



Beyond control – Electronic monitoring and prevention
Report of the 13th European electronic monitoring
conference

3-5 December 2024, Cascais, Portugal

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Introduction

The 13th CEP electronic monitoring conference was held from 3-5 December 2024 in Cascais, Portugal, and organised in cooperation with the Portuguese Directorate-General of Reintegration and Prison Services (DGRSP). It provided an opportunity for 259 delegates from 38 countries to learn about current developments in EM and to exchange ideas. As the conference theme reflects, there was a focus on using EM for purposes beyond control, with different populations and for different purposes, including prevention. The varied conference programme included presentations about using EM with different cohorts, including juveniles, domestic violence perpetrators and victims, and pre-trial defendants. There were also sessions on the impact of EM on monitored individuals and their families and approaches to non-compliance.

The conference included both new and established elements. It was opened by Jana Spero for the first time in her role as Secretary General. The Portuguese delegation warmly welcomed delegates to Cascais. They reflected on their longstanding involvement with both the CEP and the conference. They have attended every EM conference since its inception in 1998, hosting it in Evora in 2007, and two past Presidents of the CEP had been from Portugal. Its continued involvement demonstrates a commitment to EM and exploring debates surrounding its use.

There have been many developments in EM since the last conference in Helsinki in May 2022. In her opening remarks, CEP President Annie Devos, reflected on the continued development of Artificial Intelligence (AI), which was an extensive part of the programme in Helsinki. She remarked on the timeliness of this conference given the very recent publication of the AI Act by the European Commission, signalling an important milestone in the development of regulatory frameworks.¹ The challenge is now to ensure that current and future uses of EM aligned with its established principles, primarily legitimacy and proportionality. The conference provided an opportunity to engage in debates and in-depth discussions about how EM could be further developed. Annie Devos reflected that it was a privilege *and* a responsibility to generate knowledge in this area, and to use it well.

The sections below provide an overview of key themes from the conference. Following a discussion of Portuguese approaches to EM, the report explores EM in the pre-trial context as well as in response to domestic violence, and with juveniles. The potential impacts of EM and its implications for different cohorts are then considered, followed by issues arising from breaches and non-compliance.²

Learning from Portuguese approach to EM use

The conference heard from the Deputy Director of DGRSP (General Directorate of Reintegration and Prison Services responsible for EM) João D'Oliveira Cóias, and Conceição Condeço, Director of Electronic Monitoring at DGRSP. They described Portugal's longstanding use of EM in various forms. It is currently used at three stages of the criminal process (pre-trial, sentence, post-sentence), for all types of offences and using both radio-frequency (RF) and Global Positioning System (GPS) technologies. The earliest origins of EM in Portugal date back to 1998 when it was

¹ More details [here](#).

² Presentations and workshop output are available [here](#).



introduced at the pre-trial stage (discussed in greater depth later in the conference programme). The motivation to introduce EM was to manage the expanding prison population, a common justification across jurisdictions.

Domestic violence cases constitute 63 per cent of Portugal's EM caseload. It therefore provides an example of the large-scale use of EM in domestic violence related cases. Delegates were informed of the importance of ensuring operational measures were in place and robust, including specialist risk assessments to identify the potential for ongoing violence. These act as additional safety measures to identify patterns of behaviour and put mitigations in place to manage escalating risk. The conference also learned of the close cooperation between EM and probation services through multi-agency working arrangements, including case managers who reported potential breach cases to courts, and the field officers who undertook front line working.

Delegates were also informed of the challenges of using new forms of technology within a criminal justice context and beyond. Lessons from Portugal include ensuring that innovation is pursued with reference to underpinning principles. In the Portuguese context, this includes the objective of working towards a more humane justice system, by involving society, respecting intersectionality and human rights, working with integrity and fairness, and ensuring effectiveness. Through a humanistic lens, EM is a means to avoid the harms of prison. All future developments, including new uses of technology such as AI, should adhere to these principles.

The use of EM for different cohorts

A thorough discussion of Portuguese approaches to EM provided a foundation from which to further explore its use with different cohorts. Delegates were able to compare and contrast Portuguese examples with other uses of EM across Europe with diverse population sizes, geographical locations, and scale of use. A number of themes emerged which delegates explored throughout the conference, and with reference to specific cohorts. These included the organisation of EM at local and national levels, reflected decisions to operate monitoring centres, nationally in England and Wales, regionally in France and in different communities in Belgium. The organisation of EM also has implications for multi-agency working, the importance of which was a recurring theme of the conference. This included the importance of sharing information to effectively manage risk and prevent serious further offences, to make decisions about EM regimes, and to respond appropriately to non-compliance events.

EM and domestic violence

Domestic violence is a complex global problem requiring a multidimensional response including from criminal justice agencies. The scale of the problem is recognised by the United Nations who organise the *16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence Campaign* annually.³ The conference took place during the 2024 campaign. EM is one tool which is used to tackle this problem. Delegates had the opportunity to question what role it should have, by learning from examples of its use in Portugal and France. In her presentation, Professor Michele Burman from the University of Glasgow in Scotland invited delegates to consider the definition of domestic violence, suggesting that the term domestic abuse might be more appropriate. This term encompasses a range of

³ More details [here](#).



behaviours including psychological, sexual, technological, and financial abuse, and harassment. This broader definition better reflects the range of methods of abuse adopted by perpetrators and demonstrates that physical proximity is not necessary for abuse to take place. Consequently, EM can only ever be part of the solution. Furthermore, the criminal justice response overlaps with the areas of health and social care, highlighting the importance of multi-agency cooperation and information sharing.

Jorge Monteiro and Lucie Ledez provided an overview of how EM is deployed in domestic violence cases in Portugal and France respectively. Both countries use bilateral GPS monitoring, in which the locations of the victims and perpetrators are monitored. Perpetrators wear a monitoring device, and victims have monitoring unit in their home, which alerts them if a perpetrator comes within the exclusion zone. Both countries identified clear benefits of EM including decreases in prison populations and associated resource savings. The broad aims of EM were deterrence and providing a level of protection for victims. Their programmes were an integral part of a wider set of probation interventions focussing on support and guidance as well as movement restrictions. The success of the EM programmes varied according to the measures used. In Portugal, statistics showed positive results in terms of reoffending, whereas in France, domestic violence cases have increased despite the introduction of the EM programme. This suggests that EM may be a valuable tool in responding to domestic violence but may not impact upon overall prevalence.

The accounts from Portugal and France also highlighted a number of challenges with using EM. These included ensuring appropriate use according to the risk faced by victims. Jorge Monteiro explained that it is counterproductive to use EM when there is a low risk of further violence such as when victims and perpetrators were living in different areas, and the victim receiving alerts about the perpetrator's whereabouts would be unhelpful. Equally, EM is not suitable for high-risk cases, such as when victims face an imminent risk of harm, because of the time it takes to respond to alerts. Victims are also responsabilised because they are required to ensure their own safety when alerted that perpetrators are nearby. They are also unable to determine whether the perpetrators intend to cause harm. Lucie Ledez identified that this had been a problem in France where repeated alerts caused unnecessary fear to victims. The high number of alerts including failure to charge and loss of network coverage, make it challenging for probation staff to respond. These challenges can take the focus of probation officers away from providing support to responding to alerts.

In the workshops participants had the opportunity to discuss these examples from France and Portugal whilst considering some of the benefits and the challenges, as depicted in figures one and two below.



Figure 1: The benefits of EM use with domestic violence cases

Discussions included the value of EM in gathering information about the behaviour of the perpetrator, to monitor risk more successfully and for probation officers to manage offenders more effectively. However, delegates also questioned the extent to which EM acted as a deterrent in domestic violence cases, due to its complex, multi-dimensional nature, which may escalate as a result of irrational thinking patterns. These issues, along with others, were identified as challenges, as shown in figure two. Furthermore, victims' and families' perspectives were recognised as an area where further research is needed to understand the value of EM use in domestic violence cases.

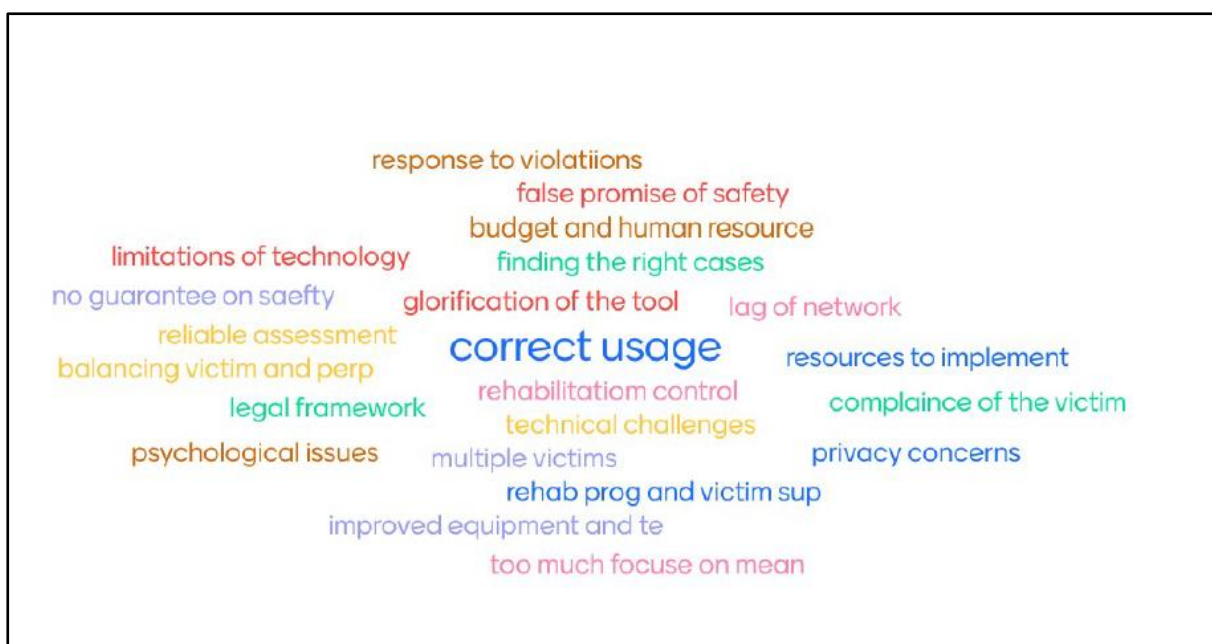


Figure 2: The challenges of EM use with domestic violence cases



EM with pre-trial defendants

Delegates had the opportunity to explore using EM at the pre-trial stage. EM is used at the pre-trial stage in around half of EU jurisdictions either as a mechanism to suspend pre-trial detention or as an alternative to it. Despite its widespread use, debates about it have been limited and it is not included in the EU regulation of EM or pre-trial detention. Professor Anthea Hucklesby from the University of Birmingham in the UK opened the session by explaining that this cohort is unique because they are unconvicted and therefore presumed innocent, and that this principle should be considered when using EM. It should not constitute a punishment or carry with it any requirements or elements of rehabilitation. Because of this, consideration should be given to the EM regime, the regulations which govern its use, the types of technology used, and the personnel involved. Pre-trial use of EM should not simply follow post-conviction regimes and restrictions and instead should be imposed according to pre-trial criteria.

Delegates then heard how EM is used at the pre-trial stage in England and Wales and Belgium. Anthea Hucklesby provided the perspective from England and Wales which has a legal presumption of bail. She explained that the law requires that EM is only imposed as an alternative to pre-trial detention. However, in practice it is also used as an additional measure for those who would be bailed. This may be explained by the perceived benefits of EM, including a positive impact on compliance, the capacity to provide an early warning of absconding, and resource savings compared to detention, alongside a lack of trust in other alternatives to pre-trial detention. However, this 'net-widening' approach has downsides including indirectly increasing the prison population because of breaches and increased costs due to EM being used unnecessarily for defendants who could have been released without it.

Delegates then heard about the use of pre-trial EM in Belgium, from Karel Van Cauwenberghe, who drew from his experience as an investigating judge. In this role, he has responsibility for pre-trial decision-making including issuing arrest warrants, releasing individuals with or without conditions and imposing EM. He outlined the regime, regulation, technology and personnel involved in the Belgian EM system. Belgium uses home detention at the pre-trial stage with individuals being confined for 24 hours a day in their homes. This has obvious implications for individuals, because they cannot work, go about daily tasks and have limited contact with legal and support services (to a greater extent than they would be in detention), and for those who live with them. It is particularly difficult for those who live alone. By contrast, defendants can continue daily activities in England and Wales where curfews are usually imposed for 12 hours a day, despite the legal maximum being 24 hours. These differences in approach occur because Belgium replicates pre-trial detention in the community whereas in England restrictions are kept to the minimum necessary to counter bail risks because of the underpinning presumption of bail.

Delegates had the opportunity during the workshops to discuss the use of EM pre-trial, drawing from experiences in their own jurisdictions. Virtually all workshop participants agreed with the idea of using EM at the pre-trial stage, but they had contrasting views on how it should be used. However, the consensus of participants was that flexible use was important, along with avoiding 24-hour home detention. When asked to consider how EM should be used at the pre-trial stage, delegates



discussed the importance of necessary and proportionate use which comes with an assessment of needs and access to support.

EM with juveniles

The conference heard presentations on juveniles and electronic monitoring programmes in Flanders, the Netherlands and Sweden. The presentations provided valuable insights into the implementation of the Youth Supervision programme in Flanders and Sweden, and the intricacies of using EM with juveniles in the Netherlands. Peter Casteur, from the Agency Opgroeien, outlined the implementation and policy framework of EM with juveniles in Flanders. In doing so, he highlighted the need for robust legal frameworks and collaboration with various stakeholders, including juvenile judges, prosecutors, local police, academic institutions, and children's rights organizations. He highlighted the critical role of timely decision-making, thorough assessment, specific timeframes for house arrest and activation and the crucial role of EM counsellors, involving close interaction with juveniles and maintaining a low caseload, to ensure effective guidance. He concluded that the implementation of EM for juvenile offenders represents a significant advancement in the juvenile justice system. By investing in good law, fostering partnerships, and providing intensive guidance, the EM programme aims to rehabilitate juveniles effectively.

Christine Andersson and Maria Hall Svantesson from the Swedish Prison and Probation Service outlined the use of EM for juveniles in their country. Introduced in January 2021, the Youth Supervision programme is used with young offenders aged 15-17 and involves a period of tailored supervision ranging from six months to one year, with mandatory weekend home detention. This ensures compliance with specific conditions and engagement in positive behaviours. The mandatory weekend home detention component is designed to promote discipline and accountability, while providing young offenders with the opportunity to reflect on their actions and make positive changes. The aim is to provide a structured and supportive environment for young offenders, helping them reintegrate into society while reducing the risk of reoffending. Effectiveness is measured through various indicators, including recidivism rates, compliance with supervision conditions, and the overall well-being of participants. While the programme has shown promise in reducing reoffending and promoting positive behaviour, it also faces challenges such as ensuring consistent enforcement of conditions and addressing the individual needs of diverse participants.

Diede Van der Heijden provided insights from the Netherlands covering several key aspects of the programme. Monitoring is conducted by one of the 13 youth probation services, which ensure that juveniles comply with conditions such as location bans or orders, treatment obligations, and behavioural interventions. The transport and support service (DV&O) installed and removes the equipment and Reclassering Nederland monitors the devices. EM is linked to special conditions like location orders (requiring juveniles to be at a specific place at certain times) and location bans (prohibiting juveniles from going to certain places). Customisation includes mandatory treatment, reporting obligations, and adhering to instructions from the probation service. This tailored approach ensures that the monitoring programme addresses the specific needs and risks associated with each individual.



Several advantages and disadvantages of using EM with this cohort were discussed. Advantages included avoiding the negative consequences of prison, and remaining in the community, thereby allowing for integration and access to support. Relationships with parents may be strengthened by involving them in the monitoring process, while also reducing the likelihood of offending. Furthermore, the structure provided by EM can promote discipline and positive behaviour. However, EM also has several drawbacks, including the potential for social stigma and perceptions of negative reactions from peers and the community. Monitoring devices can also be uncomfortable to wear and may cause physical discomfort or cause health issues over time. In addition, juveniles may test the limits of the monitoring system and challenge its effectiveness. The insights gained from the discussions of EM use with juveniles prompted a consensus among delegates that continued research and evaluation of EM programmes is essential to enhance their impact and contribute to the broader field of juvenile justice.

The impacts of EM

The opportunity to consider the use of EM for different purposes and with different cohorts allowed delegates to reflect on numerous impacts of EM on individuals, their families, and on society in general, both positive and negative. Delegates heard from Louise Forman, Head of Operations of the Probation Service Wales, on some advantages of EM and Professor Hans Grönqvist, from Linnaeus University and IFAU in Sweden, who provided an account of potential social and economic benefits of EM.

Impacts on monitored individuals

Louise Forman considered the positive and negative impacts of EM on monitored individuals. She outlined an approach which aims to use EM creatively to realise its full potential. Whilst acknowledging that EM has positive and negative impacts, she focused on how it builds social capital through breaking unhelpful habits, improving employment opportunities, family relationships, and offering space to reflect. She highlighted the importance of considering individuals' circumstances, by deploying needs assessments, to ensure that potential benefits are maximised.

The conference learned about the impact of EM in England and Wales across several cohorts. This included remote alcohol monitoring which is used as a community sentence and post-release. Compliance rates are high and benefits included evidencing progress towards rehabilitation that individuals can share with their families and significant others and the potential to increase engagement with recovery programmes. She summarised the benefits as providing an opportunity to 'catch people being good', reflecting a positive use of EM beyond control. The need for effective processes to manage risk was highlighted by an example of a serious further offence in England and Wales, which prompted discussion about appropriate safeguarding measures and highlighted the importance of effective risk assessments and information sharing through multi-agency partnerships. Louise also emphasised the importance of an effective infrastructure for the safe delivery EM, which builds and maintains the confidence of the public and criminal justice professionals.



Impacts on families and significant others

Potential impacts on those around monitored individuals can be significant and depend on the regimes and technology used. Workshop participants were invited to consider the potential impacts of EM on family members and cohabitees. The negative impacts discussed included the loss of freedom that family members may experience, and stress caused by the increased presence of monitored individuals in the home. These negative impacts may be mitigated by putting effective support in place. However, participants also drew from the research presented by Hans Grönqvist to discuss the potential positive impacts on families, and children particularly. These include significant increases in school completion rates among children of monitored individuals compared with children of prisoners, and higher annual earnings. While these findings appear promising, workshop participants acknowledged the need for further research, including qualitative research, to better understand the experiences of families and cohabitees of monitored individuals.

Social and economic impacts

Reflecting on the potential long-term advantages for the children of monitored individuals compared to the children of prisoners prompted an examination of broader social and economic impacts of EM. Whilst EM is often cited as being cheaper than prison, Hans Grönqvist highlighted its contribution to the labour market over time by increasing participation and earnings for those who experienced EM compared to those sent to prison. He also identified a small reduction of reoffending. These themes were discussed in the workshop, as participants were invited to reflect on how to maximise the potential social benefits of EM. Debates included ensuring negative impacts were acknowledged and minimised wherever possible, and positive impacts were promoted. For this to be achieved, individuals' needs to be considered and a supportive infrastructure available. Along with further research, participants identified the importance criminal justice professionals' engagement and knowledge sharing to create a better understanding of exactly what EM does and how.

Implications for EM compliance

The potential benefits of EM will only be fully realised if individuals comply with EM making compliance frameworks fundamental to its effective operation. Delegates heard about different approaches to compliance in a roundtable discussion including presenters from Estonia, France and Finland. It provided a thorough examination of the similarities and differences across jurisdictions regarding responses to different degrees of non-compliance, structural organisation of compliance frameworks and decision-making responsibilities. The scale of use and geography of the countries differed significantly, which affected their approaches. Jako Salla, Director of the Probation Service in Estonia, explained that the small cohort of 300 individuals were monitored from one national monitoring centre in Estonia. This contrasts with the French approach, presented by Anais Vacherot, Deputy Head of the EM section in France, where 17-18,000 people are monitored from 10 regional centres. All three jurisdictions used both radio frequency and GPS monitoring for a number of different purposes. EM was used at the pre-trial stage in all three jurisdictions, as a sentence in Estonia and Finland, and post sentence in Estonia and France. It is also used in a domestic violence programme in Finland and France. How EM is used influences the strictness of the regime, including curfew lengths, the size of exclusion zones as well



as what constitutes non-compliance and the response. Not all non-compliance events can be responded to within available resources. Achieving the appropriate balance in responding to non-compliance, including speed and severity, is vital to maintain public and judicial confidence in EM.

A range of responses to breach were discussed. Along with the specific modality, these were also determined by the nature of the non-compliance and whether monitoring was still possible, patterns of behaviour, the scale of non-compliance, individual circumstances, and the risk which potentially ensues from non-compliance. In France, the personnel who respond to non-compliance differed according to the modality. The three presenters outlined a scaled approach to responding to breaches, including verbal and written warnings, additional requirements, further conviction and sentence revocation.

The principles governing breach policies are also important. Pia Andersson, Senior Advisor Prison and Probation Service in Finland, reflected her country's approach, which was underpinned by managing risk with transparency and clarity. As a result, the breach process is explicitly stated and monitored individuals have a legal right to know the outcome of any breach investigations and a right to respond. Workshop participants were also asked to consider what the aims of a breach policy should be. The result of the discussion is contained in figure three, where the themes from the Finnish approach were prominent in relation to transparency and risk management.



Figure 3: What should be the aims of a breach policy?

Workshop participants considered the balance between technological and human responses to non-compliance. All three countries had mechanisms in place to take account of individuals' circumstances when considering how to respond to non-compliance. This commonly involved contacting individuals to discuss the situation



before decisions are made. Participants agreed that humans should be the decision-makers and that technology should assist their decision-making rather than replacing it.

Concluding comments

EM has been developed over decades in many jurisdictions, including Portugal, with established multi-agency working arrangements, risk management processes and information sharing policies, and reliable technologies. However, EM continues to develop for different purposes, using new and evolving technologies or monitoring new cohorts. This means that plenty still remains unknown about EM, including the full extent of its impact, both positive and negative on monitored individuals, their families and society at large. Misunderstandings are omnipresent amongst the public regarding the capability of EM and responses to non-compliance. Practitioners and policy makers continue to search for the most effective ways to use EM. Therefore, more evidence is needed to inform future developments. In particular, more research on the impact on families and victims would reduce the current gap between use and knowledge in this area. This should be underpinned by robust communication strategies to promote evidence-based uses of EM which accurately reflect the value of the technology but also its limitations.

In addition, work is still needed to build advocates within system and to foster dialogue about future uses of EM from all those who are involved. This includes judges, who were virtually unrepresented at the conference (with the exception of Karel Van Cauwenberghe). Involvement from a wider range of criminal justice professionals in the future will support the effectiveness of EM as its uses develop in the future.

The dialogue will continue at the next iteration of the CEP EM conference.



Appendix 1 – Conference Programme

Tuesday 3 December

- 13.00-14.00 **Registration with Coffee/Tea and Opportunity to visit sponsors' displays**
- 14.00-14.30 **Welcome speech**
Mr. João D'Oliveira Cóias (Deputy Director of DGRSP, Portugal)
Ms. Carla Semedo (Councillor of the Municipality of Cascais, Portugal)
Mr. Paulo Rio (Deputy Director General of DGRSP, Portugal)
Ms. Annie Devos (President of CEP)
- 14.30- 15:15 **Electronic Monitoring the Portuguese approach**
Mr. João D'Oliveira Cóias (Deputy Director of DGRSP, Portugal)
Ms. Conceição Condeço (Director of Electronic Monitoring of DGRS, Portugal)
- 15:15-16.30 **Impacts of Electronic Monitoring**
Ms. Louise Forman (Head of Operations – Probation Service Wales, UK)
Professor Hans Grönqvist (Linnaeus University and IFAU, Sweden)
- 16:30-17:00 **Coffee/Tea and Opportunity to visit sponsors**
- 17:00-18:15 **Roundtable session on Breaches and non-compliance**
Mr. Jako Salla (Director of Probation Service Estonia)
Ms. Anais Vacherot (Deputy Head of EM section France)
Ms Pia Andersson (Senior Advisor Prison and Probation Service Finland)
- 19.30 – 21:30 **Reception and tailored buffet at Lota da Esquina in Cascais**



Wednesday 4 December

09.00 -10.30 1st Series of Workshop Sessions:

Workshop I: Impacts of EM

Workshop II: Breaches and non-compliance

10.30-11.15 Coffee/Tea and opportunity to visit sponsors

11.15-12.30 Pre-trial use of Electronic Monitoring

*Professor Anthea Hucklesby (University of Birmingham, UK)
Mr. Karel Van Cauwenberghe (Investigation Judge at rest, Belgium)*

12.30-14.00 Lunch with opportunity to visit the posters on display

14:00-15:30 Domestic Violence and Electronic Monitoring

*Mr. Jorge Monteiro (Head of the Centre for Studies, Research and Planning of DGRSP, Portugal)
Ms. Lucie Ledez, (Probation Director Department Pas-de-Calais, France)
Professor Michele Burman (Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, University of Glasgow, UK)*

15.30-16.00 Coffee/Tea and Opportunity to visit sponsors

16.00-18.00 Social programme in Cascais

19.30–23.00 Dinner at hotel Cascais Miragem



Thursday 5 December

09.00-10.30 2nd Series of Workshop Sessions

Workshop III: Pre-trial use of EM

Workshop IV: Domestic Violence and EM

10.30-11.15 Coffee/Tea, Opportunity to visit sponsors' displays and hotel checkout

11.15-13.00 Juveniles and Electronic Monitoring

Mr. Peter Casteur (head of department Policy Development at the Flemish agency Opgroeien (Juveniles), Belgium)

Ms. Christine Andersson and Ms. Maria Svantesson (Swedish Prison and Probation Service, Sweden)

Mr. Diede van der Heijden (Dutch Youth Protection West, The Netherlands)

13.00-13.30 Conclusions from the workshop sessions and closing words

13.30 Lunch and departure



Appendix 2 – Workshop questions

The themes presented by the plenary speakers were explored in more depth at the four workshop sessions. Participants were invited to consider specific questions in groups and submitted their conclusions using the online application of [Mentimeter](#). The outputs from each session are also available [here](#).

Workshop I: Impacts of Electronic Monitoring

1. How can we maximise the social benefits of Electronic Monitoring in the way we use the available technologies?
2. What are the impacts of Electronic Monitoring on family members and cohabitants?
3. How do we use the evidence base to further improve public and judicial confidence in Electronic Monitoring?

Workshop II: Breaches and non-compliance

1. What should be the aims of a breach policy?
2. What factors should be considered when determining the response to non-compliance related to electronic monitoring?
3. What should be the balance between people-led and technology-led responses to non-compliance/breaches?

Workshop III: Pre-trial use of EM

1. Do you agree with using electronic monitoring in the pre-trial phase?
2. In what ways should electronic monitoring be used in the pre-trial phase?
3. Given the presumption of innocence and human rights, what special considerations should be addressed for electronic monitoring in the pre-trial phase?

Workshop IV: Domestic Violence and EM

1. What are the primary goals of implementing electronic monitoring in Domestic Violence cases?
2. What are the benefits of using EM in Domestic Violence cases?
3. What are the challenges of using EM in Domestic Violence cases?
4. Do you think there is an over-reliance on EM as a solution for Domestic Violence?