudden downturn may have been the result of financial constraints on the FDOC that limited the use of EM for a short period of time until funding was restored to previous levels (PI’s correspondence with FDOC, September 9, 2009). The sharp 1999-00 drop in EM placements was followed by an increase to 1,672 the following year and alternating modest increases and decreases

through FY2004-05. Since FY2004-05, the number of EM placements has increased to the level of 3,177 in FY2008-09. This upward trend in EM placements directly coincides with the passage of the JLA in 2005.

Figure 3.1. Number of new offender placements on EM in Florida: FY1993-94 to FY2008-09



Different trends emerge when the number of EM offenders is examined by the type of monitoring device. Figure 3.2 shows the number of new placements over time broken down into RF and GPS. Prior to the emergence of GPS, the number of RF placements between FY1993-94 and FY1998-99 ranged from a low of 1,452 to a high of 1,652 annually, with fluctuations year-to-year. The number of RF placements dramatically decreased from 1,559 in FY1998-99 to 343 in FY1999-00. This sharp decrease in RF placements coincides with the introduction of GPS in 1997, which has remained the preferred choice for monitoring offenders. The number of passive GPS placements was relatively minimal except for the peak year in FY2003-04 when 293 offenders were assigned to passive GPS. The number of new placements on GPS steadily climbed to 1,002 in FY2000-01 but subsequently leveled off throughout FY2004-05. However, after the passage of the JLA in 2005, the number of GPS

placements increased to a peak level of 2,933 in FY2008-09.

Figure 3.2. Number of offenders placed on EM in Florida by type of EM device: FY1993-94 to FY2008-09

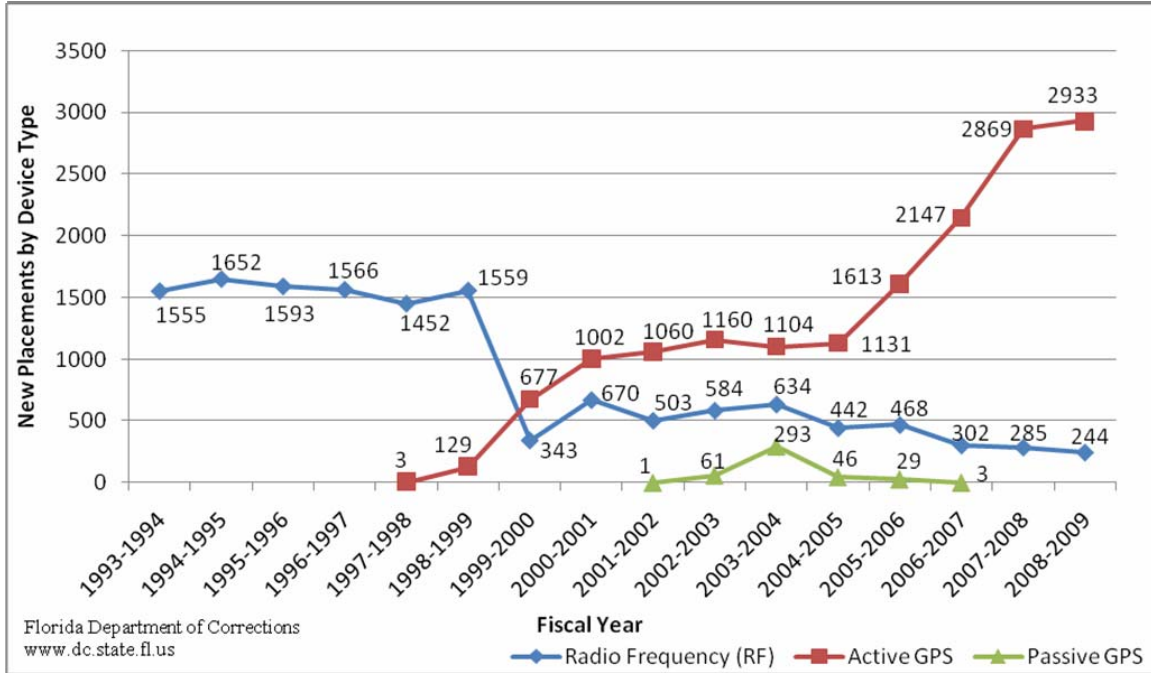
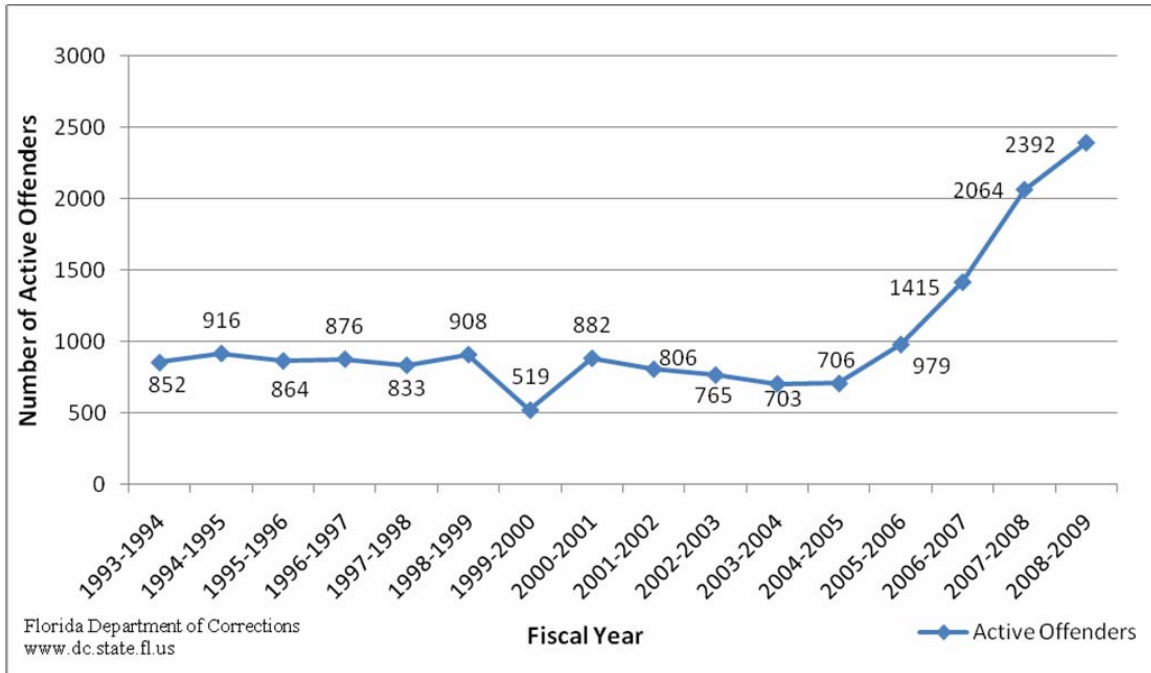


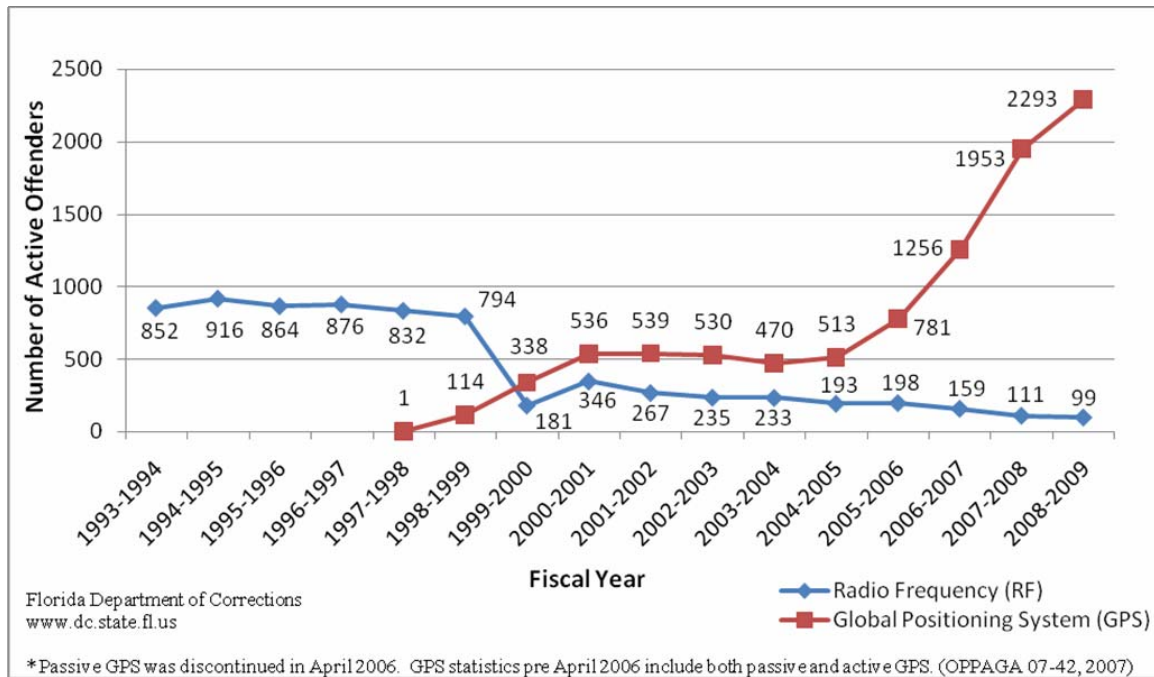
Figure 3.3 displays the total number of offenders on EM on June 30 between fiscal years 1993-94 and 2008-09. During the first 12 years of EM use in Florida (FY1993-94 through FY2004-05), the number of offenders under electronic surveillance was relatively stable, ranging from 703 to 916 (except for the previously explained dip in FY1999-2000). These data also demonstrate the impact of JLA on the use of EM: the number of offenders on EM went from 706 in FY2004-05, when it became law in the third month (September), to 979 the following year, and then increased to 2,392 in FY2008-09.

Figure 3.3. Number of offenders on EM in Florida on June 30th: FY1993-94 to FY2008-09



In Figure 3.4, the annual active EM population data is further broken down by the type of monitoring devices (RF and GPS). The GPS numbers include both passive and active GPS. Consistent with the trends displayed in Figure 3.2, the advent of GPS in FY1997-98 resulted in a decline in the use of RF, and the 2005 JLA resulted in a more significant shift towards the use of GPS over RF. Specifically, from FY2000-01 to FY2004-05, GPS was used about twice as much as RF. This trend continued and in FY2008-09, GPS outpaced RF by 2,293 to 99 active offenders.

Figure 3.4. Number of offenders on EM in Florida by type of EM on June 30th: FY1993-94 to FY2008-09



3.6 The Cost of Electronic Monitoring

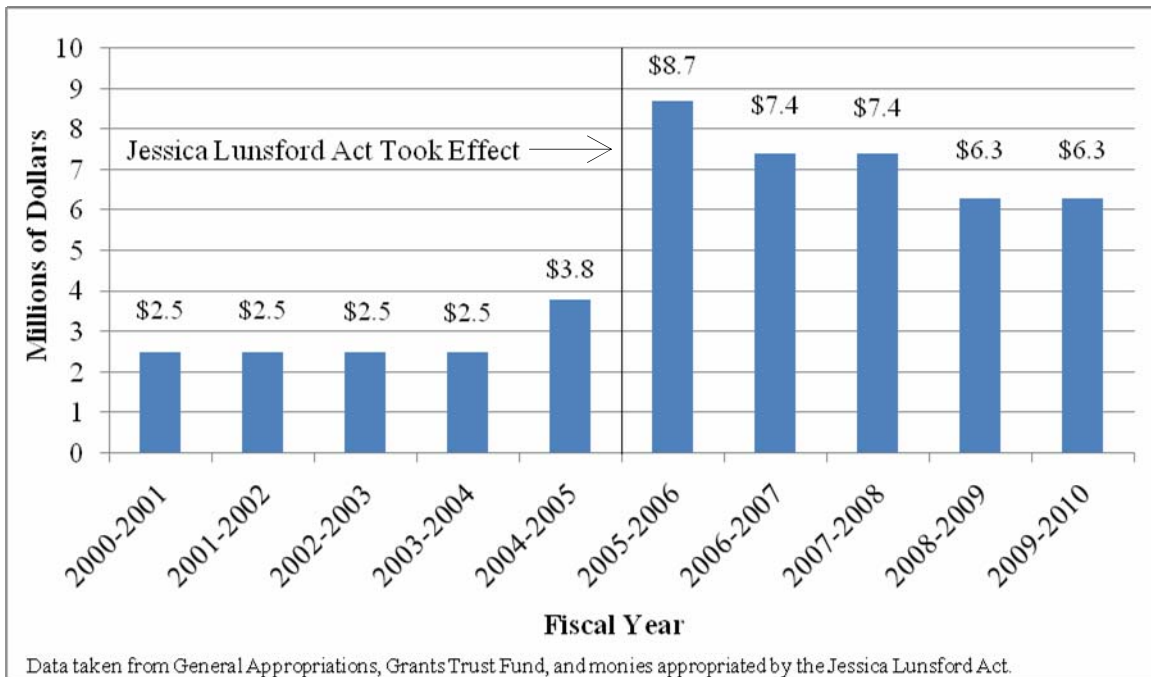
RF is the least expensive form of EM. In a 2008 FDOC legislative budget request, the FDOC indicated that RF costs \$1.97 per day and \$719 per year (The People’s Budget, FY2009-2010). This cost covers the EM provider’s cost for the equipment and excludes the extra FDOC staff time required. In comparison, the same report indicated that GPS cost \$8.94 per day; \$1 of that daily cost is allocated toward the cost of the monitoring center. Therefore, the annual cost of the active GPS equipment and services provided by ProTech is \$3,263 per year.

A comparison of the cost of passive GPS relative to the other two types of EM is not possible for 2008 because it is no longer used. However, another report (OPPAGA, 2005) presents the per day cost of the three EM technologies: RF’s cost was \$2.34 (\$854 per year), active GPS’s cost was \$8.97 (\$3,274 per year), and passive GPS’s cost was \$4.25 (\$1,551 per year). The report also estimates the additional cost of staff resources for each of the EM programs and reports the following equipment and staff costs: RF is \$8.60, active GPS is \$11.13, and passive GPS is \$23.66. Therefore, while active GPS

equipment is more expensive than passive GPS, the total cost is more than twice as much as active GPS. Finally, it is noteworthy that the per day costs for RF and active GPS equipment, and vendor services have declined between 2005 and 2008. RF annual cost decreased 15.8%, from \$854 to \$719, while active GPS has remained virtually the same, from \$3,263 to \$3,274 per year. However, the 2008 cost includes the monitoring center services provided by ProTech that were not available until 2007.

Figure 3.5 presents the annual funding appropriated for EM over the past 10 years. The cost was stable at \$2.5 million from FY2000-01 to FY2003-04 and then increased to \$3.8 in FY2004-05. A 129% increase in the cost of EM occurred as a result of the JLA in FY2005-06 to \$8.7 million. The cost of EM has been at a somewhat lower level between \$6.3 million and \$7.4 million during the past year but remains almost twice as high as the cost prior to the enactment of the JLA.

Figure 3.5. Annual EM appropriations in Florida: FY2000-01 to FY2009-10



EM is the most restrictive form of community supervision designed to maintain offenders in the community, when appropriate; therefore, a comparison of EM and imprisonment costs is warranted. In comparison to the cost of the three types of EM devices noted above, the average daily cost of prison operations per inmate was \$55.09

per day or \$20,108 per year, in FY2007-08 (FDOC, 2008, p.7). This figure does not include the cost of constructing new prisons or expanding existing facilities, which amounted to an expenditure of \$107,441,753 in FY2007-08 (FDOC, 2008, p.7). Another way to compare the cost of EM relative to incarceration is that six offenders could be placed on active GPS or 28 offenders could be placed on RF for one year for the same cost of housing one inmate in a correctional facility for one year.

Comparing the costs of placing high-risk community supervision offenders on EM versus housing them in state prison, demonstrates the importance of determining the impact EM has on preventing felons from absconding, violating their conditions of supervision, or committing new crimes. Additionally, it is possible to better identify offenders who are high risk and would likely be sentenced to prison but would constitute a low risk while under community supervision because of EM. Policy makers may save public dollars by avoiding the cost of constructing new prisons and the annual operating expenses of housing inmates.

The FDOC has the authority to require EM offenders to reimburse the FDOC for all or some of the cost of the EM equipment. The FDOC was recovering approximately 10% of the cost of EM from offenders (PI's correspondence with FDOC, September 9, 2009). One reason for this level of cost recovery is that Florida law allowed the reimbursement of EM costs only for offenders on community control. However, legislation passed in 2009 authorizes FDOC to require all offenders to pay for EM, rather than community control cases. This change in the law allows the FDOC to violate EM offenders for nonpayment of EM costs imposed by the court. Additionally, the FDOC can charge offenders for damages incurred to the equipment.

3.7 Sex Offender Residency Restrictions

State and local statutory restrictions governing residential living boundaries have become more prominent and more severe since the 1990s. The first law passed in Florida to restrict where convicted sex offenders can live was F.S. § 947.1405(7)(b), which went into effect October 1, 1995. This law states that "If the victim was under the age of 18, a prohibition on living within 1,000 feet of a school, day care center, park, playground, or other places where children regularly congregate" (F.S. § 947.1405(7)(b)). The state

legislature passed Senate Bill 120, which went into effect on October 1, 2004, and amended F.S. § 947.1405(7)(a)(2). Effective October 1, 2004, statutory amendments restrict sex offender residency areas further by prohibiting sex offenders from living within 1,000 feet of a designated school bus stop if the victim was under the age of 18. If a sex offender was currently residing within 1,000 feet of a school bus stop at the time the bill became law, the school district was required to move the bus stop far enough away from the offender's home so that the law was not violated. This statute also requires authorities to notify school districts of the locations of offenders living in the area. F.S § 794.065 states that:

It is unlawful for any person who has been convicted of a violation of s.794.011, s. 800.04, s. 827.071, or s. 847.0145, regardless of whether adjudication has been withheld, in which the victim of the offense was less than 16 years of age, to reside within 1,000 feet of any school, day care center, park, or playground.

This statute is very similar to the statute that limits living areas. This statute lowers the age of the victim but does not outlaw offenders living within 1,000 feet of a bus stop and also provides consequences for violating the living restrictions.

Of the 67 counties in Florida, 17 have county-wide ordinances that are stricter than the state laws. In addition to these 17 counties, 28 others contain cities and towns that have also enacted their own residency restriction laws. Therefore, 45 of Florida's 67 counties have residency restriction ordinances at the county and/or city level. There are 112 cities and towns that have stricter residency laws than the state and may also differ from their county ordinances. Local ordinances may restrict sex offenders from living within 1,000 to 3,000 feet of certain locations - primarily schools, daycare centers, and playgrounds. The majority of the counties have enacted legislation restricting sex offenders to within 2,500 feet of various types of structures.

The number of cities with differing laws has led to some confusion surrounding sex offender residency restrictions. Sometimes the residency laws for multiple cities within the same county differ (e.g., cities in Broward and Palm Beach counties). The fluctuations in laws may confuse sex offenders and make it more difficult for them to abide by the restrictions. The difference in residency restrictions within counties also

makes it more difficult for probation officers, whose caseloads often span an entire county. Officers who monitor offenders in different cities are also charged with the task of monitoring offenders according to the different residency restrictions.

Pursuant to F.S. § 947.1405(7)(a)2, sex offenders cannot relocate to a residence within 1,000 feet of specified areas. An offender's place of residence is where he/she lives and is considered his/her permanent address. The statute does not restrict sex offenders from venturing within that 1,000 foot radius during the day. As long as their permanent address is outside the radius and they are *not* restricted by EM, offenders are free to move about as they please during the day.

Some sex offenders who live in counties with larger, more developed populations face serious living problems. For example, Miami ordinance 05-00440 restricts sex offenders from living within 2,500 feet of schools, playgrounds, daycare centers, designated school bus stops, and parks. Such restricted living space in a densely populated city like Miami has resulted in the development of a sex offender "colony" under the Julia Tuttle Causeway. A recent article from the *Miami Herald*, among others, addressed the situation. The article from July 10, 2009 reports that the colony has surged up to 140 people. Sex offenders are forced to live in inhumane conditions under a highway overpass because there are limited places where they can live legally. One offender told a journalist that his supervising officer told him that the bridge was the only place he could live and that his drivers license actually lists the "Julia Tuttle Causeway" as his permanent address (*St. Petersburg Times*, August 16, 2009). The practice of isolating sex offenders in one location under the Julia Tuttle Causeway has been described as "unsafe." On July 9, 2009, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Florida filed suit against Miami-Dade County over the living conditions in which sex offenders are forced to live in that county (*Miami Herald*, 2009, July 9).

Judge Pedro P. Echarte Jr. ruled against the ACLU on September 17, 2009. The ACLU argued that there is an "implied pre-emption" in the state law that local municipalities will fall in line with state law. The judge ruled in favor of Miami-Dade County (*Sun Sentinel*, 2009, September 19). As a result of this ruling the strict 2,500ft restriction in Miami will stand and sex offenders will still be forced to live under the causeway until the city or county provides better housing. Sex offender residency laws

were intended to prevent future sex crimes against children and to prevent sex offenders from recidivating (CCOSO, 2008). An empirical analysis from 2008 shows that proximity to schools and daycare centers “explains virtually none of the variations in sexual recidivism” (Zandbergen et al., 2008).

Apart from residency restrictions, about 20% or less of sex crimes involve an offender who is a stranger to the victim; nearly 90% of sex crimes are committed by individuals who have no previous sex offense history (CCOSO, 2008). These new offenders are not bound by any residency restriction laws. Additionally, 75% of registered sex offenders do not commit another sex crime (CCOSO, 2008).

There is a strong argument that residency restrictions *decrease* public safety. If an offender does not have any place to live legally, he or she is more likely to abscond from supervision. An offender who has absconded cannot be monitored. Another unintended consequence of the residency laws is the grouping of sex offenders. When there is such limited space where offenders can live, they may be more likely to live together, as in the following situation in Miami, rather than live with law abiding family and friends who could be positive influences. In Miami-Dade, supervising officers have been advising offenders to live under the Julia Tuttle Causeway with other convicted sex offenders so that they can be monitored more easily (CCOSO, 2008). The hardship of having to leave their homes and be separated from their families and support systems is likely to increase rather than decrease future offending of sex offenders (CCOSO, 2008).

3.8 Discussion and Conclusions

Consistent with the multitude of correctional strategies enacted in the United States, the use of EM in Florida has evolved throughout its 22-year existence. EM usage has increased from a low number of offenders on community supervision with relatively simple RF technology that can only determine whether the offenders are at their homes during their curfew hours, to having more than 2,800 GPS devices monitoring nearly 2,400 offenders via GPS technology. Officers are aware of the precise whereabouts of offenders under their supervision essentially every second of the day or night. With minute-by-minute data available in “real time,” active GPS has become the predominant method of tracking offenders.

The JLA has played an important role in EM by doubling the annual funding and expanding the pool of offenders who are eligible for EM or are required to be on GPS. While FDOC has the authority to place various types of offenders on EM, they are reluctant to do so without a court order or a statutory requirement. Due in part to the JLA, an important question is the extent to which EM is being used to supervise the most dangerous offenders under community supervision, as mandated by the courts. Many believe that the use of EM provides the courts with a viable alternative to sentencing offenders to state prison. While EM, especially GPS monitoring, costs more than traditional community supervision, this cost is much less than the cost of housing offenders in prisons.

Residency restrictions for sex offenders have been enacted at state, county, and city levels in Florida, including restrictions on the types of structures and distances between residences and other facilities (e.g., schools, playgrounds). However, recent research has shown that residency restrictions can have a negative effect on community safety (CCOSO, 2008). Increasing restrictive prohibitions regarding residential sites has led to an increase in homelessness, absconding, and inadequate living conditions. The rationale for residency restrictions is linked to highly publicized cases and claims of increased public safety. However, the impact of and effectiveness of such restrictions in improving public safety has not been established or addressed.

Chapter 4

A Quantitative Assessment of Electronic Monitoring

This chapter provides an empirical analysis of quantitative data to evaluate the effect of electronic monitoring (EM) on officially recorded events among a sample of offenders placed on community supervision in Florida. The chapter describes the analysis methods, the rationale for those methods, and the results of those analyses. Data sets were provided by the Florida Department of Corrections (FDOC) to explore the impact of EM on supervision outcomes. These data sets cover a period of community supervision for Florida criminal offenders between June 1, 2001 and June 30, 2007. Florida community supervision authorities use these data sets to monitor and record the various events for offenders placed on community supervision. A more complete description of these datasets appears in Appendix 4.

Because the study is limited to medium- and high-risk offenders, low-risk offenders were excluded from the sample. The FDOC risk classification included in the Offender-based Information System (OBIS) was used to help identify the medium- and high-risk offenders. Because an offender's risk class may change during the supervision period, risk class was operationalized as the classification to which an offender was assigned for the longest time period. FDOC staff provided assistance in collapsing the 12 categories in the risk classification system into three categories: minimum, medium, and maximum risk. The number of days offenders were assigned to each of the three classes was calculated and the class to which offenders belonged for the greatest number of days was identified. Offenders who were classified as minimum risk for more days than medium and maximum risk combined were excluded from the study. Two different groups of medium- and high-risk offenders are referred to throughout this chapter:

- offenders who are placed on EM at some point in their community supervision period, which is referred to as the treatment group or EM group; and,
- offenders who are NOT placed on any type of EM during their period of community supervision, which is a larger group and are referred to as the non-EM comparison group or non-EM group.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section 4.1 describes the propensity score methods used to implement what is called Rubin's Causal Model (Rubin, 2006).

The rationale of this model is that if the researcher can match “treated” and “untreated” observations of characteristics related to their selection into treatment and to their outcomes, causal conclusions may be made regarding the effect of treatment. In the present analysis, the treatment is placement on EM. Section 4.2 describes the analysis for time-to-failure, after EM and non-EM groups are balanced. Also, Cox Proportional Hazards and the use of time varying covariates are described. Sections 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6 present the results for the impact of EM on absconding and revocations (in general, by age groups, by offense groups, and by supervision type). Section 4.7 presents the residual analysis and section 4.8 summarizes the findings.

4.1 Balancing the EM and Non-EM Groups Using the Average Treatment of the Treated Weights Derived from the Propensity Score

In a series of papers written primarily in the early 1980s, Donald Rubin and Paul Rosenbaum developed the Propensity Score Methodology to allow analysts to make causal inferences in observational studies (Rosenbaum and Rubin, 1983a; Rosenbaum and Rubin, 1983b; Rosenbaum and Rubin, 1984; Rosenbaum and Rubin, 1985). The fundamental problem of using observational studies to make causal inferences is that the units (people) are not randomly assigned to “treatment.” Thus, the units that are treated may be very different on a set of one or more background characteristics that affect both their selection into treatment and their outcomes. The simple idea behind propensity score methods is this: If you are able to balance the characteristics of people in treatment with those in the comparison condition, you can get close to the characteristics of an experimental design, in which balance is achieved through randomization. The problem inherent in observational studies is that there is some variable (or set of variables) that may determine who is selected for treatment *and* may also affect the outcome. This is the selection process, and the bias that results from inferring cause from such a treatment is "selection bias."

Rosenbaum and Rubin have proven that you can achieve balance by developing a single score, called the propensity score, by using exogenous covariates that predict the likelihood of each case receiving treatment. If the treatment and comparison groups are balanced on the propensity score, they are also balanced on all of the covariates used to

develop the prediction of treatment. The variables must be exogenous—not affected by the treatment. If an analyst has incorporated variables that determine the selection process, one can achieve conditional independence of the treatment and the outcome by conditioning on this set of covariates. This conditional independence assumption (CIA) is not without controversy. One can never be absolutely sure that there is some “lurking variable” that was omitted from the propensity score calculation that is related to the treatment and outcome that may be responsible for what the analyst believes is the causal effect of treatment. Furthermore, there is no standard method of estimating the propensity score and then matching treatment and comparison observations. Because of this ambiguity, some analysts are dubious of the value of the propensity score method in certain applications (e.g., see Angrist and Pischke, 2009, p. 86). Nevertheless, this method has now been used in hundreds of medical/health, economic, education, political science, psychological, and sociological research studies and has become a common and accepted methodology (Rubin, 2006; Rosenbaum, 2002). Additionally, some studies demonstrate that, with proper specification of the propensity score and an appropriate matching methodology, one can get very close to experimental results (See Dehejia and Wahba, 1999; Shadish, Clark and Steiner, 2008).

In this analysis, EM is conceived as the treatment. Propensity score methods were used to develop tests of the effect of this treatment on outcomes of offenders placed on different forms of community supervision. An additional benefit of developing the propensity score is the ability to compare the treatment and comparison group distributions on their respective propensity scores. In order to achieve balance, the propensity scores of treatment subjects must overlap with the propensity scores of comparison subjects. This is called the “common support assumption.” When there is no common support, researchers usually restrict their analysis to that portion of the propensity score domains where there *is* common support (Rosenbaum, 2002). A study by Haviland, Nagin, Rosenbaum, and Tremblay (2008) limited their analysis of the effect of first joining a gang because it was not possible to find matches for the most chronically delinquent youth in their study.

Once a propensity score is developed, there are different approaches to using the results of the estimation procedure to make causal inferences. One method is to stratify

the treatment and control groups on levels of the propensity score. Usually, five strata are used; then the analyst computes a weighted mean difference between the treatment and comparison observations among the strata. Another possibility is to match the treated observation with one or more comparison observations closest to the treated individual. There are many algorithms to do this, such as nearest neighbor and kernel matching, but because the present analysis utilized yet another matching method, this report does not elaborate further on these procedures. Lastly, an analyst can use inverse weighting of the propensity scores: observations in the comparison group that are most like observations in the treatment group are given greater weight than the observations that are less like those in the treatment group. This method uses all of the data and is similar to weighting in survey research designs and is the technique used in the present analysis. This latter technique, used in the present study, was used by Paternoster and Brame (2008) when they investigated the possible racial disparities between blacks and whites in capital cases in Maryland. The present analysis uses the average treatment of the treated weights (Morgan and Winship, 2007) and EM subjects are assigned a weight of 1 and comparison subjects are assigned a weight of $p/(1-p)$, where p is the propensity score. Conceptually, average treatment of the treated (ATT) effects allows one to make causal inferences about people who will participate in treatment. Average treatment effects (ATE) generates population estimates of everyone exposed to treatment and take into account the fact that not everyone who *could* be treated *will* be treated.

The first step in this procedure is to estimate the propensity score. In this case, logistic regression was adopted as the estimation procedure. The variables listed in Table 4.1 were used to predict the binary treatment variable, regardless of whether or not offenders were placed on EM for some part of their community supervision. Most offenders placed on community supervision had no period of EM. There were 5,034 offenders in the EM sample and 266,991 offenders in the comparison group.

There were 122 covariates that were used to predict EM participation. Descriptive statistics for these covariates are listed in Table 4.1. The circuit to which a defendant was assigned was used and coded as a set of dummy variables. Demographic variables included gender, race, age at admission to supervision, and whether the offender was employed at sentencing. The set of offense dummy codes used and the

number of primary offense counts are also listed in the table. The coded types of supervision were: felony probation, misdemeanor probation, parole, conditional release, drug probation, and drug probation, provisional release, sex offender probation, addiction recovery, and community control (which is the most restrictive form of offender supervision, often referred to as “house arrest”). Special provisions of supervision included community service, random drug screens, Jessica Lunsford Act provisions, and restitution. Criminal history was captured by recording whether the person was a habitual offender, and by using prior number of convictions and number of prior convictions for specific offense types. The number of prior prison terms and whether the person had a prior record of technical or other supervision violations were also included. The types of programs in which each offender may have participated during a prior supervision period were coded. In addition, there was also a rich set of covariates on the intensity and quality of prior supervision terms that included the number of contacts, the type of contacts, and drug test results.

Table 4.1. Variables used to generate the propensity score (N=266,991)

Variable	Coding	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
If on EM between admission and loss dates		0.108		0	1
Judicial circuit					
Circuit1	0=No, 1=Yes	0.023	0.151	0	1
Circuit2	0=No, 1=Yes	0.031	0.172	0	1
Circuit3	0=No, 1=Yes	0.024	0.153	0	1
Circuit4	0=No, 1=Yes	0.050	0.218	0	1
Circuit5	0=No, 1=Yes	0.022	0.147	0	1
Circuit6	0=No, 1=Yes	0.069	0.254	0	1
Circuit7	0=No, 1=Yes	0.052	0.222	0	1
Circuit8	0=No, 1=Yes	0.029	0.166	0	1
Circuit9	0=No, 1=Yes	0.049	0.216	0	1
Circuit10	0=No, 1=Yes	0.058	0.234	0	1
Circuit11	0=No, 1=Yes	0.093	0.290	0	1
Circuit12	0=No, 1=Yes	0.034	0.182	0	1
Circuit13	0=No, 1=Yes	0.106	0.308	0	1
Circuit14	0=No, 1=Yes	0.058	0.234	0	1
Circuit15	0=No, 1=Yes	0.070	0.256	0	1
Circuit16	0=No, 1=Yes	0.003	0.053	0	1
Circuit17	0=No, 1=Yes	0.109	0.311	0	1
Circuit18	0=No, 1=Yes	0.041	0.199	0	1
Circuit19	0=No, 1=Yes	0.027	0.162	0	1
Demographics					
Male	0=No, 1=Yes	0.849	0.358	0	1
White	0=No, 1=Yes	0.614	0.487	0	1
Age at admission	In years	32.437	11.197	13.938	88.939
Employed at sentencing	0=No, 1=Yes	0.691	0.462	0	1
Current offense					
Murder	0=No, 1=Yes	0.024	0.153	0	1
Sex offense	0=No, 1=Yes	0.163	0.369	0	1
Robbery	0=No, 1=Yes	0.052	0.223	0	1
Other violent	0=No, 1=Yes	0.198	0.399	0	1
Burglary	0=No, 1=Yes	0.123	0.328	0	1
Drugs	0=No, 1=Yes	0.200	0.400	0	1
Weapons	0=No, 1=Yes	0.024	0.154	0	1
Other	0=No, 1=Yes	0.098	0.298	0	1
Principal	0=No, 1=Yes	0.955	0.206	0	1
Primary offense counts	Number	1.104	2.025	1	246

Variable	Coding	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Supervision type					
Felony probation	0=No, 1=Yes	0.152	0.359	0	1
Misdemeanor probation	0=No, 1=Yes	0.003	0.056	0	1
Parole	0=No, 1=Yes	0.000	0.020	0	1
Conditional release	0=No, 1=Yes	0.132	0.338	0	1
Drug probation	0=No, 1=Yes	0.030	0.171	0	1
Community control	0=No, 1=Yes	0.557	0.498	0	1
Provisional release	0=No, 1=Yes	0.007	0.086	0	1
Sex offender probation	0=No, 1=Yes	0.097	0.296	0	1
Addiction recovery	0=No, 1=Yes	0.007	0.081	0	1
Current sentence					
Adjudication withheld	0=No, 1=Yes	0.269	0.443	0	1
Split sentence	0=No, 1=Yes	0.073	0.260	0	1
Initial risk class=maximum	0=No, 1=Yes	0.992	0.088	0	1
Supervision sentence	In Months	43714	283718	0	9999998
Special provisions of sentence					
Community service	0=No, 1=Yes	0.001	0.036	0	1
Random drug screens	0=No, 1=Yes	0.001	0.038	0	1
Drug punishment act	0=No, 1=Yes	0.009	0.094	0	1
Crime committed with firearm	0=No, 1=Yes	0.014	0.117	0	1
Jessica Lunsford Act case	0=No, 1=Yes	0.007	0.081	0	1
Restitution required	0=No, 1=Yes	0.023	0.151	0	1
Any sex offender provision	0=No, 1=Yes	0.027	0.162	0	1
Criminal history					
Habitual offender	0=No, 1=Yes	0.053	0.225	0	1
Habitual violent	0=No, 1=Yes	0.006	0.080	0	1
Number prior supervision terms	Number	1.038	1.483	0	13
Number prior convictions	Number	7.635	10.982	1	878
Number prior murder convictions	Number	0.056	0.363	0	18
Number prior sex convictions	Number	0.532	1.642	0	57
Number prior robbery convictions	Number	0.317	1.290	0	61
Number prior burglary convictions	Number	1.092	3.768	0	264
Number prior theft convictions	Number	1.946	6.873	0	395
Number prior drug convictions	Number	1.760	4.020	0	185
Number prior weapons convictions	Number	0.182	0.805	0	40
Number prior other conviction	Number	0.676	1.691	0	63
Prior prison	0=No, 1=Yes	0.334	0.471	0	1
Number prior prison terms	Number	0.676	1.226	0	10

Variable	Coding	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Violations from prior supervision					
Supervision violation	0=No, 1=Yes	0.234	0.423	0	1
Technical violation	0=No, 1=Yes	0.278	0.448	0	1
Programs from prior supervision					
Number of day/night sub abuse programs	Number	0.013	0.127	0	4
Number of education/employment programs	Number	0.009	0.103	0	4
Number of outpatient substance abuse programs	Number	0.400	0.793	0	10
Number of psychological programs	Number	0.093	0.339	0	5
Number of sex offender treatment programs	Number	0.099	0.347	0	7
Substance abuse program	0=No, 1=Yes	0.011	0.104	0	1
Domestic violence program	0=No, 1=Yes	0.013	0.113	0	1
Education/employment program	0=No, 1=Yes	0.009	0.093	0	1
Outpatient substance abuse program	0=No, 1=Yes	0.270	0.444	0	1
Psychological program	0=No, 1=Yes	0.081	0.272	0	1
Sex offender program	0=No, 1=Yes	0.086	0.281	0	1
Number of administrative program terminations	Number	0.025	0.178	0	4
Number of successful program terminations	Number	0.112	0.392	0	6
Number of transfer program terminations	Number	0.006	0.084	0	3
Number of unsuccessful program terminations	Number	0.126	0.434	0	7
Administrative program termination	0=No, 1=Yes	0.022	0.148	0	1
Successful program termination	0=No, 1=Yes	0.090	0.287	0	1
Transfer program termination	0=No, 1=Yes	0.005	0.070	0	1
Unsuccessful program termination	0=No, 1=Yes	0.096	0.294	0	1
Probation officer contacts (prior supervision)					
Total contact minutes	Number	284.237	854.824	0	34228
Total number contacts	Number	34.827	82.619	0	1384
Number case note contacts	Number	2.447	7.293	0	363
Number case review contacts	Number	0.659	1.769	0	24
Number drug tests	Number	1.667	5.804	0	172
Number employment verification contacts	Number	0.419	1.648	0	97

Variable	Coding	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Number field collateral contacts	Number	1.989	8.494	0	236
Number field personal contacts	Number	0.863	4.535	0	263
Number home personal contacts	Number	4.171	13.721	0	241
Number office positive contacts	Number	7.502	18.130	0	241
Number interview contacts	Number	0.165	0.653	0	12
Number phone collateral contacts	Number	1.082	3.646	0	117
Number phone personal contacts	Number	0.961	4.013	0	241
Number transaction register contacts	Number	2.481	4.772	0	54
Number treatment provider contacts	Number	0.388	3.650	0	193
Average duration of contact	Number	3.873	9.311	0	600
Any case note contact	0=No, 1=Yes	0.413	0.492	0	1
Any case review contact	0=No, 1=Yes	0.219	0.414	0	1
Any drug test contact	0=No, 1=Yes	0.222	0.415	0	1
Any employment verification contact	0=No, 1=Yes	0.149	0.356	0	1
Any field personal contact	0=No, 1=Yes	0.189	0.392	0	1
Any home personal contact	0=No, 1=Yes	0.288	0.453	0	1
Any office personal contact	0=No, 1=Yes	0.342	0.474	0	1
Any re-review contact	0=No, 1=Yes	0.091	0.288	0	1
Any phone collateral contact	0=No, 1=Yes	0.240	0.427	0	1
Any phone personal contact	0=No, 1=Yes	0.196	0.397	0	1
Any treatment provider contact	0=No, 1=Yes	0.043	0.203	0	1
Total number of positive drug tests	Number	0.346	1.398	0	63
Positive drug test	0=No, 1=Yes	0.118	0.323	0	1
Number positive alcohol tests	Number	0.010	0.118	0	6
Any positive alcohol tests	0=No, 1=Yes	0.009	0.093	0	1
Number positive marijuana tests	Number	0.168	0.886	0	54
Any positive marijuana tests	0=No, 1=Yes	0.071	0.257	0	1
Number of positive cocaine tests	Number	0.137	0.684	0	27
Any positive cocaine tests	0=No, 1=Yes	0.066	0.248	0	1

Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of propensity scores for the EM and the comparison groups. There was common support across the two groups. Because the comparison group is so large (almost 267,000 offenders), the box plots are a little deceiving in representing the propensity score overlap. The range of propensity scores in the comparison group overlaps with the range of scores in the EM group. Although there was overlap in the propensity scores, the comparison group observations tended to have much lower expected probabilities of EM participation. Furthermore, only 601 EM participants had propensity scores above 0.50, while 382 offenders in the comparison

group had propensity scores above 0.50. There was better coverage among comparison subjects for EM participants whose propensity scores were below 0.5.

Figure 4.1. Graph of common support for the EM and comparison groups
Boxplots of the Propensity Scores for the EM and Non-EM groups



The expected probabilities that came out of this analysis were used to construct ATT weights. One observation had to be dropped from the comparison group because its weight was extremely high, relative to the other weights. To assess whether the propensity score weighting achieves balance in the covariates, we compared the standardized differences between the covariates in the treatment group, the unweighted covariates in the comparison group, and the weighted covariates in the comparison group. As a rule of thumb, Rosenbaum and Rubin (1985) suggest that the standardized differences between the treatment and weighted comparison covariates should be less

than .20. The results of the balancing analysis are presented in Table 4.2.

Column 1 in Table 4.2 represents the mean of the EM treatment group for each of the 122 covariates, and Column 2 shows the mean of the unweighted comparison group. Column 3 is the weighted mean for the comparison group; the SAS Proc Survey Means with the ATT weight was used as the weighting variable to generate this column. Column 4 is the standard deviation for the treatment group, column 5 gives the standardized difference between the treatment mean and the unweighted comparison mean, and column 6 provides the standardized difference between the treatment mean and the weighted comparison mean. In column 5, the 23 standardized differences greater than .20 are highlighted to show some imbalance in the covariates in the unweighted standardized differences. Once the weights were applied, as shown in column 6, two variables were not balanced. These two variables represent sex offender placements and may suggest that balancing cannot be achieved for this subpopulation placed on electronic supervision. When there is imbalance in the weighted covariates, Rosenbaum and Rubin recommend adding the unbalanced covariates to the regression equations used to estimate treatment effects. While the coefficients for these covariates do not appear in the results tables, they were added to the regression analyses that were conducted on the outcomes.

By establishing such equivalence with a large number of covariates, efforts were made to rule out the likelihood that an omitted variable, related to both the treatment and dependent variables, is the actual cause of the relationship between treatment and the dependent variables. While there is no guarantee that there may yet be an omitted variable that could be related to the treatment and outcome variables, the richness of this covariate set is quite extraordinary. This minimizes the possibility that an excluded variable may be responsible for the causal relationships which emerge from the analysis.

Table 4.2. Balancing results using average treatment of the treated weights

	Mean of the Treatment Group	Mean of the Unweighted Comparison Group	Mean of the Weighted Comparison Group	Standard Deviation of the Treatment Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Unweighted Comparison Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Weighted Comparison Group
Judicial Circuit						
Circuit1	0.0234406	0.0514736	0.028	0.1513132	-0.185	-0.028
Circuit2	0.0222487	0.0309561	0.022	0.147506	0.024	0.004
Circuit3	0.0224474	0.018686	0.021	0.148148	-0.072	0.008
Circuit4	0.0651569	0.033106	0.074	0.2468271	0.027	-0.037
Circuit5	0.0242352	0.0584252	0.024	0.1537939	-0.222	0
Circuit6	0.0756853	0.0925537	0.069	0.2645203	-0.064	0.027
Circuit7	0.0478745	0.0555449	0.045	0.2135218	-0.036	0.014
Circuit8	0.033969	0.0283755	0.038	0.1811674	0.031	-0.021
Circuit9	0.0542312	0.070744	0.057	0.2264959	-0.073	-0.011
Circuit10	0.0439015	0.0509905	0.046	0.2048962	-0.035	-0.012
Circuit11	0.0852205	0.0925424	0.09	0.2792373	-0.026	-0.017
Circuit12	0.0290028	0.0342034	0.028	0.1678309	-0.031	0.006
Circuit13	0.0854191	0.0930106	0.069	0.2795322	-0.027	0.06
Circuit14	0.0472785	0.0269709	0.049	0.212255	0.096	-0.009
Circuit15	0.1148192	0.0323606	0.115	0.3188353	0.259	-0.002
Circuit16	0.0023838	0.0086183	0.002	0.0487707	-0.128	0.004
Circuit17	0.1116408	0.0936511	0.122	0.3149553	0.057	-0.033
Circuit18	0.0399285	0.0466233	0.038	0.1958107	-0.034	0.009
Circuit19	0.0244338	0.0354244	0.021	0.1544072	-0.071	0.022
Demographics						
Male	0.8891538	0.8089973	0.902	0.3139728	0.255	-0.04
White	0.6275328	0.6016757	0.636	0.4835099	0.053	-0.017
Age at admission	33.953529	32.472551	34.288	12.304717	0.12	-0.027
Employed at sentencing	0.71176	0.6176313	0.704	0.4529884	0.208	0.017
Current Offense						
Murder	0.0250298	0.0076857	0.024	0.1562311	0.111	0.007
Sex offense	0.325586	0.0277687	0.396	0.4686399	0.635	-0.151
Robbery	0.0450934	0.0350574	0.04	0.2075295	0.048	0.024
Other violent	0.1785856	0.1608069	0.16	0.383043	0.046	0.049
Burglary	0.1062773	0.1016926	0.096	0.3082228	0.015	0.034

	Mean of the Treatment Group	Mean of the Unweighted Comparison Group	Mean of the Weighted Comparison Group	Standard Deviation of the Treatment Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Unweighted Comparison Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Weighted Comparison Group
Drugs	0.1396504	0.3324644	0.124	0.3466584	-0.556	0.045
Weapons	0.0210568	0.0199782	0.018	0.143588	0.008	0.018
Other	0.0766786	0.1192475	0.068	0.2661072	-0.16	0.033
Principal	0.9415971	0.9750291	0.939	0.234527	-0.143	0.012
Primary offense count	1.1376639	1.0713245	1.321	2.0656616	0.032	-0.089
Supervision Type						
Felony probation	0.1424315	0.5943534	0.135	0.3495268	-1.293	0.02
Misdemeanor probation	0.0023838	0.0232405	0.002	0.0487707	-0.428	0.005
Parole	0.0007946	0.0007229	0.001	0.0281802	0.003	0.002
Conditional release	0.1696464	0.0644628	0.17	0.3753591	0.28	0
Drug probation	0.0262217	0.1843133	0.024	0.1598099	-0.989	0.015
Community control	0.4866905	0.1121611	0.467	0.4998725	0.749	0.04
Provisional Release	0	0.0017004	0	0	0	0
Sex offender probation	0.1048868	0.0153114	0.133	0.3064379	0.292	-0.09
Sex offender community control	0.0667461	0.0013109	0.069	0.2496066	0.262	-0.008
Addiction recovery	0.0001986	0.0024233	0	0.0140943	-0.158	0.001
Current Sentence						
Adjudication withheld	0.2415574	0.4335577	0.235	0.4280699	-0.449	0.015
Split sentence	0.1005165	0.0623392	0.115	0.3007173	0.127	-0.047
Initial risk class=maximum	0.9954311	0.9868835	0.996	0.067446	0.127	-0.007
Supervision sentence	54431.02	31769.76	55230.363	246803.13	0.092	-0.003
Special provision of sentence						
Community service	0.0003973	0.0019551	0	0.0199304	-0.078	0.01
Random drug screens	0.0003973	0.0022136	0	0.0199304	-0.091	0.002
Drug punishment act	0.0069527	0.0280908	0.006	0.0831009	-0.254	0.009
Crime committed with firearm	0.0141041	0.0068841	0.013	0.1179319	0.061	0.007
Jessica Lunsford Act case	0.0478745	0.0002322	0.103	0.2135218	0.223	-0.259

	Mean of the Treatment Group	Mean of the Unweighted Comparison Group	Mean of the Weighted Comparison Group	Standard Deviation of the Treatment Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Unweighted Comparison Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Weighted Comparison Group
Restitution required	0.0216528	0.0145735	0.019	0.1455614	0.049	0.02
Any sex offender provision	0.0693286	0.0041312	0.083	0.2540373	0.257	-0.053
Criminal History						
Habitual offender	0.0659515	0.0463948	0.06	0.248222	0.079	0.024
Habitual Violent	0.0067541	0.0034084	0.007	0.0819133	0.041	0.002
Number prior convictions	7.0484704	5.5527265	7.716	15.724709	0.095	-0.042
Number prior murder convictions	0.0580056	0.0225101	0.059	0.3710844	0.096	-0.002
Number prior sex convictions	1.1479936	0.1029323	2.443	2.1967022	0.476	-0.59
Number prior robbery convictions	0.2816845	0.176564	0.261	1.1879395	0.088	0.018
Number prior burglary convictions	1.0103298	0.7145147	0.895	5.5009972	0.054	0.021
Number prior theft convictions	1.4282876	1.5921098	1.305	4.4825336	-0.037	0.028
Number prior drug convictions	1.2300358	1.6430067	1.111	2.8412399	-0.145	0.042
Number prior weapons convictions	0.1569329	0.1164908	0.143	0.7637765	0.053	0.018
Number prior other convictions	0.4952324	0.5413516	0.441	1.3277207	-0.035	0.041
Prior prison	0.3800159	0.2598215	0.383	0.4854386	0.248	-0.007
Number prior prison terms	0.7699642	0.5335199	0.755	1.2696787	0.186	0.011
Violations from prior supervision						
Supervision violation	0.2063965	0.1840137	0.199	0.4047586	0.055	0.017
Technical violation	0.2538737	0.2316932	0.247	0.4352694	0.051	0.016
Programs from prior supervision						
Number of day/night subst abuse programs	0.007946	0.0137945	0.007	0.1032765	-0.057	0.006
Number of domestic violence programs	0.0123162	0.0076407	0.011	0.1155816	0.04	0.013
Number of education/employment programs	0.0067541	0.0075471	0.006	0.084304	-0.009	0.005
Number of outpatient substance abuse	0.3224076	0.3490417	0.322	0.6985171	-0.038	0.001

	Mean of the Treatment Group	Mean of the Unweighted Comparison Group	Mean of the Weighted Comparison Group	Standard Deviation of the Treatment Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Unweighted Comparison Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Weighted Comparison Group
programs						
Number of psychological programs	0.1066746	0.0459941	0.115	0.3565168	0.17	-0.024
Number of sex offender treatment programs	0.2365912	0.0167684	0.28	0.5169912	0.425	-0.084
Substance abuse program	0.0067541	0.0118731	0.006	0.0819133	-0.062	0.007
Domestic violence program	0.0117203	0.0071051	0.01	0.1076347	0.043	0.015
Education/employment program	0.0065554	0.0066631	0.006	0.0807078	-0.001	0.005
Outpatient substance abuse program	0.2292412	0.2412104	0.234	0.4203864	-0.028	-0.012
Psychological program	0.0929678	0.0403235	0.096	0.2904162	0.181	-0.011
Sex offender program	0.2046087	0.0149518	0.247	0.4034554	0.47	-0.104
Number of admin program terminations	0.0297974	0.0165549	0.038	0.1971032	0.067	-0.043
Number of successful program terminations	0.0953516	0.087958	0.093	0.3605389	0.021	0.006
Number of transfer program terminations	0.0091379	0.0031237	0.008	0.1106127	0.054	0.01
Number of unsuccessful program terminations	0.1303139	0.1131649	0.128	0.4458596	0.038	0.005
Administrative program termination	0.0256257	0.015038	0.032	0.1580317	0.067	-0.043
Successful program termination	0.0772745	0.0693394	0.077	0.2670531	0.03	0.002
Transfer program termination	0.0077473	0.0029289	0.007	0.0876859	0.055	0.005
Unsuccessful program termination	0.09853	0.0836882	0.097	0.2980595	0.05	0.006
Probation officer contacts (prior supervision)						
Total contact minutes	321.51549	165.64462	332.538	1078.55	0.145	-0.01
Total number contacts	37.340286	21.303812	38.708	99.191046	0.162	-0.014

	Mean of the Treatment Group	Mean of the Unweighted Comparison Group	Mean of the Weighted Comparison Group	Standard Deviation of the Treatment Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Unweighted Comparison Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Weighted Comparison Group
Number case note contacts	3.0466826	1.2939088	3.491	8.6767688	0.202	-0.051
Number case review contacts	0.7359952	0.3876161	0.757	2.1457955	0.162	-0.01
Number drug tests	1.4618594	1.2820058	1.421	5.6409768	0.032	0.007
Number employment verification contacts	0.4590783	0.2421804	0.502	1.834395	0.118	-0.023
Number field collateral contacts	2.4678188	0.9048807	2.665	10.547568	0.148	-0.019
Number field personal contacts	1.1895113	0.44094	1.321	6.5460087	0.114	-0.02
Number home personal contacts	4.5683353	2.431434	4.728	15.89519	0.134	-0.01
Number office positive contacts	7.0721097	4.7435457	7.149	18.669827	0.125	-0.004
Number interview contacts	0.1746126	0.0953253	0.177	0.766826	0.103	-0.003
Number phone collateral contacts	1.3696861	0.6422276	1.423	4.6739725	0.156	-0.011
Number phone personal contacts	1.1307112	0.5966456	1.115	5.7253518	0.093	0.003
Number transaction register contacts	2.1903059	1.8948354	2.165	4.700607	0.063	0.005
Number treatment provider contacts	0.7246722	0.1184796	0.81	5.7063445	0.106	-0.015
Average duration of contacts	4.1929205	2.5185126	4.038	12.684794	0.132	0.012
Any case note contact	0.4245133	0.279103	0.422	0.494318	0.294	0.004
Any case review contact	0.193683	0.1526756	0.187	0.3952226	0.104	0.017
Any drug test contact	0.1948749	0.1712492	0.192	0.3961437	0.06	0.008
Any employment verification contact	0.135876	0.1028874	0.137	0.3426909	0.096	-0.002
Any field collateral contact	0.2777116	0.1644512	0.289	0.4479148	0.253	-0.026
Any field personal contact	0.1883194	0.1269668	0.187	0.3910059	0.157	0.003
Any home personal contact	0.2548669	0.2018532	0.248	0.4358297	0.122	0.016
Any office personal	0.3001589	0.2527688	0.288	0.4583724	0.103	0.026

	Mean of the Treatment Group	Mean of the Unweighted Comparison Group	Mean of the Weighted Comparison Group	Standard Deviation of the Treatment Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Unweighted Comparison Group	Standardized Difference Between the Mean of the Treatment and the Weighted Comparison Group
contact						
Any rereview contact	0.0834327	0.0581181	0.082	0.2765625	0.092	0.006
Any phone collateral contact	0.2393723	0.1671405	0.241	0.4267427	0.169	-0.004
Any phone personal contact	0.1789829	0.1461135	0.177	0.3833761	0.086	0.004
Any treatment provider contact	0.0504569	0.0205363	0.052	0.2189075	0.137	-0.008
Total number of positive drug tests	0.272348	0.3052912	0.275	1.2310645	-0.027	-0.002
Positive drug test	0.0933651	0.1033069	0.096	0.2909723	-0.034	-0.009
Number positive alcohol tests	0.0081446	0.0089591	0.007	0.0962913	-0.008	0.008
Any positive alcohol tests	0.0077473	0.0070414	0.007	0.0876859	0.008	0.009
Number positive marijuana tests	0.128526	0.1389223	0.148	0.7209289	-0.014	-0.027
Any positive marijuana tests	0.0550258	0.0632643	0.063	0.2280533	-0.036	-0.034
Number of positive cocaine tests	0.1126341	0.1301654	0.099	0.6181467	-0.028	0.022
Any positive cocaine tests	0.0522447	0.0618635	0.046	0.2225423	-0.043	0.027

4.2 Analysis Approach

The approach used to analyze the data utilizes the propensity score as an inverse weight. This technique is attributed to Robins (Robins and Rotnitzky, 1992, 1995; Robins, Rotnitzky, and Zhao, 1994; Rotnitzky, Robins, and Scharfstein, 1998; Bang and Robins, 2005). If additional variables (other than the causal variable of interest) are included in the regression equation, then this technique is sometimes referred to as “doubly robust regression.” While this method has appeared in the criminal justice research arena (Sampson et al., 2006), and has been used in conjunction with Cox proportional hazards models (McNiell and Binder, 2007), its use is not without

controversy. Using simulation results, Freedman and Berk (2008) demonstrate that there are limited conditions under which weighting will improve causal estimates.

If the propensity scores can be accurately estimated, weighting may lead to a substantial reduction in bias—although, with realistic samples sizes, the bias that remains can be appreciable. The price of bias reduction is an increase in variance, and the introduction of bias into the nominal SEs. There are two threshold questions. (i) Were relevant variables omitted from the causal model? (ii) Is there enough information to estimate the propensity scores with good accuracy? If the answer to both questions is “yes,” the propensity scores are likely to help reduce bias. However, the conjunction is improbable. If variables are missing from the causal model, variables are likely to be missing from the selection model too. In all our simulation models, the selection model was correctly specified, shifting the balance in favor of weighting (Freedman and Berk, 2008, p. 400).

This critique is noted as a caution about possible problems with the inferences made in this report. Following Freedman and Berk’s logic, because balance on a large number of covariates was achieved, it is argued that the propensity score reducing the bias in the estimates of the impact of Electronic Monitoring (EM) was accurately estimated. As is shown below in the reported estimates, inverse weighting lowers the impact of EM relative to the unweighted results indicating that the unweighted results were biased in favoring of finding a large effect of EM. Because the sample is large, there is less concern about an increase in variance. Freedman and Berk also caution against weights that may overly influence the results. The inverse ATT weights were inspected and one observation that clearly would have had a tremendous influence, relative to other observations in the comparison group, was eliminated.

The nature of the community supervision process in Florida is such that offenders under supervision are placed on different types of supervision over time. To handle this complexity, Cox's regression techniques were chosen to analyze time-to-failure for various types of events. Days of supervision until a failure event were the units of time. Using days, rather than weeks or months, can be advantageous, especially if the causal ordering of events is an issue (Allison, 1995). The larger the time span, the more likely the ordering of the events can create problems in causal interpretations. The Florida supervision “movement” file tracks events and days when the events change. The type of supervision was capitalized on as a time dependent covariate. When using a time-dependent (time-varying) covariate, the risk of hazard changes the instant the covariate

changes (Cleves, Gutierrez, Gould, and Marchenko, 2008). In this context, this implies that as soon as supervision type changes from 1 to 0 or 0 to 1, the risk changes instantaneously. For example, if the coefficient were negative, the risk of revocation would immediately increase when someone ended their supervision spell. As Cleves et al., (2008) point out, this ignores “anticipation” or “delay” effects. For example, offenders who may know they will soon be removed from a type of supervision (or know they will soon be placed on a different type of supervision) may change their behaviors before the event occurs. Unless one incorporates other information in the model, anticipation and delay effects cannot be tested.

An attempt was made to use EM as a time-dependent covariate. The Florida movement file has start and stop dates for EM placements. While most people assigned to EM were placed on EM early in their supervision terms, some offenders were placed on EM late in their supervision, some were placed on RF and GPS monitoring at different points in time during their supervision, and some were placed on one type of EM supervision more than once. When analyzing the data using EM as a time-dependent covariate, it was found that the event that may have triggered a revocation or some other change in status might have occurred during EM placement; however, it was not recorded as a revocation until the person was removed from EM supervision. Therefore, it was not possible to be confident that the timing of events regarding EM placement and a revocation was accurately represented in the dates associated with these events in the Florida movement file. Consequently, the use of EM as a time-dependent variable had to be abandoned. Had the use of EM as a time-dependent variable been possible, greater precision in the estimates of the effects of EM placement on supervision failures could have been achieved.

To conduct the analyses, STATA 10 Survival Analysis Routines was employed. Using the STATA `stset` command, users can easily specify start dates and stop dates for a risk set, whether an event is a censoring event, and whether it is the event of interest. If someone was revoked for any reason, regardless of whether they were incarcerated, they were considered failures. Revocation of supervision could have resulted from a technical violation of supervision or from a misdemeanor or felony arrest. Offenders who made it to the end of their supervision without any type of revocation were considered censored.

Absconding was treated three different ways. Offenders could abscond and return from prolonged absences without a revocation. In one set of analyses, absconding was treated as an interval censoring event; these offenders were not treated as failures but as censored, during their periods of absence. In those analyses, any revocation was a failure. In a second set of analyses, absconding was treated as a failure along with the different types of revocations. In a third set of analyses, absconding events were treated as failures and revocations as censoring events. In every case, an offender who successfully made it to the end of supervision was censored.

The STATA 10 Cox Proportional Hazards routine was used to analyze the data (Cox, 1972). When using Cox's semi-parametric method, an analyst does not have to choose a particular probability distribution to represent survival times. As Cleves et al., point out, if you incorrectly specify the survival time distribution, parametric estimates can be misleading. However, the analyst can achieve greater efficiency in estimation with parametric survival analyses if the survival distribution is correctly specified (Cleves et al., 2008, p. 129-130). In Cox's proportional hazards model, "one person's hazard is a multiplicative replica of another's" (Cleves et al., 2008, p. 129). Because of its flexibility in handling time-dependent covariates and other features, the Cox model has achieved widespread use.

4.3 Results: Effects of Electronic Monitoring on Absconding and Revocations

Table 4.3 shows results for the different effects of EM on supervision outcomes. The outcomes were absconding from supervision, revocations for technical violations, and revocations for misdemeanor or felony arrests. An offender could be incarcerated for a revocation, based on a technical violation, or a revocation, based on a felony or misdemeanor. The first set of results treats any one of those outcomes as a failure. The only way offenders are censored is if they have successful terminations of supervision. In those cases, the time-to-failure is the first occurrence of any one of those outcomes. In the second set of results, only revocations are treated as failures. If an offender absconded, during that absconding period the offender was "interval censored;" however, he/she could return from absconding and then have his/her supervision revoked. About 30% of offenders who absconded, returned to supervision and did not have their

supervisions revoked. The last set of results treats absconding as the only outcome and revocation as a competing event.

For each of the outcomes, we present a test of EM without the inverse ATT weights (EM no weight); with the inverse weights and treating county of supervision as a fixed effect (EM iweight fixed effects); with the inverse weights and treating county of supervision as a stratifying variable (EM iweight strata); unweighted models treating RF and GPS as distinct forms of EM; and weighted models treating RF and GPS separately. Using "county" as a stratifying variable and comparing the results to the model where county is treated as a fixed effect, indicate whether there might be nonproportionality in the baseline hazard rate across the county strata. Proportionality is an assumption of the Cox model. None of the differences between the stratified and non-stratified results indicated a problem with proportionality across county.

For each result presented Table 4.3, the coefficient and the exponentiated coefficient in the HR (hazard rate) columns are presented to indicate how the form of EM affects the hazard of the event. If a coefficient appears in Table 4.3, it is significant (at least at the $p < .05$ level). Because all of the EM variables are dummy variables, a one unit change in EM—going from no EM to some form of EM—produces some percentage change in the hazard. The RF and GPS are also dummy variables. The RF versus GPS comparisons are presented, acknowledging that a propensity score was not produced for these separately; therefore, the inverse ATT weights may be inappropriate for these particular estimates. However, it was found almost universally that GPS has more of an impact of reducing the hazard than RF. This is consistent with previous EM literature (Padgett et al., 2006).

The three sets of findings are depicted in Table 4.3. The first set of results labeled “Effects of Electronic Monitoring,” uses EM as the treatment variable with no other covariates. Reading across the columns, the second set of results adds the two sex offender variables that were unbalanced after using the ATT weights under the heading, “Controlling for Unbalanced Variables.” The last set of results tests the EM treatment, adding the unbalanced covariates, as well as time-dependent variables that control for type of supervision: felony probation, community control, drug offender probation, and conditional release.

The last column is focused on because it represents the analyses with the most controls. Table 4.3 shows that EM reduces the hazard on a revocation or absconding from supervision. The unweighted results are displayed to demonstrate how balancing on the propensity score affected the impact of EM on the outcomes. The ATT weighted results have less impact on reducing supervision failures than the unweighted results; this is true for almost all of the comparisons, demonstrating that if balanced had not been achieved on these covariates, the impact of EM supervision on reducing supervision failures would have been over estimated. Based on the weighted results with the most controls, Table 4.3 shows about a 31% reduction in the hazard of a revocation or absconding from supervision of those placed under EM. These results are shown in grayscale in Table 4.3 in the last column. There was very little difference between the fixed effects and stratified models, indicating that (at least for county) the model met the proportionality assumption. The GPS impact was always greater than the RF impact.

Where revocations are the outcomes and absconding is treated as an interval censoring event, the results are very similar to those just described. Likewise, treating absconding as the event and revocations as a competing risk also yielded similar results. EM lowered the hazard of revocations by about 30% and lowered the hazard of absconding by about 33%. Treating all of the revocations and absconding as failures is the most conservative analysis approach and demonstrates how EM can reduce supervision failures.

Table 4.3. Effects of electronic monitoring on probation supervision outcomes

	Effects of Electronic Monitoring		Controlling for Unbalanced Variables^a		Controlling for Unbalanced Variables and Supervision Types	
	Coefficient	Hazard Ratio	Coefficient	Hazard Ratio	Coefficient	Hazard Ratio
Revocation or Abscond						
EM no weight	-0.593	0.553	-0.498	0.608	-0.584	0.558
EM iweight fixed effects	-0.315	0.730	-0.342	0.710	-0.379	0.685
EM iweight strata	-0.311	0.733	-0.339	0.713	-0.375	0.687
RF no weight	-0.516	0.597	-0.488	0.614	-0.581	0.559
RF iweight	ns		-0.155	0.856	-0.229	0.795
GPS no weight	-0.639	0.528	-0.517	0.596	-0.590	0.554
GPS iweight	-0.287	0.750	-0.301	0.740	-0.306	0.736
Revocation Only						
EM no weight	-0.518	0.596	-0.442	0.643	-0.549	0.577
EM iweight fixed effects	-0.274	0.760	-0.303	0.739	-0.349	0.705
EM iweight strata	-0.277	0.758	-0.305	0.737	-0.350	0.705
RF no weight	-0.445	0.641	-0.424	0.654	-0.539	0.583
RF iweight	ns		-0.135	0.873	-0.214	0.807
GPS no weight	-0.565	0.569	-0.467	0.627	-0.563	0.570
GPS iweight	-0.264	0.768	-0.282	0.754	-0.302	0.739
Abscond Only						
EM no weight	-0.662	0.516	-0.541	0.582	-0.617	0.539
EM iweight fixed effects	-0.378	0.685	-0.391	0.677	-0.403	0.668
EM iweight strata	-0.369	0.692	-0.383	0.682	-0.396	0.673
RF no weight	-0.536	0.585	-0.499	0.607	-0.583	0.558
RF iweight	ns		-0.175	0.839	-0.219	0.803
GPS no weight	-0.729	0.482	-0.574	0.563	-0.637	0.529
GPS iweight	-0.366	0.693	-0.338	0.713	-0.326	0.722

a. The second and third columns of table 4.3 depict Cox models that include number of prior sex convictions and a dummy variable for Jessica Lunsford Act offenders as additional covariates. These were the only two unbalanced variables after weighting using the propensity score.

4.4. Effects of Electronic Monitoring on Absconding and Revocations Organized by Age Groups

Interviews of offenders placed on EM suggest that there may be differences in the effects of EM, depending on the age of the offender. We conducted an EM analysis for three age groups: 14-25, 26-37, and 38 and older. This segmentation represented about one third of the offenders in each age group. All of the analyses represented in this table

controlled for the two unbalanced covariates and the types of supervision as a time-varying covariate. Once again, we focus on the ATT weighted analysis for all kinds of failures.. While the hazard ratios suggest there may be more of an effect of EM on the youngest age group—especially for revocations—these differences are small and subject to sampling error. No age group was more affected by EM supervision, as opposed to other, more traditional forms of community supervision.

Table 4.4. Effect of EM for different age groups

	Age (up to 25.4)		Age (25.4-37.2)		Age (37.2+)	
	Coef.	Hazard Ratio	Coef.	Hazard Ratio	Coef.	Hazard Ratio
Revocation or abscond (event=1,234)						
EM no weight	-0.620	0.538	-0.572	0.564	-0.575	0.563
EM iweight fixed effects	-0.391	0.677	-0.352	0.703	-0.404	0.668
EM iweight strata	-0.400	0.670	-0.363	0.695	-0.388	0.679
RF no weight	-0.531	0.588	-0.595	0.552	-0.669	0.512
RF iweight	-0.171	0.843	-0.276	0.759	-0.281	0.755
GPS no weight	-0.660	0.517	-0.577	0.561	-0.551	0.576
GPS iweight	-0.349	0.705	-0.292	0.747	-0.276	0.759
Revocation only (event=123)						
EM no weight	-0.599	0.549	-0.553	0.575	-0.514	0.598
EM iweight fixed effects	-0.396	0.673	-0.325	0.722	-0.324	0.723
EM iweight strata	-0.406	0.666	-0.336	0.715	-0.318	0.727
RF no weight	-0.498	0.608	-0.585	0.557	-0.581	0.559
RF iweight	-0.147	0.863	-0.286	0.751	-0.231	0.794
GPS no weight	-0.646	0.524	-0.551	0.576	-0.512	0.599
GPS iweight	-0.369	0.692	-0.281	0.755	-0.260	0.771
Abscond only (event=4)						
EM no weight	-0.496	0.609	-0.596	0.551	-0.839	0.432
EM iweight fixed effects	-0.246	0.782	-0.403	0.668	-0.626	0.535
EM iweight strata	-0.258	0.772	-0.403	0.668	-0.621	0.537
RF no weight	-0.506	0.603	-0.536	0.585	-0.793	0.452
RF iweight	-0.227	0.797	ns		-0.275	0.759
GPS no weight	-0.504	0.604	-0.653	0.521	-0.813	0.443
GPS iweight	-0.204	0.815	-0.363	0.696	-0.449	0.638

4.5 Effects of Electronic Monitoring on Absconding and Revocations Organized by Offense Groups

Table 4.5 represents the effect of EM on different outcomes by the conviction offenses of the offenders: violent, sex, property, drug, and other. All of the analyses represented in this table controlled for the two unbalanced covariates and the types of supervision as a time-varying covariate. EM was effective in reducing failures across all of the different types of offenders characterized by their conviction offense; however, the reduction in the hazard was lowest for violent offenders. EM reduced the hazard of a failure by about 26% for violent offenders and by about 36% for sex, property, drug, and other offenders. Of course, this could also be a sampling error.

Table 4.5. Effect of EM by offense type

	Violent		Sex		Property		Drug		Other	
	Coef	HR	Coef	HR	Coef	HR	Coef	HR	Coef	HR
Revocation or abscond (event=1,234)										
EM no weight	-0.49	0.61	-0.47	0.63	-0.52	0.59	-0.59	0.56	-0.56	0.57
EM iweight fixed effects	-0.30	0.74	-0.47	0.63	-0.44	0.64	-0.41	0.66	-0.43	0.65
EM iweight strata	-0.32	0.73	-0.47	0.63	-0.46	0.63	-0.44	0.64	-0.46	0.63
RF no weight	-0.50	0.61	-0.53	0.59	-0.58	0.56	-0.64	0.53	-0.44	0.64
RF iweight	-0.24	0.79	-0.36	0.70	-0.38	0.68	-0.36	0.70	ns	
GPS no weight	-0.50	0.60	-0.46	0.63	-0.49	0.61	-0.55	0.58	-0.64	0.53
GPS iweight	-0.26	0.77	-0.29	0.75	-0.28	0.76	-0.28	0.76	-0.45	0.64
Revocation only (event=123)										
EM no weight	-0.48	0.62	-0.37	0.69	-0.48	0.62	-0.59	0.55	-0.54	0.58
EM iweight fixed effects	-0.31	0.74	-0.38	0.68	-0.40	0.67	-0.44	0.64	-0.42	0.66
EM iweight strata	-0.31	0.73	-0.39	0.68	-0.42	0.66	-0.47	0.63	-0.45	0.64
RF no weight	-0.47	0.62	-0.45	0.64	-0.55	0.58	-0.58	0.56	-0.41	0.66
RF iweight	-0.21	0.81	-0.32	0.73	-0.38	0.68	-0.30	0.74	ns	
GPS no weight	-0.51	0.60	-0.37	0.69	-0.44	0.64	-0.58	0.56	-0.65	0.52
GPS iweight	-0.29	0.75	-0.24	0.78	-0.25	0.78	-0.35	0.70	-0.46	0.63
Abscond only (event=4)										
EM no weight	-0.52	0.59	-0.90	0.41	-0.40	0.67	-0.56	0.57	-0.53	0.59
EM iweight fixed effects	-0.30	0.74	-0.79	0.45	-0.29	0.75	-0.36	0.70	ns	
EM iweight strata	-0.31	0.73	-0.79	0.45	-0.31	0.73	-0.40	0.67	ns	
RF no weight	-0.60	0.55	-0.76	0.47	-0.42	0.66	-0.76	0.47	-0.42	0.66
RF iweight	-0.31	0.73	ns		ns		-0.51		ns	
GPS no weight	-0.49	0.61	-0.88	0.41	-0.40	0.67	-0.48	0.62	-0.58	0.56
GPS iweight	ns		-0.59	0.56	ns		ns		ns	

4.6 Effects of Electronic Monitoring on Absconding and Revocations Modified by Supervision Type

Supervision type as a control variable was used in this analyses of EM. It was used as a balancing variable to construct the propensity score and ATT weights and was added as a time-dependent control variable in our analyses. As can be seen in Table 4.3, adding supervision type as time-dependent covariates increases the effect of EM in reducing failures; however, it is not a large impact. To determine whether EM varied by the type of supervision, we ran models in which we created interactions between EM and the different types of supervision. The results were mixed. When we used county as a

fixed effect, the weighted EM effects showed variation in the effectiveness of EM by types of supervision; however, the weighted EM effects, when we stratified on county, did not produce significant interactions. The results suggest that EM may have a greater impact for felony probation versus other types of supervision such as community control, drug offender probation, and conditional release, as well as other forms of supervision. Because of the mixed set of results, however, we cannot be confident in this conclusion.

4.7 Residual Analysis: Test of Proportionality

To test the proportional hazards assumption assumed by the Cox model, STATA's procedures were used to analyze the residuals of the model. Cleve' et al. (2008) describe the test based on Schoenfeld residuals as one in which the analyst estimates the model, produces the residuals, then fits them to a smooth function of time, and tests whether the residuals are related to time. STATA's commands estat and phtest automates this procedure. STATA allows the analyst to do a global test of all variables in the model and specific tests for each variable. This test was conducted on two of the primary models. Both of the models used inverse weighting and the dependent variable was the occurrence of any of the primary events, revocation, or absconding. The first residual analysis was conducted on the model where EM was the only variable in the model. The second residual analysis was conducted on the model with county of release as a stratifying variable. In both cases the test for EM was significant indicating non-proportionality in the EM groups. Models were run interacting EM with time. In both cases the interaction term was significant; however, the time dependence was extremely weak. It showed that the effect of EM lowering the hazard of failure was slightly less over time. The EM by time coefficient was .0005 for the unstratified model and .0006 for the stratified model. Since time dependence had no substantive effect on EM, the time dependent hazard ratios for EM are not reported.

4.8 Summary

By using propensity score techniques to mimic the effect of an experimental design, a comparison was made between offenders under different forms of supervision who were placed on EM and those who were supervised via less intrusive forms of

community supervision surveillance. It was possible to demonstrate that, by using inverse propensity score weights, an excellent balance could be achieved, except for sex offenders between the standardized mean differences between the covariates in the EM group and the covariates in the non-EM comparison group. The effect of EM on different outcomes and within different subgroups was examined. Below, is a summary of the findings:

- EM reduces the likelihood of failure under community supervision. The reduction in the risk of failure is about 31%, relative to offenders placed on other forms of community supervision.
- GPS typically has more of an effect on reducing failure than RF technology. There is a 6% improvement rate in the reduction of supervision failures for offenders placed on GPS supervision relative to offenders placed on RF supervision.
- EM supervision has less of an impact on violent offenders than on sex, drug, property, and other types of offenders, although there are significant reductions in the hazard rate for all of these offense types.
- There are no major differences in the effects of EM supervision across different age groups.
- There were no major differences in the effects of EM for different types of supervision.
- While the effect of EM varies over time, the time dependency is very weak and has no substantive impact on EM supervision.

Chapter 5

Qualitative Assessment of Electronic Monitoring

5.1 Introduction

While methodologies that rely on administrative data and employ quantitative analyses of correctional reforms are common in correctional program evaluation, qualitative assessments examining process and implementation issues occur less frequently. Overall, quantitative assessments can provide detailed, codified descriptions of correctional program inputs, results, and outcomes. But without qualitative findings, these codified descriptions are largely without compelling explanation.

Therefore, in addition to the quantitative analyses generated from FDOC's administrative data, the present study employed qualitative methodologies to collect additional quantitative and qualitative data to inform the evaluation. The primary methodology employed was face-to-face interviews with offenders, officers, and administrators. Much of the qualitative data generated from the interviews was quantified for analysis purposes. However, some of the data remains qualitative and is summarized in this chapter. The primary purpose of the qualitative assessment was to collect information about the policies, practices, and processes of the electronic monitoring (EM) program as it is utilized for felony offenders living in the community. Extensive interviews with EM offenders, probation officers who supervise EM offenders, and administrators who oversee the EM program at the local level, enhances the findings generated from the quantitative data (outcome measures) by identifying the consequences that were not explicitly anticipated in its design and implementation, and by suggesting ways in which the practices governing EM could be changed to increase the likelihood of achieving the desired outcomes and diminish unintended negative effects. The qualitative assessment was guided by the following questions:

- What are the goals and objectives of the EM program? Has the program been implemented with fidelity to achieve the goals and objectives?
- Does supervising offenders in the community using electronic surveillance result in the established desired outcomes of increased compliance with the conditions of supervision while maintaining public safety?

- Has EM impacted offenders in ways that were not intended by state laws and agency policies, in terms of family and personal relationships, offenders' self-concept, employment opportunities, and job retention?
- Are the most appropriate offenders being ordered and placed on EM, given that it is a limited resource that can not be made available to all offender types?
- Has EM been used as an alternative to imprisonment as intended?
- What EM equipment-related issues arise and are there consequences for the offenders and FDOC?
- Are the primary stakeholders (e.g., supervisors, officers, offenders, judiciary) of the EM program appropriately knowledgeable and trained on the mechanics of EM in order to make informed decisions regarding its application?
- Have specific EM practices or policies improved the operation of the EM program?

The chapter begins with an explanation of how the data were collected for the qualitative assessment of the EM program, including documentation of issues that emerged during the process and resulted in certain data limitations. The chapter also presents the findings for 22 interview questions that were generated from the eight research questions presented above.

5.2 Methodology

This section provides a description of the methods used in the qualitative component of this study. The primary qualitative data collection method utilized was face-to-face interviews with offenders, probation officers, and administrators. To the extent possible, offenders on global positioning system (GPS) and radio frequency (RF), were selected by probation officers to be interviewed. Also, efforts were made to interview offenders who were no longer on EM but remained under supervision in the community; however, the availability of offenders off EM was limited. Interviews were conducted with probation officers whose caseloads included EM offenders and administrators who had experience with EM. Additionally, the evaluation team

conducted a site visit at ProTech, the sole provider of EM services for the FDOC at the time of the study, to interview key personnel and observe the monitoring center. Observing the monitoring center provided critical insight into the mechanics of EM operations.

5.2.1 Development of Survey Instruments

Separate interview instruments were developed for the three respondent groups: offenders, probation officers, and administrators. An examination of prior literature reporting the use of interviews to evaluate or study EM programs informed the initial draft of the instruments. The first draft of questions was shared with FDOC community corrections personnel for review. Based on the literature, the experience of the project staff, and input from FDOC, the instruments were revised and prepared for pilot testing. The draft instruments, research protocols, and consent forms were approved by the Florida State University Human Subjects Committee (HSC).

5.2.2 Pilot Test of Survey Instruments

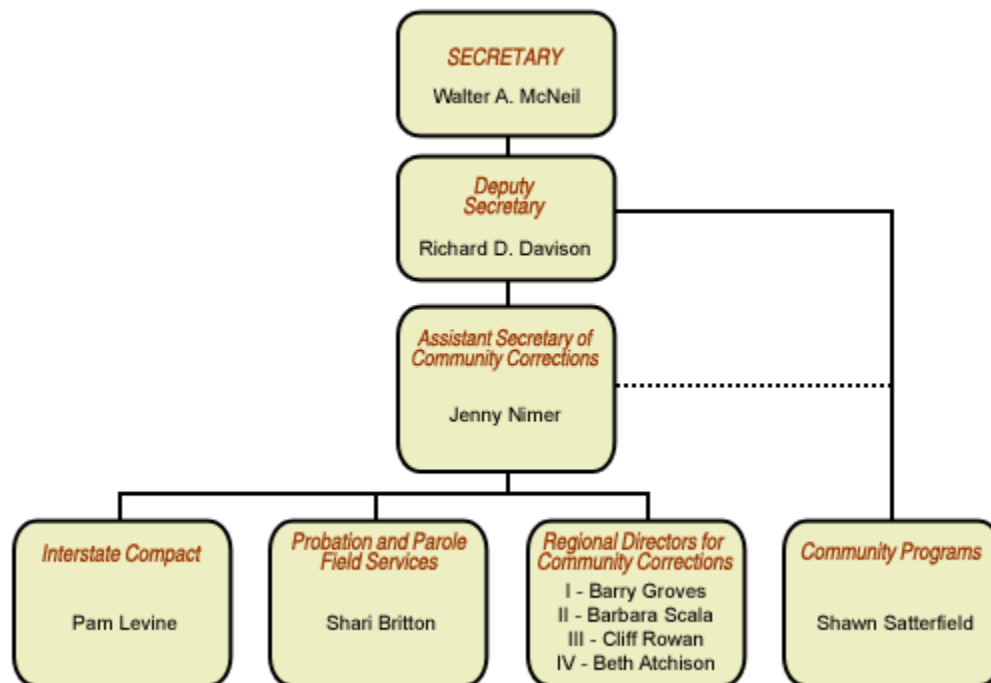
The instruments were pilot tested in three probation offices in Tallahassee, Florida over a two-day period in July 2008. Three project staff members interviewed five offenders, three supervision officers, and two administrators. Substantial revisions were made to the instruments subsequent to the pilot test. FDOC community corrections personnel and the legal counsel's office reviewed the revised instruments. The counsel's office requested that some questions be removed, primarily from the administrator and officer instruments (FDOC implements a competitive bid process for EM services and, therefore, did not want to jeopardize that process with questions about the current vendor). Concerns were raised regarding a couple of questions related to EM budget and expansion issues; therefore, those questions were removed. The revised instruments were resubmitted to the HSC and approved. (see Appendix 2 for the HSC approval letter, Appendix 1 for the interview instruments, and Appendix 3 for the consent forms.)

5.2.3 Location of Interviews

The FDOC organizational structure is comprised of 20 circuits throughout

Florida, the boundaries of which are the same as the state’s judicial circuits; circuits may include as few as one or as many as seven counties (out of Florida’s 67 counties). Within each circuit, a circuit administrator oversees the operations of community corrections. Figure 5.1 depicts the organizational structure of community corrections in the central office in Tallahassee and the four regional directors. The 20 circuit administrators report to the regional directors and are responsible for the operation of community corrections operations within their respective circuits.

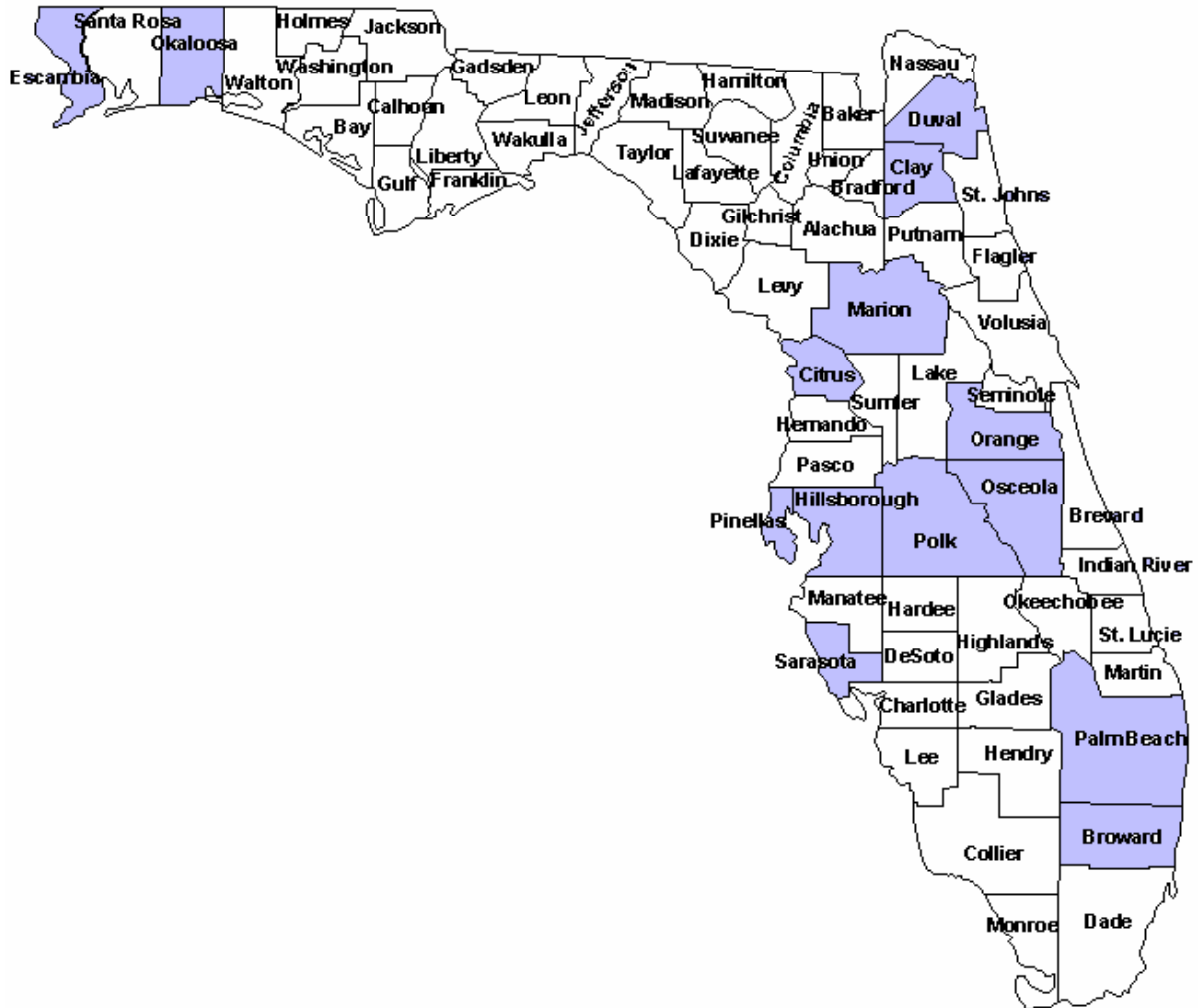
Figure 5.1. Florida Department of Corrections community corrections organizational chart: September 2009



Time and resource limitations prevented the research team from conducting a sample of interviews in each circuit. The FDOC provided a frequency count of EM offenders by circuit to facilitate the sampling process. The sample of circuits, as well as counties within certain circuits, was selected to include as much geographic and demographic diversity as possible, given practical constraints. Also, selections were made to include counties representing urban, suburban, and rural locations. Efforts were

made to conduct interviews in the northern, central, and southern regions of the state. Figure 5.2 presents the locations in which the interviews were conducted.

Figure 5.2. Location of interviews



Initially, a letter from the FDOC Central Office in Tallahassee was sent to local circuit offices, which facilitated the process of arranging the interview schedules (see Appendix 4). The central office distributed the letters to the 20 circuit administrators. Additionally, FDOC staff in the central office maintains regular communication with circuit administrators and informed them of the EM project through telephone contact and in person. The project staff worked with the central office community supervision staff to identify appropriate interview sites and time frames for the visits. FDOC

recommended that interviews be conducted during the monthly reporting period, typically the first week of the month. This increased the likelihood that a sufficient number of EM offenders would be present. Subsequent to FDOC's communications, project staff telephoned the appropriate circuit staff to finalize the interview schedule.

5.2.4 Method of Selecting Offenders, Officers, and Administrators

Offenders were interviewed through a modified self-selected process. As offenders reported to their supervising officers, the officers explained that researchers from Florida State University were in the office and would like to interview them at the conclusion of their regularly scheduled office visits. Officers asked the offenders if they were willing to be interviewed and had sufficient time to participate. There were instances where personal, work, or other responsibilities prevented some offenders from having the time (30 to 45 minutes) to participate; offenders were not encouraged to miss or neglect their personal, work, or related responsibilities. The interviewers informed the offenders of the approximate length of the interviews to ensure that the offenders would not be adversely affected by their participation. If an interviewee arrived during the course of another offender interview, he or she was asked to wait until the current interview was completed as his or her schedule permitted. Several interviewees declined participation in the interviewing process due to time constraints; the project staff encouraged these interviewees to leave when necessary, and the interviewees complied.

Supervising probation officers were selected to be interviewed in two ways. First, subsequent to a briefing on the EM project by a supervisor, probation officers who had EM experience were asked if they would like to participate. Second, during spans of down time in between scheduled offender interviews, project staff would locate officers and solicit their participation. The sample of administrators, which included office supervisors, deputy circuit administrators, and circuit administrators, was selected by the project staff based on their availability and willingness to participate.

5.2.5 Description of the Interviewing Process

The principal investigator and one other project staff conducted the interviews at all but one site. The principal investigator explained the project and the consent process

to each interviewee, asked the questions, and made handwritten notes. The second project staff typed interviewee responses on a laptop computer and sought clarification, when needed. Project staff proposed the idea of tape recording the interviews, but FDOC objected, based on perceived legal impediments. Closed door interviews with offenders, officers, and most administrators were conducted in a conference room or office in probation facilities. A few interviews with circuit administrators were conducted in their offices. The principal investigator instructed the interviewees that their participation was totally voluntary, that their responses would be confidential, and that they could decline to be interviewed or terminate the interview at any time without repercussions. Offender interviews averaged approximately 45 minutes, while officer and administrator interviews were typically conducted in 30 minutes or less.

5.2.6 Limitations

During the interview process, concerns emerged as to whether offenders felt some level of obligation to participate in the interviews or were afraid to decline to participate because their probation officers initiated the interview process. Given the power and control that supervising probation officers have over offenders, it is reasonable to assume that offenders would be motivated to acquiesce to their officers' requests, even if they were not totally inclined to be interviewed. The degree and nature of bias introduced in the data are not measurable, but the principal investigator believes that the majority of the offenders enjoyed communicating their experiences; many of them provided details that were not solicited. Additionally, the data indicates that the offenders expressed negative opinions and feelings about being on electronic surveillance, which may also indicate the lack of coercion or fear. The summary data resulting from the interviews should be considered within the context of this and other limitations.

Similar concerns exist as to the actual voluntary nature of the supervising officers' willingness to participate. The fact that their supervisor explicitly asked them to be interviewed and that they were told that the FDOC Central Office was supportive of the project and requested their participation, may have led the officers to feel obligated to participate. The data indicates that the officers' levels of support for EM varied significantly, suggesting they expressed honest responses in the interviews. Finally, the

impact on responses resulting from conducting the interviews in FDOC offices (with their supervisors present in the building but not in the room) and with FDOC endorsement of the project is not known.

The ideal data collection methodology would have involved conducting all interviews in a neutral environment and location without FDOC involvement. And, ideally, it would have been more empirically valid for the researchers to initiate contacts with offenders and solicit their participation in the study. This was not possible for two reasons: (1) the time and cost of conducting each interview in a separate location was prohibitive, and (2) conducting interviews in probation offices resulted in the completion of an average of five interviews per day. The number of interviews completed via the alternative strategy (outside of the probation offices) would likely have been fewer because of the time required for travel to each interview site and the increased lag time between interviews due to scheduling issues. Therefore, project staff relied on the guidance of FDOC to determine the most practical method for interviewing offenders, officers, and administrators.

Another issue which emerged during the interviewing process relates to several offender questions that may impair analysis in that the ability to separate the unique effect of EM, independent of the other requirements of supervision (e.g., being a convicted sex offender, curfews, and/or house arrest) is not be discernable. Examples include:

- Asking offenders whether EM impacts their relationships with significant others, children, and friends. (Offenders often described the consequences of variables other than EM such as curfews and house arrest.)
- Asking offenders whether EM impacts their ability to secure appropriate housing. (Some offenders reported the impact of being a sex offender rather than being on EM.)
- Asking offenders whether EM impacts their ability to obtain employment. (Some offenders may have reported the impact of being a sex offender, as well as being on EM.)

When these issues were discernable, the principal investigator attempted to seek

clarification from the respondents. However, these problems were not always apparent, and it is unknown as to whether the offender could fully differentiate the impact of these variables (e.g., the label and status of “sex offender,” being on EM, curfews, living restrictions, and other conditions related to house arrest or community control). As mentioned previously, the findings should be considered within the context of the limitations disclosed in this report.

In retrospect, as with most qualitative data collection experiences, the wording of several questions could have been clearer. Midway through the interview schedule, several refinements were noted; however, wording was changed in only a few instances and when absolutely necessary.

5.2.7 Number and Locations of Interviews Conducted

Table 5.1 presents the location and number of interviews conducted in each respondent category. The project staff conducted 161 interviews with offenders, probations officers, and administrators. These included 105 offenders who were on EM at the time of the interview (102) or had been on EM during their current period of supervision (3). Interviews with officers included those who supervise EM offenders (n=36), the majority of which had a current EM caseload, and administrators who are involved in the EM program (n=20).

Table 5.1. Number of offender, officer, and administrator interviews by circuit and county

Circuit	County	Offenders	Officers	Administrators	Total
First	Escambia	3	2	1	6
First	Okaloosa	1	3	0	4
Fourth	Clay	2	2	2	6
Fourth	Duval	12	5	2	19
Fifth	Citrus	3	4	2	9
Fifth	Marion	8	3	3	14
Sixth	Pinellas	11	0	1	12
Ninth	Orange	6	2	1	8
Ninth	Osceola	7	0	1	7
Tenth	Polk	17	0	1	17
Twelfth	Sarasota	5	1	1	7
Thirteenth	Hillsborough	13	4	3	20
Fifteenth	Palm Beach	11	7	1	19
Seventeenth	Broward	6	3	2	11
Total		105	36	20	161

5.3 Findings

The following sections present the findings derived from the qualitative data collection through interviews with offenders, community corrections officers, and administrators. Detailed descriptions of the three groups of interviewees are provided. This descriptive data provides a context for subsequent presentations of the findings from qualitative data.

5.3.1 Descriptions of the Populations Interviewed: Offenders, Officers, and Administrators

Background information, such as gender, age, and race/ethnicity, was obtained from each offender, officer, and administrator interviewed. Additional data was collected related to offenders' EM sentences and offenses, probation officer workloads, and EM responsibilities for circuit administrators.

A. Offenders

Demographics (gender, age, race/ethnicity)

The sample of offenders was 96% male and 4% female. The racial composition consisted of 59% White, 35% Black, and 6% Hispanic. Twenty-five percent of the sample was 14 to 25 years of age, 35% was 25 to 37 years old, and 40% was 38 years or older. The average age was 36 years old.

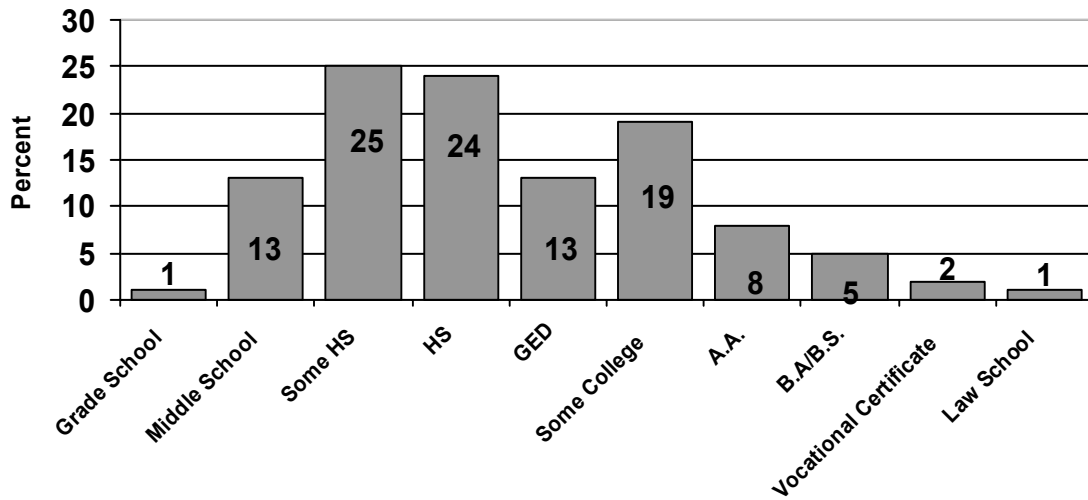
Table 5.2. Offenders demographics

Gender	Number of Offenders	Percent
Male	100	96%
Female	5	4%
Total	105	100%
Race	Number of Offenders	Percent
White	62	59%
Black	37	35%
Hispanic	6	6%
Total	105	100%
Age	Number of Offenders	Percent
14-25 Years	25	25%
25-37 Years	36	35%
≥38 Years	41	40%
Total	102	100%
Mean	36	
Median	33	

Educational Level

Offenders were asked, “What is the highest level of education you have completed?” Figure 5.3 shows that 39% of the offenders did not complete high school and 37% earned a high school or GED diploma. Almost 1 in 5 (19%) of the sample attended college but did not complete an A.A. or B.A./B.S. degree, while 8% earned an associate’s degree. Only 5% completed four years of college and earned a bachelor’s degree; another 2% obtained vocational certificates, and 1% attended law school.

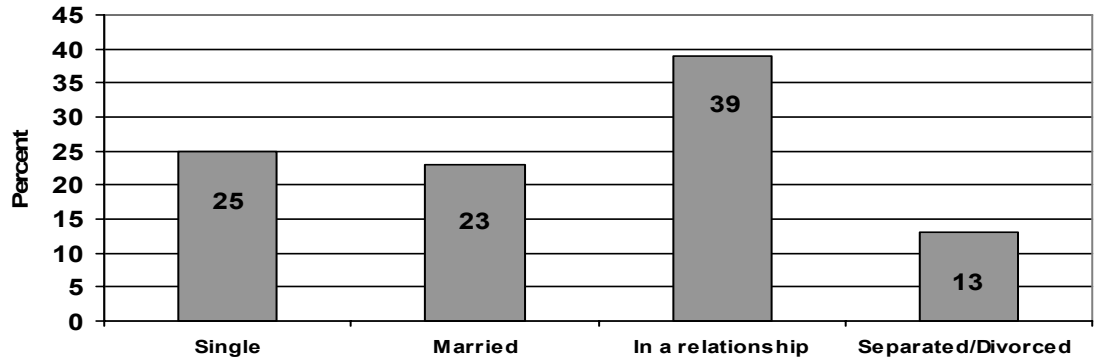
Figure 5.3. Offenders highest level of education (N = 104)



Family Characteristics

Figure 5.4 shows that almost 1 in 4 offenders reported that they were married (23%), and an additional 39% asserted that they were in a relationship. Twenty-five percent of the offenders defined themselves as single, and 13% reported that they were separated or divorced.

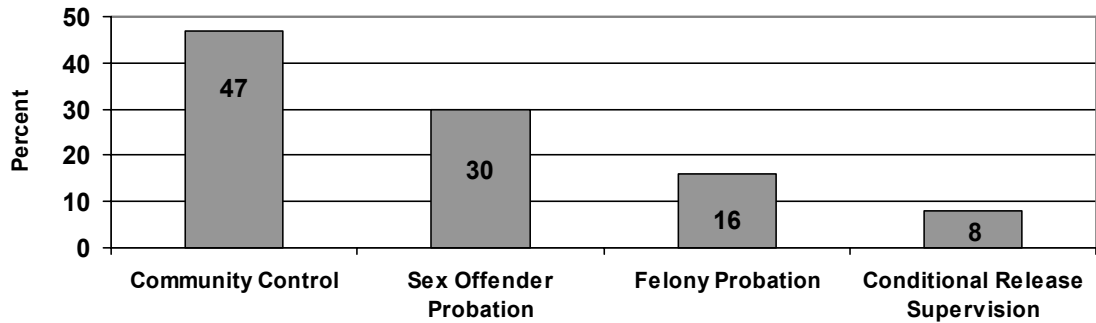
Figure 5.4. Marital status of offenders (N = 103)



Type of Supervision

The type of supervision with the highest frequency of offenders serving under it was community control (47%). That was followed by sex offender probation (30%), felony probation (16%), and post-prison supervision in the form of conditional release (8%). At the time the interviews were conducted, 97% of the offenders were on EM, while 3% reported being on EM during their current terms of supervision but had been removed from EM prior to the interview.

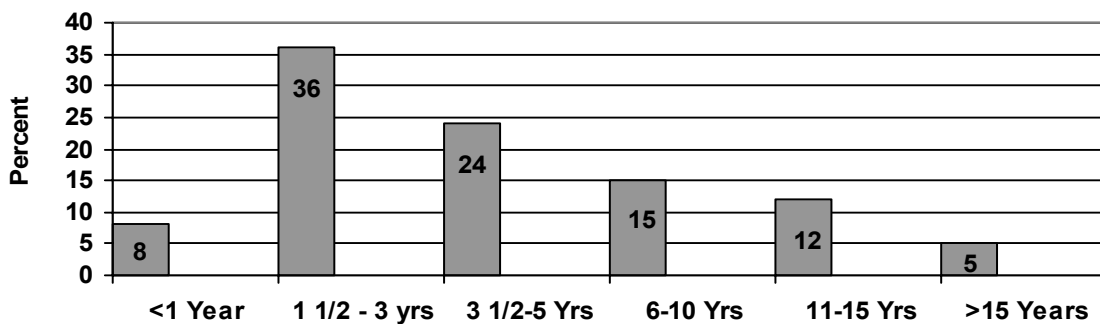
Figure 5.5. Supervision type (N = 105)



Length of Sentence

The average length of the supervision for the sample of offenders was 5.9 years, and the median was 4 years. Figure 5.6 shows that the length of sentence most frequently reported by offenders was 1.5 to 3 years; 1 in 4 offenders reported sentences of 3.5 to 5 years, and almost 1 in 3 (32%) reported sentences of 6 years or longer.

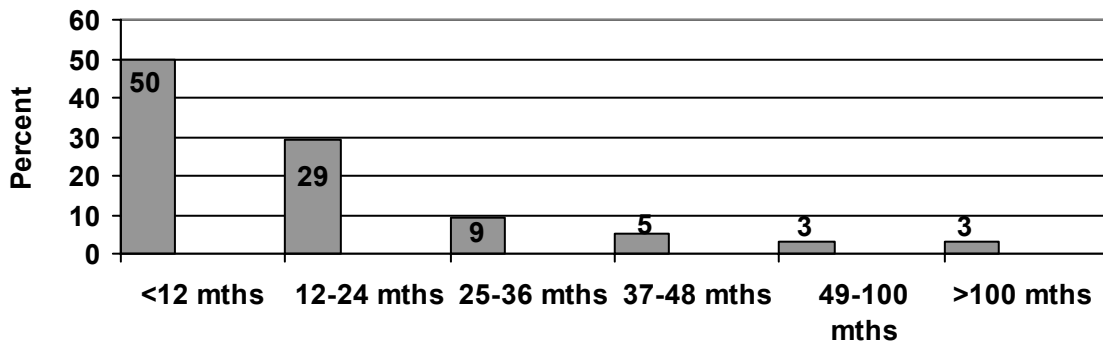
Figure 5.6. Offender length of sentence (N = 95)



Length of Time on Supervision

Fifty percent of the sample had been under supervision fewer than 12 months at the time of the interview, another 29% had been under supervision for one to two years, and 20% had been supervised for more than two years.

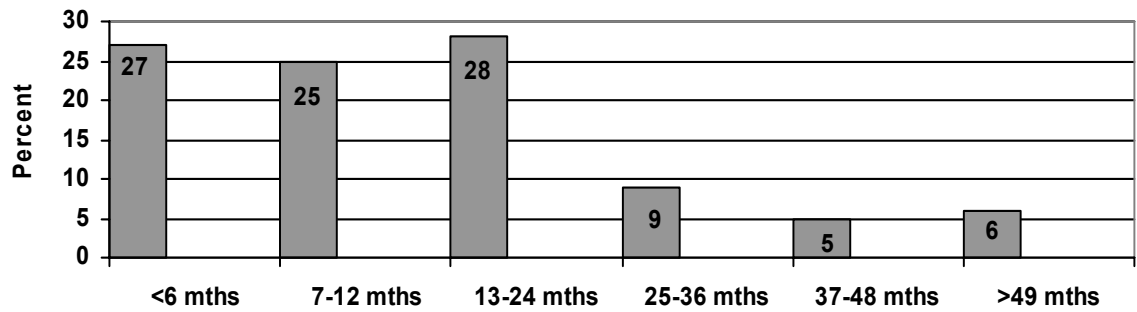
Figure 5.7. Offender length of supervision (N = 91)



Length of Time on Electronic Monitoring

The length of time offenders had been on EM at the time of their interviews ranged from one month to 180 months (15 years) and averaged 20 months. Figure 5.8 shows that the majority of offenders had been on EM for 24 months or less, with 27% for six months or less, 25% for 7 to 12 months, and 28% for 13 to 24 months. One in five offenders (20%) had been under electronic surveillance more than two years.

Figure 5.8. Offender time on electronic monitoring (N = 98)



Offense Types

Project staff also recorded all the offenses for which the EM offenders interviewed were placed on supervision by the courts, noting the most serious offenses. Figure 5.9 shows that the most common offense among the offenders interviewed serving community supervision sanctions was a sex offense (60%). The next highest serious offense category was a violent crime (18%), followed by a property offense (11%), and a drug crime (7%).

Figure 5.9. Primary offense of offender (N = 102)



B. Officers

Demographics (gender, age, race/ethnicity)

The gender of the officers interviewed in the study was evenly distributed. Self-reported race/ethnicity of the officers reflects 83% white non-Hispanic and 17% black non-Hispanic. The average age of the officers was 43 years old.

Table 5.3. Officers' demographics

Gender	Number of Officers	Percent
Male	18	50%
Female	18	50%
Total	36	100%
Race	Number of Officers	Percent
White	30	83%
Black	6	17%
Hispanic	0	0%
Total	36	100%
Age	Number of Officers	Percent
≤ 30 Years	3	08.5%
31-40 Years	12	33.0%
41-50 Years	10	28.0%
51-60 Years	8	22.0%
≥ 61 Years	3	08.5%
Total	36	100%
Mean	43	
Median	44	

Work History at FDOC and Monitoring Offenders on EM

FDOC employment histories of the supervising probation officers indicate that the average tenure with the department was 14 years, and two-thirds (67%) had more than 10 years experience supervising offenders. In addition, officers had been monitoring offenders on EM for an average of 5.5 years, and more than half (63%) had monitored offenders on EM for 2-5 years. Almost 1 in 3 (31%) had supervised offenders on EM for six or more years. As illustrated in Table 5.4, the officers interviewed typically had experience and longevity with Florida's EM program.

Table 5.4. Officers' work history at the Florida Department of Corrections

	≤ 1 Year	2 - ≤5 Years	6-10 Years	11-15 Years	16-20 Years	≥21 Years	Mean/ Median
Years Employed by FDOC	0%	8%	25%	28%	31%	8%	13.8 years/ 14.0 years
Years Monitoring Offenders on EM	6%	63%	17%	14%	0%	0%	5.5 years/ 4.3 years

Types of Caseloads and Number of EM Cases

Probation officers were asked about their caseloads and the types of cases that constituted their daily workloads at the time of the interview. The officers reported that they supervised offenders under various types of supervision. Table 5.5 indicates that over three quarters (78%) of the officers had offenders on their caseloads that were under more than one type of supervision, 50% had three or more different types, and one officer reported having cases involving five different types of supervision. On average, officers had 2.6 different types of supervision cases on their caseloads.

Table 5.5. Number of different types of supervision on officers' caseloads

Number of Types of Supervision	Number of Officers	Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	8	22%	22%
2	10	28%	50%
3	8	22%	72%
4	9	25%	97%
5	1	3%	100%
Mean (types of supervision)	2.6		
Median (types of supervision)	2.5		

To further explore the different types of supervision, officers were asked about the specific types and number of cases under their supervision at the time of the interview. As shown in Table 5.6, 75% of the officers supervised probation cases, 47% had community control cases, 53% had sex offender probation cases, and 46% had conditional release cases. While all of the officers interviewed had EM cases, 94% of the

officers were assigned to offenders on EM at the time of the interview.

Table 5.6. Officers' caseloads by type of supervision

Types of Cases	Yes	No	Mean Number of Cases
Probation	75%	25%	10.2
Community Control	47%	63%	9.3
Sex Offender Probation	53%	47%	8.6
Drug Offender Probation	17%	83%	.3
Conditional Release	46%	54%	3.6
Parole	22%	78%	.6
Other Supervision	11 %	89 %	.2
Cases on EM	94 %	6 %	4.4

In examining officers' workloads, the data in Tables 5.7 and 5.8 reveal that EM cases do not make up the bulk of officers' caseloads. Almost one half of the officers had two or fewer EM offenders on their current caseloads, almost three fourths (72%) had five or fewer EM cases, 20% had 6 to 8 EM cases, and 9% reported having 10 or more EM cases during the time of the interview. The average number of EM cases supervised by officers was 4.5 cases. Additionally, officers were asked about the types of EM that their offenders were on during the time of the interview. All of the officers interviewed had at least one EM case on GPS, and 17% also had one or more RF cases.

Table 5.7. Officers' EM caseloads

Number of EM Cases	Number of Officers	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	2	6 %	6%
1	6	16%	22%
2	9	25%	47%
3	4	11%	58%
4	2	6%	64%
5	3	8%	72%
6	2	6%	78%
7	1	3%	81%
8	4	11%	92%
≥10	3	8%	100%
Mean	4.5		
Median	3.0		

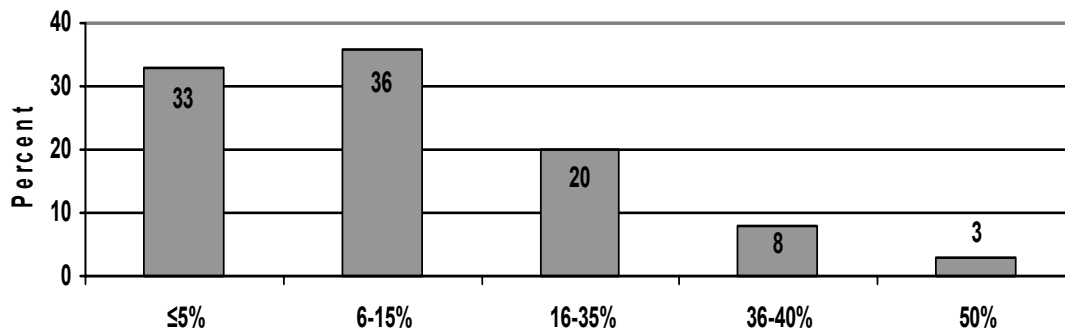
Table 5.8 shows that only 3% of the officers had fewer than 10 non-EM offenders on their caseloads at the time of the interview; 8% had 11 to 15 cases, 1 in 4 (25%) had 15 to 25 cases, 39% had 25 to 35 cases, 11% had 35 to 45 cases, and 14% had 45 or more cases. In contrast to officers' average EM caseloads of 4.5 offenders, the average number of non-EM cases supervised by officers was 30.

Table 5.8. Officers' EM caseloads

Number of Non-EM Cases	Number of Officers	Percent	Cumulative Percent
≤10	1	3 %	3%
11-15	3	8%	11%
15-25	9	25%	36%
25-35	14	39%	75%
35-45	4	11%	86%
≥45	5	14%	100%
Total	36	100%	100%
Mean	30		
Median	30		

Additionally, officers were asked, “Approximately what percentage of your daily workload is related to EM?” As illustrated in Figure 5.10, one third of the officers estimated that 5% or less of their workloads was consumed by EM; over two-thirds said that EM accounted for 15% or less of their daily workloads. Only 11% of the officers noted that more than 35% of their daily workloads was EM related. These findings, coupled with the breakdown of officers’ non-EM related caseloads presented above, indicate that each officer interviewed had a significant workload, most of which are non-EM cases.

Figure 5.10. Officers daily electronic monitoring workload (N=36)



Officers were also asked about the number of sex offenders that they currently supervised. Table 5.9 reveals that a vast majority (92%) of the officers supervised at least one sex offender, and 42% of the officers supervised 1 to 5 sex offenders. An additional 8% reported that they supervised 6 to 10 sex offenders, 15% report having 11-15 sex offenders, 11% supervise 16-25, and 16% supervise 26 or more sex offenders. On average, officers supervised 10.8 sex offenders. In summary, supervising sex offenders constitutes a large portion of the officers’ caseload.

Table 5.9. Officers sex offender workload

Number of Sex Offenders Supervised	Number of Officers	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	3	8 %	8%
1-5	15	42%	50%
6-10	3	8%	58%
11-15	5	15%	73%
16-25	4	11%	84%
26-30	3	8%	92%
≥31	3	8%	100%
Total	36	100%	
Mean	10.8		
Median	7.0		

Officers were asked how many Jessica Lunsford Act (JLA) offenders were currently under their supervision. Table 5.10 shows that one-third of the officers (33%) reported having no JLA cases, 52% supervised 1 to 5 JLA offenders, 9% had 6 to 10 such cases, and an additional 6% of the officers had 15 to 20 JLA offenders under their supervision. The average number of JLA offenders per officer was 3. Therefore, JLA offenders were not a significant portion of these officers' caseloads.

Table 5.10. Officers' Jessica Lunsford Act offender caseloads

Number of JLA Offenders	Number of Officers	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	12	33%	33%
1	6	16%	49%
2	3	8%	57%
3	1	3%	60%
4	5	14%	74%
5	4	11%	85%
6	1	3%	88%
8	1	3%	91%
10	1	3%	94%
15	1	3%	97%
20	1	3%	100%
Mean	3.0		
Median	1.5		

C. Administrators

Demographics (gender, age, race/ethnicity)

Administrators interviewed consisted of 50% males and 50% females. Self-reported race/ethnicity shows that 70% are White Non-Hispanic and 30% are Black Non-Hispanic. The age breakdown noted in Table 5.17 shows that administrators were 32 years of age or older. Fifteen percent were 32 to 42 years old, 20% were 43 to 50, and 65% percent were 51 to 60. The average age of the administrators was 50 years.

Table 5.11. Administrators' demographics

Gender	Number of Administrators	Percent
Male	10	50%
Female	10	50%
Total	20	100%

Race	Number of Administrators	Percent
White Non-Hispanic	14	70%
Black Non-Hispanic	6	30%
Total	20	100%

Age	Number of Administrators	Percent
32-42 Years	3	15%
43-50 Years	4	20%
51-60 years	13	65%
Total	20	100%
Mean	50	
Median	52	

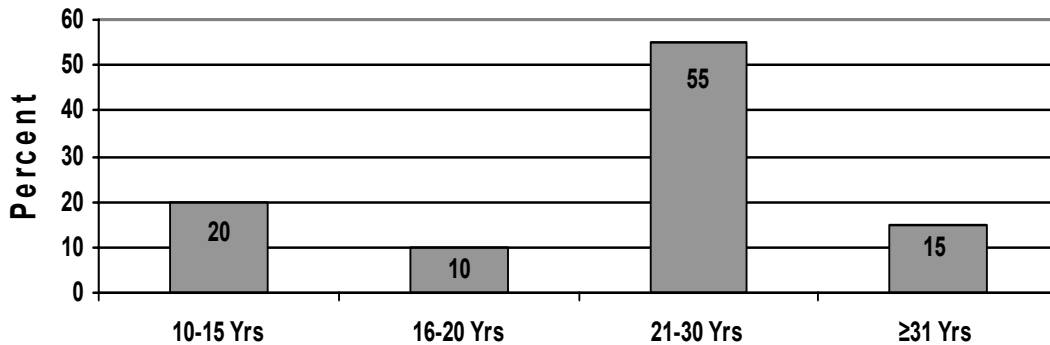
Current Position

Administrators interviewed were serving as FDOC deputy circuit administrators (25%), circuit administrators (20%), or as correctional probation supervisors (55%).

Work History at FDOC

All of the administrators interviewed had worked at FDOC for at least 10 years; 55% had been employed by the FDOC for 21 to 30 years, and 15% for 31 years or more.

Figure 5.11. Administrators' employment length at Department of Corrections (N = 20)



EM Roles and Responsibilities

The primary responsibility noted by 55% of the administrators was the supervision of programs and officers, and enforcement of policies; while 40% reported overseeing circuit management and operations. Five percent noted that oversight of community corrections operations was their primary responsibility. Additionally, administrators reported secondary duties: 1 in 5 (20%) noted that they assist with investigations and monitor officer contacts, 15% stated that they assist in preparing reports, and 5% reported that they partner with local judicial systems and provide community support.

5.3.2 Impact of EM on Offenders' Families and Friends

This section reports data on the impact EM has on offenders' lives, including their relationships with their spouses, significant others, children, and friends. Offenders on GPS are required to wear ankle bracelets and carry MTDs at all times. The MTD is approximately 5 inches wide, 2 inches thick, and 5 inches tall and must be visible at all times. Therefore, it is a piece of equipment that is distinct and, when visible, is noticed by others.

A. Offenders

Information was collected during the interviews to determine the extent to which EM impacts offenders' relationships with their spouses or significant others. During the time of interview, 23% of the offenders were married, 39% were in a relationship, 25% were single, and 13% had been separated or divorced. Of those who were married or in a relationship, only 14% described their spouses or partners as helpful, supportive, or understanding about EM; 43% claimed that EM is an inconvenience and a burden to their partners and/or negatively impacts their relationships. Responses indicated that EM had not impacted the relationships among 28% in this group, while 15% said it had limited the time spent with their spouses or partners. One offender said matter-of-factly that EM “*serves as a scarlet letter*” and has had a detrimental impact on his relationship with his family. Another noted that “*Every time it goes off, we think the police are coming to arrest me.*”

The majority (68%) of the offenders reported that they do not have children living with them. Fourteen percent have 1 or 2 children, an additional 14% have 3 or 4 children, and 3% have 5 or more children. The offenders were asked to share how EM has affected their relationships with their children. Thirty-seven percent claimed that it has no effect; 6% said their child/children do not understand the EM restrictions; 32% said it creates distance and negatively impacts their relationships; and 14% said it limits the places they can go with their children. An offender admitted that he feels like “*they are in prison, too,*” and another stated, “*I’ve got a child who straps a watch on his ankle to be like daddy.*” Another offender pointed out, “*When it beeps, the kids worry about whether the probation officer is coming to take me to jail. The kids run for it, when it beeps.*” However, 7% said that EM has had a positive impact on their family relationships because they stay at home more.

Offenders were asked, “How has being on electronic monitoring affected your relationships with your friends and meeting new friends?” Forty-two percent said it has had no affect on their friendships, 29% claimed that it is difficult to make new friends, and 16% said they have disassociated themselves from their old friends. Others (5%) said that it embarrasses their friends, makes them feel badly, and/or creates an inconvenience, and another 5% said that they have no friends. Two percent said it makes

people curious, and 1% said they meet new neighborhood friends because of EM. The varying impacts on offenders' friendships resonate in their responses: "*What friends?*"; "*They make jokes: 'Who's that with the TV screen on his side?'*"; "*I try not to let them know I am on EM, (and hide the device).*"; "*I've cut off ties with my friends because I can't go anywhere. I have no friends.*"

Table 5.12. Impact of EM on spouses, significant others, children, and friends

Effects on Spouses/Significant Others	Percent
Created an inconvenience/burden to their partner – negative impact	43%
No effect	28%
Limited their dates and time spent together	15%
Spouse/partner helpful, supportive or understanding	14%
Effects on Children	
No effect	37%
Creates distance/negative impact	32%
Limits places to go/take children	14%
Improved their relationship because home more	7%
Child/children do not understand the EM restrictions	6%
Effects on Friends	
No effect	42%
Difficult to make new friends	29%
Disassociated from old friends	16%
Embarrasses friends/causes inconvenience	5%
Have no friends	5%
Attracts curiosity	2%
Meet new neighborhood friends because of EM	1%

B. Officers

Similar to offenders, officers agreed that being placed on EM alters offenders' relationships with their significant others, as well as with their children. In fact, 89% of the officers in this study felt that offenders' relationships with their significant others changed as a result of being placed on EM; most offenders (65%) described the negative impact as stress from the nuisance and inconvenience, 10% said it changed family

relationships because the offenders stay home more, and 12% cited other reasons.

Similarly, a majority of the officers also agreed that EM would impact offenders' relationships with their children; 57% believed that EM has an impact, 37% said that it has no impact, and 6% said they do not know the impact. Most (70%) of the officers feel that EM negatively impacts offenders' relationships with their children because: (1) the children feel stressed about or ashamed of the parent-offender, (2) the restrictions on the places where the parent/offender can take them, (3) the limitations or prohibitions on visits with the children, and (4) the interruption it brings into children's lives. One officer stated, "*They know daddy's wearing a box that makes people look at him funny.*" Twenty-five percent of the officers stated that EM has a positive effect on offenders—that they spend more time with their children and 5% did not respond to this question.

5.3.3 Impact of Electronic Monitoring on Offenders Obtaining and Maintaining Employment

The ability of offenders to obtain and retain employment may be impacted by their placement on EM. As mentioned previously, offenders on GPS must have the MTD with them at all times in an exposed manner; the MTD is unique in its physical appearance. Therefore, potential employers are likely to notice the device and likely to inquire about the reason for the device. Additionally, if the offender loses the satellite signal, the MTD produces an audible alert requiring the offender to go outside and "walk the box" for approximately 15 minutes until it picks up the satellite again. This can potentially be problematic for a person trying to carry out the duties related to their employment. Therefore, it is important to determine how EM affects offenders' employment situation from the perspective of offenders and officers.

A. Offenders

Offenders were asked, “Has your ability to obtain a job been affected by being on electronic monitoring?” If the answer was in the affirmative, this was followed with the question, “Has it had a positive or negative effect?” The majority (61%) of the offenders stated that EM did impact their ability to obtain employment. All of the offenders who claimed that EM has impacted their efforts to find a job asserted that the impact was negative. The following statements were made by offenders:

- “There was one job interview where, as soon as they saw the monitor, the whole mood changed.”
- “A lot less people want to hire you with the box.”
- “I may scare off customers.”
- “When people see you have to walk around with the box, the customers think poorly of the business. Clear cases where they didn’t hire me because of the box.”
- “Business owners don’t want customers to have to deal with someone on EM.”
- “Don’t get call backs from people who ask about it in the interview.”
- “Used to be you could go see about a job, and they’d ask what you can do. Now, you don’t get that far, because they see the box.”
- “Potential employers just say no, because they can’t see how I can do the work with the box.”
- “They think you’re a bad criminal without even asking about the charges.”

Offenders were asked for reasons why EM impacted their ability to obtain a job. Table 5.13 shows that the most common reason offenders offered is that the EM device raises questions or concerns (25.5%) from employers or potential employers. Other reasons frequently provided are “qualified people don’t have the issue of EM” (16.7%) and “there is a stigma with being on EM” (10.0%).

Table 5.13. Impact of EM on obtaining employment

Effects of EM on ability to find a job due to --	Percent
Device raises questions/concerns	25.5%
Other qualified people who don't have the issue of EM	16.7%
Stigma of being on EM makes finding work difficult	10.0%
Limited amount of time to find work because of restrictions	6.7%
Device signal causes problems	5.0%
People do not like to see the box	5.0%
Employers do not want a criminal employee	5.0%
Curfew limits work	5.0%
Can't work because of criminal record	5.0%
Other reasons	16.1%
Total	100.0%

Offenders were also asked, “Have you been fired or asked to leave a job because of electronic monitoring?” Twenty-two percent responded affirmatively. Of those, 32% attributed the cause to be EM signal losses; 27% reported the reason to be of personal liability; and 28% reported the reason to restrictions on their flexibility (related to work hours, distance from work, and time, etc.). Five percent said they were fired because their bosses did not want customers to see the EM boxes, and 8% cited other reasons.

Offenders were asked, “Has being on electronic monitoring affected how often you go to work?” Seventy-five percent said that it has not. Of the 25% who said EM has affected their employment, 75 % reported working less, 12.5% reported working more, and 12.5% stated that their time at work has not changed. Fifteen percent claimed that EM prohibits them from working extra hours, and 60% said EM restricts their work because of curfews, travel limitations, and reduced flexibility. Ten percent said EM has hindered them from obtaining employment, 10% noted that people respond negatively to those on EM, and 5% have not experienced an impact on employment.

B. Officers

Officers were asked the question, “Do you believe the offenders’ job situations change once they are placed on electronic monitoring?” Nine in ten supervising officers interviewed (94.4%) believed that offenders’ job situations change as a result of EM. This question was followed up by asking those who said EM did have an effect to explain how it had an impact.

Table 5.14. How officers felt EM affected offenders’ job situations

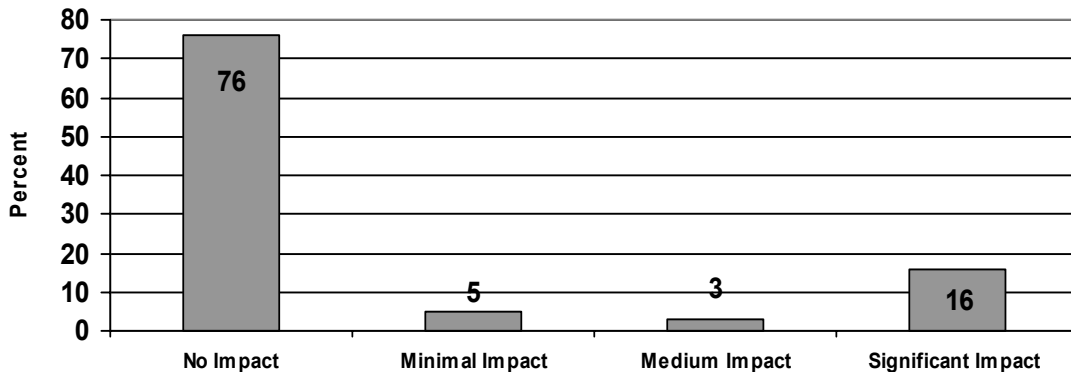
How did EM affect offenders’ job situations?	Percent
Signal lost causes inconvenience to employers	42.4 %
Carrying equipment could cause a problem	24.2 %
Hiring offender may create a negative impression for the employer	12.1 %
The unit impacts customers’ perceptions	9.1%
Looking for a job can be difficult	6.1%
Offenders are forced to take lower skilled jobs	3.0 %
Can get fired because of EM but it’s usually the offenders’ fault	3.0 %
Total	100.0%

Based on the testimony of offenders and officers, it appears that EM significantly impacts the ability of offenders to find employment and to maintain a job; however, EM has minimal effect on how often an employed offender attended work.

5.3.4 Impact of Electronic Monitoring on Offenders' Ability to Find Housing

The issue explored in this section is whether wearing the EM device impacts the ability of offenders to find adequate housing. Offenders were asked, "How much has being on EM impacted your ability to find or keep adequate housing?" Figure 5.12 shows that the majority (76%) of the respondents said it had no impact; only 16% said the impact was significant. Of those who reported an impact, 94% said it was due to limitations on available housing (by reluctant landlords, frequent law enforcement patrol, and restrictions regarding proximity to schools and parks, etc.), and 6% said that they were limited by the lack of access to a second telephone line.

Figure 5.12. Offenders' opinions of EM's impact on housing (N = 76)



5.3.5 Effect of State, County, and City Zoning Restrictions on Sex Offenders' Residency

Chapter 3 of this report discussed the state laws and county and city ordinances that govern where sex offenders can reside. Additionally, the unintended consequences of residency laws were presented along with the fact that there is some research that indicates that residency restrictions may actually *decrease* public safety (Zandbergen et al., 2008). This section explores the enforcement of residency restrictions for sex offenders from the vantage point of supervising officers and administrators. Based on interview data from officers involved in the EM program, this issue is salient because 33

of the 36 (91.7%) officers had at least one sex offender on their caseload at the time of the interview, and of those, the average number of sex offenders was 11.

A. Officers

The vast majority (84%) of supervising officers interviewed indicated that there were special city or county ordinances in their jurisdictions related to zoning restrictions that impact where sex offenders can live. As discussed in Chapter 3, these ordinances expand the statutory restrictions regarding type of location and distance of sex offenders' residences, making them more restrictive. Officers were asked the follow-up question, "How do these ordinances impact the supervision of offenders on electronic monitoring?" Table 5.15 indicates that 93.7% of the officers share the opinion that city or county ordinances that place more stringent residency requirements on sex offenders than mandated by state law are detrimental to the offender. Specifically, 43.8% of the officers stated that the local ordinances make it difficult for offenders to find housing, 18.8% believe that these ordinances make supervising offenders more difficult, and 12.5% claimed that the local ordinances cause more offenders to become homeless. Only 6.3% of the officers believe that local residency restrictions have no effect on the supervision of offenders on EM.

Table 5.15. Impact of local residency restrictions applied to sex offenders: the perspectives of the supervising officers

How Local Residency Ordinances Impact Offenders	Percent
Makes it difficult to find housing	43.8%
Makes supervision more difficult	18.8%
Many offenders become homeless	12.5%
Nearly excludes living in the county	6.3%
Mandates offenders cannot be home at night, only during the daytime	6.3%
Forces many offenders to move	6.3%
No effect on EM	6.3%
Total	100.0%

B. Administrators

The majority of community corrections administrators interviewed (83.3%) also indicated that special city or county ordinances in their jurisdictions related to zoning restrictions impact where sex offenders can live. As with supervising officers, administrators were then asked, “How do these ordinances impact the supervision of offenders on electronic monitoring?” Table 5.16 indicates that 77.8% of the administrators shared the opinion that city or county ordinances that place more stringent residency requirements on sex offenders under supervision than what state law mandates are detrimental to offenders. Specifically, 66.7% of the administrators stated that local ordinances make it difficult for offenders to find housing, and 11.1% believe that these ordinances can affect the job opportunities available to offenders. However, 22.2% of the administrators believe that the local ordinances are effective if the offender is a fixated sex offender (11.1%) or if it is necessary to improve public safety (11.1%).

Table 5.16. Impact of local residency restrictions applied to sex offenders: the perspectives of community corrections administrators

How Local Residency Ordinances Impact Offenders	Percent
Difficult for officers to find places for offenders to live	66.7%
Can affect job opportunities	11.1%
Ordinance is helpful if offender is a fixated sex offender	11.1%
Necessary to improve public safety	11.1%
Total	100.0%

The vast majority of supervising officers and community corrections administrators believe that local city and county ordinances that are more stringent than the state laws regarding where sex offenders live, are detrimental to offenders under their control. These correctional professionals are on the “front line” in terms of dealing with sex offenders under community supervision mandated by the Florida courts, and it seems prudent for state and local policy makers to heed their concerns relative to the unintended consequences of applying increasingly strict housing restrictions on sex offenders that may jeopardize public safety, instead of enhancing it.

5.3.6 Shame and Embarrassment Offenders Feel From EM and How the Media Impacts Others' Perceptions of Them

Wearing an ankle bracelet and having to carry a MTD at all times may cause offenders embarrassment and shame, and the stigma and perceptions attached to EM may damage offenders' reputations in their communities and relationships with their families. As one offender noted, "*Someone asked me what I did and when I became a murderer.*" Table 5.17 highlights the reasons noted by offenders for being shamed and embarrassed to be on EM. Offenders were almost equally divided over whether they felt embarrassed to wear an EM bracelet. Of the 49% who felt embarrassed, 25% claim that the EM bracelet gives a negative impression to others, as illustrated by an offender: "*It's like painting a flag on your forehead saying 'I'm a criminal!'*" Nineteen percent said that people ask questions when they see the bracelet, and 7% say they lie about EM or try to hide the equipment.

Similarly, 51.5% of the offenders said they are not ashamed to be on EM, compared to 48.5% who felt personal shame. Of those who feel ashamed, 23% said it is due to the stigma associated with being on EM (i.e., negative perceptions, assumptions that they are sex offenders, questions asked, and attention from people), and 24% said it is due to emotions (disappointment of family/friends and personal shame) and the constant reminder of their crimes. About one-third accept EM as a consequence of committing crimes—something they have to do. Mixed feelings among the offenders are reflected in their comments:

"It's hard for people to see you straight. They see you sideways."

"I deserve it, and as long as I have my freedom, I'd wear anything."

"What's there to be ashamed of?"

"I put myself in this position; I accept what I have to do."

Most offenders (71%) claimed that news stories about EM do affect how people perceive them. Of those who noted the media's affect, 74% said it stigmatized them. According to one offender, the media "*creates the false impression that I'm some worse kind of offender.*" Another said, "*The news has defined it as being for child molesters only, which isn't true; so it puts a target on you.*"

Table 5.17. Embarrassment and shame from electronic monitoring and media impact on offenders

Embarrassment from EM due to...	Percent
Monitor/ankle bracelet gives a negative perception	25%
Not care about other people's opinions/ just doesn't embarrass	24%
Accepts it as part of their punishment	19%
People ask questions when they see it	19%
Lie about or try to hide the equipment	7%
Other reasons	6%
Offender ashamed to be on EM due to...	Percent
Consequence of committing their crimes and something they have to do	31%
Emotions/sentiments caused by EM (disappointment of family and friends, personal feelings of shame, constant reminder of the crime/mistake)	24%
Stigma associated with being on EM (negative perceptions, people thinking they are sex offenders, people asking questions/draws attention)	23%
Do not care and are not ashamed to be on EM	17%
Other reasons	5%
Impact of media coverage of EM on offender	Percent
Creates a negative impression (creates a stigma, classified in one group despite offense, makes them a sex offender)	74%
Other reasons	12%
Do not care about others' opinions	10%
Don't know or are not out enough to have an opinion	4%

5.3.7 The Cost of EM to the Offender and the Associated Consequences

EM may become a financial issue for offenders depending on whether they have to pay for the equipment and/or the supervision. The monthly EM costs determined by the courts were waived for a little more than one-third of the offenders (39%). Among the remaining 61% of offenders who were ordered to pay, 53% percent were not paying each month, and 15% were paying less than \$50. Additionally, 12% reported paying 51-100 dollars, and 6% paid 101-200 dollars. Fourteen percent said they paid more than 201 dollars per month. The average monthly cost paid by offenders was 64 dollars.

Additionally, offenders may be required to pay for court-ordered supervision. Similar to the EM costs, close to 1 in 3 (32%) of the offenders had this fee waived by the court. Among those that do have to pay, 48% claim to have not paid anything, 28% report paying less than 50 dollars, 12% pay between 51 and 100 dollars, 5% pay 101 to 200 dollars, and the remaining 5% pay over 201 dollars per month. An average supervision payment was 38.70 dollars per month. A detailed breakdown of the financial costs is presented in Table 5.18.

When asked about the financial impact of EM, 63% of offenders said they have a difficult time paying for it; 29% said the cost does not affect them. The cost makes 6% feel stressed and has negatively impacted the credit ratings of 1% of the offenders. One percent has not begun to pay their EM expenses. Based on the findings indicating the relatively low educational levels of offenders on EM and their inability to obtain and maintain employment, it is no surprise that a significant percentage of them have difficulty paying the fees mandated by the courts to reimburse the state the cost of supervision.

Table 5.18. Cost of electronic monitoring for offenders

Monthly Court Ordered Fees	Percent	Waived	Not Waived
\$0	53%	38%	61%
<\$50	15%	--	--
\$51-\$100	12%	--	--
\$101-\$200	6%	--	--
>\$201	14%		
Monthly Supervision Fees			
\$0	48%	32%	68%
<\$50	28%	--	--
\$51-\$100	12%	--	--
\$101-\$200	5%	--	--
>\$201	5%	--	--

5.3.8 Are the Most Appropriate Offenders Placed on EM?: Officers' Opinions

The sentencing judge decides whether an offender who is convicted of a felony crime in Florida is required to be placed on EM while on community supervision. In many instances, however, the judge is bound by Florida's Jessica Lunsford Act that mandates the use of EM for sex offenders who violate their supervision, are not sentenced to jail or prison, and opt for a form of community supervision sanction. Responses to questions regarding whether the appropriate offenders are placed on EM and whether certain types of offenders, who are not assigned to EM, should be under this more intensive form of surveillance are presented in this section.

The first question posed to supervising officers to address this issue was, "What percentage of offenders on EM do *not* need to be on EM but should be on regular supervision instead?" Table 5.19 presents the results of their responses. On average, officers believe that 35.2% of their EM caseloads should not be on EM; the median response was 30.0%. Twenty-five percent reported that 10% or less of their EM caseloads should not be on EM, and 1 in 3 (34.3%) think that 50% or more of their EM offenders should not be on EM.

Table 5.19. Percentage of EM offenders that officers believe should *not* be on EM

Percent of EM Cases That Should Not Be On EM	Number of Responses	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0%	4	11.4%	11.4%
5%	2	5.7%	17.1%
10%	3	8.6%	25.7%
15%	3	8.6%	34.3%
20%	3	8.6%	42.9%
25%	1	2.9%	45.7%
30%	3	8.6%	54.3%
35%	1	2.9%	57.1%
40%	3	8.6%	65.7%
50%	5	14.3%	80.0%
60%	1	2.9%	82.9%
67%	1	2.9%	85.7%
75%	1	2.9%	88.6%
85%	1	2.9%	91.4%
95%	1	2.9%	94.3%
100%	2	5.7%	100.0%
Total	35	100.0%	
Mean		35.2%	
Median		30.0%	

The most common response by officers (23.3%) to the follow-up question, “Why should these offenders **not** be on EM?” was that some offenders are not considered dangerous and pose a low risk to the community. The next most common reasons were that EM is not needed once an offender exhibits a pattern of good behavior (10%), EM is not needed in some cases (10%), and it depends on the type of crime (10.0%). Officers also feel that some EM offenders should not be on electronic surveillance because they are older, have stable lifestyles, or are unnecessarily classified under the Jessica Lunsford Act (6.7% each).

Table 5.20. Officers' reasons why some of their EM offenders should not be on EM

Why EM Offenders Should <u>Not</u> Be on EM	Number of Responses	Percent
Not dangerous offenders/low recidivism risk	7	23.3%
EM not needed once a good behavior pattern exists	3	10.0%
Not needed in some cases	3	10.0%
Depends on the type of crime	3	10.0%
Unnecessarily classified as Jessica Lunsford Act offenders	2	6.7%
Offenders with stable lifestyles	2	6.7%
Older offenders	2	6.7%
All offenders should be punished in some way	2	6.7%
Too young and don't follow the rules	1	3.3%
EM is not cost effective	1	3.3%
Former sex offenders on EM for a new charge	1	3.3%
Those who are not a flight risk	1	3.3%
Better to start without EM and use it as punishment for conditions of supervision violations	1	3.3%
Totals	35	100.0%

Officers were then asked the converse of the previous question, “What percentage of offenders who were not placed on EM *should be* on EM?” Table 5.21 presents the results of their responses. On average, officers believe that 21.8% of their non-EM caseloads should be on EM; the median response was 20%. Almost one-half of the officers (45.7%) believe that 15% or less of their non-EM offenders would benefit from electronic surveillance. In contrast, over one-half (54.3%) of the officers think that 20% or more of their non-EM cases should be on EM, and almost 1 in 4 officers (23.9%) believe that 30% of their non-EM cases would benefit from electronic surveillance.

Table 5.21. Percentage of offenders not on EM officers believe should be on EM

Percent Non-EM Cases Should Be On EM	Number of Responses	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0%	4	11.4%	11.4%
4%	1	2.9%	14.3%
5%	3	8.6%	22.9%
7%	1	2.9%	25.7%
10%	5	14.3%	40.0%
15%	2	5.7%	45.7%
20%	8	22.9%	68.6%
25%	3	8.6%	77.1%
30%	1	2.9%	80.0%
35%	1	2.9%	82.9%
40%	1	2.9%	85.7%
50%	3	8.6%	94.3%
80%	1	2.9%	97.1%
90%	1	2.9%	100.0%
Total	35	100.0%	
Mean		21.8%	
Median		20.0%	

To follow-up on the previous question, we asked, “Why should these offenders be on EM?” Table 5.22 indicates the most common reason expressed by officers (28.1%) is that these offenders are violent or are sex offenders. The next most common reasons were that EM is an effective supervision tool (15.6%) and that it would be useful for dangerous offenders who pose a risk to public safety and are not on EM (12.5%) and for offenders who have unstable lifestyles (9.4%).

Table 5.22: Reasons given by officers why some of their non-EM offenders should be on EM

Why Non-EM Offenders Should Be On EM	Number of Responses	Percent
Violent or sex offenders	9	28.1%
EM is an effective supervision tool	5	15.6%
Dangerous offenders who pose a risk to the public	4	12.5%
Offender with unstable lifestyles	3	9.4%
Offender needs more supervision	2	6.3%
Community control cases	2	6.3%
Those who don't comply with home detention requirements	2	6.3%
Stalking case	1	3.1%
Victim needs protection	1	3.1%
Helpful to know what some offenders are up to	1	3.1%
The nature of the crime and their criminal history	1	3.1%
EM does not accomplish anything	1	3.1%
Totals	32	100.0%

Officers who supervise offenders with and without the EM technology report that there are a non-trivial number of offenders on EM who do not need the enhanced supervision, and, conversely, there are offenders who are not placed on EM who *should* be so ordered to protect public safety and to improve the likelihood that these offenders will successfully complete community supervision. This evidence demonstrates the need for a review of the EM placement process to inform policy makers as to whether changes in the laws that dictate these decisions should be altered to improve the proper application of EM for the appropriate offenders.

5.3.9 Types of Offenders for Which EM is Most and Least Effective: The Officers' Perspective

The sentencing judge decides whether an offender on community supervision will be on electronic surveillance. As discussed previously, there are situations in which offenders meet the mandate of the Jessica Lunsford Act and the judge has no choice but to place the offender on EM. Unlike the judiciary, supervising officers quickly learn a great deal about the offenders on their caseloads. They are well versed in offenders' criminal careers, their families and employment histories, their physical and psychological issues, and their living environments. They gather knowledge about offenders they supervise from official records of their past criminal involvement, as well as from numerous and consistent personal contacts and observations in the probation office (when offenders come for mandatory appointments) and from visits to places of employment and residence. Several supervising officers reported that they learn a great deal about the offenders and their family members, living situations and their work environments. Additionally, officers who supervise offenders on EM appear to be seasoned and their experience helps them get a sense of offenders' proclivities toward abiding by restrictions placed—whether they will succeed or fail while under supervision in the community.

The opinions expressed by probation officers with EM caseloads are uniquely relevant to the issue of whether the judiciary is applying this form of supervision to the appropriate felony offenders. To obtain their perceptions of the types of offenders who would most benefit from electronic surveillance, officers were asked, "In your opinion, for which types of offenders is EM most effective?" Table 5.28 shows that almost one-third (31.5%) of the officers believe that EM is most effective for sex offenders; 1 in 5 (20%) think that it is most effective for younger offenders. The next most frequent types of offenders for which officers believe EM is most effective include high-risk offenders (5.7%), offenders who do not comply with the conditions of their supervision without EM (5.7%), and those who have been on supervision previously (5.7%).

Table 5.23. Types of offenders for which EM is most effective: Supervising officers' opinions

Types of Offenders for which EM is Most Effective	Percent
Sex offenders	31.5%
Young offenders	20.0%
High-risk offenders	5.7%
Those who will not comply with their conditions of supervision	5.7%
Second-time probation offenders	5.7%
Domestic violence offenders	2.9%
<i>All</i> offenders	2.9%
Community control cases	2.9%
Child predators	2.9%
Undisciplined offenders	2.9%
Scared offenders	2.9%
Burglars and robbers	2.9%
Depends on the case and case seriousness	2.9%
Those who would comply with their conditions of supervision anyway	2.9%
None	2.9%
Total	100.0%

The inverse of the previous question was asked of the officers: “In your opinion, are there any offender types for which EM is not effective?” Table 5.24 depicts the most common types of offenders for which supervising officers believe electronic surveillance is not effective: drug offenders (11.4%) and young offenders (11.4%). In contrast, 8.6% of the officers believe that older offenders do not benefit from EM. Offenders who “just don’t care” and those sentenced under the Jessica Lunsford Act (which officers consider as unnecessary) were the next most frequently reported responses by 8.6% of the officers. Of the 35 supervising officers who responded to this question, 5.7% indicated that EM is effective for all offenders—offenders with driving violations, career offenders, sex offenders, and former sex offenders who have new charges.

Table 5.24. Types of offenders for which EM is not effective: Supervising officers' opinions

Types of Offenders for Which EM is <u>not</u> Effective?	Percent
Drug offenders	11.4%
Young offenders	11.4%
Older offenders	8.6%
Offenders who just don't care	8.6%
Unnecessary Jessica Lunsford offenders	8.6%
Effective for ALL offenders (an all inclusive category)	5.7%
Driving offenders	5.7%
Career offenders	5.7%
Sex offenders	5.7%
Former sex offenders with new charges	5.7%
Mentally-ill offenders	5.7%
Offenders without restrictions	2.9%
NOT effective for any offenders (a mutually exclusive category)	2.9%
Those who have problems meeting their conditions of supervision	2.9%
Offenders with no restrictions	2.9%
Those that should be in prison	2.9%
None	2.9%
Total	100.0%

There was not unanimity among the officers interviewed in terms of which types of offenders are most appropriate for EM. However, some general themes emerged from the interview data obtained from officers. First, the majority of officers believe that sex offenders benefit the most from electronic surveillance. Officers mention the age of the offender as a prominent factor influencing whether EM is effective. While officers differed in their assessments of whether EM is effective for younger offenders under supervision, the data indicates that there is more support for the perception that EM is

more effective for these types of offenders.

While there may not have been consensus regarding the types of offenders most appropriate for EM, there was consensus that EM should not be applied unilaterally across all types of offenders. Some officers perceive EM as a positive supervision tool for some groups of offenders; other officers report contrary opinions. This finding indicates that more assessment is needed concerning the types of offenders who benefit from the enhanced supervision surveillance provided by EM.

5.3.10 Impact of EM on Attending Court-Ordered Treatment Programs

As a condition of an offender's EM sentence, the court may impose mandatory treatment programs. Treatment programs may consist of substance abuse programs, sex offender counseling, and other types of rehabilitation. This section addresses the question of whether EM enhances offenders' motivation to attend treatment programs.

A. Offenders

Of the offenders interviewed, 70% reported that they were ordered to attend treatment programs. The vast majority of these offenders (81%) said that they would have attended their court-ordered treatment program(s) regardless of whether they were on EM. When asked how EM affected their treatment involvement, 45% said they participated because it was court ordered; 22% said they would attend treatment regardless of whether they were on EM, 15% noted little to no affect, 15 % said that treatment was a good thing and that they "wanted to get better," and 3% cited other reasons for participating.

Only 1% of the offenders stated that they were required to attend an educational/vocational program as part of their supervision, and reported that EM did increase his attendance.

B. Officers

A little more than one-third (36%) of the officers interviewed believe that offenders are more likely to attend court-ordered treatment programs if they are on EM; 61% think offenders were no more likely to attend, and 3% considered them to be less

likely to attend. Fifty-nine percent believe that EM does not make offenders more likely to attend treatment programs because it does not force their participation and that they participate if they want to. Twenty-seven percent noted that offenders are more likely to attend because it is court ordered and their participation can be monitored, and another 14% cited other reasons.

Officers were also asked their opinions regarding the likelihood of offenders attending educational programs while on EM. Most officers (69%) believed that offenders on EM are no more likely to attend such programs than those who are not being monitored. Twenty-two percent reported that offenders on EM would be more likely to attend, and 8% said they would be less likely to attend. When asked what would make them more or less likely to attend educational programs, 60% of the officers said that because EM does not force participation, offenders participate if they want to. Seventeen percent said it was because it is court ordered and they can be monitored, 9% said offenders are embarrassed to be on EM in public, while 15 percent cited other reasons.

5.3.11 Impact of EM on Absconding From Supervision

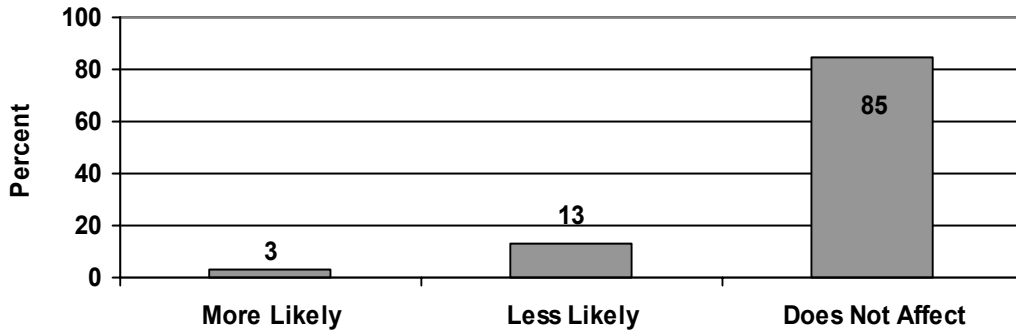
When offenders abscond from supervision and their whereabouts are unknown to the supervising officer, it becomes a serious problem with significant public safety ramifications. One of the purposes of enhancing the level of offender oversight through EM, especially with the use of the GPS technology, is to deter offenders from leaving the geographical boundaries they are mandated to stay within and to provide officers with the ability to detect when an offender has violated those boundaries. The next section addresses whether EM affects the likelihood of absconding based on the responses of offenders and officers.

A. Offenders

Figure 5.13 presents offenders' responses to the question, "Does being on electronic monitoring make you more or less likely to abscond or flee or does it not affect your likelihood of absconding or fleeing?" According to 85% of the offenders, EM does not affect their likelihood of absconding or fleeing from supervision. Only 13% said they are less likely to abscond or flee because of EM and 3% said they are more likely to

abscond because they're on EM.

Figure 5.13. Offenders' opinions of their likelihood of absconding while on EM (N = 104)



Despite the fact that more than 8 in 10 offenders claimed that EM does not affect their likelihood of absconding, most offenders' responses indicate the contradictory opinion that they will not abscond or flee because they do not want to get in further trouble. In fact, 45% of offenders noted that the reason EM would impact the likelihood of absconding is because they do not want to violate the rules and that (because they can be tracked) they feel they will be caught anyway and do not want to go to jail again and lose their freedom. Of the offenders interviewed, 26% said they simply do not plan on leaving, and 29% cited other reasons. A majority of the offenders expressed the sentiment that absconding would be ineffectual through remarks such as:

“Because my mind is made up; I’m done with the foolishness.”

“No point in running away; they know where you are at.”

“That’s just crazy. Why would you take off for petty crap?”

“I’m trying to not give them any reason to make my life more difficult.”

“This is my freedom.”

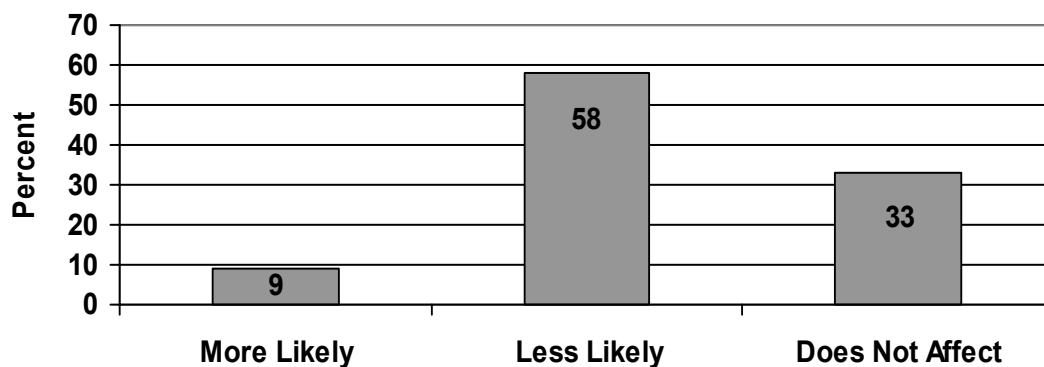
“I know the consequences”

B. Officers

Officers were asked, “Do you believe offenders are any more or less likely to

abscond or flee from supervision while they are on electronic monitoring?” Figure 5.14 shows that in contrast to offenders’ perception of the effect of EM on absconding, almost six in every 10 officers (58%) believed that EM results in offenders being less likely to abscond and one in three (33%) held the opinion that EM does not effect absconding behavior. Nine percent suggested that offenders would be more likely to abscond.

Figure 5.14. Officers’ opinions of the offenders’ likelihood of absconding while on EM (N = 36)



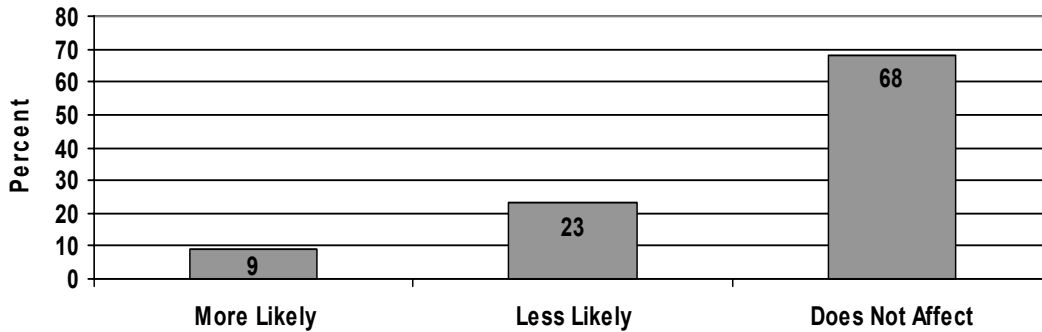
A very small percentage of offenders (3%) and officers (9%) expressed that EM increases the chances of an offender absconding or fleeing. A majority of officers (58%) are inclined to think that offenders are less likely to flee, while 85% of offenders said that EM itself does not affect their likelihood of absconding.

5.3.12 Impact of EM on Violating Conditions of Supervision

A. Offenders

In general, a majority of the offenders do not plan to violate the conditions of their supervision. According to 68% of the offenders, EM does not affect their likelihood of violating the conditions of supervision. However, when asked to further elaborate on this question, 54% reasoned that they want to follow the rules because they are being watched. Thirteen percent stated that EM does not affect them, and 9% said they just do not plan on violating. Additional offenders cited equipment problems (11%) and other reasons (13%) that would make them more or less likely to violate the rules.

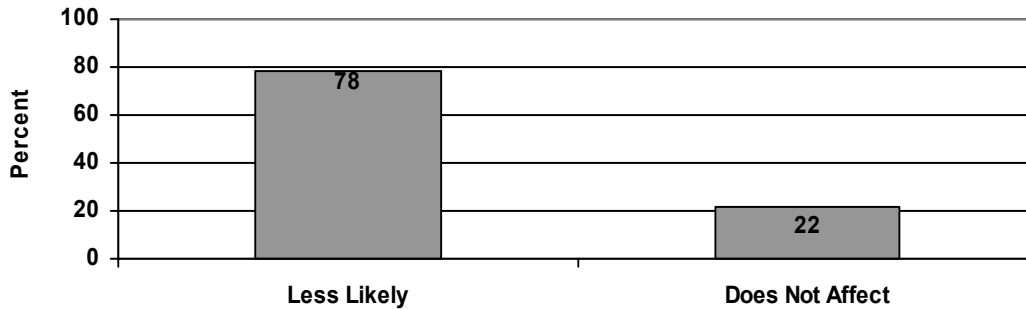
Figure 5.15. Likelihood of violating while on EM: Offenders' opinions (N = 104)



B. Officers

In contrast to 23% of the offenders, Figure 5.16 shows that 78% of the officers held the opinion that offenders on EM are less likely to violate the conditions of their supervision. Most (82%) feel this is because offenders know they are being monitored and can be caught easily; 18% of the officers feel that EM does not prevent violations.

Figure 5.16. Likelihood of violating while on EM: Officers' opinions (N = 36)



Similar to the findings regarding the likelihood that offenders will abscond, there is a divergence in opinions among offenders and officers. Additionally, there are contradictions among the offenders' responses. Most (68%) said that EM has no effect on their likelihood of violating their supervision; however, 54% of them also noted that they are aware of the scrutiny placed on them by EM and want to follow the rules. This

ambiguity is evident in these offender responses:

“It keeps you out of places you probably shouldn’t be.”

“You can slip away from supervision, but you can’t outrun EM.”

“EM is like a safety blanket, recording where I have been 24 hours a day.”

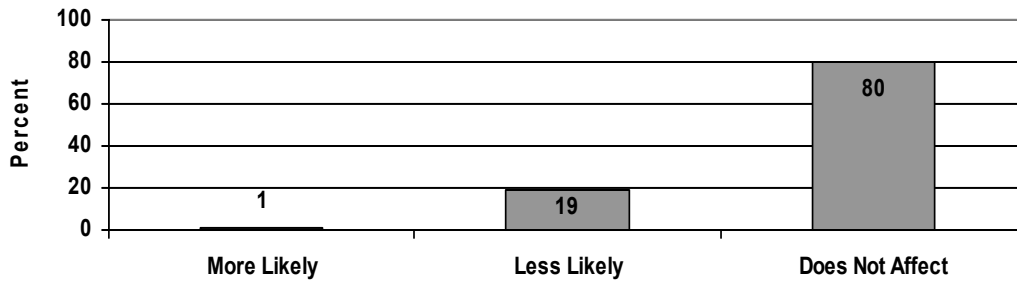
“I’m on the path on doing right. ‘Don’t like prison food or prison people.’”

5.3.13 Impact of EM on Committing New Crimes

A. Offenders’ Responses

When asked the question, “Does being on electronic monitoring make you more or less likely to commit a crime or does it not affect your likelihood of committing a crime?”, only 19% percent said they were less likely to commit new crimes. A significant proportion (80%) stated that EM has no impact on whether they would commit new crimes; however, in answer to a follow-up question, 31% said that the reason they would not commit new crimes is because they know they are being watched and they don't want to lose their freedom. *“It makes you think 100 times before committing a crime.”* Four percent said they would not commit new crimes because they are not criminals, 16% said their actions and behaviors are unaffected by EM, and 9% percent cited other reasons why they would be more or less willing to commit new crimes on EM. Similar to the likelihood of absconding and violating the conditions of their supervision, a majority of the offenders stated that they do not plan to commit new crimes while on EM: *“Ain’t fixing to do nothing with this on. They know where you’re at.”*

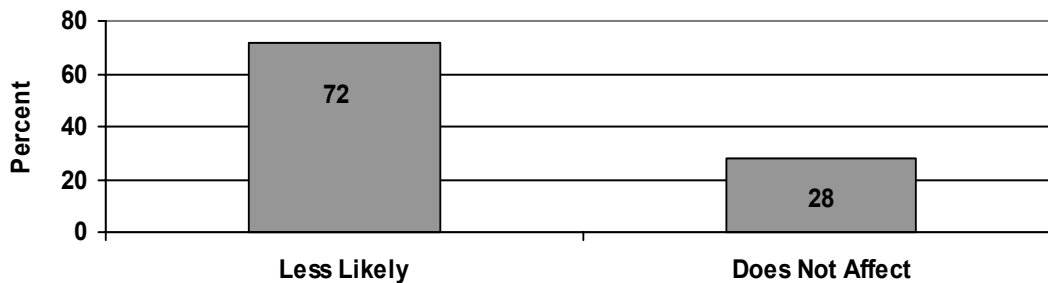
Figure 5.17. Likelihood of committing a new offense while on EM: Offenders' opinions (N = 104)



B. Officers

The majority of the officers disagree with the high percentage of offenders who said that EM does not affect whether they commit new crimes; 72% of the officers believe that EM does deter offenders from committing new crimes, and most of these said it is because the offenders know they are being watched and could be caught. Twenty-eight percent feel that EM does not make offenders less likely to commit new crimes.

Figure 5.18. Likelihood of committing a new crime while on EM: Officers' opinions (N = 36)



Consistent with the results relating to the effect of EM on absconding and supervision violations presented previously, there is a difference in the sentiments between offenders and officers regarding the impact EM has on the likelihood that

offenders will commit new crimes. Similarly, offenders also indicated a contradiction in their responses. While 80% indicate no impact on their actions due to EM, when asked to elaborate further on the reason(s) for their opinion only 16% reiterated that EM had no effect. The remainder noted reasons implying that EM may in fact reduce their likelihood of committing new crimes. Statements made by the offenders illustrate this inconsistency:

“Because what got me on this, got me on this. So I’m not committing crimes again.”

“Because if I were thinking about committing a crime, I’d think about my kids first, not the box.”

“The jail is waiting.”

5.3.14 Impact of EM on Offenders’ Behavior Post-EM

The issue addressed in this section is whether there is a residual effect of the EM experience among offenders once they are removed from the monitor which results in them abiding by the restrictions of their supervision and being a threat to public safety.

A. Offenders

Of the offenders interviewed as part of this study, only 3% reported being off EM during the time of interview. Due to the small number of this population, conclusions from the perspective of the offender cannot be reached at this time about the changes on the effects of EM on personal relationships, behaviors, housing, and employment upon completion of EM supervision.

B. Officers

Thirty-two percent of the officers feel that offenders are more likely to flee and abscond once they are no longer on EM, while 18% noted that offenders may be less likely to flee. One officer said, “*They believe we’re not watching them.*” Half of the officers believe they are no more likely to flee for various reasons: 54% expect that offenders do not want to lose their freedom and have learned to behave well; 31% believe

it does not prevent them from fleeing; and 15% noted that there is less supervision and it is more difficult to track offenders once they are no longer on EM. Eighteen percent feel that offenders are less likely to abscond when they are released from EM.

Fifty percent of officers believe that offenders will be more likely to violate the conditions of their supervision once off EM, and 30% believe that some are less likely to violate because they have been taught to follow the rules and they don't want to mess up. Forty-two percent think offenders might be more likely to violate because they are no longer being watched as closely, 19% feel being removed from EM makes no difference, and 9% cite other reasons they may be more or less likely to violate.

Additionally, 62% of the officers think that offenders are likely to commit new crimes once they are removed from EM. Twenty-four percent said they are no more likely, and 15% stated that offenders were less likely to commit new crimes after their release from EM. When asked to explain their reasoning, 55% percent of the officers suggested that it was because offenders were no longer closely monitored and watched; 23% said the offenders had learned not to make mistakes because they can be placed back on EM, 19% noted that offenders will do what they want, and 3% said they are more likely to stay out late and get into trouble.

The majority of the officers believe that offenders' relationships with their significant others change when they are released from EM; all of the officers said that fewer restrictions and greater freedom would improve these relationships. Only 28% said that offenders' relationships would be unaffected, while 61% also believe that offenders' relationships with their children would change after EM. A predominate reason officers cited was that offenders would have more freedom to do things with their children. Six percent claimed there would be no change because the offender would remain on house arrest after being released from EM.

There was an overwhelming consensus among the officers that offenders' employment prospects improve once they are released from EM. Because they no longer have the EM equipment box on the job, they are not interrupted by EM signals; do not experience the aggravation, customer questioning, and/or stigma associated with the equipment; and have greater freedom of movement and more opportunities, according to 97% of the officers. As noted by one officer, *"The employer doesn't have an employee*

with the 'I am a criminal' gear anymore.” Three percent suggested that offenders' absenteeism from employment could increase once they are released from EM.

5.3.15 EM as a Diversion from Prison or Jail: Perceptions of Officers and Offenders

A primary purpose of placing offenders under electronic surveillance is to divert them from the significantly more expensive alternative of state prison or local jail. The EM equipment—GPS, specifically, because it is the primary technology used at this time—costs \$3,263 per year. In contrast, the average cost of keeping an offender in Florida’s prison system per year is \$20,108, based on FY2007-08 figures for non-private prisons. (See the FDOC Annual Report for FY2007-08). The cost of confining offenders in local jails in Florida is not available; however, it is reasonable to estimate that the cost far exceeds that of incarceration in state prisons. Additionally, to the extent that one of the consequences of EM is to provide an alternative to incarceration, the offender can avoid the stigma associated with being an “ex-con” upon re-entry into the community and the associated consequences, which significantly impact their ability to secure employment, education, housing, etc. EM, in lieu of incarceration, affords offenders the opportunity to remain active members of their families, to gain employment, to further their education, and to possibly become productive members of their communities.

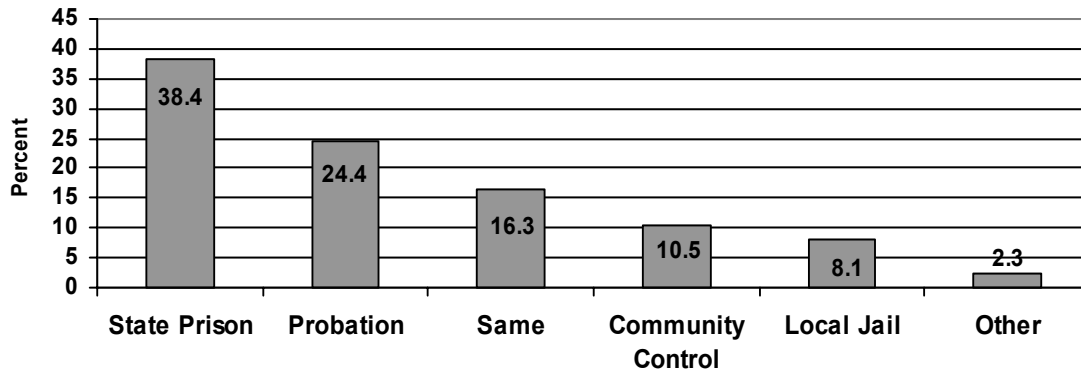
This prison diversion purpose of EM is especially germane in the case of offenders convicted of felonies and, especially, for medium- and high-risk offenders targeted for inclusion in the Florida EM program. Questions were asked in the offender and officer interviews to determine their perceptions of the extent to which the placement of felons, who could have been sentenced to prison or jail, would have likely received these sanctions if not for the EM alternative.

A. Offenders

When asked the question, “What sentence do you think the judge would have given you if there were no electronic monitoring available to the judge?”, Figure 5.19 shows that 38.4% of the 86 offenders placed on EM upon their felony conviction and not subsequent to release from prison stated that they would have been sentenced to prison. An additional 8.1% believe they would have been sentenced to local jail. Therefore, a

significant proportion of offenders believe that, were it not for the FDOC EM program, they would have been incarcerated.

Figure 5.19. Offenders’ opinions of the sentence they would have received if EM did not exist (N = 86)



A follow-up question was posed to offenders: “Would you have preferred going to jail or prison over being on electronic monitoring?” Figure 5.20 shows that 9 of 10 (88.4%) of offenders preferred their EM sentences over incarceration. The dominant reasons why offenders preferred EM over incarceration included the amount of freedom afforded to them while under supervision in the community compared to incarceration (26.3%) and to spending time with their families (22.4%). Some illustrative quotes from offenders include:

“Can’t stand the sound of doors slamming. Lock down, all the prison rules, and harassment are worse than following the rules of life out here.”

“Because you have freedom out here to live and do what you want in peace.”

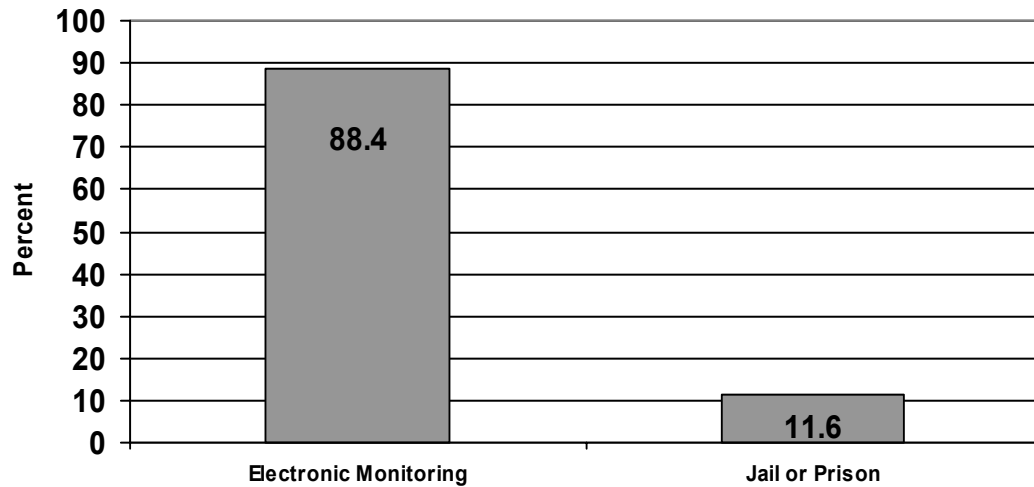
“Liberties outside--even limited as they are--are better than in prison.”

“It’s bad, but you can’t put a price on freedom.”

“As bad as this is, prison would be worse.”

“I am able to spend time with my children.” Figure 5.20. Offenders’ preference of jail or prison rather than EM (N=86)

Figure 5.20. Offenders’ preference of jail or prison rather than EM (N=86)



B. Officers

Two questions were asked to obtain officers’ perceptions of whether, and to what extent, EM is used as an alternative to prison. First, they were asked, “Do you think that EM, in most cases, is used as an alternative to prison or is used as an enhancement to supervision?” They were asked to give two possible answers (“alternative to prison” or “enhancement to supervision”) and to explain their responses. Over one fourth of the officers (27.8%) believe EM is used as an alternative to prison, while 58.3% consider EM is an enhancement to supervision. Some officers were uncertain about either response choice provided; 11.1% said “both,” and 2.8% indicated “neither.”

The most common reasoning provided for the opinion that EM is an alternative to prison included: “Offenders are watched more often” (n=4); “an alternative to probation violators” (n=2); “EM saves money” (n=1); and “downward departure for most sex offenders” (n=1). Reasoning among officers who considered EM as an enhancement to supervision rather than an alternative to prison included: “Judges decide punishment.” (n=6); “just an addition to punishment—community control is the alternative” (n=6); “EM is more severe, strict, and confining” (n=2); and “alternative for probation violators” (n=2).

A more precise indicator of the extent to which officers considered court ordered EM an alternative to imprisonment was gleaned from the question: “Approximately what percentage of your EM offenders do you think would likely have been sentenced to state

prison if EM were not available?” Table 5.25 presents the distribution of officers’ responses to this question, indicating a wide variance of opinions as to the prison diversionary effect of EM. On average, officers believe that 30.4% of their EM cases were diverted from prison; the median response was 25%. Three fourths of the officers believe at least some portion of their EM cases would have been sentenced to prison if EM were not available to the judge, and almost one quarter (24.6%) think that 50% or more of their EM cases would have been sentenced to state prison were it not for the availability of electronic surveillance.

Table 5.25. Percentage of EM offenders likely to have been sentenced to state prison if EM were not available: the officer’s perspective

Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	25.8%	25.8%
2	6.4%	32.3%
5	9.7%	41.9%
10	3.2%	45.2%
20	3.2%	48.4%
25	9.7%	58.1%
42	3.2%	61.3%
45	3.2%	64.5%
50	12.9%	77.4%
60	6.5%	83.9%
65	3.2%	87.1%
66	3.2%	90.3%
85	3.2%	93.5%
95	3.2%	96.8%
100	3.2%	100.0%
Total	100.0%	
Mean	30.4%	
Median	25.0%	

The cumulative evidence, based on whether offenders and officers believe that EM is (and if so, to what extent) a correctional strategy that diverts offenders from the

more costly alternatives of prison or jail, indicates that this goal of EM is being achieved.

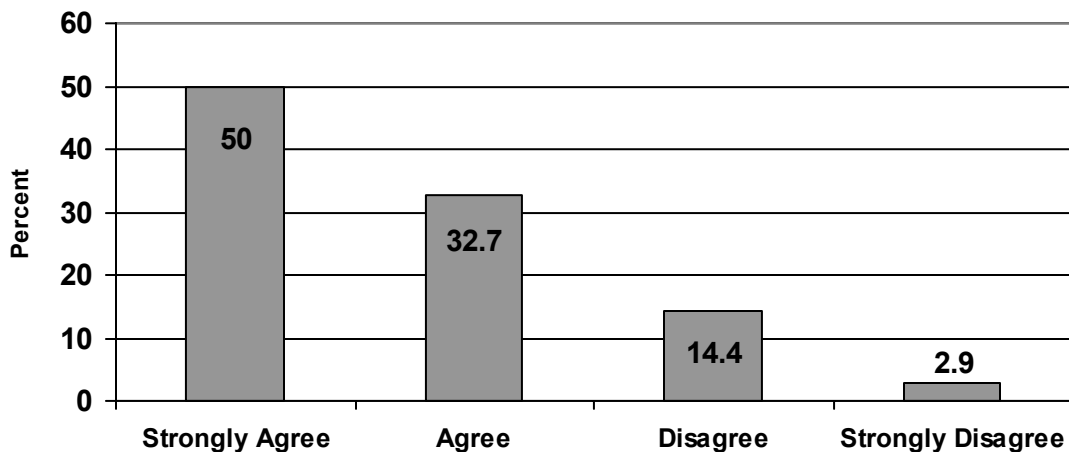
5.3.16 EM as a Punishment

The question addressed in this section is whether offenders and officers perceive that the use of EM is a form of punishment. To the extent that EM is considered punishment, deterrence theory would suggest that it will reduce the likelihood that offenders supervised in the community will abscond, violate their conditions of supervision, or commit new crimes.

A. Offenders

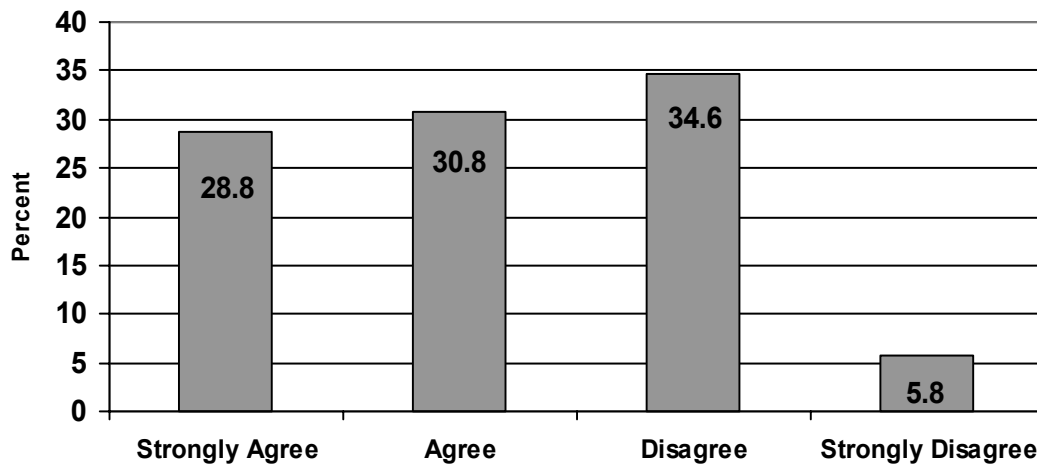
Figure 5.21 indicates that the vast majority of offenders (82.7%) consider their electronic surveillance experience a form of punishment; 50% strongly agreed with the statement, “Electronic monitoring is a form of punishment for you” and 32.7% agreed. Only 17.3% of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.

Figure 5.21. Percentage of offenders who perceive EM as a punishment (N = 104)



Offenders were also asked: “Is electronic monitoring a severe punishment because it keeps you from going places you want to go without permission?” Figure 5.22 indicates that a fewer percentage of the offenders considered EM as punishment because it prevents them from going places than those who generally believe EM is punishment. Specifically, 59.6% strongly agreed or agreed to the statement, while 40.4% disagreed or strongly disagreed. This suggests that the perception of EM as a punishment is, in large part, influenced by offenders’ sense that EM restricts their freedom; other facets of EM appear to also play a role in offenders’ perception of it as a form of punishment.

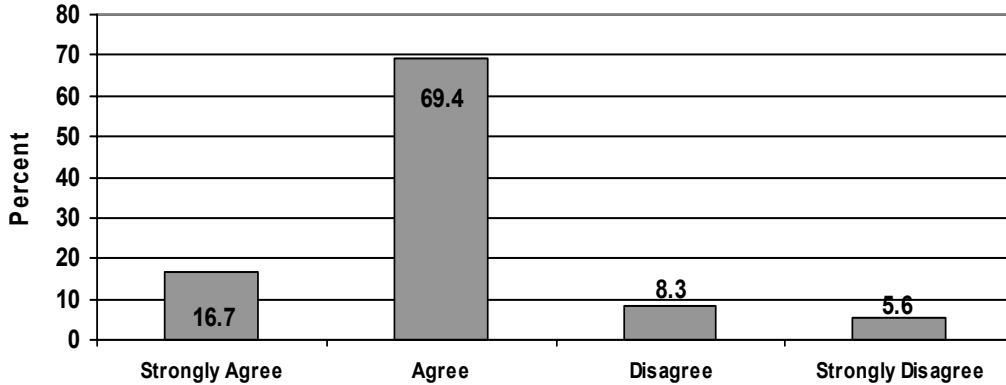
Figure 5.22. Percentage of offenders who perceive EM as severe punishment (N = 104)



B. Officers

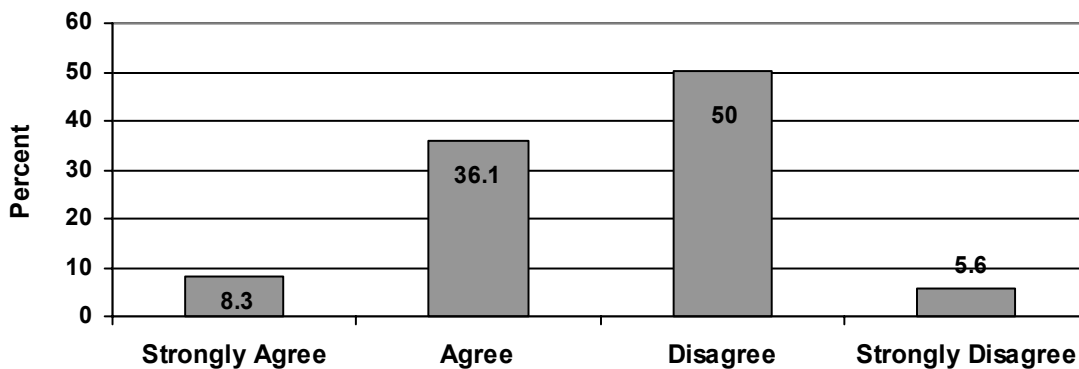
Consistent with the responses provided by offenders, Figure 5.23 indicates that the vast majority of officers (87.1%) believe EM is a form of punishment, with 69.4% agreeing and 16.7% strongly agreeing with the statement, “Electronic monitoring is a form of punishment.” Only 5.6% of the officers strongly disagreed with the statement.

Figure 5.23. EM as a punishment: Officers' opinions (N = 36)



Similar to offenders, officers were also asked whether “Electronic monitoring is a severe punishment because it keeps offenders from going places without permission.” Figure 5.24 shows less agreement with this statement among officers than among the offenders, with 44.4% agreeing and 55.6% disagreeing. Clearly, while the vast majority of officers consider EM a form of punishment, there are characteristics of the EM experience that lead most officers to this conclusion other than the restrictions on offender movements due to the electronic monitor.

Figure 5.24. Percentage of officers who perceive EM as a severe punishment for the offender (N = 36)

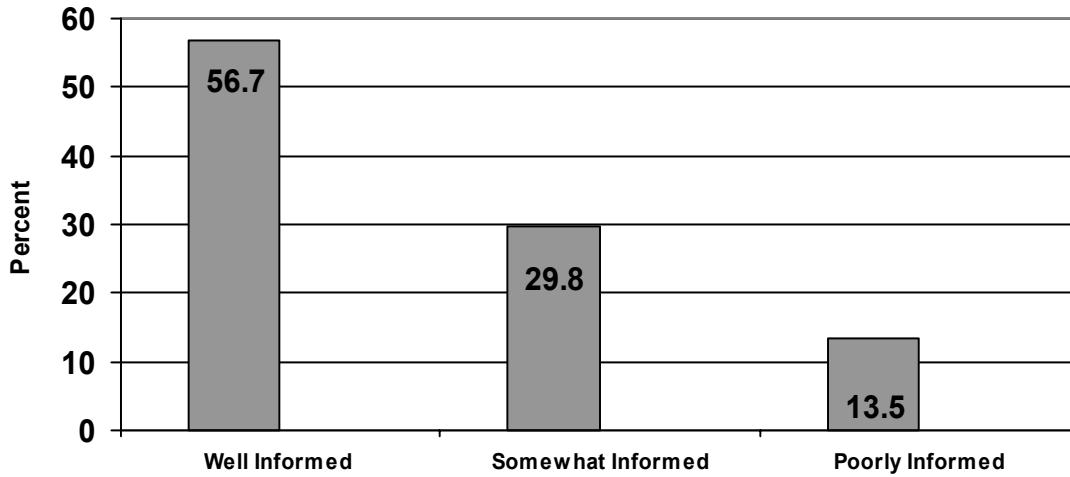


5.3.17 EM Training: Offenders' Opinions

The EM program involves the use of sophisticated electronic technology and devices. Proper training to ensure that offenders are fully aware of how the equipment operates and how it should be utilized is critical to enhancing the efficiency of the EM experience and producing effective outcomes. To determine whether the level of training is sufficient, offenders were asked, "How informed were you about the rules and conditions of electronic monitoring when you began it?" This was typically clarified by the interviewer with statements such as, "When you were put on EM, how well did the officer teach you about the equipment?" Figure 5.25 indicates that more than a majority (56.7%) of the offenders expressed that they were well informed regarding the operation of their EM devices and 29.8% believe they were somewhat informed while only 13.5% think they were poorly informed.

The fact that almost one in four offenders held the opinion that they were not well versed in how to operate the EM equipment by their supervising officer may be a function of their inability to understand the instructions provided or their lack of attentiveness to the training. However, these data suggest that there may be some room for improvement in training offenders in the operation of the EM equipment. Therefore, the FDOC should consider reviewing their EM training protocol and assess the extent to which officers adhere to the protocol to improve the level of training offenders receive when the EM equipment is provided to them.

Figure 5.25. Offenders’ opinions of the initial EM training received (N = 104)



5.3.18 EM Equipment

The GPS equipment used in Florida and throughout the country involves complex electronic devices that are subjected to harsh conditions on a daily basis. Therefore, the possibility of faulty equipment is very real and has important consequences in terms of the time required for officers to respond to problems and of possible deficiencies in the level of supervision. The purpose of this section is to summarize what was learned from offenders and officers in their responses to questions related to how well the GPS equipment operates.

A. Offenders

In response to the question, “Are there areas that you enter in which your EM device sends an alert alarm to your probation officer or the call center?” Fourteen percent of the offenders indicated they did not lose the signal from the satellites that transmit their locations through their MTDs, while 85.7% said they did have this type of problem. Offenders were also asked, “In a typical week, how often does your alarm go off because of signal problems with your electronic monitoring device?” Table 5.25 indicates that the vast majority (90.1%) of the offenders reported they had some lost signal alerts. Almost one third (29.7%) claimed they have two or fewer alerts of this type in a typical week, over half (55.4%) asserted they have five or fewer, and 9.9% stated

they have 30 or more lost signal alerts per week. On average, offenders on EM claim they have 11.9 alerts each week; the median number of alerts was 5.

Table 5.26. Number of times per week offenders claim to have signal problems with EM device

Times Per Week	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	9.9%	9.9%
1	13.9%	23.8%
2	5.9%	29.7%
3	9.9%	39.6%
4	5.9%	45.5%
5	9.9%	55.4%
6	2.0%	57.4%
7	8.9%	66.3%
8	1.0%	67.3%
10	7.9%	75.2%
12	1.0%	76.2%
14	1.0%	77.2%
15	2.0%	79.2%
20	3.0%	82.2%
21	3.0%	85.1%
25	4.0%	89.1%
30	1.0%	90.1%
35	2.0%	92.1%
40	2.0%	94.1%
50	1.0%	95.0%
65	1.0%	96.0%
70	1.0%	97.0%
80	1.0%	98.0%
84	1.0%	99.0%
100	1.0%	100.0%
Total	100.0%	
Mean	11.9	
Median	5.0	

Offenders were also asked the question, “In what locations do you experience the most trouble with receiving a signal with your electronic monitoring device?” Table 5.27 indicates that the most common location in which offenders asserted they lose the EM signal is in large buildings or shopping centers (41.8%) and in their homes (21.5%). Offenders were then asked the question, “When you have these problems, what are the consequences?” The most frequent response (40.8%) was that they would “walk the box,” followed by contacting the monitoring center (33.7%), and contacting their probation officers (11.2%).

Table 5.27. Locations where offenders report losing signal with the EM device

Locations Where EM Signals Are Lost	Percent
Large buildings/shopping centers	41.8%
Home	21.5%
Varies – anywhere/everywhere	7.6%
At work	3.8%
Bad weather	3.8%
Inside	3.8%
Garage	2.5%
Other locations	15.2%
Total	100.0%

Losing the signal between the MTD and the satellite is particularly problematic for offenders during their work hours, especially if they work inside a building. Having to frequently leave their areas of employment to “walk the box” for 15 minutes or more can cause the employer serious concern, especially with jobs in warehouses, restaurants, and office buildings, etc. The EM software provided by the vendor affords the opportunity for supervising officers to program the EM computer system to ignore lost signals during specified periods of the day when the offender is at work. The data regarding the precise location of the offender is stored and can be reviewed at a later time; however, an alert will not be transmitted during the designated periods. Because

we were not aware of this capability prior to embarking on the interviewing process, no specific questions were asked relative to this option. This issue was raised by several officers and administrators during the interviews, but no hard evidence or data was collected on how often this process is used. However, it appeared to the interviewers that this tool is not frequently used among EM offenders. Additionally, the extent to which officers embraced this tool seemed to vary considerably across probation offices. Based on this admittedly anecdotal information, it is recommended that the FDOC assess the frequency with which officers utilize this EM tool and determine whether it warrants being used more often to reduce the frequency of lost signal alerts that can negatively impact offenders' work environments.

One should remain cognizant of the fact that offenders are required to wear EM ankle bracelets and carry their MTDs at all times or have the boxes in their docking stations when they are home. This arrangement is unlikely to make anyone have positive opinions about the EM equipment. Regardless, it is important to report the opinions expressed by the EM offenders concerning the surveillance devices. A question that informs the issue of the workings of the EM equipment was asked of offenders: “Is there anything else you would like to share about the electronic monitoring equipment?” Table 5.28 shows that the most frequently mentioned comment (20.5%) was, “The device size is intrusive,” followed by offenders who have no comments (18.2%), “needs another design” (11.4%), and “The equipment is large and/or uncomfortable” (10.2%). Some offender quotes that provide a bit more flavor to their comments about the EM equipment include the following:

“It’s like trying to find a job with a purse on.”

“I am controlled by the box.”

“With this equipment, they might as well put a big brand on your forehead.”

“(It’s)not loud enough to wake you up at night.”

Some positive responses, albeit with low frequencies, were that the “EM device can prove innocence” (2.3%) and that they “would have violated without EM” (2.3%).

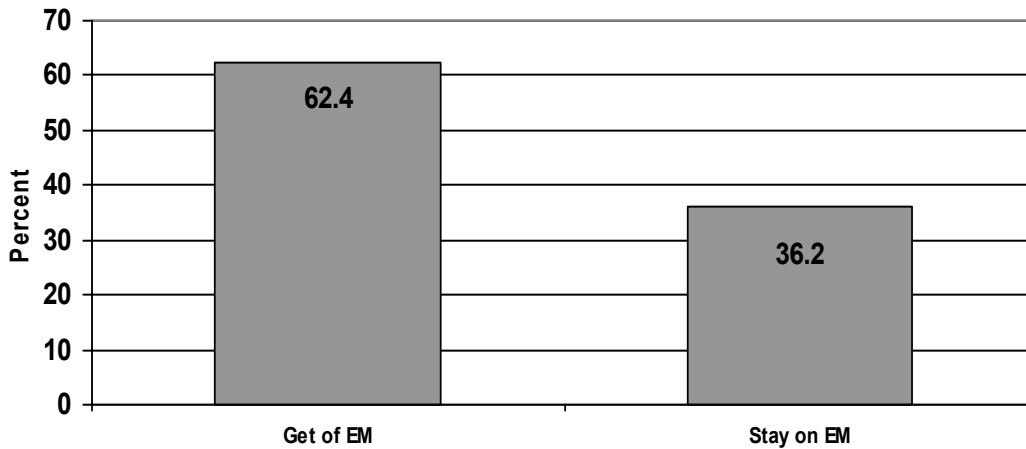
Table 5.28. EM Equipment: Offenders' Opinions

Opinions about EM Equipment	Percent
Device size is intrusive	20.5%
No opinions	18.2%
Needs a better design	11.4%
Equipment is large and/or uncomfortable	10.2%
Too many alarms	4.5%
Older devices were problematic	3.4%
EM can prove innocence	2.3%
Would have violated without EM	2.3%
Should have a volume control	2.3%
Other responses	24.9%
Total	100.0%

Offenders were also asked, “Would you like to stay (or preferred to have stayed) on EM during your entire sentence or be released from EM as soon as possible?” Figure 5.26 reveals a somewhat surprising finding in that over one third of the offenders (36.2%) indicated that they want to remain under electronic surveillance for the remainder of their supervision sentences. Given the negative comments about the intrusiveness of the EM equipment, these findings indicate that an unexpected number of offenders recognize the benefit of EM. Some offenders expressed positive sentiments about being on EM:

“It’s a safeguard for me”: “It would be a better life without it, but I live a stable life with electronic monitoring;” and “Keeps me out of trouble, keeps me honest.” Other offenders expressed negative opinions about being on EM: “I feel like a test rat;” “You feel like you’re confined, without being confined;” and “It’s a pain in the ass. It is like having a wife.”

Figure 5.26. Offenders' preferences whether to remain on EM (N = 101)



5.3.19 Judiciary's Role with EM: Officers' Opinions

Officers who supervise offenders on community supervision, including those who carry an EM caseload, are integrally involved in the court system. They have frequent contacts with judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys in relation to pre-sentencing investigation reports and supervision violation hearings, etc. Additionally, it is not uncommon for officers who supervise offenders on EM to testify about situations involving the tracking of offenders on EM and whether the data collected from the surveillance equipment implicates offenders in crimes or supervision violations or exonerates them as suspects in crimes.

This section reports on the perceptions supervising officers have relative to the way they believe judges and prosecutors decide whether an offender needs to be placed on electronic surveillance and what factors they consider in making this decision. The importance of exploring this issue is magnified by the fact that judges make the ultimate decision as to whether an offender is placed on supervision, unless the offender is mandated to be on EM as a result of state law. The first question asked of officers in this regard was, "What is your opinion regarding how judges perceive EM and how they make decisions regarding the placement of offenders on EM?" Table 5.29 indicates the most common opinions supervising officers expressed about judges' perceptions of EM was that they "do not know a lot about EM" (14.3%), "need more education and

involvement in EM” (11.4%), or “have no concept of EM” (5.7%). These responses combined comprise about 1 in 3 of the responses (31.4%) and indicate that the officers believe judges are not as knowledgeable about the EM program as officers feel they should be. The most frequent response was that judges make EM decisions which vary, based on the types of offenders (17.1%), and 11.4% believe judges are “good at selecting offenders for EM.” The following quotes further reflect how some officers believe judges consider EM and how they make placement decisions and demonstrate the diversity of opinions officers hold about judges vis-à-vis decisions related to EM:

“They think it’s the perfect tool when it’s not.”

“It sounds good, so they go with it.”

“Judges are not familiar with the process. I’m not sure how they determine who gets on EM.”

“They go with what the prosecutor says.”

“They place offenders on EM based upon statute.”

“Judges think it’s positive and are in support of it.”

“Judges only do what they are asked to do based upon the plea. They don’t really think about it. Sometimes they use it even if a regular probationer violates.”

Table 5.29. Judiciary’s Role with EM: Officers’ Opinions

Judges Perceptions of EM	Number of Responses	Percent
Decisions vary based on the type of offender	6	17.1%
Do not know a lot about EM	5	14.3%
Order EM because it is required by statutes (e.g., JLA)	5	14.3%
Need more education about and involvement in EM	4	11.4%
Good at selecting offenders for EM	4	11.4%
No concern about who they place on EM	3	8.6%
Have no concept of EM	2	5.7%
Some judges still skeptical about the use of EM	2	5.7%
See it as more beneficial than it is	2	5.7%
Some judges think EM will work for all offenders	1	2.9%
Do not use EM as a tool very often	1	2.9%
Totals	34	100.0%

Officers were also asked, “What is your opinion regarding how prosecutors perceive EM and how they make decisions regarding the placement of offenders on EM?” As was the case when the questions were presented relating to judges, the responses varied on a continuum from very positive to quite negative. Table 5.30 shows that the dominant perception among supervising officers is that prosecutors are not well informed about EM, based on the fact that 23.3% said they “need more education” and 26.7% said, they “do not believe prosecutors know a lot about EM.” Therefore, 6 in 10 (60.0%) of the officers held the opinion that prosecutors are not as adequately versed in the use of EM as is necessary. Of the officers queried on this subject, 16.7% believe that prosecutors targeted offenders for EM based on the types of offenders. The most positive comments were that state attorneys are “good at selecting offenders for EM” (10.0%) and they “love EM” (6.7%).

Table 5.30. Prosecutors perceptions of EM and factors affecting placement decisions: the opinions of supervising officers

Prosecutors Perception of EM	Number of Responses	Percent
Need more education	7	23.3%
Do not believe prosecutors know a lot about EM	8	26.7%
It varies based on the type of offender	4	13.3%
Good at selecting offenders for EM	3	10.0%
State Attorney’s love EM	2	6.7%
See it as more beneficial than it actually is	2	6.7%
Some are skeptical about the use of EM	1	3.3%
Usually use EM for plea deals	1	3.3%
Use it as an alternative to prison	1	3.3%
Like to see offenders on the anklet versus without it	1	3.3%
Totals	34	100.0%

The following quotes provide more evidence that officers have diverse opinions about how prosecutors consider EM and how they make placement decisions:

“Clueless, too. Offenders complain they didn’t know what EM would require because court officers didn’t explain anything to them.”

“They have no idea about the programs. They do not understand community control in its entirety.”

“They are more knowledgeable about the EM program than the rest of the court.”

Based on the opinions of supervising officers who deal directly with judges and prosecutors on a regular basis, the results presented above raise concerns regarding the depth of judges’ and prosecutors’ understanding of the EM program. Given the growth in the use of electronic surveillance to enhance the level of supervision of felony offenders in the community in recent years and the likely continued reliance on this correctional strategy to save taxpayer dollars by diverting offenders from prison, it seems that policy makers should consider prudent steps to enhance the judiciary’s level of understanding of FDOC’s EM program.

5.3.20 Victim Involvement in the EM Program: Administrators’ Opinions

The FDOC has in place a process in which victims of crimes committed by offenders on community supervision can be provided with safeguards to prevent them from being victimized again. Administrators of community corrections were asked, “Please describe any victim involvement in the EM program.” Through the EM program, restriction zones are established, when applicable; supervising officers and the monitoring center receive alerts when offenders break electronic barriers within a specified perimeter of their victims’ residences or work places, as well as when offenders leave the counties in which they are supervised. In such occurrences, the victims and law enforcement are notified immediately. Additionally, victims are offered pagers as another means of notification when the EM device indicates that an offender has absconded from the county or is in a location that may jeopardize the victims’ safety. One administrator stated, *“Officers can work with the victim to design the rules and limitations to the victim. Victims can be given a pager so they can be notified when the offender violates conditions. Officers explain everything about EM to the victim.”*

However, it was clear from the interviews with community corrections administrators that victims rarely accept the pagers they offer to them.

5.3.21 Statewide Monitoring Center: Officers' and Administrators' Opinions

The FDOC worked with the current EM vendor, ProTech, to develop a new system in which the initial notification of alerts generated by the EM equipment would be handled by a centralized call center in the ProTech facility. The vast majority of EM alerts occur when offenders' MTDs lose the satellite signals that track their locations. This typically occurs because the MTD is in a location that interrupts the signal between the satellite and the offender. Physical obstructions such as buildings and trees can impede the ability of the MTD to remain connected to a satellite.

A. Officers

Prior to the implementation of the statewide monitoring center in October 2007, supervising officers would receive notification of the lost signal, contact the offender to determine the problem, and assist the offender in rectifying the situation. This process not only resulted in a significant workload for officers, but it also distracted them from specific issues with which they were involved at that moment. Officers cannot ignore alerts or delay addressing them because something serious may be occurring with the offender; situations related to EM must be dealt with immediately. Other alerts to the monitoring center can occur when offenders cut the straps of the ankle bracelets or when they are not in close proximity to their MTDs.

Questions were posed to FDOC supervising officers and administrators regarding their assessment of the effectiveness of the statewide monitoring center. Specifically, they were asked, "How has the EM program changed since the implementation of the statewide monitoring center?" Table 5.31 summarizes the officers' responses and indicates that the vast majority (82.8%) believe the center has had a positive impact on the EM program, while 11.4% had neutral comments. Only 2 of the 35 officers (5.8%), believe that the monitoring center has had a deleterious effect on the EM program because it requires more home visits or creates more stress.

Table 5.31. Impact of the statewide monitoring center: Officers' opinions

Responses	Number	Percent
Positive Comments		
Reduced the Number of False Alarms	20	57.1%
More Time to Supervise, Make Field Visits, etc.	6	17.1%
Decreased Workload	3	8.6%
Sub-total	29	82.8%
Negative or Neutral Comments		
Does Not Affect Job	4	11.4%
More Home Visits	1	2.9%
Creates More Stress	1	2.9%
Sub-Total	6	17.2%
Total	35	100.0%

Specific statements made by officers buttress the data from the coding of their answers to the question relating to the statewide monitoring center. Some positive assessments made by the officers include:

“The call center is worth every penny we’re paying it, as far as I’m concerned.”

“One of the best things the department has done.”

“The call center has been wonderful.”

“It helps. There is less paperwork. It is a good thing.”

“Helped out a lot. Now we don’t have to go back and put in case notes.”

These commentaries by many supervision officers are a better representation of the sentiments we heard during the interviews (in terms of the level enthusiasm about the positive aspects of the statewide monitoring center), than the summary data presented above.

A. Administrators

Responses by administrators who oversee the community corrections system were consistent with the sentiments expressed by supervising officers, relative to the increase in efficiency resulting from the implementation of the statewide monitoring center. Table 5.32 below demonstrates that all 20 administrators interviewed expressed positive opinions regarding the impact the statewide monitoring center has had on the Florida EM program. Reductions in officer workload (45%) and reductions in the number of EM alarms (40%) were the dominant evaluations of how the call center has improved the EM program from the perspective of community corrections administrators.

Table 5.32. Impact of the statewide monitoring center: Administrators' opinions

Responses	Number	Percent
Reduced Officer Workload	9	45.0%
Reduced Number of Alarms	8	40.0%
Reduced Expenses	1	5.0%
Improved Communication Between FDOC and Vendor	1	5.0%
Reduced Problems for On-Call Officer	1	5.0%
Total	20	100.0%

Based on the comments provided by supervising officers and correctional administrators, the research team decided it would be advantageous to visit the ProTech facility, talk with staff, and personally witness the operation of the statewide monitoring center. Two project staff members spent approximately four hours at the ProTech facility. The highlights of our observations and discussions with ProTech staff include the following.

First, ProTech worked closely with FDOC throughout the development of the monitoring center via frequent and open communication, which appears to be a constant between the company and FDOC and is clearly a key to their successful relationship. FDOC indicated that they do not want a third party to administer the monitoring of

alarms. FDOC authorized leeway with the company to have frequent contact with officers and to offer suggestions to offenders to resolve alarms and reduce the frequency of future alarms. Second, ProTech staff expressed that the monitoring center makes the EM program significantly more efficient and effective and has reduced the number of on-call alerts to which FDOC officers have to respond by 70%.

A ProTech monitoring staff member who handles EM alerts met with the research staff for about an hour. She gave an overview of three of the software programs they utilize and explained the basic procedures that are followed when an alert is received, when an offender is contacted, and when an officer is contacted. Every detail of telephone contacts or electronic messages is well documented in case notes; all callers are informed that their calls are recorded. The FDOC Central Office can request copies of the audio recordings of any calls.

We were able to listen in on several calls the staff member made to offenders in an attempt to clear alerts. The monitor was professional and courteous and communicated clearly and succinctly what the problem was and what the offender had to do to rectify the situation. These transactions with offenders typically took less than one minute of the offenders' time. All of the monitors rely on written protocols specific to each type of situation to ensure consistency among their interactions with offenders. While none of the offenders whose calls we witnessed was uncooperative or belligerent, staff indicated that some offenders demonstrated these attitudes.

Clearly, the statewide monitoring center has been a tremendous success: It has increased the efficiency and effectiveness of the EM program in Florida and has reduced the workload of the officers who have EM cases.

5.3.22 The Goals of EM

Administrators were asked about their conceptions of what they considered to be the goals of the EM program. Tables 5.33 shows that 30% of the 20 administrators interviewed believe the most important goal of EM is to ensure offender compliance and another 30% thought tracking offenders was the most important goal. The next most frequent response was that EM is another tool (10%) and to reduce recidivism through behavior modification (10%). Two administrators made the following comments: *“To enhance supervision, help in surveillance, and improve public safety,”* and *“The goal is to reduce recidivism through offender behavior modification.”*

Table 5.33. Goals and objectives of EM: Administrators’ opinions

Perceptions of Goals and Objectives	Number of Responses	Percent
Ensure offender compliance	6	30.0%
Tracking of offenders	6	30.0%
EM is another tool	2	10.0%
Reduce recidivism through behavior modification	2	10.0%
Ensure successful completion of probation	1	5.0%
Victim protection	1	5.0%
Ensure public safety	1	5.0%
To hold offenders accountable	1	5.0%
Totals	20	100.0%

Administrators were then asked, "Why do you think EM is effective in reaching those goals?" Table 5.34 indicates that one half of the administrators were of the opinion that the EM program meets their stated goals because the offender is under constant monitoring. The frequency of this response is mirrored in the following statements made by two administrators: *“It is an extra set of eyes,”* and *“It is a constant reminder to the offender that they are being supervised.”* The next most common response was that EM

has a deterrent effect on offender behavior (15%), followed by the response that offenders are conditioned to follow the rules (10%).

Table 5.34. Reasons that EM is reaching it’s goals: Administrators’ opinions

Reasons for EM Reaching Goals	Number of Responses	Percent
Constant monitoring	10	50.0%
Deterrence	3	15.0%
Offenders conditioned to follow the rules	2	10.0%
Forced compliance	1	5.0%
Provides officers with a tool for supervision	1	5.0%
Victim notification	1	5.0%
Can substantiate violations with actual data	1	5.0%
Tool for the court	1	5.0%
Totals	20	100.0%

Administrators were also asked the more general question, “What have been the most significant factors in making EM successful in monitoring offenders?” Table 5.35 indicates that one in four (26.3%) of the administrators believed that improvement in the EM equipment and coverage area was the most significant reason for EM reaching its goals, while another 21% thought it was buy-in by the officers of the EM program. The next most frequent responses were active involvement by the officer (15.8%) and staff training (15.8%). A few statements made by administrators included: “*Can be an effective tool or an annoying tool,*” and “*more cooperation with ProTech and the command center than we had with previous vendors.*”

Table 5.35. Significant factors that make EM effective: Administrators’ opinions

Reasons for EM Reaching Goals	Number of Responses	Percent
Equipment/coverage area improvement	5	26.3%
Program buy-in/attention by officers	4	21.1%
Active involvement of officer	3	15.8%
Staff Training	3	15.8%
Public education on EM	1	5.3%
Better handling alerts via the call center	1	5.3%
Actual tracking of offenders	1	5.3%
Offender and officer communication	1	5.3%
Totals	19	100.0%

5.3.23 General Comments about the EM Program

The interviews were wrapped up with supervising officers and community supervision administrators with open-ended questions to give them an opportunity to provide their insights and opinions about the FDOC EM program that possibly were not elicited from the more structured questions posed during the interview. Specifically, they were asked, "Is there anything else you would like to tell us about electronic monitoring?"

A. Officers

Table 5.36 demonstrates that almost one half of the officers (48.7%) said that EM can be a good tool if used properly (22.9%), the technology/equipment/reception should be improved (11.5%), EM is used for too many people and should be individualized (8.6%), or that the uses of EM should be expanded (5.7%). The remaining responses were each expressed by one officer only and ranged from very positive statements about EM such as, “increases public safety” and “it is a useful tracking device,” to very negative sentiments such as, “EM is not effective,” and “EM is a waste of money.” Some suggestions on improving the EM process included statements such as “all EM cases

should be GPS” and that “offenders should be able to wear it for a while and have it removed for good behavior.”

Some positive sentiments expressed by supervising officers are captured in the following quotes: “EM is a positive program. There should be more offenders placed on EM.” “It is a helpful tool in the way officers supervise offenders.” Some more negative comments include: “If EM had not been invented, it wouldn’t make a difference. If you did away with the whole program, nothing would change with rehabilitation, recidivism, or public safety;” “I think it’s ineffective. It was the result of political posturing after the Jessica Lundsford case. The sheriff and the politicians were doing something they thought would make people safer. But it doesn’t do that.” Finally, some quotes include recommending changes to the EM program, such as, “Why would someone who has succeeded for three years on EM need it for the rest of the 10 years?”, “I don’t think EM is not being used to its full potential. It’s sometimes being used when it shouldn’t be and other times it isn’t being used in places that it should be. It has great potential.”

There is clearly a lack of unanimity among officers in terms of their levels of support for the EM program, which is typical of virtually every correctional strategy. Additionally, there is a wide range of responses from very positive to very negative. A much more extensive survey project involving many more officers would be required to delve into the reasons behind the disparate opinions about the EM program. This could yield valuable information for correctional administrators and policy makers to determine whether appropriate changes are needed regarding the operation of the EM program or the types of officers that are best suited for supervising offenders using the EM technology.

Table 5.36. General Comments about EM: by Officers

Reasons for EM Reaching Goals	Number of Responses	Percent
Can be a good monitoring tool if used properly	8	22.9%
Technology/equipment/reception should be improved	4	11.5%
EM used for too many people – individualize it	3	8.6%
Uses of EM should be expanded	2	5.7%
Useful for checking travel/exclusion zones	1	2.9%
Useful for observing offender routines	1	2.9%
Most effective when used with community control	1	2.9%
Vendor notes are difficult to read	1	2.9%
Increases public safety	1	2.9%
All EM cases should be GPS	1	2.9%
System needs oversight and quality control to improve consistency	1	2.9%
Should be able to wear it for a while and have it removed for good behavior	1	2.9%
Useful tracking device	1	2.9%
EM in not effective at preventing offenders from doing anything	1	2.9%
EM is not cost effective	1	2.9%
EM is a waste of money	1	2.9%
EM is only useful when there are conditions of supervision enforced	1	2.9%
More equipment is needed	1	2.9%
Judges and prosecutors think it is a lot more than it is	1	2.9%
Totals	35	100.0%

B. Administrators

Table 5.37 reveals that almost one half (45%) of the 20 administrators interviewed indicated that EM is only a tool and does not prevent crime (20%), that EM overall is good (15%), or that better and smaller equipment would be beneficial (10%). The remaining responses were each expressed by only one administrator and ranged from very positive statements such as “EM helps officers with offender monitoring” and “the monitoring center has helped greatly” to very negative comments such as, “It creates more work and officers are not compensated for extra work.” Issues raised by officers include: “The biggest problem is convincing officers to comply with policies;” “EM is a good tool if used properly;” and “It is important for the public to understand what it does and does not do.”

A sampling of positive quotes recorded from the administrators include: “EM has gotten better. I have seen the changes and it keeps getting better,” and “I wish we could utilize it more, we need more funding.” Some comments made which include suggestions for changes to the EM process include:

“The department should consider making it mandatory that EM officers be placed on EM for a short period of time to experience EM to both gain confidence in the equipment so they have an appreciation for what the offenders are experiencing and to recognize its limitation.”

“EM ought to be applied to domestic violence cases. The offender types match up well. It would be worth the effort.”

“Need to make it mandatory that offenders have a land line in their homes so I can know that the offender is at home. Cellular functions of the EM equipment do not always work.”

“The department should consider making it mandatory that EM officers be placed on EM for a short period of time to experience EM to gain confidence in the equipment so they have an appreciation for what the offenders are experiencing and to recognize its limitations.”

Table 5.37. General comments about EM: by Administrators

Reasons for EM Reaching Goals	Number of Responses	Percent
EM is only a tool – does not prevent crime	4	20.0%
Overall, EM is good	3	15.0%
Better/smaller equipment would be beneficial	2	10.0%
Helps officers with offender monitoring	1	5.0%
Biggest problem is convincing officers to comply with policies	1	5.0%
It creates more work	1	5.0%
The cost of EM is being waived for an increasing number of offenders	1	5.0%
Requires officer and offender cooperation to be effective	1	5.0%
EM is a good tool if used properly	1	5.0%
Monitoring Center has helped greatly	1	5.0%
Technology should be improved	1	5.0%
Important for the public to understand what it does and does not do	1	5.0%
A non-tethering system would be better	1	5.0%
Officer are not compensated for extra work	1	5.0%
Totals	20	100.0%

5.4 Summary and Conclusions

The final section of this chapter will synthesize the preceding qualitative findings. The framework of this summary will be in relation to the eight questions relating to FDOC’s EM program that were presented at the beginning of the chapter.

5.4.1 Goals and Objectives of EM

FDOC supervision administrators were queried regarding their perception of what the goals of the EM program are and whether they were being achieved. From their perspective, the goals primarily involve ensuring offender compliance to the terms and conditions of their supervision as established by the judiciary, tracking offenders, and as

a tool to reduce recidivism and protect the public and victims of crime. Overall, administrators believe these goals have been met; however, they see areas that need improvement. Additionally, they are aware that EM is only a tool that can assist officers in better supervising offenders and that it is not a substitute for diligent oversight by the officers through personal contacts with the offender.

5.4.2 Impact of EM on Compliance of Supervision and Public Safety

Overall, the responses from numerous offenders and officers suggest that EM does achieve the goal of resulting in lower levels of absconding, violations of court imposed conditions of supervision, and re-offending. These findings are supported by the quantitative analysis reported in Chapter 4. In addition, the results of the qualitative component, relative to the differential effects of EM across the three outcomes noted, reflect those reported in the quantitative findings. Specifically, both methodologies found that EM has a more significant impact on re-offending and violations of supervision conditions than on absconding.

5.4.3 Unintended Consequences of EM on Offenders

Based on the responses from both offenders and officers, EM clearly has negative consequences for the offenders in terms of their relationships with their spouses, significant others, and their children. In fact, officers were more likely to express these sentiments than the offenders themselves. A large proportion of offenders expressed a sense of shame about being on EM and felt that they were stigmatized by others in a way that did not represent their actions. Additionally, the majority of offenders believed that media accounts of EM exacerbates the levels of stigma they receive. This is not to suggest that the use of EM should be reduced, but there may be ways in which these negative consequences could be reduced. For example, efforts to better educate the public about the use of EM could assist in reducing these negative consequences. Additionally, making the EM devices less conspicuous would reduce the negative impact that EM has on offenders' personal relationships and reduce the level of stigmatization encountered. According to EM vendor, ProTech, the current MTD (i.e., "the box") will likely be replaced by a device the size of a Blackberry in the near future. This device can

be attached to the offender's belt and will be indistinguishable from electronic devices that people commonly have on their person. This development is encouraging in terms of possibly reducing these unintentional negative effects of EM.

Offenders and officers were unanimous in their assessment that EM is a serious detriment to offenders' ability to obtain employment and remain employed. The body of evidence from numerous studies that have explored the empirical link between employment and criminal behavior and re-offending attest to the importance of offenders who are under community supervision being gainfully employed. Based on interviews with probation officers in jurisdictions throughout Florida, it became evident that the FDOC community supervision staff are cognizant of the importance of offenders being employed and would go to great lengths to assist them in this regard. However, this type of information was not collected on a systematic basis. Therefore, it would be prudent for FDOC to examine this issue further and determine whether there are practices that could be put into place on a systematic basis that would ensure that offenders are given appropriate assistance in securing employment. Additionally, the new, less ubiquitous EM device discussed above should be of great assistance to offenders when seeking jobs and maintaining employment.

The assessment relating to whether EM affects the offenders obtaining adequate housing indicates that it does not appear to have a negative impact. However, the state, county, and city zoning restrictions on residency for sex offenders' results in detrimental outcomes that are counter to their intentions. Officers and administrators overwhelmingly expressed that these residency restrictions have significant negative consequences that may actually jeopardize, rather than enhance, public safety. While these types of laws and ordinances may be politically popular and endear policy makers to their constituents, they also appear to have results that are contrary to the benefits claimed by those who enact them.

The current policy requiring offenders to pay for the cost of EM, if the courts require it, is logical in the abstract. However, our findings indicate that in instances where the courts do not waive the cost of EM for offenders, their ability to refund the state for the cost of this service is limited because of the infrequency with which jobs are available among this relatively unskilled and under-educated population, other costs

offenders must pay for supervision and treatment, etc., and other personal financial obligations relating to housing, food, and transportation, etc. This issue needs more examination to address the economic realities of offenders on EM in their communities and in their daily lives.

5.4.4 Most Appropriate Offenders for Placement on EM

The data shows that the supervising officers who have EM caseloads are seasoned veterans of this profession and, therefore, have typically dealt with a plethora of offenders of various types over long periods of time. Additionally, they become intimately familiar with the nuances of the lives and activities of offenders and have witnessed their countless failures and successes. Their testimonies relative to the issue of whether EM is being applied to the appropriate offenders should be considered in this context. The data shows that there are a significant number of offenders on EM that officers believe are not appropriate for the enhanced surveillance; conversely, there are many offenders who are not required to be on EM that should be. In summary, the evidence obtained from supervising officers indicates that there is much room for improvement in the allocation of the scarce resource of EM to ensure this enhanced form of supervision and surveillance is used on those offenders who need it most, i.e., those who pose the most risk to the public in terms of absconding, violating their conditions of supervision, and committing new crimes. This suggests that policy makers and the judiciary need to evaluate the current strategies of EM allocation to improve public safety.

5.4.5 EM as an Alternative to Imprisonment

One of the purposes of EM is to divert felony offenders from the most costly and consequential alternative of receiving state prison sentences. Officers and offenders were quite consistent in their estimations of the extent to which EM is applied to offenders who would have been sentenced to prison if this technology were not available to the courts as a sentencing alternative. Based on the results of the offender and officer interviews, approximately 1 in 3 EM offenders would have served time in prison if not for the electronic surveillance option available to the courts. Given that it costs six times

more to incarcerate an offender in state prison than to place them on EM, along with the additional long-term consequences of returning to the community after serving time in prison, the EM program appears to be a cost-effective method of dealing with offenders.

5.4.6 EM Equipment Issues

The most salient issue that arose during the interviewing process relative to the EM equipment—GPS specifically—was the sometimes frequent problem in which offenders' MTDs loses a signal with a satellite. This occurs in a variety of locations, especially large buildings, and requires the offender to “walk the box” by going outside for approximately 15 minutes to retrieve the satellite signal. This technological difficulty results in understandable frustration on the part of the offender and is a workload issue for the officer and, more recently, for the Call Center that deals with these calls initially. Additionally, occurrences of losing the satellite signal can be consequential for offenders at their places of work if they have to frequently vacate their areas of responsibility.

It is difficult to determine the root causes of this problem, and all indications are that it is, to some degree, unavoidable because of the inherent limitations of GPS technology in general. However, we heard from many offenders who claimed that with the replacement of previous MTDs, the problem was diminished or was all but eliminated. The FDOC and the EM vendor are well aware of the problem of maintaining satellite signals in certain locations and appear to be doing everything possible to diminish this problem to the extent possible. Continued diligence in this regard is all that can be expected at this time.

As discussed in section 5.3.18 of this chapter, one remedy for reducing the consequences of offenders losing their satellite signals when they are at their places of employment is for officers to utilize the software made available by the EM vendor to prevent this problem. Officers can still track where the offender was during these “blackout” periods, and the offender does not need to know that the “real time” surveillance is temporarily suspended during periods when they are at work. As mentioned in this chapter, while anecdotal in nature, the evidence indicated that this capability was not embraced as a common practice. Therefore, this practice should be reviewed by the FDOC to determine whether it is used to the fullest extent possible.

5.4.7 The Judiciary and EM

Based on responses from supervising officers on their perceptions of how informed the judiciary is about the EM program and how they make EM placement decisions, there is significant room for improvement. A large percentage of officers, who work closely with the judiciary on a regular basis, believe that many judges and prosecutors are not familiar with the EM program and how it is applied to offenders. There is clearly a need for judges and prosecutors to be better educated about the EM equipment and how the technology is applied to offenders under community supervision. There also appears to be room for improvement for the judiciary to learn more about the differential effects of EM on various types of offenders so they can make better offender EM allocation decisions.

5.4.8 Effective EM Policies and Practices

The Statewide Monitoring Center, implemented in October 2007, is clearly one of the most successful enhancements to FDOC's EM program in the recent past. Based on the statements made by numerous officers and administrators, this component of EM has been a tremendous success because of the drastic reductions in the number of minor alerts that officers have to address; this enables officers to devote their limited time to more important matters relating to the supervision of offenders in the community. Additionally, this process has expanded the lines of communication and enhanced the working relationship between the FDOC and the vendor to improve the general operation of the EM program and enhance its development.

Chapter 6

Policy Implications and Discussion

In this chapter, the focus is on the implications of this research and future strategies to further develop empirical findings and build upon the methodologies and findings supported in this report.

6.1 Policy Recommendations

The empirical findings reported in this study indicate strong scientific evidence that the use of EM as a correctional strategy to divert medium- and high-risk offenders from prison and placing them on community supervision is effective. Additionally, the placement of post-prison offenders on supervision with EM produces positive results. This suggests that the recent growth in the use of EM has been beneficial for reducing the threat to public safety posed by offenders who are sanctioned in the community instead of being incarceration. Additionally, policy makers should consider further expansion of the use of EM technology for appropriate offenders under community supervision.

Findings indicate that the type of EM technology makes a difference, with GPS being more effective at controlling offender behavior than RF. The report documents the significant shift towards an increased use of the GPS technology and a diminishing reliance on RF in Florida. According to these findings, this has been a sound policy and should continue in the future.

The findings also indicate that EM is effective for offenders under a variety of different types of supervision that involve varying levels of control and conditions. Therefore, policy makers and practitioners should consider these findings when developing policies that govern the operations and use of EM (e.g., types of specialized supervision modalities). EM was also found to have differential effects across various crime types. These findings suggest that policy makers should re-evaluate the types of offenders appropriate for EM. Finally, EM was found to work equally effectively among offenders of different age groups, suggesting that it is more about the proclivities of offenders to violate the conditions of supervision than the stage in life that impacts the likelihood of being successful during the term of community supervision.

The data generated from the qualitative methodology utilized in this study reveals

that the EM experience has some unintended detrimental consequences for offenders. Specifically, EM can place strain on the offenders' relationships with significant others, children, and friends. This may be an inevitable, unintended and unavoidable consequence of EM; however, to the extent possible, correctional officials and those involved in the developmental changes to the EM technology should remain cognizant of this effect and to minimize these outcomes. Additionally, the ability to find and maintain employment is compromised when an offender is on EM. Given the importance of employment for offenders to maintain a crime-free lifestyle and to support themselves and their families financially, it is imperative that consideration be given to diminish the detrimental effects of EM on the offenders' employment opportunities.

The evidence is clear that there needs to be a re-evaluation of the criteria the judiciary uses in EM placement as well as laws which unilaterally mandate EM for specified offender types, regardless of whether the research indicates that it will make a difference in behavior. This enhancement of EM to supervision is a limited resource and to the extent that it is not being used on the most appropriate offenders, the state is not using EM to its full potential.

The mandatory requirement that all specified sex offenders under the Jessica Lunsford Act be placed on EM should be examined and evaluated more closely to assess whether changes to this policy would be in the best interest of public safety and improve the cost efficient use of EM. The evidence indicates that the lack of discretion afforded the judiciary in the decision of whether to place sex offenders on EM results in many of these offenders being placed on EM that may not be the most appropriate. For example, they are often placed on forms of supervision which do not require home curfews and exclusion zones. Therefore, the EM surveillance does not result in automatic alerts when the sex offender is not in their homes during specified periods of the day. Given the dramatic growth in the number of sex offenders on EM and the increasing proportions of the total EM population being comprised of sex offenders resulting from Jessica's law and the limited resources available to order high-risk offenders on EM, the non-discretionary nature of this law should be assessed.

The state and local residency restrictions on sex offenders needs further objective review. These laws are a popular platform for local and state policymakers to support;

however, they may have more detrimental impacts on public safety and the operations of community corrections than is warranted by any possible benefits.

The recent development of the statewide monitoring center in Florida has resulted in a significantly more efficient EM program and diminished the workload of supervising officers dealing with non-emergency EM alerts and allows more time for critical functions relating to the supervision of offenders. Other states and localities should become familiar with this EM innovation and determine if it can be replicated in their jurisdictions to enhance EM programs as well.

6.2 Recommendations for Future Research

After completing a project, researchers always contemplate how it could have been done differently to make it better, what else could have been accomplished, and what could be done if there was an opportunity to study this issue again. In relation to this project, there was so much empirical and qualitative data collected, deciding what should be focused on was a significant issue because the permutations of possible analysis was seemingly limitless. Therefore, it is certain that there is much more useful information in the data collected that can and will be mined and explained to better inform policy makers and practitioners on EM's operations, its effectiveness, and how it can be altered to be a more successful community corrections strategy.

Additional recommendations have been developed to guide future research to better assess the use of EM. First, the present research examined felony offenders at the state level. The use of EM for offenders placed on pre-trial supervision to reduce jail populations has expanded significantly in recent years. Research is needed to study these populations and determine if EM is an effective strategy to divert arrestees from pre-trial incarceration in local jails and to identify appropriate changes to name EM more effective and cost efficient.

Second, this study is based on only one state that is heavily vested in the use of EM for felony offender supervision, particularly felony sex offenders. The experiences and outcomes in other states would further inform policy makers in terms of what works relative to the use of EM for this offender population.

Third, based on the experience of this study, relying strictly on empirical analyses

of administrative data to evaluate the effectiveness of EM is not adequate. The qualitative assessment of EM in the present study demonstrated the value of gathering information directly from those that administer and experience EM to inform a comprehensive assessment of the nuances of EM and how it impacts offenders and community corrections professionals. This type of research is the exception in the literature because of the significant time and expense required to implement the methodology; however, a comprehensive assessment utilizing quantitative and qualitative strategies produces information that is critical to informing policy makers and key stakeholders who are involved with EM and who rely on factual, empirically sound findings.

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Appendix 1: Offender, Officer and Administrator Survey Instruments

Florida State University

Evaluating the Effectiveness of Electronic Monitoring of
Offenders Under Supervision

Offender Interview Instrument

Interview Number Assigned by the Interviewers: _____

Date of Interview: _____

Circuit: _____

County: _____

City: _____

DOC Office Number: _____

SECTION 1. DEMOGRAPHIC AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

NOTE: THIS SECTION IS NOT A PART OF THE OFFENDER INTERVIEW. THESE DATA WILL BE REQUESTED FROM THE FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE OFFENDER WILL NOT BE ASSOCIATED WITH THIS INFORMATION.

1.1. Race: _____

1.2. Ethnicity: _____

1.3. Sex: _____

1.4. Age/DOB: _____

1.5. Type of Supervision (House Arrest, Probation, Parole): _____

1.6. Offense(s): _____

1.7. Is Offender a JLA Offender? _____

1.8. Number of Prior Violations: _____

1.9. Is Offender on EM At The Time of The Interview: _____

1.10. Type of EM (RF/GPS): _____

1.11. Length of Sentence: _____

1.12. Length of Time On EM: _____

1.13. Length of Time On Supervision: _____

SECTION 1. CONTINUED (BEGIN INTERVIEW):

1.14. What is the highest level of education you have **completed** (grade school, middle school, some high school, high school, GED, some college, A.A., B.A./B.S., vocational certificates, other)?

SECTION 2. IMPACT OF EM ON THE OFFENDERS DAILY LIFE AND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

We want to ask you some questions about how electronic monitoring impacts your life and your personal relationships.

2.1. What is your **marital status** (married, relationship with a boyfriend/girlfriend, single, separated divorced, widowed)?

If married or in a relationship with a boyfriend/girlfriend

2.1a. How has EM **affected** your **relationship**? (d./g.)

2.2. How many **children** do you have that live at home with you at least some or all of the time?

If 1 or more children

2.2a. How has electronic monitoring affected your relationship with them? (d.)

2.3. How has being on electronic monitoring affected your relationships with your friends and meeting new friends?

2.4. Describe any jobs you have had while on electronic monitoring. (d./g.)

2.5. Do you currently work for a family member or close friend?

Yes No

2.6. Have you been fired from or had to leave any jobs because of electronic monitoring?

Yes No

2.6a. Why?

2.7. Has your ability to obtain a job been affected by being on electronic monitoring? (d./g.)

Yes No

2.7a. Has it had a positive or negative effect?

Positive Negative

2.7b. Why?

2.8. Has being on electronic monitoring affected how often you go to work? (d./g.)

Yes No

2.8a. Do you go to work more or less often?

More Less

2.8b. Why?

2.9. Are there areas that, if you enter, will cause your EM device to send an alert alarm to your Probation Officer or the Call Center?

No Yes

2.9a. If yes, please describe the areas.

2.10. How much has being on electronic monitoring impacted your ability to find or keep adequate housing?

No Impact Minimal Impact Medium Impact Significant Impact

2.10a. If “minimal impact” or more, please describe how electronic monitoring has impacted your ability to find or keep adequate housing.

SECTION 3. ELECTRONIC MONITORING EXPERIENCES AND OPINIONS

Now, I am going to ask you some more questions about your experience on electronic monitoring and opinions about electronic monitoring.

3.1. How **informed** were you about the **rules and conditions** of electronic monitoring when you began it? (h.)

well informed somewhat informed poorly informed

3.2. In a typical week, how often does your alarm goes off because of signal problems with your electronic monitoring device?

3.3. When you have these problems, what are the consequences?

3.4. In what locations do you experience the most trouble with receiving a signal with your electronic monitoring device?

3.5. Is there anything else you would like to share about the electronic monitoring equipment?

3.60. How much did the court order you to pay each month for your electronic monitoring? \$_____

3.60a. Was this court ordered payment for electronic monitoring waved? No Yes

3.61. On average, how much do you pay each month for your electronic monitoring? \$_____

3.62. How much did the court order you to pay each month for your supervision only? \$_____

3.62a.. Was this court ordered payment for supervision waved? No Yes

3.63. On average, how much do you pay each month for your supervision only? \$_____

3.7. How does the cost of your electronic monitoring affect you?

3.8. Is there anything about your **experience** with electronic monitoring that you **did not expect**? (g./h.)

3.9. Were you required to **attend a treatment program** as part of your supervision while on supervision? (a./d./g.)

Yes No

If yes

3.9a. Would you **attend your treatment sessions** as often if you were **not** on electronic monitoring and just on supervision?

Yes No

Yes No

3.15a. Why?

3.16. Are you or were you **ashamed** to be on electronic monitoring? (a./e.)

Yes No

3.16a. Why?

3.17. Do you think that news stories about electronic monitoring affects the way others look at you?

Yes No

3.17a. Why?

3.18. What sentence do you think the judge would have given you if there was no electronic monitoring available to the judge? (f./i.)

Record "NA" if the offender was placed on EM after being released from prison.

3.19. Would you have **preferred going to jail or prison** over being on electronic monitoring? (f./g./i.)

Record "NA" if the offender was placed on EM after being released from prison.

Yes No NA

3.19a. Why?

3.20. Do you feel like you are more likely to be caught for crimes because you are on electronic monitoring?

Yes No

3.20a. Why?

SECTION 4. OFFENDER'S PERCEPTION OF PUNISHMENT

Now I am going to ask you about your perceptions of punishment. Please answer always, sometimes, or never.

HAND RESPONSE SHEET TO OFFENDER

4.1. Do you think **drug users** should go to jail?

Always Sometimes Never

4.2. Do you think that **stealing from a convenience** store is ok because there are no victims?

Always Sometimes Never

4.3. Do you **regret committing the offense(s)** that got you into trouble?

Always Sometimes Never

4.4. Should **victims** of crimes be **compensated** for their suffering or loss?

Always Sometimes Never

4.5. Should **victims** of crimes have a **say in the sentence** given to the offender?

Always Sometimes Never

SECTION 5. EM AS A PUNISHMENT OR DETERRENT AND EFFECTS ON FAMILY AND EMPLOYMENT

Now I am going to ask you about your thoughts about electronic monitoring as a punishment. For each statement, I would like to know if you **strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree.**

HAND RESPONSE SHEET TO OFFENDER.

5.1. Electronic monitoring is a form of punishment for you. (a./c.)

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree.

5.2. Electronic monitoring is a severe punishment because it keeps you from going to places you want to without permission. (a./c.)

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree.

5.3. Electronic monitoring will prevent you from absconding or fleeing while you are on electronic monitoring because you are more afraid of getting caught. (a./c.)

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree.

5.4. Electronic monitoring will prevent you from violating the conditions of your supervision because you are more afraid of getting caught. (a./c.)

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

5.5. Electronic monitoring will prevent you from committing a new crime because you were more afraid of getting caught. (a./c.)

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

5.6. If already off of EM, do not ask- Record NA.

Electronic monitoring will prevent you from re-offending once you are off of electronic monitoring because you are more afraid of getting caught. (a./b./c.)

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree NA

5.7. Electronic monitoring results in you spending more quality time with your family than before you were placed on electronic monitoring. (a./c./d./g.)

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

5.8. Being on electronic monitoring made it difficult for you to find employment.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

5.9. Electronic monitoring makes it more likely for you to stay employed.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

5.10. Electronic monitoring can upset employers and cause someone to lose their job.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

SECTION 6. EFFECTIVENESS OF EM VERSUS SUPERVISION WITH NO EM

Have you completed the electronic monitoring portion of your supervision sentence or are you still on electronic monitoring?

If still on EM

Go to the **SECTION 8.**

If no longer on EM

Continue with questions.

Now, I am going to ask you some questions about the **effectiveness of electronic monitoring compared to supervision without electronic monitoring.** For each statement, I would like to

know if you think **electronic monitoring is** much more, more, equally, less, or much less effective than being on supervision without electronic monitoring.

HAND RESPONSE SHEET TO OFFENDER.

6.1. While on electronic monitoring, compared to only being on supervision, you are _____ afraid of getting caught and being sent to prison compared being on supervision only. (a./c.)

much more more equally less much less

6.2. While on electronic monitoring, compared to only being on supervision, you are _____ likely to get into trouble. (a./c.)

much more more equally less much less

6.3. While on electronic monitoring, compared to only being on supervision, you are _____ likely to abscond or flee from supervision. (a./c.)

much more more equally less much less

6.4. While on electronic monitoring, compared to not being on electronic monitoring, you are _____ likely to violate the conditions of your supervision. (a./c.)

much more more equally less much less

6.5. While on electronic monitoring, compared to not being on electronic monitoring, you are _____ likely to commit a new crime while on supervision. (a./c.)

much more more equally less much less

6.6 While on electronic monitoring, compared to not being on electronic monitoring, you are _____ likely to spend time with offenders. (a./c./d.)

much more more equally less much less

6.7. While on electronic monitoring, compared to not being on electronic monitoring, you are _____ likely to spend time with non-offenders. (a./c./d.)

much more more equally less much less

6.8. While on electronic monitoring, compared to not being on electronic monitoring, in what ways did you change your behavior? (a./c.)

SECTION 7. AFTER THE OFFENDER IS OFF OF ELECTRONIC MONITORING

Have you completed the electronic monitoring portion of your supervision sentence or are you still on electronic monitoring?

If still on EM

Go to the **SECTION 8**.

If no longer on EM

Continue with questions.

7.1. How long were you on electronic monitoring? _____

7.2. How long have you been off of electronic monitoring? _____

Now, I want to ask you some questions about your experiences since you were taken off of electronic monitoring. For each statement, I would like you to respond with one of the following choices; much more likely, more likely, no more likely, less likely, much more likely than being on supervision without electronic monitoring.

HAND RESPONSE SHEET TO OFFENDER.

7.3. Are you any more or less likely to **abscond or flee from supervision** now that you are off of electronic monitoring? (b./a./c)

much more likely more likely no more likely less likely much less likely

7.3a. Why?

7.4. Are you any more or less likely to **violate the conditions of your supervision** now that you are off of electronic monitoring? (b./c)

much more likely more likely no more likely less likely much less likely

7.4. Why?

7.5. Are you any more or less likely to **commit another crime** now that you are off of electronic monitoring? (a./b./c)

much more likely more likely no more likely less likely much less likely

7.5a. Why?

Please answer the next few questions with a Yes or No response followed by some further explanation.

7.6. Has your relationship with your wife/husband or your girlfriend/boyfriend changed since you are off of electronic monitoring? (d./g.)

Yes No

If yes

7.6a. How?

7.7. Has your job situation changed since you were off of electronic monitoring? (d./g.)

Yes No

7.7a. How?

7.8. Since being off electronic monitoring, has it continued to impact your behavior or life style?
Please describe and explain. (b./g.)

Yes No

7.8a. How?

SECTION 8. WRAP-UP QUESTIONS

8.1. Overall, how has being on electronic monitoring impacted your life?

8.2. What do you think would make electronic monitoring work better?

8.3. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about the good or bad things about being on electronic monitoring?

Florida State University

**Evaluating the Effectiveness of Electronic Monitoring of
Offenders under Supervision**

Officer Interview Instrument

Interview Number Assigned by the Interviewers: _____

Date of Interview: _____

Circuit: _____

County: _____

City: _____

SECTION 1. OFFICER'S CURRENT CASELOAD DATA

- 1.1. Number on EM: _____
- 1.2. Number on Non-EM: _____
- 1.3. Number on Regular Felony Probation: _____
- 1.4. Number on Community Control: _____
- 1.5. Number on Sex Offender Probation: _____
- 1.6. Number on Drug Offender Probation: _____
- 1.7. Number on Conditional Release: _____
- 1.8. Number on Parole: _____
- 1.9. Number on Other Types of Supervision: _____
- 1.10. Number of Post-Prison Release Offenders: _____
- 1.11. Number of Sex Offenders: _____
- 1.12. Number of Jessica Lunsford Offenders: _____
- 1.13. Number of GPS Cases: _____
- 1.14. Number of RF Cases: _____

SECTION 2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

2.1. Gender: _____

2.2. How would you describe yourself in terms of race and ethnicity?

- White- Non Hispanic
- Black- Non Hispanic
- Hispanic- All
- American Indian or Alaskan
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- Multiracial
- Other

2.3. How old are you? _____

2.4. What is your current position?

- Senior Correctional Probation Officer
- Specialist Correctional Probation Officer

Other _____

2.5. How **long** have you been **in this position**? _____

2.6. How **long** have you been **employed by DOC**? _____

2.7. How **long** have you been **monitoring offenders** on EM? _____

2.8. Approximately what percentage of your **daily workload** is related to EM?

Percent: _____

2.9. When you were initially assigned EM cases, how much training did you receive?

2.9a When you were initially assigned EM cases, what type and from whom did you receive training?

SECTION 3. OPERATIONAL ASPECTS OF EM

3.0 How frequently do you need refresher training classes or training updates?

3.1 How does your job change when your caseload increases or decreases?

3.2. How has the EM program **changed** since the implementation of the statewide **Monitoring Center**?

3.3. How often are you on call after hours or on the weekends for offenders on EM?

3.4. Do you have comments or concerns about being on call for EM offenders?

3.5. What is your opinion regarding how judges perceive EM and how they make decisions regarding the placement of offenders on EM?

3.6. What is your opinion regarding how state attorneys or prosecutors perceive EM and how they make decisions regarding the placement of offenders on EM?

3.7. Approximately what **percentage** of your EM offenders do you think would likely have been **sentenced to state prison if EM** was not available? (f./i.)

Percentage _____

3.8. What is the **best thing** about the EM program?

3.9. In your opinion, which types of offenders is EM most effective?

3.19a: Why

3.10. In your opinion, are there any offender types in which EM is not effective? If so, please explain.

3.11. If manpower were not an issue, would you like to see the **use** of EM **expanded, reduced, or kept the same**?

expanded

reduced

kept the same

3.11a. Why?

3.12. What percentage of offenders on EM do **not** need to be on EM and should be on regular supervision instead?

Percentage _____

3.12a. Why should these offenders not be on EM?

3.13. What percentage of offenders who were not placed on EM should be on EM?

Percentage _____

3.13a. Why should these offenders be on EM?

3.14. Do you think that EM, in most cases, is used as an alternative to prison or is used as an enhancement to supervision?

alternative to prison

enhancement to supervision

3.14a. Please explain.

SECTION 4. WHILE THE OFFENDER IS ON ELECTRONIC MONITORING

The following questions focus on your perception of offender's experiences and behavior while they are on electronic monitoring.

HAND RESPONSE SHEET TO OFFICER.

4.1. Do you believe offenders are any more or less likely to **abscond or flee from supervision** while they are on electronic monitoring? (a./b./c)

much more likely more likely no more likely less likely much less likely

4.1a. Why?

4.2. Do you believe offenders are any more or less likely to **violate the conditions of their supervision** while they are on electronic monitoring? (a./b./c)

much more likely more likely no more likely less likely much less likely

4.2a. Why?

4.3. Do you believe offenders are any more or less likely to **commit another crime** while they are on electronic monitoring? (a./b./c)

much more likely more likely no more likely less likely much less likely

4.3a. Why?

4.4. Do you believe offenders are any more or less likely to attend **educational programs** while they are on electronic monitoring? (a./b./c)

much more likely more likely no more likely less likely much less likely

4.4a. Why?

4.5. Do you believe offenders are any more or less likely to attend **treatment programs** while they are on electronic monitoring? (a./b./c)

much more likely more likely no more likely less likely much less likely

4.5a. Why?

Please answer the next questions with a Yes or No response followed by some further explanation.

4.6. Do you believe the offender's relationship with their wife/husband or girlfriend/boyfriend changes once they are placed on electronic monitoring? (d./g.)

Yes

No

If yes

4.6a. How?

4.7. Do you believe the offender's relationship with their children changes once they are placed on electronic monitoring? (d./g.)

Yes

No

If yes

4.7a. How?

4.8. Do you believe the offender's job situation changes once they are placed on electronic monitoring? (d./g.)

Yes

No

If yes

4.8a. How?

4.9. Are there any special city or county ordinances in your jurisdiction relating to zoning restrictions relating to housing that impact specific types of offenders?

Yes

No

If yes

4.9a. Please describe these ordinances.

4.9b. How do these ordinances impact the supervision of offenders on electronic monitoring?

SECTION 5 AFTER THE OFFENDER IS OFF OF ELECTRONIC MONITORING

The following questions focus on the issue of how an offender's experiences and behavior changes once they are taken off of electronic monitoring but are still being supervised.

HAND RESPONSE SHEET TO OFFICER.

5.1. Do you believe offenders are any more or less likely to **abscond from supervision** once they are off of electronic monitoring but still under supervision? (a./b./c)

much more likely more likely no more likely less likely much less likely

5.1a. Why?

5.2. Do you believe offenders are any more or less likely to **violate the conditions of their supervision** once they are off of electronic monitoring but still under supervision? (a./b./c)

much more likely more likely no more likely less likely much less likely

5.2a. Why?

5.3. Do you believe offenders are any more or less likely to **commit another crime** once they are off of electronic monitoring but still under supervision? (a./b./c)

much more likely more likely no more likely less likely much less likely

5.3a. Why?

Please answer the next questions with a Yes or No response followed by some further explanation.

5.4. Do you believe the offender's relationship with their wife/husband or girlfriend/boyfriend changes once they are off of electronic monitoring but still under supervision? (d./g.)

Yes No

If yes

5.4a. How?

5.5. Do you believe the offender's relationship with their children changes once they are off of electronic monitoring but still under supervision? (d./g.)

Yes No

If yes

5.5a. How?

5.6. Do you believe the offender's job situation changes once they are off of electronic monitoring but still under supervision? (d./g.)

Yes No

If yes

5.6a. How?

SECTION 6. EM AS A PUNISHMENT OR DETERRENT AND EFFECTS ON FAMILY AND EMPLOYMENT

Now I am going to ask you about your perceptions of electronic monitoring as a punishment. For each statement, I would like to know if you strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree.

HAND RESPONSE SHEET TO OFFICER.

6.1. Electronic monitoring is a form of punishment.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

6.2. Electronic monitoring is a severe punishment because it keeps offenders from going places without permission.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

6.3. Electronic monitoring will prevent an offender from absconding or fleeing.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

6.3. Electronic monitoring will prevent an offender from violating the conditions of their supervision.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

6.4. Electronic monitoring will prevent an offender from re-offending once it is removed.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

6.5. Electronic monitoring results in offenders spending more quality time with their families.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

6.6. Electronic monitoring makes it difficult for offenders to find employment.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

6.6. Electronic monitoring makes it more likely that an offender will stay employed.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

6.8. Electronic monitoring can upset employers, causing an individual to lose their job.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

6.9. Electronic monitoring results in offenders being more likely to attend treatment programs.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

SECTION 7 WRAP-UP QUESTIONS

7.1. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about electronic monitoring?

Florida State University

Evaluating the Effectiveness of Electronic Monitoring of
Offenders Under Supervision

Administrator Interview Instrument

Interviewer Number Assigned by the Interviewers: _____

Date of Interview: _____

Circuit: _____

County: _____

City: _____

SECTION 1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1. Gender: _____

1.2. How would you describe yourself in terms of race and ethnicity?

- White- Non Hispanic
- Black- Non Hispanic
- Hispanic- All
- American Indian or Alaskan
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- Multi-racial
- Other

1.3. How old are you? _____

1.4. What is your current **position**? _____

1.5. How **long** have you been **in this position**? _____

1.6. How **long** have you been **employed by DOC**? _____

- 1.7. What are your **primary responsibilities** in this **position**?
- 1.8. What is your **role** and duties in the **operation** of EM?
- 1.9. How much of your daily workload is related to EM?
- 2.0. How has the EM program **changed** since the implementation of the statewide **Monitoring Center**?

SECTION 2. IMPLEMENTATION AND GOALS/OBJECTIVES OF EM PROGRAM

- 2.1. What **problems or issues** existed that EM was **designed** to address?
- 2.2. What is the **target population** for EM?
- 2.3. What are the **goals and objectives** for using EM in your offender monitoring program?
- 2.5. Why **do you** think EM is **effective** in reaching those goals? (a.)
- 2.6. Please describe any victim involvement in the EM program.
- 2.6. Overall who is involved in the development of new EM policies and **practices**?

SECTION 3. VIEW OF EM

- 3.1. What are your expected outcomes of the EM program?
- 3.2. What have been the **most significant factors** in making EM **successful** in monitoring offenders?

SECTION 4. WRAP-UP QUESTIONS

- 4.1. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about electronic monitoring?



Office of the Vice President For Research
Human Subjects Committee
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2742
(850) 644-8633 · FAX (850) 644-4392

APPROVAL MEMORANDUM

Date: 11/27/2007

To:
William Bales
MC 1127

Dept.: **CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE**

From: **Thomas L. Jacobson, Chair**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Thomas Jacobson".

Re: **Use of Human Subjects in Research**
Phaes II: An Assessment of the Effectiveness of Electronic Monitoring for Medium and High Risk Offenders on Supervision and Post-Supervision Outcomes

The forms that you submitted to this office in regard to the use of human subjects in the proposal referenced above have been reviewed by the Human Subjects Committee at its meeting on **10/10/2007**. Your project was approved by the Committee.

The Human Subjects Committee has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit, except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the aspects of the proposal related to potential risk and benefit. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals which may be required.

If the project has not been completed by **10/9/2008** you must request renewed approval for continuation of the project.

You are advised that any change in protocol in this project must be approved by resubmission of the project to the Committee for approval. The principal investigator must promptly report, in writing, any unexpected problems causing risks to research subjects or others.

By copy of this memorandum, the chairman of your department and/or your major professor is reminded that he/she is responsible for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in the department, and should review protocols of such investigations as often as needed to insure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

This institution has an Assurance on file with the Office for Protection from Research Risks. The Assurance Number is IRB00000446.

cc: Thomas Blomberg, Kelle Barrick, Xia Wang
HSC No. 2007.827

Florida State University
Evaluating the Effectiveness of Electronic Monitoring of Offenders Under Supervision

Supervision Officer Consent Form

The College of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Florida State University is conducting a research study on whether the use of Electronic Monitoring (EM) for moderate to high-risk offenders under community supervision by the Florida Department of Corrections is effective at reducing the likelihood of absconding, technical violations, and new crimes. This research involves conducting an interview with you to obtain your assessment of the EM process.

Your participation in this project is totally voluntary. If you decline to participate, the interviewer(s) will not reveal that fact to anyone and it will not result in a penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. In addition, you may discontinue participation at any time or decline to answer any questions without penalty. Any change in your willingness to participate will not be disclosed to anyone by the researchers. Your participation should require approximately one hour of your time.

Other than this consent form, your name or any other personal identifiers will not be recorded by the researchers and any information you provide is confidential. Also, this consent form will not be attached or associated with any recorded information that you provide. Only the research staff will have access to the information you supply and it cannot be disclosed to anyone outside of the research team or be used for any purpose outside of the research. Your responses will be compiled along with other people interviewed and presented in a summary form.

You were selected to participate in the research project through a random selection process. There are no reasonably foreseeable risks, discomforts, or direct benefits to your participation. However, your participation should result in research that will inform policy makers and practitioners how to better supervise offenders in the community to increase the likelihood of success.

If you choose to participate in the interview by signing this consent form, we appreciate you sharing information with the research team that will benefit others in the future.

Name: _____ (print name)

Signature: _____

Date: _____



Florida State University
Evaluating the Effectiveness of Electronic Monitoring of Offenders Under Supervision

Administrator Consent Form

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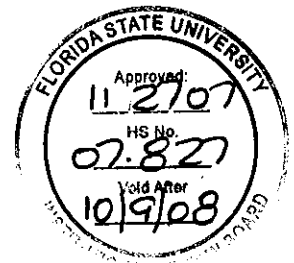
You were selected to participate in the research project because we wanted to gather information about the EM process from the perspective of higher level administrators. There are no reasonably foreseeable risks, discomforts, or direct benefits to your participation. However, your participation should result in research that will inform policy makers and practitioners how to better supervise offenders in the community to increase the likelihood of success.

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Date: _____



Florida State University
Evaluating the Effectiveness of Electronic Monitoring of Offenders Under Supervision

Offender on Supervision Consent Form

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During the interview process, if you agree to participate, you will be asked questions about the offense(s) for which you are serving this sentence. We do not want to know anything about other crimes you may have committed. If you do report certain crimes such as child abuse, I am obligated to report that information to the authorities.

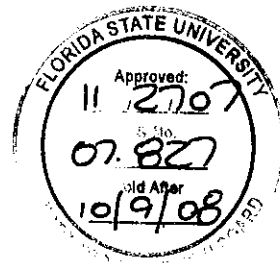
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Signature: _____

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Florida State University
Evaluating the Effectiveness of Electronic Monitoring of Offenders Under Supervision

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If you choose to participate in the interview by signing this consent form, we appreciate you sharing information with the research team that will benefit others in the future.

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Signature: _____

Date: _____

Florida State University
Evaluating the Effectiveness of Electronic Monitoring of Offenders Under Supervision

Offender on Supervision Consent Form

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Name: _____ (print name)

Signature: _____

Date: _____



To: Shawn Satterfield
Correctional Programs Administrator
Florida Department of Corrections

From: Bill Bales – Electronic Monitoring Evaluation Project

Regarding: Surveys of Administrators, Probation Officers and Offenders

The Center for Criminology and Public Policy Research at Florida State University has received a grant from the U.S. Department of Justice to conduct an evaluation of the electronic monitoring (EM) program in Florida. This project was fully endorsed by the Secretary of the department and we have been working with various units in the Central Office over the past several months. This research is a continuation of a study completed previously which found that offenders placed on Community Control with EM were significantly less likely to abscond, violate for technical reasons, or re-offend. The current project will answer the following important questions for the Department of Corrections and policymakers.

1. Determine the level of effectiveness of EM in general and for specific types of offenders in terms of the likelihood of absconding, technical violations and re-offending.
2. Assess whether the impact of EM on offenders' behavior continues after completion of EM.
3. Determine whether EM is cost effective through the avoidance of new crimes and future imprisonment.
4. If EM is effective at reducing absconding, technical violations, and re-offending, how is EM able to produce such results?

We have primarily been engaged in analyzing DOC data to determine the empirical link between EM and outcomes during the first phase of the project. To determine how EM may be effective at reducing failures requires that we interview correctional administrators, probation officers, and offenders. The instructions, consent forms, and survey instruments to conduct this phase of the project have been approved by the Florida State University's Human Subject Committee and have been shared with you and your staff.

As we have discussed, we would like to begin the interviewing process by pilot testing the survey instruments in Leon County. When this is completed and any appropriate changes are made to the instruments, we hope to administer it in four circuits in the state. Your continued assistance in this effort is greatly appreciated.

We appreciate all of the support you and the department have provided for this project. As you know, I worked for DOC for 15 years and am well aware of the high level of professionalism of the staff and look forward to working with them again.

William D. Bales

William D. Bales
Associate Professor
College of Criminology and Criminal Justice
Florida State University