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Shelter and Safety Among People Experiencing Homelessness During the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Introduction

Of the many hardships facing people experiencing homelessness, finding a safe place to sleep is frequently the most significant. Unsheltered sleeping can be especially dangerous, exposing people to harsh weather, theft, assault, and police citations or arrests.1 Violent victimization is common for people experiencing homelessness, particularly for women and LGBTQ people.² Above and beyond the physical and mental harms of victimization, which can be longlasting, the stress and fear surrounding potential victimization also undermine well-being. Such "hypervigilance" shapes daily routines and social relationships and is a chronic stressor in the lives of people experiencing homelessness.³ This stress affects sleep quality and quantity; the resulting exhaustion further affects health and makes essential daily activities more challenging, further impeding people's efforts to escape homelessness.⁴

Most people experiencing homelessness in California are unsheltered. The most recently available data from the 2020 point-in-time (PIT) found that 161,548 people were experiencing homelessness in California, while the state had only 53,265 shelter beds.5 This count is also known to be an underestimate-246,142 people engaged with California's homelessness response system throughout 20206-so the scarcity of shelter beds is more severe than these numbers suggest. The state's relatively limited shelter capacity creates challenging circumstances for the many Californians experiencing homelessness, especially if shelters themselves feel unsafe.

The COVID-19 pandemic disrupted people experiencing ways that the homelessness navigate finding shelter. Most shelters provide shared living spaces, with many individuals sleeping in one room, which increases the potential risk for COVID-19 infection. Shelters have gone to great lengths to continue serving people's needs safely during the pandemic, but clusters of COVID-19 infections have nevertheless been common, often forcing shelters to close at least temporarily. Implementing physical distancing to prevent the spread of COVID-19 reduces shelters' overall capacities.7 As a result, many people who usually sleep in shelters can no longer access them or feel the threat of COVID-19 is too great and choose to avoid them.8

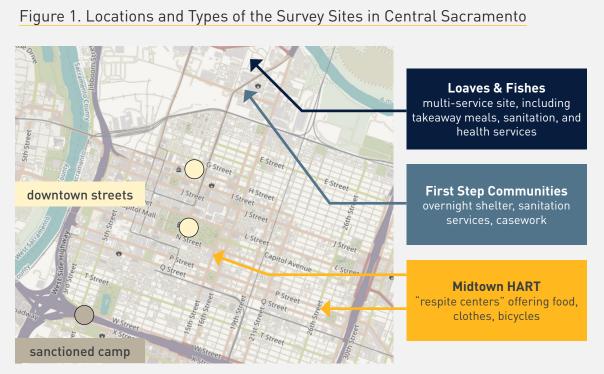
This brief documents the changing dynamics around shelter use and perceived safety for people experiencing homelessness during the COVID-19 pandemic. People with lived experience of homelessness and direct service providers know these patterns well, but quantitative data have been scarce for estimating rates of shelter use and perceived safety, as well as differences between social groups. To address this information gap, this brief presents results from a novel survey of people's experiences of homelessness in Sacramento. People felt much safer in shelters than in unsheltered situations, with unsheltered LGBTQ people and women feeling especially unsafe. About one in six people said they had avoided shelters due to concerns about COVID-19, which often pushed them into sleeping situations they viewed as unsafe. Finally, the brief puts these results into dialogue with service providers' recommendations for providing safe and stable shelter, including through new programs like California's Project Roomkev and Homekey.

Study Context and Data

To better understand these needs and experiences during the pandemic, I collaborated with local service providers in Sacramento to survey 287 adults experiencing homelessness in September-October, 2021. Teams of staff, volunteers, and I collected face-to-face surveys from four service venues as well as a sanctioned camp, streets, and parks in downtown Sacramento, mapped in Figure 1. The partner organizations included: one overnight shelter (80-person capacity) operated by First Step Communities; one large multi-service drop-in center operated by Loaves & Fishes (food, showers, and health services, among others); and two drop-in "respite centers" (food, clothing, and quiet places to rest) operated by Midtown HART.

The survey partly focused on service experiences and usage to inform these providers' services, but the survey also included questions to understand the hardships confronted by people experiencing homelessness during the pandemic. Among those questions, we asked participants where they usually slept in the last month, and how safe they felt in that usual sleeping situation. The survey also asked whether people had ever avoided shelters due to fear of COVID-19. The survey was anonymous, and respondents could skip any question. All respondents received a \$10 gift card to thank them for their participation. The survey typically lasted around 15 minutes, but some surveys went much longer. Many participants volunteered additional information about their experiences, generously providing more insight into the factors shaping their responses.

For context, Table 1 presents homelessness estimates from the 2020 PIT counts. In 2020, homelessness rates for Los Angeles and San Francisco counties—places where homelessness is more frequently studied than Sacramento—were vastly higher than



Map image source: www.openstreetmap.org.

	Sacramento	California	United States
Homelessness Rate (per 10,000)	34.8	40.9	17.5
Percent Unsheltered	71%	70%	39%
Ratio of Homelessness to Shelter Beds	3.1	3.0	1.5

Table 1. Homelessness in Sacramento County, California, and the United States in 2020

Sources: Point-in-time estimates of homelessness and number of shelter beds from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (https://www.hudexchange.info/resource/3031/pit-and-hic-data-since-2007/); population estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau.

most places in the nation and in the state: 69 and 93 people experiencing homelessness per 10,000 people, respectively. The rate in Sacramento County (35 per 10,000) was much more similar to the rate for California overall (41 per 10,000).⁹ However, the homelessness rate in Sacramento was still double the national rate.

Sacramento's shortage of shelter beds was also similar to California's overall. Over 70 percent of people experiencing homelessness in Sacramento in 2020 were unsheltered. For each one of the 1,783 emergency shelter beds in the county, more than three people were counted experiencing homelessness. Like California as a whole, these rates reflecting shelter scarcity were about double the national rates.

The survey sample also reflected this context, as summarized in Table 2. Seventy-two percent of the sample usually had an unsheltered sleeping situation in the past month. Of the sheltered respondents (28 percent of the sample), most stayed in emergency shelters or transitional housing (24 percent), and a handful (4 percent) stayed in other sheltered locations like hotels or with family or friends. Usual sleeping situations could be unstable, however. Three in ten participants said they had been forced to change their usual sleeping situation by the police or other authorities in the past year.

The demographics in Table 2 resemble those from the most recently available PIT survey of homelessness in Sacramento County in 2019.10 In both samples, most participants identified as men, particularly among people experiencing unsheltered homelessness. Relatively few participants were partnered or responsible for children. As in the rest of the state, systemic racism contributes to a severe overrepresentation of Black and Indigenous people relative to the local population. This sample may be somewhat more disadvantaged than the 2019 PIT survey, indicated by longer homelessness spells and higher rates of disabilities and other health conditions. However, these differences may also reflect real changes in the population experiencing homeless during the pandemic.

Table 2. Characteristics of the 2021 Survey Sample

	% of Sample	N
Usual sleeping situation (N=287)		
Tent/structure	34%	97
Street/park	32%	92
Shelter	24%	68
Vehicle	6%	18
Other sheltered situations	4%	12
Forced to change sleeping location	30%	84
Length of homelessness		
Less than 1 year	15%	43
1-3 years	27%	76
More than 3 years	58%	163
Mean Age (SD) (N=280)	50.3 (12.0)	
Gender (N=282)		
Men	63%	177
Women	36%	102
Trans or non-conforming	1%	3
LGBTQ	10%	28
Race/ethnicity		
White	42%	118
Black	27%	75
Multiracial/Other	13%	37
Latina/o	10%	29
Asian/Pacific Islander	4%	12
Native American	3%	8
Living with spouse/partner (N=275)	16%	44
Responsible for children (N=278)	12%	32

Note: As described in the text, the survey was administered in downtown Sacramento in September–October, 2021.

Findings

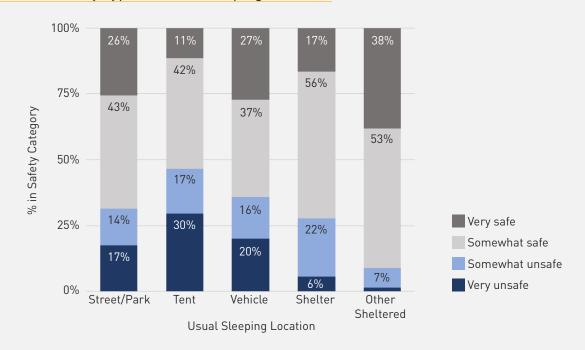
People felt safer sleeping in shelters than outside them.

Respondents felt much safer sleeping in shelters than in unsheltered locations, as shown in Figure 2. Over 90 percent of people who usually slept in temporary shelters felt somewhat or very safe compared to only 60 percent of those with unsheltered sleeping locations (such as streets, tents, or vehicles).

People sleeping in parks or on the streets selected "very unsafe" because they worried about others harassing or attacking them while they were sleeping. Similarly, some people sleeping in tents felt unsafe because they felt they had to constantly listen to what was happening around their tent. Other safety concerns for unsheltered people included theft (especially in encampments) and weather (e.g., extreme temperatures, rain/flooding).¹¹ People sleeping in overnight shelters also described incidents that made them feel unsafe, notably fights between other guests or theft. However, people describing those concerns still tended not to select "very unsafe" for the survey and chose "somewhat unsafe" or "somewhat safe" instead.

There were other differences between sheltered and unsheltered people that shaped perceptions of safety and complicated the comparisons above. Compared to people in shelters, unsheltered people were more likely to be men and have experienced homelessness for longer periods of time. Both gender and length of homelessness were also related to perceived safety, which could account for some of the differences in perceived safety between types of sleeping locations shown in Figure 2.

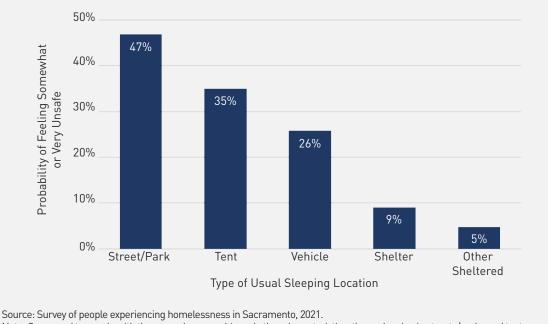
Figure 2. Perceived Safety Among People Experiencing Homelessness in Sacramento by Type of Usual Sleeping Location



Source: Survey of people experiencing homelessness in Sacramento, 2021.

Note: The total sample includes 12 people in "other" sleeping locations, including hotels, staying with friends/family, and jail.

Figure 3. Probability of Feeling "Somewhat" or "Very Unsafe" Among People Experiencing Homelessness in Sacramento by Type of Usual Sleeping Location, Statistically Adjusting for other Relevant Factors



Note: Compared to people with the same demographic and other characteristics, those sleeping in streets/parks and tents were statistically significantly more likely to feel unsafe than those in shelters.

To make the comparisons more direct, Figure 3 shows the probability of feeling "somewhat" or "very unsafe" predicted by a statistical model that includes the type of sleeping location and adjusts for other potentially relevant factors.¹² When comparing people with similar demographics and other characteristics, those who usually slept on the streets or in tents were much more likely to feel unsafe than those in shelters. These differences are statistically significant, meaning that they are very unlikely to be due to the random chance of who was sampled for the survey.

LGBTQ people and women felt especially unsafe when unsheltered.

Unsheltered people felt less safe than sheltered people across all demographic groups, but the difference was larger for some groups relative to others. Figure 4 shows that in the total sample, 10 percent of sheltered people felt either "somewhat" or "very unsafe" compared to 40 percent of unsheltered people. The difference was greatest for LGBTQ people—74 percent of unsheltered LGBTQ people felt unsafe compared to 11 percent of sheltered people. In this sample, 68 percent of LGBTQ people were unsheltered. Caution is warranted with these estimates because this survey included only 28 people identifying as LGBTQ. But the results are consistent with other research documenting the many dangers that LGBTQ people experiencing homelessness must navigate.¹³

Gender differences in perceived safety were also pronounced in these data. It was more common for women to feel unsafe than men, and the gender difference was greater among unsheltered people (48 percent vs. 35 percent) than among sheltered people (13 percent vs. 7 percent). These results are consistent with the research around gender and home-

lessness: gender shapes the safety risks for people experiencing homelessness in fundamental ways. Past research has documented that safety threats are high for people of all genders experiencing homelessness, but gender-based and sexual violence amplify the dangers for women. Experiences of theft and physical assault are similar by gender in many studies, but rape and sexual assault are overwhelmingly experienced by women.¹⁴ Women also experience frequent harassment often not captured by such measures of victimization. In addition to safety threats while experiencing homelessness, women and LGBTQ people experiencing homelessness have frequently encountered harrowing violence and sexual assault earlier in life.15 These prior experiences can shape how safe women feel while experiencing homelessness, and the strategies they use for navigating safety risks.

Fear of COVID-19 in congregate shelters left many people with no safe place to sleep.

About one in six (16 percent) people surveyed said they avoided staying in a shelter because they were concerned about COVID-19. Shelter avoidance due to COVID-19 was more common for younger than older people; LGBTQ people than straight, cisgender people; and people of color than white people.

People's choices about shelter use and COVID-19 were more fraught than captured by these simple percentages, however. Several people answered "no" when asked if they had avoided shelters due to COVID-19, but then explained that COVID-19 was only one of many reasons they did not stay at shelters. First, shelters are often challenging to access. As shown in Table 1, shelters in Sacramento

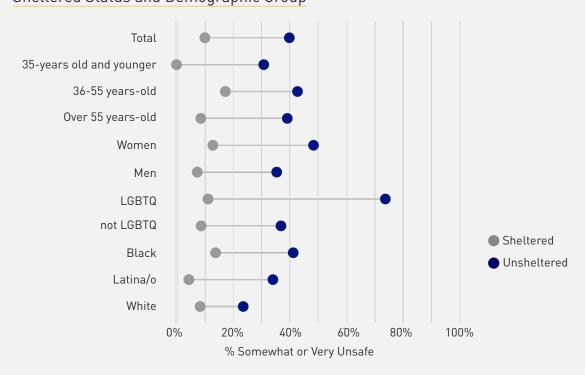
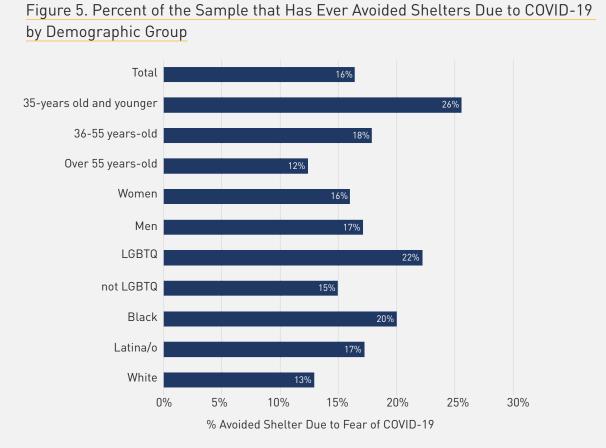


Figure 4. Percent of the Sample Feeling "Somewhat" or "Very Unsafe" by Sheltered Status and Demographic Group

Source: Survey of people experiencing homelessness in Sacramento, 2021.

had capacity for only a fraction of people experiencing homelessness prior to the pandemic. Many shelters also require an intake assessment, which can sometimes be done directly at the shelter but sometimes must be done elsewhere in advance. Service providers at Midtown HART described difficulties people have with this process.¹⁶ Phone lines for intake assessments can have long waits and be hard to navigate. For those who cannot complete the phone intake or do not have a phone, the nearest shelter conducting intake assessments requires a somewhat lengthy walk that many people describe as unsafe.

Second, factors like cleanliness, lack of autonomy, and other safety worries were sufficient reasons for many participants to avoid shelters even before the pandemic.¹⁷ Barriers to shelter use are often summarized as "the four Ps": partners, pets, possessions, and privacy. Gender segregated shelters cannot accommodate different-gender couples, in addition to posing challenges to trans or non-binary people. People may worry about possessions being stolen while staying in shelters, or may simply not be able to bring all their possessions in the first place. Pets provide meaningful comfort and connection for as many as one-quarter of people experiencing homelessness, but many shelters do not or cannot allow animals.¹⁸ Finally, many people feel the lack of privacy and rules that shelters often have are simply too limiting to daily life. Restrictions on when people can come and go, needing to pack up and leave for the day before returning each night, and feeling a lack of freedom can push people to prefer autonomy outside over shelter.¹⁹



Source: Survey of people experiencing homelessness in Sacramento, 2021.

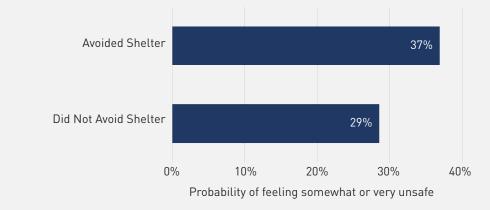
Other people answered that they did not avoid shelters due to COVID-19, but they were still concerned about it. However, they were even more concerned about their safety outside of a shelter than about contracting COVID-19 within one. When asked this same question about shelter avoidance in a version of this survey in October 2020-prior to the availability COVID-19 vaccines—one woman of explained that she was currently staying in a women's shelter despite her fear of COVID-19 because, "I can't be out there in all that." When asked to elaborate, she referred to the general combination of harsh weather and the unsafe conditions that she had seen in nearby camps.

People who avoided shelters due to fear of COVID-19 felt safe less often than people who had not.

As shown above, COVID-19 undermined safety for many people experiencing homelessness by pushing them out of shelters and into unsheltered situations generally considered less safe. Shelter avoidance due to fear of COVID-19 was also associated with lower perceptions of safety above and beyond whether people were currently unsheltered at the time of the survey.²⁰ Figure 6 shows the probability that people felt "somewhat" or "very unsafe" in their usual sleeping situation by whether they had ever avoided shelters due to fear of COVID-19. These probabilities are from the same statistical model that generated Figure 3, which adjusts for a range of differences between people that may be relevant to feelings of safety. When comparing people with the same type of sleeping situation and other characteristics, those who had avoided shelters due to fear of COVID-19 were statistically significantly more likely to feel unsafe than those who hadn't (37 percent vs. 29 percent).

Survey participants described varied reasons contributing to the pattern in Figure 6. Fear of COVID-19 in general caused people to both avoid shelters and to feel that their usual sleeping situation was unsafe (whether sheltered or not). For example, at least one survey participant described feeling unsafe sleeping on the street because she worried that people could cough or sneeze near her while walking by, thus exposing her to COVID-19. Some people who feared COVID-19 enough to avoid shelters may have felt less safe in the first place. Conversely, fear of COVID-19 in shelters also pushed

Figure 6. Probability of Feeling "Somewhat" or "Very Unsafe" by Shelter Avoidance Due to Fear of COVID-19, Statistically Adjusting for Other Relevant Factors



Source: Survey of people experiencing homelessness in Sacramento, 2021.

out the people who feel especially unsafe on the streets. In all these situations, the COVID-19 pandemic piled onto the already complicated and challenging ways people experiencing homelessness navigated shelter use and sleeping locations.

Policy Implications & Conclusion

People experiencing unsheltered homelessness confront many dangers, and traditional shelters offer a complex set of potential benefits and trade offs. Using new survey data collected in Sacramento in late 2021, this brief highlighted how much higher perceptions of safety were for people in shelters compared to people outside them, as well as the many ways that the COVID-19 pandemic made choices about shelter use more fraught. About one in six survey participants said they had ever avoided shelters because they were concerned about COVID-19, pushing them into unsheltered situations that were generally considered less safe in other ways. Shelter avoidance due to COVID-19 was also associated with lower feelings of safety, above and beyond people's types of current sleeping locations. Finally, even people who did not say they had avoided shelters described feeling trapped between a rock and hard place. They were certainly concerned about COVID-19 inside the shelter, among other things, but they were even more concerned about the many challenges they would confront outside the shelter.

Non-congregate shelter opportunities overcome many drawbacks of traditional shelters for people experiencing homelessness.

Typical temporary shelters provide shared or "congregate" spaces, partly due to lack of funding for individual rooms. But the pandemic prompted a rise in non-congregate shelter options, in which individuals and families received their own rooms rather than sharing space with others. California's Project Roomkey and other programs across the country used vacant hotel and motel rooms as non-congregate shelter for people experiencing homelessness and at high health risk from COVID-19.²¹ Funded largely by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) with the remainder covered by the state and localities, Governor Gavin Newsom announced Roomkey at а converted motel in Sacramento in April 2020.²² Roomkey provided individual shelter rooms in two ways: short-term isolation for people experiencing homelessness who tested positive for or were exposed to COVID-19, and longer-term shelter-in-place rooms for people experiencing homelessness at severe risk due to being older, having an underlying health condition, or other risk factors. Many Roomkey locations also provided on-site health and case management services.

Roomkey significantly and rapidly expanded California's shelter capacity. Roomkey's initial goal was to secure 15,000 hotel/motel rooms and other individual units (e.g., FEMA trailers). Between April 2020 and July 2021, Roomkey served 33,141 people. An even larger number of people may have been prevented from contracting COVID-19 due to Roomkey in addition to protecting at-risk people

homelessness, experiencing Roomkey also protected the broader community by isolating and quarantining COVID-positive or exposed people. Local evaluations of Roomkey have shown the program delivered healthcare and other social services more effectively than traditional shelter settings while also preserving hospital capacity.²³ Roomkey continues to shelter people in many parts of the state. The state reported 5,330 occupied rooms as of April 22, 2022, including three Roomkey sites in Sacramento with a total of 268 occupied rooms.²⁴

Research suggests that non-congregate shelter opportunities like Roomkey offered many benefits in addition to greater protection from COVID-19. Compared to unsheltered homelessness and previous congregate shelter stays, hotel program residents have reported feeling safer, healthier, and better able to plan for transitioning out of homelessness. People who moved from traditional congregate shelters to hotels in Seattle, Washington, described the hotels as better in every way.²⁵ They described feeling "at peace"-i.e., reduced stress and interpersonal conflict, better sleep and general comfort-which allowed them to engage more intently with staff and available services. Residents of a hotel shelter program in New York described finally having the time and capacity to apply for public benefits for which they were eligible, like social security or the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP).²⁶ In both cases, many residents reported that they felt able to envision pathways out of homelessness for the first time in a long time, including exploring permanent housing opportunities as well as considering options for work and further education.

Stability is crucial for a path to permanent housing.

Non-congregate shelter can help protect people experiencing homelessness from COVID-19, provide better living conditions for people coming from both traditional shelters and unsheltered homelessness, and allow people to start charting a course out of homelessness. However, most pandemic-related hotel/motel sheltering programs have been temporary. Supporting and expanding non-congregate shelter opportunities in the long-term would enhance their benefits for residents and serve more people.

Although some residents have stayed in Roomkey sites much longer than typical congregate shelter stays-over half of the shelter-in-place Roomkey residents in Sacramento stayed at least three months²⁷—the program's temporary nature and repeated extensions from the initial timeline have created uncertainty and instability for many participants. With FEMA's funding originally scheduled to end on March 31, Sacramento's three Roomkey sites were scheduled for staggered closures from March through May, 2022.²⁸ FEMA's funding has since been extended through June, and two of Sacramento's Roomkey sites have been extended through June and August of 2022. Joe Smith, Advocacy Director for Loaves & Fishes, highlighted the toll of this uncertainty for many of Sacramento's Roomkey residents: "One of my key take-aways is the ongoing trauma from the instability of housing opportunities. In Roomkey, people are wondering where they're going to go and what they're going to do."29

California's current Homekey initiative builds on Roomkey to acquire and convert hotels/motels and other structures into interim and permanent supportive housing (PSH). PSH, which pairs affordable housing units with health and social services, effectively helps people exit chronic homelessness and remain housed.³⁰ Launched in July 2020, the first round of Homekey funding supported 94 projects, creating around 6,000 units and housing over 8,000 people.³¹ Four of these projects are in Sacramento and one is in West Sacramento. As of April 2022, 55 projects across the state have been awarded funding through the second round of Homekey, aiming to create over 3,000 homes.³² Three of these new awards are for projects in Sacramento. Smith believes Homekey could be a central part of the effort to end homelessness. He said "I would like to see Homekey greatly expanded. Not just a room, but services... including job training and placement programs in those arrangements. Caring for people's whole selves, not just a roof."

Many Homekey sites have prioritized Roomkey residents for permanent housing opportunities. One official we interviewed described that "there have been a lot of people coming from Roomkey to Homekey" in Los Angeles.33 The interviewee explained that as Roomkey ended in Los Angeles, "one of the exit pathways from the Roomkey sites was to Homekey sites. And the county and LAHSA [Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority] had a commitment not to return people to the streets from the Roomkey sites." PSH operators we spoke to observed that Roomkey residents seemed to transition into permanent housing more smoothly than people entering directly from unsheltered situations.

Beyond Roomkey transitions, Homekey implemented different sites have approaches for providing a pathwav to permanent housing. Most projects provide or plan to provide PSH only, but others have created alternative models. For example, the Homekey site in Paso Robles converted a Motel 6 into 60 PSH units and 60 temporary shelter units. The site is collaboratively operated by the Housing Authority of San Luis Obispo (HASLO), Homeless Organization Camino El (ECHO), and People's Self-Help Housing Corporation. HASLO's executive director, Scott Smith, described how the model was designed to create pathways from temporary shelter to permanent housing: "We all agree that it makes sense that this is an integrated arrangement. If somebody is leaving the shelter, they should be eligible to live in permanent housing."34 ECHO's director, Wendy Lewis, explained, "it was just this perfect channel of people getting stabilized, getting in a good place with us, and then now they're permanently housed on the HASLO side."35 Lewis further described the value of interactions between the temporary and permanent housing residents. The temporary shelter residents "really have those mentors that help them with those next steps" on the path to permanent housing.

Conclusion

The findings from this survey reinforce the importance of shelter-and permanent housing-options for people experiencing homelessness to sleep safely, particularly for women, LGBTQ people, and other groups for whom the streets can be especially dangerous. Prior to the pandemic, at least three people were experiencing homelessness for each shelter bed in California. In addition to expanding traditional temporary shelter capacity, creating more non-congregate shelter opportunities could reach more people than typical congregate shelters and create stronger pathways to housing stability. There must also be permanent housing available at the ends of these pathways, including PSH options. Federal funding, as well as state programs such as Homekey, should continue to invest in non-congregate shelter options and PSH as part of the continuum of shelter and housing options for people experiencing homelessness.

The pandemic has shown the ability of governments to step up quickly to bring more housing units online through a combination of direct funding and regulatory flexibility. Continuing to invest in acquisition and rehabilitation projects (e.g. hotel/motel conversions) and modular construction can expand shelter opportunities much more rapidly. Perhaps a quarter of a million people or more are sleeping on the streets across the state, and investing in non-congregate shelter and PSH creates more spaces for them to come inside and supports their efforts to thrive.

ENDNOTES

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12. A binary logistic regression predicted responses for "somewhat" or "very unsafe" relative to "somewhat" or "very safe." The model included participants' age, gender, race/ethnicity, family status, length of homelessness, avoidance of shelters due to COVID-19, having been forced to change the usual sleeping location by police or other authorities in the past year, physical disability, serious mental health challenges, struggles with substance use, and experiences of abuse in childhood. The model also adjusted its standard errors for the grouping of survey responses within the survey sites.

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The Terner Center formulates bold strategies to house families from all walks of life in vibrant, sustainable, and affordable homes and communities. Our focus is on generating constructive, practical strategies for public policy makers and innovative tools for private sector partners to achieve better results for families and communities.

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