WE'RE NOT GIVING UP:

A plan for homelessness governance in Los Angeles

Committee for Greater LA

NO GOING BACK LA

CAL STATE LA
PAT BROWN INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS
Unleashing the Power of Participation

LAND ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This initiative is an attempt to counter the legacy of deeply ingrained systemic racism resulting in a disproportionate impact of homelessness on communities of color, especially African Americans. We would be remiss in this effort if we failed to acknowledge that our very systems were built on foundations of stolen land and stolen labor.

This is especially the case in Downtown Los Angeles, which rests on the ancestral and unceded lands of the Tongva people (also known as Yaavitam). We acknowledge their elders, past, present, and future, for their cultural resilience. They are the original caretakers of this land on which the central governing institutions of the City and County of Los Angeles are constructed and where homelessness and inequity are so widespread.

Today, we see disproportionate rates of homelessness in our Native American Indian as well as Black communities.

We value these materials developed by the Los Angeles City-County Native American Indian Commission: https://lanaic.lacounty.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Healthy-LA-Native-Infographic.pdf

There is much work to be done.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Committee for Greater LA | iv

We're Not Giving Up:
A Plan for Homelessness Governance in Los Angeles | 1

Executive Summary | 2

Introduction | 3

Part 1: The Governance Problem | 11

Part 2: The Governance Solution | 27

About the Author | 46

Appendix A. Individuals Consulted | 47

Appendix B. Sources Consulted | 49

THE COMMITTEE FOR GREATER LA

COVID-19 has revealed layers of underlying systemic inequities that have oppressed communities of color in Los Angeles County for generations. The September 2020 report produced by the Committee for Greater LA (CGLA), *No Going Back: Together for an Equitable and Inclusive Los Angeles*, shines a light on these disparities and begins to chart a course towards a more equitable LA County with wide-reaching and ambitious policy recommendations. As expansive as *No Going Back LA* is, a report in and of itself cannot hold leaders accountable, track progress towards mutually agreed-upon outcome goals, or foster the civic conversations needed to produce real systemic change. Focused and persistent collective attention is needed to successfully influence policy in order to create more equitable outcomes. This is the ongoing charge of the Committee for Greater LA and its signature initiative, *No Going Back LA*.

The Committee for Greater LA assembled a group of 15 civic leaders in April 2020, at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic to prioritize the recovery of LA County's most marginalized communities. The Committee worked in partnership with the UCLA Luskin School for Public Affairs and the USC Equity Research Institute to produce the *No Going Back* report.

The Committee is a cross-sectoral group of Angelenos who share a vision that our region's response to the COVID pandemic can advance systems change and dismantle the institutions and policies that have perpetuated institutional racism. No Going Back LA evolved from this report into an ongoing agenda for systems change powered by the Committee for Greater LA.

To date, the Committee has reached more than 1,000 community stakeholders in fields ranging from government, the nonprofit sector, education, academia, business and the private sector over the course of more than 50 stakeholder meetings and briefings. The Committee's current operating framework centered around Action Teams and a theory of change designed to deliver results that prioritize tangible outcomes in the lives of the most marginalized Angelenos. Our goal is sweeping systems change to ensure vulnerable and marginalized communities will be better off than they were before the crisis – there is #NoGoingBackLA.

The Committee for Greater LA
(continued)

The Committee for Greater LA

- Miguel Santana
  Chair
  Committee for Greater LA
  President and CEO
  Weingart Foundation
- Fred Ali
  Committee for Greater LA
- Raul A. Anaya
  President
  Greater Los Angeles Bank of America
- Monica Banken
  Deputy
  LA County Supervisor Kathryn Barger
- Charisse Bremond-Weaver
  President and CEO
  Brotherhood Crusade
- Cynthia Buiza
  Executive Director
  California Immigrant Policy Center
- Cécile Chalifour
  West Division Manager
  JP Morgan Chase Commercial Banking
- Lian Cheun
  Executive Director
  Khmer Girls in Action
- Debra Duardo
  Superintendent
  Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools
- Sarah Dusseault
  Immediate Past Board Chair
  Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority Commission
- Anna Hovasapian
  Legislative Director
  LA City Council President Nury Martinez
- Dr. Andrea Garcia
  Board Chair
  United American Indian Involvement
- Michael Kelly
  Executive Director
  The Los Angeles Coalition for the Economy and Jobs
- Gita Murthy
  CEO
  Gita Murthy Consulting
- Hoang Nguyen
  Deputy to Chair of the Board
  Los Angeles County Supervisors, Hilda L. Solis
- Evan Spiegel
  CEO
  Snap, Inc.
- Matt Szabo
  Deputy Chief of Staff
  LA Mayor Eric Garcetti
- April Verrett
  President
  SEIU Local 2015
- Jacqueline Waggoner
  President
  Solutions Division, Enterprise Community Partners

The Committee for Greater LA
(continued)

Financial support for the Committee for Greater LA has been provided by the following institutions:

- Annenberg Foundation
- Ballmer Group
- Bank of America
- The Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation
- California Community Foundation
- The California Endowment
- The California Wellness Foundation
- Conrad N. Hilton Foundation
- The Getty Foundation
- The John Randolph and Dora Haynes Foundation
- The Smidt Foundation
- Weingart Foundation

Committee for Greater LA

May 19, 2021

#NotGivingUp

Dear Concerned Angelenos,

More than year ago, as the first waves of COVID-19 were hitting Los Angeles County, philanthropic leaders convened the Committee for Greater L.A. to ensure that, as our communities and institutions navigated this once in a millennium crisis, we would remain focused on the historic inequities that set the stage for unnecessary loss primarily borne by communities of color.

In September of 2020, the Committee for Greater L.A. released a report entitled *No Going Back LA: Together for an Equitable and Inclusive Los Angeles.* The report issued a searing analysis of the deeply entrenched layers of structural racism that the pandemic worsened. At the heart of this document are a broad range of policy recommendations, that if implemented, would begin to mitigate the historic inequities that for far too long have negatively impacted Angelenos living in our region's most marginalized communities.

From the beginning, the Committee intended for the report to be a catalyst for further action and a continued remaking of our systems. We promised that our collective work was not a report to be shelved but a mandate for action. In fact, our mantra is our purpose: No Going Back LA! This mandate calls on us to use this crisis as an opportunity for structural change on the most important challenges of the day.

This new report on homelessness is the first significant policy recommendation following the original landmark report. No policy issue is more pressing than the rapidly escalating crisis of people experiencing homelessness and our failure to create a comprehensive system to reverse its trajectory.

We engaged Dr. Raphael Sonenshein, Executive Director of the Pat Brown Institute at Cal State L.A., to take a critical and objective look at all the different systems that can lead to homelessness and impact unhoused Angelenos. While Dr. Sonenshein is not an expert in homelessness, he is a political scientist and a renowned authority on issues relating to Los Angeles governance, power, and collective action. Dr. Sonenshein had full independence to engage in his research. He carefully gathered the perspectives of many, including elected officials, service providers, national experts, and unhoused individuals. He also built upon the recommendations of the other reports on governance by the City of Los Angeles, Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority (LAHSA) and Los Angeles County.

Dr. Sonenshein concludes that no matter how many Angelenos are doing tireless work to help our region's most vulnerable, L.A.'s public sector entities still lack a shared set of quantifiable goals and a consensus on the mission and scale of the work specific to addressing the region's homeless population. His report recommends a recalibration of the governance structure resulting in a more coordinated and strategic approach among the State, County of Los Angeles, cities, and the service providers responsible for responding to the crisis. Central to his recommendation, Dr. Sonenshein recommends the creation of an executive board comprised of elected officials from the region—from the County, cities and State—and led by a CEO. This powerful board will be guided by influential and informed community stakeholders, experts, service providers, individuals who are unhoused or have been unhoused, and others.

Committee for Greater LA

We recommend that the Board start on a path to at least a five-year run and be established as a nonprofit organization funded by philanthropy, state, and private revenue. The work of responding to the crisis is its primary task. However, to be more effective in the future, it should consider transitioning into a public agency with support from multiple governments. If needed, voter support could be sought to develop and bolster its authority.

In short, we want to actually fix the problem. We recommend a governing board with a to-do list. The first action must be to set a bold outcome-driven goal. We support a goal to solve unsheltered homelessness in the next five years and set clear accountability on housing goals so that we have permanent housing to meet the scale of the need associated with the mission.

The governing board should also address the following:

- Imbed the work to dismantle structural racism in every aspect of the safety-net and housing system.
- Build consensus on consolidating and removing the many oversight layers of LAHSA.
- Create accountability across mainstream systems from mental health and substance use treatment to incarceration.
- Establish a proactive results-oriented approach to current litigation.
- Prioritize and coordinate the spending of new state and federal resources to meet our big goals.
- Consider a Right to Housing framework.
- Develop a focused approach to encampments and best practices that balances the rights of the unhoused and housed.

This framework is intended to clarify and empower the core group of leaders who hold authority, set big outcome-driven goals, create accountability, and empower experts, practitioners and the unhoused to act in concert with one another to address this humanitarian crisis that has been building over generations.

To disrupt, dismantle and rebuild the systems that allow neighbors to fall into and languish in homelessness, we must set a common table to leverage change. Systems change work is tedious, hard and has no easy answers. It requires internalizing change throughout the system based on clear goals and by always placing people at the center. While we could make a pronouncement to have the state take over the crisis and have the federal government step in, we understand that nothing will really change until we make clear where the responsibility lies and create an environment for sustained change that allows experiments and rewards innovation.

We acknowledge that there will be skepticism to this recommendation. It is justified. We did not get to this crisis overnight. The road to this point is paved with broken promises and new initiatives that fill us with hope when adopted but fail to fully reach their objectives. The truth is that homelessness is not a statistic, and it will not be solved by a single proposition, revenue stream, vote, initiative, or leader. Our proposal alone will not end homelessness. It will require political courage and a shared commitment to come together under a coordinated plan based on outcomes and a clear definition of roles.

Committee for Greater LA

We respectfully submit this proposal to advance a more focused plan and effort. As members of the Committee for Greater L.A., we are not ready to give up and are committed to doing whatever it takes to end homelessness. It is worth fighting for. We invite you to join us, share your ideas and engage.

We would like to thank Raphe and his team for their thoughtful and insightful approach. We also thank Robin Engel and the team at Star Insights for keeping us organized and on task. Finally, we are deeply appreciative of the advice, insights and recommendations of the dozens of individuals who contributed to the final recommendations and for their steadfast commitment to ending homelessness in Los Angeles County.

Thank you for committing to stay in this fight,

Miguel Santana, Chair**,** Committee for Greater LA; President and CEO, Weingart Foundation

Fred Ali, Committee for Greater LA

Sarah Dusseault, Chair, Ad Hoc Committee on Governance, LAHSA Commission

Dr. Andrea Garcia, Board Chair, United American Indian Involvement

Andrea Iloulian, Senior Program Officer, Domestic Programs, Conrad N. Hilton Foundation

Michael Kelly, Executive Director, The Los Angeles Coalition for the Economy and Jobs

Vy Nguyen, Director of Special Projects and Communications, Weingart Foundation

Jacqueline Waggoner, President, Solutions Division, Enterprise Community Partners

We're Not Giving Up:

A Plan for Homelessness Governance in Los Angeles

Raphael J. Sonenshein, Ph.D.
Executive Director
Pat Brown Institute for Public Affairs
Cal State LA

Presented to the Committee for Greater LA
May 2021

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

> "We actually have too much leadership, all too often scattered and freelancing; too much data, not forged around outcomes; too much informal, unaligned coordination... but we most truly need alignment of money and institutions around a common mission with agreed-upon and impactful outcomes.

The ongoing homelessness crisis in Los Angeles has elevated calls for a better governance structure to address this devastating issue. Los Angeles combines an already fragmented system of general governance with a fragmented governance approach to homelessness. Any new governance structure must be customized around these distinctly Los Angeles features.

We often assume the problems in homelessness governance can be solved with more leadership, more data, restructured government institutions, more coordination, more city-county collaboration, and more money. This independent report commissioned by the Committee for Greater LA challenges these assumptions.

We actually have too much leadership, all too often scattered and freelancing; too much data, not forged around outcomes; too much informal, unaligned coordination. Formal city-county collaboration, as currently devised, is too inconsistent to carry the community's effort in the long term. We definitely need more money and should improve existing institutions, but we most truly need alignment of money and institutions around a common mission with agreed-upon and impactful outcomes.

The actual governance problem in Los Angeles is the absence of a center, a magnetic force that can draw our disparate best efforts to a common mission.

A centering structure customized for Los Angeles will focus the community and the stakeholders around a common mission, will develop and win consensus for shared outcomes, and will put elected leaders at the city and county levels in the central, but not exclusive role of leadership without creating a time-consuming process to create a new formal authority.

The centering entity will replace scattered and freelancing leadership, masses of uncoordinated data, inconsistent city-county collaboration with a focused, consensus-building approach that will foster alignment of institutions around common objectives. Rather than setting out to "fix" agencies, it will realign their work around a common mission and hold all participants accountable for helping to achieve the mission. In that process, much organizational fixing is likely to occur.

This new, independent entity known as the Center will be led by a CEO, governed by a board mostly of elected officials, from the county, the city and state, and overseen by a powerful board of key community stakeholders. As a "start up", the Center will begin as a nonprofit organization funded by local philanthropy. If necessary, it can transition to a public agency with support from multiple governments. If required, voter support will be sought through a ballot measure to develop and bolster the Center.

The Center's first task will be to build community consensus around a well-designed mission and outcomes plan. From there it will work nonstop to be the voice of the Los Angeles homelessness effort, keeping the community informed, and advocating for new policies to address not just the symptoms but the underlying policy causes of homelessness.

INTRODUCTION

Los Angeles has been called "the homelessness capital of America."[1]

Every day, we see people without housing, on the streets, in the parks, on the trains, often viewed as outcasts. And these are only the people who are visibly unsheltered. Even the great improvements that have been made in recent years have been swamped by the new inflow of people onto the streets.

Those who work to address homelessness, the unhoused and unsheltered people themselves, residents and business owners, are deeply frustrated. Many have lost confidence in our ability to effectively address this tragedy.

> "Public frustration is deepening as, despite major improvements in helping people into housing, the crisis not only continues, but seems to get worse.

Public frustration is deepening as, despite major improvements in helping people into housing, the crisis not only continues, but seems to get worse.

Now more than ever, the crisis of people who are unhoused is a matter of life and death. A recent UCLA study found a large spike in Los Angeles County in COVID-19 deaths among unhoused and unsheltered people under the age of 65 relative to those who are housed.[2] Data from the LA Department of Public Health found a rise of deaths from a variety of causes among unhoused individuals in both 2019 and 2020.[3]

Homelessness is more than the visible problem of unhoused people living, and far too many dying, on the street. Homelessness is nested within another set of crises, often less visible but no less devastating:

- Racial inequity due to decades of systemic racism and housing discrimination in particular has resulted in homelessness disproportionately affecting African Americans. While comprising less than 9% of the county's population, African Americans represent approximately 40% of the unhoused.[4] The role of government policies in creating these conditions of inequity, particularly in housing, is a core underlying factor that must be reversed.[5]

---

1 Joel John Roberts. 2014. Where is the Homeless Capital of America? *Huff Post* (May 2) analyzed and critiqued this widely accepted statement. www.huffpost.com/entry/who-is-the-homeless-capit_b_4886379

2 Kathryn M. Leifheit, Lelia H. Chaisson, Jesus Alejandro Medina, Rafik Wahbi, and Chelsea L. Shover. Elevated mortality among people experiencing homelessness with COVID-19. Posted March 8, 2021 https://www.medrxiv.org/content/10.1101/2021.03.05.21253019v1.full.pdf in advance of peer review due to the urgency of vaccination programs serving people experiencing homelessness (PEH).

3 Los Angeles County Department of Public Health. 2021 (January). Recent Trends in Mortality Rates and Causes of Death Among People Experiencing Homelessness in Los Angeles County. http://publichealth.lacounty.gov/chie/reports/HomelessMortality2020_CHIEBrief_Final.pdf

4 LAHSA Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Black People Experiencing Homelessness 2018, p.9 https://www.lahsa.org/documents?id=2823-report-and-recommendations-of-the-ad-hoc-committee-on-black-people-experiencing-homelessness

5 See Richard Rothstein, 2017. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America.* Livelight. Also, Rothstein, The Black Lives Next Door, *New York Times* opinion article, August 14, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/14/opinion/sunday/blm-residential-segregation.html

Introduction
(continued)

- A crisis of economic inequity, with an economy characterized by low-wage employment, often in industries vulnerable to COVID-19, low incomes and high rents creates profound vulnerability. Even a relatively strong economic recovery is unlikely to fundamentally alter these disparities without new government policies.
- A continuing lack of affordable housing and a legacy of federal, state and local policies hamper efforts to provide housing options for working class Angelenos in the face of rising rents and exploding housing costs.
- The historic gaps in the social safety net, for too long tolerated as a feature of American life, but now laid bare during an epidemic, have disproportionately affected communities of color and those facing economic calamity. As we emerge from the pandemic, we may find ourselves in an even worse situation as past rent becomes due and government supports decline.[6]
- A multisystem crisis, in which people exit other institutional systems and enter homelessness, makes this a multilayered challenge. Incarceration is one of these systems, and movements to seek alternatives to incarceration now overlap with efforts to address homelessness.[7] The mental health system is another critical factor affecting both people entering and, if fortunate, exiting homelessness.

But we also face cascading political challenges:

- A political crisis within Los Angeles, as deep and growing divisions about how to address homelessness threaten to tear communities apart.
- A democracy crisis, and not just in Los Angeles, with democracy facing authoritarian challenges, posing the urgent question whether democratic institutions at all levels of government can solve the most glaring problems that we face.

In the past, voters have demonstrated a willingness to support major public expenditures to address homelessness, particularly in 2016 and 2017 with the passage of Measures HHH and H. We cannot assume that similar measures, or extensions of the existing ones, will continue to inspire public support. Progress toward addressing homelessness can and must demonstrate that these investments are well worth making.

At the same time, the homelessness challenge bears within it the seeds of renewal and opportunity. Considerable, at times astonishing progress has been made, even as water continues to pour over the side of the ship.

About Measures HHH and H

Measure HHH, passed by Los Angeles city voters in November 2016, authorized the city to borrow up to $1.2 billion over 10 years to partially subsidize the development of up to 10,000 housing units for those experiencing homelessness. In March 2017 Los Angeles County voters passed Measure H to increase the sales tax by ¼ cent to provide supportive services for the unhoused and other services, with estimated funding of more than $350 million yearly over 10 years. Both measures passed the imposing two-thirds majority vote requirement.

---

6 Blasi, Gary. *UD Day: Impending Evictions and Homelessness in Los Angeles.* UCLA Luskin Institute on Inequality and Democracy, 2020. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2gz6c8cv

7 Los Angeles County Alternatives to Incarceration Work Group Final Report. *Care First, Jails Last.* https://ceo.lacounty.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/1077045_AlternativestoIncarcerationWorkGroupFinalReport.pdf

Introduction
(continued)

> **Los Angeles can and must find a way to systematically address homelessness and communicate that approach to key stakeholders and to the community. This is a moment, one that holds both maximum peril and maximum opportunity, and one that we dare not miss.**

Even as there is deep frustration that the crisis is not only not abating, but seems to be getting worse, people of goodwill, dedicated organizations in all sectors including elected and appointed officials, philanthropy, the nonprofit arena, and business, and many in the unhoused communities themselves are working day and night to address it.

If we can harness public will, the efforts of those working within the homelessness services system, and major resources from federal and state government to fully address homelessness, these efforts will finally prevail.

For far too long, the complex challenge of homelessness has been seen not as a federal responsibility but as a task for cities and counties, and to a much lesser degree, the states. That may be changing, and just in the nick of time.

A new administration in Washington, DC is committing major resources to the rebuilding of America's states and localities and their safety nets in ways that may provide a short window to envision and implement successful programs to address our most pressing problems. The State of California is weighing in with proposed new funding to address homelessness, adding to the urgency of the region finding its most coherent and effective path forward to maximize these opportunities.

Los Angeles can and must find a way to systematically address homelessness and communicate that approach to key stakeholders and to the community. This is a moment, one that holds both maximum peril and maximum opportunity, and one that we dare not miss.

Governance Can Help

Governance is an important part of how democratic communities can address their most serious crises. The potential contribution of governance is often underappreciated and even misunderstood. While there is no single definition of governance, this one from the Institute on Governance will suffice for this report:

> *"Governance is how society or groups within it, organize to make decisions."*[8]

Think of good governance as providing a structure within which people and organizations in and outside government can do their best work toward a common goal. Where there are compassion and the political will to address the problem, effective governance can ensure that these assets are harnessed toward a common objective. We can assess how progress is being made or falling short, and communicate this information (even when there is bad news to share) with stakeholders and the community.

8 https://iog.ca/about/

Introduction
(continued)

> **Frustrations both in the homelessness policy world and in the community at large are drawing people to ask: *Is there a better way to make decisions on this vital issue?***

At one time, governance was synonymous with government, and governance simply meant how the formal powers of government are allocated and coordinated.[9] Today, we place government both above and alongside the civic infrastructure, the nonprofit community, the private sector, and the grass roots. While government remains a principal, necessary, even central force in governance, it is linked to a broader civic infrastructure.

Governance can:

- Create a structure by which decisions can be made effectively and accountably.
- Increase the chances that the best policy ideas will emerge, be thoroughly analyzed, and if seen as likely to lead to success, be implemented and evaluated.
- Create and sustain a mission that the community can buy into and will be eager to help implement.
- Create a framework for shared data, information, goals, and best practices and promote a setting for shared learning and adaptation.
- Align authority and responsibility so that those with the power to make change are held responsible for what they can control and contribute to the overall mission.

Governance cannot:

- Solve all structural/organizational problems within governmental and non-governmental agencies, such as inefficiency, bureaucratic competition and inertia, and weaknesses in personnel.
- Offer or impose a completely new policy that will magically solve the problem.
- Surmount deep seated differences of politics and philosophy.

When it comes to the issue of homelessness, governance is having a moment in Los Angeles. Ideas and suggestions are swirling, creating an opportune time for pursuing the best possible structural reform. Frustrations both in the homelessness policy world and in the community at large are drawing people to ask: *Is there a better way to make decisions on this vital issue?*

---

8 https://iog.ca/about/

9 R.A.W. Rhodes. Governance and Public Administration. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/R-A-W-Rhodes/publication/246335680_Governance_and_Public_Administration/links/5a11be7d458515cc5aa9c6a9/Governance-and-Public-Administration.pdf

Introduction
(continued)

Here are some recent studies and reports related to how we are organized to address homelessness:

- A study by the Ad Hoc Governance Committee of the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority (LAHSA)[10]
- A set of recommendations from LA County staff to the Board of Supervisors[11]
- A study by the LA City Council's Chief Legislative Analyst[12]
- A proposal from the San Gabriel Valley Council of Governments[13]
- Audits of LAHSA and Prop HHH by the LA City Controller[14]
- A set of reforms called for by U.S. District Court Judge David Carter for actions to be undertaken by the City and County[15]
- A plan developed by the United Way of Greater Los Angeles for a ballot measure to create a regional housing authority[16]

> "This study is different among current Los Angeles governance studies in its focus on the systemic aspects of governance.

Where this study is different among current Los Angeles governance studies is its focus on the systemic aspects of governance.

The Project

This project grew out of the work of the Committee for Greater LA. The Committee's pathbreaking report *No Going Back LA* was released in September 2020.[17] It addressed the multiple, overlapping equity crises facing Los Angeles in the midst of and in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, and offered 15 sets of transformational policies for LA's future.

The first set of policies the Committee identified for implementation were homelessness and housing. The Committee drew particular attention to problems of governance. The Committee's Ad Hoc Homelessness and Housing Action Team reached out to me and the Pat Brown Institute at Cal State LA where I am executive director. They asked me and the PBI team to undertake an independent study of the governance challenge regarding homelessness in Los Angeles.

---

10 Oliva, Ann. Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority: Report on Governance. https://www.lahsa.org/documents?id=5153-lahsa-report-on-governance

11 County of Los Angeles Chief Executive Office. *Revisiting the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority's Structure and Function*. 2021. http://file.lacounty.gov/SDSInter/bos/bc/1076881_RevisitingtheLAHomelessSvcsAuthority_sStructure_Function.pdf

12 City of Los Angeles. Chief Legislative Analyst. 2021 (May). *Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority Governance.* Council file 20-0045. https://clkrep.lacity.org/onlinedocs/2020/20-0045_rpt_cla.pdf

13 San Gabriel Valley Council of Governments. *United We Stand: Supporting a comprehensive, coordinated structure and strategy to meet the homelessness crisis in Los Angeles County. A White Paper*, January 21, 2021. https://www.sgvcog.org/homelesswhitepaper

14 Galperin, Ron. *Strategy on the Street: Improving Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority Outreach Program*. 2019; Galperin, Ron. *The High Cost of Homeless Housing: Review of Proposition HHH.* 2019. https://lacontroller.org/audits-and-reports/strategy-on-the-streets/

15 *LA Alliance for Human Rights, et al v. City of Los Angeles, et al.* https://ca-times.brightspotcdn.com/47/f7/c117263f4f03b6be5f1b5bef207d/injuction.pdf

16 LACAHSA *Los Angeles County Affordable Housing Solutions Agency.* Fact Sheet https://drive.google.com/file/d/1t6e-ru61-KI3FtalVcz33YmOIo_J7eIs/view?usp=sharing

17 Committee for Greater LA. *No Going Back*. 2020. https://nogoingback.la/the-report-executive-summary/

Introduction
(continued)

The goal was to identify the problems of governance and to recommend solutions to best improve the system.

I am not an expert in homelessness policy. Rather my expertise is in governance, particularly in the Los Angeles region.[18] I was recruited to undertake this journey as a set of fresh eyes, focusing only on governance. The principles of good governance transcend a single policy issue and can hopefully be applied to guide this particularly complex one toward resolution.

The chair of the Action Team, Miguel Santana, was the leader of the Team. He facilitated the incorporation of the views of the Action Team members, assured my independent role, and was available at my initiative as a valued thought partner.

Fred Ali and the other members of the Action Team were sources of ideas, advice and inspiration. They joined in the excitement of trying to do something big and impactful. I am grateful for their encouragement and support.

The work of the Committee, of which this report is a part, was supported by a number of philanthropic donors listed on page *vi*. We are grateful for their belief in this overall effort.

This report has two major parts: **The Governance Problem** and **The Governance Solution.** In Part One, I walk through the governance problems that hamper the resolution of the homelessness crisis in Los Angeles. In Part Two, I propose a new plan to center the system so that governance can contribute to a solution. Part Two concludes with a specific plan to implement the new Center.

Our Team and Our Methods

The work began in January 2021. The Institute research team included three advanced MPA students at Cal State LA.[19] The PBI staff acted as project managers, editors, visual specialists, and bibliographers.[20] The Committee's project team provided consistent and creative support.[21]

The research drew on a range of studies and reports. I explored various literatures, on governance in general, and the much smaller literature on governance of homelessness. In addition, books and newspaper and magazine

---

18 I served as executive director of the City of Los Angeles Appointed Charter Reform Commission, have advised other charter reforms in the region, and have written three books on the politics and governance of Los Angeles (bio at end of report).

19 Shantay Armstrong (governance, racial equity and lived experience), Ashley Oh (structures of homelessness governance), and Sarah Hauffen Salgado (models in other places).

20 Project managers Tatiana Fernandez-Castro and Diana Albarran: visualization specialists Annie Thach and Glenn Wong; bibliographer, Vanessa Trissthain; editors Max Baumgarten, Nathan Chan, and Randi Aho; assistants Viviana Villafuerte and Monserrat Ramirez.

21 Robin Engel, Conor Guzmán, and Neel Galapati of Star Insights. I also thank Vy Nugyen of the Weingart Foundation.

Introduction
(continued)

articles proved useful in identifying how jurisdictions inside and outside the United States have governed homelessness, and what lessons their experiences might hold for Los Angeles.

I had the opportunity to speak extensively with local and national experts, who were uniformly generous in sharing their experience and knowledge with me.[22] Their wisdom informs this work. At the outset, I had conversations with several experts on homelessness policy. These conversations soon expanded to include more than 75 stakeholders from among scholars, elected and appointed officials, leaders of nonprofit organizations, and others (Appendix A). I explored their views of governance issues, and as my work evolved, I tested out preliminary hypotheses on them. I had the opportunity to speak individually with each of the members of the Action Team.

> **"There were common themes: deep frustration with the obstacles to success, the lack of shared information, the absence of a common mission, the sense of wheels spinning in different and not often complementary directions; that everyone is in charge, and no one is in charge.**

These conversations helped me as I challenged some of my own assumptions about the governance problem and its possible solution. Every conversation was different, and I sometimes had occasion to go back and clarify something I had read or encountered. I was particularly helped by conversations with the Lived Experience (LE) and Expertise communities of people who have experienced homelessness in Los Angeles.

We spoke on a confidential off-the-record basis. My partners talked thoughtfully and candidly about issues of governance regarding homelessness. They often directed me to more reports and studies and to other people who further deepened the research. I am particularly grateful for the insights of those who have conducted their own governance studies of homelessness in Los Angeles.

From very different sectors, there were common themes: deep frustration with the obstacles to success, the lack of shared information, the absence of a common mission and the sense of wheels spinning in different and often not complementary directions. I heard time and again that everyone is in charge, and no one is in charge.

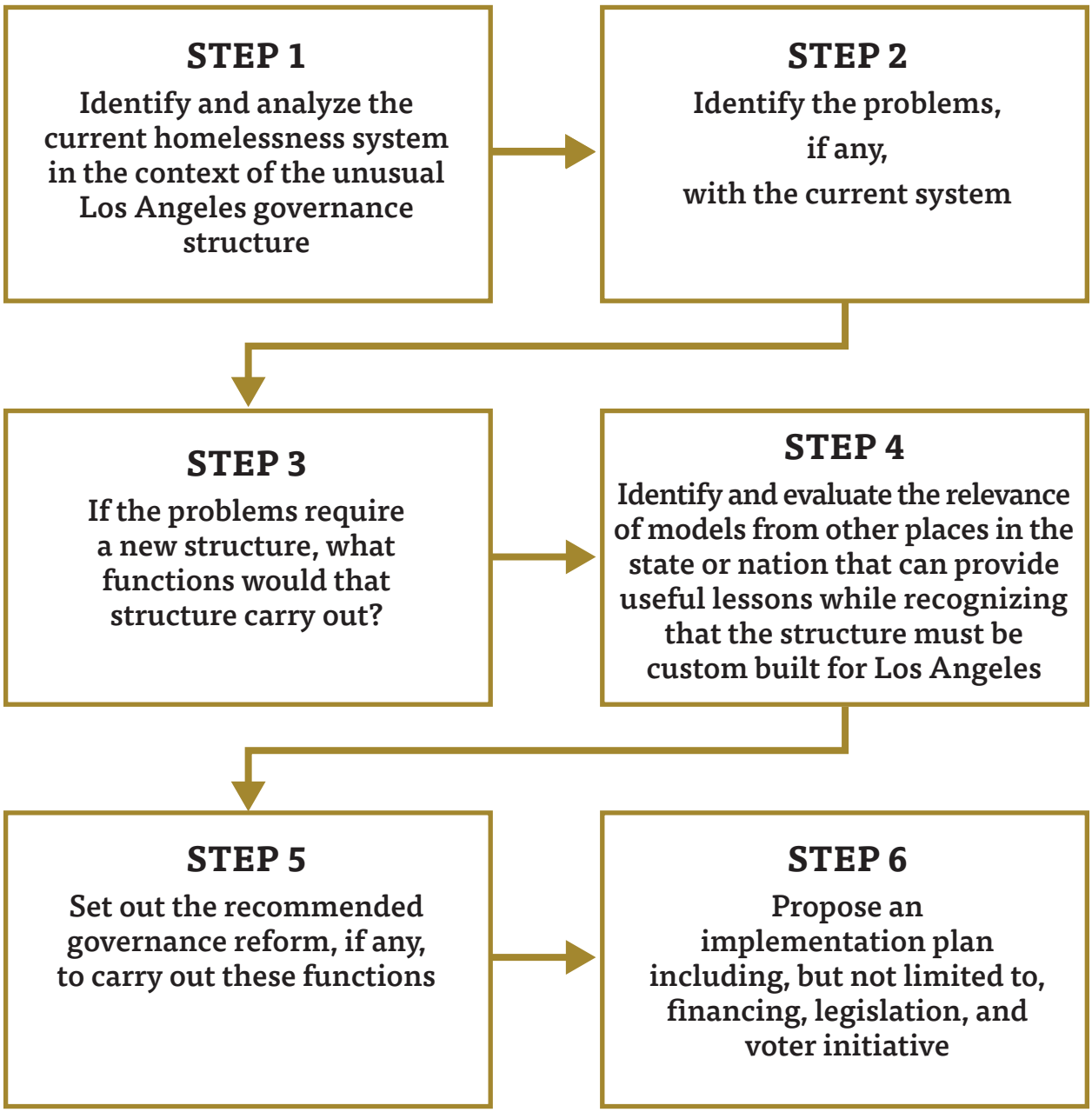
While the conversations were immensely helpful, those with whom I spoke bear no responsibility for the analysis and recommendation within this report. For those decisions, I take full responsibility. I hope that the recommendation presented here will respond to the frustration I so often heard and that is widespread in the community. I also hope it will reward the hopes that have been invested in this journey of designing a better governance structure.

---

22 I especially acknowledge Carol Wilkins, who was the first expert I consulted and who became a continuing source of information and feedback throughout the project. I also frequently communicated with Dennis Culhane, Phillip Mangano, and Bill Pitkin.

Introduction
(continued)

I have followed a stepwise process in exploring the problem of governance and in reaching a recommendation:



PART ONE

The Homelessness Governance Problem

The Los Angeles Governance Challenge

Any structure for addressing homelessness must focus on what will work for Los Angeles, given its unique governance challenges and its specific homelessness governance issues.

In a study of Continuums of Care (CoCs)[23] around the nation, Jennifer Mosley observed that the largest metropolitan areas have problems in addressing homelessness that are different from most other jurisdictions: "Large complex networks (for example, the CoCs serving Los Angeles or New York City) should be structured differently than small, less diverse networks (such as CoCs serving smaller, suburban counties)."[24]

> "Any structure for addressing homelessness must focus on what will work for Los Angeles, given its unique government challenges and its specific homelessness governance issues.

And as we will see below, even among the great cities of America, Los Angeles cannot be easily compared to New York City in addressing homelessness. Gotham City is a mayor-centered, joint city-county, hierarchical system, which is quite unlike the structure that operates in Los Angeles.[25]

The obstacles Los Angeles faces to cross-sector governance (which is essential in addressing homelessness) dwarf those facing most other local government systems in the nation. Los Angeles has a host of local governments that are very different from each other structurally and are rarely incentivized to work together.[26] That common description actually understates the day-to-day challenges of local governance in the region when an issue requires collective action.

In many ways, this dispersed governing structure was intentional, planned by middle-class Progressive reformers a century ago. They were determined to prevent local governments in the West and Southwest from becoming like the great urban centers of the East and Midwest, where partisan political machines centralized power often through mobilizing the votes and support of growing immigrant communities.[27]

The megalopolis of greater Los Angeles faces homelessness without the centralized authority and the political cultures supporting that structure that

---

23 "A Continuum of Care (CoC) is a regional or local planning body that coordinates housing and services funding for homeless families and individuals." It is required by the U.S. Department of Urban Development (HUD) for the receipt of certain federal funds. Source: National Alliance to End Homelessness. https://endhomelessness.org/resource/what-is-a-continuum-of-care/

24 Jennifer E. Mosley. 2021. Cross-Sector Collaboration to Improve Homeless Services: Addressing Capacity, Innovation, and Equity Challenges. *ANNALS*, AAPSS, 2021 (January), p. 250.

25 New York City may be the only city in the nation in which the city charter grants all residual powers (those not formally allocated to any office) to the mayor and not the city council or to no particular office as in Los Angeles.

26 Raphael J. Sonenshein and the League of Women Voters of Los Angeles. *Los Angeles: Structure of a City Government*. 2006.

27 Amy Bridges and Richard Kronick. Writing the Rules to Win the Game: The Middle-Class Regimes of Municipal Reformers. *Urban Affairs Review* 34 (5) May 1999: 690-706.

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

can be found in New York City and Chicago, the very cities whose systems were the targets of Progressives.

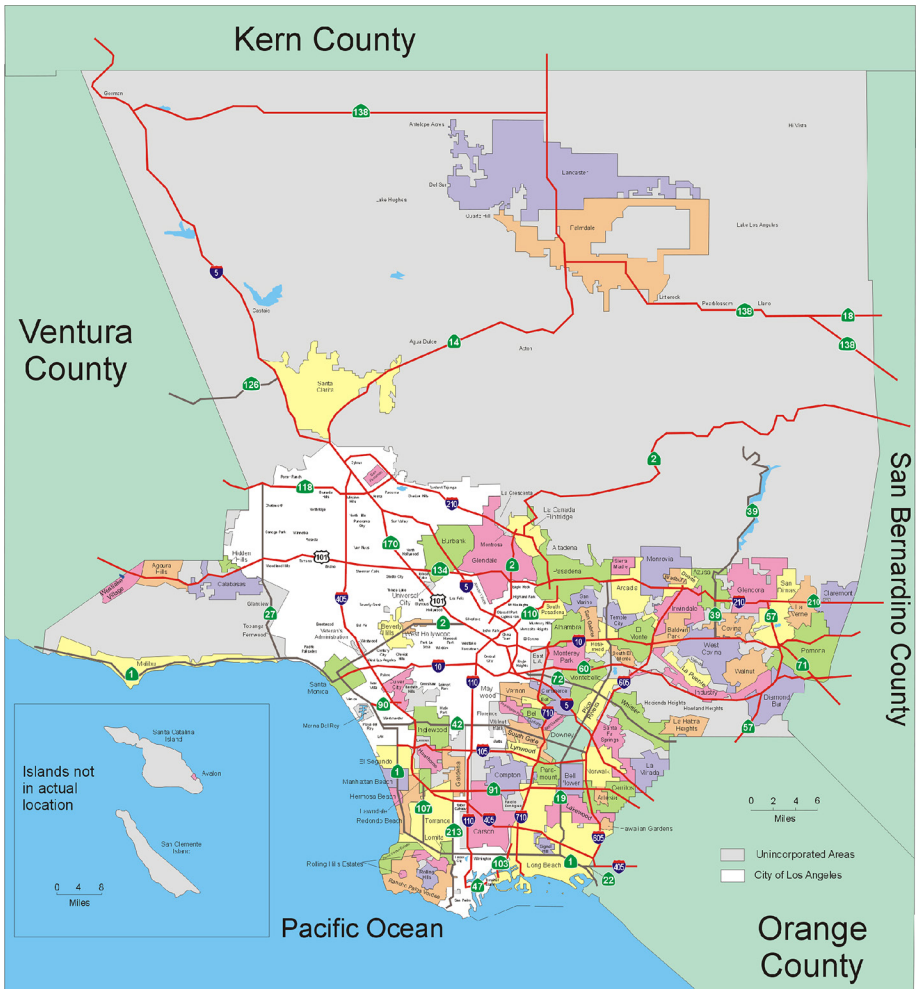
These differences and obstacles can be set aside momentarily in a wildfire emergency, or around a great event such as a celebration, or durably on a single policy like transportation and even air pollution. Yet, beyond an initial press conference touting a new era of cooperation, collaboration is far harder to achieve with an issue as persistent, complex, and multi-faceted as homelessness.

Size and Misalignment

Size alone makes governance in Los Angeles County a challenge. With more than ten million residents, Los Angeles is the largest county in the nation and by itself would be the tenth-largest state, ahead of Michigan. The City of Los Angeles, with more than four million residents, is the nation's second-largest city.

A *single* Los Angeles County supervisorial district, each holding more than two million people, would be the fifth-largest city in the nation, behind only New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Houston, and considerably larger than Phoenix.

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)



Los Angeles Almanac. www.laalmanac.com/geography/ge30ba.php. Reproduced with permission.

The map above vividly shows the array of local governments within the county. The gray areas, largely to the north, are unincorporated county territory, governed directly by the Board of Supervisors. The space in white is the somewhat jagged-looking City of Los Angeles. The multicolored structures represent the 87 other incorporated cities, the great majority of which can be found in the southern and eastern corners of the county.

If the two leading bodies, the city and county, had similar governing structures, it might be a bit easier to work together. It can be difficult to align the mayor-council system of the City of Los Angeles with the five elected county supervisors who share both executive and legislative authority and have no single chief executive.

Most, though not all, of the 87 other cities, operate on the council-manager system, some with elected mayors and others with rotating mayors from within the council. In those cities, day to day direction is often in the hands of a city manager appointed and removed by the city council.

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

When it comes to executives, we have an elected mayor in LA city and a number of other larger cities; a five-member county board that shares executive authority; and the bulk of cities with an appointed executive, the city manager, with or without an empowered mayor.

Homelessness policy faces the further challenge that both social services and land use are required to address homelessness. These critical functions are held in separate governments. Social services are largely provided by the county through departments of mental health, public health, social services, and child and welfare services.

Meanwhile, the 88 cities have control of their own land use. In the City of Los Angeles, this involves a large, opaque, and often resistant system for approving developments. If land use is dispersed among 88 municipalities, it is further fractured within the City of Los Angeles by the informal practice of deferring to individual city councilmembers for land use matters in their district.

Within the City of Los Angeles, the mayor has significant authority but is constrained by the most powerful city council in the nation.[28] The council members, only 15 in number, differ from councilors and alderwomen and aldermen in New York City and Chicago, with 51 and 50 members respectively, in systems dominated by the mayor.

Cross-sector collective action is not impossible in Los Angeles. We have experienced collaboration in areas characterized by a single mission and a strong role for the state government such as transportation and air pollution. The combination of issue complexity in homelessness and divergent governmental structures, though, frustrates reformers.

Aligning the accountability of these structures toward a common mission is hard work. It certainly requires more than the faith that all this unruly classroom of proud and experienced giants needs is an old-school teacher with a ruler and a firm hand.

---

28 John Mollenkopf and Raphael J. Sonenshein, "New York City and Los Angeles" in David Halle and Andrew A. Beveridge, eds., *New York and Los Angeles: The Uncertain Future*, Oxford U. Press, 2013.

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

The Los Angeles Homelessness Policy Structure

Grafted onto these existing governance structures—extremely difficult to pull together around common purposes—is a fragmented governance structure for homelessness policy. This structure has evolved for over nearly 30 years but has not been able to surmount the challenges that already exist for cross-sector collaboration in Los Angeles governance.

> **"A disjointed system of governments, combined with a disjointed governance program for homelessness, creates a situation that makes systematic, cross-sectoral collaboration toward common ends a near impossibility.**

The combination of a disjointed system of governments interacting with a disjointed governance program for homelessness creates a situation that is making systematic cross-sectoral collaboration toward common ends a near impossibility.

A relatively small number of governments, departments, and agencies play a direct, central role in the governance of homelessness in LA County (Figure 1).

The key governments in homelessness policy are the County and City of Los Angeles. While housing is largely the province of the City, that is not all the City does. The City performs the daily, street-level governance of homelessness, which is where the rubber meets the road.

The city council's role is often as the "first political responder", meaning that residents who are unhappy contact their councilmembers first and foremost.

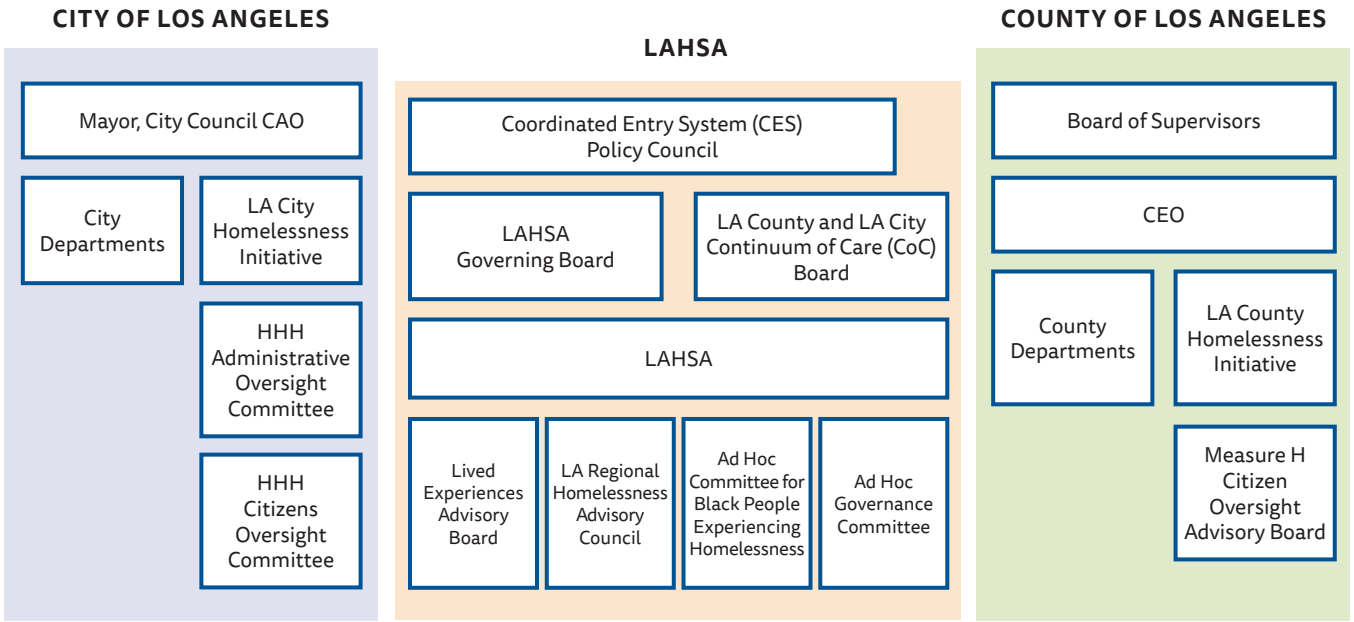


FIGURE 1: Current structure for governance of homelessness in Los Angeles County

In a further complication, Los Angeles City and County and a number of other cities have their own local Public Housing Authorities (PHAs) that administer all public housing and Section 8 voucher programs. PHAs are part of the local Continuum of Care (CoC) but also have a direct reporting relationship to the federal Housing and Urban Development Department.

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

A 2013 PBI survey found that by a more than 3-to-1 margin, city voters would regard a problem with city services as best addressed to the councilmember, not the mayor.[29]

Councilmembers are often buffeted by contradictory demands on homelessness from the most active residents of their districts, including business owners, social justice advocates, and neighborhood councils. While some want homeless encampments closed as soon as possible, others advocate for the right of people to live on the street. There are also those who believe that residents of these encampments should not be removed without having access to permanent housing.

Under the city charter, as amended in 1999, the mayor has executive authority over city departments. Most of them report to the mayor through general managers who are under the authority of mayor-appointed commissions. A key role is played by the City Administrative Officer (CAO), who supports the mayor (and to a lesser degree the council) in developing the city budget. CAOs have often been behind the scenes players in homelessness policy both within the city and in negotiations with the county.

On the county side, the five supervisors play varying roles in the homelessness issue, with some members more active than others. As a body that combines legislative and executive authority, the supervisors must reach a majority of three votes to set policy. The role of Board Chair rotates among the members.

Individual supervisors are assigned to be the lead for individual departments, and often assign deputies to help them carry out this large responsibility. The Board appoints and removes a Chief Executive Officer (CEO). Under current Board policy, the CEO is the formal reporting authority for department heads. But the ultimate power is in the hands of the supervisors.

Massive county departments, run by appointed executives who report to the Board of Supervisors through the CEO, are subject not only ultimately to each Supervisor, but also to federal and state agencies for how they spend their budgets.[30] While these departments play the main role in providing social services for people experiencing homelessness, homelessness is not their main task.

The passage of Measure HHH and H ushered in some changes to this governance system. HHH authorized the sale of bonds to be used for specific purposes (mostly capital expenditures for supportive housing) and for other

---

29 Michael Finnegan, "Poll Shows Garcetti Gets High Marks at 100 Day Mark," *Los Angeles Times*, October 10 2013. https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-garcetti-poll-approval-20131006-story.html Only 8% of voters reported they would contact the mayor, while 27% chose the city council.

30 While city departments also receive considerable federal and state aid with strings attached, the county has historically had the larger share of its funding from outside agencies.

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

homeless facilities. H authorized revenues that can be used for a wider range of program costs (also including capital but mostly staffing, supportive services, and other ongoing annual costs). Control over HHH rests with the City of Los Angeles. Measure H is in the county's hands.

While the city and county have found ways to work together, there is still a perceived lack of mutual appreciation. For example, some city officials say that county leaders do not grasp the direct grassroot pressures on homelessness that they experience, while some county officials note that they have put an unrecognized level of funding and the work of social service departments into addressing homelessness.

> "There is nothing keeping the City of Los Angeles, the 87 other cities, including three with their own Continuum of Care Boards, and LA County from operating separately from each other in addressing homelessness.

Three cities have their own independent programs for homelessness, with their own Continuums of Care: Glendale, Long Beach, and Pasadena. They can qualify to directly receive funding from the U.S. Department of Housing and Development (HUD).

Pasadena and Long Beach are also among an even smaller number of cities in California that have their own public health departments.[31]

These core governance structures are independent of one another. There is nothing keeping the City of Los Angeles, the 87 other cities, including three with their own CoC, and the County from operating separately from each other in addressing homelessness.

LAHSA's Role

The only governance body that is shared by the City and County of Los Angeles in the homelessness arena is the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority (LAHSA). LAHSA is a joint powers authority that was created in 1993 as a way to settle an ongoing lawsuit by the City against the County regarding provision of social services.

LAHSA's responsibilities have increased since its creation, especially since Measure H brought it new funding. It now has a large array of roles including serving as the lead agency for the Continuum of Care, coordinating and managing over $800 million in federal, state, county, and local funds, and providing services to people experiencing homelessness. It also funds more than 100 nonprofit agencies providing services, including outreach. LAHSA plays a major role in connecting people experiencing homelessness with shelter, transitional and permanent housing.[32]

---

31 Pomona, La Verne and Claremont have their own mental health system through Tri-City Mental Health Center, which plays a central role in implementing the homeless response system in the east San Gabriel Valley.

32 https://www.lahsa.org/about

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

> **"The fact is that LAHSA was never designed, nor has it evolved into, the kind of entity that can knit together the fragmented threads of LA governance in homelessness policy.**

LAHSA is governed both by an appointed commission and by the CoC committee that is required by HUD for the receipt of funding to local governments. LAHSA's commission has five city and five county appointed board members.

LAHSA also has various advisory committees, including the Lived Experience Advisory Board, the Ad Hoc Committee for Black People Experiencing Homelessness, the Ad Hoc Governance Committee and the Regional Homelessness Advisory Council (RHAC).[33]

In 2015, the Board of Supervisors established its own Homeless Initiative, which rests within the CEO's office. The head of the Homeless Initiative reports to the Board through the CEO and since 2017 has made recommendations for the allocation of Measure H funding to county departments, to LAHSA, and to other entities (including cities).

LAHSA and county departments are designated as the lead agencies for particular target activities, for which they receive Measure H money. LAHSA is a major recipient of these Measure H funds; it receives roughly half of all allocations.

While LAHSA's role and funding have expanded, it cannot play the systemic role of coordinating the overall homelessness effort. And it often gets caught in the middle between the city and county.

Some county officials seem to think LAHSA is too city-oriented. Some LA City officials, especially councilmembers, express frustration that LAHSA cannot help them address homelessness in their own districts (even as we note that some demands are unrealistic and that LAHSA is unable to fulfill them).

The fact is that LAHSA was never designed nor has it evolved into the kind of entity that can knit together the fragmented threads of LA governance in homelessness policy.

When things go badly, LAHSA has often been the one that both sides blame. Yet, it does not have the authority (even with lots of money through Measure H) to be able to defend itself or resist political pressures from its parent governments to implement at times short-term programs and plans that are not part of a long-term planning process and that can change suddenly and without warning.

The report of LAHSA's Ad Hoc Committee on Governance found significant operational and administrative problems in LAHSA that need to be fixed along with a better governance structure of its own. But it concluded that LAHSA's future depends on a stronger regional system that can tie together the overall mission. According to the Ad Hoc Committee, such a regional force could help align LAHSA's work in a more effective direction.

---

33 Ann Oliva's study of LAHSA, *op. cit.*, conducted for LAHSA's Ad Hoc Committee on Governance, provides invaluable history and analysis of LAHSA's past and present roles.

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

The recommendation made in this report will hopefully fill that space in a manner that helps LAHSA achieve its full potential. It may also help LAHSA and other agencies to identify and fix organizational problems within LAHSA that could interfere with its potential role in achieving community-wide goals.

Analysis of the Governance Structure on Homelessness

The current governance structure for homelessness is not working as it should and is not on a path toward correction.

> **"While city-county collaboration is valuable, we don't need another formal city-county collaboration.**

While there are numerous policy successes from various sectors of the system, the current structure does not provide a systematic approach. A better governance structure could offer a foundation to build on successes and to communicate how those fit into a broader strategy.

Beyond this broad conclusion, I was determined to dig deeper and to question my own assumptions about the nature of the governance problem in Los Angeles. A number of surprises emerged from my research that cast the problems of governance in a clearer light.

As a lay observer of the homelessness issue, I began this journey with several tentative assumptions about the governance problems in this system:

- A lack of collaboration between the City and County of Los Angeles
- A lack of leadership
- A lack of coordination
- A lack of data
- A lack of money
- A lack of organizational improvements in existing agencies

While there is merit in each these "lacks", I have concluded that they are insufficient to either describe the governance problem in its full scope, or to guide us to a better structural solution. Even if each and every one of these problems were to be fixed, we might not be much better off than we are now.

While city-county collaboration is valuable, we don't need another formal city-county collaboration

Many observers have focused on the lack of a formal structure that would tie the city and county together toward a common purpose. Occasionally, the state has played a role in surmounting city-county mutual isolation, such as the creation of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority in 1993. On other occasions, city-county bodies have been created on issues of common concern.[34]

34 Sonenshein and LWVLA, Structure…, Chapter 8.

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

Homelessness has not easily tied the City and County together. In 1993, the city and county themselves, under pressure from a city lawsuit against the county demanding more funding for services, formed a Joint Powers Authority known as LAHSA. Each side promised to provide resources to LAHSA, which was envisioned as a sort of coordinating body between the two. As noted above, LAHSA was neither designed nor supported to be such a coordinating body, nor was it a vehicle for shared city-county efforts.

> **"The obstacles to city-county collaboration are not due to ill will or misrule … they are the results of … structural differences between the two governments, amplified by their massive size, and by the multiple complexities of the homelessness issue.**

At other times, philanthropy and other civic stakeholders, especially the Home for Good led by United Way of Greater Los Angeles, intervened to bring the city and county to the table.[35] This effort reached a high point in 2015 through 2017 around the development of and mobilization for two ballot measures that became known as Measure HHH (City of Los Angeles, 2016) and Measure H (Los Angeles County, 2017).

Both ballot measures passed with more than the required two-thirds majority, and new funds flowed into addressing homelessness. When the city and county issued compatible homelessness initiatives on the same day, long-term collaboration seemed assured.

While the new money fostered a major upsurge in housing now beginning to come on line and more services provided from the county, it did not create a new era of collaboration. Measure HHH was a city project and Measure H money flowed through the county's own homelessness initiative. There was little mutual accountability between city and county. The great spirit of 2015 through 2017 devolved back into the mutual isolation, occasional collaboration, and a common feeling of not being appreciated for contributions made.

These obstacles to city-county collaboration are not due to ill will or misrule. They are the results of a combination of the structural differences between the two governments amplified by their massive size, and by the multiple complexities of the homelessness issue.

Reinvesting in a new Joint Powers Authority around homelessness is likely to be time consuming and still bring only temporary improvements in the city-county relationship. The cost of that approach will be the loss of momentum, as the detailed negotiations of a common structure are worked out only to find the reality of a return to a very mixed relationship. Importantly, other stakeholders (smaller cities, COGs, and others) often find themselves excluded from power agreements between the City of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County.

---

35 Inouye, Irene Hirano. *Scaling Up: How Philanthropy Helped Unlock $4.7 Billion to Tackle Homelessness in Los Angeles*. 2021. University of Southern California. https://s3-us-west-1.amazonaws.com/uwgla-cms-prod/media/filer_public/8a/cd/8acd5957-e187-42f3-aca2-f7b9b88d2bef/usc-case-study.pdf

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

> **A look under the hood of the governance car would likely reveal rubber bands, extra hoses, and clips going who knows where to keep the car running but no consistent system to set the direction of the vehicle.**

The state of California is highly unlikely to intervene to force a better city-county relationship. Unlike in New York, where the state government has intervened in a major way in New York City governance, there is great reluctance in Sacramento to play such a dominating role in Los Angeles governance. The state is not going to ride to the governance rescue.

The city and county must be in a central, leading role in any new system of governance around a shared mission, whether or not they are allies or partners with each other on a day-to-day basis. We need a structure that will work effectively even when the city and county are not on the same page. While collaboration between the two governments is always a great asset, its temporary absence should not block progress.

While we have plenty of coordination, we lack systematic cross-sector collaboration.

A lack of coordination is not the fundamental problem. In fact, there is an extremely high degree of informal coordination among a host of participants in the homelessness policy system. Conversation after conversation revealed a surprisingly dense network of personal and professional interactions across boundaries, leading to solutions to particular, even isolated problems in homelessness.

Yet, this (over)reliance on informal coordination often generates new problems. We end up with a morass of intersecting relationships and agreements unconnected to an overall mission. What if the person with whom you are working to solve pieces of the problem retires or is reassigned? What if you leave?

While these "workarounds" often occur at the staff level, even the elected officials have their own connections with their peers and/or staff to help get things done. The problem is a lack of systematic collaboration around a common mission.

A look under the hood of the governance car would likely reveal rubber bands, extra hoses, and clips going who knows where to keep the car running but no consistent system to set the direction of the vehicle.

We have plenty of leadership, coming from all directions and going every which way; we lack a mission and a direction toward which leaders can contribute.

With the great public attention to homelessness, leaders in all sectors have incentives and pressures to present ideas or approaches that will solve the problem once and for all. In a systematic governance structure, this would be all to the good. But when the system is deeply fragmented, it creates instead a tendency toward freelancing.

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

> **The homelessness system suffers from data problems that interfere with getting to the next outcome-based level. We are not short of data. We are flooded with data. What we don't have is credible, shared data that are driven, above all, by outcomes.**

Freelancing is not a bad thing in itself, if this creative intervention flows into a common mission toward shared goals. In fact, it is a worthy approach in a place like Los Angeles where there are many talented and creative people, and where institutions and people work best when encouraged to roam freely.

In the current circumstance, freelancing leads to jarring shifts of direction, multiple battle plans, mixed messages to and from stakeholders and to the wider community, and a general sense of chaos and uncertainty.

The homelessness system suffers from a series of data problems that interfere with getting to the next level, based on outcomes. We are not short of data. We are flooded with data. We don't have credible, shared data that are driven, above all, by outcomes.

We do not have a full picture of the size of the unhoused population. While this is a problem in many cities and counties across the country, the situation here is exacerbated by "data silos." Sources of data are kept in mutually-isolated agencies following their own valid rules and regulations, which are often required by federal and state law.

As a result, those in the field with whom I spoke expressed frustration with obtaining the information and data they need to make decisions and to address and solve problems.

The need to demonstrate success to funders, whether in government or in philanthropy, also pushes participants in the system to measure outputs, not outcomes. Governmental and private funders have to be brought into the conversation to help us enhance the measurement of broad outcomes system wide.

More data will not solve this problem, but instead will reinforce the problem as new data flow into the same institutional structures as before. We need a much more robust ability to convert data from all sources into a common enterprise that will generate movement toward outcomes with a common mission and strategy.

When we think about racial equity in addressing homelessness, the question of outcomes must be expanded beyond the numbers. To be fair, quantitative data has made and continues to make a great contribution in highlighting the vastly disproportionate impact of homelessness on African Americans, showing the differential impact of policies that reinforce racial inequity on communities of color. The numbers can tell us who is most vulnerable to becoming unhoused.

But there are outcomes for which the numbers are insufficient.

Historical analysis can give us context that quantitative data alone cannot. Data without context leave us vulnerable to missing the deeper institutional trenches that we need to confront in order to successfully address homelessness. The thorough analysis by a UCLA team of the history of homelessness

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

> **The unhoused are people, not numbers, and an outcome system only designed to produce results on a column of figures becomes another way to not really see people who are unhoused.**

in Los Angeles should be required reading for today's policymakers.[36] Richard Rothstein has unraveled the historical roots of the government policies that systematically embedded racial inequity in housing.[37] In a similar vein, this historical approach is a strength of Judge David O. Carter's 110-page order released on 20 April 2021.[38]

Outcomes must be qualitative as well as quantitative. The unhoused are people, not numbers, and an outcome system only designed to produce results on a column of figures becomes another way to not really see people who are unhoused. People come to be unhoused from many different places and in many different ways. This is a large part of what makes homelessness policy so complex.

In my conversations with people within the Lived Expertise community, I heard a range of concerns that crossed questions of race and also how challenging it is for unhoused people to connect with places where decisions are made.[39] As we measure outcomes, incorporating these perspectives will be essential.

This is where the voices of people who are currently unhoused, as well as those who have been there before, can help shape policy and evaluate outcomes. And because of the overrepresentation of African Americans among unhoused people, effective outcomes will require new ways of addressing the experience of race and racism.

These approaches will also help to address the inequities facing other communities of color. The opportunity for people who are unhoused to convey their individual life situations, regardless of the necessary requirements for common ways to categorize them, calls on the skills of oral history and trusted conversation partners.[40]

We definitely and urgently do need more money to address homelessness. We don't have a way to align funding to achieve outcomes within an overall strategy that can encourage further investment in the Los Angeles effort.

Tens of thousands of people are unsheltered and they do not have enough income to pay rent. The overall system needs to have enough money to provide more buildings, staff, food, including shelter beds or rooms, housing subsidies,

---

36 Sheeley, Kirsten Moore, Katz, Alisa Belinkoff, Klein, Andrew, Richards, Jessica, Verri, Fernanda Jahn, Vestal, Marques, Yaroslavsky, Zev, and Nelson, Kyle. The Making of a Crisis: A History of Homelessness in Los Angeles. 2021. https://luskincenter.history.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/66/2021/01/LCHP-The-Making-of-A-Crisis-Report.pdf

37 Rothstein, op. cit.

38 https://ca-times.brightspotcdn.com/47/f7/c117263f4f03b6be5f1b5bef207d/injuction.pdf

39 I thank Bill Pitkin, consultant to the Weingart Foundation, for setting up and facilitating these productive conversations. The LAHSA study on Black People Experiencing Homelessness is a unique resource on these questions, and its appendix of interviews is invaluable.

40 Kerr, Daniel. "*We Know What the Problem Is": Using Oral History to Develop a Collaborative Analysis of Homelessness from the Bottom Up.* The Oral History Review, 301, 27-45. Taylor & Francis, Ltd, 2003. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3675350

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

and services. But each of these problems reflect a common characteristic: the absence of a centered system, one that pursues a unified mission with set goals that can be consistently evaluated.

Before HHH and H, those investments were at the scale of pilot projects for a few hundred people at a time. The added resources have helped the system grow to assist thousands more people each year. Yet, we need to assist tens of thousands of people.

Measures HHH and H demonstrated that money does make a tremendous difference in the system's ability to produce results. However, money can both support and impede cross-sector collaboration toward a common mission.

> **"Alignment towards outcomes is essential. If overlooked, a significant opportunity will be wasted.**

The availability of these revenues did create substantial collaboration between the city and county, which entered into an MOU to coordinate investments in housing capital (with HHH), operating subsidies (with housing authority vouchers), and county services (enabled in part by H). But the momentum around Measures HHH and H did not create the structure or cohesion for ongoing alignment. As a result, it increasingly seems that each recipient of new dollars goes its own way without shared strategies and accountability.

With the impending inflow of federal, state, and local funding for homelessness, money alone will neither create a strategy nor a plan with clear outcomes. Alignment toward outcomes is essential. If overlooked, a significant opportunity will be wasted.

Finally, there is considerable interest in fixing existing governing institutions, particularly LAHSA.

The various efforts to reform LAHSA, improve its governance and operations, and achieve its full potential are worthy of support. The main task now, however, is to address the need for a broad mission, based on outcomes, that can unify the community around these outcomes.

The best way to help LAHSA and other organizations to make their potential contribution to the overall effort is to create a centered mission and plan to which they can align their work and make necessary internal improvements to get there.

The lack of a centering mechanism or entity has contributed to the amassing of data without coherence, the scattering of leadership, the lack of a sense of how money is shaping outcomes, and informal coordinating workarounds. Anything short of creating a new, impactful center to the system will only mean more spinning of wheels and more frustration.

Regarding the need for a centering mechanism today, that space is now empty.

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

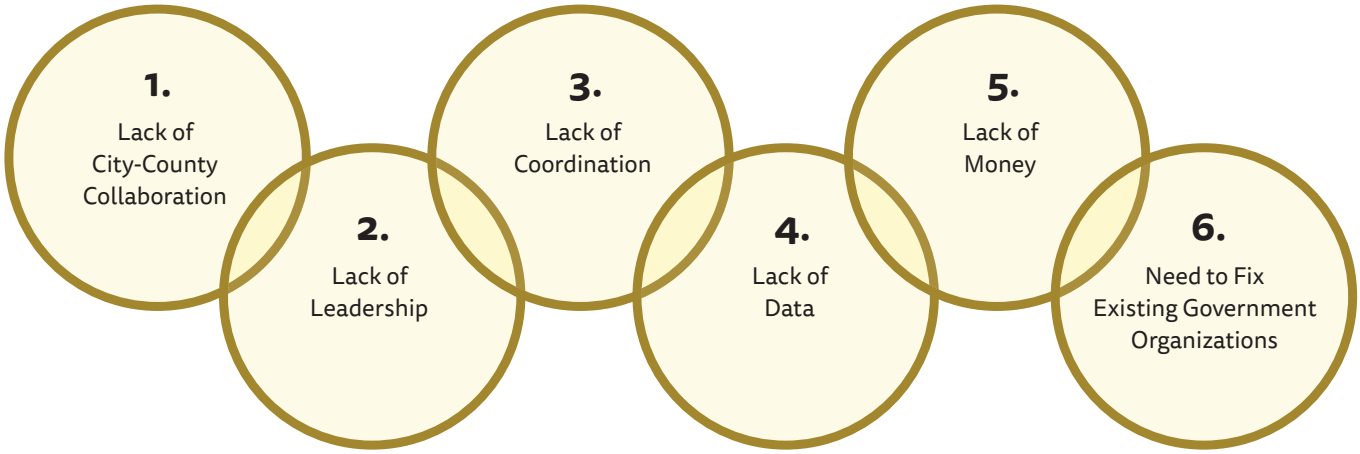


FIGURE 2: Assumptions about Governance Problems

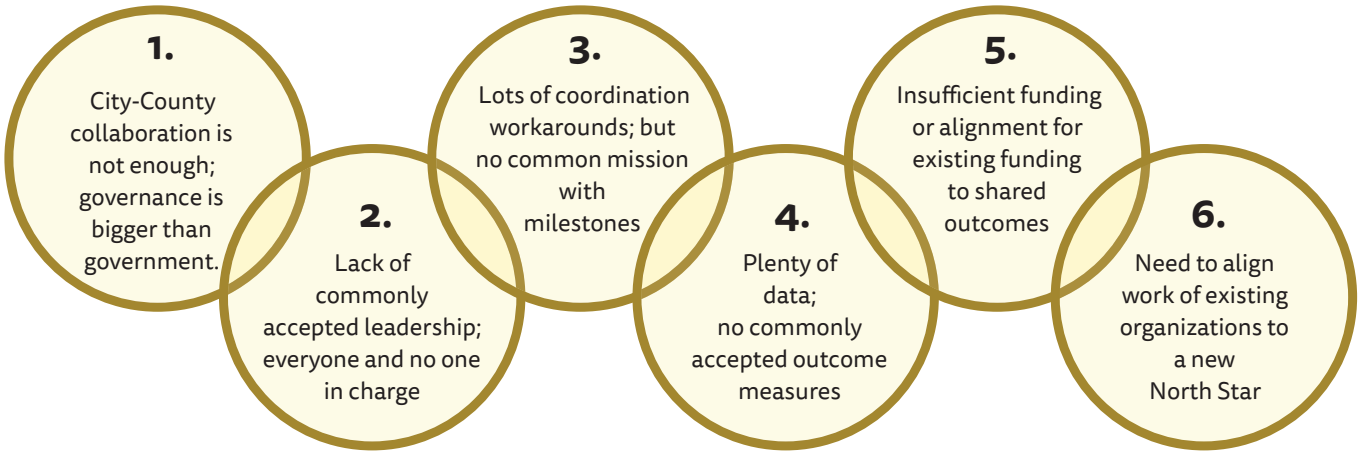


FIGURE 3: The actual Governance Problems

The Homeless Governance Problem
(continued)

FIGURE 4: This is what a centering entity must do

PART TWO
The Governance Solution

A New Centering Entity

Based on the problems identified in Part One of this report, I recommend the creation of a centering entity that will serve as the home base of the system to address homelessness in Los Angeles. The Center will develop consensus around a common mission and set of outcomes. No such centering entity exists in Los Angeles today.

This entity will be custom designed for Los Angeles, while borrowing ideas and experience from other cities and counties around the nation.

We in Los Angeles are not the only ones struggling with how to improve governance of homelessness. Nations, states, counties, and cities are looking into different ways to create and sustain "cross-sector collaborations" in addressing homelessness.

In 2019, the European Union conducted a survey of its 35 member and candidate states, and found that only Finland had experienced an actual decline in the unhoused population.[41] A study of cross-sector homelessness collaborations in Scotland found a hodgepodge of local programs, with those that had common missions and measurement of progress toward goals achieving better outcomes in addressing homelessness.[42]

In the United States, homelessness has largely been treated as a local issue, which has placed immense burdens on city and county governments. Some national leadership has been exercised, including the catalytic role of the U.S. Interagency Council on Homelessness. The Council has helped seed experimentation, and has developed a widely-adopted objective: to make homelessness, "rare, brief, and non-recurring."[43]

The US Department of Housing and Urban Development has played a major role in local homelessness efforts by tying HUD funding to the creation of CoCs. A recent study has found mixed results from these governance structures required by HUD.[44]

Given the importance of federal funding through HUD, the decision on whether to take a fresh look at how CoCs are regulated will be very impactful.

---

41 Baptista, I. and Marlier, E. (2019), "Fighting homelessness and housing exclusion in Europe: A study of national policies", European Social Policy Network (ESPN), Brussels: European Commission.

42 S. Boesveldt, N.F., Van Montfort, A.J.G.M., and Boutellier, J.C.J. *The Efficacy of Local Governance Arrangements in Relation to Homelessness. A Comparison of Copenhagen, Glasgow and Amsterdam.* 2017. https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s11115-017-0378-2.pdf

43 Department of Health and Human Services, United States. Interagency Commission on Homelessness Annual Report 2020. https://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/Homelessness/Resources/Files/Documents/Annual%20Reports/2020-ICHAnnual%20Report.pdf

44 Malloy, *op.cit.*

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

> **One of the closest models for Los Angeles is Seattle and King County in the state of Washington. With increasing property costs, Seattle and King bear some resemblance to the City of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County.**

Finding a single model from around the nation is quite difficult because the existing governance structures are so different. For example:

- San Francisco, Denver, and New York City all have combined city-county governments. Their governance challenges are likely to be quite different than what Los Angeles faces.
- In Salt Lake City, the state of Utah plays the principal role.
- In Portland, Oregon a decades-long tradition of grassroots participation may account for the dense organizational representational model of its homelessness governance program.
- Washington, DC, where homeless encampments sit next to the Federal Reserve, is a federal territory without statehood whose governance depends in part on Congress.[45]
- Montgomery County, Maryland, which has few cities of significant size, places the great share of its authority in the County.

While the largest cities, such as Los Angeles and New York City, require their own customized governance structures, the difference in political culture and governmental structures between the two largest cities are so staggering that they stand as opposite poles of urban governance.

One of the closest models for Los Angeles is Seattle and King County in the state of Washington. With increasing property costs, Seattle and King bear some resemblance to the City of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County. Seattle is now one of the leading locales for unhoused populations in the nation (generally listed third after New York City and Los Angeles).

At times, Seattle seems like a smaller-scale version of Los Angeles, with towering prosperity resting next to people who are unhoused. Not surprisingly, there has been a continuing interchange of experience between the Seattle region and Los Angeles.[46,47]

This interaction is far more extensive than current conversations about homelessness governance between Los Angeles and New York City.[48]

---

45 Rachel Siegel, "Two blocks from the Federal Reserve, a growing encampment of the homeless grips the economy's most powerful person, The Washington Post, April 17 2021. https://www.washington-post.com/business/2021/04/17/homeless-tent-city-federal-reserve-jerome-powell/

46 Ann Oliva, who conducted the governance study of LAHSA, also conducted research for Seattle. Furthermore, the Ballmer Group, headquartered in Seattle and with a strong presence in Los Angeles, has promoted dialogue between the two communities.

47 See also https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2019-08-01/california-homeless-people-housing-national-model-conference *Los Angeles Times*, August 1, 2019 for mutual learning between Seattle and Los Angeles.

48 Some years ago, the New York City experience with Housing First as a policy approach influenced Los Angeles to go in that direction.

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

> **We must first determine the functions that need to be carried out … If we as a community can reach consensus on these functions, it will be easier to align the community's effort toward a common purpose.**

For more than three years, Seattle has pursued a joint powers authority between city and county regarding homelessness. By 2021, the new joint powers authority that combined important city and county functions in housing and social services, was implemented and a CEO hired. The long path to this agreement is a reminder that such agreements are not easily or quickly designed, implemented and maintained.

Another relevant West Coast model is the 2021 creation of the Bay Area Regional Action Plan, which brings together mostly elected officials throughout nine counties in the Bay Area. Unlike the Seattle case, this is a voluntary compact to create a common strategy around homelessness and to draw commitments from governing bodies. The governor's office played a supportive role in facilitating the Action Plan.

In designing the centering entity proposed herein, I have borrowed aspects from these and other models around the nation, specifically those that focus on generating a shared mission, common goals, strong outcome measurements, and commitment by elected officials and their governments.

I have customized the entity to fit within the fragmented and dispersed system of horizontal power in Los Angeles, to maximize its impact and contribution by filling in the missing center of homelessness governance in Los Angeles.

Los Angeles is both too big and diverse in local governments to be thought of as a typical city and county, and also too different from such other mega-cities like New York City and Chicago to be like those vertically organized, power-based systems.

The structure of the entity should follow its function. I begin therefore with the functions that should be carried out by the proposed entity. If we as a community can reach consensus on these functions, then it will be easier to move to the next step, which is aligning the community's effort toward a common purpose.

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

The proposed functions of the centering entity

*To plan and lead a commitment to reduce by half street homelessness in Los Angeles County with access to permanent (and if necessary, supportive) housing within five years of the establishment of the entity.

To establish milestones for outcomes and ways to measure them that are transparent to stakeholders, the unhoused and unsheltered, and the public

To communicate regularly the results of these outcome measures to stakeholders, people experiencing homelessness, and the public

* This is an example of a broad goal that the Center could set as a target. Others are possible. Community conversation will help generate others, and support the selection of a guiding mission.

These functions determine the type of entity to be recommended. It should be lean and impactful, able to roam freely over the scope of the homelessness crisis, to be able to address prevention as well as re-housing and to not be subject to the direct control of other agencies in the region.

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

THE CENTER

The Home Base of the Community-Wide Commitment to Address Homelessness in Los Angeles

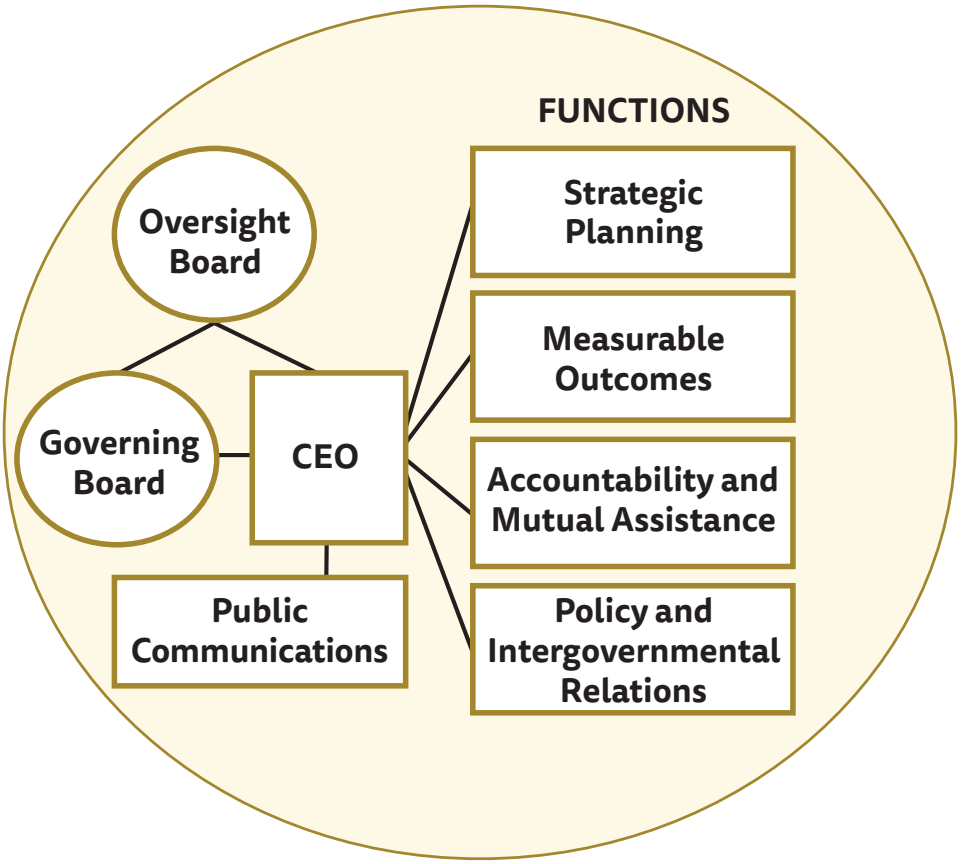


FIGURE 5: The proposed structure of the entity, tentatively labeled "The Center" *(a final name for the Center should be determined through community conversation)*

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

Composition of The Governing Board

- **The Governing Board (n=7)**
  Hires and removes the CEO
- ***Ex officio* Co-Chairs:**
  Mayor of the City of Los Angeles
  Chair of the LA County Board of Supervisors
- **Chair of the Oversight Board**
- **CEO of the Center**
- **State representative**
  Designated by the Governor
- **Representatives of non-LA city governments**

Composition of The Oversight Board

- **The Oversight Board (n=15–21)**
  Members nominated by the CEO and confirmed by the Governing Board
- **Philanthropy, Business, Labor**
- **Public School System Leadership**
- **Lived Experience and Lived Expertise**
  Including youth
- **University and Government Researchers**
- **Leaders of civic, provider, and faith-based organizations**

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

The structure of the Center is very simple and built around activities rather than about offices or divisions, in order to reduce unnecessary bureaucracy.

These activities will include:

- **Strategic planning.** The Center's duty is to develop, test, build consensus around and implement a five-year strategic plan that can win stakeholder support, with the possibility that it will have to be amended over that time period. This function includes providing a setting to "vet" ideas and proposals within a common framework and replacing the current practice of new ideas being thrown out for public review without any shared evaluation and discussion.
- **Measurable outcomes.** These outcomes are not only broad outcomes about the unhoused and unsheltered, but more specific outcomes regarding racism and racial inequity.
- **Policy and intergovernmental relations.** As the one place that should have its eyes on the whole system, the Center will be alert to all policies (even those that might seem tangential at first) that affect homelessness. The prevention sphere includes such policies as incarceration, child welfare, mental health, and income support. The Center will actively advocate for policy changes in these and other areas that affect homelessness. A strategy for defining and pursuing homelessness prevention is critical.
- **Accountability and assistance.** The Center will push and prod elected and appointed officials, nonprofit organizations, the private sector, philanthropy and others to help make the plan a success. At the same time, the Center will advocate for policy changes at the federal and state levels that can help these local officials and organizations contribute to the common mission.
- **Public communication.** The Center will become the most credible source of information to the public. This includes information even when the news is bad, and when the Center itself is falling short of its promised outcomes.[49]

49 Culhane, Dennis P., David Eldridge, Robert Rosenheck and Carol Wilkins. "Making Homelessness Programs Accountable to Consumers, Funders and the Public" *National Symposiums on Homelessness Research* (1997) Available at: http://works.bepress.com/dennis_culhane/23/

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

The CEO, and the Governing and Oversight Boards: A Different Kind of Power

This entity offers a different kind of power than the traditional, command-and-control, top-down model of single authority of government or a joint powers authority between a city and county government.

> **"The Center offers a different kind of power than the traditional, command-and-control, top-down model of single authority of government or a joint powers authority between a city and county government.**

The unique nature of fragmented city and county governments in Los Angeles, the fractured nature of its homelessness governance system, and the long-lived, long-term and complex nature of homelessness, call for a unique centering structure.

The entity is built around a model of governance in which leaders of formal government institutions participate in a collective arrangement with civic society and the community. The entity brings together in a tightly-knit fashion those who can bring their own strengths of power and influence—whether formal government authority, philanthropic resources, community recognition and support, lived expertise, and research—to form a collective unit capable of truly centering the mission of addressing homelessness in Los Angeles.

The combination of a strong leadership structure and the consistent advocacy toward a common mission will help the Center evolve over time. Such a Center can exert significant influence on all sectors of the homelessness system, holding itself and others accountable for their contribution to the overall mission.

In turn, this can help foster systemic change not only overall, but within each jurisdiction in the homelessness policy system. The Center can provide a place to bring proposals for organizational change within the system, including LAHSA, and foster proposals that can be implemented.

The Center's leadership system involves an empowered CEO, who reports directly to a small Governing Board. The larger Oversight Board will be designed to be far more than an advisory committee. It will include key stakeholders who have reach into the community and who have demonstrated that membership on this body will be one of their principal civic duties. Subject matter experts and practitioners will ground recommendations from the Oversight Board based on best practices and problem solving.

The Oversight Board contains some of the features of the "collective impact" model that has enjoyed considerable success in unifying community efforts on difficult issues.[50] It links this model to the power of the governing board,

50 The Ballmer Group has developed a collective impact model (Strive Together) around supporting educational attainment from cradle to career that has been adopted in numerous communities. https://www.strivetogether.org/what-we-do/our-approach/#sub-menu

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

which embodies the central commitment of the government bodies that will ultimately craft and implement policies.

This represents an "inside-outside" combination of government and the civic community.

The Lived Experience role on this powerful Oversight Board will put people experiencing homelessness past and present at the literal center of the overall homelessness policy effort. One of those seats will be for youth, a People Experiencing Homelessness (PEH) constituency that has been increasingly active on the advocacy front.

The Governing Board will have only seven members. The two key elected officials on the board are the mayor of Los Angeles and the chair of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. They are placed in *ex officio* roles as co-chairs. Each co-chair will have a designated alternate. In the case of the Los Angeles mayor, it will be the president of the Los Angeles City Council. The alternate for the chair of the Los Angeles County Board will be another supervisor.

> "The Center's success will depend on the relationship and interplay among the CEO, the Governing Board, and the Oversight Board. There will be a great deal of power and influence at these three tables.

With the agreement of the LA City Council and the County Board of Supervisors, these leaders will have the authority to implement change within their own governments. This design differs from a joint powers authority in that these leaders bring the practical commitment of their respective governments, but not as a result of a formal agreement. And it has the virtue of being able to start immediately, at the first meeting at which these two leaders join the effort.

Those cities with significant populations of people experiencing homelessness and that are ready to commit to play an active role in the Center will have representation of elected officials on the Governing Board, through a process yet to be determined.

The board includes an appointee of the Governor of California. While this role does not give the state any formal authority over the Center, it links the Center to the most important public office in California. As the example of the Bay Area Regional Action Plan indicates, the state may be more willing to assist in the development of a locally-designed governance structure than to try, in the New York model, to impose its authority on the local community.

The Center's success will depend on the relationship and interplay among the CEO, the Governing Board, and the Oversight Board. There will be a great deal of power and influence at these three tables.

The CEO of the Center and the Oversight Board are meant to be strong, impactful participants.

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

> **"Remaking a century of Los Angeles governance to create a "unified power system" seems likely to drag out the homelessness crisis beyond all patience.**

In order to ensure that role, they both have seats on the Governing Board. The Chair of the Oversight Board will serve on the Governing Board, with the Vice Chair as alternate member.

The CEO will provide consistent leadership so that the Center is on a steady pace to generate outcome data, research on best practices, and proposals for immediate and long-term action.

All the leaders in the Center must be able to disagree with and challenge each other, while maintaining an overall, visible unity of purpose around a common mission. The community and stakeholders will be watching to see if parochialism and blame-shifting dominate, or if these powerful players will instead elevate and promote the common mission.

The strength of the Center comes from its mission and its governance structure. Students of public administration increasingly understand that government is embedded in a larger network of governance, especially in situations where cross-sector collaboration is required. It must also operate within the political culture of the community.

As compared to the great urban governments in the East and Midwest, Los Angeles governance has always operated on a more horizontal than vertical principle. My conversations did indicate some interest in a new power system, whether an "LA Metro style" board of elected officials, a formal City-Council Joint Powers Agreement, or a body with authority to supersede local land use.

While these were compelling arguments, remaking a century of Los Angeles governance to create a "unified power system" seems likely to drag out the homelessness crisis beyond all patience. I ultimately decided not to follow this route and instead propose a new system.

In the current crisis, time and the limited likelihood of enduring collaboration emerging from the long road and power struggles that these changes would entail favored the lean and catalytic design recommended in this report. Even those who favored a more formal change in power structures agreed that the basic problem is still the lack of a center to the homelessness policy system and a common mission that can align leadership in the same direction. And there was wide agreement that we don't have time to lose.

Put another way, the proposed Center is a very L.A. solution.

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

A Different Kind of Power

Even without creating a new structure of governmental power, the Center can accumulate and utilize considerable strength and influence in a way that adds value to the currently de-centered system of homelessness governance. It will be known as a place not to fix each and every structure in town, but to fix the core problem. The Center's strength derives from:

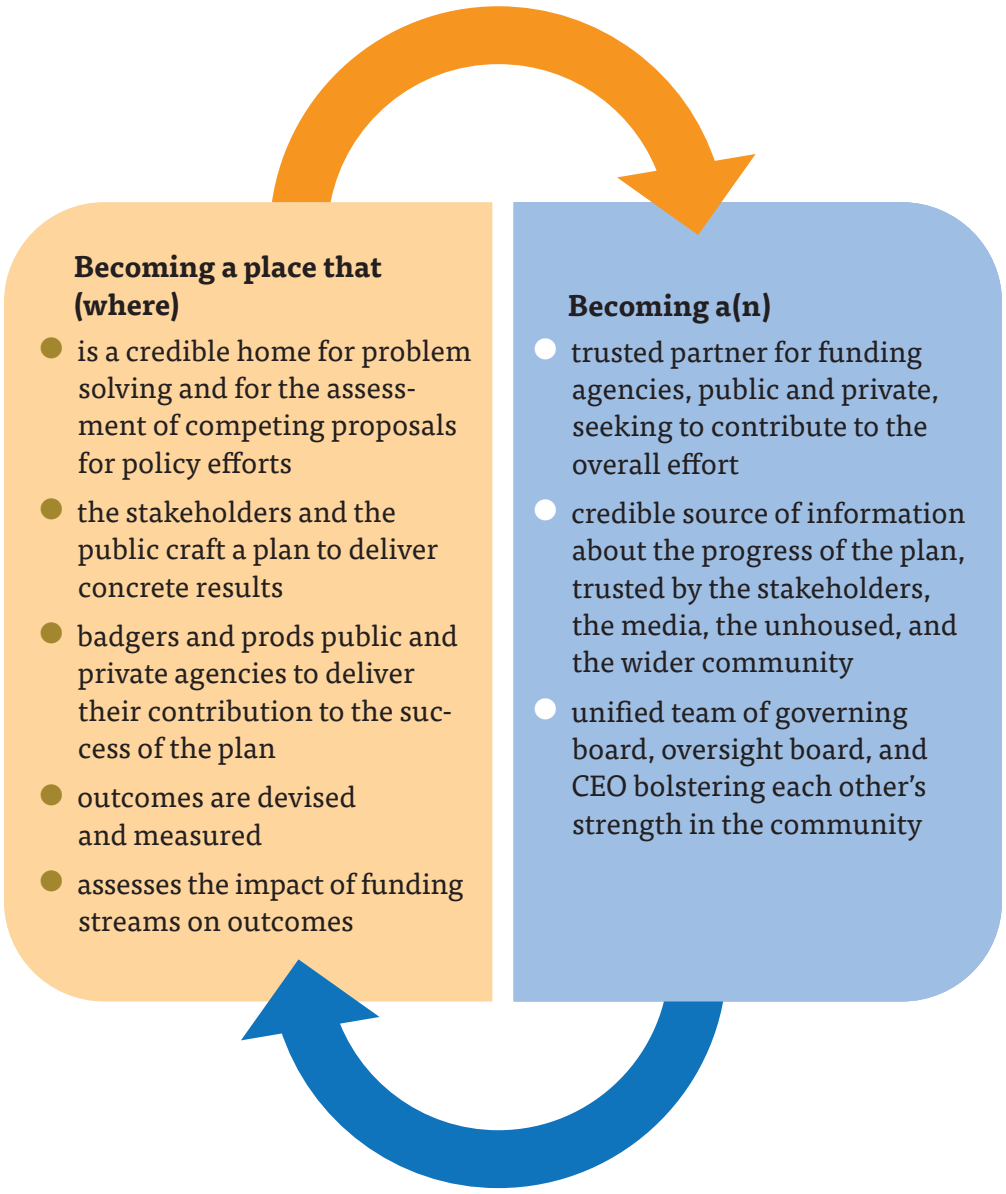


FIGURE 6: The sources of The Center's outcomes-oriented strengths

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

If the following words are associated with The Center, it will have power to make a major contribution:

FIGURE 7: Aspirational word cloud for The Center

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

How the Center Can Hear the Voices of Lived Experience and Expertise

- **Place Lived Experience and Expertise on powerful Oversight Board** with appropriate professional support to become full contributing members
- **Undertake aggressive program to gather data on perspectives and experiences of People Experiencing Homelessness** and ensure that those voices are heard at all levels of the system
- **Promote Center-staff interaction with the Lived Experience Community** on a regular basis to obtain feedback that is listened to in the design and operation of programs

The distinctions among lived experience, lived expertise, and experts by experience will help guide this process. We use the following definitions:[51]

- **Lived Experience:** The experience(s) of people on whom a social issue, or combination of issues, has had a direct personal impact.
- **Lived Expertise:** Knowledge, insights, understanding and wisdom gathered through lived experience.
- **Experts by Experience:** Social change-makers who seek to use their lived experience to inform the work of social purpose organizations, to drive and lead social change, and/or to drive their social impact work.

51 http://thelivedexperience.org/

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

How the Center Can Advance Racial Equity in Addressing Homelessness*

- **Examine and apply recommendations of commissions and research** on racial equity in homelessness
- **Identify and implement plans to directly and in multiple ways hear the voices of PEH** who are people of color
- **Devise and implement outcomes measures** for addressing racial inequity
- **Apply outcome measures on racial equity** in external evaluation of the Center
- **Apply outcome measures on racial equity** in the agencies working directly and indirectly in homelessness policy

* Includes, but is not limited to

- **Ad Hoc Committee on Black People Experiencing Homelessness**
  https://www.lahsa.org/documents?id=2823-report-and-recommendations-of-the-ad-hoc-committee-on-black-people-experiencing-homelessness
- **Native American Homelessness**
  https://lanaic.lacounty.gov/commission/ad-hoc-committees/homelessness/
- **Latino/a Homelessness**
  https://latino.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Stemming-the-Rise-of-Latino-Homelessness-2-1.pdf

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

Implementation

There are a number of ways in which the Center can be constructed and authorized. The most immediate way to get the Center up and running is to constitute it as a nonprofit organization. This model has the advantage of being lean and responsive, although steps would have to be taken to ensure public accountability and transparency.

The Center could evolve into a quasi-governmental agency. While this model ensures transparency in a formal sense, it has the downside that it places the Center within and perhaps under an existing government agency or level of government, and grounds the Center in policy-making bodies in the public sector. The independence of the Center, a key feature of its strength and credibility, must be preserved.

The Center could also be created and authorized by state law. Legislation would ensure its independence from local political and governmental agencies, although it would possibly enable state direction to occur unless the Center's independence is guaranteed.

Finally, the Center could be authorized by a vote of the people through a ballot measure. Voter support could ensure the independence of the Center although steps would have to be taken to not overprescribe duties as sometimes happens with ballot measures.

These various alternatives can also occur in some combination, or in sequence. Given the urgency of the situation, I recommend that the Center launch as a nonprofit organization with philanthropic support. This would also provide maximum flexibility for early design. External evaluations would assess the initial structure and provide appropriate recommendations for future organizational structures.

The Center needs to able to get its arms around homelessness in a flexible and adaptive way. It is ultimately a strategic institution, the purpose of which is to fill the empty center in Los Angeles and build out a broad strategic plan, tied to outcome data, and to be able to hold the various institutions of Los Angeles accountable for their contribution to completing it.

"Given the urgency of the situation, the Center should launch as a nonprofit organization with philanthropic support.

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

Legal Authorization Options for the Center

- **Nonprofit organization with authority to receive public and private funds**
- **Becoming a quasi-public local agency**
- **New or existing state legislation authorizing and empowering the Center**
- **A ballot measure for voters to authorize and empower the Center**

Financing

Startup funding is essential to make this plan work, followed by stable funding for five years. Since the Center will be neither a direct nor indirect provider of services, the cost of operating the Center would be less than if it were a service provider.

Funding sources include: state and federal agencies, city and county agencies, philanthropy and others. The Center will not rest within any of these agencies, but will be accountable to all in the community.

- **Local Government Investment**
- **Federal and State Grants**
- **Philanthropy**

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

Defining the Center

The Center Does:

- create an entity that can be implemented NOW without a JPA or ordinances with room to evolve
- commit the leadership of the principal government bodies to take visible responsibility for the success of this 5-year effort
- create a unified, strategic, powerful mechanism to develop a 5-year plan and get it started this year
- act as a catalyst and focus for unified action
- establish a plan to hold all accountable for their contribution to the plan's success

The Center Does Not:

- attempt to fix the structural challenges within various agencies and organizations (e.g., LAHSA, city, county, COC) in the homeless governance system
- create a new bureaucracy
- create a new city-county superstructure through a new JPA
- remove powers from existing bodies
- act as a direct or indirect service provider

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

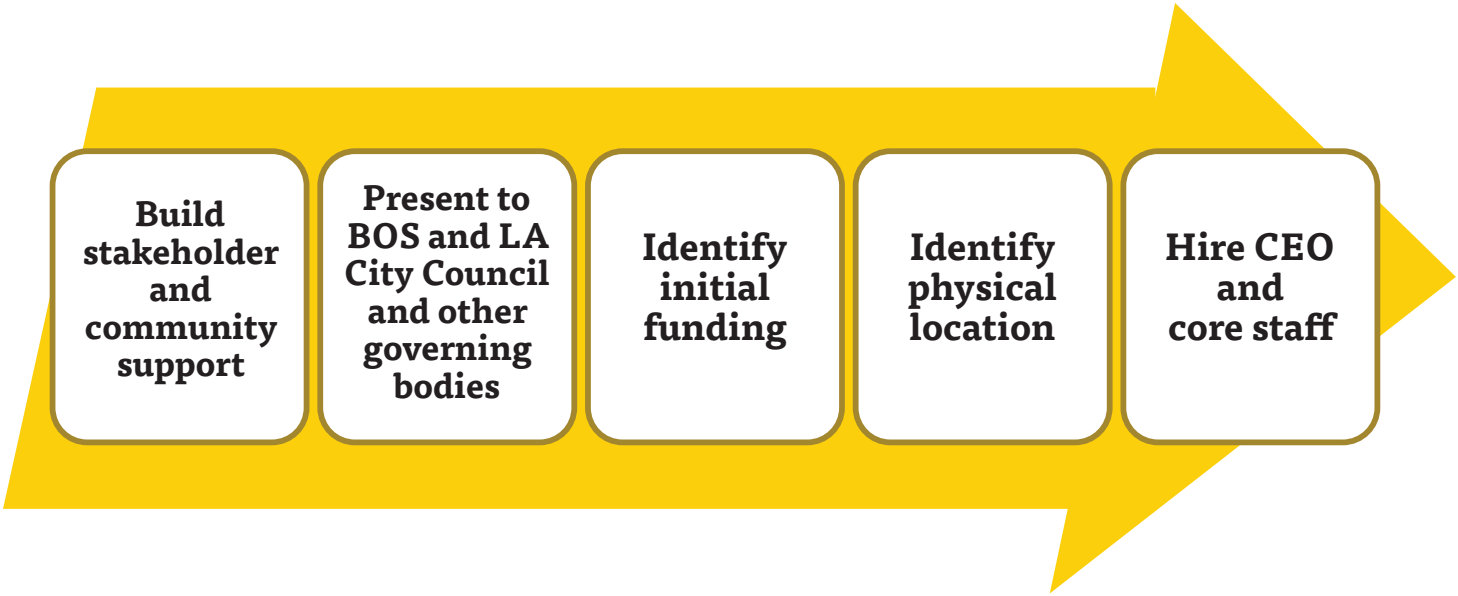
Oversight, Evaluation, and 5-Year Accounting

- The Center must be held accountable for achieving promised outcomes.
- External, independent evaluation needed on a regular basis. Planning for the evaluation to begin at the outset in line with stated mission.
- Sets stage for 5-year evaluation with recommended outcomes: renewal, amended mission, or ending.

As with all aspects of this design, the Center must be held accountable for its work. External evaluation is a critical aspect and should be ongoing. This is particularly important since at the end of the five-year period, a decision should be made whether to continue the Center, close it, or keep it open with amendments.

The Homeless Governance Solution
(continued)

Getting the Center Up and Running



About the Author

Dr. Raphael J. Sonenshein is the Executive Director of the Pat Brown Institute for Public Affairs and Professor of Political Science at California State University, Los Angeles. Previously, he was Chair of the Division of Politics, Administration, and Justice at CSU Fullerton. He received his B.A. in public policy from Princeton, and his M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from Yale. He is the author of three books on Los Angeles politics and government, and is a nationally-recognized expert on urban politics and government, on California and Los Angeles, on home rule and charter reform, and on racial and ethnic politics. His first book *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles* (Princeton U Press, 1993) won the American Political Science Association's 1994 Ralph J. Bunche Award as the best political science book of the year on racial and cultural pluralism.

Between 1997 and 1999, Dr. Sonenshein served as Executive Director of the Los Angeles (Appointed) Charter Reform Commission that led to the city's first comprehensive charter reform in 75 years. His second book *The City at Stake: Secession, Reform, and the Battle for Los Angeles* (Princeton U Press, 2004) tells the story of city's dramatic charter reform. The new charter created an innovative system of neighborhood councils and in 2007, he was appointed Executive Director of the Los Angeles Neighborhood Council Review Commission. He has guided successful charter reform commissions in a half dozen cities. His third book, *Los Angeles: Structure of a City Government* (2006, League of Women Voters, Los Angeles) is widely used in the Los Angeles civic arena and at Los Angeles City Hall.

Dr. Sonenshein has won numerous teaching and research awards, including Best Educator and Distinguished College Faculty Member at CSUF. He received a Wang Family Excellence Award as one of the four most outstanding faculty members in the Cal State system. He was the first winner of the campus-wide Carol Barnes Award for Teaching Excellence and one of two co-winners of the Haynes Foundation Research Impact award. He received the Harry Scoville Award for Academic Excellence from the American Society for Public Administration Southern California Division. Dr. Sonenshein was the fall 2008 Fulbright Tocqueville Distinguished Chair in American Studies at the University of Paris VIII, where he taught and lectured on racial and ethnic politics in the United States. In 2021, he taught a doctoral class at the Pardee Rand Graduate School about local government in the federal system.

Appendix A: Individuals Consulted

- Phil Ansell
  FORMER DIRECTOR
  LA County Homelessness Initiative
- Kathryn Barger
  LOS ANGELES COUNTY SUPERVISOR
  Fifth District
- Bill Bedrossian
  CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
  Covenant House
- Kim Belshé
  EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
  First 5 LA
- Gary Blasi, Ph.D.
  PROFESSOR OF LAW EMERITUS
  School of Law
  UCLA
- Elise Buik
  PRESIDENT & CEO
  United Way of Greater Los Angeles
- Joe Buscaino
  CITY OF LOS ANGELES COUNCILMEMBER
  15th district (staff only)
- Julie Butcher
  LABOR LEADER
- Larae Cantley
  MEMBER
  Lived Experience Advisory Board
- Rick Cole
  HOUSING AND HOMELESSNESS ADVISOR
  San Gabriel Valley COG
- Michael Cousineau
  RETIRED FACULTY & CLINICAL PROFESSOR
  Department of Preventative Medicine and Family Medicine
  USC
- Brad Cox
  SENIOR MANAGING DIRECTOR
  Trammell Crow Company
- Dennis Culhane, Ph.D.
  PROFESSOR, SOCIAL POLICY & PRACTICE
  University of Pennsylvania
- Jayanthi Daniel
  EXECUTIVE MANAGEMENT OFFICER
  Los Angeles Homelessness Services Authority (LAHSA)
- Jose Delgado
  DIRECTOR OF GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS
  LAHSA
- Kevin De León
  CITY OF LOS ANGELES COUNCILMEMBER
  14th district
- Sarah Dusseault
  COMMISSIONER
  LAHSA
- Jason Elliot
  SENIOR HOMELESSNESS ADVISOR TO GOVERNOR GAVIN NEWSOM
- Mike Feuer
  LOS ANGELES CITY ATTORNEY
- Alfred Fraijo, Jr.
  PARTNER
  Real Estate, Land Use, and Natural Resources Practice Group
  Sheppard Mullin
- Holly Fraumeni De Jesús
  PARTNER
  Light House Public Affairs
- Ron Galperin
  LOS ANGELES CITY CONTROLLER
- Eric Garcetti
  MAYOR OF LOS ANGELES
- Andrea Garcia, Ph.D.
  MEMBER
  Los Angeles City-County Native American Indian Commission
- Sam Garrison
  SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT
  University Relations
  USC
- Robert Green
  CHIEF OF SYSTEM SECURITY AND LAW ENFORCEMENT
  LA Metro
- Wendy Greuel
  BOARD CHAIR
  LAHSA
- Janice Hahn
  LOS ANGELES COUNTY SUPERVISOR
  Fourth District (staff only)
- Nick Halaris
  CHAIR
  Prop HHH Citizens Oversight Committee
  PRIVATE DEVELOPER
- Ange-Marie Hancock Alfaro, Ph.D.
  DEAN'S PROFESSOR & CHAIR
  Political Science and International Relations
  USC
- Antonia Hernández
  PRESIDENT & CEO
  California Community Foundation
- Marc Holley
  VICE PRESIDENT
  Strategy and Programs
  Conrad N. Hilton Foundation
- Katie Hong
  DIRECTOR, SPECIAL INITIATIVES
  Raikes Foundation
- Sarah Hunter, Ph.D.
  SENIOR BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENTIST & DIRECTOR
  RAND Center on Housing and Homelessness in Los Angeles
  PROFESSOR
  Pardee RAND Graduate School
- Andrea Iloulian
  SENIOR PROGRAM OFFICER
  Domestic Programs
  Conrad N. Hilton Foundation
- Gloria Johnson
  MEMBER
  Lived Experience Advisory Committee
  LAHSA
- Richard Katz
  CEO
  Richard Katz Consulting
- Michael Kelly
  EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
  Los Angeles Coalition for Economy and Jobs
- Robin Kramer
  MANAGING DIRECTOR
  The Smidt Foundation

- Adam Lane
  VICE PRESIDENT, PROGRAMS
  Los Angeles Business Council
- Peter Laugharn
  PRESIDENT & CEO
  Conrad N. Hilton Foundation
- Mary Leslie
  PRESIDENT
  Los Angeles Business Council
- Lorraine Lopez
  SUPERVISING STAFF ATTORNEY
  Homelessness Prevention Law Project
  PUBLIC COUNSEL
- Peter Lynn
  FORMER EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
  LAHSA
- Ryan Macy-Hurley
  SENIOR PROJECT MANAGER
  Shelter Partnership
- Philip Mangano
  PRESIDENT AND CEO
  The American Roundtable to Abolish Homelessness
- Heidi Marston
  EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
  LAHSA
- Michele Martinez
  SPECIAL MASTER ON HOMELESSNESS
  Office of U.S. District Court Judge David Carter
- Nury Martinez
  PRESIDENT
  City of Los Angeles City Council
- Holly J. Mitchell
  LOS ANGELES COUNTY SUPERVISOR
  Second District
- Kerry Morrison
  HOMELESS ADVOCATE & MEMBER
  Prop HHH Citizens Oversight Committee
- Kevin Murray
  EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
  Weingart Center Association
- Mike Neely
  COMMISSIONER
  Los Angeles County Commission for Older Adults
- Tommy Newman
  HOUSING ADVOCACY EXPERT
  United Way of Greater Los Angeles
- Ann Oliva
  VISITING SENIOR FELLOW
  Center on Budget and Policy Priorities
- Torie Osborn
  CHIEF OF STAFF
  Los Angeles County Supervisor Sheila Keuhl, Third District
- Sgt. Mike Padilla
  TRSG HOPE Team
  Los Angeles Police Department
- Jane Pisano
  PRESIDENT
  John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation
- Mark Pisano
  PROFESSOR OF PRACTICE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
  Sol Price School of Public Policy
  USC
- Bill Pitkin
  CONSULTANT
  Weingart Foundation
- Nithya Raman
  CITY OF LOS ANGELES COUNCILMEMBER
  Fourth District
- Mark Ridley-Thomas
  CITY OF LOS ANGELES COUNCILMEMBER
  Tenth District
- Joel Roberts
  CEO
  PATH and PATH Ventures
- Monica Rodriguez
  CITY OF LOS ANGELES COUNCILMEMBER
  Seventh District
- Janey Rountree
  EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
  California Policy Lab
  UCLA
- Molly Rysman
  CHIEF PROGRAM OFFICER
  LAHSA
- Maria Salinas
  PRESIDENT & CEO
  LA Area Chamber of Commerce
- Ruth Schwartz
  EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
  Shelter Partnership
- Andi Smith
  EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
  Washington, Ballmer Group
- Hilda L. Solis
  LOS ANGELES COUNTY SUPERVISOR
  First District
- Diana Tang
  CHIEF OF STAFF
  Long Beach Mayor Robert Garcia
- Jacqueline Waggoner
  PRESIDENT
  Solutions Division
  Enterprise Community Partners
- Jason Ward, Ph.D.
  ASSOCIATE ECONOMIST & ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
  RAND Center for Housing and Homelessness in Los Angeles
  PROFESSOR
  Pardee RAND Graduate School
- John Wickham
  OFFICE OF THE CHIEF LEGISLATIVE ANALYST
  City of Los Angeles
- Stephanie Wiggins
  CEO
  Metrolink
- Carol Wilkins
  HOMELESSNESS EXPERT
- Zev Yaroslavsky
  DIRECTOR
  Los Angeles Initiative
  PROFESSOR
  UCLA Luskin School

Appendix B: Works Consulted (Partial Listing)

- Associated Press. *State Audit Critiques California's 'Disjointed' Approach to Homelessness, Calls for Centralized Entity.* KTLA5, 2021. https://ktla.com/news/california/state-audit-critiques-californias-disjointed-approach-to-homelessness-calls-for-centralized-entity/
- Baptista, Isabel and Marlier, Eric. *Fighting Homelessness and Housing Exclusion in Europe: A study of national policies.* European Social Policy Network, 2019. https://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=21629&langId=en
- Benn, Denis. Ethics, Social Capital and Governance: Implications for Public Policy. *Social and Economic Studies*, 581, 141-152. Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies, 2009. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27866579
- Benoit, Rigaud and Johann, Jacob. On the Definition of Public Governance. *Optimum Online English Ed.*, 413. 2011.
- Benz, Matthias and Frey, Bruno S. Corporate Governance: What Can We Learn from Public Governance? *The Academy of Management Review* 321, 92-104. Academy of Management, 2007. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20159282
- Best, D. What Do You Need to Recover? Jobs, Friends and Houses. In *Pathways to Recovery and Desistance: The Role of the Social Contagion of Hope* (pp. 49-66). Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2019. doi:10.2307/j.ctvpwhfpp.8
- Blasi, Gary. *UD Day: Impending Evictions and Homelessness in Los Angeles*. UCLA Luskin Institute on Inequality and Democracy, 2020. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2gz6c8cv
- Boesveldt, NF; Van Montfort, AJGM; and Boutellier, JCJ. The Efficacy of Local Governance Arrangements in Relation to Homelessness. A Comparison of Copenhagen, Glasgow and Amsterdam. 2017. https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s11115-017-0378-2.pdf
- Brownstone, Sydney. Last-Minute Changes could Put King County Regional Homeless Authority on the Fast Track. *The Seattle Times*, 2019. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/homeless/last-minute-changes-could-put-regional-homelessness-authority-on-the-fast-track/
- Byrne, Louise. *Promoting Lived Experience Perspective: Discussion Paper Prepared for the Queensland Mental Health Commission*. 2017. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313757552_Promoting_lived_experience_perspective_Discussion_paper_prepared_for_the_Queensland_Mental_Health_Commission
- Centre for Homelessness Impact. 2019. *Ending Homelessness for Good.* What Works Network. https://uploads-ssl.webflow.com/59f07e67422cdf0001904c14/5cf50e1873a6235c38b7ae41_CHI_STRATEGY_REPORT_FOR_WEB.pdf
- Chambless, Cathy; Robinson, Jack; and Tennert, Juliette. *Salt Lake County Homeless Services: Challenges and Options.* Kem C. Gardner Policy Institute of The University of Utah, 2016. https://gardner.utah.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/SLCO-Homelessness-V8.pdf
- City of LA. *Comprehensive Homeless Strategy* 2016. https://clkrep.lacity.org/onlinedocs/2015/15-1138-S1_misc_1-7-16.pdf
- City of Los Angeles. Chief Legislative Analyst. 2021 (May). *Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority Governance.* Council file 20-0045. https://clkrep.lacity.org/onlinedocs/2020/20-0045_rpt_cla.pdf
- City of Pasadena Department of Housing. *Pasadena Homeless Count 2020.* 2020. https://pasadenapartnership.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Pasadena-Homeless-Count_2020-FINAL.pdf#:~:text=The%202020%20Pasadena%20Point-in-Time%20Count%20%28hereinafter%20referred%20to,21%20and%20ending%20at%20sunrise%20on%20January%2022
- City of Portland, Oregon. Home Forward. A Home for Everyone. Multnomah, City of Gresham. Equity Committee Charter. 2018. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/566631e8c21b864679fff4de/t/5b22b9891ae6cf50b39ed-f7e/1529002378235/EC_Handout_20180618_Equity_Charter.pdf
- City of West Hollywood's Strategic Initiatives Division. *West Hollywood Five-Year Plan to Address Homelessness: 2020 Progress Update.* 2020. https://www.weho.org/home/showpublisheddocument?id=47927
- Community Shelter Board. *Columbus and Franklin County Continuum of Care Strategic Action Plan 2020-2021.* https://66381bb28b9f956a91e2-e08000a6fb874088c6b1d3b-8bebbb337.ssl.cf2.rackcdn.com/files-AP2CHStrategic-Action-Plan-and-Progress-Update202021rev05202020FINAL.pdf
- Community Solution. *Homelessness is Solvable.* https://community.solutions/our-solutions/our-approach/
- Corporation for Supportive Housing. *The City of San Diego Community Action Plan on Homelessness.* 2019. https://www.sdhc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/SD_Homeless_CSH_report_final_10-2019.pdf
- County of Los Angeles Chief Executive Office. *Revisiting the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority's Structure and Function*. 2021.
- Culhane, Dennis P; Eldridge, David; Rosenheck, Robert; and Wilkins, Carol. Making Homelessness Programs Accountable to Consumers, Funders and the Public. *National Symposiums on Homelessness Research* (1997) Available at: http://works.bepress.com/dennis_culhane/23/

- Dejarnette, Ben. *Here's One Way Portland has Almost Solved Homelessness.* Bridgeliner, 2019. https://bridgeliner.com/heres-one-way-portland-has-almost-solved-homelessness/
- Department of Health and Human Services, United States. Interagency Commission on Homelessness Annual Report 2020. https://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/Homelessness/Resources/Files/Documents/Annual%20Reports/2020-ICHAnnual%20Report.pdf
- Drinko, Clay. Meet Them Where They Are: Improvisation can help social workers co-create meaning with clients. *Psychology Today*, 2020. https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/play-your-way-sane/202003/meet-them-where-they-are
- EveryOne Home. *Alameda County Continuum of Care/ Everyone Home Governance Charter.* 2019. https://everyonehome.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Governance-Charter-2019.pdf
- Everyone Home. *Leadership Board.* https://everyonehome.org/about/leadership-board/
- Gaetz, Stephen and Deji, Erin. *A New Direction: A Framework for Homelessness Prevention Summary.* Homeless Hub, 20117. https://www.homelesshub.ca/ANewDirection
- Galperin, Ron. *Strategy on the Street: Improving Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority Outreach Program.* 2019.
- Galperin, Ron. *The High Cost of Homeless Housing: Review of Proposition HHH.* 2019.
- Greenstone, Scott. A "Homelessness Authority" was supposed to get Seattle and its suburbs on the same page; after a slow year, they may be further apart. *The Seattle Times*, 2021. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/homeless/a-homelessness-authority-was-supposed-to-get-seattle-and-its-suburbs-on-the-same-page-after-a-slow-year-they-may-be-further-apart/
- Greenstone, Scott. After more than year, Seattle region has first head of Homelessness Authority. *The Seattle Times*, 2021. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/homeless/after-more-than-year-seattle-region-has-first-head-of-homelessness-authority/
- Halaris, Nick. *Op-Ed: Strategies for Resetting California's Approach to Affordable Housing.* Urbanize Los Angeles, 2020. https://urbanize.city/la/post/op-ed-strategies-resetting-californias-approach-affordable-housing
- Haque, M. Shamsul. Citizens' Needs vs. Market Demands in Public Governance: An Extended View. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 212, 227-232. Taylor & Francis, Ltd, 1999. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25611348
- Hess, Nathan; Caprara, Colin; Santillano, Robert; and Rountree, Janey. *Unsheltered in Los Angeles: Insights for Street Outreach Service Data.* California Lab Policy, 2021. https://www.capolicylab.org/unsheltered-in-los-angeles-insights-from-street-outreach-service-data/
- Holland, Gale. L.A. Spends $100 million a Year on Homelessness, City Report Finds. *The Los Angeles Times*, 2015. https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-homeless-cao-report-20150416-story.html
- Howard, Ella. *Homeless: Poverty and Place in Urban America.* 179-209. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fj31b?turn_away=true
- Howle, Elaine M. Homelessness in California. The State's Uncoordinated Approach to Addressing Homelessness Has Hampered the Effectiveness of Its Efforts. 2021. https://www.auditor.ca.gov/pdfs/reports/2020-112.pdf?ref=newsnetworks-dot-com
- Imlay, Ashley. Salt Lake leaders ask others to 'do their part' for homeless after winter shelter sited in city. *Deseret News*, 2020. https://www.deseret.com/utah/2020/12/11/22170392/news-salt-lake-city-homeless-shelter-overflow-winter-pandemic-mayor-mendenhall
- Inouye, Irene Hirano. *Scaling Up: How Philanthropy Helped Unlock $4.7 Billion to Tackle Homelessness in Los Angeles.* 2021. https://cppp.usc.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Scaling-Up-Digital-7-30-2019.pdf
- Interagency Commission on Homelessness. *Montgomery Council ICH Strategic Plan: January 2020 – December 2020.* https://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/Homelessness/Resources/Files/Documents/MCStrategicPlanFinalJan2020.pdf
- Joseph, Spencer. Reports Say Better Data and Stronger Leadership is Needed on Homeless Issues. FOX 13 Salt Lake City, 2020. https://www.fox13now.com/news/local-news/reports-say-better-data-and-stronger-leadership-is-needed-on-homeless-issues
- Kerr, Daniel. "We Know What the Problem Is": Using Oral History to Develop a Collaborative Analysis of Homelessness from the Bottom up. *The Oral History Review*, 301, 27-45. Taylor & Francis, Ltd, 2003. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3675350
- King County Council. *Interlocal Agreement for the Establishment of the King County Regional Homelessness Authority Between King County and the City of Seattle Pursuant to RCW 39.34.030.* 2019.
- Kuehl, Sheila and Ridley-Thomas, Mark. *Maximizing Project Homekey to Expand Affordable and Supportive Housing.* 2020.

- Lacay, Sharon. Breaking Boundaries with Empathy: How the Therapeutic Alliance Can Defy Client/Worker Differences. *The New Social Worker: The Social Work Careers Magazine*, 2013. https://www.socialworker.com/feature-articles/practice/Breaking_Boundaries_With_Empathy%3A_How_the_Therapeutic_Alliance_Can_Defy_Client-Worker_Differences/
- Lived Experience Advisory Council. *Nothing About Us Without Us: Seven Principles for Leadership and Inclusion of People with Lived Experience of Homelessness.* 2016. Toronto: The Homeless Hub Press. www.homelesshub.ca/NothingAboutUsWithoutUs
- Long Beach Department of Health and Human Services. *Everyone Home Long Beach Task Force Recommendations.* 2018. http://www.longbeach.gov/globalassets/everyone-home-lb/media-library/documents/news/everyone-home-lb-task-force--recommendations-sm-file
- Los Angeles Continuum of Care. *Los Angeles Continuum of Care Governance Charter.* 2019.
- Los Angeles County Alternatives to Incarceration Work Group Final Report. *Care First, Jails Last.* https://ceo.lacounty.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/1077045_AlternativestoIncarcerationWorkGroupFinalReport.pdf
- Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority California. *Metro's Transit Homeless Action Plan.* 2017. https://media.metro.net/riding/homelesstaskforce/images/metro_homeless_plan_report_2017-0524.pdf
- Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority. *Agenda of the AD HOC Committee on Governance & Supporting Documents – Jan.13, 2021.* 2021. https://www.lahsa.org/documents?id=5032-01-13-21-ad-hoc-committee-on-governance-agenda-supporting-documents.pdf
- Los Angeles County Homeless Initiative. *Achieving Functional Zero in Los Angeles County.* 2019.
- Los Angeles County Boards of Supervisors. *LAHSA Operational Agreement between Los Angeles County.* 2020.
- Means, Emily. *Camp Last Hope Closes As Activist And Salt Lake City Officials Come To The Table Together.* KUER 90.1, 2021. https://www.kuer.org/politics-government/2021-02-03/camp-last-hope-closes-as-activist-and-salt-lake-city-officials-come-to-the-table-together
- Metro Denver Homeless Initiative. *Metropolitan Denver Homeless Initiative, Inc By Laws.* 2019. https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/mdhi/pages/15/attachments/original/1560532721/MDHI_Bylaws_Approved_June_13__2019.pdf?1560532721
- Mollenkopf, John and Sonenshein, Raphael J. "New York City and Los Angeles" in David Halle and Andrew A. Beveridge, eds., *New York and Los Angeles: The Uncertain Future*, Oxford U. Press, 2013.
- Montgomery County Continuum of Care. Interagency Commission on Homelessness (ICH), Housing for all = Stronger Montgomery. ICH. 2020-2023 Strategic Plan Appendix: Action Plans. https://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/Homelessness/Resources/Files/Documents/MCStrategicActionPlansAppendixFinal.pdf
- Mosley, Jennifer E. Cross-Sector Collaboration to Improve Homeless Service: Addressing, Capacity, Innovation, and Equity Challengers in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 2021. 693:1(246 - 263). DOI: 10.1177/0002716221994464
- Moxley, David P; Washington, Olivia G; and McElhaney, Joe. "I don't have a home:" Helping Homeless People Through Faith, Spirituality, and Compassionate Service. *Journal of Religion and Health*, 512, 431-449. Springer, 2012. . http://www.jstor.org/stable/41653780
- Multnomah City County and Street Roots. *Domicile Unknown: Reviews of deaths among people experiencing homelessness in Multnomah County in 2019.* 2019. https://multco.us/file/94224/download
- Oliva, Ann. *Report on Governance for the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority*. 2021. https://csula.sharepoint.com/:b:/r/sites/PBIHomelessnessProject/Shared%20Documents/T.0%20General%20Reference%20From%20Dr.%20Sonenshein/LAHSA%20Governance%20Report%20Final%2002-11-2021.pdf?csf=1&web=1&e=t9EWQ2
- Oreskes, Benjamin. A Newly Constituted City Council could Change L.A.'s Approach to Homelessness. *Los Angeles Times*, 2020. https://www.latimes.com/homeless-housing/story/2020-11-08/new-la-city-council-members-prioritize-homelessness
- Petersen, E. Women's Lived Experience as Authority: Antenarratives and Interactional Power as Tools for Engagement. *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 53(1), 47-74. 2020. doi:10.5406/dialjmormthou.53.1.0047
- Rothstein, Richard. 2017. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America.* Livelight.
- Rothstein, Richard. 2020. The Black Lives Next Door, *New York Times* opinion article, August 14. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/14/opinion/sunday/blm-residential-segregation.html
- San Diego Continuum of Care Advisory Board. *Governance Charter: Operational Responsibilities and Authorities, Version 7.0.* https://www.rtfhsd.org/wp-content/uploads/Draft-RTFH-Governance-Charter-2021.pdf

- San Gabriel Valley Council of Governments. *United We Stand: Supporting a Comprehensive, Coordinated Structure and Strategy to Meet the Homelessness Crisis in Los Angeles County.* A White Paper, January 21, 2021.
- Santana, Miguel A. *Homelessness and the City of Los Angeles Summary.* 2015. https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/1906452-losangeleshomelessnessreport.html
- Scott, Tyler A and Thomas, Craig W. Unpacking the Collaborative Toolbox: Why and When Do Public Managers Choose Collaborative Governance Strategies? *Policy Stud J*, 45: 191-214. Wiley, 2017. https://doi-org.mimas.calstatela.edu/10.1111/psj.12162
- Sheeley, Kirsten Moore; Katz, Alisa Belinkoff; Klein, Andrew; Richards, Jessica; Verri, Fernanda Jahn; Vestal, Marques; Yaroslavsky, Zev; and Nelson, Kyle. *The Making of a Crisis: A History of Homelessness in Los Angeles.* 2021. https://luskin-center.history.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/66/2021/01/LCHP-The-Making-of-A-Crisis-Report.pdf
- Siegel, Rachel. Two blocks from the Federal Reserve, a growing encampment of the homeless grips the economy's most powerful person. The Washington Post. April 17 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2021/04/17/homeless-tent-city-federal-reserve-jerome-powell/
- Smith, Doug and Oreskes, Benjamin. L.A. Officials are getting serious about overhauling this top homeless services agency. *Los Angeles Times*, 2020. https://www.latimes.com/homeless-housing/story/2020-03-02/homeless-authority-los-angeles-restructure
- Sonenshein, Raphael J; and League of Women Voters of Los Angeles. *Los Angeles: Structure of a City Government.* 2006.
- Suchar, Norm; Coffman, Lisa; and Perry, Juanita. *SNAPS in Focus: Integrating Persons with Lived Experiences in our Efforts to Prevent and End Homelessness.* HUD Exchange, 2020. https://www.hudexchange.info/news/snaps-in-focus-integrating-persons-with-lived-experiences-in-our-efforts-to-prevent-and-end-homelessness/
- Texieira, Ligia. *Ending Homelessness Faster by Focusing on "What Works".* 2017. https://www.crisis.org.uk/media/237356/ending_homelessness_faster_by_focusing_on_what_works_2017.pdf
- Toombs, S. Vulnerability and the Meaning of Illness: Reflections on Lived Experience. In TAYLOR C. & DELL'ORO R. (Eds.), *Health and Human Flourishing: Religion, Medicine, and Moral Anthropology* (pp. 119-140). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2006. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2tt6m1.11
- UCLA Luskin Institute on Inequality and Democracy. *Report Explores Temporary Settlement Options in Wake of Evictions.* UCLA Luskin, 2020. https://luskin.ucla.edu/report-explores-temporary-settlement-options-in-wake-of-evictions
- United States Interagency Council on Homelessness. *Expanding the Toolbox: The Whole-of-Government Response to Homelessness.* 2020.
- United Way of Greater Los Angeles. *SB 679 – L.A. County Affordable Housing Solutions Agency Fact Sheet.* 2021.
- USC Dornsife: Equity Research Institute. Committee for Greater LA. UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs. *No Going Back Report*. 2020
- von Wachterm, Till; Bertrand, Marianne; Pollack, Harold; Rountree, Janey; and Blackwell, Brian. *Predicting and Preventing Homelessness in Los Angeles.* California Policy Lab, 2019. https://www.capolicylab.org/predicting-preventing-homelessness-la/
- Willison, Charley E. Chapter 2: Homeless Politics in the United States in *Ungoverned and Out of Sight: Public Health and the Political Crisis of Homelessness in the United States.* Oxford University Press. 2021. DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780197548325.003.0002
- Zapata, MA; Liu, J; Everett, L; Hulseman, P; Potiowsky, T; and Willingham, E. *Governance, Costs, and Revenue Raising to Address and Prevent Homelessness in the Portland Tri-County Region.* Portland State University, 2019. https://www.pdx.edu/homelessness/sites/g/files/znldhr1791/files/2020-05/Regional-HomelessnessReport.pdf

PAT BROWN INSTITUTE
FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS
Unleashing the Power of Participation

About the Pat Brown Institute for Public Affairs at Cal State LA

The Pat Brown Institute for Public Affairs at Cal State LA is a nonpartisan, presidentially chartered institute dedicated to the quest for social justice and equity, enlightened civic engagement, and an enhanced quality of life for all Californians. Former California Governor Pat Brown brought the Institute to Cal State LA in 1987. Today the Institute seeks to sustain his vision and legacy through its current programs, including the Southeast Los Angeles (SELA) Initiative, Civic U©, polling, candidate debates, and community-based research.

For more information about the Institute, contact us at:

PBI@calstatela.edu

www.calstatela.patbrowninstitute.org

@patbrowninstitute
@PBI
@pat_brown_institute