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Unveiling Latino Housing Insecurity in California

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A COMPREHENSIVE PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL SATISFACTION OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE MASTER OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING.

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UCLA acknowledges the Gabrielino Tongva peoples as the traditional land caretakers of Tovaangar (the Los Angeles basin and So. Channel Islands). As a land grant institution, we pay our respects to the Honuukvetam (Ancestors), 'Ahihirom (Elders), and 'Eyoohiinkem (oudr relatives nations) past, present, and emerging.

DISCLAIMER

This report was prepared in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master in Urban and Regional Planning degree in the Department of Urban Planning at the University of California, Los Angeles. It was prepared at the direction of UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Institute (LPPI), as a planning client. The views expressed herein are those of the authors and not necessarily those of LPPI, the UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs, or the UCLA Regional and Urban Planning Department.

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Unveiling Latino Housing Insecurity in California

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

California faces a pressing housing crisis characterized by soaring rents,¹ limited affordable housing options,² and increasing rates of homelessness.³ Amidst this crisis, Latinos in the state bear a disproportionate burden of housing insecurity – defined as a spectrum of housing precarity, including experiencing homelessness (unsheltered on the streets, in a temporary shelter or an automobile) and living in temporary lodging (e.g. hotel/motel), severely overcrowded, doubled up quarters or any form of substandard/inadequate housing. By delving into the nuances of housing insecurity among Latinos, my analysis aims to shed light on disparities, highlight preliminary areas for intervention, and inform a future research agenda on housing insecurity.

In employing a mixed-methods approach, my report combines quantitative metrics and qualitative insights to provide a nuanced understanding of housing insecurity. The quantitative component involves the development of a novel housing insecurity metric, drawing upon data from the California Department of Education (CDE) and the American Community Survey (ACS). By leveraging these datasets, my analysis aims to delineate the racial and ethnic composition of housing insecurity across each county in the state. I leverage qualitative data obtained through a literature review and semi-structured interviews to offer perspectives on the driving factors, current housing conditions, and potential policy interventions for addressing the ongoing challenges of housing insecurity.

Key Insights:

- 1. About 4 in 100 California residents are likely experiencing housing insecurity, equating to an estimated 1.3M housing insecure individuals in 2022.**
 - This estimate is over 1.5 times larger than the number of estimated individuals in doubled up housing situations in 2021 (820,961) and nearly 8 times greater than the number of people identified as homeless in 2022 (171,521).
- 2. Latinos are overrepresented among California's housing insecure population, making up about 39.5% of the state's population but 68% of its housing insecure population.**
 - No other racial/ethnic group analyzed exhibits similar rates of overrepresentation in housing insecurity. The second largest racial/ethnic group is white residents, who make up 35.8% of the population but only 14.1% of the housing insecure. Additionally, Black individuals, who make up 5.4% of the state's population, represented an estimated 7.4% of those identified as housing insecure.

3. Southern California is home to most of the state’s housing insecure individuals. Over 55% of all housing insecure individuals (760,006 out of 1,363,958) live in Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, San Diego, and San Bernardino counties.

- Los Angeles stands apart as the county with the largest population of housing insecure (258,873), followed by Orange (146,963), San Bernardino (143,876), San Diego (117,771), and Riverside (92,523). Latinos made up 71.8% of the housing insecure population across these counties.
- The geographic distribution of housing insecurity parallels concentrations in doubled up and homelessness across the state. Los Angeles, in particular, stands out again as home to the largest doubled up (268,230) and homeless (71,320) population.

4. Latinos have the highest prevalence of housing insecurity along the Central Coast. For instance, 20.8% of Latinos in Santa Barbara were identified as housing insecure, followed by 20.6% in Monterey, and 18.3% in San Luis Obispo in 2022.

- In other words, about 2 in 10 Latinos in these counties are housing insecure. In comparison, at the state level, an estimated 5.9% of Latinos are experiencing housing insecurity, or in other words, about 6 in every 100 Latinos in the state.

5. Economic hardship, often related to underemployment or job loss, is a primary driver of housing insecurity among Latinos.

- Immigration status exacerbates housing challenges, making it difficult for undocumented individuals to secure stable housing due to barriers such as lack of documentation and fear of seeking help.
- Many of the interviewees believed migrant workers had few options for housing, due to existing housing constraints and a lack of substantive employer-provided housing. As a result, they believed that Latino migrant farm workers and their families have become an increasingly larger share of their housing insecure population.

6. Latino housing insecurity is characterized by doubled up and substandard housing situations, across rural and urban counties.

- The phenomenon of doubling up often results in unsanitary and cramped living conditions, which can exacerbate health and safety issues for these families. Stakeholders in county-level homeless services observed these challenges firsthand.

NEXT STEPS

Preliminary Policy Solutions:

- **Increase Affordable Housing:** Expansion of affordable housing developments and housing subsidies to meet growing demand and mitigate rising rental costs.
- **Enhance Transportation Services:** Improve public transportation systems to connect individuals with job opportunities and essential services.
- **Expand Immigration Support:** Develop targeted support programs for undocumented individuals to overcome barriers to housing stability.

Need for Further Research:

- **More comparative and longitudinal data analysis** is needed to better situate Latino housing insecurity in comparison to other racial/ethnic groups and within a historical analysis of how the severity of housing insecurity has evolved over time.
- **More qualitative case studies** to better understand the lived experiences of those experiencing housing insecurity in California and what concrete strategies could better support their needs.

INTRODUCTION

Over the years, California has consistently grappled with some of the highest rents and home values in the nation.⁴ This stark reality imposes a significant burden on households, forcing Californians to allocate a disproportionate share of their income to housing expenses compared to the national average.⁵ In parallel, the state's escalating housing unaffordability has mirrored, and arguably exacerbated, its persistent homelessness crisis. Evident by the fact that today, California has six of the ten largest homeless population counts in the nation.⁶

While the issue of homelessness is complex – intertwined with various socio-economic and health factors⁷ – housing instability plays a significant role in increasing an individual's risk of homelessness.⁸ To mitigate against this risk, many households have turned to precarious housing strategies – from seeking shelter in low-budget motels/hotels to reaching out to loved ones for emergency housing. The most common practice is doubling up; sharing housing due to economic hardship or housing loss. Living doubled up is a necessary lifeline for vulnerable individuals in need of accommodation after a personal or professional crisis.⁹ However, it can result in overcrowded, substandard, and volatile living situations, given that doubled up individuals – who are often not leaseholders – lack formal protections against sudden eviction.¹⁰ In fact, a 2022 representative sample of adults experiencing homelessness in California found that in the six months before homelessness, 49% of participants were in non-leaseholder housing arrangements and typically received only a day's notice before facing housing loss.¹¹

Given the existing connection between homelessness and doubling up, addressing the proliferation of homelessness in the future necessitates a dedicated strategy for supporting the housing insecurity seen today. Quantifying housing insecurity can have significant implications on the government's perception of the severity of the issue and the resources needed to

address it. Scholars have argued that contextualizing homelessness within a larger paradigm of doubled up, brings to light the inequitable impact of housing insecurity.¹² This is particularly true for Latinos, who are consistently underrepresented among those experiencing homelessness in the United States,¹³ but have a much higher risk of doubling up compared to other racial/ethnic groups.¹⁴

Defining the Spectrum Housing Insecurity

For this report, housing insecurity refers to the spectrum of extreme housing precarity an individual faces. This includes experiencing literal homelessness (unsheltered on the streets, in a temporary shelter, or an automobile) and living in temporary lodging (e.g. hotel/motel), severely overcrowded housing, doubled-up quarters, or severe forms of substandard/inadequate housing. Figure 1 presents a diagram of this definition, delineating the key categories within housing insecurity.

Figure 1. Diagram of Housing Insecurity Terminology



Source: Created by Report Author

Federal strategies to address housing insecurity primarily focus on combating literal homelessness. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) uses four criteria for determining homelessness: 1) Literally homeless, 2) Imminent Risk of Homelessness, 3) Homelessness under other Federal Statutes, and 4) Fleeing/Attempting to Flee Domestic Violence.¹⁵ However, HUD estimates the number of homeless individuals through the annual Point-in-Time (PIT) count, which counts those living in shelters, transitional housing, or places not meant for habitation (e.g., streets, parks, cars).¹⁶ In 2023, the PIT count identified 653,104 individuals experiencing homelessness in the U.S., with 181,399 in California.¹⁷ According to PIT data, 36.9% of homeless individuals in California are Latino, slightly below their population share of 39.5%.¹⁸ PIT counts directly influence the allocation of federal funding for programs and shape the government's understanding of the issue's severity and scale. Consequently, HUD's strategy primarily addresses the "literally homeless" and does not allocate dedicated funding to other forms of housing insecurity.

Data on doubled up individuals has been historically limited and geographically constrained. Early studies to identify this population, primarily utilized telephone surveys – from a national 1990 telephone survey that found that 11% of the general population had experienced doubling up¹⁹ to a study on Spokane, Washington that same year, which reported that 17.4% of its households were currently housing doubled up and over 54% had been doubled up at some point in time.²⁰ Despite their limitations, these studies laid the groundwork for linking doubled up situations as a common precursor to homelessness, highlighting long-term impacts on psychological development and social relationships.²¹ Furthermore, their findings highlighted key attributes of households that sheltered doubled up individuals as those who were low-income, had reported past experiences in homelessness, and spent a significant portion of their income on housing costs.²²

The most comprehensive data on doubling up to date provides a national landscape of the issue. A 2022 study using American Community Survey microdata estimated that 3.7 million people in the U.S. were doubled up in 2019, with higher prevalence on the West Coast.²³ Doubling up was more common in metropolitan

areas and varied by race, ethnicity, education, and employment.²⁴ However, this data has limitations: it cannot provide counts for small and rural regions due to ACS sample size issues,²⁵ and it does not capture the full spectrum of housing insecurity, such as temporary (hotel/motel) or substandard housing, which are not surveyed by the Census Bureau.²⁶

Effectively leveraging and analyzing data on substandard and overcrowded housing has been challenging due to its varying levels of severity. The U.S. Census Bureau defines overcrowding as having more than one person per bedroom, and severe overcrowding as having more than 1.5 persons per bedroom.²⁷ Based on these definitions, over 1.12 million households in California (8.2%) are considered overcrowded, and over 438,000 households (3.2%) are deemed severely overcrowded.²⁸ The government monitors these housing conditions as indicators of health and safety risks. However, categorizing all forms of overcrowding uniformly can lead to misattributing vulnerability to all households. For instance, many cultures live in multigenerational households that might be labeled as "overcrowded" but benefit from pooling social and economic resources.²⁹ Similarly, the Census Bureau defines inadequate housing as having one or more serious physical problems related to heating, plumbing, electrical systems, or maintenance. By 2011, about 2.43 million households fell into this category.³⁰

No federal or state agency has a comprehensive count of housing insecurity in California, which includes homelessness, doubling up, temporary lodging, and substandard housing. The closest approximation comes from the California Department of Education (CDE), which tracks homelessness among students using the U.S. Department of Education's McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act definition. This includes those without a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence, such as those doubled up, in motels/hotels, trailer parks, shelters, vehicles, or inadequate housing.³¹ This aligns with this report's definition of housing insecurity. As of 2023, the CDE identified 246,480 students as homeless, 72.6% of whom were Latino.³² This dataset is not only larger than the state's PIT count (181,399) but also reveals the housing precarity of Latinos, which is overlooked when using HUD's definition of homelessness. However, given that the CDE

data is focused on students, it does not capture the full severity of housing insecurity that exists in the general population.

Exploring Latino Housing Insecurity

One of the first scholars to publish on Latino U.S. homelessness was Baker in 1994, who identified the “Latino paradox” – the discrepancy in high rates of Latino poverty but low rates of homelessness.³³ Baker was the first to suggest that Latinos are more likely underrepresented in societal definitions of how we count and measure homelessness because they are more likely to double up or sleep out of sight due to concerns about language inclusion in shelters, stigma related to using services, or fear of immigration enforcement.³⁴

Studies have since affirmed Baker’s findings³⁵ and contextualized the prevalence of doubling up and overcrowding among Latinos.³⁶ An early 1990s American Housing Survey and Census data showed that poor Latino households had more people per room and were more likely to have subfamilies living together due to economic instability.³⁷ 2019 estimates based on the Census American Community Survey indicate today that Latinos likely make up a disproportionate share of those in doubled up situations.³⁸ Paired with the recent surge in Latino homelessness in the last year,³⁹ there is an urgency to better understand the severity of precarious housing and the resources needed to mitigate a progression toward homelessness.

Research goals

This project aims to better quantify housing insecurity in California and how it impacts the Latino community by addressing the following inquiries:

- How can we better assess and identify Latino housing insecurity?
- Where does Latino housing insecurity predominantly exist in California?
- What are the demographics and housing needs of housing insecure Latinos?
- How does housing insecurity differ across various counties in the state?

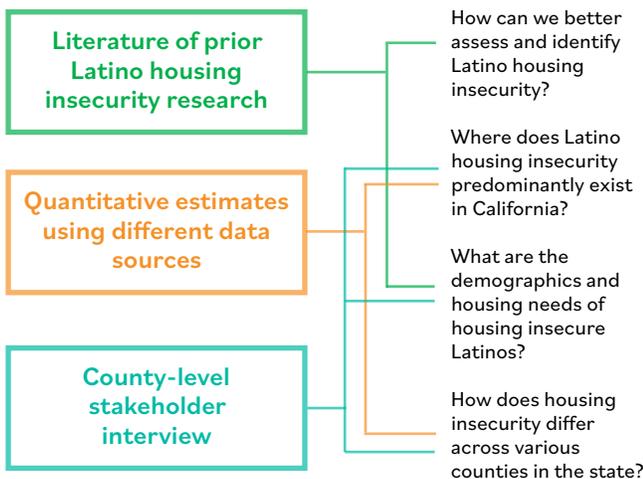


Photo Credits: Ridofranz, IStock Images

METHODOLOGY

For this report, I leverage qualitative and quantitative methods to understand and explore the spectrum of Latino housing insecurity in California. The qualitative analysis consists of an extensive and systematic literature review of existing scholarship on Latino Housing insecurity in the United States and semi-structured interviews with county-level homeless service stakeholders across California. The quantitative component is the development of a novel housing insecurity metric, which relies on the Census Bureau's 5-year American Community Survey (ACS) and California Department of Education's (CDE) Student Counts to provide race/ethnic estimates on the total counts and rates of housing insecurity in the state. Figure 2 outlines how I used these three methods to answer the four guiding questions of this research project. Methods were used to answer multiple questions and provided critical scaffolding for each component of this report.

Figure 2. Diagram of Methodology and Its Connections to Research Questions



Source: Created by Report Author

Quantitative Analysis

The housing insecurity metric used in this report is a new method for estimating the race/ethnic makeup of all Californians facing housing insecurity. The metric provides an estimated race/ethnic count and share of those facing housing insecurity among the state's residents.

The housing insecurity metric is calculated using estimates from two publicly available datasets: CDE estimates on the number of students experiencing homelessness and doubled up counts derived from the 2017-2021 five-year ACS. I used the CDE's homeless student data as a foundation for my housing insecurity metric, and doubled up estimates to scale student homelessness counts up to my total housing insecurity estimates (which incorporate youth and adults).

Student Homeless Counts

I used the CDE homeless student data as base counts of my housing insecurity metric. As previously mentioned, the CDE uses the U.S. Department of Education's McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act definition of homeless, which defines and tracks homelessness broadly as lacking a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence, including those doubled up, individuals living in motels/hotels, trailer parks, shelters, vehicles, unsheltered, or inadequate housing.⁴⁰ While dubbed "homeless" by the CDE and federal DoE, this definition aligns with this report's definition of housing insecurity.

For this analysis, CDE student homeless data was aggregated at a county level for all 58 of California's counties during the 2022 -23 academic year. Student homeless data is collected predominantly in the Fall of 2022 and so for the purposes of this report, it will be referred to as 2022 data.⁴¹ CDE's

2022 data was accessed through the Dataquest Portal,⁴² which provides race/ethnic counts for all students within the K-12 California public school system experiencing homelessness in the last four academic years (2019 through 2023).⁴³ Students experiencing homelessness are identified by one of the following race/ethnic categories: African American, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Filipino, Hispanic or Latino, Pacific Island, white, two or more races, or not reported.⁴⁴ For this analysis, I consolidated Asian, Filipino, and Pacific Islander counts into a AANHPI (Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islanders) category. Additionally, throughout the report, I used the acronym AIAN to refer to American Indian or Alaskan Native. Additionally, for this report I collected CDE student homeless counts by dwelling type, or in other words, the type of housing insecurity the student is experiencing (e.g., Temporarily Doubled up, Temporarily Sheltered, Living in a Hotel/Motel, or Temporarily unsheltered).⁴⁵ The summary tabulations on the student homeless counts for 2022 can be found in the Appendix Table A.

Doubled up Counts

To provide insights into doubled up individuals across California counties, I replicate Richard et al. 2022's national analysis to ascertain state doubled-up estimates.⁴⁶ As defined by Richard et al. 2022, doubled up individuals are those who reside within households categorized as poor or near poor (at or below 125% of the poverty threshold, adjusted for geographic location) and whom the household head doesn't typically support (based on age and relationship). This includes relatives and non-relatives who aren't partners and don't contribute formally to household expenses (excluding roomers/roommates).⁴⁷ Using this method, I calculated doubled up for 36 out of the 58 counties. I could not calculate them for the remaining 22 counties due to sample size issues. This excluded predominantly rural counties with populations below 100,000 residents (see Appendix Table B for a list of how counties were treated for this analysis). Whenever possible, I disaggregated doubled up estimates by

Background on McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act (42 US Code § 11431-11435)

This federal legislation, enacted in 1987, enshrines the educational rights and protections of children and youth experiencing homelessness. All states are required to coordinate with local educational agencies (LEAs) to identify students in need and provide them with the services they need to succeed in school.⁴⁸ LEAs are required to take proactive steps to identify and report on the race/ethnicity and dwelling type of each housing-insecure student.

In California, LEAs primarily collect this data by conducting a CDE mandatory Housing Questionnaire in the fall of each school year, which asks families to self-report their housing status.⁴⁹ LEA designated staff at each school site (school site liaisons) use this survey as a starting point and follow up with each family identified as housing insecure to confirm their status and connect them to available services.

Despite standardized outreach tactics, education scholars and LEAs have reason to believe that CDE counts underestimate the severity of student

housing insecurity. The integrity of the CDE housing questionnaire is likely impacted by a response bias.⁵⁰ Parents experiencing any level of housing insecurity may be wary of declaring their status due to stigmas attached to homelessness, fears of child welfare involvement, and/or a general lack of awareness of McKinney-Vento's expanded definition of homelessness and available services.⁵¹ Additionally, the questionnaire is distributed and conducted online, which may be challenging for some families with technological barriers. This is often compounded by language barriers, given that the questionnaire is available in Spanish in California. However, LEAs cannot often translate it into less prevalent languages, including indigenous languages. Lastly, many LEAs recognize that conducting the questionnaire at the beginning of the school year fails to capture the episodic nature of housing insecurity – missing the students and families that might be in and out of various states of housing insecurity throughout the academic year.

race⁵²/ethnicity,⁵³ utilizing definitions established by the Census Bureau.

In addition to county-level estimates, I calculated state-wide ACS-derived doubled up counts for the entirety of California. These statewide counts were necessary to develop a complete picture of the count and rate of housing insecurity for all racial/ethnic groups in the state. I disaggregated them by race/ethnicity and age to identify the proportion of doubled up individuals within each racial/ethnic group that are student-aged (between 5-18 years) in California.

These statewide doubled up proportions are crucial in the final housing insecurity calculation of scaling student counts up to total population estimates. I converted ACS-derived doubled up proportions into multipliers for each race/ethnic group for the housing insecurity metric (Figure 3). These multipliers were derived from the proportions of doubled up individuals within each racial/ethnic group that are student-aged (between 5-18 years) in California. Their values showcase the racial distinction in how children face doubled up housing insecurity. The greater the multiplier, the smaller the share of children experiencing doubled up housing insecurity in that racial group. Therefore, the AAHNPI population in California has the lowest rates of youth doubled up housing insecurity. In contrast, individuals of two or more races tend to have the highest rates of youth doubled up. Latinos fall in the middle, with a multiplier of 5.2 as of 2021.

Calculating Housing Insecurity

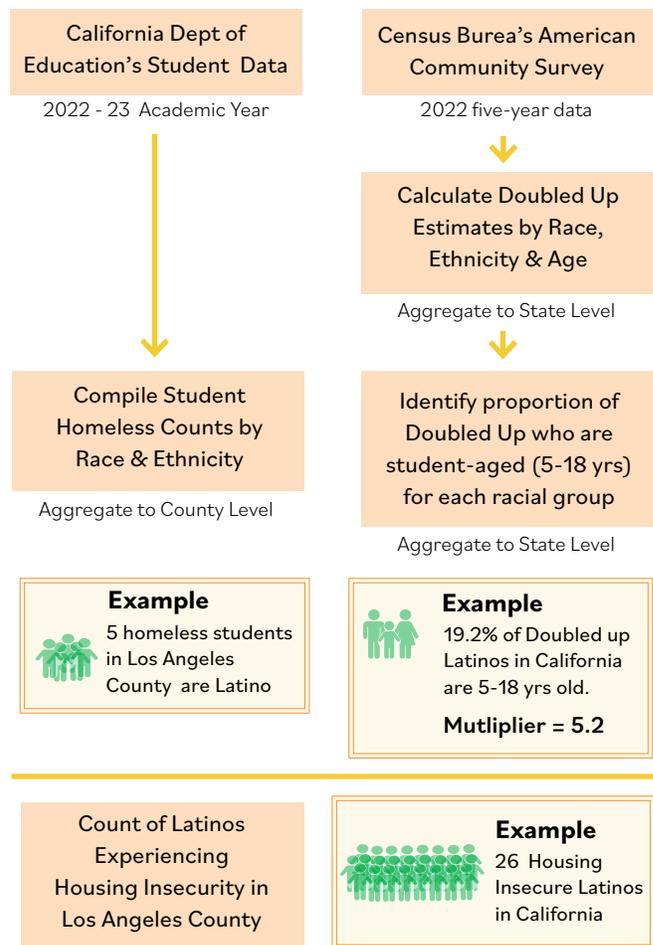
To calculate the housing insecurity metric, I apply my ACS-derived race/ethnic multipliers to the CDE county-level race/ethnic student homeless counts. Multiplying these two, take the county-level totals of students experiencing housing insecurity for each racial group and scale them up to estimate the total housing insecurity by race/ethnicity. Figure 4 provides a breakdown of each step of the housing insecurity metric calculation described above. The provided examples showcase how the multiplier is applied to mock student counts. In the given example, I find that there are five Latino students in Los Angeles experiencing homelessness. To

Figure 3. California Housing Insecurity Metric Multiplier by Race/Ethnicity

Race / Ethnicity	Housing Insecure Multiplier	Multiplier Margin of Error (+/-)
AAHNPI	8.2	0.8
white	7.8	0.8
AIAN	5.5	2.0
Latino	5.2	0.2
Other	5.1	2.4
Black	4.9	0.6
Two or More Races	4.3	0.7

Source: Author’s analysis of the 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#).

Figure 4. Flow Diagram of Housing Metric Calculation



Source: Created by Report Author

contextualize what this means for the total number of Latinos experiencing housing insecurity in the county, I look to the ACS-derived doubled up counts, which shows that in California, 19.2% of doubled up Latinos are student-aged (5 - 18 years old). My research and assumptions here are that the ethnic/racial and age makeup of those experiencing doubled up would not be significantly different than those experiencing housing insecurity as a whole (see limitations section below for further explanation). By that logic, I assume that the Latino student count (e.g., 5) I am looking at is only 19.2% of the total population of Latinos in Los Angeles County experiencing housing insecurity. Therefore, I apply a 5.2 multiplier to the student count of five to estimate a Latino housing insecurity count of 26. I repeated this process for all counties, except for Alpine County,⁵⁴ and at the state level to identify race/ethnic housing insecurity counts across California.

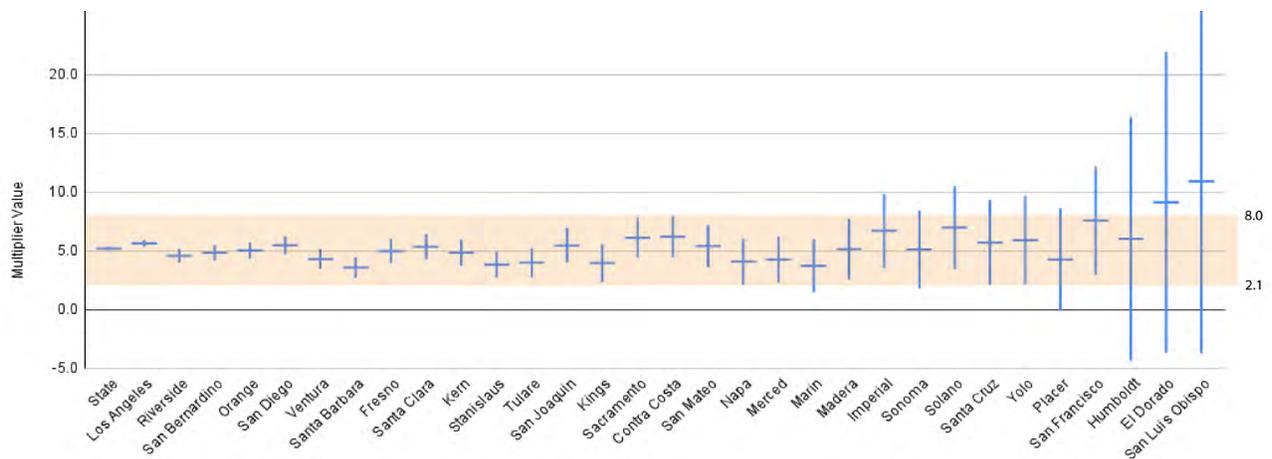
Assumptions and Limitations of Housing Insecurity Metric

An inherent assumption I make for the housing insecurity metric is that the age distribution of those experiencing housing insecurity overall parallels those who are doubled up. This is based on data showing that most students facing housing insecurity in California are in doubled up situations. Analysis of the 2022 CDE student homeless counts

indicates that 83.3% of these students were temporarily doubled up (see Appendix Table A). The rest were in temporary shelters (6.9%), hotels/motels (6%), or temporarily unsheltered (3.8%). While doubled up is the largest category within housing insecurity, there may be age distribution differences in other forms of housing insecurity. However, given that homeless students are more likely to be doubled up than alternative dwelling types, they are likely overrepresented in the multipliers used to calculate housing insecurity.⁵⁵ This suggests that the housing insecurity estimates may be conservative, underestimating the true population. Even these conservative estimates provide valuable insights into the severity of housing insecurity.

Additionally, the housing insecurity estimates by county are only valid insofar as the age distribution of homeless individuals of different races in each county matches the state averages for the age distribution of doubled up individuals. To verify this assumption, I calculated racial housing insecurity metric multipliers for counties with sufficient sample sizes, which varied based on the population size of each racial group in each county (see Figure 5). The margin of error for county-level housing multipliers is higher than for state-level metrics, making them unreliable for most counties. However, counties with multipliers that have tighter margins of error show similar results to the statewide

Figure 5. Candlestick chart of Latino housing insecurity metric multipliers by available counties and state



Source: Author's analysis of the 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#).

multiplier. Therefore, it is valid to use statewide housing multiplier for Latino housing insecurity, with the recognition that there may be some local dynamics uncaptured by state proportions. Similar conclusions apply to the county-level multipliers for other racial groups analyzed (see Appendix Tables C, D, E, F, G, and H).

Another notable limitation of this analysis is the use of differing time scales in the data for the housing insecurity metric estimates. The student CDE counts are from the 2022-23 school year, which is predominantly collected in the fall of 2022 and so more accurately reflects student homelessness in 2022. However, the housing insecurity metric multipliers are based on the 2021 5-year ACS. This mismatch arises from delays in dataset availability. At the time of analysis, the 2021 5-year ACS was the most recent dataset for county-level analysis, making it the best option for estimating doubled up rates.⁵⁶ The assumption was that the racial/ethnic age distribution of those experiencing doubling up would not change significantly in one year.

While using the 2021-based multiplier with 2021-22 CDE student homeless counts might seem like a viable solution, I had significant concerns about undercounting in the 2021-22

data.⁵⁷ Undercounting student homelessness is a longstanding issue, exacerbated during pandemic-era remote learning.⁵⁸ Moreover, stakeholder interviewees for this report believed that student homeless count accuracy improved in the 2022-23 academic year and better reflected how the pandemic pushed a greater population of students and families into homelessness. Therefore, I made the decision to use the 2022-23 CDE counts to reflect the most accurate estimates of housing insecurity today.

Data comparisons

I present housing insecurity estimates alongside the previously mentioned 2021 ACS-derived doubled up counts and literal homeless counts derived from the 2022 HUD Point-in-Time (PIT) counts. PIT counts were provided at a county-level when possible, however, 18 counties did rely on regional data which aggregate counts to a respective CoC service area (see Appendix Table I for list). For each county, I provide the count of all individuals provided by PIT and the rate of those experiencing homelessness, which was calculated by dividing the PIT count by the total population of the service area. Therefore, rates are shared among counties with regional HUD counts. PIT counts and rates were disaggregated by Hispanic/Latino descent.⁵⁹

Background on HUD Point-in-Time (PIT) Counts

The Point-in-Time (PIT) counts, available on the HUD Exchange website,⁶⁰ offer annual estimates of the number of individuals experiencing homelessness across the country. HUD mandates these counts and significantly influence how federal agencies gauge the severity and needs of the homeless population and allocate federal funding to Continuums of Care (CoCs).⁶¹ In California, these counts are conducted by the state's 44 CoCs, which cover and service all of the state's counties.⁶²

PIT counts aim to present a "snapshot" of homelessness, distinguishing between unsheltered (individuals in cars, parks, etc.) and sheltered (those in shelters or transitional housing) homelessness. Sheltered counts are typically managed through

a Homeless Management Information System (HMIS).⁶³ Methodologies for unsheltered counts vary among CoCs, with most conducting a "street count," either through a full census, counting in known locations, or random sampling.⁶⁴ Volunteers play a crucial role in the count, helping the CoC collect demographic data such as household type, race, gender, and specific subpopulations like veterans or unaccompanied youth for those experiencing homelessness. Scholars have long criticized the PIT counts for undercounting homelessness due to its reliance on untrained volunteers,⁶⁵ which often leads to unreliable demographic characteristics,⁶⁶ local sampling method bias⁶⁷ and large yearly fluctuations in local estimates.⁶⁸

Qualitative Analysis

The two components of the qualitative analysis of this report consist of a literature review and semi-structured stakeholder interviews. For a more comprehensive review of existing literature on Latino housing insecurity in the United States, I searched ProQuest and Google Scholar for peer-reviewed journal articles. My search consisted of titles that included “Latina, Latino, Latinx, or Hispanic,” in combination with “homelessness, homeless, doubled up, doubling up, housing insecurity or couch surfing.” As shown in Figure 6, this initial search led to 133 scholarly works. From this initial list, 56 were removed as duplicates. I then reviewed the remaining 77 unique titles and abstracts for relevance. 55 were excluded from my final literature analysis as they either did not examine housing insecurity, did not analyze how Latinos are impacted by housing insecurity, or included homelessness or Latinos as a control variable for miscellaneous studies. The final list included 26 unique articles; three examined Latino housing insecurity nationally, three looked at it at a state level, four in a rural context, and 16 in a localized urban context.

Additionally, I held 11 stakeholder interviews to gain insight into Latino housing insecurity and its manifestations across California (Figure 6). The semi-structured interviews were with key staff in homelessness services; this included eight McKinney-Vento County Office of Education (COE) homeless liaisons, two McKinney-Vento Local Educational Agency (LEA) Homeless education liaisons, and one staff member of the Continuum of Care (CoC) of their respective county. See Appendix Table J for participant breakdown and summary of the responsibilities of their roles. All interviews were 45 minutes and recorded/transcribed using OtterAI software.

Figure 6. Flow Diagram of Literature Review Scoping

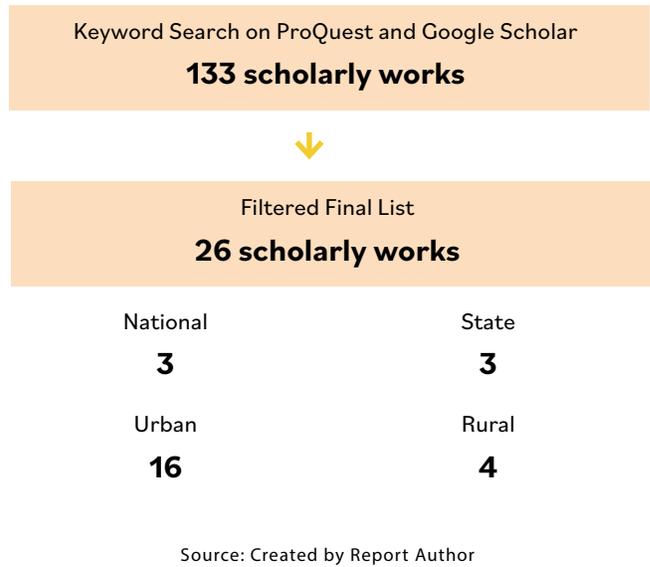


Figure 7. Geographic Breakdown of Stakeholder Interviews



Source: Created by Report Author

KEY FINDINGS

1. About 4 in 100 California residents are likely experiencing housing insecurity, equating to an estimated 1.3M housing insecure individuals in the state.

Individuals are much more likely to experience housing insecurity in California than doubled up estimates or literal homelessness counts would suggest. An estimated 1,363,958 individuals across California are likely experiencing some form of housing insecurity (Figure 8). In other words, nearly 4 in 100 California residents (3.5%) are housing insecure. This estimate is over 1.5 times larger than the number of estimated individuals in doubled up housing situations and nearly 8 times

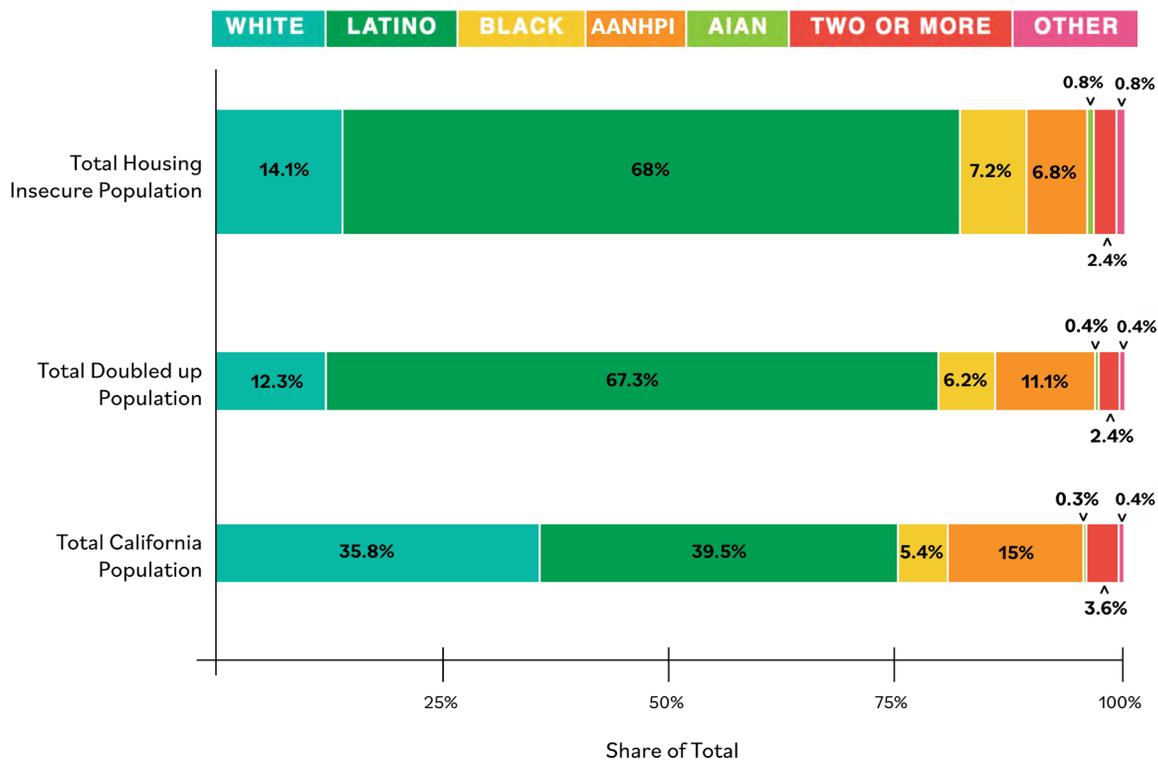
greater than the number of people identified as homeless. According to estimates, about 820,961 individuals (2.1%) are likely doubled up in 2021, and 171,521 California residents (0.4%) are experiencing homelessness in 2022 (sheltered and unsheltered). Given that doubled up and homelessness are three of the four major categories of housing insecurity,⁶⁹ it makes intuitive sense that housing insecurity would be equivalent to or greater than their sum. Moreover, comparing homeless counts to instances of doubled up living and housing insecurity highlights that homelessness, while a national crisis, represents only a small part of the broader and more severe issue of housing insecurity faced by residents.

Figure 8. Latino Housing Insecurity, Doubled Up, and Homelessness Rates in California

Race / Ethnicity	Total Population, 2022		Total Housing Insecure, 2022		Total Doubled up, 2021		Total Homeless, 2022	
	Count	Share	Count	Share	Count	Share	Count	Share
Latino	15,593,787	39.5%	927,137	5.9%	552,769	3.5%	63,556	0.4%
Total (All Race/Ethnic Groups)	39,455,353	-	1,363,958	3.5%	820,961	2.1%	171,521	0.4%

Source: Author’s analysis of CDE DataQuest Portal, “2022-23 Homeless Student Enrollment by Dwelling Type: State Report, Disaggregated by Race/Ethnicity,” [available online](#), 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#); U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, “HUD 2022 Continuum of Care Homeless Assistance Programs Homeless Populations and Subpopulations: California,” (HUD, Washington DC, November 2022), [available online](#). Note: Rate refers to the percentage of the total population (defined by the row) experiencing the respective type of housing insecurity.

Figure 9. Housing Insecurity, Doubled up, and Total Population in California by Race/Ethnicity



Source: Author’s analysis of CDE DataQuest Portal, “2022-23 Homeless Student Enrollment by Dwelling Type: State Report, Disaggregated by Race/Ethnicity,” available online, 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, available online. Note: Homeless shares are not included in the figure because the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development does not disaggregate Latino-descent by race.

2. Latinos are overrepresented among California’s housing insecure population, making up an estimated 39.5% of the state’s population but 68% of its housing insecure population in 2022. Latinos make up the largest share of housing insecure individuals compared to all other racial/ethnic groups analyzed.

Latinos are disproportionately impacted by housing insecurity. Despite making up 39.5% of the state’s population, Latinos comprise about 68% of its housing insecure population in 2022 (Figure 9). This rate parallels ACS-derived doubled up estimates, which suggest that about 67.3% of those experiencing doubled up are Latino in 2021.

No other racial/ethnic group analyzed exhibits similar rates of overrepresentation in housing

insecurity. For instance, Black individuals, who make up 5.4% of the state’s population, represent an estimated 7.4% of those identified as housing insecure (Figure 9). This rate seems lower than expected, given that Black individuals constitute about 26% of those experiencing homelessness.⁷⁰ However, it aligns with ACS-derived estimates showing that approximate that 6.2% of those living in doubled up conditions were Black in 2021. These findings suggest that Black individuals face significant housing precarity but may lack the social networks to access alternative housing forms, leading to higher rates of homelessness and lower rates of doubling up and other forms of housing insecurity. In comparison, white individuals comprise about 35.8% of the state’s population in 2022, but only 14.1% of those experiencing housing insecurity and 12.3% of those living doubled up, indicating that white Californians are less likely to experience any form of housing insecurity.

3. Housing insecurity is most significant in Southern California. Over 55% of all housing insecure individuals (760,006 out of 1,363,958) live in Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, San Diego, and San Bernardino counties. Latino housing insecurity predominantly drives these counts and parallels the distribution of doubled up and homelessness counts across California.

Southern California is home to most of the state’s housing insecure individuals. Just five counties in the state are responsible for over 55% of California’s housing insecurity. According to Figure 10, Los Angeles stands apart as the county with the largest population of housing insecure (258,873), followed by Orange (146,963), San Bernardino (143,876), San Diego (117,771), and Riverside (92,523). Latinos made up 71.8% of the housing insecure population across these counties. (See Appendix Table K for complete county-level housing insecurity counts by race/ethnicity.)

A direct comparison of the prevalence of Latino housing insecurity, doubled up, and homelessness by

county, reveals gaps in our existing understanding of its severity. An analysis of Latino homeless counts alone would provide a myopic view of housing insecurity and suggest that Latinos are likely less impacted by homelessness and thus housing instability (Figure 11). An analysis of only doubled up counts provides limited data on how Latinos are impacted in the Northern or Sierra Nevada region of the state. In comparison, the housing insecurity estimates provide a comprehensive picture of the severity of Latino housing insecurity and calls several counties in the Northern or Sierra Nevada regions to attention.

The geographic distribution of housing insecurity in California does parallel concentrations in doubled up and homelessness across the state. Los Angeles, in particular, stands out again as home to the largest doubled up (268,230) and homeless (71,320) population in California (Figure 10). As shown in Figure 11, there are similar patterns in the distribution of housing insecurity, doubled up, and homelessness counts amongst Latinos in California. Latinos who are doubled up, and homeless predominantly live in Southern California and the Bay area.



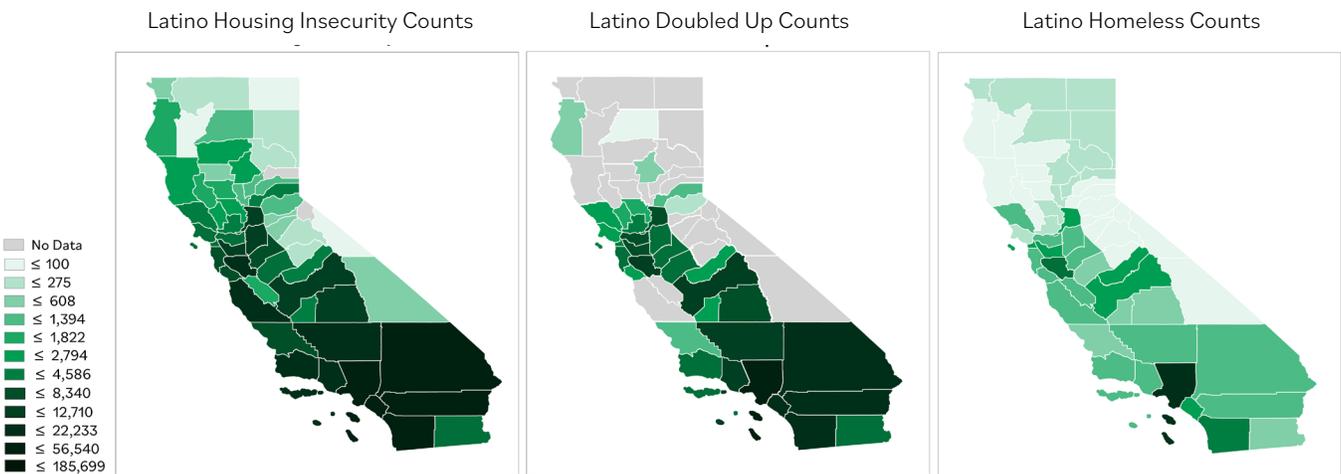
Photo Credits: Sabrina Bracher, iStock Images

Figure 10. Top Five Counties for Housing Insecurity Counts

County	Housing Insecure, 2022		Doubled up, 2021		Homeless, 2022	
	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino
Los Angeles	258,873	185,699	295,959	221,778	65,111	28,940
Orange	146,963	119,371	68,501	47,595	5,718	2,252
San Bernardino	143,876	98,841	51,118	36,911	3,333	1,355
San Diego	117,771	76,917	57,082	37,193	8,427	2,840
Riverside	92,523	64,540	47,945	34,156	3,316	1,169
State	1,363,958	927,137	820,961	552,769	171,521	63,556

Source: Author’s analysis of CDE DataQuest Portal, “2022-23 Homeless Student Enrollment by Dwelling Type: State Report, Disaggregated by Race/Ethnicity,” [available online](#), 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#); U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, “HUD 2022 Continuum of Care Homeless Assistance Programs Homeless Populations and Subpopulations,” (HUD, Washington DC, November 2022), [available online](#).

Figure 11. Geographic Breakdown of Counts of Latino Housing Insecurity, Doubled Up, and Homelessness Rates Across California Counties



Source: Author’s analysis of CDE DataQuest Portal, “2022-23 Homeless Student Enrollment by Dwelling Type: State Report, Disaggregated by Race/Ethnicity,” [available online](#), 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#); U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, “HUD 2023 Continuum of Care Homeless Assistance Programs Homeless Populations and Subpopulations: California,” (HUD, Washington DC, November 2023), [available online](#). Note: No Housing Insecurity estimates were available for Alpine County. Additionally, no doubled up estimates could not be calculated for Amador, Calaveras, Colusa, Del Norte, Glenn, Inyo, Lake, Lassen, Mariposa, Mendocino, Modoc, Mono, Monterey, Nevada, Plumas, San Benito, Sierra, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, and Tuolumne due to sample size issues. See Appendix Table L for available data on doubled individuals by County. Latino Homelessness Counts were also combined for select counties due to a lack of available county-level data. See Appendix Table I for a breakdown of county PIT counts which relied on regional surveys.

4. Latinos have the highest prevalence of housing insecurity along the Central Coast. For instance, 20.8% of Latinos in Santa Barbara were identified as housing insecure, followed by 20.6% in Monterey, and 18.3% in San Luis Obispo in 2022. In other words, about 2 in 10 Latinos in these counties are housing insecure.

Latino rates of housing insecurity vary across the state but are most severe along the state's Central Coast (Monterey, San Luis Obispo, and Santa Barbara). Higher rates of housing insecurity among Latinos indicate that housing insecurity is more common among Latinos in those counties. At the state level, an estimated 5.9% of Latinos are experiencing housing insecurity, or in other words, about 6 in every 100 Latinos in the state are housing insecure in 2022 (Figure 12). However, in Santa Barbara, 20.8% of Latinos are housing insecure which is equivalent to about 2 in 10 Latinos in the county being housing insecure. Monterey County (20.6%) and San Luis Obispo (18.3%) follow close behind with a significantly higher prevalence of housing insecurity compared to the state. Monterey

and Santa Barbara counties also notably have the highest rates of housing insecurity overall, regardless of race/ethnicity. (See Appendix Table E for complete county-level housing insecurity rates by race/ethnicity.)

Despite making up a smaller portion of the county's residents, Latinos in counties like Colusa and Inyo are also disproportionately impacted by housing insecurity (Figure 12). These counties are rural and small. Their population size is too small for ACS-derived doubled up estimates. Moreover, their PIT counts are regional and suggest that homelessness is significantly less common in their community than in the state overall (see Figure 13). However, housing insecurity rates paint a different picture. These counties respectively have the 4th and 5th highest rates of Latino housing insecurity among other counties, and Colusa has the second highest housing insecurity rates, regardless of race/ethnicity. As a result, even though Latinos make up only 60.5% of Colusa's and 23.7% of Inyo's residents according to the 2021 ACS, they comprise 78% and nearly 75% of the county's housing insecure population, respectively.



Photo Credits: Andres Imaging, iStock Images

Figure 12. Top Five Counties for Housing Insecurity Rates for Latinos

County	Housing Insecure, 2022		Doubled up, 2021		Homeless, 2022	
	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino
Santa Barbara	10.5%	20.8%	2.0%	3.6%	0.4%	0.4%
Monterey*	13.6%	20.6%	-	-	0.5%	0.5%
San Luis Obispo	6.4%	18.3%	0.7%	1.2%	0.5%	0.7%
Colusa**	10.5%	13.6%	-	-	0.5%	0.3%
Inyo***	4.0%	12.7%	-	-	0.4%	0.4%
State	3.5%	5.9%	2.1%	3.5%	0.4%	0.4%

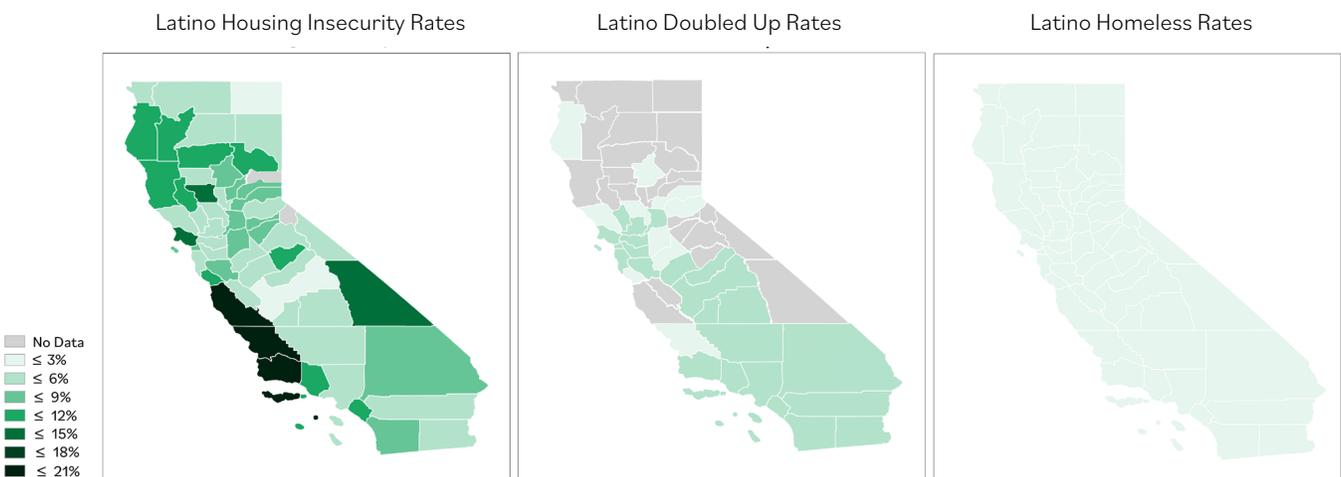
Source: Author’s analysis of CDE DataQuest Portal, “2022-23 Homeless Student Enrollment by Dwelling Type: State Report, Disaggregated by Race/Ethnicity,” [available online](#), 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#); U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, “HUD 2022 Continuum of Care Homeless Assistance Programs Homeless Populations and Subpopulations,” (HUD, Washington DC, November 2022), [available online](#).

*Monterey PIT homeless counts and rates are regional, and reflect HUD PIT counts for Monterey and San Benito counties. Rate are therefore based on the prevalence of homelessness within these two county region.

** Colusa PIT homeless counts and rates are regional and reflect HUD PIT counts for Glenn, Colusa, and Trinity counties. Rates are therefore based on the prevalence of homelessness within this three-county region.

*** Inyo PIT homeless counts and rates are regional and reflect HUD PIT counts for Alpine, Inyo, and Mono counties. Rates are therefore based on the prevalence of homelessness within this three-county region.

Figure 13. Geographic Breakdown of Rates of Latino Housing Insecurity, Doubled up, and Homelessness Rates Across California Counties



Source: Author’s analysis of CDE DataQuest Portal, “2022-23 Homeless Student Enrollment by Dwelling Type: State Report, Disaggregated by Race/Ethnicity,” [available online](#), 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#); U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, “HUD 2023 Continuum of Care Homeless Assistance Programs Homeless Populations and Subpopulations: California,” (HUD, Washington DC, November 2023), [available online](#). Note: No Housing Insecurity estimates were available for Alpine County. Additionally, no doubled up estimates could not be calculated for Amador, Calaveras, Colusa, Del Norte, Glenn, Inyo, Lake, Lassen, Mariposa, Mendocino, Modoc, Mono, Monterey, Nevada, Plumas, San Benito, Sierra, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, and Tuolumne due to sample size issues. See Appendix Table L for available data on doubled individuals by County. Latino Homelessness Counts were also combined for select counties due to a lack of available county-level data. See Appendix Table I for a breakdown of county PIT counts which relied on regional surveys.

5. California Latinos experiencing housing insecurity tend to be immigrants, facing economic hardship due to under- or unemployment, and are more often living in intergenerational households.

Research and interviews consistently highlight that factors such as immigration status, English language proficiency, employment, and socio-economic status are closely linked to rates of housing insecurity among Latinos in California.⁷¹ Economic hardship, often stemming from underemployment or job loss, is a primary driver of housing precarity among the Latino community.⁷² Immigration status can exacerbate these challenges, as undocumented individuals may face barriers to stable employment and affordable housing support.⁷³ This insecurity more frequently affects entire Latino families, including children, at higher rates than other racial/ethnic groups.⁷⁴

Latino housing insecurity manifests differently in urban and rural areas. For instance, existing literature suggests that in urban areas, homelessness is more prevalent among Latinos, with many experiencing homelessness for the first time.⁷⁵ This first-time homelessness, combined with immigration status, language barriers, and cultural differences, may contribute to their lower engagement with homeless services and shelters compared to other racial groups.⁷⁶ Additionally, studies indicate that urban Latino housing insecurity within the Latino community is more prominent among younger individuals.⁷⁷

In contrast, prior literature suggests that Latinos facing housing insecurity in rural areas are primarily migrant farmer workers and their families.⁷⁸ On one hand, the seasonal and low-wage nature of agricultural employment has promoted higher rates of poverty and underemployment.⁷⁹ On the other hand, migrant farm workers are predominantly undocumented immigrants,⁸⁰ which makes them more vulnerable to exploitation and less able to access supplemental support in times of strife.⁸¹ According to existing literature, these migrant workers tend to be a mix of married and single individuals who often seek housing for their

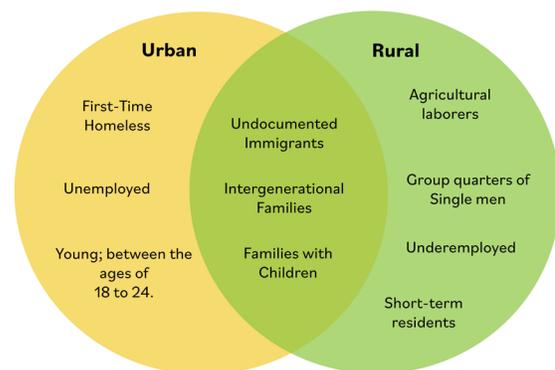
extended families or rooms they can share with fellow workers.⁸²

Stakeholders interviewed in rural California communities affirmed that the prevalence of Latino housing insecurity is often tied to the vulnerabilities of being a migrant agricultural worker. As characterized by one interviewee, migrant workers are often undocumented immigrants who are subjected to low wages, a limited housing supply, and increasing amounts of debt:

“ We have a lot of undocumented farmworkers people... [they] don't have documents so it is harder for them to find a home. Also, they came here with debt that they have to pay. So they're more focused on paying their debt and they often don't come by themselves. They come with their families. So it's a lot of money they owe and the first years it's really hard for them to find a place for them, so they end up doubled up or in bad housing. ”

Many of the interviewees believed migrant workers had few options for housing, due to existing housing constraints and a lack of substantive employer-provided housing.⁸³ As a result, they believed that Latino migrant farm workers and their families have become an increasingly larger share of their housing insecure population.

Figure 14. Venn Diagram of Characteristics of Housing Insecure Latinos in Urban and Rural Areas



Source: Created by Report Author

6. Latino housing insecurity is characterized by doubled up and substandard housing situations, across rural and urban counties.

As early as the 1990s, studies have suggested that Latino households were more likely to be doubled up than other racial/ethnic groups.⁸⁴ This trend continues today, with many Latino families facing severe overcrowding due to economic hardship and limited affordable housing options.⁸⁵ The phenomenon of doubling up often results in unsanitary and cramped living conditions, which can exacerbate health and safety issues for these families. Interviewees observed these challenges firsthand, stating that:

“ It's a lot of unsanitary, apartment dwelling. I would say that's the majority. ”

“ Living arrangements can look very different, but they tend to be families with the children renting a room, so we can have between three to eight people renting a room. But there can also be extremes, once showed up to do a housing verification and found 70 people living in a studio. ”

Additionally, prior literature and interviews suggest that rural homelessness for migrant workers is also more likely to take the form of doubling up and overcrowding in informal and substandard dwellings.⁸⁶ As early as the 1990s, scholars have documented the prevalence of informal housing – tents, trailers, garages, sheds, or other structures situated in the backyards of formal homes – in rural California.⁸⁷ These housing structures tend to lack basic plumbing and are unrecognized by the U.S. Postal Service, making them invisible in Census population counts.⁸⁸ A follow-up analysis

of the 2003-2004 California Agricultural Worker Health Survey (CAWHS) affirmed ongoing housing challenges among farm workers, estimating that about 48% were residing in overcrowded dwelling units (exceeding 1 person per room) and 25% in extremely overcrowded conditions (over 1.5 persons per room).⁸⁹ Interviewees mentioned the prevalence of migrant worker housing insecurity and homelessness. As stated by one stakeholder:

“ We have a migrant camp in [our county], but it is only open six months out of the year. I believe this is because the housing currently lacks heating but they're trying to change that ... That being said, we know we have a lot of individuals seeking housing in that camp, and once the camp fills they double up there or somewhere else. ”

7. Interviews identified the need for bolder housing, transportation, and immigration support to better support Latinos and all other racial groups facing housing insecurity.

Interviewees emphasized three primary needs for those experiencing housing insecurity: more affordable housing, better transportation, and immigration support. According to all interviewees, housing has always been scarce in their community but is increasingly under pressure due to various contextual factors. According to one interviewee, skyrocketing rents post-COVID have made housing unaffordable (Figure 15). This has created an urgent need for more affordable housing options, particularly as recent housing developments have been sparse and insufficient to meet the demand. For instance, another interviewee pointed to the lack of affordable housing production, citing that the county recently built its first low-income housing – a 49-unit apartment complex set to open later this year. Additionally, climate change was a running theme, with multiple interviewees referencing how

recent fires in neighboring counties led to mass housing displacement and relocation into their community. No matter the mechanism, stakeholders pointed to housing as a primary explanatory factor for the growth of housing instability and thus, housing insecurity in their respective communities.

Transportation challenges were another significant concern, with some counties lacking reliable public transit systems, making it difficult for individuals to access jobs, services, and housing opportunities. The absence of traditional transportation options exacerbates the isolation and mobility issues faced by those in rural or underserved areas.

Furthermore, immigration status is also a critical barrier to securing housing. Undocumented individuals often struggle to find housing due to a lack of social security numbers, credit history, and rental history, which makes it nearly impossible to meet typical rental application requirements. Latinos facing housing insecurity face unique challenges requiring targeted support to improve their housing stability and overall well-being.

Figure 15. Synthesis of Interview Themes on Needs of Latinos Facing Housing Insecurity



Source: Author’s synthesis of qualitative interviews.

CONCLUSION

California faces a pressing housing crisis characterized by soaring rents,⁹⁰ limited affordable housing options,⁹¹ and increasing rates of homelessness.⁹² Amidst this crisis, Latinos in the state bear a disproportionate burden of housing insecurity. By employing a mixed-methods approach, this analysis combines quantitative metrics and qualitative insights to provide the first-ever estimates on the racial and ethnic composition of housing insecurity across the state.

The report reveals that individuals are much more likely to experience housing insecurity in California than doubled up estimates or literal homelessness counts suggest, especially for Latinos. In 2022, an estimated 1.3 million individuals were housing insecure. This estimate is over 1.5 times larger than the number of individuals in doubled up housing situations in 2021 (820,961) and nearly eight times greater than the number of people identified as homeless in 2022 (171,521). Latinos are overrepresented among California's housing insecure population, making up about 39.5% of the state's population but 68% of its housing insecure population. In comparison, the second largest racial/ethnic group is white residents, who make up 35.8% of the population but only 14.1% of the housing insecure.

The prevalence and distribution of housing insecurity vary across the state. Southern California is home to most of the state's housing insecure individuals, with over 55% of all housing insecure individuals (760,006 out of 1,363,958) residing in Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, San Diego, and San Bernardino counties. Latinos made up 71.8% of the housing insecure population in these counties. Along the central coast, Latinos have the highest prevalence of housing insecurity. For instance, in 2022, 20.8% of Latinos in Santa Barbara were identified as housing insecure, followed by 20.6% in Monterey and 18.3% in San Luis Obispo, compared to 5.9% at the state level.

Ultimately, this analysis underscores the imperative of broadening the conceptualization of homelessness support to encompass a spectrum of services for those experiencing housing insecurity. By adopting the inclusive framework of housing insecurity, policymakers and stakeholders can develop tailored interventions to address some of the identified causes of housing insecurity, including housing affordability, access to transportation, culturally competent services, and immigration support.

This report is an exploratory analysis, and further research and resources are needed to better contextualize its findings. Next steps include:

Updating the Original Housing Insecurity Analysis:

I calculated these initial housing insecurity metric using the CDE 2022 data with the 2021 5-year ACS data. The mismatched time scale of this analysis was flagged in the methodology. The 2022 5-year ACS is now available, and the housing insecurity metric should be updated to reflect this new data and amend current discrepancies in time.

Running a Historical Analysis of Housing

Insecurity: California has been experiencing an extended and increasing housing shortage since the 1970s, which has undoubtedly impacted the severity and scale of housing insecurity in the state. It would be helpful to develop a time analysis of how housing insecurity has grown and identify any discernible trends in its geographical distribution. Greater historical context can help affirm the impact of external factors (such as climate change, technological advancements, and shifts in housing and labor markets) on the prevalence and nature of housing insecurity in the state.

Providing Greater Racial/Ethnic Comparisons:

While I provided race/ethnic comparisons for this report, I believe I need to conduct more analysis to identify any trends in the concentration of housing insecurity among different groups. There were also notable differences in the manifestation and severity of housing insecurity between urban and rural communities that necessitate greater analysis by race/ethnicity.

Case Study Analysis: It would be helpful to do a deeper dive into the history and manifestation of housing insecurity in counties with high prevalence among Latinos and the general population (e.g., Santa Barbara, Monterey, Los Angeles). Efforts should be made to better examine the geographic distribution of housing insecurity within counties to better identify localized solutions for combating its prevalence.



Photo Credits: JohnnyGreig, iStock Images

APPENDIX

Table A. Students Experiencing Homelessness in California, by Race/Ethnicity and Dwelling type in 2022

Race / Ethnicity	Number of Housing Insecure Students	Rate of Student Housing Insecurity	Dwelling Type of Housing Insecure Student			
			Temporarily Doubled Up	Temporary Shelters	Hotels/Motels	Temporarily Unsheltered
Latino	178,878	5.3%	86.6%	5.4%	4.4%	3.5%
white	24,670	2.0%	76.8%	10.1%	7.8%	5.3%
Black	20,077	6.5%	68.5%	12.4%	13.7%	5.3%
Two or More Races	7,584	2.8%	75.8%	9.9%	10.0%	4.2%
Asian	7,056	1.2%	74.9%	11.5%	11.4%	2.2%
Filipino	2,695	2.0%	89.3%	6.1%	2.6%	2.1%
Other	2,131	3.3%	72.0%	12.4%	10.4%	5.3%
American Indian or Alaska Native	1,909	7.1%	76.2%	10.3%	9.1%	4.5%
Pacific Islander	1,480	5.8%	80.3%	6.5%	10.0%	3.2%
TOTAL	246,480	4.1%	83.3%	6.9%	6.0%	3.8%

Source: Author’s analysis of CDE DataQuest Portal, “2022-23 Homeless Student Enrollment by Dwelling Type: State Report, Disaggregated by Race/Ethnicity,” [available online](#).

Table B. List of Counties for which ACS Doubled up Counties Could Not Be Calculated

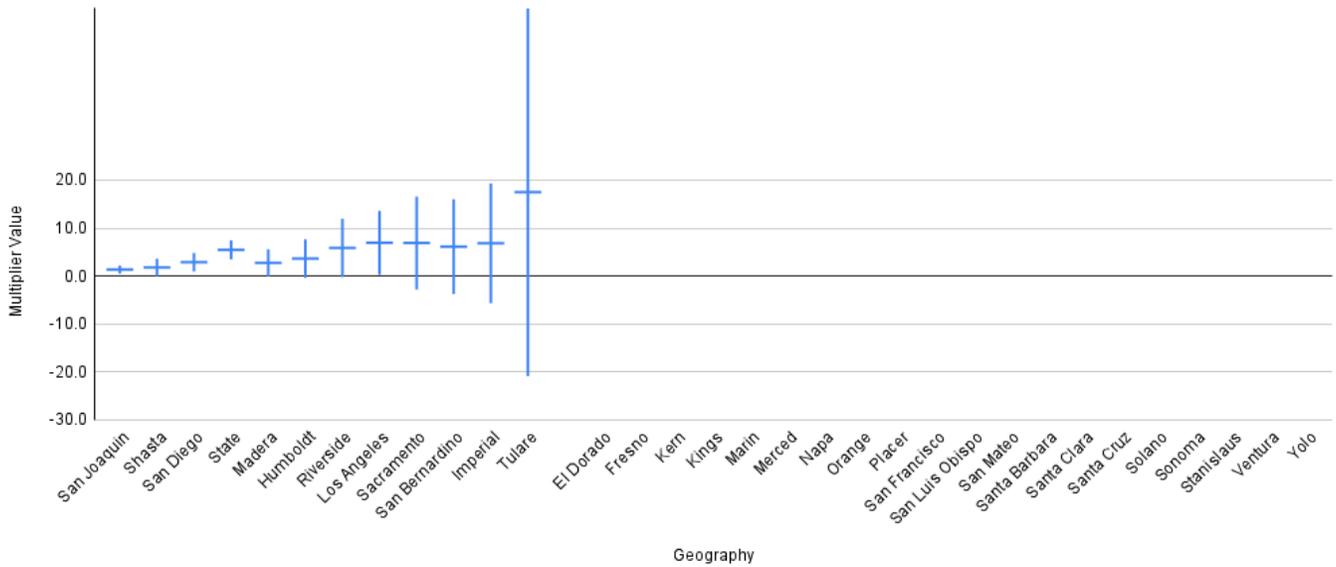
County	Type of Doubled up Count that Could not be Calculated						
	AAHNPI	AIAN	Black	Latino	Other	Two or More Races	White
Apline	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Amador	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Calaveras	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Colusa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Glenn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Inyo	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lake	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lassen	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mariposa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mendocino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Modoc	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Monterey	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nevada	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Plumas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
San Benito	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sierra	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Siskiyou	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sutter	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tehama	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Trinity	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tuolumne	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Yuba	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Butte		1			1		
El Dorado	1	1	1		1		
Del Norte		1		1		1	1
Humboldt					1		
Imperial	1		1		1	1	

Table B Continued

County	Type of Doubled up Count that Could not be Calculated						
	AAHNPI	AIAN	Black	Latino	Other	Two or More Races	White
Kern					1		
Kings					1		
Madera			1		1		
Merced		1			1		
Napa		1			1		
Placer			1		1		
San Bernardino					1		
San Francisco		1					
San Luis Obispo		1					
San Mateo		1					
Santa Barbara		1			1		
Santa Cruz		1			1		
Shasta			1		1		
Solano		1			1		
Sonoma		1			1		
Stanislaus		1					
Tulare					1		
Yolo		1			1		

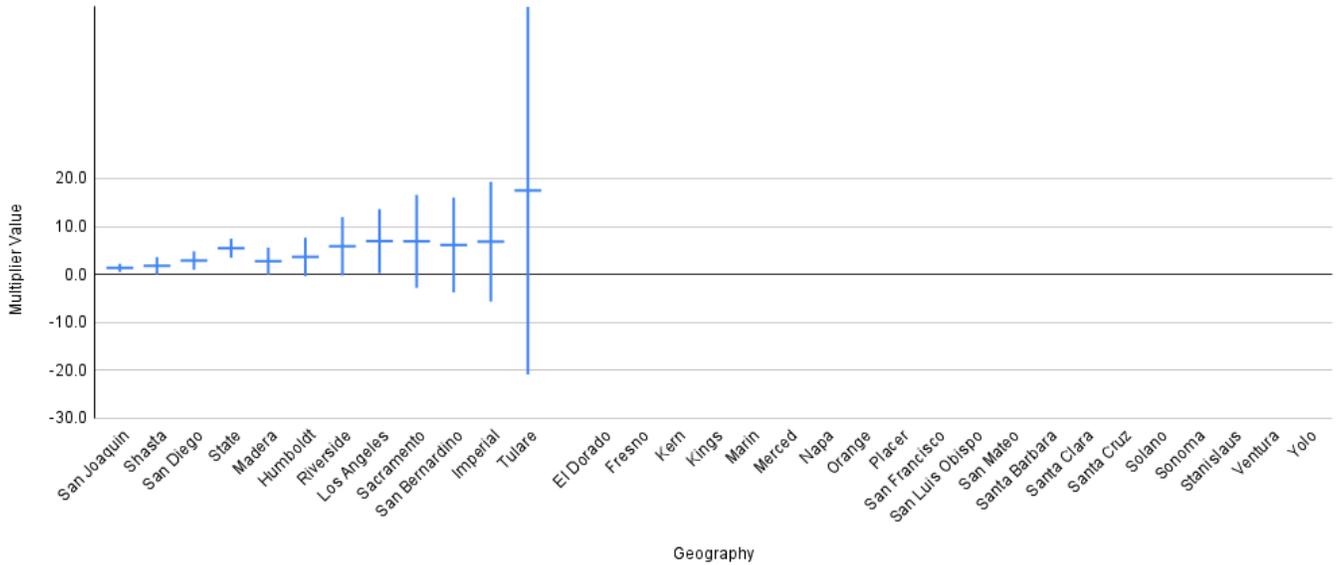
Source: Author's analysis of 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#).

Table C. Candlestick Chart of AAHNPI Housing Insecurity Metric Multipliers by Available Counties and State



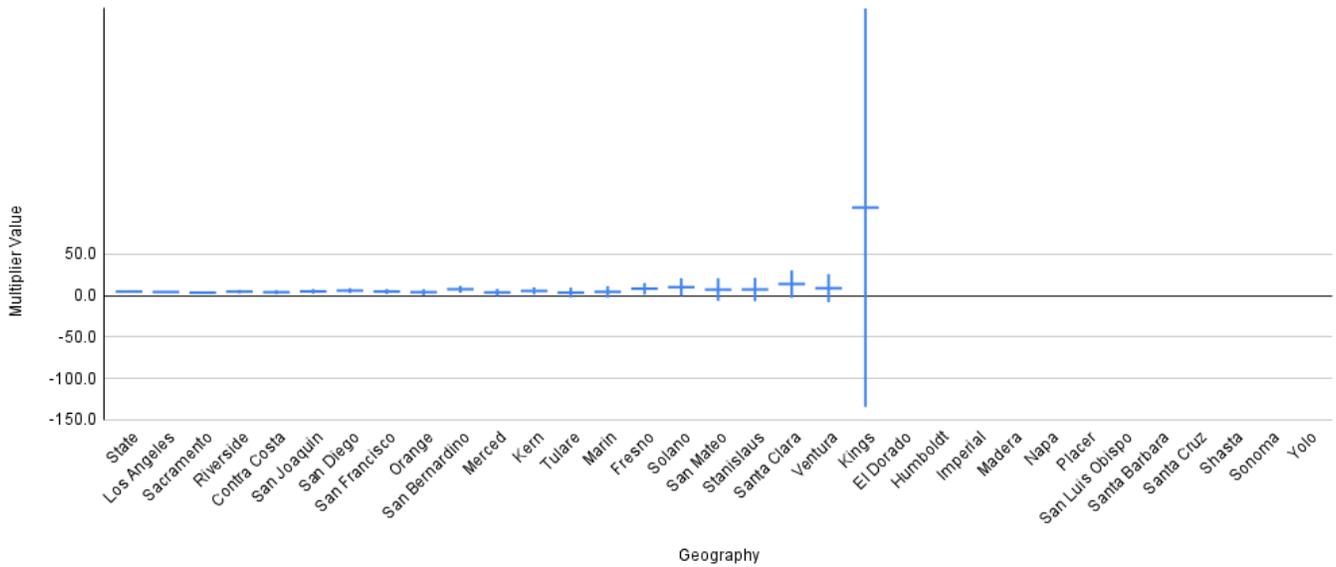
Source: Author's analysis of 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#).
 Note: Counties with no multiplier had too small of a sample size for calculations.

Table D. Candlestick Chart of AIAN Housing Insecurity Metric Multipliers by Available Counties and State



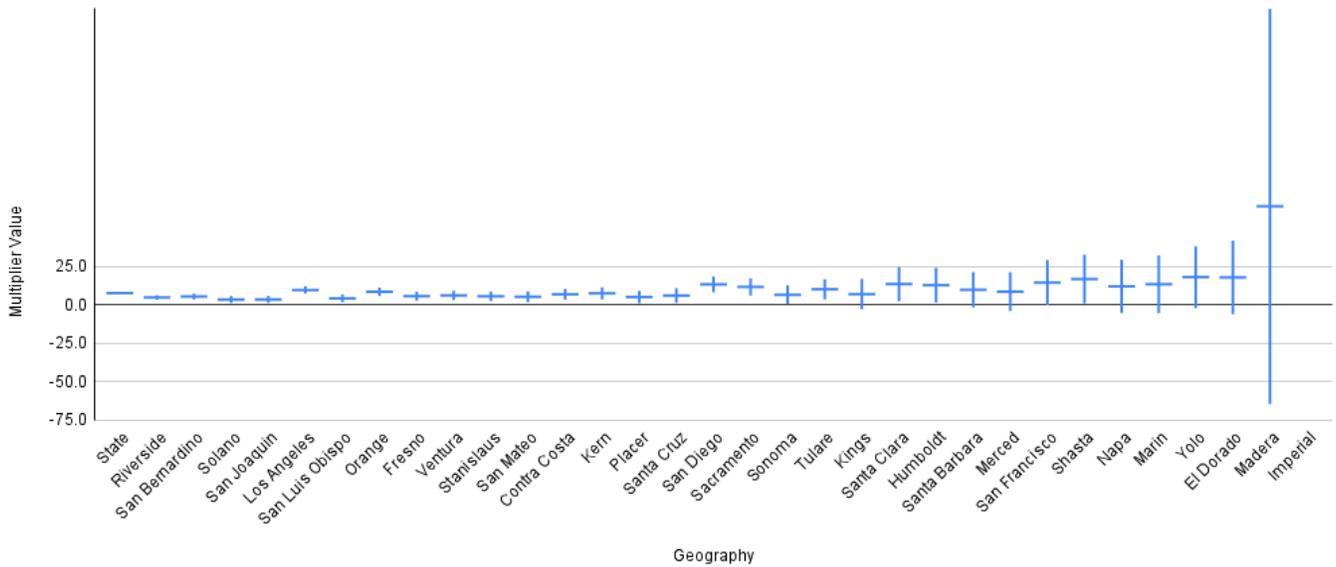
Source: Author's analysis of 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#).
 Note: Counties with no multiplier had too small of a sample size for calculation.

Table E. Candlestick Chart of Black Housing Insecurity Metric Multipliers by Available Counties and State



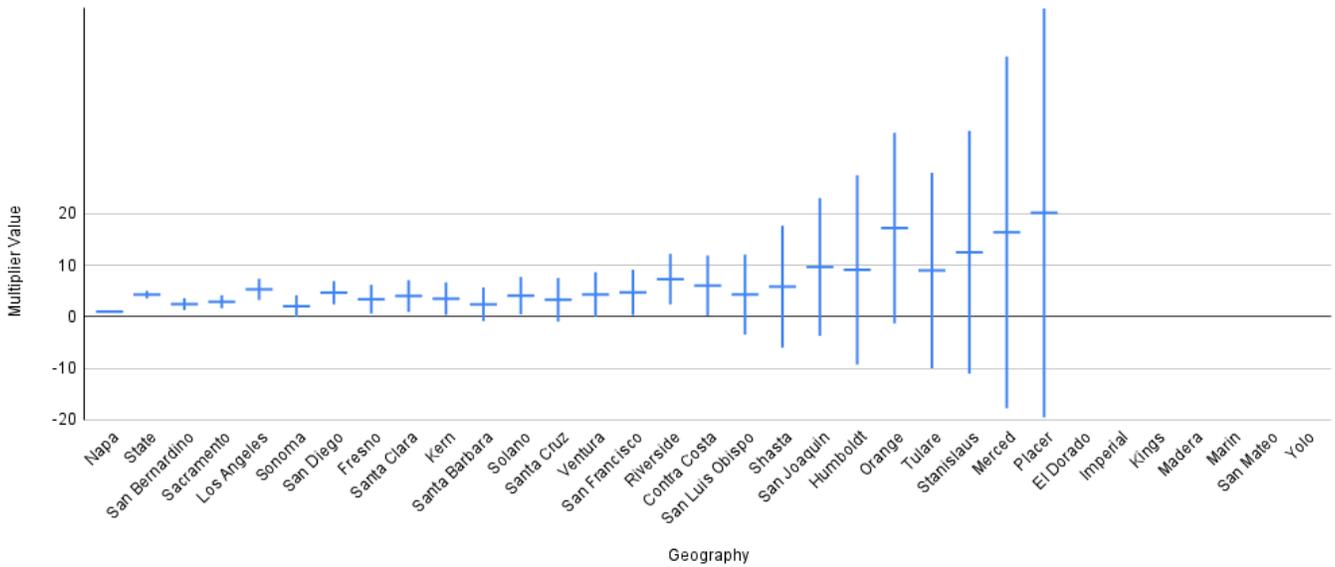
Source: Author's analysis of 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#).
 Note: Counties with no multiplier had too small of a sample size for calculations.

Table F. Candlestick Chart of White Housing Insecurity Metric Multipliers by Available Counties and State



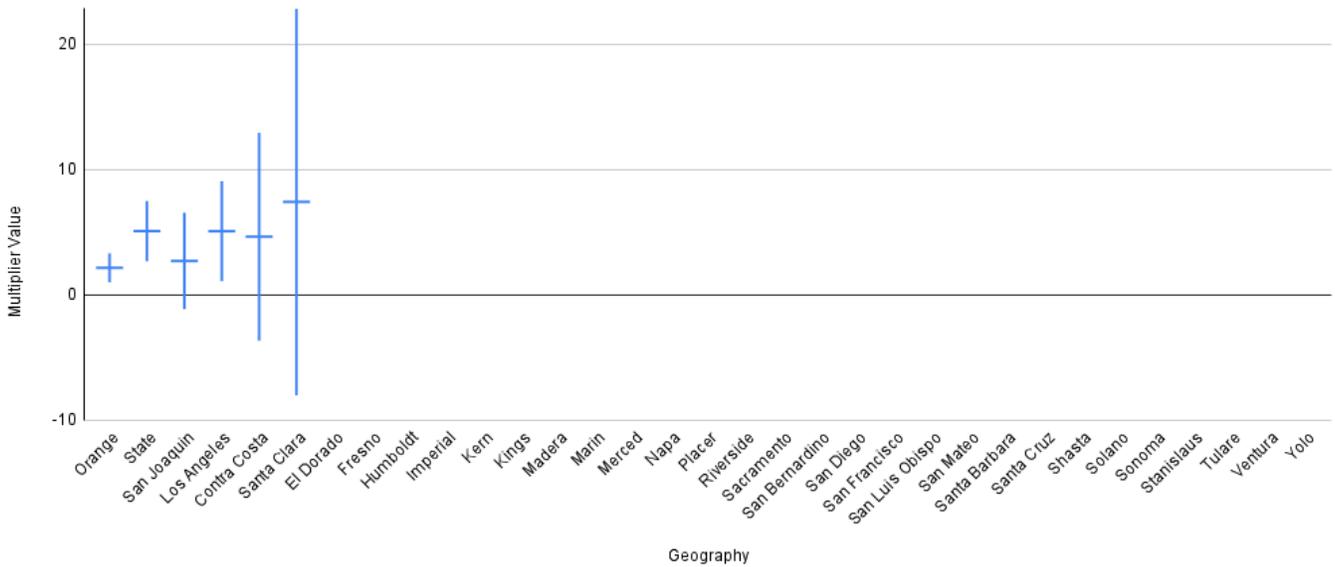
Source: Author's analysis of 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#).
 Note: Counties with no multiplier had too small of a sample size for calculation.

Table G. Candlestick Chart of “Two or More Races” Housing Insecurity Metric Multipliers by Available Counties and State



Source: Author’s analysis of 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#).
 Note: Counties with no multiplier had too small of a sample size for calculations.

Table H. Candlestick Chart of “Other” Housing Insecurity Metric Multipliers by Available Counties and State



Source: Author’s analysis of 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#).
 Note: Counties with no multiplier had too small of a sample size for calculation.

Table I. Data Source for PIT Counts in California

County	General Population		Homeless Population				Geography of Available Data
	Total Count	Latino Count	Total Count	Total Rate	Latino Count	Latino Share	
Sutter Yuba	179,484	55,351	1,094	0.6%	201	0.4%	Counts and rates estimates for Yuba and Sutter County CoC
Del Norte Lassen Modoc Plumas Shasta Sierra Siskiyou	318,123	40,768	1,837	0.6%	172	0.4%	Counts and rates estimates for Shasta, Siskiyou, Lassen, Plumas, Del Norte, Modoc, Sierra Counties CoC
Monterey San Benito	502,282	300,505	2,404	0.5%	1,348	0.4%	Counts and rates estimates for Monterey and San Benito Counties CoC
Kings Tulare	622,886	394,106	1,235	0.2%	590	0.1%	Counts and rates estimates for King and Tulare Counties CoC
Fresno Madera	1,159,454	633,744	4,216	0.4%	2,053	0.3%	Counts and rates estimates for Fresno and Madera County CoC
Colusa Glenn Trinity	66,273	26,666	340	0.5%	73	0.3%	Counts and rates estimates for Colusa, Glenn, Trinity Counties CoC
Amador Calaveras Mariposa Tuolumne	157,912	21,163	625	0.4%	69	0.3%	Counts and rates estimates for Amador, Calaveras, Mariposa, Tuolumne Counties CoC
Alpine Inyo Mono	32,095	8,080	140	0.4%	29	0.4%	Counts and rates estimates for Alpine, Inyo, Mono Counties CoC.
Alameda	1,673,133	374,542	9,747	0.6%	2,395	0.6%	County
Butte	217,884	37,982	1,006	0.5%	175	0.5%	County
Contra Costa	1,161,643	304,321	3,093	0.3%	740	0.2%	County
El Dorado	190,568	25,362	511	0.3%	43	0.2%	County

Table I Continued

County	General Population		Homeless Population				Geography of Available Data
	Total Count	Latino Count	Total Count	Total Rate	Latino Count	Latino Share	
Humboldt	137,014	16,877	1,648	1.2%	125	0.7%	County
Imperial	180,051	153,218	1,057	0.6%	446	0.3%	County
Kern	905,644	495,742	1,603	0.2%	662	0.1%	County
Lake	67,749	15,050	339	0.5%	44	0.3%	County
Los Angeles	10,019,635	4,878,619	65,111	0.6%	28,940	0.6%	County
Marin	262,387	43,043	1,121	0.4%	260	0.6%	County
Mendocino	91,534	24,068	830	0.9%	127	0.5%	County
Merced	279,150	170,730	855	0.3%	369	0.2%	County
Napa	138,795	48,198	495	0.4%	129	0.3%	County
Nevada	102,090	9,992	527	0.5%	51	0.5%	County
Orange	3,182,923	1,083,093	5,718	0.2%	2,252	0.2%	County
Placer	400,330	58,635	750	0.2%	110	0.2%	County
Riverside	2,409,331	1,211,185	3,316	0.1%	1,169	0.1%	County
Sacramento	1,571,767	374,732	9,278	0.6%	1,847	0.5%	County
San Bernardino	2,171,071	1,184,955	3,333	0.2%	1,355	0.1%	County
San Diego	3,296,317	1,131,455	8,427	0.3%	2,840	0.3%	County
San Francisco	865,933	133,241	7,754	0.9%	2,357	1.8%	County
San Joaquin	771,406	326,185	2,319	0.3%	726	0.2%	County
San Luis Obispo	282,771	65,588	1,448	0.5%	487	0.7%	County
San Mateo	762,488	183,970	1,808	0.2%	849	0.5%	County
Santa Barbara	447,651	207,554	1,962	0.4%	750	0.4%	County
Santa Clara	1,932,022	485,092	10,028	0.5%	4,724	1.0%	County
Santa Cruz	272,138	92,641	2,299	0.8%	897	1.0%	County
Solano	451,432	124,118	1,179	0.3%	219	0.2%	County
Sonoma	492,498	135,683	2,893	0.6%	716	0.5%	County
Stanislaus	550,842	264,020	1,857	0.3%	631	0.2%	County
Tehama	65,345	17,182	291	0.4%	48	0.3%	County
Ventura	845,255	366,211	2,248	0.3%	1,080	0.3%	County
Yolo	216,703	69,578	746	0.3%	218	0.3%	County
California	39,455,353	15,593,787	171,521	0.4%	63,556	0.4%	State

Source: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "HUD 2023 Continuum of Care Homeless Assistance Programs Homeless Populations and Subpopulations: California," (HUD, Washington DC, November 2023), [available online](#).

Table J. Interview Participants and Their Respective Responsibilities

Participant Type	Number of Participants	Summary of Participant Job Responsibilities
McKinney-Vento County office of Education (COE) homeless liaison	8	<p>Required by McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act.</p> <p>All counties must have liaisons, who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitate communication and collaboration between CDE, the COE, and school districts • Provide training and technical assistance • Report county-wide data to CDE • Manage grants
McKinney-Vento Local educational agency (LEA) Homeless education liaisons	2	<p>Required by federal McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act.</p> <p>All LEAs must have a liaison who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify students experiencing homelessness • Ensure homeless youth are enrolled in school • Ensure that homeless youth and families have access to and receive educational services and referrals to other resources.
Staff and members of the continuum of care (CoC)	1	<p>All CoCs consist of relevant organizations within their respective geographic area to carry out homeless service coordination. This often includes local government, non-profits, faith-based organizations, businesses and advocates.</p>

Table K. 2022 Housing Insecurity Estimates, by Race/Ethnicity for California Counties

County	Housing Insecurity																						
	Total Count	Total Rate	AAPI			AIAN			Black			Latino			White			Other			Two or More Races		
			Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate
Los Angeles	258,873	2.6%	18,763	1,941	1.3%	736	269	3.8%	26,275	3,303	3.4%	185,699	6,496	3.8%	21,092	2,100	0.8%	2,107	999	0.4%	4,201	719	2.8%
Orange	146,963	4.6%	10,067	1,041	1.5%	349	127	7.9%	2,111	265	4.2%	119,371	4,176	11.0%	12,184	1,213	1.0%	1,203	570	0.3%	1,678	287	3.5%
San Bernardino	143,876	6.6%	6,949	719	4.2%	720	263	10.5%	14,331	1,801	8.7%	98,841	3,458	8.3%	19,061	1,897	3.3%	898	426	0.3%	3,076	526	3.1%
San Diego	117,771	3.6%	11,232	1,162	2.8%	1,036	378	9.9%	8,789	1,105	5.8%	76,917	2,691	6.8%	14,891	1,482	1.0%	584	277	0.3%	4,322	740	4.2%
Riverside	92,523	3.8%	3,552	367	2.2%	436	159	5.1%	8,396	1,055	5.7%	64,540	2,258	5.3%	12,503	1,245	1.6%	1,000	474	0.3%	2,096	359	2.9%
Monterey	59,486	13.6%	1,854	192	7.0%				502	63	5.0%	53,873	1,885	20.6%	2,645	263	2.1%	228	108	0.2%	384	66	2.8%
Santa Barbara	46,923	10.5%	624	64	2.6%	191	70	12.4%	246	31	3.1%	43,076	1,507	20.8%	2,311	230	1.2%	208	99	0.3%	267	46	2.8%
Ventura	43,251	5.1%	829	86	1.4%	65	24	4.1%	443	56	3.1%	37,769	1,321	10.3%	3,742	373	1.0%	10	5	0.3%	393	67	3.2%
Santa Clara	38,220	2.0%	6,957	720	0.9%	93	34	3.0%	851	107	1.9%	27,532	963	5.7%	1,914	191	0.3%	325	154	0.4%	548	94	3.9%
Kern	35,921	4.0%	771	80	1.8%	311	113	7.8%	3,839	483	8.4%	22,365	782	4.5%	7,733	770	2.7%	259	123	0.3%	643	110	2.5%
Sacramento	64,719	4.1%	8,032	831	2.9%	551	201	13.6%	11,683	1,469	8.0%	22,101	773	5.9%	17,279	1,720	2.6%	777	368	0.4%	4,296	735	5.6%
San Joaquin	32,907	4.3%	3,331	345	2.6%	365	133	22.8%	4,070	512	7.9%	18,965	663	5.8%	4,754	473	2.1%	107	51	0.3%	1,316	225	4.3%
Alameda	25,649	1.5%	2,281	236	0.4%	153	56	2.9%	4,729	594	2.8%	15,757	551	4.2%	1,509	150	0.3%	371	176	0.5%	850	145	4.9%
Tulare	18,021	3.8%	476	49	2.8%	169	62	7.3%	394	49	6.2%	13,989	489	4.5%	2,458	245	1.9%	203	96	0.3%	332	57	1.5%
Fresno	18,068	1.8%	812	84	0.8%	142	52	3.3%	1,614	203	3.8%	12,947	453	2.4%	2,124	211	0.8%	66	31	0.3%	362	62	2.6%
San Luis Obispo	17,985	6.4%	451	47	4.6%				148	19	3.8%	11,999	420	18.3%	4,839	482	2.5%	203	96	0.4%	345	59	3.9%
Santa Cruz	11,655	4.3%	139	14	1.1%				49	6	2.2%	10,485	367	11.3%	840	84	0.6%	15	7	0.4%	125	21	3.6%
Stanislaus	14,790	2.7%	730	76	2.2%	98	36	4.2%	650	82	4.2%	9,309	326	3.5%	3,353	334	1.5%	279	132	0.3%	371	63	2.8%
San Mateo	11,874	1.6%	1,805	187	0.8%	55	20	5.3%	408	51	2.4%	8,676	304	4.7%	615	61	0.2%	56	26	0.6%	259	44	4.4%
Contra Costa	15,646	1.3%	1,337	138	0.6%	38	14	1.8%	2,859	359	3.0%	8,340	292	2.7%	2,202	219	0.5%	162	77	0.4%	707	121	5.3%
San Francisco	20,309	2.3%	6,284	650	2.1%	153	56	9.1%	3,017	379	7.1%	8,210	287	6.2%	1,665	166	0.5%	381	180	0.6%	600	103	5.3%
Imperial	8,086	4.5%	33	3	1.4%	131	48	10.2%	69	9	1.5%	7,552	264	4.9%	280	28	1.6%				22	4	0.6%
Merced	9,660	3.5%	599	62	2.8%				605	76	8.2%	7,049	247	4.1%	1,260	125	1.7%				147	25	2.2%
Marin	5,728	2.2%	90	9	0.6%				98	12	1.8%	5,297	185	12.3%	195	19	0.1%	5	2	1.0%	43	7	4.6%
Madera	5,809	3.7%	82	8	2.4%	98	36	7.2%	148	19	3.4%	4,349	152	4.7%	1,011	101	2.0%				121	21	2.3%
Sonoma	5,859	1.2%	180	19	0.8%	87	32	4.6%	138	17	1.9%	3,613	126	2.7%	1,595	159	0.5%	30	14	0.5%	216	37	3.9%
Placer	13,833	3.5%	804	83	2.4%	109	40	9.1%	359	45	5.8%	3,385	118	5.8%	8,247	821	2.9%	269	128	0.4%	660	113	4.3%
Solano	6,770	1.5%	582	60	0.8%	27	10	1.8%	1,265	159	2.1%	3,276	115	2.6%	1,097	109	0.7%	66	31	0.6%	457	78	6.0%

Table K Continued

County	Housing Insecurity																						
	Total Count	Total Rate	AAPI			AIAN			Black			Latino			White			Other			Two or More Races		
			Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate
Kings	4,266	2.8%	57	6	1.0%	55	20	4.4%	281	35	3.1%	3,068	107	3.6%	724	72	1.5%				82	14	2.7%
Butte	10,262	4.7%	615	64	5.5%	322	117	22.2%	285	36	7.3%	2,519	88	6.6%	5,874	585	3.8%				647	111	4.6%
Mendocino	4,105	4.5%	25	3	1.2%	491	179	17.7%	64	8	2.3%	2,089	73	8.7%	1,354	135	2.3%				147	25	3.8%
Napa	2,473	1.8%	33	3	0.3%							1,845	65	3.8%	467	46	0.7%				65	11	3.8%
Tehama	4,479	6.9%	107	11	8.8%							1,840	64	10.7%	2,334	232	5.4%				198	34	3.4%
Yolo	3,679	1.7%	180	19	0.6%			404	51	8.0%	1,830	64	2.6%	1,058	105	1.1%				207	35	5.0%	
Colusa	2,281	10.5%										1,799	63	13.6%	482	48	6.5%					0	
Lake	4,100	6.1%	98	10	9.1%	218	80	12.3%	39	5	2.6%	1,627	57	10.8%	1,875	187	4.1%				242	41	3.3%
Humboldt	7,817	5.7%	197	20	4.3%	1,298	473	25.0%	133	17	8.9%	1,565	55	9.3%	4,046	403	4.1%				578	99	6.9%
San Benito	1,697	2.7%	33	3	1.7%							1,472	51	3.8%	179	18	0.9%				13	2	2.6%
Yuba	4,284	5.3%	197	20	3.3%			153	19	5.6%	1,394	49	5.9%	2,186	218	5.2%				354	61	6.2%	
El Dorado	5,440	2.9%	263	27	2.8%			74	9	4.9%	1,379	48	5.4%	3,462	345	2.4%				263	45	4.2%	
Shasta	5,739	3.2%	115	12	1.9%	289	105	8.4%	148	19	7.3%	985	34	5.0%	3,836	382	2.7%				367	63	4.6%
Sutter	2,886	2.9%	246	25	1.5%			226	28	13.1%	949	33	3.0%	1,323	132	3.0%				142	24	4.3%	
Nevada	2,404	2.4%	33	3	2.5%							736	26	7.4%	1,502	149	1.8%				134	23	4.2%
Inyo	754	4.0%				104	38	5.9%				565	20	12.7%	86	9	0.8%					0	
Glenn	1,051	3.7%	16	2	1.6%							529	18	4.3%	506	50	3.5%					0	
Calaveras	1,831	4.0%			0.0%							399	14	6.7%	1,346	134	3.7%				86	15	3.8%
Amador	1,856	4.6%										347	12	5.8%	1,393	139	4.6%				116	20	5.2%
Del Norte	1,505	5.4%				235	86					290	10	5.1%	864	86	5.2%				116	20	5.9%
Siskiyou	1,854	4.2%				218	80	16.8%				259	9	4.4%	1,221	122	3.7%				155	27	5.4%
Lassen	980	3.0%										249	9	3.8%	731	73	3.5%					0	
Mariposa	1,006	5.8%										244	9	11.4%	762	76	5.7%					0	
Tuolumne	1,428	2.6%										228	8	3.2%	1,144	114	2.6%				56	10	3.0%
Plumas	692	3.5%										171	6	9.1%	521	52	3.2%					0	
Trinity	1,048	6.6%										114	4	9.6%	934	93	7.4%					0	
Mono	233	1.8%										93	3	2.6%	140	14	1.6%					0	
Modoc	119	1.4%										26	1	2.0%	93	9	1.4%					0	
Sierra	210	6.8%											0		210	21	7.8%					0	
Statewide	1,363,958	3.5%	92,141	9,530	1.6%	10,411	3,798	8.4%	98,805	12,420	4.6%	927,137	32,435	5.9%	191,934	19,106	1.4%	10,817	5,128	0.4%	32,714	5,598	3.6%

Source: Author's analysis of CDE DataQuest Portal, "2022-23 Homeless Student Enrollment by Dwelling Type: State Report, Disaggregated by Race/Ethnicity," available online. 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, available online. Note: No Housing Insecurity estimates were available for Alpine County. Additionally, race/ethnic breakdowns were missing for some counties due to sample size or lack of data.

Table L. 2021 Doubled up Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity for California Counties

County	Doubled up																							
	Total Count	Total Rate	AAPI			AIAN			Black			Latino			White			Other			Two or More Races			
			Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	
Los Angeles	295,959	3.0%	27,729	1,814	1.9%	576	319	2.9%	21,114	2,010	2.8%	221,778	5,488	4.5%	20,403	1,777	0.8%	704	294	1.6%	3,655	747	8.4%	
Orange	68,501	2.2%	11,078	1,183	1.6%	92	111	2.1%	856	399	1.7%	47,595	2,985	4.4%	7,419	1,126	0.6%	427	215	4.4%	1,034	519	10.6%	
San Diego	57,082	1.7%	5,485	933	1.4%	46	22	0.4%	2,655	675	1.8%	37,193	2,708	3.3%	9,685	1,239	0.7%	292	261	2.6%	1,726	543	15.3%	
San Bernardino	51,118	2.4%	3,006	655	1.8%	196	152	2.9%	3,537	807	2.1%	36,911	2,599	3.1%	6,077	946	1.1%				1,391	509	23.1%	
Riverside	47,945	2.0%	2,066	501	1.3%	270	160	3.2%	3,007	708	2.1%	34,156	2,409	2.8%	7,222	1,036	0.9%	156	142	2.2%	1,068	383	15.1%	
Sacramento	26,558	1.7%	5,855	1,019	2.1%	124	92	3.1%	2,842	756	1.9%	9,528	1,323	2.5%	5,760	1,060	0.9%	117	110	2.0%	2,332	771	39.4%	
Santa Clara	26,009	1.3%	6,036	763	0.8%	32	63	1.0%	818	378	1.8%	16,258	1,648	3.4%	2,208	591	0.4%	111	138	1.6%	546	273	7.8%	
Alameda	25,890	1.5%	5,804	905	1.1%	175	112	3.3%	4,817	1,008	2.9%	11,333	1,334	3.0%	2,525	509	0.5%	564	414	6.5%	672	331	7.8%	
Fresno	21,106	2.1%	2,325	558	2.2%	34	43	0.8%	1,228	557	2.9%	14,349	1,603	2.7%	2,432	594	0.9%	58	79	2.0%	680	316	23.1%	
Kern	18,242	2.0%	877	535	2.0%	113	140	2.8%	926	395	2.0%	12,732	1,652	2.6%	3,190	910	1.1%				404	248	13.5%	
Contra Costa	18,169	1.6%	2,113	653	1.0%	36	57	1.7%	2,549	884	2.6%	9,465	1,308	3.1%	2,998	818	0.6%	74	75	1.5%	934	463	18.8%	
Ventura	16,468	1.9%	520	241	0.8%	61	114	3.8%	189	142	1.3%	13,261	1,404	3.6%	1,997	477	0.5%	20	28	0.9%	420	232	19.3%	
San Joaquin	15,558	2.0%	3,651	836	2.8%	23	26	1.4%	1,444	409	2.8%	7,467	1,051	2.3%	2,306	696	1.0%	183	187	9.3%	484	251	24.7%	
San Mateo	12,335	1.6%	2,321	517	1.0%				228	194	1.4%	8,248	1,302	4.5%	1,400	514	0.5%	14	27	0.3%	124	125	2.7%	
San Francisco	12,102	1.4%	5,431	937	1.8%				1,351	490	3.2%	3,832	866	2.9%	877	321	0.3%	175	131	3.1%	436	258	7.8%	
Tulare	11,240	2.4%	314	295	1.9%	35	42	1.5%	192	180	3.0%	9,582	1,562	3.1%	1,090	345	0.9%				27	33	2.1%	
Stanislaus	9,743	1.8%	323	197	1.0%				495	444	3.2%	6,166	1,081	2.3%	2,407	585	1.1%	39	76	2.6%	313	177	20.6%	
Santa Barbara	8,955	2.0%	418	237	1.7%				91	178	1.2%	7,441	1,128	3.6%	947	313	0.5%				58	63	4.2%	
Merced	6,625	2.4%	385	229	1.8%				149	109	2.0%	5,702	1,420	3.3%	307	231	0.4%				82	81		
Solano	6,181	1.4%	790	271	1.1%				1,015	396	1.7%	3,128	801	2.5%	998	350	0.6%				250	135	9.0%	
Imperial	5,599	3.1%				157	125	12.2%				5,113	1,260	3.3%	329	248	1.9%							
Sonoma	4,946	1.0%	321	172	1.4%				263	300	3.7%	2,651	819	2.0%	1,265	443	0.4%				446	439	19.7%	
Yolo	4,230	2.0%	1,112	406	3.5%				240	281	4.7%	1,578	489	2.3%	1,148	447	1.2%				152	129		
Madiera	3,556	2.3%	211	194	6.1%	11	9	0.8%				2,738	724	3.0%	515	276	1.0%				81	159		
Santa Cruz	3,173	1.2%	99	104	0.7%				33	51	1.5%	2,116	629	2.3%	839	326	0.5%				86	70	7.6%	
Marin	3,164	1.2%	141	100	0.9%	17	33		138	137	2.5%	2,291	774	5.3%	544	282	0.3%	18	35	0.7%	15	29	0.6%	
Butte	2,948	1.4%	214	129	1.9%				304	294	7.8%	442	217	1.2%	1,769	533	1.2%				219	165		
Kings	2,863	1.9%	18	35	0.3%	46	37	3.7%	213	247	2.3%	2,285	634	2.7%	243	172	0.5%				58	114		
Placer	2,623	0.7%	140	88	0.4%	26	51	2.2%				715	400	1.2%	1,540	491	0.5%				202	129	14.3%	
Humboldt	2,215	1.6%	177	145	3.9%	164	133	3.2%	20	39	1.3%	301	229	1.8%	1,398	584	1.4%				155	160		

Table L Continued

County	Doubled up																								
	Total Count	Total Rate	AAPI			AIAN			Black			Latino			White			Other			Two or More Races				
			Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate	Count	MOE	Rate		
Napa	2,155	1.6%	109	83	1.0%				15	29	0.5%	1,813	573	3.8%	207	133	0.3%						11	22	
San Luis Obispo	1,884	0.7%	33	39	0.3%			14	27	0.4%	785	520	1.2%	969	358	0.5%	18	35	1.6%	65	69	6.0%			
Shasta	1,559	0.9%	100	89	1.6%	89	110	2.6%				90	91	0.5%	1,239	465	0.9%					41	51		
El Dorado	897	0.5%										246	166	1.0%	576	343	0.4%					75	104		
Monterey																									
Mendocino																									
Tehama																									
Colusa																									
Lake								0.0%																	
San Benito																									
Yuba																									
Sutter																									
Nevada								0.0%																	
Inyo																									
Glenn																									
Calaveras																									
Amador																									
Del Norte																									
Siskiyou																									
Lassen																									
Mariposa																									
Tuolumne																									
Plumas																									
Trinity																									
Mono																									
Modoc																									
Sierra																									
California	820,961	2.1%	90,796	3,532	1.5%	2,874	593	2.3%	51,014	3,171	2.4%	552,769	9,607	3.5%	101,024	4,075	0.7%	3,142	730	2.1%	19,342	1,853	13.0%		

Source: Author's analysis of 2021 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, [available online](#); Note: No doubled up estimates were calculated for Amador, Calaveras, Colusa, Del Norte, Glenn, Inyo, Lake, Lassen, Mariposa, Mendocino, Modoc, Mono, Monterey, Nevada, Plumas, San Benito, Sierra, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, and Tuolumne due to sample size issues.

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