The California Homeless Housing Needs Assessment

Corporation for Supportive Housing (CSH)
What is a Needs Assessment

Needs assessments help states and communities understand the amount and types of additional investments needed to solve homelessness, allowing for more efficient use of resources\(^1\). Local and state governments that have reduced homelessness began with clear numeric goals, goals typically based on data on need\(^2\). Instead of asking, “what do we have,” needs assessments begin by asking, “what would it take.”

An increasing number of communities use data to arrive at goals to decrease homelessness\(^3\), data focusing on evidence-based solutions. Studies of homelessness over the last 25 years concluded housing solves homelessness (housing is an apartment or home with a lease)\(^4\). Recent real-world experience backs this research. HUD and the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs paired rental subsidies with services to reduce homelessness among veterans by 55% since 2010\(^5\). Houston, one of many local examples, was able to reduce homelessness by 63% through a strategy that steadfastly committed—and dedicated resources to—housing people experiencing homelessness\(^6\). Finland is on track to eliminate homelessness by 2027 and reduced homelessness by 40 percent from 2010 to 2018 after the nation’s leaders decided to commit sufficient resources to house all experiencing homelessness\(^7\).

A needs assessment primarily analyzes need for housing and housing support services as solutions, with estimates of ideal shelter/interim interventions needed as well. Interim interventions—shelters, bridge housing, motel vouchers, and navigation centers—help people access safety and services while waiting for affordable housing. They are part of the solution if connecting people to housing\(^8\).

Key Takeaways

The Conrad N. Hilton Foundation funded Corporation for Supportive Housing (CSH) and The California Housing Partnership (The Partnership) to conduct a data analysis in California to assess the total statewide need for housing, housing support services, and interim interventions. The total unmet housing need for households experiencing and expected to experience homelessness over the next 12 years is 225,053 units.
The assessment also examines existing resources that could help meet that need, and gaps between what we need and have.

We learned that it would take, on average, $8.1B annually over the next 12 years to solve homelessness in California. The state and federal governments are already projected to commit an average of $1.2B annually, reducing the gap to $6.9 billion, only 2.7% of the state’s annual budget.

The assessment shows homelessness is solvable in California. By committing resources to meet goals based on data in this assessment, California can put in motion an investment plan, policies, and partnerships with local governments that would allow the state to end homelessness by 2035. To put California on a path toward solving homelessness, the state must partner with local governments to invest ongoing resources in evidence-based solutions at levels to match the scale of need.
Why a Needs Assessment Matters

California has taken significant steps to shelter and house people experiencing homelessness. As California’s leaders express deep desire to decrease and eventually end homelessness, a critical first step in solving homelessness is developing a financial model for the housing and services needed to solve homelessness in the state with 25 percent of the nation’s homeless population.

To turn political will and taxpayer dollars into tangible results, the state must ground investment in the realities of the scale of need and current costs of housing. That begins with research, data analysis, input from people with lived experience, and ideas from people working in the field. To arrive at the conclusions in the California Homeless Housing Needs Assessment, CSH and The Partnership studied dozens of data sources, established a financial model, developed assumptions based on national and state research and trends, held focus groups of people with lived experience of homelessness, and conducted convenings and one-on-one interviews with over 150 stakeholders (see Our Methodology: calneeds.csh.org/methodology).

The assessment asked—

→ How much affordable housing, services, and shelter beds do we need to solve homelessness,
→ What do we have in current resources to help us solve homelessness,
→ What is the gap between what we need and what we have, and
→ How much will it cost to fill those gaps.

This Homeless Housing Needs Assessment gives policymakers tools to understand the total need as a foundation for future budget allocations. No other statewide study has solely focused on analyzing data to answer what it would take to solve homelessness in California.

This Assessment quantifies the need but does not make policy proposals to address inequities that have marginalized Californians based on race or disability, or that keep housing costs too high for so many Californians to afford. This Assessment also does not address systems failures that discharge people into homelessness from our prisons, foster
care systems, hospitals, and other institutional settings. Finally, the Assessment does not address the total need for affordable housing in California, and it does not estimate costs for improving our homeless response systems, building the capacity of our services workforce, or many other needed policy reforms. It is intended simply to quantify solutions—the need for housing, services, and interim/shelter interventions—and to model their costs for policymakers to begin to set realistic goals.

Other analyses offer critical qualitative and policy information about affordable housing and homelessness which, when taken in combination with this report, offer useful paths forward. These include the following:

→ **Roadmap Home 2030**

Housing California and The California Housing Partnership convened people working in the homelessness and affordable housing sectors to arrive at a long-term plan to end the shortage of affordable homes, protect low-income renters, end homelessness, and advance racial equity and economic inclusion. Roadmap Home 2030 offers 57 specific policy recommendations to California’s state leaders. It also includes a data analysis to estimate total costs of the policy proposals included in the plan, including the costs of building 1.2 million affordable housing units, providing housing and services to people experiencing homelessness, protecting one million low-income renters, and creating homeownership opportunities. The Roadmap was designed to be a living plan that would be updated over time. This Needs Assessment builds on and adds to the work of the Roadmap by specifically assessing total capital, operating, rental subsidy, and interim intervention costs, drilling down to local level data for estimating the housing and service needs for Californians experiencing homelessness, and taking advantage of more recent available data. ([https://roadmaphome2030.org/](https://roadmaphome2030.org/))

→ **California Homelessness Landscape Assessment Study**

In 2021, the Legislature passed and the Governor signed Assembly Bill 140, which, among other things, required the California Interagency Council on Homelessness (Cal ICH) to assess the current landscape of programs funded, implemented, and administered by state entities across California to provide a holistic understanding of the state’s homelessness response system. Cal ICH expects to release the study in late 2022. It is a first-of-its-kind analysis of state homeless programs. It will result from collaboration between Cal ICH, UC Berkeley’s Terner Center for Housing Innovation and Goldman School of Public Policy, UCSF Benioff Homelessness and Housing Initiative, and Abt Associates. It will not, however, offer any analysis of what it will take to solve homelessness. ([bcr.ca.gov/calich/landscape_assessment/](https://bcr.ca.gov/calich/landscape_assessment/))
Action Plan for Preventing & Ending Homelessness in California

The California Interagency Council on Homelessness, as required under their enabling legislation, created an Action Plan for Preventing and Ending Homelessness in California. It sets specific strategic goals for agency coordination, as well as state collaboration with local governments. The Action Plan does not identify specific goals for investment or timelines to meet any numeric goals. ([www.bcs.ca.gov/calich/documents/action_plan.pdf](http://www.bcs.ca.gov/calich/documents/action_plan.pdf))

The California Homeless Housing Needs Assessment, Roadmap Home 2030, the California Homelessness Landscape Assessment study, and the Action Plan together offer state leaders information on the impact of existing state programs, a foundation for the policy path forward to enact the kinds of changes state leaders have embraced, and the level and types of investment needed to solve homelessness. Combined, these resources provide the state with the tools needed to enact sound policy.

CSH has helped multiple states conduct needs assessments, including Ohio, New York, Maine, Oregon, and Florida and has assisted communities in California to identify needs and gaps in San Diego and Los Angeles. The Partnership has a strong history of estimating affordable housing need each year in their Affordable Housing Needs Reports, and works closely with the state to estimate capital and operating costs of building new housing.

Community Highlight

Kern County, the Kern County United Way, and the Kern County Homeless Collaborative coordinated to create a 10-year plan to end homelessness. Based on goals in this plan, and mostly through focusing existing resources on evidence-based solutions, the homeless population decreased by almost half. In 2018, they published a second plan, “Home at Last!,” which included a thorough needs assessment set very specific goals based on the data in the needs assessment. They bucked statewide trends in their most recent homeless count and were able to avoid any significant increases.
How Did California Reach This Level of Need?

California has the largest number of people experiencing homelessness of any state in America, 25 percent of all Americans who are homeless, because we lack housing affordable to people with the lowest incomes. When our communities’ housing costs are too high, finding a place to live becomes impossible for people with extremely low wages or fixed or no incomes. In fact, this income group is priced out of every housing market in California. Dramatic rent increases across California have resulted in rapid increases in homelessness, largely accounting for, for example, Sacramento’s 60 percent increase in homelessness over the last three years. A Zillow study discovered communities that spend an average of more than 32 percent of their incomes for rent have higher rates of homelessness. Just a two percent increase in housing unaffordability in Los Angeles, the report found, results in over 4,200 additional renters falling into homelessness. In 2021 alone, Los Angeles renters saw their rent increase by 10 percent, San Diego renters by 21 percent, and Fresno renters by 13 percent. Already, the number of California households with extremely low incomes (making less than 30 percent of the median income in their community) totals about 11 million; 79 percent of these renters are paying more than half of their incomes on rent.

People experiencing homelessness are more likely to face complex health conditions, disabilities, and racial discrimination:

- In California, 32 percent of people experiencing homelessness are African-American (even though only 6.5 percent of Californians are African-American); almost twice the percentage of Indigenous and Native Alaskan Californians are experiencing homelessness than in the general population; and three times the percentage of Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islanders than the percentages of each of these populations living in California.

- Homelessness among Latinos has been increasing rapidly.

- 45 percent of people accessing homeless services reported experiencing a disability.
People who have experienced racism and/or disabling conditions are more likely to become homeless not just because of susceptibility to rising rents, but due to other factors that make accessing housing affordable to them more difficult.

California has struggled with homelessness since thousands of Californians began falling into homelessness in the 1980’s, when increasing income inequality led to wages unable to keep pace with housing costs. The state reacted with small amounts of funding for shelters and transitional housing, but rents continued to rise faster than incomes and homelessness continued to increase. Eventually, the state committed funding to build affordable housing, including supportive housing (housing with integrated services), through voter-approved bonds. California also created housing through Redevelopment funds allocated to local governments, which generated about $1 billion every year through a Low- and Moderate-Income Housing Fund, a small portion of which paid for housing for Californians experiencing homelessness. This Housing Fund no longer exists; the State eliminated it during the last recession. Since the 1990’s, councils, commissions, and watchdogs characterized California’s approach to homelessness as disjointed, inconsistent, and unsuccessful.

In 2017, the state created the Homeless Coordinating and Finance Council, which became the California Interagency Council on Homelessness in 2021. The Council adopted a State Action Plan for Preventing and Ending Homelessness in California, a significant step in acknowledging permanent housing as a solution and in identifying how the state can support
Over the last four years, California appropriated unprecedented investments to shelter and house Californians experiencing and at risk of homelessness, as Governor Newsom and the Legislature prioritized the issue for the first time.

As part of this unprecedented investment, California funded building affordable and supportive housing projects, requiring commitment of resources for—

- Capital to build the housing,
- Operating subsidies to pay for the costs of running and maintaining the building above what tenants can afford to pay, and
- Paying for services tenants want and need.

The state has not directly funded rental subsidies to landlords in the private market, but has provided flexible funding to local jurisdictions that can be used for rental subsidies through a program called the Homeless, Housing, Assistance, and Prevention (HHAP) program. Rental subsidies are also highly effective, either through a community-based organization “master leasing” multiple units or through “scattered site” subsidies paid to private-market landlords.

A number of communities in California have created “flexible housing subsidy pools” to fund—

- Rental subsidies for people experiencing homelessness,
- Often also paired with landlord incentives, like security deposits, holding fees, and repair costs.

Much of the state funding, either through HHAP or specific dedicated resources, has paid only for new interim/shelter interventions. As a result, the proportion of Californians who living unsheltered decreased. However, without sufficient housing to move people out of shelter beds, people get bottlenecked in the shelter system without a way to exit homelessness.

California is also implementing California Advancing and Innovating in Medi-Cal (CalAIM), which includes provisions to allow managed care health plans administering Medi-Cal benefits to pay for services to help people access housing and remain stably housed. However, the relevant provisions of CalAIM will serve people who are high-cost Medi-Cal beneficiaries, and only a small percentage of people experiencing homelessness are likely to access these services.

Policymakers struggle to shift trends of increases in homelessness to decreasing the number of Californians on our streets and in our shelters. Despite our record investments, legislators and the public do not have a clear understanding of how much is needed to achieve reductions in homelessness, or what our investment is paying for.
As state leaders began to prioritize homelessness four years ago, policymakers had little shared understanding of their specific goals: many have articulated a goal of reducing the number of people living unsheltered and the state has achieved some success with this goal. At the same time, many legislators and state leaders express frustration that the number of people experiencing homelessness continues to increase. Resources invested have largely been funded one-time, which limits the ability of the state or local grantees to pay for housing or services costs. Further, a mix of state budget surpluses and increased federal COVID relief funding have largely funded recent state investments, and these state investments still proportionately lag behind federal investment in solving California’s crisis.
What the Data in the California Homeless Housing Needs Assessment Show

Over the next 12 years, 239,963 California households will experience homelessness and need housing affordable to them.

The state and federal government have already committed resources to build 4,387 apartments of supportive housing and 1,645 apartments of affordable housing that could house people experiencing homelessness. We expect five percent of all existing supportive housing and future supportive and affordable housing units people are now living in will turn over, allowing additional households to move into those apartments and receive services already allocated. A total of 225,053 households will continue to have unmet housing needs. Our federal, state, and local resources currently pay for 60,582 interim/shelter interventions, which will turn over and allow additional Californians to access these supports while they wait for housing.

2.7% of the state's budget is all we need to solve homelessness
To meet the unmet needs of the remaining 225,053 households, 62,966 of whom will need supportive housing, California needs to—

→ **Build 112,527 affordable apartments,**
  At a total cost of $67.9 billion, or an average of $5.7 billion per year, with little ongoing costs after 2035.

→ **Subsidize operating costs of these new apartments, plus rents for 112,527 households renting apartments from private landlords,**
  At a total cost of $22 billion, $1.8 billion on average annually over the next 12 years.

→ **Offer supportive housing services to 62,966 households with disabilities**
  At a total cost of $5.9 billion, $488 million on average annually over the next 12 years.

→ **Provide interim/shelter interventions to 32,235 people,**
  At a total cost of $630.4 million.

The costs to meet the housing needs of Californians experiencing homelessness totals almost $97 billion. The state and federal government are expected to invest a total of 14.7 billion over the next 12 years in capital funds. The costs to meet the gap between what Californians need and what we have to meet those needs equals **$82.2 billion.** View our methodology to see how we got this number ([https://calneeds.csh.org/methodology](https://calneeds.csh.org/methodology)).

To solve homelessness, California would need to invest an additional $6.9 billion annually over 12 years. Once California solves homelessness by 2035, total ongoing costs will decrease to $4.7 billion per year.

### Unmet housing need less pipeline commitments and projected turnover by region:

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<th>Region</th>
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<th>Family PSH Need (Units)</th>
<th>Individual AH Need (Units)</th>
<th>Family AH Need (Units)</th>
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<td><strong>3,280</strong></td>
<td><strong>134,727</strong></td>
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Questions & Answers

Q: The state has already spent a lot of money on homelessness and we don’t see results. Why should we put more money into solving homelessness?

A: California has invested record amounts of funding toward homelessness in recent years, which has resulted in more people accessing shelters, and decreases in the proportion of people who are unsheltered. Yet, the state has never developed a comprehensive plan of what the state should pay for or had a clear or realistic understanding of what we need to spend to make headway in reducing the number of people experiencing homelessness. To do that, we have to invest to meet the scale of need for housing.

Every successful investment plan begins with a clear goal based on data on what is needed. For years, California has invested money without a shared understanding of where the funds should go or how much money to invest. The California Homeless Housing Needs Assessment offers data needed and goals for investment that would allow California to solve homelessness over the next 12 years.

Q: What are the state and local responsibilities in paying for the costs the report identifies?

A: This Needs Assessment acknowledges homelessness is a federal-state-local shared responsibility in financing solutions to homelessness, and that communities that have yet to invest sufficiently will contribute to the solutions the report identifies. However, the federal government invests far more in building affordable housing and funding rental assistance for people experiencing homelessness than the state has invested, even in recent years. Local communities are, in many cases, investing a far greater portion of their budgets on solving homelessness than the state and, in fact, are housing more people than ever before. The Needs Assessment assumes those investments will continue to house the same households they are currently housing.

The Assessment identifies additional need. To the extent that some communities have yet to invest in solutions to homelessness, the state can play a leadership role in encouraging local contributions toward solving homelessness. The Assessment shows need for ongoing and additional state investment to reach proportionate federal-state-local investment.
Q: Did you include prevention when you analyzed need?

A: This report is not intended to convey the total need for affordable housing required to prevent more Californians from experiencing increasing rent burdens putting them at risk of homelessness. Each year, California Housing Partnership assesses need for affordable housing, and regularly updates a dashboard on county-by-county affordable housing need. These reports show over one million of the lowest-income renter households—households receiving 30 percent or below their area’s median income—need affordable housing. The Needs Assessment in this report is in no way suggesting we need fewer affordable apartments or homes for people who are struggling to pay rent. Authors note the need for increased affordable housing investment overall and sound affordable housing policy, which Roadmap Home 2030 advances.

Most households who need affordable housing will never become homeless, but all at true risk of homelessness need affordable housing to prevent episodes of homelessness. We estimated the number

Community Highlight

Santa Clara County, the Cities of San Jose, Mountain View, Santa Clara, Cupertino, and Morgan Hill, and multiple non-profit providers partnered to establish community plan goals of housing 20,000 people in supportive housing by 2025, expanding the homeless system to prevent 2,500 people from falling into homelessness, and doubling shelter capacity to reduce the number of people sleeping outside. Thanks to targeted investment in capital through a $950 million capital bond, and funding for services and rental assistance, they are 39% on their way to meeting their housing goal and are more than 65% on their way to meeting their prevention goal.
of people becoming homeless—"new entrants"—based on status quo funding for affordable housing for those with the lowest incomes. If the state invested greater resources in affordable housing, we could expect to see fewer new entrants and a lower total number of people with unmet affordable housing need.

Q: Why doesn’t the Needs Assessment include funding for rapid re-housing?

A: The Needs Assessment examined the need for affordable housing but did not identify a specific model of affordable housing subsidies the state should fund. Currently, local communities often pay for rapid re-housing, which offers rental subsidies for up to 24 months and light services to help households grow their incomes sufficiently to afford their apartment once the subsidy ends. Some communities thereafter help households remain in their apartments by funding “shallow” or a small amount of rental subsidy. Studies are currently inconclusive on the impact of rapid rehousing, but the California Homeless Housing Needs Assessment is not intended to discourage the state or local communities from investing in rapid re-housing where it demonstrates long-term results.

Q: Does everyone who is homeless need supportive housing?

A: No. Most people experiencing homelessness simply need an affordable place to live and some initial support to exit homelessness. People with disabilities who have experienced long or repeated periods of homelessness or who cycle between institutional settings and homelessness often need affordable housing plus intensive services, the combination known as “supportive housing.” In supportive housing, housing support services offer people help who may not be able to access housing without them. Services also help people to thrive once housed. Twenty-eight percent (28%) of people experiencing homelessness in California are estimated to need supportive housing.

Q: Why is the number of people who are homeless in this report bigger than our state’s homeless count?

A: The “homeless count” is a count of people experiencing homelessness at a single point in time. It does not capture the number or characteristics of people who experience homelessness over time. Local Continuums of Care (CoCs) (regional bodies that address the homeless crisis) use different methodologies to count people, resulting in some inconsistencies between CoCs in their counts. The California Interagency Council on Homelessness operates a Homeless Data Integration System, which collects data from the state’s 44 homeless CoCs’ Homeless Management Information Systems throughout a year. Staff and service providers enter data when they have any contact with someone experiencing homelessness. While the data in this system does not capture all Californians experiencing homelessness who never interact with the...
CoC’s homeless response system, it offers a more consistent, reliable way of capturing Californians who have experienced homelessness over a single year (unduplicated).

**Q:** Did you take into consideration the number of people who will exit homelessness on their own?

**A:** People appearing in the Homeless Data Integration System had at least one interaction with their local CoC and so have not “self resolved.” In estimating the number of people who will become homeless in the future—estimated “new entrants”—CSH did assume some will self resolve and subtracted a number of households based on data on each region’s rate at which people self-resolve. The total of new entrants over the period of the report reflects estimates of people falling into homelessness minus estimates of people who will self resolve and people who will exit homelessness under current homeless response systems.

**Q:** Why hasn’t this report been done before?

**A:** While local governments have increasingly conducted needs assessments, legislative attempts to require the state to complete a statewide needs assessment did not advance. Funding required to conduct a needs assessment was not previously available until the Hilton Foundation made a commitment to invest in this analysis so the information could be widely available.

This Needs Assessment is not intended to rebuke any past state action or inaction; it is simply an attempt to name the need in order to inform future policy.

**Q:** Why are the costs so high?

**A:** Housing in California is expensive, and costs are a primary driver of our crisis of homelessness. The state and local governments can take an active role in curtailing costs under recommendations identified in Roadmap Home 2030. The California Homeless Housing Needs Assessment assumes the high costs of housing will continue to increase.

Studies show the state, federal, and local governments pay significantly to manage the day-to-day challenges of homelessness when they do not solve it. Studies show offering housing with housing-based services to people experiencing homelessness is a cost-effective approach to avoiding burdens on these systems from the homelessness crisis. In fact, one such report indicated managing homelessness costs state and local public systems $5,148 per person in 2015, with some incurring over $100,000 in public costs. An earlier study in Los Angeles showed public costs decreased almost $2,000 per month, on average, after someone moved from homelessness to housing. Other studies of people accessing supportive housing showed far greater Medicaid costs avoided.
Q: How do these estimates of need coincide with housing needs the regional housing needs assessments and housing elements identify?

A: California law requires all cities and counties to plan to meet the housing needs of their residents. As part of the local governments’ general plans, jurisdictions must submit to the California Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD) a “housing element,” developed through a “regional housing needs assessment,” a state-regional process identifying the housing needs of residents at all income levels. Housing elements must identify existing housing affordable to various income levels, and analyze need for housing for households with extremely low incomes (among other income levels). It also must assess whether zoning laws allow for sufficient development of supportive housing and single room occupancy units. Housing elements do not identify unmet housing needs among people experiencing homelessness or require planning for solving homelessness through dedication of local resources. Because this Needs Assessment focuses solely on identifying unmet housing, services, and interim/shelter need among Californians experiencing homelessness, it does not include data derived from housing elements or regional housing needs assessments or allocations. No overlap exists between this report and housing elements.

Community Highlight of Raising Local Revenues

Los Angeles City and County residents voted to tax themselves three times over the last five years to create housing and fund services for people experiencing homelessness:

- Proposition HHH, a $1.2 billion bond to triple production of affordable and supportive apartments for people experiencing homelessness;
- Measure H, a county 1/4-cent sales tax to raise $3.5 billion over 10 years for services and rental subsidies for residents experiencing homelessness; and
- Proposition ULA, a progressive property transfer tax on properties sold for over $5 million, expected to raise up to $1.1 billion each year for affordable housing.
Endnotes


2  The United States Interagency Council on Homelessness (USICH) has identified as top strategy for reducing homelessness as setting community-specific goals. USICH. “10 Strategies to Reduce Homelessness with the American Rescue Plan.” Sep. 20, 2021. [10 Strategies to Reduce Homelessness With the American Rescue Plan | United States Interagency Council on Homelessness (USICH)]. Eighty-three communities and three states have ended homelessness among veterans, and four communities have ended homelessness among veterans and people with chronic patterns of homelessness. USICH. “Communities That Have Ended Homelessness.” Communities That Have Ended Homelessness | United States Interagency Council on Homelessness (USICH).


4  Research demonstrating housing as the solution to homelessness includes the following:


- Rosenheck R, Kasprow W, Frisman L, et al., Cost-effectiveness of supported housing for homeless persons with mental illness. *Arch Gen Psychiatry.* 2003;60(9):940–951.


Mondello M, McLaughlin T, Bradley J. *The effectiveness of permanent supportive housing in Maine: A review of costs associated with the second year of permanent supportive housing for formerly homeless adults with disability.* Maine Housing, Maine Department of Health and Human Services, Maine Community Foundation; 2009.


“Finland Has Slashed Homelessness; the Rest of Europe is Failing.” The Economist. Dec. 21, 2019. Finland has slashed homelessness; the rest of Europe is failing | The Economist.


The number of residents experiencing homelessness in Sacramento increased from 5,561 in 2019 to 9,278 in 2022, a 60% increase (Colletti, “Homeless Count Increase”), following rent increases of 19.5% in 2021 (_______. “Average Rent Increases Among Highest for US Cities.” Sacramento Bee. Jan. 27, 2022) and 14% in 2020 (Chris Nichols. “Sacramento Renters Have to Earn Twice the State's Minimum Wage to Afford Average Apartment, Report Finds.” Capitol Public Radio. May 24, 2022).


Formerly incarcerated people are 10 times more likely to become homeless than the general public. Lucius Couloute. “Nowhere to Go: Homelessness Among Formerly Incarcerated People.” Prison Policy Initiative. Aug. 2018.


See, for example, Ehren Dohler, Peggy Bailey, Douglas Rice, and Hannah Katch. “Supportive Housing Helps
Vulnerable People Live & Thrive in the Community,” Center for Budget & Policy Priorities (May 31, 2016).
