

# AT THE INTERSECTION OF PROBATION AND JAIL REDUCTION EFFORTS

Findings on Probation, Jail, and  
Transitional Housing Trends in  
Pima County, Arizona

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This report was created with support from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation as part of the Safety and Justice Challenge, which seeks to reduce over-incarceration by changing the way America thinks about and uses jails. Core to the Challenge is a competition designed to support efforts to improve local criminal justice systems across the country that are working to safely reduce over-reliance on jails, with a particular focus on addressing disproportionate impact on low-income individuals and communities of color.

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# Executive Summary

Probation violations contribute significantly to rising jail populations in the United States: 33 percent of all people incarcerated in jails were arrested while on probation, and 27 percent of the people in jails for probation violations were incarcerated for technical violations alone (Phelps 2017). Therefore, many jurisdictions across the country have implemented strategies to reduce jail incarceration for people on probation (though research on the efficacy of these strategies is limited). Pima County, Arizona, has made reforms to address probation-related drivers of jail incarceration through its participation in the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation's Safety and Justice Challenge (SJC), including the strengthening of the county's transitional housing support, which was intended to provide short-term housing options for people experiencing housing instability. To better understand efforts to reduce the jail population in Pima County, particularly those designed for probation populations, the Urban Institute conducted a study in partnership with the county's Adult Probation Department. This study focuses on describing probation pathways to jail incarceration and system-level trends in jail incarceration for people on probation in Pima County, as well as the effects of providing transitional housing support to people on probation, particularly in terms of jail use.

Although research on the prevalence of housing instability among people on probation is limited, housing instability has been found to be associated with an increased risk of criminal legal system involvement (Brown et al. 2022; Cho 2004; Metraux, Roman, and Cho 2007). This can be particularly salient among people serving probation, who are required to report and maintain a valid address as a probation condition, a violation of which can result in jail incarceration. Transitional housing support in Pima County, therefore, is an important strategy to study when assessing probation-to-jail pathways.

In this study, we (1) collected and analyzed administrative data, including charge-level data on all people on probation from the Arizona Administrative Offices of the Courts, individual-level data on people who received transitional housing support from the Pima County Adult Probation Department (APD), and data on jail bookings from the CUNY Institute for State and Local Governance (ISLG); (2) interviewed 30 key stakeholders, including APD officers, representatives of committees leading Pima County's probation reform and jail reduction efforts, and people on probation; (3) reviewed probation case files for 28 unique cases that involved people who received transitional housing support and that were representative of the period of interest; and (4) reviewed policy documents, including documents pertaining to agency-level policies related to probation conditions, jail use for people on probation, supervision guidelines for officers, and publicly available data reports and qualitative reports on Pima County's jail reduction efforts and housing support programs. The overall study period spanned from

2015 to 2023, though different data sources spanned different periods. Below, we summarize key findings from this study.

## Key Findings

### Regarding the probation population in Pima County:

- On average, probation sentences in Pima County were three to four years long. Nearly 90 percent of people were on Standard Probation Supervision (SPS) and 10 percent were on Intensive Probation Supervision (IPS). Black and Hispanic people made up slightly larger shares of the IPS caseload than of the SPS caseload.
- Compared with Pima County's overall population, Hispanic and Black people were overrepresented among people on probation. Hispanic people accounted for 39 percent of the county population but 43 percent of the probation population, and Black people accounted for 4 percent of the county population but 13 percent of the probation population.

### Regarding trends in jail incarceration for people on probation:

- Roughly 10 percent of all jail bookings in Pima County were due to probation violations, representing an overall low share of jail admissions. However, average length of stay for people in jail for probation violations was considerably longer at 66 days, nearly three times as long as that for the pretrial population (25 days) and five times as long as that for the sentenced population (13 days).
- The average daily jail population in Pima County varied across years, dropping from 2,270 people in 2015 to 1,112 people in 2020. People booked for probation violations make up roughly 23 percent of the average daily population each year because of their longer average length of stay.
- The average length of stay in jail was considerably longer for men (69 days) than for women (58 days). It was longest for Black people (70 days) and Asian people (71 days) (although the number of Asian people in jail was substantially lower than other groups).

### Regarding probation-to-jail pathways:

- People on probation can be subject to three primary types of jail incarceration. First, they can be detained in jail before their probation violation disposition. Second, they can be held in jail as a formal nonrevocation sanction (e.g., a short-term stay for a failed drug test). Third, for more

serious violations, they can have their probation terminated and be sent to jail for probation revocations or coterminous sentences.<sup>1</sup> The main probation violations resulting in jail stays are committing serious, new offenses and absconding.

- Many people on probation experiencing substance use disorders, mental health disorders, and/or housing instability are more prone to have violations and thus are also frequently put in jail, according to stakeholders we interviewed.
- Probation violations resulting in jail incarceration represented 16 percent of all terminated probation cases and were largely driven by technical violations, which include absconding charges. Forty-eight percent of jail revocations and 59 percent of coterminous terminations were on account of technical violations only.
- The proportion of closed probation cases that resulted in jail incarceration dropped slightly between FY 2016 and 2022, from 17 to 13 percent, likely because of efforts (which were ongoing during our data collection) to reduce jail populations and efforts to use jails less because of the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2022, however, the number of closed cases was much smaller than in earlier years due to shorter follow-up times.
- There were some observable racial and ethnic disparities in jail use as a formal revocation petition outcome. Native American and Hispanic people had higher odds—by 97 percent and 46 percent, respectively—of being revoked to jail compared with white people. Black people were 24 percent more likely to receive coterminous outcomes compared with white people.
- We found that several case and supervision characteristics were major drivers of jail terminations. These included original charge classification, criminogenic risk level, and supervision type.

**Regarding transitional housing support for people on probation:**

- Between January 2020 and June 2022, 331 people received financial assistance to access transitional housing. The number of people receiving this assistance increased: 120 people received support in the first half of 2022, whereas only 38 did in the first half of 2020. This is because the APD and other county stakeholders implemented processes to better navigate pandemic-related challenges, which were very new in 2020.
- The APD prioritized people with higher risk and needs when making decisions about funding for transitional housing. Accordingly, people who received financial support from the APD to access transitional housing were more likely to have been charged with a felony at the time of



original sentencing, more likely to be classified as higher risk based on criminogenic risk scores, generally had more formal violation petitions filed against them, were more likely to be on the IPS caseload than the SPS caseload, and were more likely to have sentences entailing incarceration and probation terms.

- The odds of a probation termination to jail were not significantly different for people who received APD funding for transitional housing and those who did not. These null effects, however, could owe to the small number of people served and the limited data available on people who received transitional housing support.
- Although we did not observe that transitional housing support had any effects on the odds of being incarcerated in jail, interviewed stakeholders perceived this support for people on probation to be a crucial stabilizing force and extremely meaningful to their well-being (for instance, it helped them secure employment, attend programs such as those related to substance use, and secure more permanent housing).



# At the Intersection of Probation and Jail Reduction Efforts

Probation has been a major driver of prison and jail incarceration in the United States through arrests of people on probation for new crimes and technical violations, contributing substantially to mass incarceration. A recent national analysis found that a third of all people in jail were on probation at the time of arrest; roughly a quarter of people in jail were there because of technical violations of probation (Phelps 2017). Also, there are significant racial and ethnic disparities in probation sentences and outcomes (Phelps 2017). Jannetta and coauthors (2014), for instance, found that Black people on probation had higher revocation rates in all four of the sites they studied.

Trends in Pima County, Arizona, are comparable to these national trends. Freeman and coauthors (2021) examined probation revocations in the county and found that more than two-thirds of probation revocation petitions were filed simply for technical violations;<sup>2</sup> they found that Black people were more likely to receive a jail termination as a probation violation response, and that Hispanic\* and Native American people were overrepresented among people revoked to prison (Freeman et al. 2021). Research also indicates that people on probation who have lower education levels and criminal records are less likely to meet probation conditions. They often miss paying fees, struggle to maintain consistent housing, and are more likely to be arrested (Albonetti and Hepburn 1997; Doherty 2019; Jannetta et al. 2014).<sup>3</sup>

Housing needs are particularly salient for people involved in the criminal legal system nationwide. Coulute (2018) found that formerly incarcerated people are nearly 10 times more likely to experience homelessness than the general public. Housing instability is also a major issue for people on probation and a significant driver of jail use for this population, though there is limited research on this topic. Jacobs and Gottlieb (2020), in their study on people serving probation in San Francisco, found that more than a quarter had faced homelessness at some point during their supervision terms and that housing insecurity was associated with an increased risk of recidivism, particularly among people with low-severity offenses and low-risk populations—most people failed supervision due to arrests for new crimes, particularly property and drug crimes (Jacobs and Gottlieb 2020). Another study on people serving probation in Rhode Island found that roughly a quarter of survey respondents reported experiencing homelessness (Dong et al. 2018). Analysis conducted by Pima County found that in 2016,

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\* We use the term Hispanic here because this is the term used in the cited research study, though we acknowledge that Latine and Latinx are considered more inclusive terms.

over 500 people (roughly 4 percent of the jail population) who had two or more bookings in the county jail in the prior year also lacked a permanent housing address.<sup>4</sup>

Probation agencies have increasingly been implementing evidence-based practices, but changes in policies and programs have not been well documented or evaluated. There is some evidence on the limited efficacy of using jail sanctions as a violation response (Olsen, Khalid, Oglesby-Neal, and Upin 2022; Wodahl, Boman, and Garland 2015) and on supervision violation response strategies intended to limit prison and jail incarceration (such as the use of noncustodial or administrative sanctions) (Pew 2019), but the impacts of broader probation strategies designed to limit jail use and of efforts to address housing challenges for people on probation have not been adequately explored, especially in light of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Given that probation populations are a major driver of jail populations and how salient housing can be to the overall well-being of people on probation, this study can serve as an important building block in improving the understanding of probation-related drivers of jail populations and transitional housing as a means of stabilizing people on probation.

Pima County has engaged in reforms to address probation-related drivers of jail incarceration through its participation in the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation's Safety and Justice Challenge (SJC), including strengthening transitional housing support for people on probation to address pervasive housing challenges.<sup>5</sup> Urban partnered with the Pima County Adult Probation Department (APD) to conduct a mixed-methods study of probation pathways to jail incarceration and system-level trends in jail incarceration for people on probation in the county, and of the effects of providing transitional housing support to people on probation, particularly in terms of jail use.

Using administrative data on people serving probation sentences and on bookings in Pima County Jail, we analyzed trends in Pima County's overall jail population, people incarcerated in jails for probation violations, and probation violation outcomes. Additionally, we used records for people on probation who received APD funding to access transitional housing to identify a sample of recipients and study the association between housing support and probation outcomes using bivariate and multivariate analyses.<sup>6</sup> We also interviewed county stakeholders, including APD leadership, probation officers, judges, community-based housing providers, and people on probation who received transitional housing support, about their perspectives on pathways from probation to jail and strategies to reduce jail incarceration among people on probation, including the transitional housing support program. Lastly, we conducted a review of probation case files that included walk-throughs of case files with APD officers and virtual reviews of case files by the research team to dive deeper into conditions surrounding housing needs and any violations stemming from the housing challenges, requests for transitional housing support, and housing referrals. More details on our methodology can be found in appendix A. In this report, we answer the following research questions:

- What are the basic, system-level trends (e.g., population size, demographic characteristics, and case characteristics) in jail incarceration for probation violations in Pima County?
- What are the key pathways (including client behaviors, decisions made by probation staff, and formal, statutory channels) to local incarceration for people on probation?
- What are the key housing support components implemented to reduce probation violations as a driver of the local jail population?
- At the individual level, how is housing support for probation participants related to short-term outcomes (e.g., violations) and long-term outcomes (e.g., termination type)?
- To what extent do individual outcomes differ by race and ethnicity, age, gender, and other salient characteristics?

Table 1 lays out how our data sources and analytic approaches align with the sections of this report and our research questions.

**TABLE 1**  
**This Study’s Data Sources and Analytic Methods**  
*With corresponding research questions*

Report section	Research questions	Data used	Analysis period	Analytic method
Background on Pima County	1, 2	APETS administrative data	July 2015–June 2022	Descriptive analyses; bivariate analyses; logistic regressions
		Interviews with APD stakeholders and other officials in Pima County (including judges)	October 2021–June 2022	Thematic analysis
		Pima County Jail administrative data via the Institute for State and Local Governance	January 2015–December 2020	Descriptive analyses
Pima County’s Transitional Housing Support Program - Recipients of APD Funding for Transitional Housing	3, 4	APD administrative data on housing support	January 2020–June 2022	Descriptive analyses
		Interviews with APD stakeholders and people on probation, and case file reviews	October 2021–February 2023	Thematic analysis
Pima County’s Transitional Housing Support Program – Transitional Housing Support and Jail-related Outcomes	4, 5	APD administrative data on housing support, merged with APETS administrative data	January 2020–June 2022	Bivariate analyses; logistic regressions
		Interviews with APD stakeholders and people on probation	October 2021–February 2023	Thematic analysis
		Case file reviews	February 2020–May 2022	Thematic analysis

Notes: APD = Pima County Adult Probation Department. APETS = Adult Probation Enterprise Tracking System.

## Background on Pima County

Pima County includes Tucson, which is one of the larger cities in Arizona and accounts for most of the county's population. According to the 2020 Census, the county has just over 1 million residents, 50 percent of whom identified as white (not Hispanic or Latino), 39 percent as Hispanic or Latino,<sup>†</sup> 4 percent as Black, and 5 percent as American Indian or Alaska Native.<sup>7</sup> Compared with the national population, Pima County has larger populations of Hispanic/Latino and American Indian or Alaska Native residents and a smaller Black population. According to the 2020 Census, about 14.7 percent of the population lived at or below the poverty level, which is higher than the national rate.

In recent years, Pima County has engaged in various efforts to reduce its jail population, particularly to constrict pathways from probation to jail. These efforts have been led by the APD and other county stakeholders, like representatives of the jail authorities within the county sheriff's department, Pima County Superior Court, community-based organizations, and the Pima County Administrator's Office. Most officials we interviewed agreed that the county has recently been trying to reduce the jail population and they pointed to multiple efforts, including those related to the county's SJC participation and the push within the APD to move away from a punitive culture toward one that balances responses to probation violations intended to *control* behavior with responses intended to *correct* it.

### Efforts to Reduce the Jail Population by Changing Probation Policies

The APD has led multiple efforts to change probation policies to reduce Pima County's jail population. These efforts include the following.

#### REDUCING THE USE OF "AUTOMATIC HOLDS," WHEREBY PEOPLE ARE HELD IN JAIL WITHOUT BOND AFTER BEING ARRESTED FOR PROBATION VIOLATIONS

According to interviewed stakeholders, people held in jail without bond are mostly those who are likely to be sentenced to a jail revocation or coterminous sentence as a result of a petition to revoke (PTR) (e.g., people with more serious violations).<sup>8</sup> Other people are increasingly offered the option to pay a bond and exit jail, sometimes within hours of being booked into jail, as courts review cases multiple times daily. In many other cases, probation officers are not recommending issuing arrest

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<sup>†</sup> "Latino" is the term used in the US Census. We acknowledge that terms like Latinx and Latine are more inclusive.

warrants at all for probation violations and are instead issuing court summonses.<sup>9</sup> Even for people on automatic holds, the APD is trying to reduce jail time by getting probation officers to prepare addendum reports faster and asking the courts to provide them 10 days to prepare those reports instead of the previous norm of 20 to 30 days.<sup>10</sup>

#### **SUPPORTING PEOPLE WHO HAVE ABSCONDED, PARTICULARLY PEOPLE ON THE INTENSIVE PROBATION SUPERVISION CASELOAD**

This strategy encourages officers to spend more time trying to locate and reengage people suspected of absconding instead of promptly filing PTRs requesting arrest warrants. For instance, for the Intensive Probation Supervision (IPS) caseload, the APD's guidance for probation officers has changed since 2019: whereas it used to require them to request that the court issue an arrest warrant and file a PTR 72 hours after a person on the IPS caseload was suspected of having absconded, it now gives them 30 days.<sup>11</sup>

#### **CHANGING PROBATION CULTURE TO ENCOURAGE REHABILITATIVE RESPONSES RATHER THAN CARCERAL ONES**

The APD has significantly reduced the use of short jail sanctions—introduced as part of Project SAFE (Swift Accountable Fair Enforcement) reforms—since the Arizona Superior Court in Pima County's 2018 decision to use them less, as these sanctions were not found to be an effective tool for responding to violations. Even on drug-related caseloads, where such short sanctions were previously used frequently, the APD is encouraging the use of GPS monitoring to impose a curfew as a sanction instead of jail time.

#### **BETTER SUPPORTING PEOPLE ON PROBATION WHO HAVE SUBSTANCE USE NEEDS**

The APD's broader approach to substance use-related violations has shifted as the department has recognized that for people with substance use issues, "failure is part of the process," as an interviewed judge put it. This is significant because, as Freeman and coauthors (2021) highlight in a recent study of Pima County's probation population, a large proportion of people on probation has substance use issues, and a significant number of probation violations are drug related. Multiple interviewees noted that they generally do not file a formal PTR for a single, or even for multiple, positive drug tests, especially if the person is continuing to engage with the treatment process. But interviewees shared that drug use continues to be a major reason people abscond, often because they are trying to avoid testing positive—a link that has also been acknowledged by other supervision agencies (Arnold Ventures n.d.).

## Other Efforts to Reduce the Jail Population

There have also been recent efforts to reduce the jail population involving multiple county-based stakeholders, like representatives from the jail and probation authorities, Pima County Superior Court, community-based organizations, and the Pima County Administrator's Office. These efforts include the following.

### IMPLEMENTING COMMITTEES TO REDUCE THE JAIL POPULATION

Pima County formed the Jail Population Review Committee (which meets weekly) and the Probation Jail Reduction Committee (which meets quarterly). These committees have helped examine the release of people from jail without bond, particularly people who have been arrested for nonviolent offenses without a person victim and have been in jail for at least 10 days. Interviewees shared that the Jail Population Review Committee, which considers 8 to 10 people for release from jail every week, hired a jail population coordinator who puts together the list of people eligible for consideration; they added that the committee's recommendations are nearly always implemented by the courts. In less than 5 percent of cases, judges did not agree with the committee's recommendation to release the person from jail (Weill, Cissner, and Narahariseti 2022). The Probation Jail Reduction Committee focuses on policy changes that can reduce the jail population. For instance, it recently set performance benchmarks for the APD related to reducing the number of PTRs filed by a certain percentage.

### USING A PRE-INDICTMENT DIVERSION PROGRAM

In 2021, Pima County created STEPs, or the Supportive Treatment and Engagement Program, to divert people accused of drug offenses (including felony offenses), who form a significant proportion of all criminal cases in the county, to treatment instead.<sup>12</sup> By September 2021, nearly 200 people had enrolled in the program.<sup>13</sup>

### STRENGTHENING THE TRANSITIONAL HOUSING PROGRAM FOR PEOPLE ON PROBATION

Pima County's transitional housing program is intended to provide temporary, short-term housing support for people experiencing housing instability. Given the large overlap between people facing housing instability and people on probation, and because a paucity of housing options often prevents people's release from jail, the county has made efforts to reduce jail use for people on probation by strengthening that program. As the focus of this study, this strategy is explored in more detail later in this report.



## PILOTING A NEW HOUSING PROGRAM

In 2019, the county used federal funds to create the Pima County Housing First program to provide permanent supportive housing to people facing housing instability with funds from the county government and the City of Tucson's housing authority (McBain et al. 2021).<sup>14</sup> The program takes a Housing First<sup>15</sup> and health-based approach to addressing the area's increasing number of people experiencing homelessness, particularly because people with criminal convictions are ineligible for Section 8 housing vouchers. Pima County Housing First provides people vouchers to support with monthly rent, transitional housing if needed, and other supports, such as employment assistance and substance use and mental health treatment. McBain and coauthors (2021) found that by mid-2021, 185 out of 314 program participants had moved into program housing, and participants had less criminal legal system contact and lower health care costs in the 12 months after enrolling in the program. The county has secured additional federal investment to build on this pilot.<sup>16</sup>

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*We try to exhaust every effort before we arrest. We take into consideration mental health and substance abuse issues, if they're homeless or not, and we start with verbal reprimands and then do smaller sanctions. There isn't a matrix, we don't just check boxes. They're individuals and my people are looking at much more time in prison if their probation gets revoked. It might just be talking to them [as a response to a violation], other times we might ask them to write something out about their thought process and how to address it in the future. –Pima County Adult Probation Department officer*

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The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic prompted Pima County to fast-track some of the reforms that were already underway and to move away from punitive responses to probation violations. Multiple county and APD officials we talked to noted that arrests decreased for people on probation during the pandemic, in part because the APD used more court summonses than arrest warrants for various violations, and they also noted that they were filing fewer PTRs for people with only technical violations. One member of the APD's leadership team told us that with the onset of the pandemic, they pushed to make supervision practices issue-based (an approach where probation officers and people on probation have contact when an issue needs attention) rather than simply contact-based (an approach where officers and people on probation have contact at certain frequencies); this official

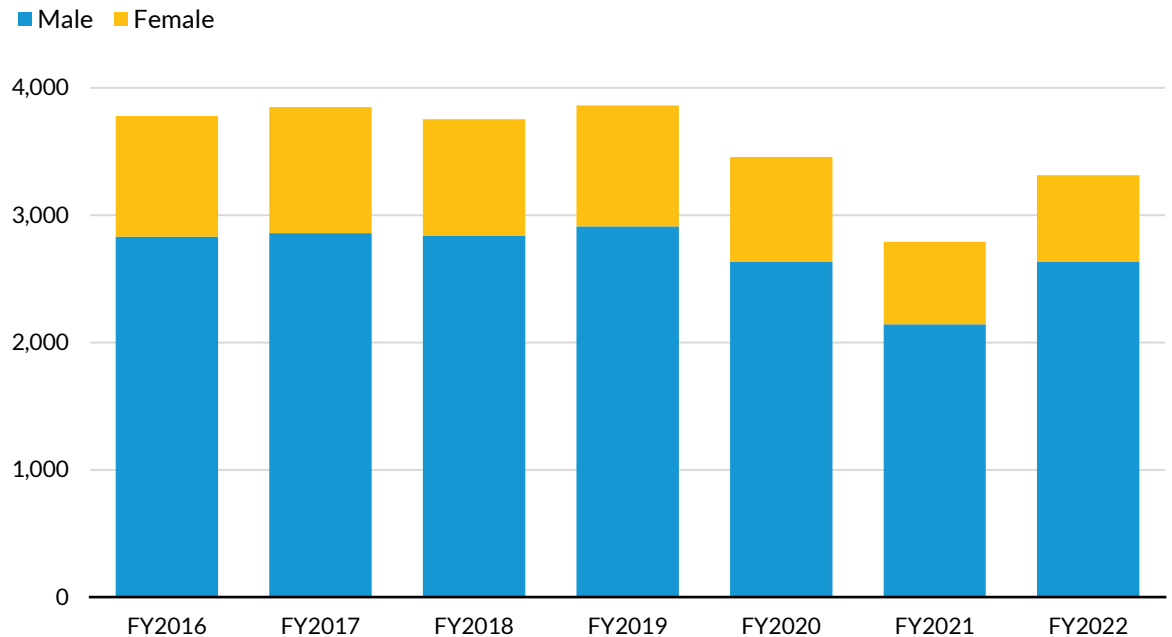
hoped to make this permanent, though some probation officers questioned the efficacy of such a low-contact approach for inducing behavior change.

## Characteristics of Pima County’s Probation Population

To answer our research question on basic, system-level trends (e.g., population size, demographic characteristics, case characteristics) in jail incarceration for probation violations in Pima County, we analyzed administrative data on people who started probation between June 2015 and June 2022.

During that period, 20,284 people served time on probation in the county, 75 percent of whom were males. The number of people on probation was largely stable from FY 2016 to FY 2019 before falling 28 percent from FY 2019 to FY 2021, likely because the pandemic prompted changes in probation practices. In FY 2022, the probation population increased 19 percent from the previous year (figure 1).

**FIGURE 1**  
**Overall Probation Population in Pima County, Arizona, by Probation Start Year and Sex**



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Source: Urban Institute’s analysis of administrative data from the Arizona Administrative Office of the Courts on people who started probation in Pima County between FY 2016 and FY 2022.

Forty-one percent of people on probation were white, 43 percent were Hispanic,<sup>‡</sup> 13 percent were Black, and 5 percent were Native American.<sup>§</sup> **Compared with the county’s population, Hispanic and Black people were overrepresented among people on probation:** Hispanic people accounted for 39 percent of the county population but 43 percent of the probation population, whereas Black people accounted for 4 percent of the county population and 13 percent of the probation population. (Table B.1 in appendix B provides more details on the characteristics of people on probation.)

Most cases sentenced to probation between FY 2016 and FY 2022 were for person or drug offenses (32 percent each), followed by property offenses (20 percent). More than half (52 percent) of the cases included at least one felony charge. Roughly 28 percent of cases had “undesigned” (i.e., Class 6) felonies as the most serious charges.<sup>17</sup> On average, probation sentences were between three and four years long. Nearly 90 percent of cases were on the Standard Probation Supervision (SPS) caseload, and 10 percent were on the Intensive Probation Supervision (IPS) caseload.<sup>18</sup> **Black and Hispanic people made up slightly larger shares of the IPS caseload than the SPS caseload** (figure 2).<sup>19</sup>

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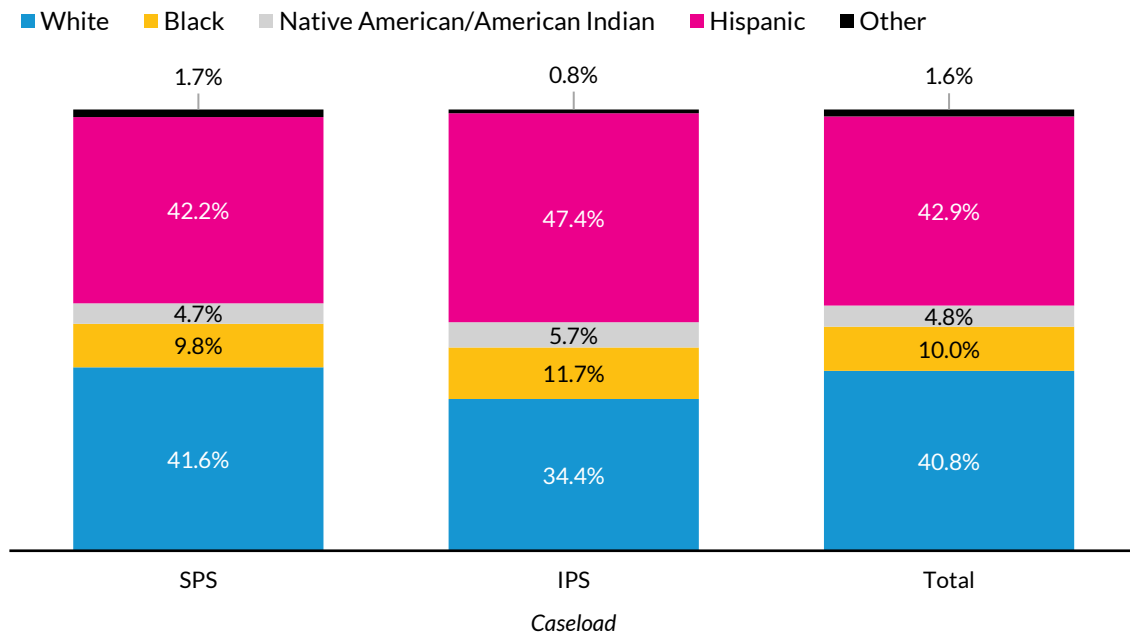
<sup>‡</sup> We use the term Hispanic in this report because it is the term used in the data, though we acknowledge that it is considered less inclusive than the terms Latine and Latinx. “Hispanic” is a separate race/ethnicity category in the probation data.

<sup>§</sup> This is the term used in the data provided to the research team by the Pima County Adult Probation Department.

FIGURE 2

**Pima County's Probation Population by Caseload Type and Race/Ethnicity**

For people on probation between July 2015 and June 2022



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**Source:** Urban Institute's analysis of administrative data from the Arizona Administrative Office of the Courts on people who started probation in Pima County between FY 2016 and FY 2022.

**Notes:** IPS = Intensive Probation Supervision (n = 2,526). SPS = Standard Probation Supervision (n = 22,108). Total n = 24,634. Less than 1 percent of people were unsupervised (not shown in figure).

Over 46 percent of cases had at least one recorded petition to revoke filed during the probation term. **Of the PTRs filed during the study period, 63 percent were for technical violations only.**<sup>20</sup> (Table B.2 in appendix B provides more details on case, supervision, and termination characteristics.)

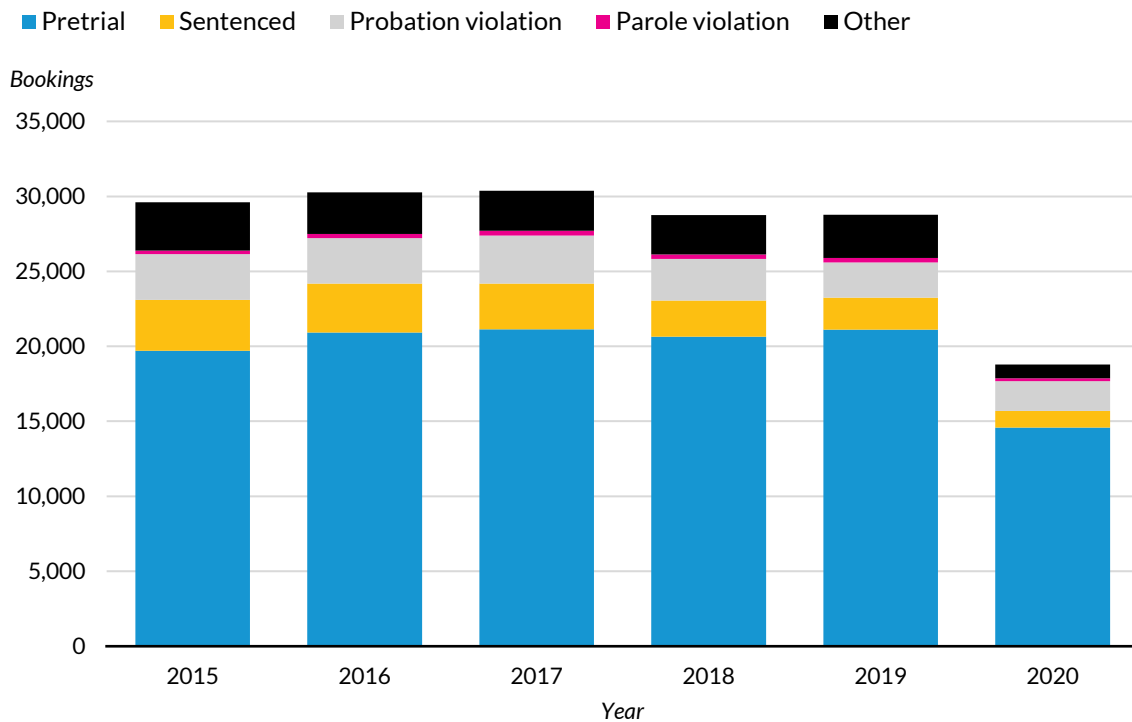
**Characteristics of Pima County's Jail Population**

We also analyzed Pima County's administrative jail data to study overall trends in the county's jail population. Overall, 75,114 people were held in the Pima County Jail between January 2015 and December 2020, 75 percent of whom were males. Fifty-five percent of people were between 18 and 34 years old. Forty-three percent were Hispanic, 41 percent were white, 10 percent were Black, and 6 percent were Native American. **As with the probation population, Hispanic and Black people were overrepresented in jail** compared with the county's population.

During the study period and consistent with national trends (Sawyer and Wagner 2020), over 70 percent of Pima County’s jail population was held in jail on pretrial status, whereas 10 percent had been sentenced. **Roughly 10 percent of people in the jail were incarcerated for probation violations.**<sup>21</sup>

Total annual bookings were fairly stable between 2015 and 2019 but dropped 35 percent between 2019 and 2020, likely because of the county’s efforts to reduce the jail population in light of the pandemic (figure 3). We observed this reduction across status types. For instance, between 2019 and 2020, pretrial bookings dropped by 33 percent, sentenced bookings by 50 percent, and bookings for probation violations by 14 percent.

**FIGURE 3**  
**Total Bookings in Pima County Jails by Booking Year**



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**Source:** Urban Institute’s analysis of administrative data from Pima County Jail via CUNY ISLG jail bookings between 2015 and 2020.

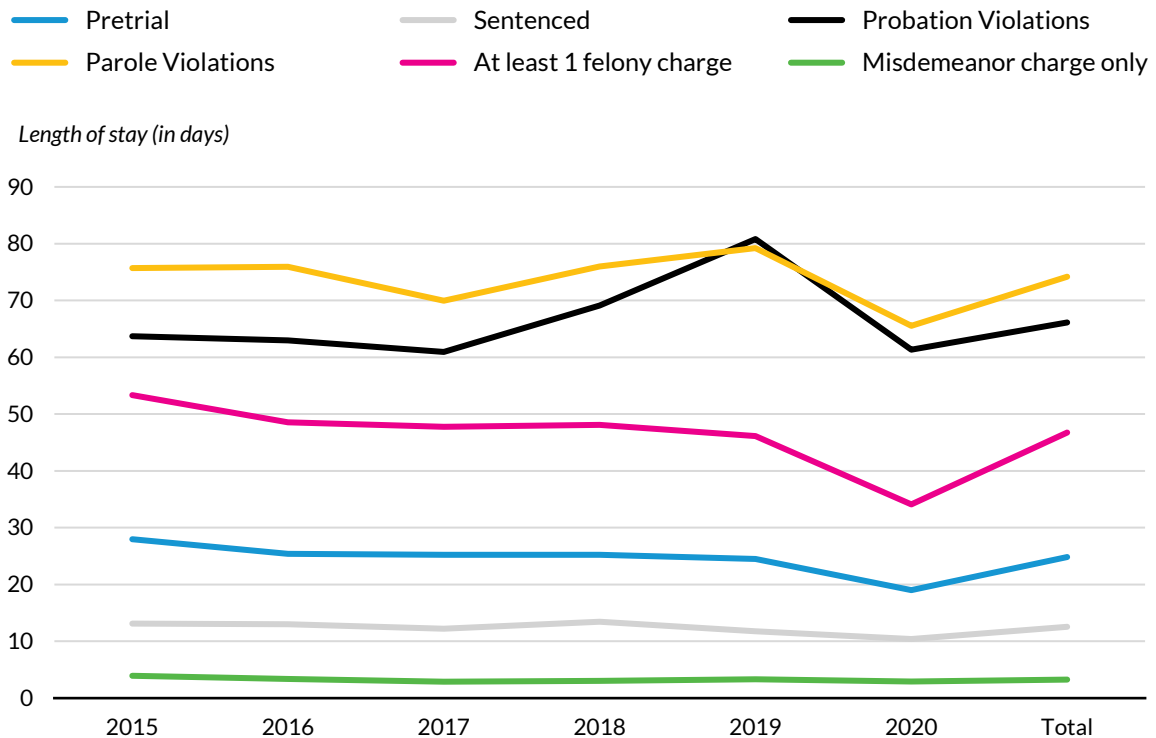
**Note:** “Other” bookings include jail holds for agencies like US Immigration and Customs Enforcement, the US Bureau of Prisons, other states’ departments of corrections, etc.

Overall, the average length of stay in jail during the study period was 22 days. The average stay was considerably longer for males (25 days) than for females (14 days). People ages 18 to 34 spent the

longest amount of time in jail on average. Data also indicated that **Black and Hispanic people spent more time in jail than people in other racial and ethnic groups**, which was true for every year we studied. Overall, the average length of stay was 27 days for Black people and 23 days for Hispanic people, compared with 20 days for white people.

Average length of stay also differed by jail status. **People in jail for probation violations and parole violations experienced considerably longer stays (66 days and 74 days, respectively)<sup>22</sup> than the pretrial and sentenced populations (25 days and 13 days, respectively).**<sup>23</sup> Lastly, people in jail for felonies spent much longer in jail on average (47 days) than people in jail for misdemeanors (4 days). Looking across years, it is noteworthy that the average length of stay was lower for all categories in 2020 than other years (figure 4). This is likely because of pandemic-related efforts to reduce the jail population. That decrease was particularly steep for probation and parole violation bookings, for which average length of stay surged in 2019; the average length of stay for these groups in 2020 was comparable to earlier years, however, and remains long.

**FIGURE 4**  
**Overall Jail Population Length of Stay, by Jail Status and Severity**



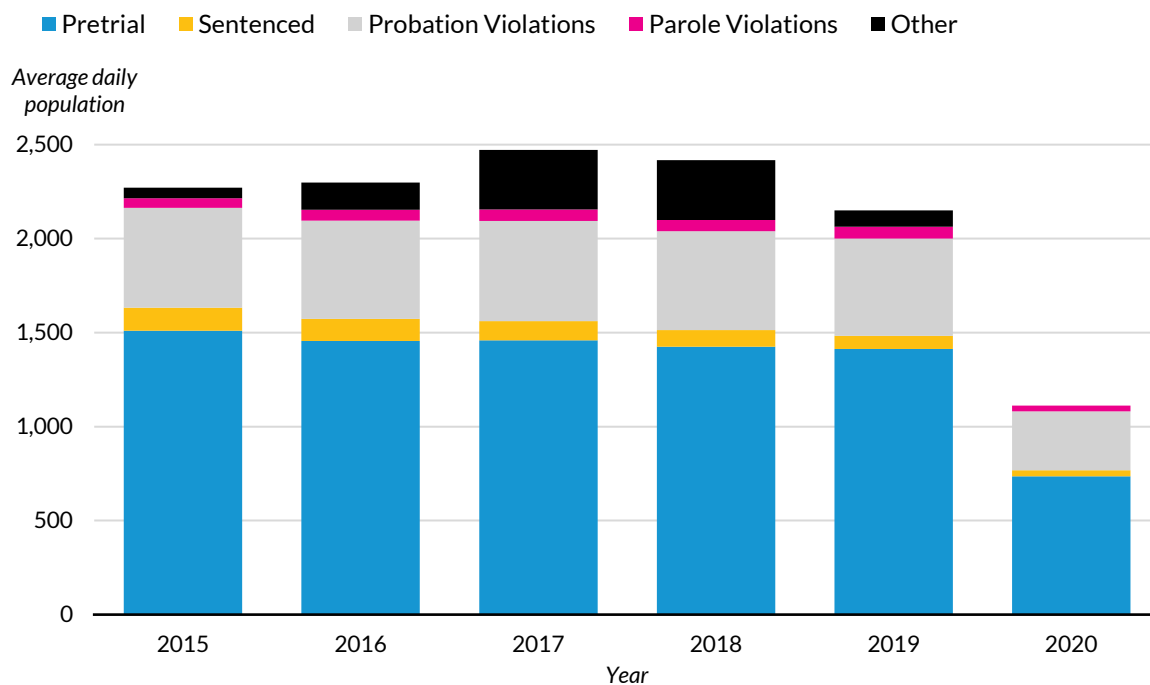
URBAN INSTITUTE

Source: Urban Institute’s analysis of administrative data from Pima County Jail via CUNY ISLG jail bookings between 2015 and 2020.

Among people incarcerated for probation violations, men were in jail much longer (69 days) than women (58 days). Native American people spent the least amount of time in jail (60 days), followed by white people (65 days) and Hispanic people (67 days); Black people (70 days) and Asian people (72 days) spent the most time in jail. Younger people typically had longer lengths of stay than older people: average length of stay was longest for people ages 18 to 24 (71 days) and shortest for people 65 and older (50 days).

Lastly, the average daily population in the Pima County Jail varied by year; across all years it averaged 2,120, but it dropped steeply between 2019 and 2020, from 2,150 to 1,112 people (figure 5). **Notably, although probation violations accounted for only 10 percent of all jail bookings, they made up 23 percent of the average daily population because of substantially longer average lengths of stay.**

**FIGURE 5**  
**Average Daily Population in Pima County Jail**



URBAN INSTITUTE

Source: Urban Institute’s analysis of administrative data from Pima County Jail via CUNY ISLG on jail bookings between 2015 and 2020.

These overall jail and probation statistics show that probation violations do not account for a large share of jail admissions (roughly 10 percent of all jail bookings). However, people charged with probation violations typically have substantially longer lengths of stay in jail than people in jail for

other reasons and thus contribute significantly to the average daily population in the Pima County jail, making this subgroup of the jail population an important one to study.

## Pathways from Probation to Jail

Jail use is one of several formal and informal punitive options the APD has for responding to probation violations in Pima County.<sup>24</sup> Some people on probation are held in jail for short periods as a sanction for violating their probation conditions (e.g., for failing a drug test), whereas others are held in jail while they wait for a formal violation hearing. Others are sentenced to jail as a termination outcome of violating probation conditions.

Through interviews with key stakeholders, we found four major pathways from probation to jail in Pima County that occur because of client behaviors and decisions made by probation staff. These pathways are (1) absconding and/or committing new crimes, (2) posing a threat to one's safety and the safety of others, (3) having substance use needs, and (4) experiencing housing instability. These pathways are not mutually exclusive categories and often overlap.

### **Pathway from Probation to Jail 1: Absconding and/or Committing New Crimes**

Absconding while on probation<sup>25</sup> and committing new crimes, especially felonies, were highlighted by nearly all the APD staff we interviewed as the two main reasons people on probation end up in jail. This is consistent with Freeman and coauthors' (2021) findings on probation revocations in Pima County. At least five APD-affiliated interviewees reported that absconding is a major reason people on probation are jailed. From stakeholders' perspective, some people abscond within the first few days of their probation terms to avoid probation altogether, whereas others abscond to avoid testing positive for substance use. Absconding from probation is considered a technical violation. APD officers reported that people on probation are also sent to jail when they commit new crimes, though largely, only serious felonies result in jail stays. New misdemeanor crimes are often dealt with using nonincarceration responses, like reinstatement of probation (with the same set of conditions) or placement on higher supervision levels.



## **Pathway from Probation to Jail 2: Posing a Threat to One's Safety or the Safety of Others**

Stakeholders also shared that people on probation can be sent to jail when their probation officers consider them a threat to public safety, which can mean being a threat to their own safety or the safety of others, such as by possessing weapons or threatening a probation officer.

Six officials we interviewed mentioned other violations that typically result in jail stays for people on certain special caseloads. These include people on the Domestic Violence caseload having contact with the original complainants; people on the Aggravated DUI (driving under the influence) caseload committing repeated DUI-related offenses; and people on the Sex Offender caseload having contact with the original complainants or minors. People on the IPS caseload are more likely to get jail stays since they are more likely to violate probation because of the more stringent requirements of the IPS caseload.<sup>26</sup>

## **Pathway from Probation to Jail 3: Having Substance Use Needs**

Many probation officers we interviewed reported that in Pima County, people who have had multiple probation violations because of serious substance use needs, such as people deemed likely to overdose, are sometimes sent to jail and held there until space becomes available in a treatment facility. Research on parole officers has found that line officers are more likely to favor supervision strategies that emphasize sanctions than substance use treatment (Schlager 2008). Multiple interviewees said it is common in Pima County for people on probation (particularly people on the Drug Treatment Alternative to Prison caseload) to be incarcerated before being admitted to a treatment facility.<sup>27</sup>

## **Pathway from Probation to Jail 4: Experiencing Housing Instability**

Three interviewees suggested that, like for people on probation with substance use and/or mental health treatment needs, jail-based responses are common for people on probation facing housing instability. Judges frequently sentence people with housing-related probation violations to short jail terms (often of up to 90 days) in which they can be released once probation officers can arrange suitable housing. In such scenarios, probation officers try to promptly arrange any kind of housing, such as housing shelters, halfway homes, suitable arrangements with family or friends, or apartments. Most interviewees, including judges and one person on probation, said housing concerns are often the main factor impacting decisions to release people on probation from jail.<sup>28</sup> Two APD officers said they

struggled to arrange housing for people waiting to be released from jail because of the general lack of suitable housing in the area and their large caseloads.

Arranging housing can be more difficult for probation officers working with people on certain caseloads. For instance, housing options where people convicted of sex offenses are allowed to stay are limited in supply. The APD only considers one housing facility that it contracts with as being appropriate for this group.<sup>29</sup> Probation officers working with people on the IPS caseload are supposed to conduct background checks on any family or friends willing to provide them housing and to inspect that housing before people are released from jail, both of which take time and can limit people's housing options. Furthermore, people who have been kicked out of halfway homes multiple times can be sent to jail. Multiple interviewees highlighted that, from their standpoint, housing instability drives absconding violations because it makes it harder to track people and increases perceived flight risk.

## Trends in Jail Incarceration for Probation Violations

As previously described, a probation termination can result in jail incarceration in two ways: revocation to jail and coterminous termination. To study trends in jail-based terminations and identify primary characteristics of cases ending in jail incarceration, we delved deeper into the Adult Probation Enterprise Tracking System administrative data on people beginning probation between FY 2016 and 2022. This section highlights the findings from these analyses.

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### Types of Probation Terminations in Pima County

Probation terms can be terminated for various reasons. For the purpose of classification, we differentiate between successful and unsuccessful termination types.

Successful terminations include the following:

- **Full termination.** This occurs when someone completes their full probation sentence.
- **Early termination.** A probation sentence can be terminated early, typically after more than half of the original sentence length. A person on probation can be granted an early termination at the discretion of the court if they abide by all conditions and pay off all restitution, fines, and fees.

Unsuccessful terminations include terminations following one or multiple serious violations:

- **Revocation to prison.** If a person is revoked to prison, they are discharged from probation and sentenced to confinement in prison. The decision to revoke someone to prison is based on the

seriousness of the original offense and sentence length. People charged with felonies are almost always revoked to prison in Pima County.

- **Revocation to jail.** If a person is revoked to jail, they are discharged from probation and are sentenced to confinement in jail. Similar to prison revocations, revocations to jail are determined based on the seriousness of the original offense and sentence length. People charged only with misdemeanors are almost always revoked to jail in Pima County.
- **Coterminous termination.** This occurs when the court orders that probation be terminated after the imposition of a jail sanction. As opposed to revocations, coterminous terminations allow people to serve the remainder of their sentences in jail, and the incarceration periods are often shorter than those for revocation-based terminations. Coterminous termination is often used in Pima County as an alternative to prison revocation for people charged with felonies at the time of original sentencing.

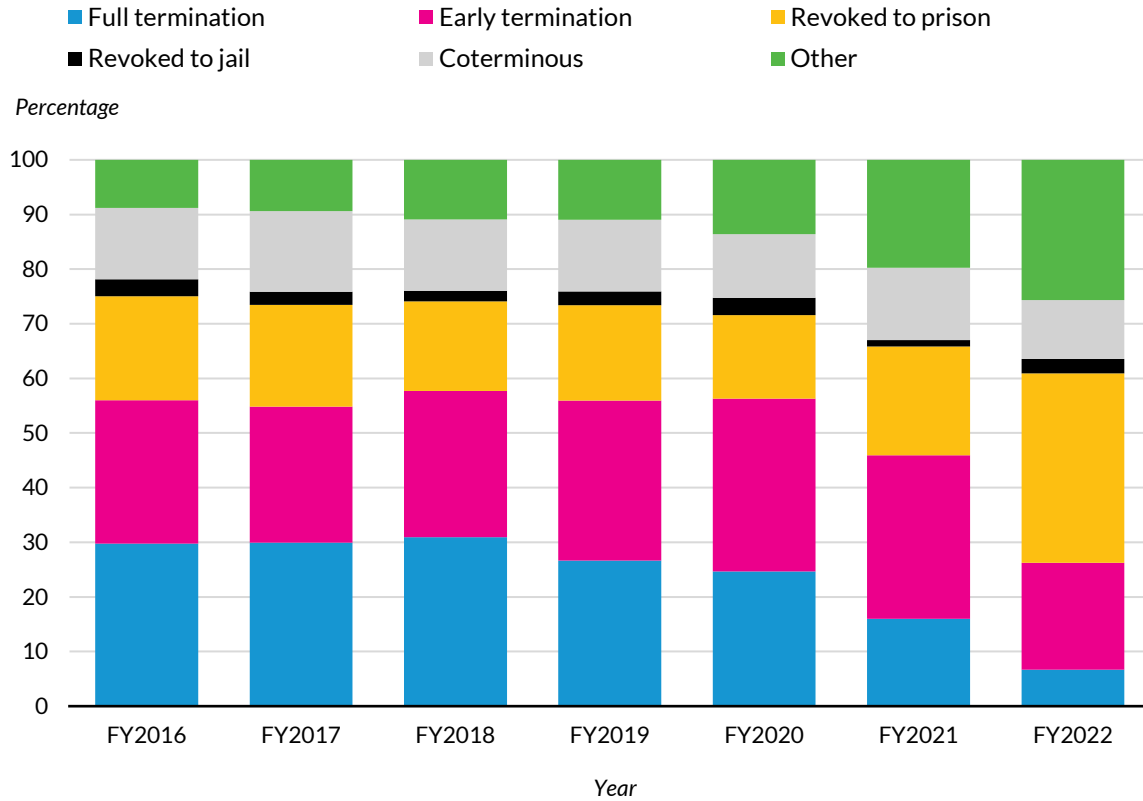
Certain other types of probation terminations, such as judicial termination, deceased status, and transfer of jurisdiction, are considered neither successful nor unsuccessful.

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Termination types varied across the study period. Overall, 72 percent of the cases we analyzed were terminated. Of those, nearly 55 percent were terminated successfully. **Among unsuccessful terminations, revocations to jail were rare, with roughly 3 percent of closed cases ending in a jail revocation. Coterminous dispositions were more common, making up 13 percent of terminated cases.** It is noteworthy that 18 percent of all terminated cases entailed a prison revocation, which was the most common type of unsuccessful termination in the data we analyzed. As expected, because of the recency of the data, the number of cases that were terminated decreased, whereas the share of nonterminated cases increased (figure 6).

FIGURE 6

**Types of Probation Terminations as Shares of All Terminated Probation Cases in Pima County, by Probation Start Year**



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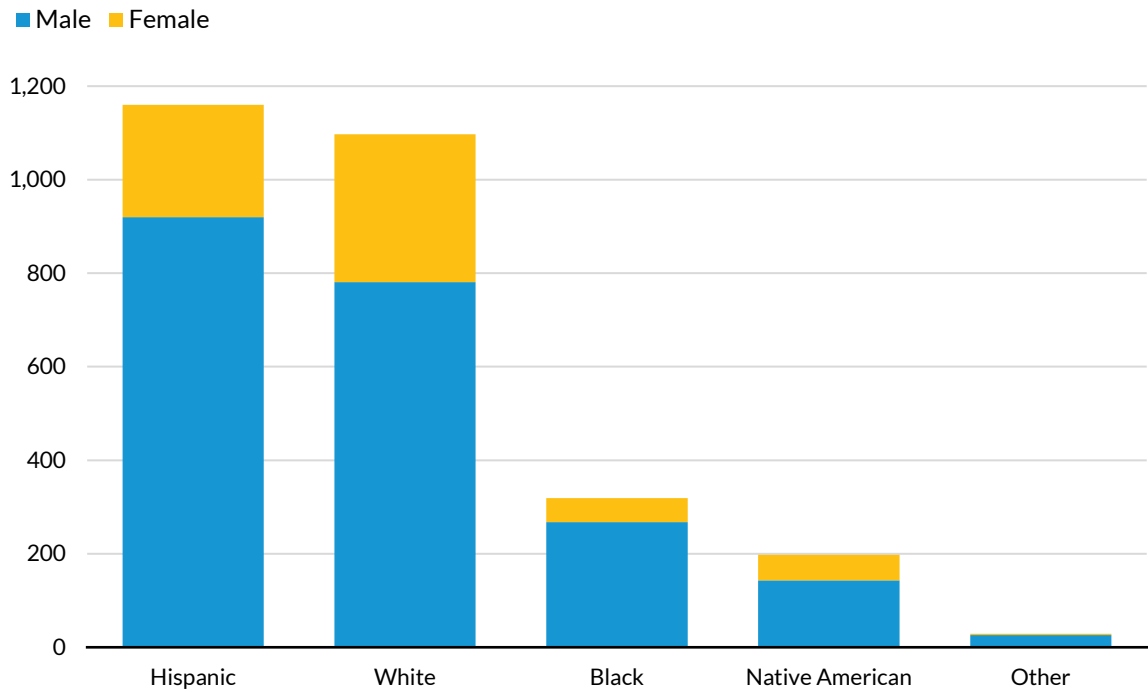
**Source:** Urban Institute’s analysis of administrative data from the Arizona Administrative Office of the Courts on people who started probation in Pima County between FY 2016 and FY 2022.

**Note:** This figure displays terminated cases only.

Similar to the overall demographic composition of the probation population, probation terminations that resulted in jail incarceration were higher among males (76 percent) than females, and highest among Hispanic people (42 percent) and white people (39 percent) (figure 7).

FIGURE 7

**Probation Terminations That Resulted in Jail Incarceration in Pima County, by Sex and Race/Ethnicity, FY 2016 to FY 2022**



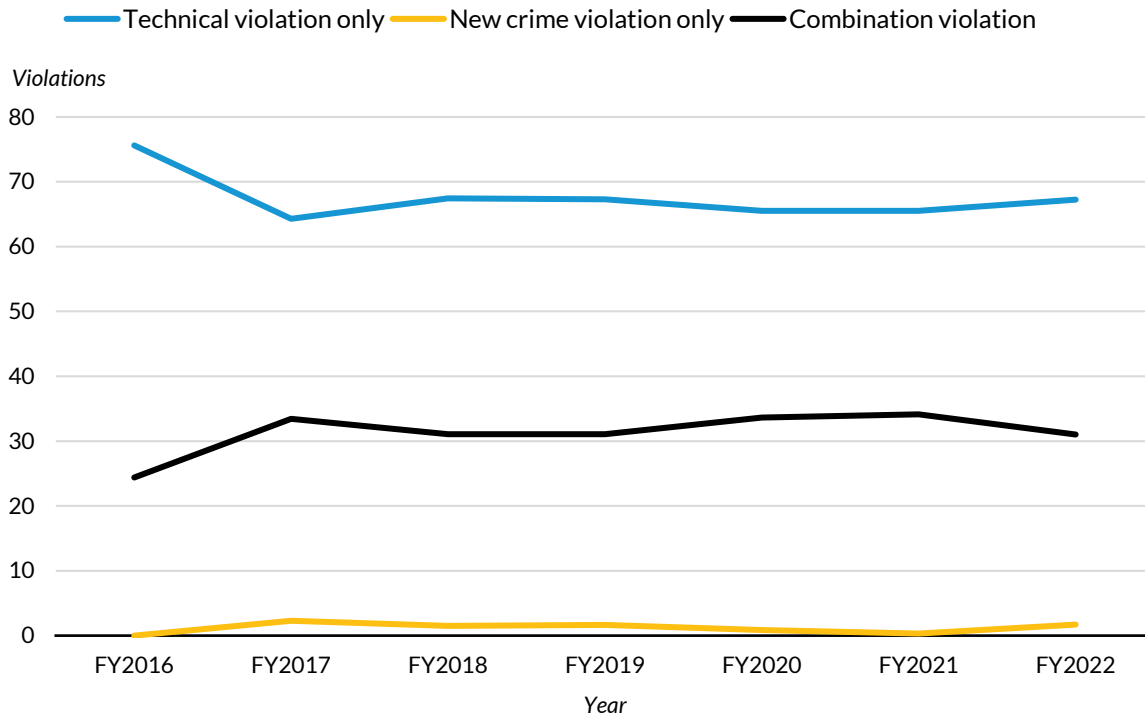
URBAN INSTITUTE

**Source:** Urban Institute’s analysis of administrative data from the Arizona Administrative Office of the Courts on people who started probation in Pima County between FY 2016 and FY 2022.

Figure 8, which breaks down terminations to jail by violation type, shows that **technical violations were major contributors to unsuccessful terminations during the study period: 67 percent of all terminations that resulted in jail incarceration were due to technical violations only.**<sup>30</sup> This aligns with findings from a previous Urban study in Pima County that found that technical violations were a major driver of revocations (Freeman et al. 2021). A combination of new crime violations and technical violations (which we refer to as “combination violations”) also contributed significantly to jail terminations.

FIGURE 8

Violation Types as Shares of Jail-Related Probation Terminations in Pima County, by Year of Termination



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**Source:** Urban Institute’s analysis of administrative data from the Arizona Administrative Office of the Courts on people who started probation in Pima County between FY 2016 and FY 2022.

**Notes:** This figure only shows cases for which the violation type was known. Cases with missing violation types are not shown. Jail-related terminations include jail revocations and coterminous outcomes.

Although cases ending in jail incarceration (because of a revocation or coterminous outcome) decreased slightly as a share of all terminated cases (from 16 percent of all terminated cases in 2016 to 13 percent in 2022), the shares of different violations resulting in jail incarceration varied during the study period (see figure 6). Notably, the share of cases terminated to jail that involved technical violations only fell significantly in 2017 and remained consistent at around 65 percent between 2017 and 2022. Contrarily, the share of terminations to jail that involved combination violations increased in 2017 and remained consistent at around 31 percent between 2017 and 2022. (Note that absconding, which stakeholders reported is a major cause of jail-based terminations, is classified as a technical violation in Pima County.)

## Drivers of Jail Incarceration

To further understand which defendant, case, and supervision characteristics are closely related to jail incarceration among people on probation, we examined the relative importance of different defendant, case, and supervision factors on jail-based terminations through logistic regressions. For comparison, we have included revocation to prison as a category because patterns are significantly different for prison revocations than jail-related outcomes. Table B.3 (in appendix B) presents the analysis results. Our main findings include the following:

- Several case and supervision characteristics are closely related to people's odds of being revoked to jail and receiving coterminous dispositions. The strongest effects across all outcomes seem to be those of risk levels, offense classifications, and total number of PTRs filed.
- The odds of jail-based terminations and prison revocations were higher for people with higher criminogenic risk scores.<sup>31</sup>
- The odds of jail-based terminations increased as the number of formal violations, as noted in PTRs, increased. This means that people with more PTRs had greater odds of jail incarceration at probation termination, which is expected because having multiple formal violations is usually followed by more serious outcomes, per interviews with APD staff.
- Cases with at least one felony as an original charge showed mixed results when compared with cases with misdemeanor charges only. Though we found this to be related to lower odds of revocation to jail, it increased the odds of a coterminous termination and revocation to prison.
- Cases on the IPS caseload were associated with lower odds of jail-based terminations than cases on the SPS caseload. But IPS cases had higher odds of being revoked to prison, which is understandable given the IPS caseload involves more requirements and more stringent supervision.
- Several defendant characteristics had significant effects on outcomes. Compared with white people, Hispanic and Native American people had higher odds of being revoked to jail or prison and Black people had higher odds of coterminous terminations.

# Pima County's Transitional Housing Support Program

Using interviews with stakeholders, case file reviews, and APD administrative data on funding for transitional housing for people on probation, we collected information on the county's transitional housing program, how it operates, eligibility criteria, and the characteristics of contracted facilities. This section provides an overview of our findings.

Pima County has recently strengthened its transitional housing support program for people leaving carceral facilities. Transitional housing has been available for people on probation in the county for many years, and the county strengthened the program in 2019, in part through funding made available to Pima County through the Safety and Justice Challenge. The county has also recently invested more of its own resources in the program. An APD officer we interviewed discussed the purpose and efficacy of the program:

Our transitional [housing] programs are for people in crisis. Those who are drug users, no employment, no transportation. If we get them in transitional programs, the PO [probation officer] has a spot to visit clients whenever they want. Biggest reason for negative termination of probation is not being able to find people, so they abscond. If we know where they're staying, it helps. As long as it's not a spot they can easily sneak in drugs. It stabilizes them and buys us time to get them started in programs and looking for work. After that [initial] month, PO can back off.

People on probation in this program receive temporary housing funds through APD referrals for an average of two weeks. After the approved funding ends, people who decide to stay in the program longer are responsible for paying themselves or work with their probation officers to identify alternative short-term housing options until they find long-term solutions. In our review of case files, we found that many people are able to pay to continue living in facilities they were referred to after their APD funding ends.

The APD works with various facilities to provide transitional housing support to people on probation. As of March 2023, 12 housing providers with about 20 facilities were participating in the program, many of which house people of all gender identities, some of which are faith-based, and two of which prioritize housing people convicted of sex offenses. According to the APD officers we interviewed, the number of halfway houses in the area has recently increased because of increased funding, though there is a shortage of housing options for people with sex offenses and women; they also mentioned that it would be beneficial to have industry standards for such facilities. Multiple housing providers we interviewed mentioned that the facilities typically remain full and that most of their residents are on probation. The APD now only contracts with providers that have an on-site manager and offer supportive services, not those that only offer shelter services. Services and



programming that these providers offer differ by facility and include on-site counseling, weekly group sessions (which are often related to substance use), self-help therapeutic groups, help with employment searches including support with résumés and interviews, mentorship opportunities, Bible study groups, help with basic needs such as food and clothing, and anger management classes. The cost of staying at the facilities ranged from \$110 to \$150 a week, often payable on a weekly basis.

Though the eligibility criteria for the APD’s transitional housing support have been broadened in recent years, allowing anyone on probation experiencing housing instability to request a referral, priority (especially for APD funding) may be given to the following groups:

- people who are at higher risk of violating probation or have more immediate housing needs, which is consistent with research on housing for people involved in the legal system (Brown et al. 2021) (this includes people on the IPS caseload)
- people who are being held in jail before serving probation in the community or are waiting to be released from a treatment facility
- people charged with domestic violence offenses who are required to move out of the complainant’s residence
- people charged with sex offenses, who generally face housing challenges because they are not permitted to live in certain neighborhoods, including those near schools, child care facilities, and parks

In about half of the probation cases we reviewed, people were facing persistent housing issues before beginning probation and/or being incarcerated; in four of the cases, people were also eligible and applying for the county’s permanent housing program, and in 11 of the cases (nearly one-third), people stayed in residential treatment facilities during their probation terms.

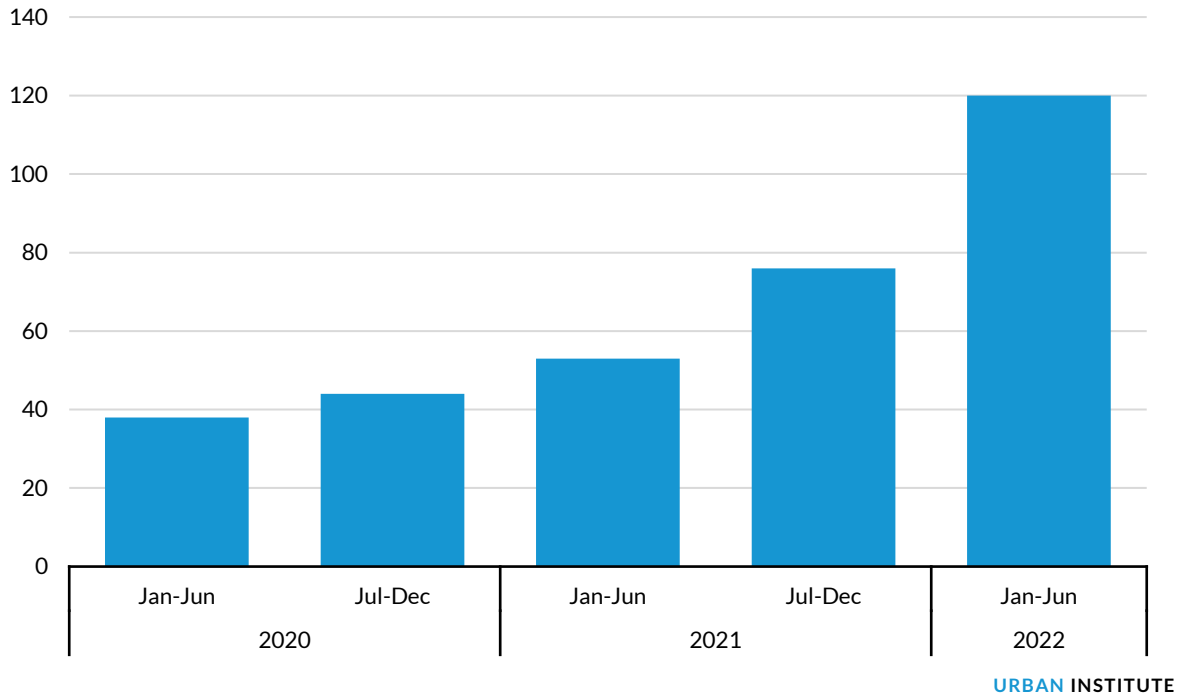
## **Characteristics of People Who Received Transitional Housing Funding**

Between January 2020 and June 2022, 331 people received funding from the APD for transitional housing, averaging two weeks of rent payments. The number of people receiving this funding each half-year<sup>32</sup> increased substantially (figure 9): 120 people received support in the first half of 2022, whereas only 38 did in the first half of 2020.<sup>33</sup> Significantly, housing providers posited during interviews that over three-quarters of residents in transitional housing facilities were serving probation, but less than half of this group was receiving APD funding.

FIGURE 9

**Number of People Who Received Funding for Transitional Housing from the Pima County Adult Probation Department, January 2020 to June 2022**

*Between January 2020 and June 2022*



**Source:** Urban Institute’s analysis of administrative data from Pima County’s Adult Probation Department on people who received funding for transitional housing between 2020 and 2022.

Seventy-nine percent of people who received APD funding for transitional housing were male, most recipients were white or Hispanic (40 percent and 42 percent respectively), and nearly 40 percent were 25 to 34 years old. The demographic composition of this group largely mirrored that of the overall population of people serving probation between 2020 and 2022 (see table B.1 in appendix B). Most people (90 percent) who received APD funding for transitional housing had criminogenic risk levels of medium-high or high. In addition, **over a quarter of recipients of APD housing funding were on the IPS caseload, a significantly higher share than in the overall 2020–2022 sample (26 percent versus 10 percent)**. This is in line with the APD’s intention to prioritize higher-risk people with the necessary support to reduce the likelihood of violations,<sup>34</sup> especially technical violations related to housing requirements and absconding. Sentence lengths among this group averaged slightly more than three years (1,195 days).

**About 70 percent of people who received the APD’s housing-related funding had at least one formal violation during their current probationary term; 46 percent of those violations only involved**

technical violations (see table B.2 in appendix B). Roughly 18 percent of this group had at least one prior PTR, and another 18 percent had a PTR filed *after* receiving housing support. This aligns with trends in the case files we reviewed: in nearly all cases, the probation officers had noted formal and informal violation behaviors, with 12 people having formal PTRs filed against them and 5 having multiple PTRs.

Fifty-eight percent of people who received financial support to access transitional housing were still serving probation when the data were pulled, which is unsurprising because probation sentences are typically three to four years and a large percentage of this group started probation after 2020. The same logic applies to terminated cases. Because of the short follow-up period, successful termination rates were lower than unsuccessful termination rates. Interestingly, although revocations to jail among terminated cases within this group were similar to the overall 2020–2022 sample, coterminous dispositions were slightly higher (15 versus 10 percent). We conclude from these data that coterminous terminations were the major driver of jail incarceration among people who received financial support from the APD for transitional housing. Rates of revocation to prison were also significantly higher among this group (33 percent) than among the overall 2020–2022 sample (13 percent). This aligns with earlier findings that revocation to prison seems to be higher among IPS clients given that a large percentage of people who received transitional housing support was on the IPS caseload. Tables B.1 and B.2 in appendix B detail this cohort’s defendant, case, and supervision characteristics.

## **Transitional Housing Support and Jail-Related Outcomes**

We used quantitative and qualitative analyses to understand not only how transitional housing is associated with probation terminations resulting in jail incarceration, but also the perceived benefits and limitations of the transitional housing program. In this section we describe our findings on outcomes for people on probation who got financial support to access transitional housing support. We then present findings from our qualitative analysis of housing support in Pima County.

To understand the associations between transitional housing and jail-based outcomes in the county, it is important to assess whether people who received APD funding for transitional housing (the treatment group) were significantly different from those who did not (the control group). Put another way, do these groups’ defendant, case, and supervision factors differ, and can these differences influence differences in outcomes?

To investigate this, we ran analyses using logit regressions to study how different factors may affect people's odds of receiving APD funding for transitional housing (see table B.4 in appendix B). Results showed that the treatment and control groups differed on a few factors. **People on probation who received APD funding for transitional housing were significantly more likely to have been charged with felonies or undesignated felonies, were more likely to have been classified as higher risk, generally had more PTRs filed during their probationary terms, were more likely to be on the IPS caseload, and were more likely to have a probation tail status.**<sup>35</sup> These factors generally align with the APD's prioritization of high-risk people when determining whom to provide transitional housing referrals and funding to encourage probation compliance, including people who have served sentences entailing incarceration terms before probation. Based on earlier findings on the drivers of jail-based terminations (see table B.3), we learned that all of these factors were significantly associated with increased odds of termination to jail. To address this, we controlled for these factors when assessing the relationships between APD funding for transitional housing support and jail-based outcomes, as detailed below.

Results from our bivariate analysis (a method of explaining key relationships between variables) show that on average, people who received APD funding for transitional housing support had significantly higher rates of jail terminations than people who did not (9 percent versus 6 percent of all cases) (see table B.5 in appendix B); however, multivariate analysis, a method of studying the directionality and influence of each variable on outcomes while controlling for other factors, confirms that **receiving APD funding for transitional housing was not significantly associated with the odds of being terminated to jail** (see B.6 in appendix B). This means that the likelihood of being incarcerated in jail after a formal violation was not different for people who received APD funding for transitional support and people who did not.

Although these analyses describe individual-level relationships between transitional housing support and jail-based outcomes, they do not capture the true impact of transitional housing on termination type, and outcomes cannot be directly attributed to transitional housing alone for five reasons. First, the administrative data on transitional housing included only people who received APD funding for transitional housing. The data did not include people who may have used transitional housing independently or who did so through referrals from the APD but did not receive APD funding. Second, because no data are collected on the *need* for housing (that is, on people who expressed a need for housing and did or did not receive support), we could not compare people who received transitional housing support with those who needed housing but did not receive it, which would have been a more targeted and appropriate control group. Third, because of the recency of the program (specifically, the program involving the use of SJC funding for transitional housing support) and of associated data

collection, the follow-up period was short (six months to two and a half years), making it difficult to assess true successful and unsuccessful terminations, especially because average probation periods are three to four years long. The program being in the early stages also meant that the number of people who received transitional housing support was small, making it difficult to analyze that group's demographic subgroups. Fourth, there are several additional factors associated with housing that can have an influence on people's experiences and likelihood of violating probation (e.g., funding amount, in-house services and staff engagement, employment status, wages earned, overall perception of halfway houses or shelters, perceived stability, etc.) that are not currently measured and are therefore not controlled for in the analysis. Fifth, and crucially, Pima County implemented several strategies to reduce its jail population concurrently, and because the data we received did not include information on other strategies and the populations they impacted, isolating the effects of transitional housing was not possible. We detail this study's limitations further in appendix A.

## Key Themes on Housing Support

Although we found that transitional housing support did not have significant effects on jail-based outcomes in our analysis of administrative data, our qualitative findings offer additional context about the effects of transitional housing. Housing providers we interviewed suggested that success can be understood more holistically than only focusing on recidivism outcomes. They detailed how success can be defined in multiple ways beyond compliance with probation conditions. Other accomplishments for people on probation getting housing support can include obtaining employment, completing programming or classes (such as drug treatment and financial literacy classes), opening a bank account, and moving out of a transitional housing facility and into other (more permanent) housing. Based on this multifaceted definition of success, multiple housing providers posited a success rate of around 70 percent for their residents on probation. Below are the key themes on housing support from our interviews with key stakeholders and review of relevant case files.

**Transitional housing can be crucial in providing people immediate (but temporary) stability, instilling accountability, and reducing the likelihood of absconding among people experiencing housing instability.** According to stakeholders we interviewed, housing can be particularly crucial immediately after people are released from incarceration. In addition, access to stable housing can provide people more time to focus on immediate goals and stick to probation conditions, like finding a job and attending mandatory substance use treatment. The case file review showed that nearly half of the people who received transitional housing support were subsequently able to find employment. All these factors can help people comply with probation conditions, especially conditions related to

reporting valid addresses and meeting employment requirements, which can result in technical violations.

It [APD funding for transitional housing] gave me a chance to go out, get a job and get acclimated to society. That housing support was a big blessing to me because I don't know how I would've paid for that first week [after incarceration]. In terms of probation, it showed me that probation actually cares about what is going on in your life. I have been on probation before and had a completely different experience. —Person receiving transitional housing support while serving probation in Pima County

If I don't have a place to live, then they [probation authorities] would send me back to prison while I was on probation. Your probation officer has to have a place to visit you. Also, [housing provides] protection from the weather. If there was more help, then there would be more success. This should come from APD. The housing providers' job is to maintain the house and that is already difficult enough for them. APD should be required to help them find jobs...It's not just about housing, it's about employment and helping them integrate back into society. —Person receiving transitional housing support while serving probation in Pima County

**The efficacy of transitional housing can differ based on people's individual needs.** Interviewees suggested that transitional housing can be less effective as a stabilizing force for people with mental health or substance use needs, who generally need specialized care in addition to stable housing and are at a higher risk of absconding for several reasons.

**Ancillary services are just as crucial as transitional housing for people on probation.** Interviewees, including probation officers, community-based providers, and beneficiaries of Pima County's transitional housing program, highlighted that the efficacy of providing transitional housing support can be limited because it is temporary, and that it therefore has to be coupled with other supports. Some interviewees, including three recipients of transitional housing support, noted that permanent housing support would be significantly more beneficial, whereas others noted that help finding employment and accessing food, clothing, and transportation is crucial. Substance use treatment and mental health treatment were other major areas of support that interviewees highlighted. Based on conversations with APD stakeholders, we learned that although some of the halfway houses that the APD contracts with provide these wraparound services and some do not, the APD is prioritizing contracting with more houses that provide them.

## Takeaways and Recommendations

Although only 13 percent of all probation cases in Pima County that were terminated in 2022 had jail-related outcomes (compared with 17 percent of cases in 2016), jail continued to be a dominant tool the county used to respond to probation violations. In addition, people on probation who are subsequently

incarcerated in jails spend long periods there, especially compared with people in jail pretrial and people who have been sentenced.

Pima County, as part of its participation in the Safety and Justice Challenge, has therefore been making a multipronged effort to reduce its jail population and in particular to limit jail use for people on probation. This includes strategies implemented by the Adult Probation Department, such as making its culture less punitive, reducing the use of automatic holds for people awaiting their probation violation hearings, reducing the use of jail sanctions, and providing officers more time to reengage with people on probation suspected to be absconding. The county has also set up multiple multistakeholder committees focused on reducing the jail population that meet frequently, and it has strengthened housing supports for people involved in the legal system, including by piloting a program to provide permanent supportive housing and transitional housing for people released from incarceration. Below, we list our key takeaways from this study.

**Regarding trends in jail incarceration for people on probation:**

- Roughly 10 percent of all jail bookings in Pima County were due to probation violations, representing an overall low share of jail admissions. However, average length of stay for people in jail for probation violations was considerably longer at 66 days, nearly three times as long as that for the pretrial population (25 days) and five times as long as that for the sentenced population (13 days).
- The average daily jail population in Pima County varied across years, dropping from 2,270 people in 2015 to 1,112 people in 2020. People booked for probation violations make up roughly 23 percent of the average daily population each year because of their longer average length of stay.
- The average length of stay in jail was considerably longer for males (69 days) than for females (58 days). It was longest for Black people (70 days) and Asian people (71 days) (although the number of Asian people in jail was substantially lower than other groups).

**Regarding probation-to-jail pathways:**

- Probation violations resulting in jail incarceration represented 16 percent of all terminated probation cases and were largely driven by technical violations, which include absconding charges. Forty-eight percent of jail revocations and 59 percent of coterminous terminations were on account of technical violations only.

- There were some observable racial and ethnic disparities in jail use as a formal revocation petition outcome. Native American and Hispanic people had higher odds—by 97 percent and 46 percent, respectively—of being revoked to jail compared with white people. Black people were 24 percent more likely to receive coterminous outcomes compared with white people.

**Regarding transitional housing support for people on probation:**

- The APD prioritized people with higher risk and needs when making decisions about funding for transitional housing. Accordingly, people who received financial support from the APD to access transitional housing were more likely to have been charged with a felony at the time of original sentencing, more likely to be classified as higher risk based on criminogenic risk scores, generally had more formal violation petitions filed against them, were more likely to be on the IPS caseload than the SPS caseload, and were more likely to have sentences entailing incarceration and probation terms.
- The odds of a probation termination to jail were not significantly different for people who received APD funding for transitional housing and those who did not. These null effects, however, could owe to the small number of people served and the limited data available on people who received transitional housing support.
- Although we did not observe that transitional housing support had any effects on the odds of being incarcerated in jail, interviewed stakeholders perceived this support for people on probation to be a crucial stabilizing force and extremely meaningful to their well-being (for instance, it helped them secure employment, attend programs such as those related to substance use, and secure more permanent housing).

Based on these takeaways, we offer the following recommendations to stakeholders in Pima County and other jurisdictions interested in similar reforms:

- **Continue building on efforts to reduce the jail population**, particularly the population of people on probation in jail only for technical violations, and ensure more people on probation engage with probation officers to lessen their risk of absconding. Pima County stakeholders should also consider prioritizing the use of preconviction diversion programs in place of probation sentences, especially for people with substance use needs.
- **Strengthen support services, such as substance use treatment and employment search support**, especially because these are closely related to standard technical probation conditions. Transitional housing provides tremendous support to address housing challenges



among people involved in the legal system, but as a standalone strategy it does not address all barriers to successful reintegration.

- **Partner with county, state, and federal agencies and with philanthropic organizations to strengthen housing support with further investment.** Pima County has already leveraged such partnerships, like with the SJC, and should continue to build on this.
- **The APD and Pima County authorities need to strengthen data collection pertaining to housing support.** A centralized tracker, with data on people’s need for housing, referrals, funding made available, and lengths of stay in transitional housing, can improve data quality, enable the tracking of people’s use of different forms of housing support, and enable more sophisticated analyses of the impact of the program on probation outcomes. Also, making the jail and probation data more synchronized would help with tracking the use of jail for people on probation.

## Conclusion

It is imperative that Pima County continues to build on its efforts to reduce its overall jail population and further constrict the pathways from probation to jail. Although its efforts have already reaped significant results—including recent decreases in its overall probation population, increased success rates for the probation population, and a small proportion of the probation population having jail-related outcomes—jail is still a dominant response option for people on probation, particularly those experiencing housing challenges or struggling with mental health or substance use issues. Pima County should further reduce this jail use as part of broader efforts to deal with housing, mental health, and substance use issues through nonpunitive, noncarceral, and more rehabilitative means. It should also address broader, more structural issues, such as the dearth of affordable and accessible housing and treatment facilities.

Pima County’s various efforts to reduce its jail population, particularly its housing programs, are a step in the right direction. Moving forward, it and other jurisdictions can use this analysis not only to examine but also to reduce their jail populations, limit the pathways from probation to jail, and strengthen housing support as part of their push to improve public safety. As the county’s transitional housing program expands and more data are collected and made available, an impact assessment of the program can provide more robust estimates on its efficacy for improving probation outcomes.

# Appendix A: Technical Appendix

This appendix documents the technical steps that supported this report. We used individual-level data on people sentenced to probation and jail, a review of policy documents, interviews with various stakeholders, and a case file review. In this appendix, we detail the data sources, methodology, and limitations in our data collection and analysis.

## Data Collection

This assessment relied on public documents, interviews with stakeholders, case file reviews, and administrative data. Documents, policies, and reports were collected related to Pima County's jail population reduction efforts including changes to probation practices and policies, and housing support available in the county. Stakeholders (judges, probation officers, housing providers, individuals with lived experience, etc.) in Pima County participated in interviews with project staff. The administrative data used in our analysis included data from Pima County's Adult Probation Department and data pertaining to jail incarceration and petitions to revoke that the CUNY Institute for State and Local Governance collects regularly from Pima County. We also received housing data from the county probation department that reflected individuals who received housing support from the department.

## Policy Documents

The research team reviewed agency-level policies related to probation conditions, jail use for people on probation, supervision guidelines for officers, and publicly available data reports and qualitative reports on the county's jail reduction efforts and housing support programs.

## Interview Data

Informed by the policy review, we developed interview guides that were used for the stakeholder groups participating in virtual interviews individually or in small groups (i.e., two to three people). The variation in group size was driven by people's availability to participate and their schedules. The interview guide was tailored for individual stakeholder groups: housing providers, people with lived experience, APD officers, judges, and other stakeholders including public defenders. We conducted a total of 30 formal interviews to contextualize our quantitative findings and help us further understand the impacts of transitional housing support. Our team held 15 interviews with APD officers (including 5 for case file reviews), 5 interviews with housing providers in Pima County, 2 interviews with judges, 4

interviews with people on probation who received financial help to access transitional housing support, and 4 interviews with other stakeholders. At the beginning of each formal interview, we explained the purpose of the study and our funder, made clear that participation was voluntary, and received verbal consent from each participant.

Interview recruitment differed significantly for the different stakeholders we interviewed. For the interviewees speaking to us in their formal capacity, we reached out to them with the support of the APD and/or by searching for their contact information online. To recruit housing providers, the team attained a list of the full set of housing providers the APD was contracting with in late 2021 and then reached out to housing providers, attempting to diversify in terms of facility type (we considered factors including whether the facility was treatment focused, whether it was only for men or also housed women, and whether it accepts people serving probation for sex offenses). To recruit people with direct lived experience (i.e., those who received transitional housing support while serving probation), the research team adopted a multipronged approach: the team designed recruitment flyers and then solicited the help of housing providers to distribute the flyers and promote the interviews through word of mouth to potential interviewees. The team set up a phone line through which interested people could contact the research team, and once people contacted the research team, the team then conducted a screening interview to determine the person was eligible (i.e., the person stayed at a transitional housing facility while serving probation in Pima County), before setting up and conducting a formal interview. People interviewed as part of this last cohort along with all housing providers were provided \$40 gift cards for participating.

## **Case File Review**

The research team reviewed 28 probation case files; we reviewed 16 virtually using the APD's probation case management system as an APD staff member scrolled through cases while sharing their screen during Zoom calls,<sup>36</sup> and we conducted 12 during 5 virtual interviews with APD officers where the officers reviewed cases for people on their caseloads. All reviewed cases involved people who received financial support from the APD to access transitional housing while serving probation. There were five women in our sample. Cases reviewed virtually were selected randomly from the housing-related data the team received from the APD, ensuring that the sample was representative of the entire period (2020–2022), different housing providers, and different levels of APD financial support. For all the reviewed case files, the research team's protocol consisted of questions relating to housing challenges the person faced throughout their probation term (or before probation) and how they were addressed, the person's violation behavior, and how the housing support impacted the person.

## Administrative Data

The research team received three administrative datasets for the analyses. First, Urban received charge-level data on all people who started probation between July 2015 and June 2022 from the Adult Probation Enterprise Tracking System, Arizona’s statewide case management system. This included demographic, case, and supervision characteristics. Second, the team received individual-level data on people who received transitional housing support between January 2020 and June 2022. These data are maintained by the APD and include information on housing referrals and weeks of funding provided. Third, Urban received administrative data from the Pima County Jail, which are regularly collected by the Institute for State and Local Governance as part of the Safety and Justice Challenge work. This dataset included booking-level data on all jail bookings between January 2015 and December 2020. The dataset included variables on demographics, booking and release dates, primary charge levels, status (e.g., pretrial, sentenced, administrative holds, probation violations, etc.), and disposition type. Urban consulted with all agencies to select variables for inclusion in the analysis, ensure understanding of the data structure and variable meanings, and check for accuracy and quality.

## Methodology

Urban researchers conducted a mix of quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis to study probation and jail trends, pathways to jail incarceration among probation populations in Pima County, and the impact of the transitional housing program on jail outcomes (see table A.3). System-level trends in jail incarceration among people were studied through the analysis of APETS records on people who started probation between fiscal years 2016 and 2022 (i.e., between July 2015 and June 2022). These data were used in conjunction with administrative data from the Pima County jail. The data included booking-level data for all bookings between January 2015 and December 2020. Though the APETS data were more recent and included data through mid-2022, the two datasets largely overlapped and were used together to study trends in jail incarceration.

After data were cleaned and observations with missing data and data outside of the study period were dropped, the probation data included 24,803 probation terms (or “cases”) across 21,235 unique individuals who started probation between 2015 and 2022, and jail data included 166,552 bookings across 75,114 unique individuals incarcerated between 2015 and 2020. We descriptively analyzed all data to identify trends among jail populations, with a focus on probation populations incarcerated in the county jails for probation violations and revocations. In addition, the team ran logistic regressions on the APETS data to identify drivers of jail outcomes among people on probation. We conducted analyses

at the person-case level. We report results as odds ratios, which are measures of the strength and direction of association between the observed characteristics and the outcomes. An odds ratio greater than 1 means there is a direct (or positive) association between the independent variable and the outcome, and a ratio less than 1 means there is an inverse (or negative) association.

To study transitional housing support, the team used a subset of the APETS data that included people serving probation between January 2020 and June 2022. We merged these data with APD records on people who received transitional housing support during the same period. We matched records based on unique individual IDs and date of housing assignment, so that housing information was merged with the correct person-case within the APETS file. After merging and cleaning, the dataset included 14,420 cases across 13,146 people. Of these, 331 people-cases received financial support for transitional housing. We descriptively analyzed these data to present an overview of people who received transitional housing in comparison with the overall 2020–2022 probation population.

To study the relationship between transitional housing support and jail outcomes, we looked at people who received housing support between January and December 2021 and compared this group with people who did not receive housing support during the same period. To have a follow-up period of at least six months to observe outcomes, we did not include anyone who started probation (or received housing) after 2022 in the analytic sample. The analytic sample included 207 observations in the treatment group (i.e., people who received financial support for transitional housing) and 11,827 observations in the control group (i.e., people who did not receive financial support for transitional housing). Through t-tests and logistic regressions, we studied the relationship between APD funding for transitional housing and two outcomes that resulted in jail incarceration (revocation to jail and coterminous outcomes) collectively. Since only one case in the treatment group resulted in a jail revocation, individual models on just the likelihood of jail revocations were skewed and biased. As such, for these analyses we combined both jail revocations and coterminous outcomes to see the collective likelihood of a jail-based termination. We controlled for defendant, case, and supervision characteristics. Lists of all key variables are presented in tables A.1 and A.2.

TABLE A.1

## Description of Dependent Variables

	Measurement
<b>Dependent variables</b>	
Received a Revocation to Jail	2 categories (yes and no)
Received a Coterminous Disposition	2 categories (yes and no)
Received a Revocation to Jail OR Coterminous Disposition	2 categories (yes and no)

TABLE A.2

## Description of Independent and Control Variables

Independent and control variables	Measurement
Treatment	2 categories (yes and <b>no</b> )
Sex	2 categories (male and <b>female</b> )
Age	Continuous (16–97)
Race and ethnicity	5 categories ( <b>white</b> , Black, Hispanic, Native American, and other)
Offense type	6 categories ( <b>person</b> , weapons, property, drug, DUI, and other)
Offense category	3 categories ( <b>misdemeanor</b> , undesignated felony, and felony)
Sentence length (days)	Continuous (1–29,200)
Actual time served (days)	Continuous (0–2,555)
Risk level	5 categories ( <b>low</b> , medium-low, medium, medium-high, and high)
Prior PTRs	2 categories (yes and <b>no</b> )
Total number of PTRs within case	Continuous (0–64)
Supervision type	3 categories ( <b>SPS</b> , IPS, and Unsupervised)
SO, DV, DUI status	2 categories (yes and <b>no</b> )
Probation tail status	2 categories (yes and <b>no</b> )

**Notes:** DUI = driving under the influence; DV = domestic violence; PTR = petition to revoke; SO = sex offense. Other offenses include public order, disorderly conduct, child abuse and neglect, bribery, perjury, terrorism, and other charges. Sex offense, domestic violence, and driving under the influence statuses are indicators for specialized caseloads. A probation tail indicates that a probation term was sentenced to follow an incarceration term. Reference categories for multivariate analyses are bolded.

We supplemented the quantitative data analyses with 30 formal, semistructured interviews conducted between October 2021 and March 2023: 2 with members of the APD’s leadership team, 2 with judges from the Arizona Superior Court in Pima County who frequently preside over probation-related cases, 10 with senior or lead probation officers (whose probation-related work experience ranged from 6 to nearly 30 years), 5 with community-based housing providers, 4 with people serving probation who received transitional housing support from the APD, and 4 with additional stakeholders; we also conducted 28 case file reviews. The probation officers we interviewed supervised a diverse set of caseloads including certain special caseloads (e.g., the domestic violence, sex offense and aggravated DUI caseloads). The interviews were all conducted via Zoom, with questions touching on themes including the pathways from probation to jail, availability of housing support for people on probation, racial and ethnic disparities associated with the probation population, and the impact of COVID on how the APD responds to probation violations and jail use associated with people on probation. For people

with lived experience, we focused on those who were currently on probation and receiving housing support or who had been on probation at any point since 2019. All interviews were conducted virtually via Zoom, with questions touching on a variety of topics including people’s experience receiving transitional housing support, eligibility criteria for housing providers, successful outcomes, the impact of the pandemic on housing challenges, and probation officers’ approaches to securing housing for people on their caseloads. We thematically analyzed all of these data to identify, analyze, and interpret patterns in responses.

Lastly, we conducted a policy and document review to contextualize research findings based on documentation received from the APD as well as publicly available materials. This included reviewing documents pertaining to probation conditions, responses to violations, supervision guidelines for probation officers, and housing support for people on probation.

**TABLE A.3**  
**Summary of Data Sources, Sample Sizes, and Analyses**

<b>Data source</b>	<b>Sample size</b>	<b>Analysis type</b>
Pima County Jail data	166,552 bookings	Descriptive analysis; bivariate analysis; logistic regressions
Pima County APETS data	24,803 cases	
APD transitional housing funding data	331	Thematic analysis
Interviews with APD officers	10	
Interviews with judges	2	
Interviews with housing providers	5	
Interviews with people on probation	4	
Interviews with other stakeholders	4	
Interviews with APD officers to review probation cases	5	
Case file review: virtual review	16	Thematic analysis
Case file review: officer-led review	12	

**Notes:** APD = Adult Probation Department. APETS = Adult Probation Enterprise Tracking System.

For the qualitative component, data were collected via interviews and a case file review, and members of the research team took detailed notes based on recordings of the interviews. We then coded these notes into key themes. We used the key themes to inform the final report and highlighted selected quotes in the report.

## Data Limitations

Seven data limitations are important to highlight. First, though the APETS data had extensive information on people serving probation, there was some noticeable incongruence between the

violations-related variables. For instance, several cases that were terminated unsuccessfully had no formal PTR information, which seems unlikely since a formal PTR is a requirement when requesting a revocation or coterminous disposition. Based on conversations with the Administrative Office of the Courts and the APD, we learned that this could owe to one of three reasons: (1) if people are apprehended for a new crime, it is considered an automatic violation that can result in unsuccessful termination but might not be entered in the system as a new crime violation; (2) for coterminous dispositions, the Drug Court and Drug Treatment Alternative to Prison judges sometimes remand people to jail to be released coterminous with probation expiration following substance use-related violations, and this can be done without the use of a formal PTR; and (3) data entry and data pull issues could also contribute to missing PTR and violations data. Though we addressed part of this issue by counting these cases as having at least one PTR, the violation types were still missing. Additionally, the jail and probation files themselves were not directly comparable because of the time frames and the nature of population composition, making it difficult to compare across files. The combination of findings from both files, however, provided a comprehensive overview that informed our findings.

Second, data pertaining to transitional housing had some limitations. The data did not include people who might have used transitional housing options, independently or through referrals from the APD, but did not receive APD funding. This means that the control group could include many people who may have spent time in transitional housing, adding some level of unmeasurable bias in findings. Additionally, it would have been helpful to the study design if data were available on the housing needs of people on probation and on corresponding actions (e.g., whether they did or did not receive housing assignment, whether they did or did not receive financial support, etc.). Having these data could help with the selection of a more suitable control sample.

Third, several additional factors can influence people's experiences and their likelihood of violating probation (e.g., how much funding they receive, housing facilities' in-house services and staff engagement, people's employment status, people's wages, people's overall perceptions of halfway houses and shelters, perceived stability, etc.), which are not currently measured (some are difficult to measure) and are therefore not controlled for in the analysis. We addressed this in part by including questions about these factors in the qualitative analyses.

Fourth, since Pima County strengthened its transitional housing program (by using SJC funding) only recently, the follow-up period is short (6 months to 2.5 years), making it difficult to assess true successful and unsuccessful terminations since typical probation sentences are 3 to 4 years long. Due to this, it is difficult to ascertain the true impact of transitional housing support on probation outcomes since most terminations would be largely driven by unsuccessful outcomes. The program being in its



early stages also meant that the number of people who received transitional housing support was small, making it difficult to analyze that group's demographic subgroups.

Fifth, and crucially, Pima County implemented several strategies to reduce its jail population concurrently, and because the data we received did not include information on other strategies and the populations they impacted, isolating the effects of transitional housing was not possible.

Sixth, we faced significant challenges with scheduling and conducting interviews with people who have lived experience (i.e., people on probation who received financial support to access transitional housing). The team faced challenges with recruitment despite conducting multiple rounds of outreach to more than 10 local housing providers to recruit people for the interviews, including via email and phone calls. Despite these repeated efforts, we were unable to boost interest in the study (we were unable to directly reach out to people because of institutional-review-board protocols). Our team would have liked the opportunity to talk with more people who received transitional housing support, given their direct experience and the need to uplift their perspectives. After we decided to close the interview period, housing providers suggested that the language on the flyer could have been clearer and more concise, in addition to the fact that people might not have been incentivized to miss a day of work despite receiving a gift card for their time. The team will consider these factors in future projects.

Seventh, there was limited public or internal information documenting the transitional housing program (the design, key elements, and implementation) in Pima County, especially as it relates to people on probation. Though the team was able to get limited, general information on housing supports through interviews, many respondents were unsure of program specifics, and the document review provided limited context.

# Appendix B. Results

**TABLE B.1**  
**Defendant Characteristics for All Study Populations**

	2016–2022 Probation Cases (N = 21,235)		2020–2022 Probation Cases (N = 13,146)		Received Housing (2020– 2022) (N = 331)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	15,975	75.23	10,000	76.07	262	79.15
Female	5,260	24.77	3,146	23.93	69	20.85
<b>Race/ethnicity</b>						
White	8,736	41.14	5,281	40.17	132	39.88
Hispanic	9,052	42.63	5,691	43.29	139	41.99
Black	2,094	9.86	1,340	10.19	39	11.78
Native American	1,000	4.71	607	4.62	16	4.83
Other race	353	1.66	227	1.73	5	1.51
<b>Age</b>						
< 25 years	4,856	22.87	2,659	20.23	58	17.52
25–34 years	7,773	36.60	4,870	37.05	129	38.97
35–44 years	4,789	22.55	3,163	24.06	92	27.79
45–54 years	2,384	11.23	1,496	11.00	39	11.78
55–64 years	1,077	5.07	708	5.00	12	3.63
> 65 years	356	1.68	250	1.9	1	0.30

**Note:** “Other race” included people who identified as Asian, East Indian, Pacific Islander, or Other.

TABLE B.2

## Case and Supervision Characteristics for All Study Populations

	2016–2022 Probation Cases (N = 24,803)		2020–2022 Probation Cases (N = 14,420)		Received Housing (2020– 2022) (N = 331)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
<b>Offense type</b>						
Person	7,942	32.02	4,831	33.5	124	37.46
Weapon	1,186	4.78	864	5.99	21	6.34
Property	5,203	20.98	3,023	20.96	91	27.49
Drug	7,925	31.95	4,022	27.89	75	22.66
DUI	562	2.27	383	2.66	4	1.21
Other	1,985	8	1,297	8.99	16	4.83
<b>Offense classification</b>						
Felony	12,788	51.56	7,820	54.23	217	65.56
Undesignated	7,045	28.4	4,047	28.07	85	25.68
Misdemeanor	4,970	20.04	2,553	17.7	29	8.76
<b>OST Risk level</b>						
Low	2,455	9.9	1,720	11.93	3	0.91
Medium-low	4,460	17.98	2,664	18.47	18	5.44
Medium	296	1.19	174	1.21	3	0.91
Medium-high	8,540	34.43	5,034	34.91	101	30.51
High	7,071	28.51	4,142	28.72	197	59.52
<b>Supervision type</b>						
SPS	22,108	89.13	12,818	88.89	240	72.51
IPS	2,526	10.18	1,529	10.6	90	27.19
Unsupervised probation	169	0.68	73	0.51	1	0.3
<b>Petition to revoke</b>						
At least one PTR filed	11,442	46.13	5,762	39.96	232	70.09
Technical violations	6,170	24.88	3,380	23.44	151	46
New crime violations	260	1.05	135	0.94	2	0.6
Combination Violations	3,442	13.88	1,890	13.11	73	22.05
<b>Termination type</b>						
Full termination	4,922	19.84	2,425	16.82	10	3.02
Early termination	4,853	19.57	2,333	16.18	28	8.46
Revocation to prison	3,240	13.06	1,007	6.98	46	13.9
Revocation to jail	449	1.81	132	0.92	2	0.6
Coterminous	2,354	9	697	4.83	22	7
Other	2,063	8.32	904	6.27	32	9.67
Not terminated	6,922	27.91	6,922	48	191	57.7

**Notes:** DUI = driving under the influence; OST = Offender Screening Tool; SPS = Standard Probation Supervision; IPS = Intensive Probation Supervision; PTR = Petition to Revoke.

TABLE B.3

## Logistic Regression of Drivers to Jail and Prison

	Revocation to Jail (n = 22,833)	Coterminous (n = 22,696)	Revocation to Prison (n = 22,696)
<b>Defendant demographics</b>			
Male	0.82	0.92	1.12
Age	0.99	0.98*	0.98**
Black	1.13	1.24*	0.98
Hispanic	1.46**	1.00	1.22**
Native American	1.97**	1.18	1.28*
Other	1.53	1.05	1.01
<b>Case characteristics</b>			
Weapons offense	1.66	0.94	0.43**
Property offense	1.19	1.11	1.17*
Drug offense	1.02	0.97	0.88
DUI offense	0.91	0.78	1.28
Other offense	1.04	1.07	0.91
Felony	0.45**	1.44**	3.68**
Undesignated felony	0.50**	3.54**	3.08**
Sentence length	0.99**	0.99**	1.01**
Prior PTR	1.32	0.97	1.09
Total PTRs	1.27**	1.49**	1.44**
<b>Supervision characteristics</b>			
OST: medium low	2.68*	3.16**	2.04**
OST: medium	5.03**	6.44**	6.05**
OST: medium high	6.05**	5.53**	3.64**
OST: high	8.26**	7.21**	4.61**
IPS	0.64*	0.81*	1.91**
Unsupervised	0.26	--	--
DV status	1.21	1.45**	1.48**
DUI status	2.37*	1.21	0.60**
SO status	2.06	0.73	0.86
Probation tail status	1.67	1.34*	1.14

**Notes:** PTR = petition to revoke; OST = Offender Screening Tool; IPS = Intensive Probation Supervision; DV = domestic violence; DUI = driving under the influence; SO = sex offense. Dashes (--) indicate that the variable was dropped from the models because their values predict success or failure perfectly.

\*  $p < 0.05$  level of significance

\*\*  $p < 0.01$  level of significance

TABLE B.4

## Logistic Regression on Effect of Covariates on Treatment

	Treatment (n = 12,034)
<b>Defendant demographics</b>	
Male	0.73
Age	1.00
Black	0.96
Hispanic	0.97
Native American	1.09
Other	1.86
<b>Case characteristics</b>	
Weapons offense	0.61
Property offense	1.26
Drug offense	0.91
DUI offense	1.09
Other offense	0.81
Felony	2.76*
Undesignated felony	2.74*
Sentence length	1.00
Prior PTR	0.62
Total PTRs	1.20*
<b>Supervision characteristics</b>	
OST: medium low	2.47
OST: medium	8.75**
OST: medium high	5.96**
OST: high	11.54**
IPS	1.57*
DV status	1.28
DUI status	0.81
SO status	1.63
Probation tail status	2.25**

**Notes:** DUI = driving under the influence; PTR = petition to revoke; OST = Offender Screening Tool; IPS = Intensive Probation Supervision; DV = domestic violence; SO = sex offense.

\*  $p < 0.05$  level of significance

\*\*  $p < 0.01$  level of significance

TABLE B.5

## Bivariate Analysis on Treatment and Control Groups

	Control (n = 11,827)	Treatment (n = 207)	T-test
<b>Outcome variables</b>			
Revocation to jail or coterminous	0.06	0.09	-1.67*
<b>Defendant characteristics</b>			
Male	0.76	0.78	-0.56
Age	35.03	33.75	1.57
White	0.41	0.40	0.51
Black	0.10	0.12	-0.43
Hispanic	0.43	0.42	0.26
Native American	0.04	0.06	-0.92
Other	0.01	0.02	-0.48
<b>Case characteristics</b>			
Person offense	0.27	0.29	-0.70
Weapons offense	0.05	0.03	1.06
Property offense	0.20	0.28	-3.01**
Drug offense	0.32	0.30	0.43
DUI offense	0.03	0.01	1.23
Other offense	0.14	0.08	2.54**
Misdemeanor	0.17	0.06	4.18**
Felony	0.54	0.67	-3.71**
Undesignated felony	0.29	0.27	0.61
Number of charges	3.81	3.82	-0.01
Actual time served	703.89	524.75	5.66**
Sentence length	1,354.44	1258.97	0.49
Prior PTR	0.13	0.18	-1.80*
Total PTRs	0.92	1.71	-6.83**
<b>Supervision characteristics</b>			
OST: low	0.12	0.01	4.71**
OST: medium low	0.20	0.05	5.15**
OST: medium	0.01	0.01	-0.19
OST: medium high	0.38	0.31	2.02**
OST: high	0.29	0.61	-10.04**
IPS	0.10	0.26	-7.41**
SPS	0.90	0.74	7.09**
DV status	0.18	0.19	-0.58
DUI status	0.08	0.03	2.51**
SO status	0.04	0.03	0.23
Probation tail status	0.07	0.13	-2.97**

**Notes:** DUI = driving under the influence; PTR = petition to revoke; OST = Offender Screening Tool; IPS = Intensive Probation Supervision; DV = domestic violence; SO = sex offense.

\*  $p < 0.05$  level of significance

\*\*  $p < 0.01$  level of significance

TABLE B.6

## Logistic Regression on Effect of Receiving Transitional Housing Support on Jail-Based Outcomes

Revocation to jail or coterminous (n = 12,034)	
<b>Treatment</b>	<b>1.17</b>
<b>Defendant demographics</b>	
Male	0.89
Age	0.99
Black	1.08
Hispanic	1.22*
Native American	1.39*
Other	0.56
<b>Case characteristics</b>	
Weapons offense	0.93
Property offense	1.08
Drug offense	0.92
DUI offense	0.63
Other offense	1.17
Felony	1.41*
Undesignated felony	1.95**
Actual time served	0.99**
Sentence length	0.99**
Prior PTR	1.16
Total PTRs	1.52**
<b>Supervision Characteristics</b>	
OST: medium low	3.17**
OST: medium	7.49**
OST: medium high	5.51**
OST: high	7.60**
IPS	0.91
DV status	1.38*
DUI status	1.21
SO status	0.95
Probation tail status	1.13

**Notes:** DUI = driving under the influence; PTR = petition to revoke; OST = Offender Screening Tool; IPS = Intensive Probation Supervision; DV = domestic violence; SO = sex offense.

\*  $p < 0.05$  level of significance

\*\*  $p < 0.01$  level of significance

# Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Coterminous dispositions refer to a combination of community supervision and a jail stay typically shorter than that for jail revocations.
- <sup>2</sup> The data used for this study did not have information on the types of technical violations including absconding.
- <sup>3</sup> In Albonetti and Hepburn's (1997) study, social disadvantage is measured based on factors such as prior arrest record and education level.
- <sup>4</sup> Memorandum from C. H. Huckelberry To the Pima County Board of Supervisors regarding Pima County's Housing First Pilot Program, December 10, 2020, [https://webcms.pima.gov/UserFiles/Servers/Server\\_6/File/Government/Administration/CHHmemosForpercent20Web/2020/December/December percent2010, percent202020 percent20- percent20Pima percent20County's percent20Housing percent20First percent20Pilot percent20Program.pdf](https://webcms.pima.gov/UserFiles/Servers/Server_6/File/Government/Administration/CHHmemosForpercent20Web/2020/December/December percent2010, percent202020 percent20- percent20Pima percent20County's percent20Housing percent20First percent20Pilot percent20Program.pdf).
- <sup>5</sup> Pima County, as part of its SJC efforts participant site, has implemented reforms recently such as pre-arrest deflection (diverting individuals with mental health and substance use issues to community treatment resources instead of law enforcement), expanded pretrial services, changed the probation agency's approach to using jails for people on probation, set up a Jail Population Review Committee (to identify people awaiting trial for felony offenses in jail so they can be released back to the community) and set up a diversion program for people with felony drug offenses (diverting them towards the substance use treatment prior to being charged).
- <sup>6</sup> These data included people who received financial assistance from the APD that helped pay for all or parts of their stays at transitional housing support facilities (halfway houses or shelters).
- <sup>7</sup> "Quick Facts: Pima County, Arizona." United States Census Bureau. 2020. Accessed on June 29, 2023. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/pimacountyarizona/LND110210>
- <sup>8</sup> In Pima County, a coterminous outcome is a nonrevocation outcome where a person serves some time in jail, even as much as all of their remaining probation term, though the period of incarceration for a coterminous PTR outcome is typically shorter than what a revocation would entail. In some instances, coterminous terminations can mean that the person is incarcerated in jail for the remainder of their probation term – these jail stays can range from 60 days to a year. Alternatively, a coterminous disposition could also entail a judge terminating the person's probation sentence at the violation disposition and ordering them to a period of time in jail (determined by the judge, usually based on factors like the severity of the original offense); such jail stays are typically 30 to 60 days. Interviewees highlighted that, because they typically entail shorter incarceration stays than revocation outcomes, coterminous sentences are often used by judges to reduce, if not eliminate, prison time for a person and reduce people's overall incarceration stays.
- <sup>9</sup> A court summons is a court order directing a person to appear in court on the date of the hearing. Interviewees told us they either mailed them to people or handed them during in-person meetings.
- <sup>10</sup> Addendum reports outline details of a person's time on probation, their violations, and their criminal histories, among other things. They are prepared by probation officers to inform the court's violation disposition.
- <sup>11</sup> Urban Institute review of multiple versions of APD's Field Services Division Operations Manual.
- <sup>12</sup> "Pima County, AZ," Safety and Justice Challenge, last updated December 20, 2022, <https://safetyandjusticechallenge.org/our-network/pima-county-az/>.
- <sup>13</sup> "Arizona Superior Court in Pima County's STEPs Drug Diversion Program Named 2021 Arizona Judicial Branch Excellence and Innovation Awardee," Arizona Superior Court in Pima County, September 29, 2021, <https://www.sc.pima.gov/news/superior-court-s-steps-program-takes-statewide-judicial-excellence-and-innovation-award/>.



- <sup>14</sup> Memorandum from C. H. Huckelberry to the Pima County Board of Supervisors regarding Pima County's Housing First Pilot Program, December 10, 2020.
- <sup>15</sup> A Housing First approach prioritizes getting a person facing housing instability into housing first, and then supplement it with other wraparound services; National Alliance to End Homelessness (2019). What Housing First Really Means. Retrieved from: <https://endhomelessness.org/what-housing-first-really-means/>
- <sup>16</sup> "Pima County Housing First Pay for Success Initiative," US Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Assistance, accessed March 16, 2023, <https://bja.ojp.gov/funding/awards/15pbja-21-gg-04016-pfsh>.
- <sup>17</sup> Undesignated or Class 6 felonies are the least severe type of felony classification in Arizona and are unique in that prosecutors have the option to charge them as misdemeanors. People charged with undesignated felonies often get sentenced to probation.
- <sup>18</sup> IPS provides a higher-level of supervision of probationers pursuant to court-ordered conditions of probation (Arizona Superior Court in Arizona, n.d.)
- <sup>19</sup> These are descriptive statistics and do not control for offense type or other characteristics.
- <sup>20</sup> 14 percent of all unsuccessfully terminated cases had data missing on PTRs filed and violation type. Per conversations with APD and AOC, we learned that this could be due to one of three reasons. First, if people are apprehended for a new crime, it is considered an automatic violation that could result in unsuccessful termination but may not be entered in the system as a new crime violation. Second, specifically for coterminous dispositions, the Drug Court and Drug Treatment Alternative to Prison (DTAP) judges sometimes remand people to jail to be released on a coterminous with probation expiration following substance use-related violations, and this can be done without the use of a formal PTR. Finally, data entry and data pull issues could also contribute to missing PTR and violations data.
- <sup>21</sup> This number is not directly comparable to the numbers from the Adult Probation Enterprise Tracking System data on probation records for two reasons. First, although the analysis periods overlap, they are not identical. Second, and perhaps more importantly, the Adult Probation Enterprise Tracking System data include only people who started probation between July 2015 and June 2022, not all people serving probation sentences within that time frame. In other words, we do not have data on people who started probation before 2015 and received a jail termination within the analysis period. The jail data, on the other hand, include all bookings between 2015 and 2020, which makes them useful for studying jail composition pertaining to probation-related bookings, including people we could not measure in the probation population analysis, but which means they are not directly comparable to findings from the probation dataset.
- <sup>22</sup> The number of bookings for parole violations (n = 1,621) was considerably smaller than for other categories of bookings, which can result in higher variance in averages within this group.
- <sup>23</sup> The findings for probation violations are consistent with what we learned from conversations with APD staff and leadership, who suggested that people are typically incarcerated for 30 to 90 days in cases of probation violations resulting in jail incarceration.
- <sup>24</sup> The APD and the courts also use nonincarceration responses for probation violations, sometimes referred to as intermediate sanctions. Interviewees from the APD told us that they generally try to exhaust the nonincarceration options before they file formal PTRs. These options can entail increased community service, more frequent meetings with probation officers, curfew and travel restrictions, essay writing, cognitive skills classes, and more frequent drug testing (drug testing is both a time-based and financial burden; people on probation have to pay for each test). The courts can also respond to probation violations by putting people on a higher level of supervision or a specialized caseload.

- <sup>25</sup> Per the APD's Field Services Division Operations Manual (for 2021), which was shared with the research team, absconding occurs when a person on probation willfully chooses to evade supervision and when their whereabouts are unknown.
- <sup>26</sup> The IPS caseload's conditions can be more stringent in a variety of ways. For instance, people might be required to have more frequent contact with probation officers, they might have more stringent limits on their movement, and if they abscond, probation officers might be allowed less time to reengage them before they have to file a PTR and issue an arrest warrant.
- <sup>27</sup> People serving probation on the Drug Treatment Alternative to Prison caseload are tested for drug use multiple times a week, attend monthly hearings before the Drug Treatment Alternative to Prison judge, and are kept under intensive supervision by a specialized probation officer and a surveillance officer, who make visits to their home and workplace. More information is available at "County program turning lives around," Pima County, February 12, 2016, <https://webcms.pima.gov/cms/One.aspx?portalId=169&pageId=240944>.
- <sup>28</sup> Other factors that impact jail-release decisions, according to interviewees, include a person's threat to public safety (including their risk score and flight risk), family ties, and the probation officer's availability (since the officer is required to put in place a supervision plan for the person being released that includes housing).
- <sup>29</sup> One interviewee mentioned that people convicted of sex offenses are sometimes disqualified from staying at certain halfway houses because of their proximity to schools.
- <sup>30</sup> As we have noted, data on violation types were missing for several termination types. These numbers do not include cases with missing data. So, for instance, for jail revocations, roughly 25 percent of cases were missing violation-related data. We dropped these cases in these calculations for a more accurate representation of violation types resulting in jail incarceration.
- <sup>31</sup> Criminogenic risk level, or a person's risk of reoffending and their criminogenic needs, are assessed using the Offender Screening Tool. This is a standardized tool used across Arizona to assess people on nine domains focused on the presence of lifestyle issues known to be associated with offending behavior (e.g., criminal history, substance use, mental health needs, social connections). Offender Screening Tool scores are based on information collected through a person's case file, face-to-face interviews, and the professional judgement of staff.
- <sup>32</sup> Because the data were limited to a period of two and a half years, we broke them down into six-month intervals to present a more granular depiction of trends during this period.
- <sup>33</sup> Based on conversations with APD, SJC funding for transitional housing support was approved and put to use towards the end of 2019. Initial approvals for this type of assistance, therefore, were slow (and slowed down further due to the pandemic hitting within the first quarter of 2020) and picked up over time as operational and pandemic-related challenges were addressed.
- <sup>34</sup> This is based on the risk-needs-responsivity principle, which states that recidivism can be reduced if the level of treatment services provided to people is proportional to their risk of reoffending ("risk"), if people's criminogenic needs are assessed and targeted in treatment services ("needs"), and if people's ability to learn is maximized by tailoring interventions to their learning styles, the types of motivation they respond to, and their strengths ("responsivity").
- <sup>35</sup> A probation tail indicates a combination sentence that entails an incarceration term followed by a probation term.
- <sup>36</sup> Because probation officers' notes often are quite detailed and span years, with some days having multiple entries, the research team focused on case notes that were housing related along with those toward the start and end of probation terms. Intensive Probation Supervision cases, for instance, typically had at least daily officer notes because of that caseload's stringent conditions.

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