



# Alcohol Monitoring Technologies and Methods

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# Overview

- > A theoretical approach to offenders and offending
- > Impact of alcohol on offenders
- > Alcohol monitoring technologies
  - » Strengths and limitations
  - » Purpose and goals
  - » Implementation
  - » Integrating supervision with treatment
- > Resource allocation
- > Creating a continuum of intervention opportunities
- > Future needs



## A theoretical approach

- > A classical approach to offenders and offending has been the prevailing philosophy behind the justice system for almost 200 years.
  - » Belief in free will and rational man
  - » Primary emphasis on deterrence
  - » Use of increasing punishments
  - » Goal of behavior change



## A theoretical approach

- > In the 1800s Jeremy Bentham proposed a new approach to prisons:
  - » discipline
  - » labor
  - » moral instruction
  - » training and education
- > Proposed a design for prisons called the “panopticon” which enable constant surveillance of offenders.



**'...a mill to grind rogues honest.'**

**JEREMY BENTHAM, PRISON REFORMER, 1791**

## THE MODEL PRISON SYSTEM

The Separate Prison of Port Arthur was a Model Prison in two senses:

1. Modelled on the experimental Pentonville Prison in London, the Port Arthur Model Prison had similar conditions: furnishings were, according to Comptroller-General Hampton's Report, February, 1852, "precisely similar to those of Pentonville".
2. The separate principle of quiet and solitary confinement advocated by prison authorities was an advanced concept for its day, and in substituting silence for the lash; teaching useful trades; and subjecting convicts to the "moralising" influences of religion, was considered a "model" of instruction and reformation. Pentonville was known simply as "The Model". These principles were not without contemporary critics, in both London and Hobart, concerning aspects of the mental cruelty involved. Comptroller-General Hampton's Report of 7th February, 1852 discloses that "the fifty cells on the Pentonville Plan in course of erection at Port Arthur are not yet all in use but the effect of confinement in the block first completed upon a party of most refractory men was truly remarkable; the behaviour of some of these men while confined in the ordinary cells of Hobart Town Barracks was so ungovernable as to render it unsafe to approach them but on their transfer to Port Arthur cells they became within a very short period quiet and orderly in their demeanour".



# THE GUARD TOWER

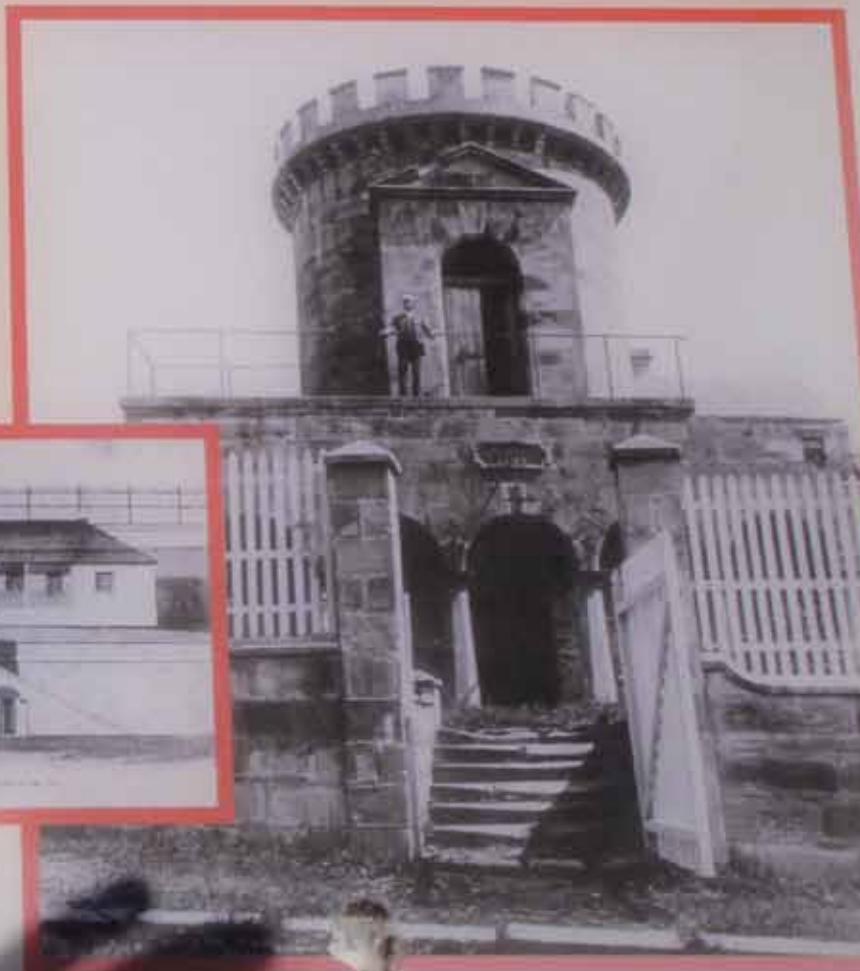
In 1835 the Commandant, Captain Booth, put a high priority on the construction of 'a strong wall and tower for the further security of the military barracks'.

Point Puer boys were quickly put to work to cut and shape the stone. By 1836 the Tower, with its flanking walls and turrets, was completed. Captain Laplace visiting in 1839 described it as

"...a sort of tower in the mediæval style, from the top of which the soldier on duty can observe all that goes on in the surrounding area and look to the security of the homes of the principal officials of the establishment."

Its crowning glory was a flagpole. The Union Jack was flown on Sundays, when a ship was entering or leaving harbour and whenever a "person of consequence" was at Port Arthur.

Although the Guard Tower was sold after the closure of the settlement, it was not demolished with the rest of the military complex—it served as a private museum during the 1890s and escaped the ravages of the bushfires that destroyed its last roof.



The tower is a fine example of a well-constructed building with symmetrical flights of steps, only the right side was completed. The left side, which was never completed, are shown behind.

Photograph by the author, taken around 1960



# SEPARATE PRISON

By the early 1840s a major change had taken place in the management of British prisons, with a move away from physical punishment. Pentonville Prison in London became the 'model' for a number of colonial prisons. Some of the fittings here were imported from Pentonville.

The new style of prison comprised separate cells where prisoners could be confined night and day but allowed some degree of exercise and employment.

This prison opened in 1849. Prisoners were kept strictly apart from each other and not a word was heard except at chapel. In the 1850s it was used for the worst class of criminal in an effort to bring their minds "to a more healthy condition".

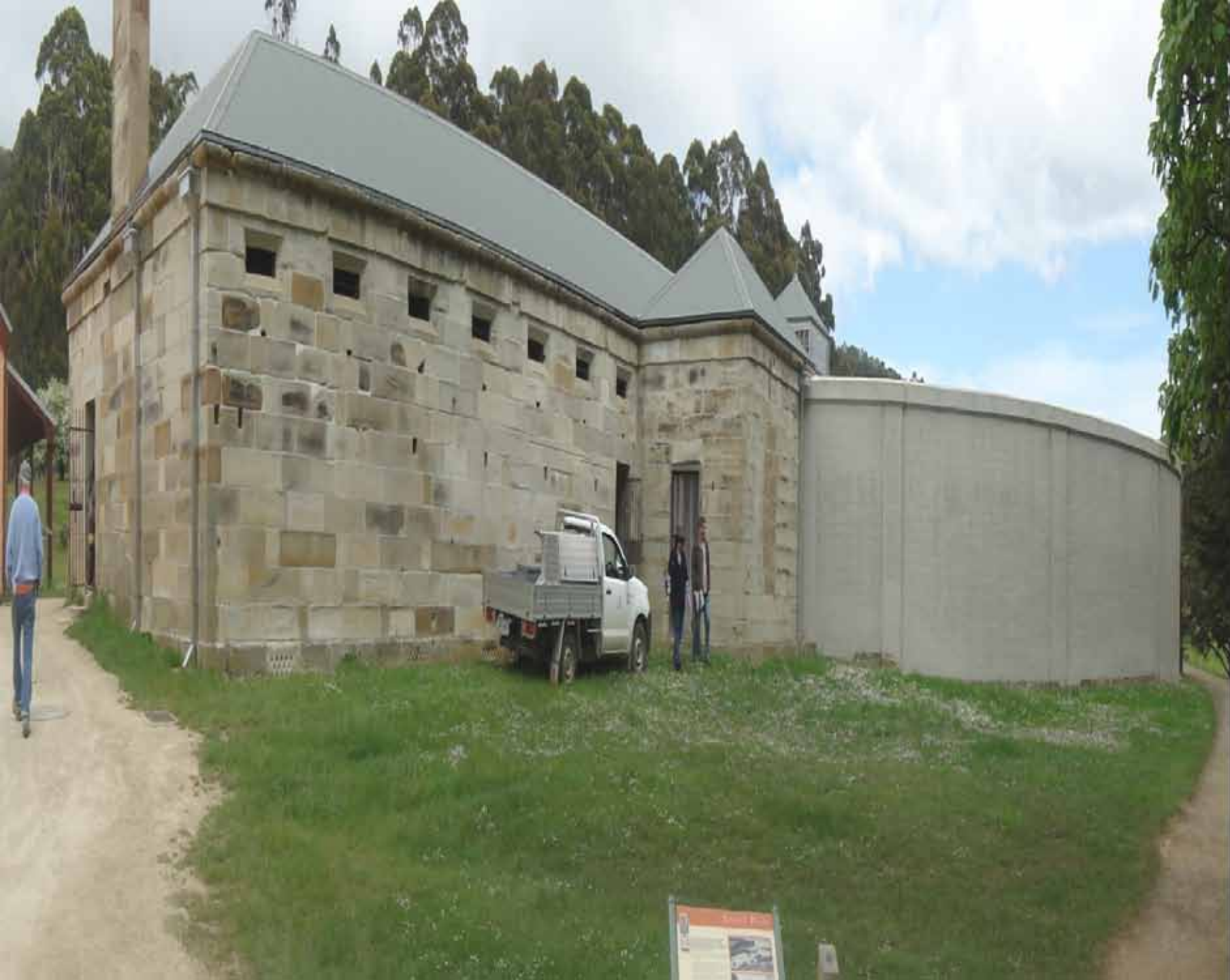
Later, the prison was used for long term prisoners as well as those who had committed serious offences or who had absconded.

After the closure of Port Arthur the prison was purchased in 1884 for conversion to a hotel. The chapel had been converted to a billiard room and other building begun. However the bushfire of 1895 gutted the building and the government resumed ownership in 1916.

*Top photo. The Separate Prison, probably taken in the early 1890s before the bushfire.*

*Bottom photo. After the 1895 bushfire when the Separate Prison burned but before the 1897 bushfire when the Penitentiary burned. The Asylum and Hospital buildings have a new roof therefore this must be early 1897.*





## LABOUR OF CONVICTS UNDER THE SEPARATE SYSTEM

Each cell was furnished with necessary cleaning articles in a bag marked with the number and divisional letter of the cell. In Summer the cell floors were scoured daily, with cupboards, tables, stools and urinals washed daily - the latter purified weekly with Lime or Chloride of Lime. Cell and Corridor lamps were to be properly cleaned and trimmed daily. The Chapel and Exercise Yards were cleaned twice every week. Bedding was removed and aired twice a week in Summer and once a week in Winter. Corridors were wet stoned daily - dry stoned in unfavourable weather, and the ceilings, walls and doors of the Prison dusted daily. Cell bolts and locks were polished each day. Other work - mainly tailoring - was normally carried out in the cells, with all tools, knives or other sharp instruments being withdrawn from the cells at the completion of work. No idleness, wilful negligence, mismanagement or destruction of material or tools was tolerated.





### Preparing Logs for the Sawpit

#### Blowdown method

The method of choice until a logging saw. The log is drilled through with a hole saw to make a hole in which to place a blowdown bar.



**Spinning log**  
The log is spun on a lathe to square it. The log is then cut into sections. The sections are then flattened with a double-edged bar.



#### Trussing

An iron rod is inserted into the square log to make it stronger. The log is then trussed with iron bands to make it stronger.

The beam is now ready for the sawpit.

### Rolling Logs

Rolling a log is a difficult task. Early loggers used rollers, but later rollers were made of iron. Rollers were used to roll logs down a hill.

An early roller was made of log. The log was cut into a ring and used to roll logs down a hill. The rollers were made of iron and were used to roll logs down a hill.

# Bricks

The brickmaking gang was responsible for digging the clay and making the millions of bricks and tiles used at the settlement.

The process involved digging and breaking up the clay, adding water, and piling the mixture in a heap to weather. Before use more water was added, as well as brick dust or sand.

The mixture was then worked until it was soft enough to be moulded. To form a brick or tile, the soft clay was cut and thrown into a freshly sanded timber frame which sat over a stock plate fastened to a bench.

The clay was pressed hard into the corners of the mould and the excess trimmed off with a strike, or flattened piece of timber.

The frame containing the squared clot was lifted from the stock and the green brick or tile slipped onto timber pallets by means of a delf press of the thumbs.

The green bricks were taken over to the back, a long open timber shed, and stacked for air drying. The dry clay bricks were usually fired in an updraft kiln.

A low firing temperature of around 850°C meant that the finished bricks were cream to yellow, soft and weathered easily. Higher firing temperatures around 1000°C produced harder, red bricks.

*'I have some reason to hope my labours among them have not been altogether lost.'*

— Henry Fry, Prison Chaplain, 1840s

# RELIGION, REFORMATION & THE CONVICTS

Administrators and prison reformers believed that religious instruction was one of the twin pillars of the convict's reformation. Did it work?

The Reverend Henry Fry, an Anglican clergyman highly sympathetic to convicts, doubted that religious instruction achieved anything. It was 'forced, and seldom I fear rendered [the men] grateful. Few convicts attend religious services after their probation'.

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Extracts from Regulations for the Religious and Moral Instruction of Convicts in Her Majesty's Local Criminal Department, 1 December 1850

*A change in moral character is the only solid ground upon which the restoration of the convict to society can be advantageous; and this result depends very considerably upon... bringing him under the influence of religion. By sensible and well-timed exhortation and advice, by a kind and friendly demeanour... the religious instructor will obtain that power over the minds of the men, which alone can secure... their disposition to receive that instruction which it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government should be afforded.*

*His [the religious instructor's] prescribed duties shall be as follows:— he will perform Divine Service to the assembled gang twice every Sunday. He will also, twice every Sunday, instruct the convicts in the fundamental truths of religion... the gang is to be assembled for morning and evening prayers, before going out to work and at sunset. He will daily visit the sick in hospital... He will likewise visit the separate apartments and solitary cells, and afford instruction and advice to their inmates. A school will be established at each station under the immediate superintendence and care of the religious instructor... The libraries established at the various stations are to be under his care and management...*







# Canadian Rebels

In the late 1830s the British Colonies in Eastern Canada experienced political unrest with rebellions in the separate colonial entities of Upper Canada (1837) and Lower Canada (1838). The French-speaking majority violently protested against the English-speaking minority in power. 170 rebels received death sentences, many of which were commuted to transportation to Van Diemen's Land or to New South Wales.

The 100 or so prisoners in Van Diemen's Land were segregated from the criminal class and assigned to gangs engaged in public works. Some rebels who then committed an offence in the colony were sent to Port Arthur. One of those was **Linus Miller**, who had once been a New York lawyer, was put to work in the Commandant's Offices. He undertook work in a timber-carrying gang, did gardening and laundering before becoming a tutor.

On arrival or after time in the gangs they all received tickets of leave. Most had been granted Free Pardons by 1847 and all but a few returned to Canada. **Edwin Merrit** died at Port Arthur in 1867 and is buried in an unmarked grave on the Isle of the Dead.



# A theoretical approach

- > As a theory, it made a lot of sense and was progressive thinking for the period.
- > Limitations of approach:
  - » “correctional dilemma”
  - » institutional setting
  - » physical punishments
  - » recognition of effects of alcohol use





# Impact of alcohol on offenders

- > Offenders that use alcohol frequently suffer from some degree of neuro-cognitive deficits.
- > These deficits have specific consequences which impact program outcomes.
  - » failure to plan ahead
  - » challenging to regulate or inhibit behavior
  - » difficult to anticipate consequences
  - » difficult to learn from experience
  - » difficult to retain information that is received
  - » difficult to change patterns of behavior
- > Offender compliance with interventions is typically low without active supervision.



## Impact of alcohol on offenders

- > Offenders are not able to delay reward gratification.
- > Most interventions are based on the principle of delayed reward gratification:
  - » accept discomfort today
  - » make difficult changes to behavior today
  - » choose the difficult over the easy
- > Interventions in the justice system require that offenders wait several months or years for the reward (e.g., return of driving privilege).
- > Use of screening and brief intervention holds promise – based on a non-confrontational approach.



# Alcohol monitoring technologies

## Strengths and limitations:

- > Reliability and validity of devices
- > Differences among devices
- > Development of technological enhancements
- > Use of certification protocols
- > Availability of federal and state regulation
- > Impact of unregulated market
  - » quality of devices
  - » impact on practitioners
  - » impact on court-decision making
  - » ultimate impact of usage rates



# Alcohol monitoring technologies

Purpose and goals:

- > Incapacitation
- > Deterrence
- > Behavior change
  - » separating drinking and driving
  - » abstinence
    - pros and cons (workload)
    - perception of alcohol positive readings
    - impact on traditional measures of success
- > Role of technologies in addressing criminogenic risk factors



# Alcohol monitoring technologies

- > Traditional implementation strategies:
  - » Historical approach to program development
  - » Gap between legislation and operational practices
  - » Eligibility of offenders
  - » Emphasis on sanctioning
  - » Inconsistent reporting practices
  - » Removal for non-compliance
  - » Indigent offenders not addressed
  - » Knowledge base of practitioners
  - » Availability of educational opportunities



# Alcohol monitoring technologies

- > Traditional implementation strategies:
  - » Lack of monitoring and supervision
  - » Poor communication and coordination
  - » Gaps in service delivery; inconsistent delivery across providers
  
- > Consequences:
  - » Low participation rates
  - » Low usage among practitioners
  - » Failure to maximize potential to reduce offending behavior
  - » High costs for offenders



# Alcohol monitoring technologies

Progressive implementation strategies:

- > Renewed emphasis on program development
  - » A supervision tool, not a substitute
  - » One component of a comprehensive approach
- > Search for best practices
  - eligibility based on risk/needs
  - use of performance-based requirements
  - balance punishment and reinforcement
  - role in case management
  - supervision period based on research
  - managing indigency
- > Growing recognition of importance of knowledge transfer
- > Growing recognition of practitioner input and expertise
- > Growing demand for service delivery



# Alcohol monitoring technologies

Progressive implementation strategies:

- > Consequences
  - » Streamlined program practices
  - » Tailored intervention strategies
  - » Decision-making based on offender risk
  - » Ability to reinforce positive behaviors
  - » Potential for growth in programs
  - » Increased support among practitioners
  - » Increased compliance among offenders
  - » Reduced program costs resulting from economies of scale



# Alcohol monitoring technologies

Integrating supervision and treatment:

- > Rehabilitation is often a secondary concern in the justice system.
  - » Offenders are not consistently screened for alcohol use issues.
  - » For those that are screened, the quality of available instruments varies.
  - » There are barriers to treatment in the justice system.
- > With regard to technologies, the application of treatment is typically independent of the technology.



# Alcohol monitoring technologies

Integrating supervision and treatment:

- > Recognition that technologies are not mutually exclusive -- can be a nexus between criminal justice and treatment philosophies.
- > Unique dual potential to sanction and to encourage behavior change among offenders through reinforcement.
- > Leveraging data for treatment purposes
- > One-size fits all should be avoided -- screening and assessment is essential.
- > Efforts are needed to reconcile the different philosophies between justice system and treatment system.



## Resource allocation

- > Technologies have been an unfunded mandate.
- > Expectation of agencies to “do more with less”.
- > Resources are not consistently allocated to develop operational practices; effort required to achieve this has not been acknowledged.
- > Program integrity and program fidelity are often compromised.
- > Consequently, the system has failed to leverage the potential of technologies to reduce offending.



# Resource allocation

- > Technologies enable:
  - » the strategic allocation of resources, particularly when screening is a component of the program
  - » a focus on offenders based on risk
  - » an individualized approach
  - » more efficient caseload management over time
  - » practitioners to effectively balance punishment and reinforcement to improve outcomes
  - » Use of graduated sanctions/reinforcements that are cost-effective
  - » cost-benefit savings



## A continuum of intervention opportunities

- > The justice system should support a continuum of intervention opportunities based on offender characteristics and responses.
- > Alcohol monitoring technologies are an important part of the continuum and enable flexibility in supervision based on compliance of offenders.
- > Technologies can play an important role in long-term risk reduction by supporting efforts to address alcohol issues.
- > Incarceration is needed for the most incorrigible offenders.



## Future directions

- > Continuing on the same path promises poor outcomes:
  - » Surveys of offenders reveal that many drink and drive daily or several times per week; sanctions are not much of a deterrent.
  - » Continued increases in penalties will have limited impact on the problem.
  - » A group of disenfranchised offenders who are pushed out of the system and continue to offend.
  - » Comparison to “war on drugs”.
  - » Prison populations demand new alternatives



## Future directions

- > Efforts are needed to manage development of technology – regulation and self-regulation must be instituted.
- > Thought must be given to how technological enhancements will be promoted and applied.
- > Development of consistent operational practices must receive equal priority; legislation is a first step.
  - » Importance of engaging practitioners in process.
- > Research is needed to identify effective program delivery strategies.
- > Monitoring progress is essential to measuring success.



## Conclusions

- > The concept proposed by Bentham had promise, but its execution was poor.
- > Alcohol monitoring technologies hold great promise to reduce impaired driving and other offences linked to alcohol usage.
- > Technologies are a tool that can be leveraged as part of a comprehensive system of supervision.
- > Changes are needed to current practices to ensure that the potential of these technologies is realized.



## Conclusions

- > Screening, assessment and treatment must be integrated into monitoring practices to achieve long-term risk reduction – importance of issue must be raised among legislators.
- > Partnerships involving government, practitioners, research, industry and grassroots organizations are needed to achieve common goals.



# Staying informed

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