Results of the 2021 Greater Hollywood Volunteer Homeless Count

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Abstract

Data from February 25, 2021 censuses of Hollywood and East Hollywood shows that unsheltered homelessness has fallen in those communities by $11\% \pm 9\%$ and $15\% \pm 12\%$, respectively, compared to the 2020 LAHSA Point-In-Time (PIT) count (90% CI). A 30% drop in individuals seen on the street drives this change, reducing the number of identified persons and dwellings in about a third of census tracts. Unsheltered living is thus likely to have declined quantitatively even if the average occupancy of, e.g., tents is updated. Simultaneously, however, 13% of tracts saw at least a doubling in street dwellings. This trend may contribute to qualitative perceptions that the state of homelessness has worsened over the past year, which—given COVID-related reductions in health, hygiene, and social support services—are also likely to be accurate. Coordinated Entry System data will reveal whether homelessness has declined in toto or if government initiatives reduced only the portion of people living unsheltered in Greater Hollywood.

1 Introduction

The Los Angeles Homelessness Services Authority (LAHSA) conducts an annual Point In Time (PIT) census of the unhoused population of Los Angeles County. These data inform programmatic funding levels, educate residents, undergird legislative efforts, and shape the day-to-day practices of professional and volunteer service providers.

As the official assessment of the scope of one of the most pressing humanitarian issues of our time, the LAHSA Count is invaluable. However, due to disruptions from COVID-19, the unsheltered portion of the 2021 PIT count was cancelled. Since 70% of the unhoused residents of the City of LA ("LA") were unsheltered as of 2020, absent additional efforts, this cancellation would substantially erode our understanding of the state of homelessness following an unprecedented year of economic disruptions and governmental interventions—both of which may have significantly affected the number of unhoused Angelenos.

Greater Hollywood is an epicenter of the homelessness crisis. According to the 2020 Count, the Hollywood and East Hollywood Communities were home to 2203 unhoused residents, 1714 of whom (78%) were unsheltered. This figure corresponds to roughly 5% of LA's homeless population in an area with 3.5% of its total population. In some places, 1-in-25 Hollywood residents are unhoused compared to 1-in-100 citywide.

While the above statistics are tragic, Hollywood is also home to large and increasingly formalized coali-
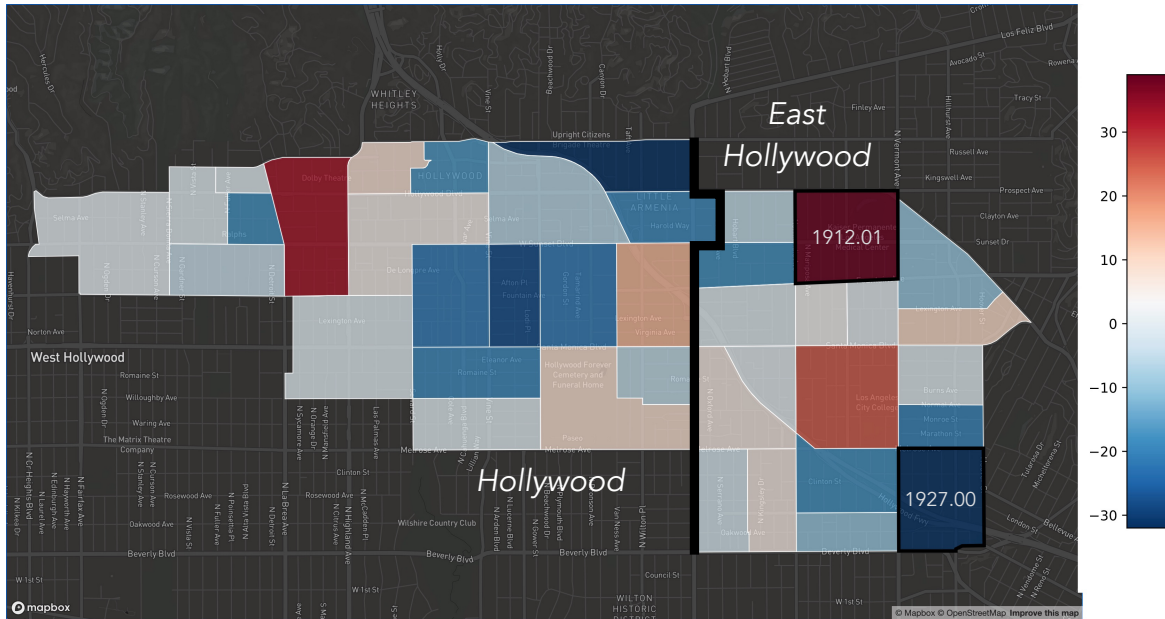
Figure 1: The 2021 volunteer count covered Greater Hollywood, comprising the officially recognized LAHSA Hollywood and East Hollywood Continua of Care. The former stretches from Laurel Canyon Blvd to Western Ave, the latter from Western to Hoover Ave. Hollywood is bounded to the north and south respectively by Franklin and Melrose Aves, with East Hollywood bounded by Hollywood Blvd and Beverly Ave. Hollywood comprises 21 census tracts; East Hollywood 18.

tions of service providers, business leaders, residents, and governmental entities dedicated to humanely housing everyone in their neighborhood. Given the capacity of the above organizations and the importance of the annual PIT count in educating residents, funders, and legislators, Hollywood proceeded as a collective to conduct an unsponsored grassroots PIT count in on Thursday, February 25, 2021.

This document details the methodology and findings of that count. Section 2 describes the volunteer training, data acquisition, and analysis protocols. Section 3 presents estimates of the unsheltered populations in Hollywood and East Hollywood, contextualizes those in terms of the 2020 LAHSA PIT results and those communities' total populations, and presents cross-checks. Section 4 provides interpretation, highlights areas for further study, and reveals where quantitive findings may drive qualitative impressions as to the "felt" state of the crisis. Section 5 summarizes. The Appendix provides additional information, including tract-level raw tallies and population inferences. All data are available at **website**.

2 Methodology

2.1 Data Acquisition

The count was based out of The Center at Blessed Sacrament ("The Center"), a major service provider in Hollywood. All volunteers reported and returned to this location as they would a LAHSA community hub in the past. Unlike previous PIT counts, however, training was performed offsite, volunteers never left their vehicles, and all surveying occurred before 10:00 PM.

The count covered the 39 US Census tracts constituting the LAHSA-defined Hollywood and East Hollywood Communities (21 and 18 tracts, respectively). It did not recognize census tract "splits"—e.g., "1905.10a"—which modified of the definition of Hollywood to include all of tract 1905.10 and East Hollywood to include all of tract 1913.01. Since 2016, tract 1905.10b has never hosted more than 7 unsheltered people and 1913.01a never more than 15. As such, these modifications do not significantly affect community-level results. Figure 1 shows the count footprint.

All tracts were vetted by outreach professionals from The Center prior to assignment. Tracts deemed especially challenging—e.g., due to their proximity to freeway onramps/peripheries—were reserved for profes-

sional counting teams. Vetting produced 9 such tracts, which were surveyed by personnel from The Center and Covenant House circa 3:00 PM on 25 Feb. The remaining 30 tracts were divided among the volunteer vehicle-based teams and surveyed beginning at 7:00 PM.

With the exception of one tract in East Hollywood, teams were restricted to one or the other community, making the community-level results nearly independent. Cross-comparisons therefore serve as data quality indicators (Section 3.5). Table 1 records which tracts were surveyed by which kind of team.

Thirty-two volunteer teams participated in the count, which was limited to existing "pods" of two to three people to minimize the possibility of COVID transmission. All participants wore personal protective equipment and maintained social distancing when appropriate.

Counting followed 2020 LAHSA PIT protocols to the greatest extent possible. Each volunteer team comprised at least a driver and a counter and was assigned two tracts. Three-person teams included a navigator, as well. If present, the navigator directed the driver while the counter tallied individuals/dwellings. In two-person teams, the counter doubled as the navigator. Training emphasized techniques aimed at reducing counters' cognitive loads to minimize errors (e.g., covering interior streets in a serpentine pattern before circling the tract border). Teams were instructed to count both sides of interior streets but only interior sides of border streets as described in the official 2020 PIT training materials.

All teams were deployed by roughly 7:30 PM and returned by 9:55 PM.

Upon arriving at The Center, organizers provided each team a clipboard containing:

- two tract maps;
- two tally sheets;
- one 1-page training summary with a contact number for field issues.

The tally sheets were the data acquisition tool. These contained separate columns for each of the nine categories of unhoused individuals/dwellings recognized in the 2020 LAHSA PIT count:

1. adults (ages ≥ 25);
2. transition age youths ("TAY," 18–24);
3. unaccompanied minors;
4. families (at least one adult with at least one minor);
5. cars;
6. vans;
7. RVs;
8. tents;
9. makeshift structures.

Dwellings—(5)–(9)—are treated specially in the analysis and hereafter may be referred to by the acronym "CVRTM." Adults+TAY may also be combined into "Persons" (P). No families or unaccompanied minors were identified.[1] See Appendix for examples of the above documents.

Upon returning, counters verbally read their results to organizers who entered them into a google form. The organizer read back the results for confirmation before submitting the form and recovering the hand-written tallies from the volunteers.

Once all materials were collected, organizers cross-checked the electronic records—a google sheet generated by the google form responses—with the paper tally sheets and identified any uncounted areas. None were found that required follow-up. Disagreements between electronic and paper references were corrected to the paper tally.

Given turnout, every volunteer tract was counted by at least two teams. Four tracts were counted in triplicate. Beyond increasing the accuracy of the count, repeat measurements enhance understanding of errors (Sections 2.3) and provide robustness (one tally was uninterpretable, leaving only the result from the second assigned team).

All told, the data comprise 37 pair-wise volunteer measurements, one unique volunteer measurement, and nine unique professional assessments. The latter account for ∼20% of tracts in both communities and roughly 43% of the individuals and dwellings identified. Year-on-year trends are consistent between volunteer- and professional-counted tracts (Section 3.5).

2.1.1 Volunteer Training

Teams underwent mandatory, ∼30 minute Zoom-based training sessions before arriving for the count. Each participant was also required to watch the official 2020 LAHSA PIT training video.

The training covered the motivation for the count, an overview of the survey geography, team roles, and examples of unhoused dwellings. Except in the case of

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[1] One potential unaccompanied minor was reported in tract 1912.01 but could not be confirmed by outreach personnel dispatched to that location. One potential family was also reported dwelling in a van in tract 1899.05 that could also not be confirmed. The upper limits for these categories (3 each at 95% confidence) capture this uncertainty, but their raw counts are set to zero.

Table 1: Tract-level Unsheltered Population Summary

Tract	Community	Counter[a]	Passes[b]	Median Est. [people]	90% CI [people]
1898.00	Hollywood	Vol	3	6	0–15
1899.02	Hollywood	Vol	3	18	12–24
1899.03	Hollywood	Vol	2	0	0–12
1899.04	Hollywood	Vol	2	18	11–25
1899.05	Hollywood	Vol	2	19	9–30
1901.00	Hollywood	Vol	2	88	75–102
1902.01	Hollywood	Vol	2	21	13–29
1902.02	Hollywood	Vol	2	30	20–40
1903.01	Hollywood	Pro	1	74	54–96
1905.10	Hollywood	Pro	1	34	22–46
1905.20	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	12	6–18
1907.00	Hollywood	Vol	2	110	93–127
1908.01	Hollywood	Vol	2	63	50–76
1908.02	Hollywood	Pro	1	71	54–90
1909.01	Hollywood	Pro	1	55	39–71
1909.02	Hollywood	Vol	3	6	0–17
1910.00	Hollywood	Pro	1	169	140–201
1911.10	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	9	2–15
1911.20	E. Hollywood	Pro	1	66	48–85
1912.01	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	55	44–68
1912.03	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	26	14–38
1912.04	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	6	0–16
1913.01	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	31	22–42
1913.02	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	23	15–30
1914.10	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	20	13–28
1914.20	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	24	16–32
1915.00	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	29	21–38
1916.10	E. Hollywood	Pro	1	48	31–68
1916.20	E. Hollywood	Pro	1	17	6–30
1917.10	Hollywood	Vol	2	21	14–29
1917.20	Hollywood	Vol	3	21	12–31
1918.10	Hollywood	Vol	2	24	14–34
1918.20	Hollywood	Vol	2	16	10–23
1919.01	Hollywood	Vol	2	60	49–72
1925.10	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	12	4–21
1925.20	E. Hollywood	Vol	1	14	1–28
1926.10	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	7	1–14
1926.20	E. Hollywood	Vol	2	18	9–26
1927.00	E. Hollywood	Pro	1	129	96–167
All			**72[c]**	**1494**	**1342–1657**

[a]Volunteer vs. professional surveyor; [b]independent tract counts; [c]reflects one tally rejected during quality control.

people standing next to tents—as described in the 2020 LAHSA video—volunteers were instructed to count CVRTM and individuals separately and not to try to estimate how many people might live in or be associated with a specific dwelling. This ensured that results could be analyzed as a function of the CVRTM weights, which may change with future information.

Volunteers were primed only with min/max estimates of tract-level individual+dwelling counts ("0–120") and the likelihood of encountering unaccompanied minors or families ("very unlikely") or TAY ("some tracts especially in Hollywood"). These statements were informed by the 2020 LAHSA PIT results. No

other prior was established. The training presentation is available at: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1xFrtU26yjPuiUv9KHZ3Uj2_sAoT1ClGo/view?usp=sharing.

2.2 Data Analysis

The data form a 9×73 array containing the tract-level tallies for each unhoused individual/dwelling class. Analysis involves averaging duplicate tract counts, associating the latter with the Hollywood or East Hollywood communities, and weighting CVRTM by their mean occupancies. The final data product reflects 10,000 realizations of the total population inference incorporating random perturbations of the counts and weights according to their uncertainties (see below). It forms a $9 \times 10000 \times 39$ array that may be split and summed to provide aggregate, tract, or category-level population estimates and uncertainties.

Our baseline result incorporates the 2020 SPA-4/CD13 CVRTM weights underpinning the 2020 LAHSA Community Summaries. We recognize that these weights may have changed since they were last estimated. We cannot reassess all of them and encourage robust efforts to do so. However, at least one survey of tent-dwellers in Hollywood suggests the tent weight, T, has not changed significantly. We analyze the impact of adopting three other reasonable CVRTM choices in Section 3.3 (Table 2), but they do not significantly affect our findings.

2.2.1 Monte Carlo Population Inferences

We wish to infer the true unsheltered population in Hollywood and East Hollywood as of 25 February. We do so by constructing probability density functions (PDFs) describing the likelihood of encountering a given number of unsheltered people in those communities as constrained by our PIT count. To accomplish this, we model three known uncertainties: (1) errors in the visual tallies, (2) deviations of the CVRTM weights from their quoted means, and (3) the intrinsic background rate of persons/dwellings in areas in which none were actually sighted. Items (1) and (3) reflect how our PIT tally might change if performed at a different time or by different teams. Item (2) reflects how the mean occupancy of CVRTM in our survey area might differ from that in the geography in which the weights were defined.

We model (1) and (2) as independent random draws from Gaussian distributions with standard deviations of

$\sqrt{n}$ and σ, respectively, where n is the raw PIT tally and σ is the standard error on the respective CVRTM weight, w, quoted by LAHSA. The i-th estimate of the true number, N, of people belonging to the j-th unsheltered class in any tract is then:

$$N_{i,j} = \left[n_j + \mathscr{G}_i(0, \sqrt{n_j}) \right] \times \max[\mathscr{G}_i(w_j, \sigma_j), 1], \quad (1)$$

where $\mathscr{G}(\mu, \Sigma)$ is a Gaussian random number with mean μ and standard deviation Σ. If more than one team counted a given tract, n is replaced by the average of their tallies and the attendant counting error is divided by the square root of the number of teams. If no members of the j-th unsheltered category were observed, $\sqrt{n_j}$ is replaced in the first term by that category's estimated background rate, σ_j^{bkg}, discussed in the next section.

The final output PDFs are based on 10,000 realizations of Equation 1. Weights for adults and TAY are fixed to unity, such that $(w, \sigma) \equiv (1, 0)$ for all trials and uncertainties reflect only counting errors. One potential family and one potential unaccompanied minor were reported, but not confirmed. We therefore set those entires to zero and infer only upper limits.

We place a floor on the CVRTM mean occupancies at 1 person per dwelling; i.e., we assume that the *mean* person does not own more than one dwelling. This is not to say no one may own more than one, just that such a statement is never representative. This choice induces a mild asymmetry in our global PDFs but does not significantly affect inferences.

2.2.2 Null Entries and Background Rates

Often, no persons or dwellings of a specific category are observed in a given census tract. Due to shot noise, however, such data are consistent with non-zero values for the true population. The Monte Carlo PDF reconstruction allows all such entries to fluctuate based on an assumed background rate, σ_j^{bkg}.

Ideally, that rate would be based on category variations in similar tracts defined by independent criteria. Sufficient data may enable such an exercise, but it is beyond the scope of this analysis. Instead, we adopt a noise floor based on the counts expected if all elements of a given category were distributed evenly across tracts:

$$\sigma_j^{\text{bkg}} \equiv \sqrt{\frac{1}{39} \sum_{\text{tracts}} n_j}, \quad (2)$$
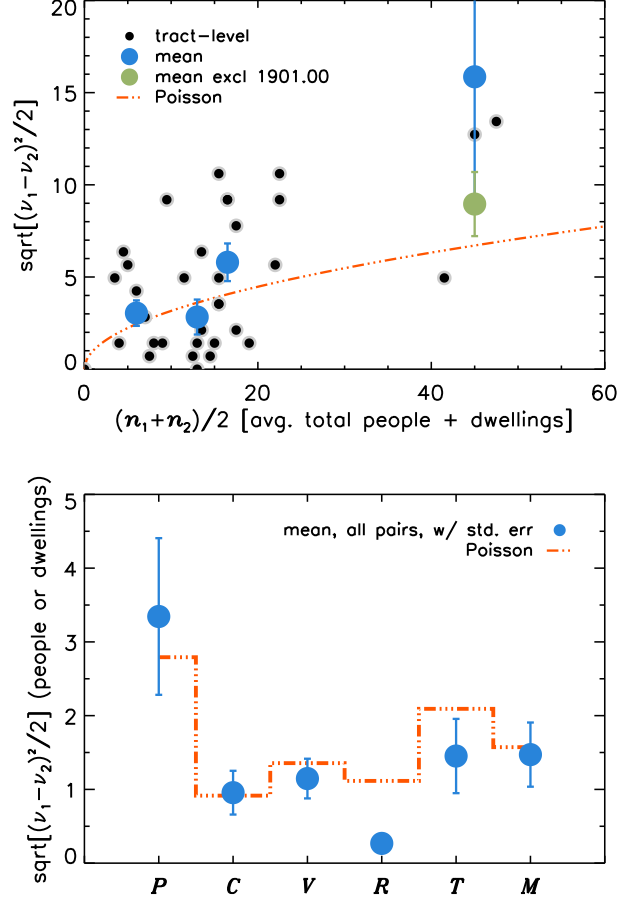

Figure 2: Duplicate tract (top) and category (bottom) count comparisons. Orange points at top exclude tract 1901.00, which is a significant outlier.

where n_j are the raw counts in that category as defined in Equation 1.

While oversimplistic (Section 3.4), this method works for any category for which at least one individual/dwelling was observed in any tract. However, for categories for which this is not the case—unaccompanied minors and families, in the case of Greater Hollywood—we set σ_j^{bkg} to the lowest non-zero value of the other categories (corresponding to TAY). The adopted backgrounds are thus:

$$\sigma_j^{\text{bkg}} = \{3.2, 0.4, 0.4, 0.9, 1.3, 1.1, 2.8, 2.5, 0.4\} \quad (3)$$

adults, TAY, unaccompanied minors, cars, vans, RVs, tents, makeshifts, and families per tract.

Note that the above numbers are not added to null entries, only random draws from normal distributions of that width. This treatment is somewhat arbitrary, but we employ it symmetrically—per-tract category totals

Table 2: Greater Hollywood 2021 PIT Unsheltered Data and Population Estimates

	w_C	w_V	w_R	w_T	w_M
SPA4/CD13	1.51 ± 0.25	1.77 ± 0.42	1.42 ± 0.28	1.48 ± 0.11	1.68 ± 0.31
2021 T	–	–	–	1.39 ± 0.14	–
2021 T w/ unocc	–	–	–	1.51 ± 0.24	–
SPA4	1.38 ± 0.11	1.68 ± 0.22	1.32 ± 0.15	1.45 ± 0.06	1.64 ± 0.16

CVRTM weights tested. Dashes denote identical values to the entry above. Bold denotes baseline scenario incorporating the 2020 SPA4/CD13 CVRTM weights underpinning the latest official Hollywood and East Hollywood Community Summaries.

can be negative—so it does not bias the final inference. Rather, it sets the upper limits of intrinsically rare categories and inflates aggregate uncertainties.

2.3 Duplicate Counts

Each volunteer tract in both communities (30) were assigned to at least two independent counting teams. Four tracts additionally received a third pass. Pass 1 paired tracts by tract number. Pass 2 paired projected high-population tracts with one that was geographically nearby. Pass 3 was the same as Pass 1 with pairings presented in reverse order, such that teams deployed simultaneously would likely start in different tracts.

Results for one of the two teams assigned to tract 1925.20 could not be interpreted, making it the only volunteer tract with one population estimate.

Figure 2 shows intercounter comparisons of raw counts (people+dwellings) at the tract and category levels. Average offsets are close to Poisson expectations in all cases except for the highest occupancy tracts, where they are inflated by an outlier (see below). Explicitly, $\langle\sqrt{(v_1 - v_2)^2/(v_1 + v_2)}\rangle = 1.4$, where v is the total number of dwellings and people in a given tract returned by one of the teams.

The outlier is tract 1901.00, whose repeat measurements differ by $6.6\,\sigma$. There, one team counted $\{P,C,V,R,T,M\} = \{23,1,1,1,6,2\}$ while the other counted $\{77,15,10,1,6,6\}$. Abramson re-counted this tract on-foot 14 hours after the PIT tally, obtaining $\{36,4,6,0,8,2\}$. In total, this tally ($v_{\text{Abramson}} = 56 \pm 7$) is within $1.9\,\sigma$ of the volunteers' mean ($\langle v_{\text{PIT}}\rangle = 75 \pm 6$). As such, we retain the volunteer PIT estimate as-is. As illustrated in Figure 2, top, the mean intercounter dispersion drops to $1.3\,\sigma$ if this tract is excluded.

In terms of categories, all dispersions are consistent with Poisson expectations except for RVs, where agreement is significantly better. Given their salience, this finding is reassuring if unsurprising.

No team counted tracts in both Hollywood and East Hollywood. As such, the volunteer counts in those communities represent independent datasets. Including the professional-counted tracts, cross-talk comes from one tract in East Hollywood counted by a team that surveyed five tracts in Hollywood. We discuss intercommunity comparisons between volunteer and professionally counted tracts in Section 3.5.

3 Results

This section presents community- and aggregate-level estimates for the number of unsheltered people living in Hollywood and East Hollywood as of 25 February 2021. Sections 3.1 and 3.2 summarize our results, 3.3 compares them to the 2020 LAHSA PIT estimates, 3.4 quantifies the population's geographic distribution, and 3.5 presents cross-checks.

3.1 Hollywood

Counters identified 702 ± 44 (95% CI) persons and dwellings in the 21 census tracts comprising the Hollywood Community. Modulated by the baseline CVRTM weights, these estimates imply a total unsheltered population of 936 ± 92 people (90% CI; Figure 4, left), with the plurality (35%) living in tents (Table 3; Figure 3, left). The five tracts counted by professional teams—largely along the US 101 corridor—comprised 42% of raw counts and 43% of inferred unsheltered people. Tract 1910.00 (pro-counted) had the most people and dwellings ($123 \rightarrow 170$ total population); 1899.03 had the fewest ($0 \rightarrow <12$ total population).

Modifying the CVRTM weights from the baseline SPA4/CD13 values to their SPA4 wide values lowers Hollywood's inferred total unsheltered population to 912 ± 68 people; applying an updated tent weight based
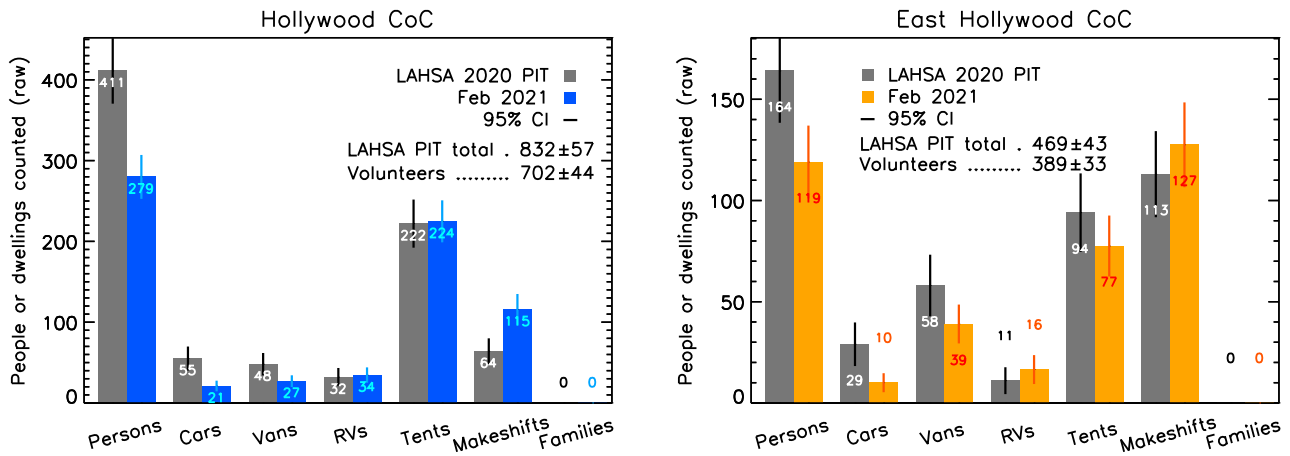
Figure 3: Raw tallies of unsheltered persons and dwellings in Hollywood and East Hollywood (left/right) from the 2020 and 2021 PIT counts (grey/colors). Persons, cars, and vans fell in both communities while RVs and tents stayed statistically flat. Makeshift structures are the only category to show a potential common increase. Overall, we identified 208 fewer people and dwellings compared to 2020, with similar 16% decreases assessed by almost entirely independent teams in both communities. "Persons" are TAY+Adults.
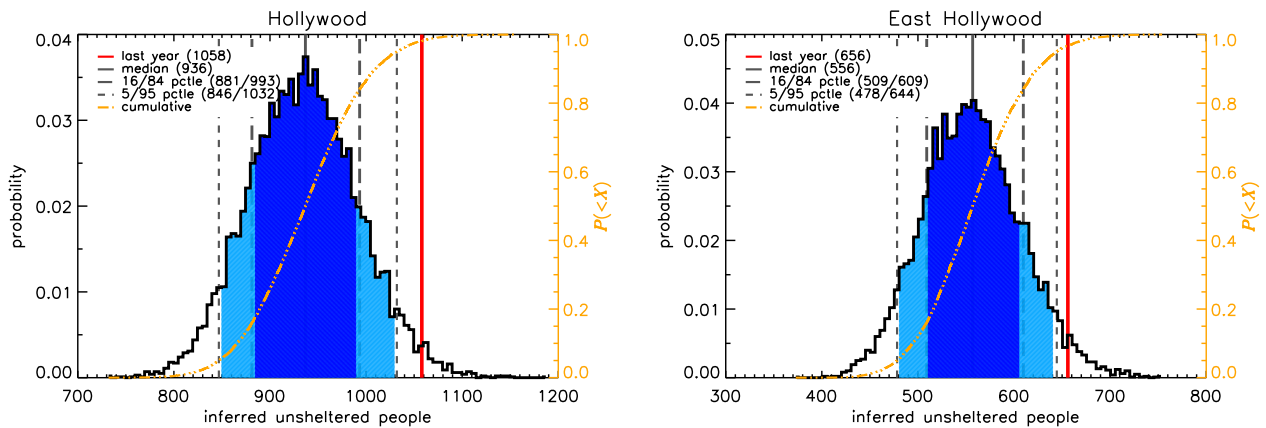

Figure 4: Explain what the PDFs and CDFs are, what the colors mean.

Table 3: Greater Hollywood 2021 PIT Unsheltered Data and Population Estimates

	Adult	TAY	Car	Van	RV	Tent	Makeshift	**2021 Total**	**2020 Total**	**Difference**
Hollywood										
Counts	277	2	21	27	34	224	115	**702**	**831**	$-$**15%**
Inhabitants	277 (27)	2 (5)	32 (11)	49 (13)	50 (14)	332 (29)	195 (24)	**937 (93)**	**1058**	$-$**11%** (**9%**)
Category share	30% (3%)	0% (0%)	3% (1%)	5% (1%)	5% (1%)	35% (3%)	21% (3%)	–	–	–
East Hollywood										
Counts	114	4	10	39	16	77	127	**389**	**469**	$-$**17%**
Inhabitants	114 (19)	4 (4)	15 (8)	70 (15)	24 (9)	115 (19)	216 (23)	**557 (83)**	**656**	$-$**15%** (**12%**)
Category share	20% (3%)	1% (1%)	3% (1%)	13% (3%)	4% (2%)	20% (3%)	39% (4%)	–	–	–

Parentheses denote 90% uncertainties (binomial in the case of the categories). Uncertainties larger than estimates imply that only upper limits are available. Marginalized upper limits are obtainable from the results file and imply <3 unaccompanied minors and <3 unsheltered families in either community.

on a survey in Hollywood raises it to 944 ± 118 people (Section 4). Neither represents a significant change from baseline.

3.2 East Hollywood

Counters identified 389 ± 33 (95% CI) persons and dwellings in the 18 census tracts comprising East Hollywood. Modulated by the baseline CVRTM weights, these estimates imply a total unsheltered population of 556 ± 83 people (Figure 4, right), with the plurality (39%) living in makeshift structures (Table 3, Figure 3, right). The four tracts counted by professional teams comprised 46% of those counts and 47% of inferred unsheltered people. Tract 1927.00 (pro-counted) had the most people and dwellings ($87 \rightarrow 129$ total population); 1912.04 had the fewest ($5 \rightarrow <17$ total population).

Modifying the CVRTM weights from the baseline SPA4/CD13 values to the SPA4 wide values lowers East Hollywood's inferred total unsheltered population to 539 ± 59 people; applying the updated tent weight raises it to 559 ± 87 people. Neither represents a significant change from baseline.

3.3 Comparison to 2020

The official LAHSA estimates from the 2020 PIT count are overplotted in Figure 4 as red vertical lines in each panel: 1058 unsheltered people in Hollywood, 656 in East Hollywood. Our baseline inferences suggest a >95% probability that the current population has fallen from those levels. Using the median and 90% CI, we infer declines of $11\% \pm 9\%$ and $15\% \pm 12\%$, respectively.

Figure 5 shows the changes in counts and inferred population in each tract geographically illustrated in Figure 1. In total, we find significant gains in 7 (6) tracts in terms of counts (people), and significant declines in 14, resulting in net changes of -193 ± 45 and -201 ± 76 counts or people, respectively.[2]

The tracts with the largest year-on-year gain (1912.01, +40 people) and loss (1927.00, −125 people) are both in East Hollywood. They contain Barnsdall Park and US 101, respectively.

Given the deficit in raw counts, it seems unlikely that reasonable modifications to the CVRTM weights will qualitatively change the trend we infer. The w_T and w_M weights are the largest potential error sources

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[2]These estimates incorporate uncertainties from backing-out tract-level CVRTM counts from their total populations and person counts provided by the LAHSA data portal.

due to the high proportion of people living in tents and makeshifts. To constrain their evolution from last year, SELAH outreach teams surveyed 47 tents (38 responses) in Hollywood on 28 Feb. This exercise yielded a mean occupancy of $w_T = 1.39 \pm 0.14$ people per tent, or $w_T = 1.50 \pm 0.22$ when non-responses are modeled.[3] While neither the full 2021 PIT area nor w_M has been assessed, the above values are consistent with the official 2020 weight of $w_T = 1.48 \pm 0.11$.

Figure 6 illustrates the effect of the above CVRTM modifications. In all cases, we infer at least a 93% chance of a decline compared to the 2020 PIT count.

We encourage robust efforts to update the CVRTM weights, but the changes needed to null the decline we infer from 2020 are substantial. Only changes to w_T and w_M can reasonably achieve it, and must rise to 2.2 and 2.6 people from 1.5 and 1.7 people, respectively, in 2020. Not withstanding the above survey, such ~50% increases in *mean* occupancies seem unlikely, especially as known COVID-related tent distribution efforts have pushed in the opposite direction (Section 4). While 2021 is unprecedented in many ways, historically, no SPA4/CD13 CVRTM weight has changed by more than ~30% year-on-year since 2018 (w_R fell from ~2 to ~1.4 from 2019 to 2020).

All of the above is largely a reflection of the fact that persons seen on the street fell by ~30% (Figure 3). Cars and vans are also down from last year by more than the number of safe parking spaces (Section 4), with only makeshift structures showing a potential common gain. All told, the total number of dwellings remained flat in most tracts. Although uncertainties in East Hollywood are large, Figure 7 reveals these trends to be common across communities and tracts counted by volunteers or professionals. Such consistencies in nearly independent datasets suggest the results are robust. Section 3.5 presents further cross-checks.

3.4 Concentration

Everyday experience (and **maybe another map**) confirms that unsheltered homelessness is unevenly distributed. However, given the role of public opinion in policymaking, it is worth providing empirical grounding for arguments over, e.g., the placement of new permanent supportive housing (PSH) facilities by quantifying that statement. Figure 8 is one attempt to do so.

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[3]We assumed they were equally likely to have anywhere from 0 to 4 occupants, each.
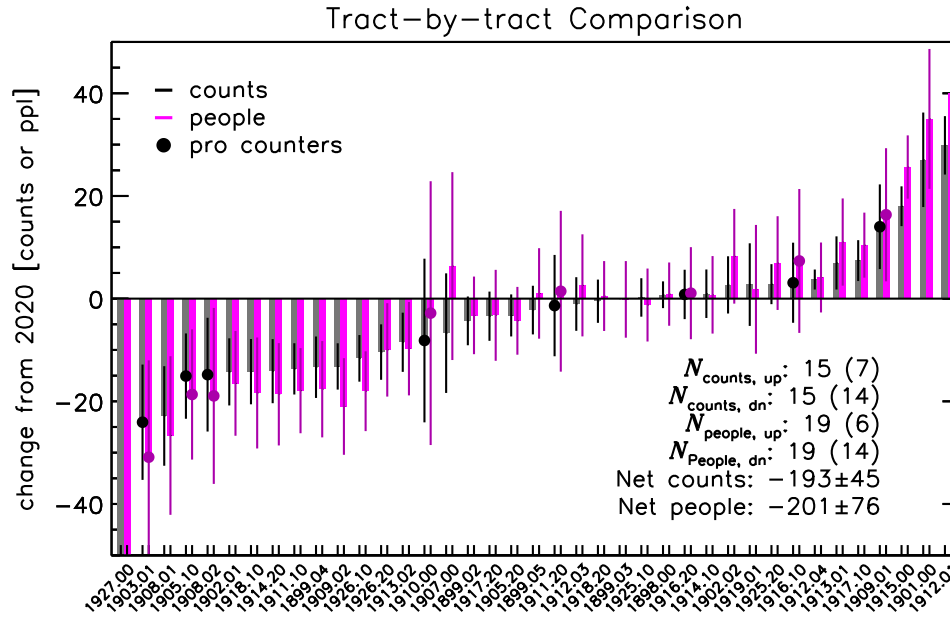
Figure 5: Tract-level year-on-year changes. Pro and vol trends are similar. Net loss of about 200 people or identified persons+structures. 1927.00 saw the biggest loss, which is explainable via XYZ.
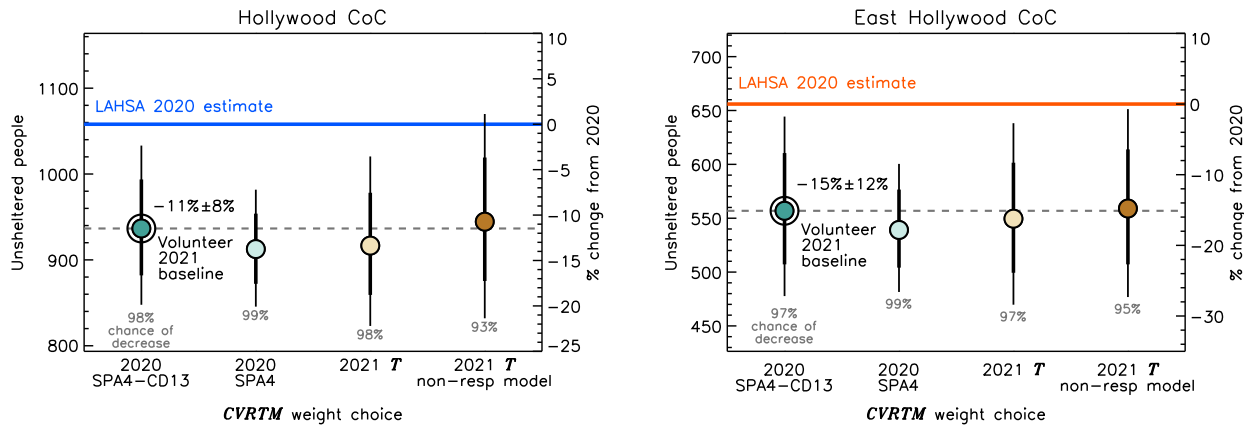
Figure 6: Unsheltered populations in Hollywood (left) and East Hollywood (right) as functions of CVRTM weights. The baseline estimate uses the same weights as the 2020 LAHSA Community Summaries. Using SPA4 weights or replacing the tent weight, T, with results from a survey conducted in Hollywood yields consistent results. All imply at least a 93% chance that unsheltered homelessness has fallen by some amount, with likely declines of $12\% \pm 9\%$ and $15\% \pm 12\%$ in Hollywood and East Hollywood, respectively.

Figure 7: Comparison of trends in pro- and vol-counted tracts in both communities. Consistency is good, though 1927.00 counts for a lot. We haven't broken down the 2020 results at the tract+CVRTM level yet.
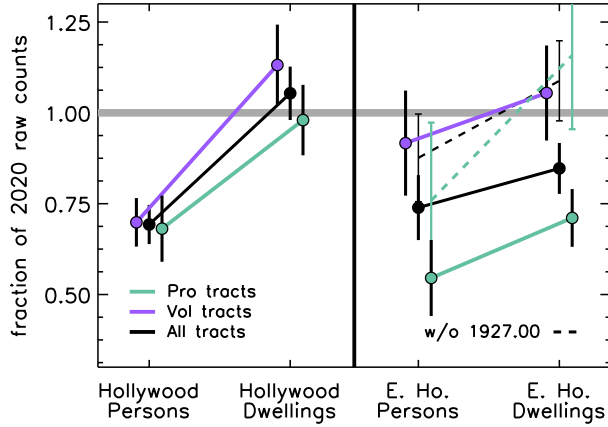
Combining our PIT count results with 2020 US Census data, we can compare the distribution of unsheltered Angelenos vs. all Angelenos in Greater Hollywood. The top panel shows simply the fraction of inhabitants in a given tract that we identified as unsheltered. This fraction spans ~0% to over 4%, with a mean around 1%—40% higher than the LA's global unsheltered fraction as of Jan. 2020.

The bottom panel plots the cumulative contribution of each tract to Greater Hollywood's total and unsheltered populations. If people were equitably distributed, the curves would correspond to a diagonal line with unit slope, yielding a Gini coefficient $c_{Gini} = 0$. The total population in Greater Hollywood has $c_{Gini} \simeq 0.1$—50% of people living 40% of tracts—making it close to evenly distributed. The unsheltered population, on the other hand, has $c_{Gini} = 0.44 \pm 0.02$—50% of people living in 20% of tracts—analogous to those describing income inequalities in Rwanda, Philippines, or Malawi as estimated by the World Bank. Such a concentration of lived trauma, real poverty, and the attendant externalities of unsheltered homelessness should condition the design of policies and the thoughts of policymakers holding equity as a core value.

3.5 Cross-checks

Multiple cross-checks involving independent counters and external datasets suggest that the raw counts from our 2021 PIT count are accurate. The validating data are also available at **website**.
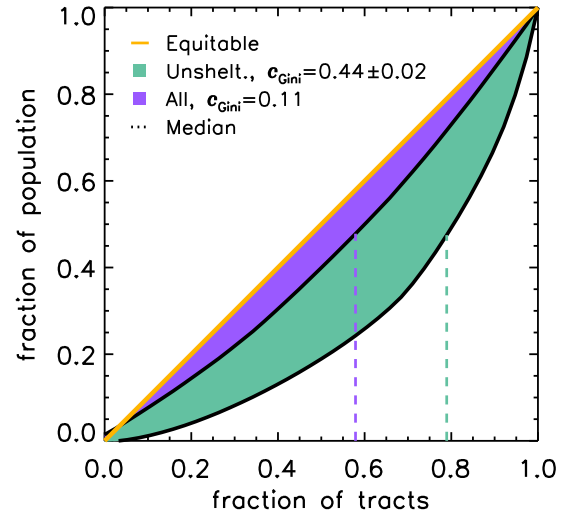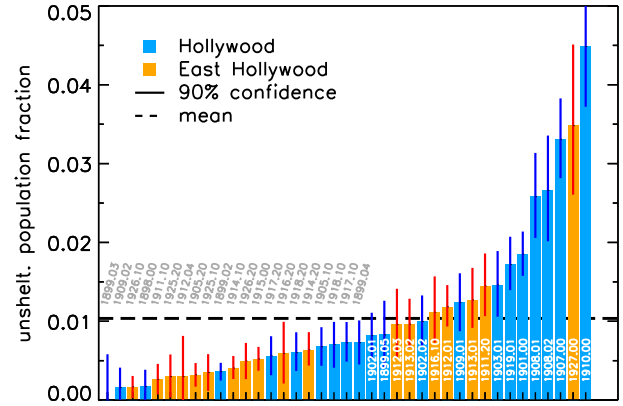
Figure 8: All tracts in Greater Hollywood. This Gini Coefficient is about the same as Kenya's. 50% of unsheltered persons and dwellings are concentrated in 20% of census tracts.

3.5.1 Internal checks

First are Figure 2's inter-comparisons of the count's 37 duplicate tract measurements, suggesting per-tract and -category counting uncertainties are consistent with the random errors built into the analysis. There is thus no evidence that counters were biased in identifying unsheltered persons or dwellings. Such data do not preclude the possibility of systematic inefficiencies in identifying, e.g., cars and vans—which can be difficult at night—but Figure 7's illustration that at least person and dwelling trends are consistent in tracts counted by volunteers and professionals—who surveyed on foot in daylight—suggests that such biases are probably not large. Post-facto independent measurements of key geographies suggest this, too.

10

3.5.2 External checks

Three census tracts were re-surveyed in detail, none of which yield evidence of a PIT undercount:

- Tract 1901.00: intercounter variability outlier. Abramson assessed this tract 14 hours after the PIT count (circa 9:00 AM) with results $1.9\,\sigma$ *lower* than the volunteers' average.
- Tract 1912.01: largest increase. Abramson assessed this tract on 27 Feb. circa 12:00 PM. Results were consistent with the PIT count to within $1\,\sigma$.
- Tract 1927.00: largest decrease. Abramson assessed this tract on 4 March circa 8:30 AM by vehicle with results lower than the PIT's assessment. However, given this tract's density and configuration—home to many freeway ramps and shoulders—it was originally surveyed on foot by outreach professionals. As such, A bramson's vehicular recount only suggests that the PIT data are not biased so as to induce an artificial decline.

Two larger-geography surveys concur quantitatively and qualitatively:

- Biweekly data from *The Hollywood Partnership* from 19 Feb. are consistent with PIT data in a common tract (1902.02) and with an independent recount of the entire Business Improvement District's geography performed 28 Feb. by Abramson and Kohan. These data also imply a decline from past values.
- Three tracts in Echo Park and Silver Lake monitored biweekly by SELAH since May 2020 also show similar declines.

Finally, safe parking—a known sink—provides 49 spaces in or near the survey area (Hollywood, East Hollywood, and Echo Park). If occupied on 25 Feb., these locations probably went uncounted. That suggests 80 ± 16 total car and van dwellers should be added to our results (assumes equal mix). If so, the baseline chance of a decline from 2020 falls from 98% to 92%.

All of the above suggests that our results are reliable.

4 Discussion

If the global picture is one of a general decline in unsheltered population, smaller scales tell different stories. Seven tracts saw at least a 50% increase in their number
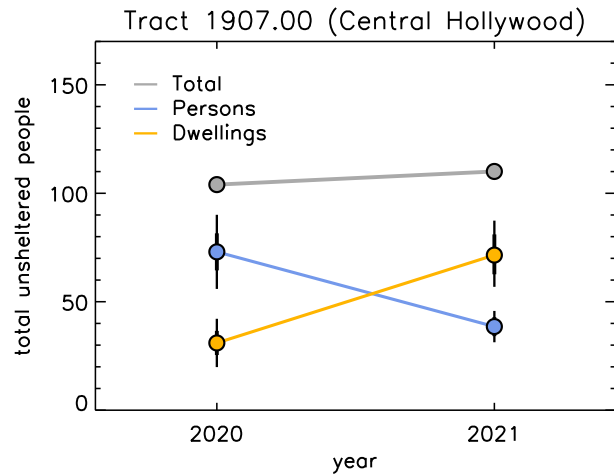

Figure 9: Illustration of what's happened in 4 tracts—persons and structures swapping prominence—in this case with the total population $\sim$conserved. This is also an example of one of 5 tracts where dwelling frequencies at least doubled. 1907 happens to be in the heart of Central Hollywood, increasing the visual impact of this rise in dwellings.

of dwellings; five saw more than 100% gains.[4] In one case—tract 1907.00—the total population stayed nearly identical while the fraction of rough sleepers and persons in CVRTM dwellings swapped (Figure 9). Given this tract's location—Fountain to Sunset to Franklin, Vine to Highland to La Brea; the commercial heart of Central Hollywood—this phenomenon might increase the *visual salience* of unsheltered living even as the population as a whole has declined.

The lack of change in tents is notable as it suggests that known tent distribution efforts by providers must in large part have gone to replacing damaged or destroyed structures, at least in Greater Hollywood.

A $\sim$30% drop in unsheltered individuals in both Hollywood and East Hollywood drives the decline we find, for which government initiatives to move people indoors (Project Roomkey) and staunch inflow into homelessness (eviction moratoria) may be responsible. Indeed, CD13's share of LA County's unsheltered senior population (6.5%) implies that perhaps 100 of its 1608 occupied rooms were filled with Greater Hollywood residents on the night of the count—about half the inferred change. The opening of at least one *A Bridge Home* site in Los Feliz—whose catchment area includes Greater Hollywood—and 120 PATH permanent supportive housing units may also have contributed. The

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[4]Tracts 1902.02, 1907.00, 1912.01, 1915.00, 1925.20, which together account for nearly 10% of all identified street dwellings and 17% of all counts.

latter are located in tract 1927.00. While all of those units did not go to local residents, any that did would help drive that tract's large observed decrease. Coordinated Entry System data will constrain these possibilities.

However, to say nothing of the implications of the above for conditions after the eviction moratoria lapse, if there are fewer people on the street today, their quality of life has degraded markedly. COVID has restricted or eliminated access to restaurant and park bathrooms, libraries (and so *The Source* service days), DPSS (EBT, Medi-Cal), DMV (ID replacement), and DMH facilities. Physical limitations on caseworker access to clients at hospitals and clinics has also hindered successful discharges. These qualitative harms are reflected by a 25% increase in overdose deaths, and visually amplified by a doubling of unsheltered dwellings in 13% of census tracts[5] as enforcement of tent folding ordinances (LAMC 56.11) and City and State sanitation programs were simultaneously suspended or de-scoped. So, while the PIT data may support the efficacy of programs designed to reduce street homelessness, they do *not* suggest that the state of homelessness in Greater Hollywood has improved. In the fight to rebuild lives—as well as build homes—that fact must remain paramount.

PRK effects.

ABH effects.

PSH effects.

1907.00 people and tents switched. Total unsheltered ∼constant but visual perceptions in this most-highly trafficked tract will make it *feel* like homelessness has increased by a lot.

Edges.

Deaths (COVID ∼300; ODs...at least 6x higher than that?).

5   Summary

Data from February 25, 2021 censuses of Hollywood and East Hollywood shows that unsheltered homelessness has fallen in those communities by $11\% \pm 9\%$ and $15\% \pm 12\%$, respectively, compared to the 2020 LAHSA Point-In-Time (PIT) count (90% CI). A 30% drop in individuals seen on the street drives this change, reducing the number of identified persons and dwellings in about a third of census tracts. Unsheltered living is thus likely to have declined quantitatively even if the average occupancy of, e.g., tents is updated. Simultane-ously, however, 13% of tracts saw at least a doubling in street dwellings. This trend may contribute to qualitative perceptions that the state of homelessness has worsened over the past year, which—given COVID-related reductions in health, hygiene, and social support services—are also likely to be accurate. Coordinated Entry System data will reveal whether homelessness has declined in toto or if government initiatives reduced only the portion of people living unsheltered in Greater Hollywood.

A   Example Documents

B   Full Tract-level Results

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[5]Including 1907.00, Central Hollywood's commercial core.

Data Acquisition Sheet – 2021 Greater Hollywood Homeless Count								
Tract:								
Date:								
Time:								
Team members:								
Adults	*18--24 yr olds*	*Unacc Minors*	*Cars*	*Vans/SUVs*	*RVs*	*Tents*	*Makeshift*	*Families*
Comments:								

Figure 10: Counter tally-sheet

Table 4: Census Tract-level Unsheltered Counts

Tract	Community	Counter	A	TAY	C	V	R	T	M	Total
1898.00	Hollywood	V	3.3	0.3	0.0	0.7	0	1.3	0.0	5.7
1899.02	Hollywood	V	4.3	0.0	0.0	1.3	2	4.0	1.3	13.7
1899.03	Hollywood	V	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1899.04	Hollywood	V	9.5	0.0	0.0	1.0	0	2.5	2.0	15.0
1899.05	Hollywood	V	3.0	0.0	3.0	4.5	1	2.0	0.0	13.5
1901.00	Hollywood	V	49.5	0.5	8.0	5.5	1	6.0	4.0	74.5
1902.01	Hollywood	V	14.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0	2.5	1.5	19.0
1902.02	Hollywood	V	9.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	8.0	5.5	22.5
1903.01	Hollywood	P	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	19.0	22.0	51.0
1905.10	Hollywood	P	13.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4	6.0	4.0	27.0
1905.20	E. Hollywood	V	2.0	0.5	0.5	1.0	0	4.0	1.0	9.0
1907.00	Hollywood	V	38.5	0.0	2.0	0.0	0	38.5	7.0	86.0
1908.01	Hollywood	V	18.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0	19.5	9.0	47.5
1908.02	Hollywood	P	22.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	5	13.0	13.0	54.0
1909.01	Hollywood	P	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	17.0	9.0	41.0
1909.02	Hollywood	V	2.7	0.3	0.7	1.7	0	0.0	0.0	5.3
1910.00	Hollywood	P	34.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	5	60.0	23.0	123.0
1911.10	E. Hollywood	V	4.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0	2.5	0.5	7.5
1911.20	E. Hollywood	P	14.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	24.0	10.0	48.0
1912.01	E. Hollywood	V	17.5	1.0	0.5	3.5	1	5.5	12.0	41.5
1912.03	E. Hollywood	V	5.0	0.0	2.0	8.0	0	0.0	2.5	17.5
1912.04	E. Hollywood	V	3.0	0.5	0.5	1.0	0	0.0	0.0	5.0
1913.01	E. Hollywood	V	8.0	0.0	0.5	7.5	0	5.0	1.0	22.5
1913.02	E. Hollywood	V	5.5	0.0	0.5	0.5	0	3.5	6.0	16.5
1914.10	E. Hollywood	V	7.5	0.0	1.0	0.5	0	1.0	5.5	15.5
1914.20	E. Hollywood	V	4.0	0.0	2.0	4.5	1	3.0	2.0	16.5
1915.00	E. Hollywood	V	10.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	2	2.5	2.5	22.0
1916.10	E. Hollywood	P	6.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1	2.0	22.0	32.0
1916.20	E. Hollywood	P	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0	4.0	6.0	12.0
1917.10	Hollywood	V	6.5	0.0	2.0	4.5	1	1.0	0.5	15.5
1917.20	Hollywood	V	2.3	0.0	0.3	1.3	6	0.0	4.3	14.7
1918.10	Hollywood	V	3.5	0.0	1.0	1.5	1	10.0	0.0	17.5
1918.20	Hollywood	V	2.5	1.0	0.0	2.5	2	1.5	2.0	11.5
1919.01	Hollywood	V	16.0	0.0	2.0	1.5	5	13.0	7.5	45.0
1925.10	E. Hollywood	V	4.0	0.0	1.5	1.0	1	0.0	1.5	9.5
1925.20	E. Hollywood	V	1.0	0.0	1.0	6.0	1	0.0	0.0	9.0
1926.10	E. Hollywood	V	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	3.5	0.5	6.0
1926.20	E. Hollywood	V	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	11.0	0.5	12.5
1927.00	E. Hollywood	P	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7	6.0	54.0	87.0

Raw counts from each tract. Coding as in Table 1. Fractional counts reflect averages over multiple counters.

Table 5: Census Tract-level Unsheltered Population Inferences

Tract	Community	Counter	*A*	*TAY*	*C*	*V*	*R*	*T*	*M*	**Total**
1898.00	H	V	3.3 (1.7)	0.0 (0.6)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (1.5)	0.0 (2.8)	1.9 (1.6)	0.0 (7.0)	6.9 (8.4)
1899.02	H	V	4.3 (2.0)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.3)	2.3 (2.2)	3.8 (2.5)	5.9 (2.9)	2.2 (2.0)	18.7 (5.8)
1899.03	H	V	0.0 (5.2)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (3.9)	0.0 (2.8)	0.0 (6.8)	0.0 (7.1)	0.0 (12.3)
1899.04	H	V	9.5 (3.6)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.3)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (2.7)	3.7 (2.7)	3.3 (3.0)	18.3 (7.0)
1899.05	H	V	3.0 (2.0)	0.0 (0.7)	4.4 (3.3)	7.7 (5.4)	0.0 (1.7)	2.9 (2.5)	0.0 (7.1)	19.9 (10.3)
1901.00	H	V	49.5 (8.2)	0.0 (0.8)	11.8 (5.9)	9.5 (6.1)	0.0 (1.8)	8.9 (4.3)	6.6 (4.5)	88.8 (13.5)
1902.01	H	V	14.5 (4.4)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (1.3)	0.0 (3.9)	0.0 (2.8)	3.7 (2.8)	0.0 (2.5)	21.5 (7.7)
1902.02	H	V	9.0 (3.5)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (4.0)	0.0 (2.8)	11.8 (5.0)	9.1 (5.3)	30.2 (9.9)
1903.01	H	P	10.0 (5.2)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (3.9)	0.0 (2.7)	27.8 (11.0)	36.5 (16.8)	74.8 (21.3)
1905.10	H	P	12.9 (5.9)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (4.0)	5.7 (5.1)	8.8 (6.0)	6.5 (5.9)	34.2 (12.4)
1905.20	E	V	2.0 (1.6)	0.0 (0.8)	0.0 (1.3)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (2.8)	5.9 (3.6)	0.0 (2.1)	12.7 (6.0)
1907.00	H	V	38.5 (7.2)	0.0 (0.7)	3.0 (2.6)	0.0 (3.9)	0.0 (2.8)	56.7 (12.8)	11.6 (6.3)	110.1 (16.9)
1908.01	H	V	18.5 (4.9)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (1.3)	0.0 (3.9)	0.0 (2.8)	28.6 (8.4)	14.9 (7.4)	63.2 (13.2)
1908.02	H	P	21.9 (7.7)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (3.1)	7.1 (5.8)	19.0 (9.1)	21.3 (11.8)	71.7 (18.1)
1909.01	H	P	15.0 (6.3)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.3)	0.0 (4.0)	0.0 (2.8)	24.9 (10.6)	14.8 (9.4)	55.3 (16.4)
1909.02	H	V	2.7 (1.5)	0.0 (0.6)	0.0 (1.2)	2.9 (2.5)	0.0 (2.7)	0.0 (6.8)	0.0 (7.2)	6.9 (10.7)
1910.00	H	P	34.0 (9.6)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.6)	0.0 (3.9)	7.0 (5.7)	88.1 (21.7)	38.1 (17.4)	169.7 (30.4)
1911.10	E	V	4.0 (2.3)	0.0 (0.8)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (3.9)	0.0 (2.7)	3.6 (2.8)	0.0 (1.4)	9.0 (6.7)
1911.20	E	P	13.9 (6.1)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (3.9)	0.0 (2.7)	35.3 (12.8)	16.4 (10.1)	66.2 (18.2)
1912.01	E	V	17.5 (4.9)	0.0 (1.1)	0.0 (1.3)	6.0 (4.6)	0.0 (2.2)	8.1 (4.2)	19.9 (9.0)	55.8 (12.4)
1912.03	E	V	5.0 (2.6)	0.0 (0.7)	3.0 (2.6)	13.9 (7.8)	0.0 (2.8)	0.0 (6.8)	4.2 (3.3)	26.4 (11.9)
1912.04	E	V	3.0 (2.0)	0.0 (0.8)	0.0 (1.3)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (2.8)	0.0 (6.8)	0.0 (7.0)	6.2 (10.7)
1913.01	E	V	8.0 (3.3)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (1.3)	13.0 (7.5)	0.0 (1.2)	7.3 (3.9)	0.0 (2.0)	31.8 (9.5)
1913.02	E	V	5.5 (2.7)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (1.3)	0.0 (1.5)	0.0 (1.2)	5.1 (3.2)	9.9 (5.6)	23.1 (7.5)
1914.10	E	V	7.5 (3.2)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (1.8)	0.0 (1.6)	0.0 (2.8)	0.0 (1.7)	9.0 (5.3)	20.6 (7.4)
1914.20	E	V	4.0 (2.3)	0.0 (0.7)	3.0 (2.7)	7.7 (5.3)	0.0 (1.8)	4.4 (3.0)	3.3 (3.0)	24.1 (8.0)
1915.00	E	V	10.0 (3.6)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.2)	7.8 (5.3)	3.5 (2.9)	3.7 (2.7)	4.1 (3.4)	29.6 (8.6)
1916.10	E	P	6.0 (4.0)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.3)	0.0 (3.1)	0.0 (2.4)	0.0 (3.4)	36.4 (16.9)	48.7 (18.3)
1916.20	E	P	0.0 (5.2)	0.0 (2.3)	0.0 (2.3)	0.0 (3.9)	0.0 (2.8)	5.8 (4.9)	10.0 (7.5)	17.9 (11.9)
1917.10	H	V	6.5 (3.0)	0.0 (0.7)	3.0 (2.6)	7.8 (5.4)	0.0 (1.7)	0.0 (1.8)	0.0 (1.4)	21.3 (7.4)
1917.20	H	V	2.3 (1.5)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (0.9)	2.3 (2.1)	9.0 (4.3)	0.0 (6.8)	7.1 (3.9)	21.7 (9.6)
1918.10	H	V	3.5 (2.2)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (1.8)	0.0 (2.7)	0.0 (2.2)	14.6 (5.7)	0.0 (6.9)	24.6 (10.2)
1918.20	H	V	2.5 (1.8)	0.0 (1.2)	0.0 (2.3)	4.3 (3.8)	2.9 (2.6)	2.2 (2.1)	3.3 (3.0)	16.4 (6.7)
1919.01	H	V	16.0 (4.7)	0.0 (0.7)	2.9 (2.6)	0.0 (2.7)	7.1 (4.3)	19.1 (6.6)	12.4 (6.5)	60.6 (11.9)
1925.10	E	V	4.0 (2.3)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (6.7)	0.0 (2.6)	12.8 (8.5)
1925.20	E	V	0.0 (1.6)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.5)	10.5 (8.3)	0.0 (2.4)	0.0 (6.8)	0.0 (7.1)	14.8 (13.6)
1926.10	E	V	2.0 (1.6)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.3)	0.0 (4.0)	0.0 (2.8)	5.1 (3.3)	0.0 (1.4)	8.0 (6.7)
1926.20	E	V	0.0 (1.2)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.2)	0.0 (4.0)	0.0 (2.8)	16.1 (6.1)	0.0 (1.4)	18.0 (8.4)
1927.00	E	P	19.9 (7.4)	0.0 (0.7)	0.0 (2.3)	0.0 (3.9)	10.0 (7.0)	8.8 (6.0)	90.4 (33.2)	129.4 (35.4)

Median and 90% CI listed.

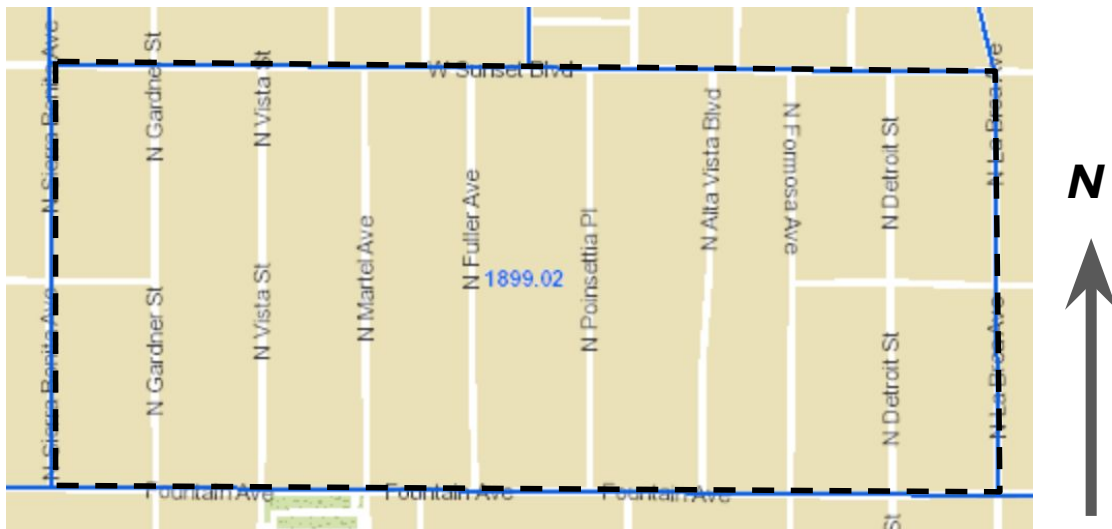# Tract **1899.02** (Sierra Bonita–La Brea/Fountain–Sunset)

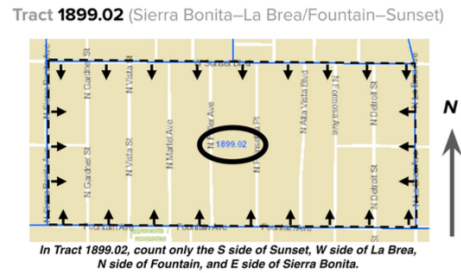**Figure 11:** Example Hollywood tract map.

2021 Greater Hollywood Volunteer Homeless Count

Materials:
- Tract maps (up to 2, see below).
- Tally sheets (up to 2, one per tract, see below).
- Clipboard + pens.

Instructions:
1. Ensure Counter has tally sheets + tract maps. Ensure Navigator has tract maps if present.
2. Drive to a tract. Enter an intersection in google maps for directions (e.g., "Fountain/Normandie"). **Record tract number on tally sheet.**
3. Drive every street in the tract.
   - Drive slowly so Counter can survey each street. Use hazard lights.
   - If present, Navigator should direct Driver and mark streets that have been counted. Else, Counter should do this.
   - **Count only the interior side streets on tract borders.**
   - If you do not count a street, mark on map and note in "Comments" section of the tally sheet (see below).
   - **Do not exit your vehicle for any reason during the count.**

Tract **1899.02** (Sierra Bonita–La Brea/Fountain–Sunset)

In Tract 1899.02, count only the S side of Sunset, W side of La Brea, N side of Fountain, and E side of Sierra Bonita.

Tally example:
- Record the tract number, printed in **bold** at top of each tract map (see example above).
- <mark>**Read your results to the volunteer who collects your materials back at The Center.**</mark>

Data Acquisition Sheet – 2021 Greater Hollywood Homeless Count

Tract: 1899.02
Date: 2/25/21
Time: 7:15 PM
Team members: Abramson, Young

Adults	16–24 yr olds	Unacc Minors	Cars	Vans/SUVs	RVs	Tents	Makeshift	Families
IIII			II	III	I	II	I	

Comments: Didn't count DeLongpre btw Detroit & Formosa

Dwelling examples:

| RV | Tent | Makeshift | Car | Van |

Figure 12: Count primer SCRUB EK'S NUMBER!