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Title: Innovating a Community-driven Enumeration and Needs Assessment of People Experiencing Homelessness: A Network Sampling Approach for the HUD-Mandated Point-in-Time Count

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Key words: homelessness, people experiencing homelessness, social networks, hard-to-reach populations, sample data, networks, social networks, respondent-driven sampling

¹ N/A indicates not applicable.

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² Study investigators, conference presentations, preprint publication information, thanks.

Disclaimer: Click or tap here to enter text.

Data Availability Statement: HUD Data exchange provides all official PIT totals from KCRHA (see <https://www.hudexchange.info/resource/3031/pit-and-hic-data-since-2007/>). Individual data for 2022 and 2024 is available via request to KCRHA and to the University of Washington through Zack W. Almquist for the 2023 PIT data.

Abstract

To enumerate people experiencing homelessness in the U.S., the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) mandates its designated local jurisdictions regularly conduct a crude census of this population. This Point-in-Time (PIT) body count, typically conducted on a January night by volunteers with flashlights and clipboards, is often followed by interviews with a separate convenience sample. Here, we propose employing a network-based (peer-referral) respondent-driven sampling (RDS) method to generate a representative sample of unsheltered people, accompanied by a novel method to generate a statistical estimate of the number of unsheltered people in the jurisdiction. First, we develop a power analysis for the sample size of our RDS survey to count unsheltered people experiencing homelessness. Then, we conducted three large-scale population-representative samples in King County, WA (Seattle metro) in 2022, 2023, and 2024. We describe the data collection and the application of our new method, comparing the 2020 PIT count (the last visual PIT count performed in King County) to the new method 2022 and 2024 PIT counts. We conclude with a discussion and future directions.

Introduction

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)’s 2023 Annual Homeless Assessment Report suggests 653,100 people in the U.S. are without homes, a 12% increase from 2022. The national count requires each HUD “Continuum of Care” (COC) jurisdiction to regularly conduct a local “Point-in-Time” (PIT) count. Two tallies are made: (i) emergency shelter report from administrative records and (ii) count of unsheltered people living in tents, vehicles, and other arrangements unsuitable for human habitation. This HUD-mandated, biennial unsheltered count is generally followed by a demographic and needs survey of unhoused individuals over two to four weeks. Volunteers with flashlights and clipboards typically conduct unsheltered PIT counts on a given night in January, and the demographic and needs survey is often directed by a large survey firm.¹

The PIT count has dominated how people experiencing homelessness in the U.S. are enumerated, even though there is a long history in the literature of proposed methods for counting the unhoused population beyond what is currently done for the Congressional report (1, 2). The PIT count is also one of few studies to collect demographic and needs-based assessments of people who are disconnected from social services systems. Thus, unsheltered PIT counts fill two important roles: (i) a systematic count of those not currently using shelter services on a single night and (ii) provides insight into characteristics and needs of this population. Importantly, because the unsheltered PIT count characterizes the population size and needs of people experiencing homelessness who may not be accessing services (e.g., emergency shelters, soup kitchens/food pantries, emergency departments), these people are likely to be systematically different from those tracked using services in the homeless care system.

¹See for example <https://www.appliedsurveyresearch.org/>.

Policy makers and policy-change advocates for the human right to housing (e.g., the UN, see (3) for a history) rely on accurate counts of homelessness to both decide where to focus their energies and measure their progress. Recently, Tsai and Alarcón in the *American Journal of Public Health*(4), and others, have critiqued the traditional one-night PIT methodology used by HUD-designated administrative regions on both methodological and cost grounds. All this leads to a fundamental research question: *how do we provide a (quasi)-probability sample for unsheltered populations to provide both a count and a demographic and needs-based survey acceptable to the studied population, care providers, and the U.S. government?*

Here, we describe an innovative strategy for conducting a quasi-probability sample of unsheltered people in King County, WA, to obtain a cost-effective and accurate count. This strategy was combined with a rigorous population-representative sample to produce a high-quality understanding of demographics and service needs.

In 2019, we worked in Davidson County (Nashville metro), TN – Davidson is a large county (800,000 people) including Nashville, a large urban center – to test an approach outside the bounds of the traditional one-night count used by HUD CoCs everywhere. There, we collected a novel network-based sample of people experiencing homelessness that would allow for simulation of a complete social network of people experiencing homelessness. Specifically, this allowed us to demonstrate the efficacy of a new approach to counting unsheltered people experiencing homelessness through a network-based (peer-referral) respondent-driven sampling (RDS) approach. Details are in the online appendix (Section A). This provided a proof of concept and power analysis (sample-size selection) that we used in the full study conducted in King County, WA.

In 2022, the University of Washington was invited to work with the King County Regional Homelessness Authority, the CoC for one of the largest homeless populations in the U.S., to co-create a new enumeration method. In King County, we employed a network-based (peer-referral) respondent-driven sampling method to generate our representative sample, which we combined with a novel statistical estimator to count unsheltered people. After that successful collaboration, we piloted additional innovations in King County in 2023 and conducted again **an official PIT count**, in early 2024. RDS should be appealing to homelessness enumerators, as it has been endorsed by the CDC, NIH, and World Health Organization. The method also enjoys endorsement from ethical review boards because participants opt in (5).

Here, we describe the sampling design and statistical methods we used to construct a representative sample, demographic and needs survey, and count of unsheltered people in King County, built jointly between the

University of Washington and the King County Regional Homelessness Authority. We are aware of only one other U.S. city, San Francisco, where a team has also begun experimenting with representative sampling methods for people experiencing homelessness (6), although that work was conducted by a third party external to the CoC infrastructure.

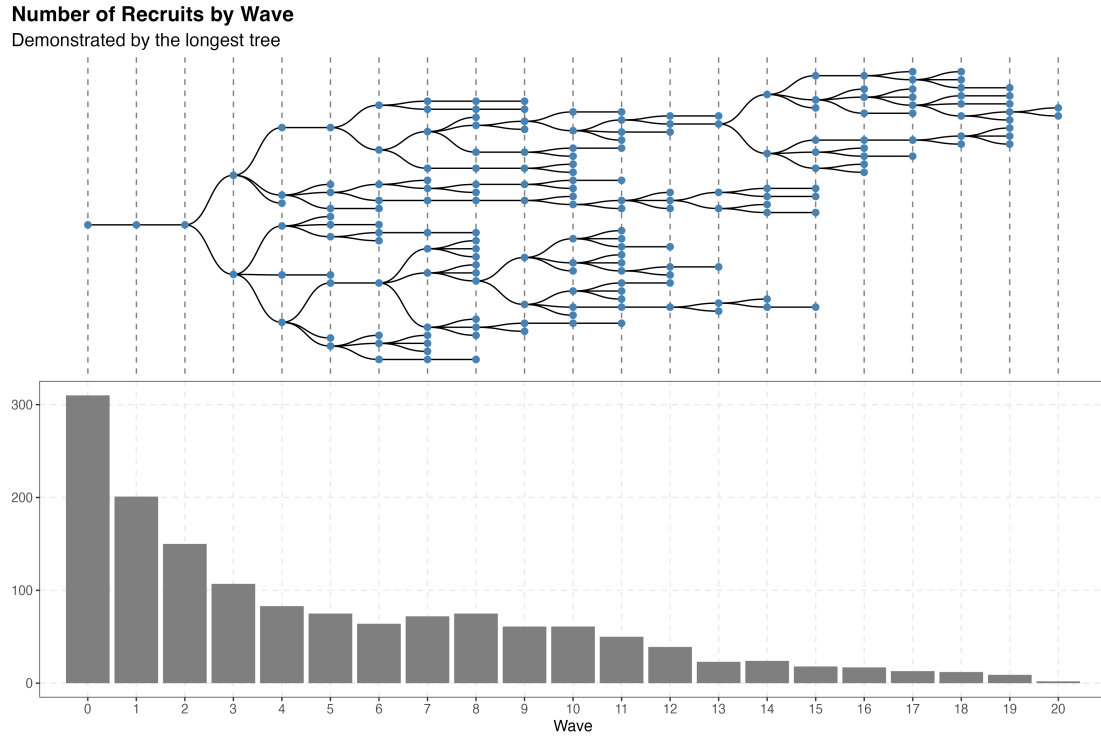


Figure 1: Plot of the longest chain observed in our 2024 RDS study mapped on top of the histogram of the count of chains per wave.

Methods

Respondent-driven sampling

To generate our representative sample of King County’s unsheltered population, we employed respondent-driven sampling (RDS) – a peer recruitment and social-network-based approach. This method uses multiple peer-to-peer recruitment waves to approximate random sampling in hard-to-reach populations (7). A sociologist introduced RDS in the late 1990s (8), and it has become a popular technique to survey hard-to-reach populations in public health (9).

Theory supporting RDS requires that 1) respondents be selected from a social network of existing target

population members; 2) network degree (sometimes referred to, imprecisely, as personal network, connectivity, or number of connections that ego (focal node) has to other nodes) is measured accurately; and 3) the target population is well connected within their community (10, 11). While Fellows (12) found that network degrees often have significant measurement errors in RDS studies, he also found that most RDS estimators remain consistent under an imperfect measurement model (although with increases in estimator variance).

We ran three RDS surveys to generate a representative sample of unsheltered people experiencing homelessness. The first survey was fielded from March 9th to April 6th, 2022 (24 days); the second was fielded from April 24th to June 1st, 2023 (38 days); and the third was fielded from January 22nd to February 2nd (11 days). There were large gains to the data collection process over time, allowing us to collect more responses in a shorter time period by the third round of data collection, largely due to increased hubs, volunteers, and improved software. See Figure 1 to demonstrate the longest tree observed in our 2024 RDS study, along with a count of the wave number observed (waves are defined as the length of the referral chain).

RDS typically employs incentives for surveying and referrals. For our RDS implementation in 2022, we provided a \$25 Visa gift card (physical card) to each survey respondent, but we did not provide an incentive for those who successfully distributed their three recruitment coupons. In 2023 and 2024, we provided a smaller \$20 Visa gift card (physical card) for each survey respondent, along with three \$5 Visa coupons (digital cards) sent by email or phone for those who successfully referred their similarly situated friends to the study. Again, we provided three coupons per respondent. In all three years, we provided bus tickets with coupons for hubs in difficult-to-reach locations.

Similar to the visual PIT strategy, we employed volunteers to conduct the survey. This is advantageous as one of the important aspects of the classic unsheltered PIT is that it functions as a large community-building event for local homelessness care organizations. In 2022, our survey was conducted by a combination of King County Regional Homelessness Authority personnel, local volunteers, and paid volunteers from the local Lived Experience Coalition (LEC), which describes themselves as a “largely BIPOC led”² activist organization with strong ties to the community of people experiencing homelessness. In 2023, we employed largely volunteers from the University of Washington community, and then in 2024, we again employed KCRHA employees, community volunteers, and paid volunteers from the LEC. All volunteers were trained in sensitivity, harm reduction, software, and survey methods. In 2022, we had approximately 50 volunteers³;

²<https://wearelec.org/>

³This was a special case with 3-4 surveyors from the Lived Experience Coalition who were paid and 1 KCRHA staff at each hub for the first fielding of this method.

in 2023, we had approximately 110 volunteers from the UW community (90 undergraduates and 20 graduate students and faculty); and in 2024, we had approximately 111 community volunteers. Note that in 2020, the classic visual census took about 1,000 volunteers to complete. In 2023 and 2024, each hub had three people working 4-hour shifts, 4-6 days a week, depending on hub operating hours, two survey takers, and one hub manager who fielded issues and managed gift cards and coupon printing.



Figure 2: UW Unofficial PIT count 2023, South Park Library, Seattle, WA. On the left is a volunteer survey taker, and on the right is the respondent.

Software & coupon management

In 2022, all data were collected on paper with handwritten coupon codes (tracking referrals). The KCRHA team then transcribed the data. In 2023, we pioneered using the custom app based on Google Power App software for managing referral coupons, where we would print out a QR code on the fly for connecting the network data, and all surveys were administered with an iPad using a connected Qualtrics survey. In 2024, we adapted the 2023 methodology for the Microsoft 365 Power App. The coupon for our RDS study from 2024 can be seen in Figure 3, and a picture from the 2023 study of a student administering the study to a respondent can be seen in Figure 2.

Sample size

A common problem in RDS is ascertaining how large the sample size should be for a given target population, a general research question of interest in the field. In this case, we want a sample that accurately estimates the total count of unsheltered people in a given jurisdiction. Our preliminary 2019 work in Davidson County, TN (Nashville metro), (13) prepared us to design the King County study despite the COVID-19 interruptions. Our power analysis suggested that a minimum 5% sample would be sufficient, but as high as a 20% sample would be ideal. The King County, WA, January 2020 PIT count reported around 12,000 people were experiencing homelessness (14), suggesting from our power analysis that a sample size of 600 to 2,400 people would be the most efficient (low bias and variance) and thus the most cost-effective. Details are available in the online appendix (Section A). In 2022, we surveyed 671 respondents in King County; we then did a methods follow-up in 2023, focusing on improving data collection where we surveyed 1,106 people experiencing homelessness and performed an official 2024 PIT count with 1,464 respondents.

Seed selection

For seed selection, we engaged with outreach workers, service providers, and community liaisons who knew the various communities (e.g., tents, tiny homes, etc.) and established trust with people experiencing homelessness.

KCRHA
King County Regional Homeless Authority

POINT IN TIME (PIT) SURVEY LOCATIONS

Those that are sleeping outside/RV/cars or other locations not meant for human habitation are needed for short anonymous survey, January 22 - February 2, 2024.

\$20 Visa Gift Cards will be provided to all those completing the Survey.

All locations are accessible unless marked. All locations will have free off site/onsite parking and bike racks. Language Translation (including ASL) will be available.

NORTH KING COUNTY AND NORTH SEATTLE

SEATTLE VASHON ISLAND

The Compass Day Center
210 Alaskan Way, Seattle, WA 98104
Monday - Friday 12:22-12:28
10:30am - 2:30pm (no free parking)

St. Vincent de Paul
5972 4th Ave S, Seattle WA 98108
Tuesday - Friday 12:22-22
10am to 2pm

Seattle Veterans Center
385 Lucile St. #140 Seattle, WA 98108
Monday - Friday 1/29-2/2
9:30am to 12pm

Vashon Island United Methodist Church (Island) (Spokane)
17928 Vashon Hwy SW
Mon, Tue, Thurs, Fri 1/22-1/26
10:30am to 3:30pm

Vashon Island Food Bank
10025 SW 210th St
Wed 1/24 10:30am to 6:30pm

Vashon Island Presbyterian Church
17928 Vashon Hwy SW
Wed 1/24 5pm to 6pm

Map of Seattle and surrounding areas with survey locations marked.

SOUTH & SOUTHEAST KING COUNTY

Maple Valley Foodbank
21415 Renton-Maple Valley Rd
Maple Valley, WA 98038
Mon-Wed-Thur 12:22-22
10am - 3pm, Tues 10am - 6pm

Highline United Methodist Church
13015 1st Ave S, Burien WA
Monday - Friday 1/22-1/26
10:30am - 2:30pm

CCS Federal Way Day Center
33505 13th St S, Federal Way, WA 98003
Monday - Friday 1/22-2/2
10:30am - 2:30pm

Aurora Commons
8914 Aurora Ave N, Seattle, WA 98103
Monday - Thursday 1/22-2/1 10am to 3pm
*Wednesday 1/26 and 1/31 9pm to 8pm
*Female-Identifying only

East King County Snoqualmie Valley

Together Center
16305 NE 87th St Suite 110, Redmond, WA 98052
Monday - Friday 1/22-2/2
10am to 3:30pm

Bellevue Library
1111 110th Ave NE, Bellevue, WA 98004
Monday - Friday 1/22-2/2
12pm to 5pm

Kirkland Library
308 Kirkland Ave, Kirkland, WA 98033
Monday - Friday 1/29-2/2
12:30pm to 5:30pm

Issaquah Community Hall
180 E Sunset Way, Issaquah, WA 98027
Mon, Tue, Wed, Fri 1/22-2/2
10:30am to 3:30pm

YMCA Snoqualmie Valley
35018 SE Ridge St, Snoqualmie, WA 98065
Monday-Friday 1/22-2/2
9:30am to 3:30pm
*Tues, Thurs, 1/23 and 1/25
9am to 11am

Seattle/Vashon

The Compass Day Center
210 Alaskan Way, Seattle WA 98104
Monday - Friday 1/22-1/26
10:30am to 2:30 pm (no free parking)

Georgetown Food Bank St.
5972 4th Ave S, Seattle WA 98108
Mon, Thurs, Fri 1/22-2/2
10am to 2pm

Seattle Veterans Center
305 Lucile St. #140, Seattle WA 98108
Monday - Friday 1/29-2/2
9:30am to 12pm

Aurora Commons
8914 Aurora Ave N, Seattle WA 98103
Monday-Thursday 1/22-2/2
10am to 3pm
*1/24 and 1/31 5pm-9pm
*Female-Identifying only

Vashon Island United Methodist Church
17928 Vashon Hwy SW
Mon, Tue, Thurs, Fri 1/22-1/26
10:30am to 3:30pm

Vashon Island Presbyterian Church
17928 Vashon Hwy SW
Wed 1/24 5pm to 6pm

Vashon Island Food Bank
10025 SW 210th St
Wed 1/24 10:30am-6:30pm

North King County

Ronald United Methodist Church
17839 Aurora Ave N, Shoreline WA 98104
Monday - Friday 1/22-2/2
3pm to 7pm (no accessible bathroom)

East King County

Together Center
16305 NE 87th St STE 110, Redmond WA 98052
Monday - Friday 1/22-2/2
10am to 3:30pm

Bellevue Library
1111 10th Ave NE, Bellevue, WA 98004
Monday - Friday 1/22-2/2
12pm to 5pm

Kirkland Library
308 Kirkland Ave, Kirkland WA 98033
Monday - Friday 1/29-2/2
12:30pm-5:30pm

Issaquah Community Hall
180 E Sunset Way, Issaquah, WA 98029
Mon, Tue, Wed, Fri 1/22-2/2
10:30am to 3:30 pm

YMCA Snoqualmie Valley
35018 SE Ridge St, Snoqualmie, WA 98065
Monday - Friday 1/22-2/2
9:30am to 3:30 pm
*9am-11am 1/23 and 1/25

Coupon - Unsheltered Point-in-Time Count

Bring this coupon to one of the locations below to complete a survey about your experience being unsheltered and to receive a \$20 Visa Gift Card. All Locations are accessible with free parking and bike racks unless marked otherwise. Language translation (including ASL) will be available.

QR CODE

Data will be used to report to Housing and Urban Development (HUD). For more information, visit kcrha.org/data-overview/king-county-point-in-time-gaia

CONTACT: DANIEL RAMOS III AT DANIEL.RAMOS@KCRHA.ORG

(a) Frontside of RDS coupon from 2024.

(b) Backside of RDS coupon from 2024.

Figure 3: Coupons were pre-printed for each hub location with space reserved for the QR code printed on the fly from our custom RDS software.

Hub selection

The spatial distribution of data collection is important for RDS studies (15, 16). To provide sufficient geographic coverage within our time and budget constraints, we chose physical locations for surveying, known as “hubs.” These were selected based on ten official subregions (see Figure 4d), transit maps, previous PIT counts, and feedback from people with lived experience to optimize the location of each hub. We varied the hub location a bit for a combination of practical reasons and coverage as we scaled up our sampling strategy. All hub locations can be seen in Figure 4.

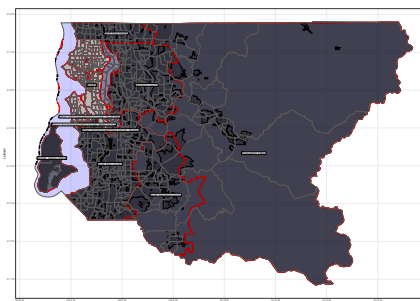
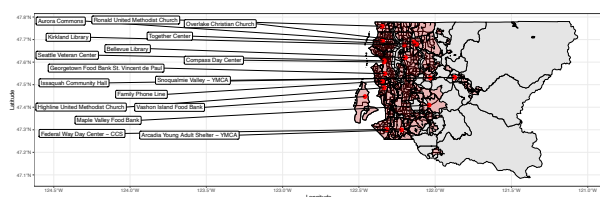
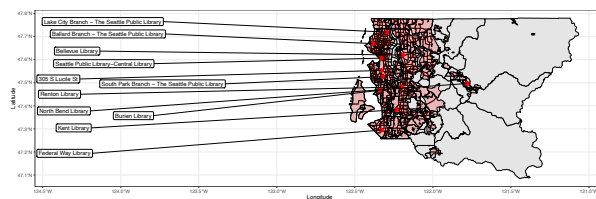
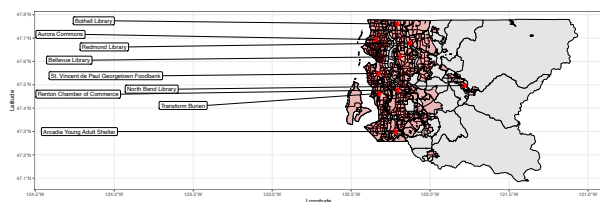


Figure 4: Nine hub locations used for the 2022 PIT count in King County. US Census tracts are colored in grey, Seattle City US Census tracts are shaded in blue and incorporated, and unincorporated urban areas are in red. The red dot is a hub location labeled with a named location. King County is the 12th most populous county in the U.S., home to dense urban and remote rural communities.

Eligibility criteria

We interviewed individuals who: 1) were 18 years or older; 2) were able to give informed consent; and 3) identified as unsheltered, using the HUD definition of “an individual or family who lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence,” including people who have a primary nighttime residence that is a public or private place not meant for human habitation. Interviewers conducted interviews in English and Spanish; we used a phone system to provide real-time translations for the few participants who spoke neither English nor Spanish (in 2024).

Ethics

The University’s Institutional Review Board approved all study procedures. Respondents were assigned a unique ID that allowed linkage to individuals they referred to be surveyed. Otherwise, interviewers collected only limited personal identification information: (1) first two letters of first and last name, (2) year and month

of birth. We collected (1) and (2) as one of our methods of limiting duplication in the survey sample. We collected phone numbers or email data to provide digital gift cards for the peer referral incentive. However, these data were held separately and were not connected to the survey data respondents provided.

Estimation strategy

The estimation strategy leverages the dichotomous nature of how HUD counts homelessness: (1) sleeping in an emergency shelter or (2) sleeping unsheltered. The population of unhoused people is the sum of (1) and (2). We employ administrative data to enumerate sheltered people (1) and base our estimate of unsheltered individuals by the estimate of the proportion of unsheltered people from our RDS procedure. The following section details our approach.

Estimating Percentages: A robust literature offers estimators for population percentages using RDS samples. Details on the classic estimators can be found in (7, 12, 17) with assessments in (18), and a simulation-based approach developed by Gile and Handcock (19). All the estimators rely on a reweighting by the degree distribution to unbiased the resulting sample estimator and generally follow the basic logic of the classic Horwitz-Thompson estimator. These estimators are readily available in R via the *RDS package* (20). In this paper, we use the Salganik-Heckathorn estimator (7) (see details in the online appendix: Section B).

Estimating Totals: To estimate the total number of unsheltered people, we employed the Salganik-Heckathorn estimator (7). We leveraged the fact that people experiencing homelessness are in one of two categories for the PIT: (1) the shelter count (those tabulated as using emergency shelter) and (2) the unsheltered population (all other people who meet the HUD definition of homeless and are not on the night of question using an emergency shelter). This allows us to create a ratio between unsheltered and sheltered counts over the years; while this varies over time, it's a rough test of the validity of our findings. Thus, we can describe the population of people experiencing homelessness as,

$$N = N_U + N_S. \tag{1}$$

Where, N is the total number of people experiencing homelessness on a given night, N_U is the total number of people living unsheltered on a given night, and N_S is the total number of people living in emergency shelters on a given night.

Combining this observation with the Salganik-Heckathorn proportion estimator allows us to derive the following estimator for the total number of people living unsheltered:

$$\hat{N}_U = N_S \frac{\hat{\mu}_U}{1 - \hat{\mu}_U}. \quad (2)$$

Where, $\hat{N}_U$ is our statistical estimator for the total number of people living unsheltered on a given night, N_S is the total number living in an emergency shelter on a given night (as reported to HUD from the HMIS database and other service providers), and $\hat{\mu}_U$ is obtained from the Salganik-Heckathorn estimator (see the online appendix: Section B). Standard errors can be computed via the delta method (21) or through bootstrap methods (22).

Results

RDS Results In 2022, we interviewed 671 people in nine hubs over 24 days (see Figure 4a) with the longest chain being 8, see Figure 5a and Figure 5b to visualize the hub and network results.⁴ In 2023, we interviewed 1,107 people in 11 hubs (see Figure 4b) over 38 days, with the longest chain being 19, see Figure 5c and Figure 5d to visualize the hub and network results. In 2024, we interviewed 1,446 people in 17 hubs (see Figure 4c) over 11 days, with the longest chain being 20, see Figure 5e and Figure 5f to visualize the hub and network results. We observed large improvements in the number of recorder referrals, length of chains, and minimization of recorded isolates with the shift from pen and paper recording to our custom software and survey system (this also resulted in reduced cost as we did not have to pay for transcription in 2023 and 2024). Convergence plots of race/ethnicity and gender can be found in the online appendix (Section B) following the basic guidance of (11).

Comparison between 2020 PIT and 2022 PIT in King County: HUD waived the requirement to conduct an unsheltered PIT count in 2021 in King County due to COVID-19. The only unsheltered PIT count conducted in 2022 was the RDS unsheltered PIT count discussed in the last section. To build a comparative case study, we constructed an autoregressive integrated moving average model of historical PIT county data (ARIMA; (23)) to impute the 2021 and 2022 unsheltered PIT count. We use the R package ‘forecast’ (23) to find the best fitting model over the 14-year period (2007-2020) of unsheltered PIT data in

⁴It is also important to note that in 2022 the demographic, needs, and network survey was paired with a 90-minute qualitative interview. This greatly affected the number of interviews we could do in the time allotted for the PIT count.

King County, WA (24). We employ the AIC model fit criterion to find the best-fit model (25). We found an ARIMA(0,1,0) with a covariate of the shelter count (available in all years) was the best-fitting model (model parameters are available in the online appendix, Section C). In Table 1, the RDS estimate of 7,685 unsheltered people is compared to the forecasted figure of 6,819 unsheltered people. The confidence interval highly overlaps, and the two estimates would not be statistically distinguishable.

Forecasted Visual Unsheltered Count Versus RDS Estimate for King County, WA, 2022

	RDS	ARIMA
Point Estimate	7,685	6,819
Lower Bound (95% CI)	6,816	5,277
Upper Bound (95% CI)	8,555	8,360

Table 1: RDS Estimate of the total unsheltered population in 2022 with statistical confidence interval (95%) computed using the delta method (21) compared to the best prediction of the visual PIT count forecasted by an ARIMA(0,1,0) with covariate of the shelter count (available in all years) and selected by AIC criterion (25).

Comparison between 2024 RDS PIT and Forecast of the 2024 PIT in King County: Similar to the 2022 case, we forecast the expected number of unsheltered people with an ARIMA model (see Section C). In Table 2, the RDS estimate of 9,692 unsheltered people (over 18) compared to the forecasted amount of 8,946 unsheltered people. The confidence interval highly overlaps and the two estimates would not be statistically distinguishable.

Forecasted Unsheltered Count Versus RDS Estimate for King County, WA, 2024

	2024 RDS	ARIMA
Point Estimate	9,692	8,946
Lower Bound (95% CI)	8,458	7,236
Upper Bound (95% CI)	11,107	10,0657

Table 2: RDS Estimate of the total unsheltered population in 2024 with confidence interval (95%) computed using the delta method compared to the best prediction of the historical PIT count forecasted by an ARIMA(0,1,0) with drift selected by AIC.

Overall, this is strong evidence that the two methods should be highly correlated. Still, there are some obvious advantages of RDS over flashlights and clipboards: (1) the demographic survey is conducted at the same time and on the same population as the unsheltered count (the historic PIT count model requires decoupling these measures to avoid waking people in the night to interview them) (14); (2) the RDS estimate has a confidence interval and statistical uncertainty in its formulation that the visual census does not (although

this requires explanation); and (3) clear strategies are going forward to reduce estimate error. Further, this method allows people experiencing homelessness to voluntarily engage in the process and invite their contacts to do likewise. Both approaches (middle-of-the-night census and our proposed RDS) benefit from trained volunteers whose participation deepens community engagement with this social problem.

Discussion

HUD delegates to CoCs the responsibility for counting the number of people in outdoor and sheltered homeless situations. Although soundly critiqued, the “one night” crude census approach to estimating unhoused populations has become entrenched (26, : Appendix C). Enumeration strategies have been limited by a lack of innovation, driven by a desire to ensure compliance with CoC funding requirements (most CoCs are small, with minimal staff).

Policymakers and the general public will focus on the central tendency number, so low statistical bias is the most important feature of an estimator for policy uses. While we acknowledge the RDS estimator does provide more variance than we would like (this can be improved; see our proposals at the end of this section), the simulation and comparison studies show that we expect this single most used number, the mean estimate, to be of high-quality and also to provide some basic guidance (e.g., actual statistical bounds) to remind policymakers that it is a statistical estimate and that some caution around the interpretation of the number is warranted. This method also provides a lower and upper bound for logistical purposes in expectation of the support one will likely need for the unsheltered population.

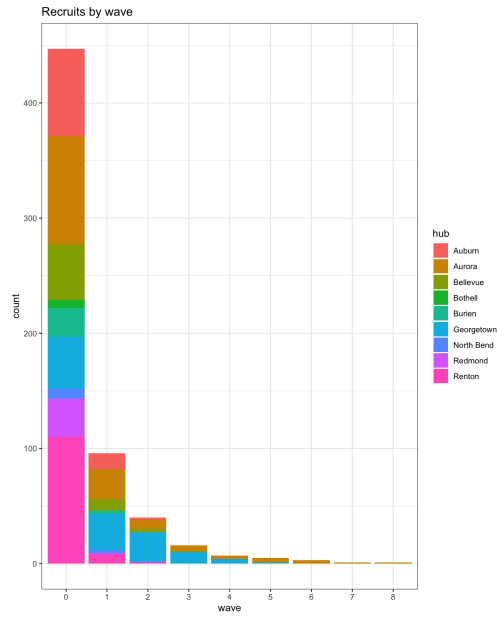
There are several ways demographic information on unsheltered people experiencing homelessness could be acquired. Our solution provides a good framework for a sampling-based approach (with uncertainty bounds) and a straightforward way to offer community members a voluntary means to share their experiences. Here, we introduced a tested strategy built on the large body of work in public health for measuring hard-to-reach populations. We demonstrated in Davidson, TN, and King County, WA, that respondent-driven sampling can obtain an estimate of the percent of unsheltered people, which can be extrapolated to estimate the count of the unsheltered population of people experiencing homelessness by leveraging the known population of people using emergency shelters at the same time. Further, the RDS framework provides an ethical approach, i.e., giving people the chance to volunteer to be in the count (or not) without being contacted by a researcher, and does not require enumerators prowling around with flashlights in the night hoping to catch sight of people “sleeping rough,” as is done with traditional PIT counts.

Our sampling design and strategy have limitations. First, we know that even with all our efforts with community stakeholders and people with lived experience, we may not be able to access some people who are sufficiently isolated; thus, as with all counts of people experiencing homelessness, we expect our result to be more of a lower bound than the upper bound of the problem. Hub locations must change over time because the population, organizations, or services have moved. We know some individuals took the survey multiple times (see online appendix: Section C), but there is room for applying modern ML techniques to refine what we did over the three surveys. Ideally, we would have had a simultaneous comparison between a visual unsheltered PIT count and the RDS unsheltered PIT count. Still, even without the direct comparison, our results show that the RDS method captures the same information within the statistical range while also providing people with compensation and the ability to choose how to engage with the count. Visual PIT count strategies are relatively straightforward. Teams of volunteers go out at night to count the number of people. After some deduplication efforts, which vary in rigor, the final unsheltered PIT count reflects the total counted by all teams. Our proposed method requires more technical skills than a typical CoC may have on staff. A CoC like KCRHA has all the logistical support necessary for implementing the RDS survey approach but has relied on statistician partners at the University of Washington for final count numbers. CoCs new to this process should, like KCRHA, look to team up with universities or outside statisticians; however, in the long run, we hope to develop an open-access App and dashboard, allowing most regional jurisdictions to run this process with in-house staff.

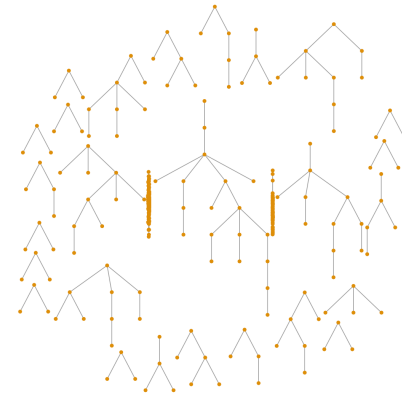
The pros to this method are (1) that it combines the demographic survey and counting exercise into a single process, so the demographics align with the enumeration; (2) it is a statistical procedure, with quality and statistical bounds on the results; and (3) it allows the people experiencing homelessness themselves to choose to participate in the count. The major con is that our proposed process is rather technical, so statistical support from an academic partner is required to ensure fidelity to the process; however, we propose open-access software and instructions that could reduce the barriers for most jurisdictions that now engage in a traditional PIT count. The new method also requires explaining the concept of statistical uncertainty to the public and policy members (who should be familiar with the basic idea from polling exercises).

Over the three years of surveying, we found that geographic coverage was important for obtaining a representative sample. Overall, the survey time could be reduced by recruiting sufficiently available volunteers to run all hubs simultaneously (see the 2024 results). Improved software and QR printing greatly improved network and survey data collection, with incentives for referrals being very important (see the length of

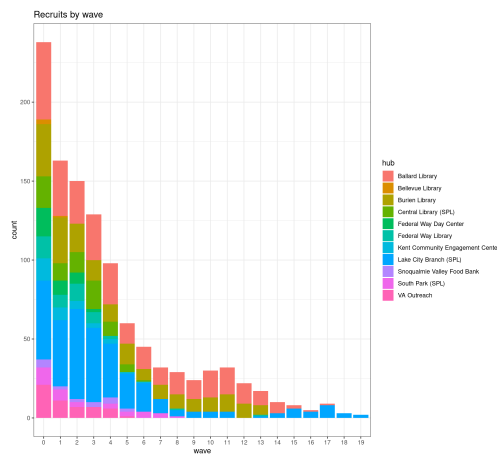
chains in 2022 compared to 2023 and 2024). With sufficient resources, obtaining a high-quality, large sample in less than two weeks with sufficient preparation appears possible. Future work should look at methods for conducting RDS surveys close in time, say for a quarterly or monthly survey, and to consider using RDS as a method for generating county-wide representative samples for large-scale state-wide assessments like that done in California, see (6) for an example.



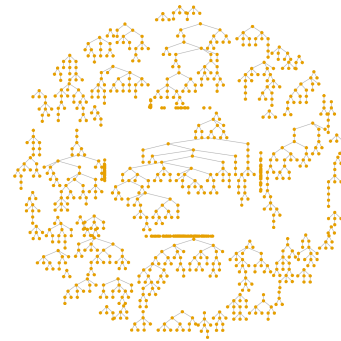
(a) Histogram of recruitment chains by hub in 2022.



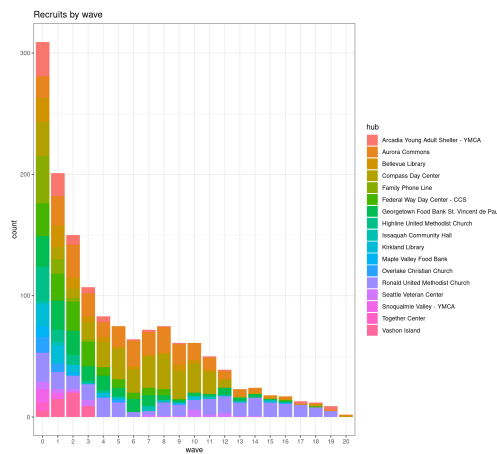
(b) Tree plots of the referral chains of 2022.



(c) Histogram of recruitment chains by hub in 2023.



(d) Tree plots of the referral chains of 2023.



(e) Histogram of recruitment chains by hub in 2024.



(f) Tree plots of the referral chains of 2024.

Supplementary material Supplementary material is available at *American Journal of Epidemiology* online.

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Online supplement

A RDS power analysis

In this section, we will introduce a simulation-based method for obtaining a power analysis for an RDS sample to estimate the count of unsheltered people in a given community. To determine the sample size needed, we first need a way to simulate the entire process and compute the core statistic of interest (size of the unsheltered population). To do this, we fit a general statistical model for social networks on an egocentric (personal network) sample of people experiencing homelessness in Davidson County, TN (Nashville metro). Then, we use this model to simulate a complete network for the county. This is followed up with a repeated simulation of a peer-referral process to give us a general understanding of the bias and variance of our estimator. We can then map the results against different sample sizes to guide the recommended sample size for our RDS in another setting.

A.1 A statistical model for the social network of people experiencing homelessness

An important method for the statistical modeling of social networks is the so-called Exponential Random Graph Model (ERGM), which allows for the inference and simulation of social networks. Formally, ERGM provides a framework for writing a generative probability model for social networks, see for example (1, 2, 3, 4, 5)). In the field of demography and public health, ERGM has been employed to understand racial mixing and other issues (6). Given a random graph G on support $\mathcal{G}$, we may write ERGM formally as follows:

$$\Pr(G = g | s, \theta) = \frac{\exp(\theta^T s(g))}{\sum_{g' \in \mathcal{G}} \exp(\theta^T s(g'))} \mathcal{I}_{\mathcal{G}}(g)$$

where $\Pr(\cdot)$ is the probability mass of its argument, $\mathcal{G}$ is the support of G , g is the realized (observed) graph, and s is the function of sufficient statistics, θ is a vector of parameters (e.g., the degree distribution of the graph) and $\mathcal{I}$ is an indicator function. This model can be fit by MLE; see (30) for details. When fit, the results can be displayed in a regression table that can be interpreted in a conditional probability framework similar to logistic regression.

We have an egocentric sample (connection of focal person and their alters (e.g., other people experiencing homelessness) and their perception of their alters relationships) of Davidson County, TN (Nashville metro) from (13), representing about 50% of the total number of unshelterd population based on the 2020 PIT

count (27). We can fit an ERGM to this sample to simulate the complete network of people experiencing homelessness. This process is straightforward for exponential family models (discussed above), where we build the mean statistics for the model out of sample data and fit with MCMC-MLE. Using egocentric data to fit ERGMS was developed by (28) and implemented in software by (29, 30). Here, we fit a model that takes into account the population size (this is handled with an offset to the density term), edges (analogous to density), degree up to six, and fixed effects (node factor) for the time period of data collection (fall, winter, spring, and summer), and race/ethnicity and gender. The results are presented in Table 3. We will use this model to develop our power analysis for our method.

ERGM of People Experiencing Homelessness in Nashville, TN, 2020

	Estimate	Std. error	MCMC %	z value	$Pr(> z)$
offset(N)	-6.342	0.000	0	-Inf	0.000
edges	2.037	1.071	0	1.901	0.057
degree2	0.338	0.491	0	0.689	0.491
degree3	0.117	0.903	0	0.129	0.897
degree4	0.854	1.161	0	0.735	0.462
degree5	1.300	1.144	0	1.136	0.256
degree6	1.239	1.304	0	0.950	0.342
$I(\text{Summer})$	–	–	–	–	–
$I(\text{Fall})$	-0.881	0.841	0	-1.048	0.295
$I(\text{Winter})$	-0.867	0.865	0	-1.003	0.316
$I(\text{Spring})$	-0.804	0.904	0	-0.889	0.374
$I(\text{White})$	–	–	–	–	–
$I(\text{Black})$	-0.016	0.433	0	-0.038	0.970
$I(\text{LatinX})$	-0.731	0.878	0	-0.833	0.405
$I(\text{Asian})$	0.308	1.482	0	0.208	0.835
$I(\text{AIAN})$	-0.202	0.694	0	-0.291	0.771
$I(\text{NHPI})$	-0.552	0.793	0	-0.696	0.487
$I(\text{Female})$	–	–	–	–	–
$I(\text{Male})$	0.277	0.221	0	1.251	0.211
Gender Node Match	-0.423	0.188	0	-2.246	0.025

Table 3: ERGM parameters fit the Nashville, TN egocentric data. – represents the reference group. I indicates a node factor (i.e., an indicator function), and the “node match” term provides a weight for any time the two individuals have the same gender (known as homophily).

A.2 Power Analysis Strategy for RDS Sampling based on simulated social network between people experiencing homelessness

We can use the estimated ERGM in the last section of people experiencing homelessness in Davidson County, TN, to simulate a realistic, complete network for people experiencing homelessness in Davidson County, TN (Nashville metro). This follows the same basic strategy as that employed by (30) or (8). To simulate an RDS process, we can then employ the (20) R package for generating a peer-referral process on a social network of people experiencing homelessness. The results of the simulated network can be visualized in Figure 6:C, and the RDS simulation can be visualized in Figure 6:D.

Simulated Unhoused Network for Nashville, TN, CoC with a Sequence of Simulated RDS Processes

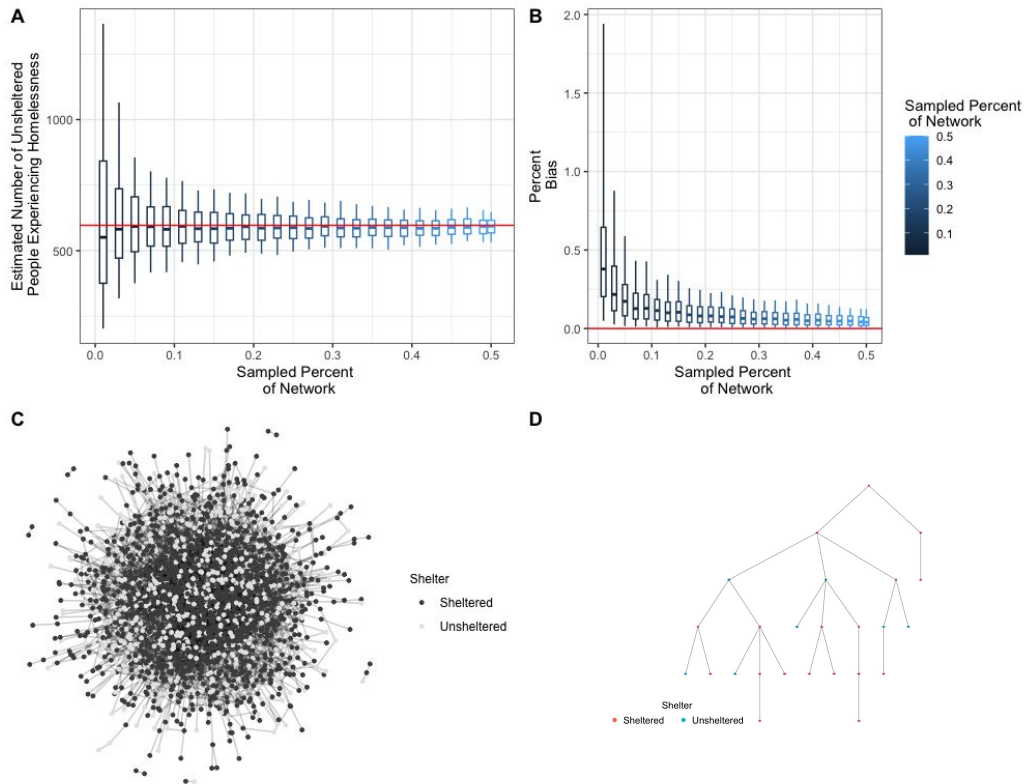


Figure 6: ERGM Simulation of a complete (shelter and non-shelter users) network of people experiencing homelessness in Nashville, TN (2,035 people) with 597 unsheltered people and 1,438 people using shelters in the network. **A** Represents the estimate of the total number of unsheltered people compared against the sample size in relative terms (i.e., as a percent of the total population). The red line represents the true value. **B** Plots the bootstrap estimate of bias against the sample size in relative terms (i.e., as a percent of the total population). **C** Represents the complete network of 2035 people. **D** Plot of an example RDS tree.

We can then employ this simulated network of the unhoused population to provide a general *power analysis* for an RDS sample for estimating the total number of unsheltered people. For example, let's take the case of Davidson County, TN (Greater Nashville, TN). Using our ERGM model fit from the egocentric data; we can extrapolate a complete network of 2,035 with 597 unsheltered people and 1,438 people using shelters in the network. In Figure 6: A, we see the estimated total unsheltered people and a bootstrap 95% confidence interval plotted against the percent of the population sampled. From this data, we see that our bias levels off, and our variance is close to minimum at around 5% of a sample and fully stabilizing at around 20% of the sample. Similarly, in Figure 6: B, the sample's statistical bias (sample estimate minus the true value) quickly shrinks with 0.05% of a sample, fully stabilizing at around 0.2%. Overall, the statistical bias is quite small in all cases, and the mean statistic is quite good. However, the variance, typical with straight RDS, is wider than standard survey methods with a sampling frame.

A.3 Summary of the power analysis

Following the results from our simulation analysis (Figure 6), we find that ideally, we would not have less than 5% and that, if possible, a 20% sample would be preferred.

B PIT count method

In this section, we derive a general estimator when a target population can be broken into two groups and one group has a known size. To do this, we Leverage the RDS estimator, built from the classic generalized Horvitz-Thompson estimator ((17); what (12) describes as the Psuedo Horvitz-Thompson estimator).

Let us first consider a population of N individuals with a known probability of being sampled, π_i of i th individual in the sample. We can estimate the population mean, μ , of any quantity, z_i , measured on the sampled individuals using a Horvitz-Thompson estimator (17):

$$\hat{\mu} = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^N S_i \frac{z_i}{\pi_i}, \quad (3)$$

Where S is the random N -vector representing the sample, such that $S_i = 1$ if unit i is sampled and is otherwise 0. There are two major drawbacks to this estimator in the network sampling context: (1) the population size N is often unknown (in fact, the whole problem is that it is unknown in our case!), and (2) the inclusion probabilities π_i are also typically unknown. The first issue can be solved by plugging in the

unbiased estimator of N , $\hat{N} = \sum_{i=1}^N S_i \frac{1}{\pi_i}$, to obtain

$$\hat{\mu} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N S_i \frac{z_i}{\pi_i}}{\sum_{i=1}^N S_i \frac{1}{\pi_i}}, \quad (4)$$

which is the ratio of two unbiased estimators and tends to estimate μ with small bias for large sample sizes. This variant of the Horvitz-Thompson estimator is known as the *generalized Horvitz-Thompson estimator* or the Hajek estimator (17).

Salganik-Heckathorn Estimator: (7) introduced an estimator that leverages the relationship between two groups, A and B , where $\bar{d}_A$ is the mean degree of a group A , $\bar{d}_B$ is the mean degree of a group B , and c_{AB} and c_{BA} are the cross-ties between the two groups. The total for the groups is thus N_A , N_B such that $N = N_A + N_B$. Given the above definitions, we can write the following:

$$\frac{N_A}{N} = \frac{\bar{d}_B \cdot c_{BA}}{\bar{d}_A \cdot c_{AB} + \bar{d}_B \cdot c_{BA}} = \mu_A \quad (5)$$

To employ this estimator, we need a way to estimate,

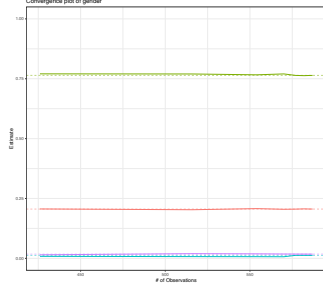
- The mean degree of $\bar{d}_A$ and $\bar{d}_B$ (for example, the people experiencing homelessness who are using an emergency shelter and those individuals who are not on a given night).
- The proportion of social relations of group A to group B , and visa versa (for example, the count of people in an emergency shelter community that are known to the unsheltered community and visa versa).

Let t_{AB} represent the total number of relations between groups A and B . Then, we can write an estimator for the cross ties:

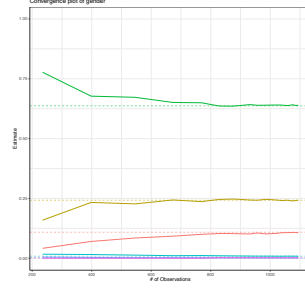
$$c_{AB} = \frac{t_{AB}}{N_A \bar{d}_A}$$

$$c_{BA} = \frac{t_{AB}}{N_B \bar{d}_B}$$

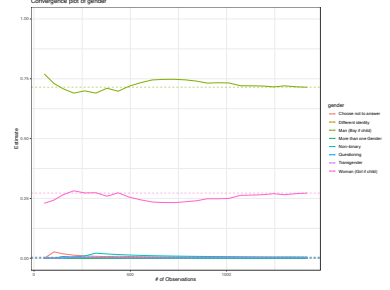
In practice, (7) assumed edges were sampled randomly, which allows one to estimate c_{AB} out of the sample proportion of subjects in group A who recruit participants in group B . c_{BA} may be estimated in the same



(a) Convergence plot of gender for 2022.



(b) Convergence plot of gender for 2023.



(c) Convergence plot of gender for 2024.

Figure 8: RDS convergence plots suggested by (11) as diagnostic tool.

C ARIMA Model

RDS versus Forecast of Visual PIT Count

King County Unsheltered Count	
	Coefficient (Standard Error)
drift	306.69** (144.94)
log(Shelter Count)	-7,580.84* (4,573.39)
Observations	13
Log Likelihood	-99.52
σ^2	309,249.90
Akaike Inf. Crit.	205.05

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 4: Fitting an ARIMA(0,1,0) regression to King County Unsheltered PIT data, 2007-2020, to forecast the 2022 visual PIT count. The best-fit model selected by AIC.

RDS versus Forecast of Historical PIT Count, 2024

King County Unsheltered Count	
	Coefficient (Standard Error)
drift	420.231** (205.358)
Observations	14
Log Likelihood	−104.340
σ^2	593,915.600
Akaike Inf. Crit.	212.680
<i>Note:</i> *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 5: Fitting an ARIMA(0,1,0) with drift to regression to King County Unsheltered PIT data, 2007-2022, to forecast the 2024 PIT count. The best-fit model selected by AIC.

Methods used for discovering duplication of respondents

In 2022 and 2023, we relied on our survey taker notes to remove respondents who completed the survey more than once (less than 1% of total surveys (and removed from the final total).

In 2024, to detect potential repeat takers, we relied again on survey taker notes but also used analytic and network methods to detect repeat respondents. We improved our record keeping by training our volunteers to leave a note in the app if they recognized a person before. While, we did not collect personally identifiable information to maintain anonymity and improve our relationship with this vulnerable population; however, we collected several weakly identifiable pieces of information (birth month and year, first two letters of first and last name) that we used to identify matching records when combined. For example, the same individual: “X” (based on the first two letters and last two letters, month and year of birth), has appeared in multiple coupons (we can observe this in Figure 9 – we believe “X” was using his own coupons). We pruned the tree

by keeping the first one observed. In total, we have identified 11 entries collected from 4 respondents (again sub 1%).

A respondent using their referral coupons

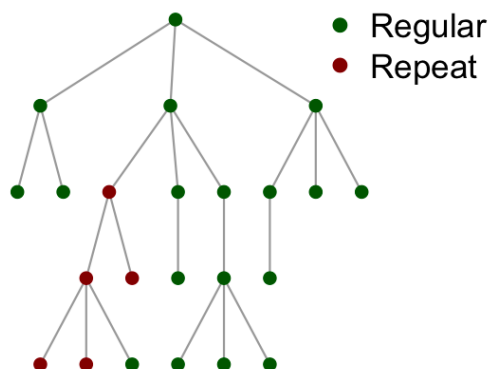


Figure 9: Tree where the respondent used their own coupons to take multiple surveys.

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