

Pierce County 211 and Diversion Grant Program

EVALUATION REPORT



Submitted by



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Abbreviations

211	South Sound 211
211-Diversion	211 and Diversion Grant Program
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
I & R	Information and Referral
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HMIS	Homeless Management Information System
CE	Coordinated Entry
TANF	Temporary Assistance for Needy Families
SSI	Social Security Income
SSDI	Social Security Disability Insurance
SD	Standard Deviation
SUD	Substance Use Disorder



Program overview

The 211 and Diversion Grant Program (herein referred to as 211-Diversion) was a three-year pilot project of Building Changes in Pierce County (Tacoma metro area), Washington. The project aimed to integrate housing support into existing services provided by the grantee, South Sound 211 (211), a United Way organization that operates a 2-1-1 phone number for people to call to acquire health and human service information, service referrals, or other housing and behavioral health assistance.

Funded through the Family Homelessness Initiative, a project of Building Changes and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the 211-Diversion program increased access to Diversion, an approach Building Changes helped to pioneer, by offering services over the phone. Diversion is a strategy used to assist families who are experiencing homelessness or unstable housing to quickly move into stable housing using creative solutions and, if needed, flexible funding (flex funds) for one-time/short-term financial assistance. The approach showed promise in previous Building Changes–supported pilot projects in Pierce and King Counties, leading to housing for half the families who pursued Diversion.¹ Diversion is offered as an intervention to anyone in Pierce County who seeks services from the homeless system and meets basic eligibility requirements.

Under this grant, 211 offered Diversion services to callers who had minor children or were pregnant and identified as experiencing homelessness. Information and Referral (I & R) Specialists at 211 informed eligible callers about Diversion services and referred callers interested in pursuing Diversion to Housing Solutions Navigators. The Housing Solutions Navigators in turn contacted program participants to have a Diversion conversation to help them identify realistic prospects for becoming stably housed quickly and safely. Upon completion of the Diversion conversation, Housing Solutions Navigators entered the prioritization assessment data into the Homeless Management Information System (HMIS).

I & R Specialists at 211 were trained in the Diversion model by the Center for Dialogue and Resolution, and three additional full-time employees were hired. One new-hire was an I & R Specialist managing the additional expected call volume for 211. The other two were Housing Solutions Navigators, also trained in the Diversion model, and were dedicated to providing Diversion services and addressing complex situations that required more time or flex funds.

The goals of 211-Diversion were to:

1. Identify housing solutions for Pierce County families² who identified as experiencing homelessness or housing instability.

¹ Building Changes. (2018). *Homelessness to housed in a hurry: Extending the use of Diversion to help families exit homelessness, Pierce County Case Study*. Seattle, WA: Building Changes. <https://buildingchanges.org/resources/homeless-to-housed-in-a-hurry-extending-the-use-of-diversion-to-help-families-exit-homelessness/>

² Families refers to a parent or guardian with a minor child in the household, or individuals who are pregnant.



2. Complete a prioritization assessment for those who were experiencing homelessness and unable to find housing, and enter the assessment results into the Coordinated Entry (CE) priority pool.³

Building Changes managed this grant and facilitated Learning Circles to foster partnership among partners and gather information about implementation. Pierce County Human Services oversaw data collection and extracted data from HMIS.

This report summarizes outcomes related to stable housing and descriptive information about participants' characteristics, collected during the first two-and-a-half years of program implementation (January 1, 2018, through June 30, 2020). Additionally, due to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic during program implementation, measurements from March 2020 to June 2020 are compared to the same time period in 2019 to examine impacts the pandemic had on the program.

³ The goal of 211-Diversion was to serve families; however, single adults with no children (N=34) who were served in the program were included in this evaluation. In addition, while a goal was to serve families who were experiencing homelessness or housing instability, 211-Diversion focused only on those experiencing homelessness and plans to be better equipped to serve those experiencing housing instability in the future.



Evaluation overview

Evaluation purpose

The purpose of the current evaluation is formative, meaning that the evaluation findings are intended to help make improvements to 211-Diversion. The evaluation includes both process and outcome study questions. Process study questions aim to describe and measure the activities of a program (e.g., amount of flex funds spent to assist program participants), whereas outcome study questions aim to measure results due to program efforts (e.g., program participant-level outcomes in housing stability). Both sets of questions are important for understanding whether outcomes were achieved, as well as why and how they were achieved. “Program participants” refers to families who participated in the 211-Diversion program.⁴ For this evaluation, information was collected from heads of households. The primary questions for the evaluation are as follows:

Study questions

Process questions

1. What were the characteristics of the program (i.e., number of calls to 211, number of callers who identified as experiencing homelessness, number of program participants enrolled in 211-Diversion)?
2. What were the characteristics of program participants?
3. What amount of flex funds were spent to assist program participants, and for what purpose were funds used?

Outcome questions

4. What were the strengths and challenges of implementing the program?
5. Did program participants obtain housing through Diversion support?
6. How long were program participants enrolled in the program, and did length of time in the program vary by housing status at program exit?
7. Did program participants who successfully exited the program remain outside of the county’s homeless system after receiving services?

Study design

The study used multiple methods in which both quantitative and qualitative data were collected, analyzed, and synthesized. The study design was non-experimental.

⁴ Though single adults with no children were included in this evaluation, program participants served are referred to as families.



Data collection and analysis methods

Data sources (described in more detail below) included HMIS, flex fund accounting, 211 call data, responses from Learning Circles, and interviews with key staff involved with the program.

HMIS data: Pierce County extracted the data entered by Housing Solutions Navigators from HMIS and provided a de-identified dataset to Building Changes for analysis.

211 call data: Aggregate data regarding the total number of calls to 211 were provided by 211 to Building Changes for analysis.

Learning Circles: Building Changes conducted 14 90-minute Learning Circles during the two-and-a-half-year evaluation reporting period. Learning Circles were regular, formal meetings with program funders, grantees, and other stakeholders to support the implementation of the program. Learning Circles provided an opportunity for grantees to receive guidance on the intent and design of the program, and for program officers to learn how implementation was going on the ground. Learning Circles were intended to foster a learning environment in which practitioners could support each other to work through challenges, discuss successes, share resources, and generally strengthen service delivery. The group often looked at data from the program and from other CE programs to understand the scope and impact of the program and make course corrections. Learning Circle participants also troubleshooted issues encountered while implementing the program. Representatives from 211 (i.e., staff and support personnel, including Housing Solutions Navigators, I & R Specialists, and directors), Pierce County Human Services, other CE providers like Associated Ministries and Catholic Community Services, and the Center for Dialogue and Resolution attended the Learning Circles. Specific learning questions for this evaluation were discussed during Learning Circles and notes from those Learning Circles were analyzed for this evaluation.

Interviews: In September 2020, Building Changes conducted three one-hour, in-depth interviews with key personnel involved with the program (i.e., staff from 211 Pierce County Human Services). Interview respondents were asked about their perspectives on program implementation, including strengths and challenges of the program. They were also asked to review and help interpret preliminary, quantitative data results.

Quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS version 25, a statistical software.

The Fisher's exact test was used to analyze statistical associations between pre- and during COVID-19 time periods and program participant characteristics or outcomes, the results of which are presented in the COVID-19 snapshot section (page 26). A difference in proportions was statistically significant if the p-value was less than 0.05, and only analyses that resulted in statistically significant associations are presented in Appendix C.

For privacy of program participants, where the number of participants was five or less, counts and percentages were suppressed. In cases in which the count or percentage could be inferred from totals, the next lowest category was suppressed.



The qualitative data from Learning Circles and interviews were analyzed using content and thematic analysis to identify common themes.

Limitations

Although some comparisons were made anecdotally between 211-Diversion and other 211 calls or other CE programs, this evaluation does not include a comparison group to assess if 211-Diversion resulted in improved outcomes; we can only describe outcomes following program participation, with no contrast for what outcomes would have been without the program. Another limitation is the high number of program participants who did not complete an exit interview, leaving their housing status at exit unknown.



211 call data

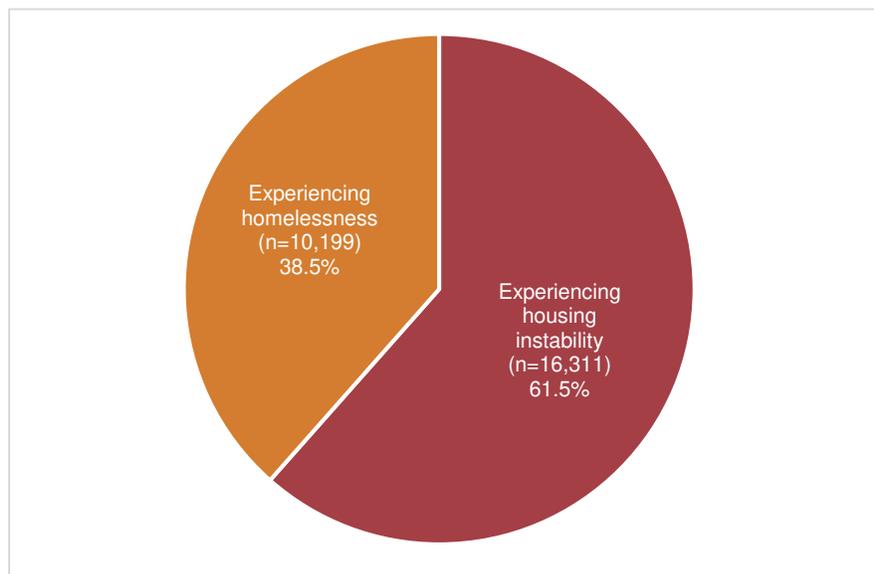
According to aggregate 211 call data collected during the reporting period, 211 received a total of 71,801 calls (Table 1). A total of 26,510 callers identified as experiencing homelessness or housing instability and 1,050 callers were domestic violence survivors. A total of 323 callers experiencing homelessness had enrolled in 211-Diversion by the end of the reporting period (June 30, 2020).⁵

Table 1. Types of 211 callers.

Caller type	Number of callers	Percentage of all 211 calls
Total number of calls to 211	71,801	100%
Number of callers identified as experiencing homelessness or housing instability	26,510	36.9%
Number of callers identified as experiencing housing instability	16,311	22.7%
Number of callers identified as experiencing homelessness	10,199	14.2%
Number of callers who were domestic violence survivors	1,050	1.5%
Number of callers enrolled in 211-Diversion	323	0.4%

Of the 26,510 callers who identified as either experiencing homelessness or unstable housing, including both families and single adults, 16,311 (61.5%) were experiencing housing instability and 10,199 (38.5%) were experiencing homelessness (Figure 1).

Figure 1. 211 callers experiencing homelessness or housing instability (N=26,510).



⁵ From the total of 325 program participants enrolled in 211-Diversion, two were removed. One was experiencing housing instability (i.e., not experiencing homelessness), and the other did not have an exit date or outcome information recorded.

Characteristics of program participants

Characteristics of program participants were obtained from data entered into HMIS by Housing Solutions Navigators. A total of 323 program participants were served during the two-and-a-half-year 211-Diversion reporting period. The following sections present data for these 323 program participants.

Housing status and living situation at program entry

The most common living situation prior to program entry was a place not meant for habitation (94.1%; Table 2).

Table 2. Living situation at entry (N=323).

Living situation at entry	Frequency	Percentage
Place not meant for habitation	304	94.1%
Emergency shelter, including hotel/motel paid for with voucher, or Runaway and Homeless Youth–funded Host Home shelter	13	4.0%
Staying or living in a family member’s room, apartment, or house	*	*
Staying or living in a friend’s room, apartment, or house	*	*
Hotel or motel paid for without an emergency shelter voucher	*	*
Overall total	323	100%

*The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

Demographic characteristics

Race

The over-representation of Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander program participants in 211-Diversion reflects broader racial disproportionality in homelessness. Of the 323 program participants, 58.8% were Black or African American, while only 10.2% of Pierce County residents were Black or African American, according to the 2018 Pierce County census⁶ (Figure 2). Similarly, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander and American Indian or Alaska Native program participants were over-represented in 211-Diversion (10.2% and 7.7% of participants compared with 2.7% and 3.2% of the county population, respectively). Figure 2 shows the breakdown of race where those who identified as two races are counted within each of their respective identities. Figure 3 displays the breakdown of race where those who identified as two races are counted within a multiracial category.

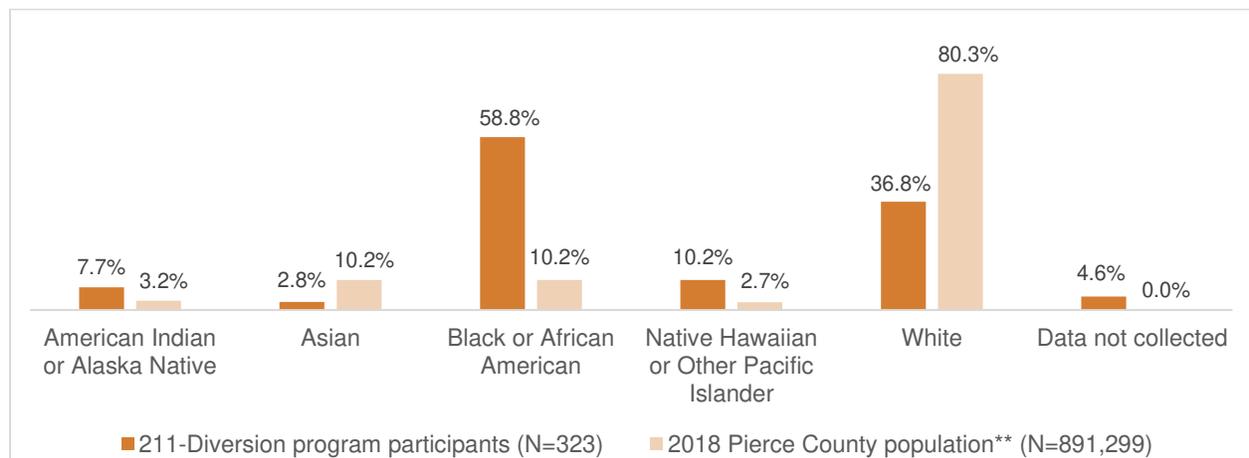
Interviewees did not find these results surprising; anecdotally, they have observed an over-representation of Black or African American as well as American Indian or Alaskan Native

⁶ U.S. Census Bureau. American Community Survey, 2018. Table DP05: American Community Survey 1-year estimates. Generated by Building Changes using <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/> (August 28, 2020).



program participants in all county homeless programs. The 211-Diversion served a slightly higher proportion of Black or African American program participants than other CE programs.⁷

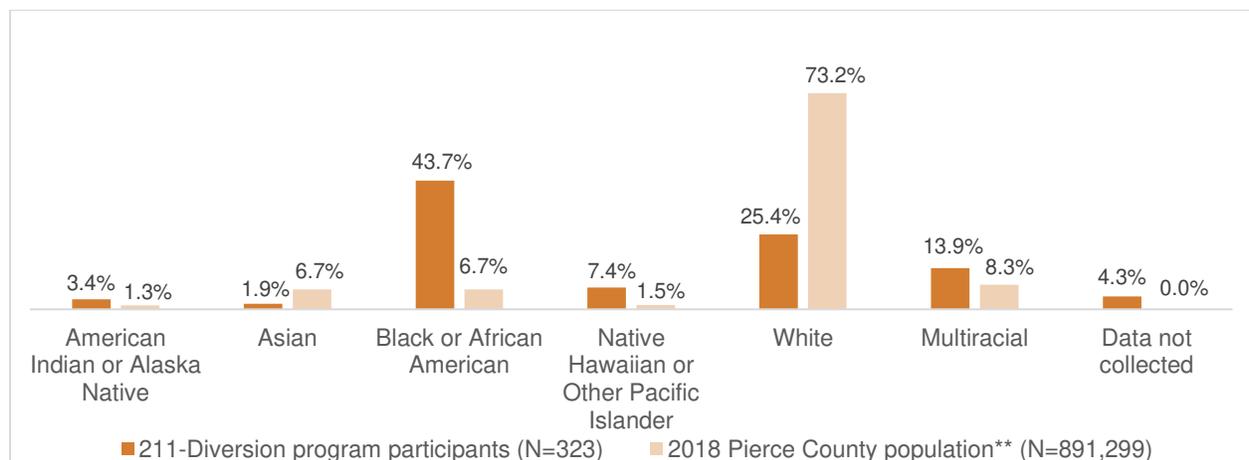
*Figure 2. Race of program participants and Pierce County residents where those who identified with two races are counted for each race that they identified.**



*Percentages do not add up to 100% because these are not mutually exclusive categories. If a program participant identified as two races (multiracial), they are counted once in each category.

**U.S. Census Bureau. American Community Survey, 2018. Table DP05: American Community Survey 1-year estimates. Generated by Building Changes using <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/> (August 28, 2020).

*Figure 3. Race of program participants and Pierce County residents where those who identified with two races are counted in a single multirace category.**



*The 2018 Pierce County census multiracial population consisted of people who identified as White and Black or African American, White and American Indian or Alaska Native, White and Asian, or Black or African American and American Indian or Alaska Native. The 211-Diversion multiracial population consisted of program participants who identified as White and American Indian or Alaska Native, White and Asian, Black or African American and American Indian or Alaska Native, Black or African American and Asian, Black or African American and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, and Black or African American and White.

**U.S. Census Bureau. American Community Survey, 2018. Table DP05: American Community Survey 1-year estimates. Generated by Building Changes using <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/> (August 28, 2020).

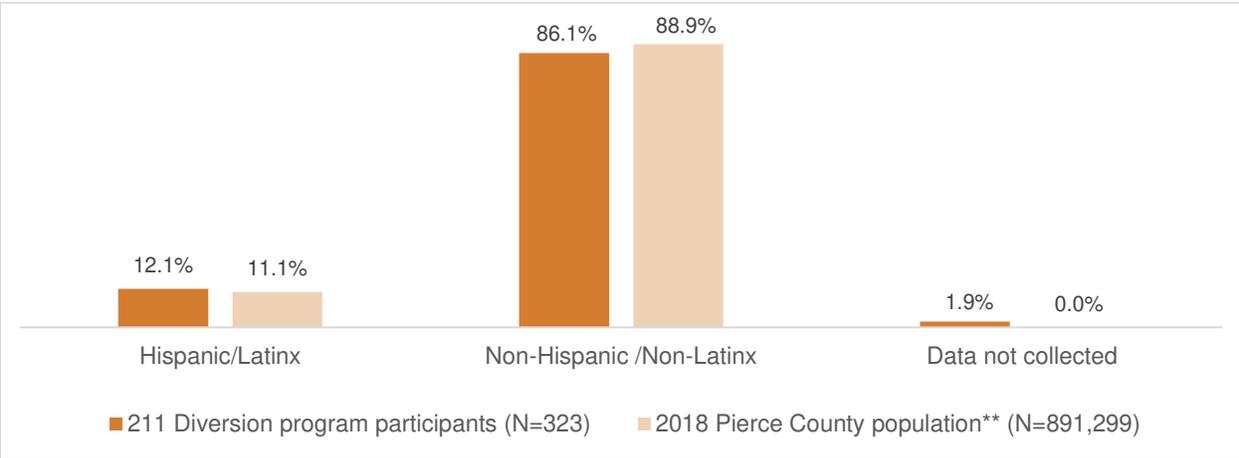
⁷ Pierce County Homeless Management Information System data. <https://www.co.pierce.wa.us/5980/System-Performance>.



Ethnicity

The majority of the 323 program participants were Non-Hispanic/Non-Latinx (86.1%; Figure 4).⁸ In comparison, most Pierce County residents were also Non-Hispanic/Non-Latinx (88.9%). Thus, the ethnicities of 211-Diversion program participants appear representative of the Pierce County population. Ethnicity combined with race for program participants is presented in Appendix A, Table A1.

Figure 4. Ethnicity of program participants and Pierce County residents.



**U.S. Census Bureau. American Community Survey, 2018. Table DP05: American Community Survey 1-year estimates. Generated by Building Changes using <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/> (August 28, 2020).

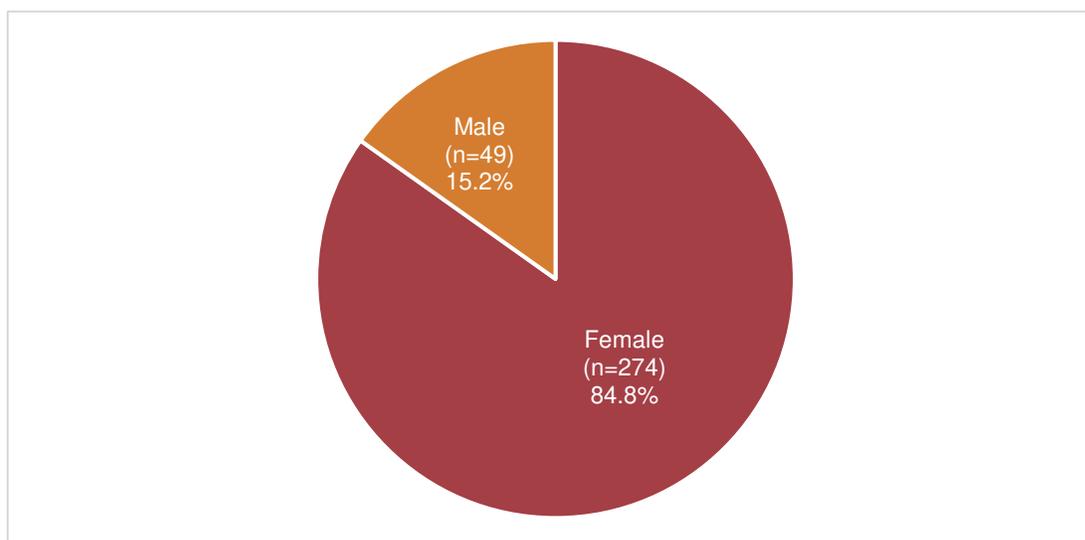
Gender

The vast majority of the 323 program participants identified as female (84.8%; Figure 5). Both 211 and Pierce County staff found this to be as expected because there tend to be more female callers to 211 and there tend to be more female-identified heads of households enrolled in homeless program services.

⁸ Race and ethnicity are terms people often use interchangeably, but in HMIS and census data they are two separate items. As a result, it is possible that certain racial or ethnic categories are under-recorded.



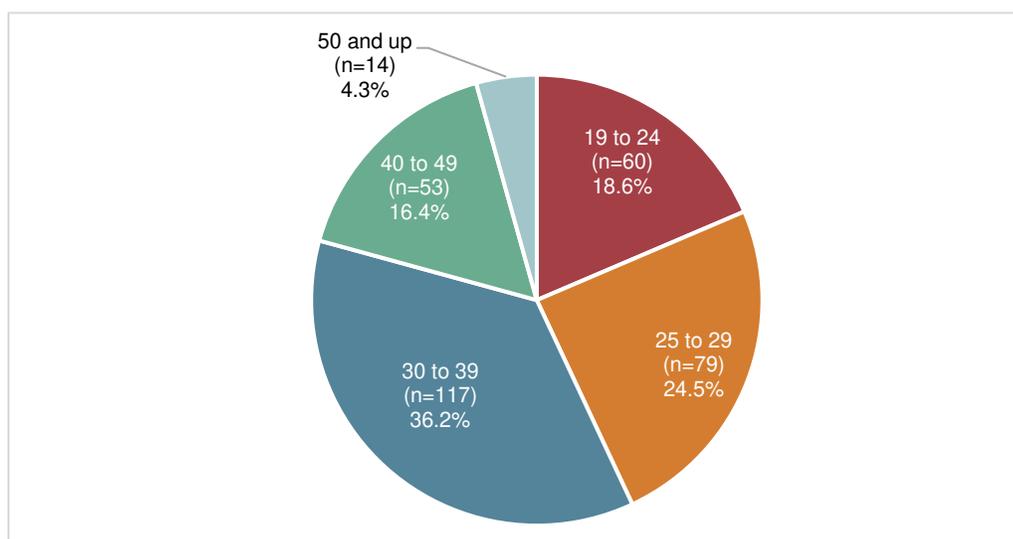
Figure 5. Gender (N=323).



Age

Approximately one-third of all 323 program participants were between 30 and 39 years old (36.2%), and approximately one-fourth were between 25 and 29 years old (24.5%) at program entry (Figure 6). A smaller number of program participants were 19 to 24 years old (18.6%), 40 to 49 years old (16.4%), or 50 years or older (4.3%). The mean age at program entry was 32.3 years (standard deviation (SD) 8.6; median 31.0), ranging from 19 to 58 years.

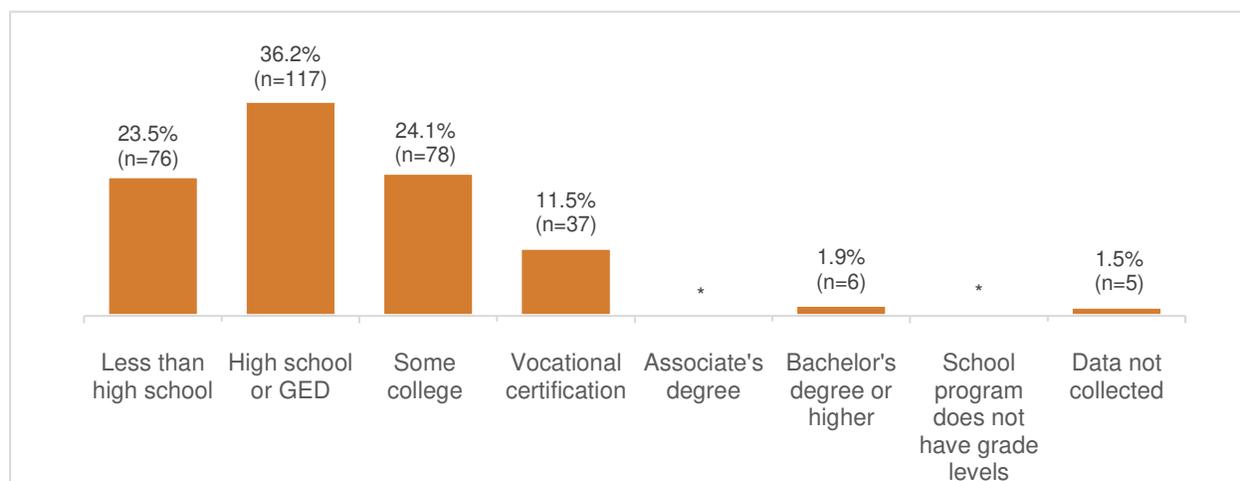
Figure 6. Age (N=323).



Highest level of education

The most common highest level of education completed at entry among the 323 program participants was high school/GED (36.2%), followed by some college (24.1%), and less than high school (23.5%; Figure 7).

Figure 7. Highest grade completed (N=323).

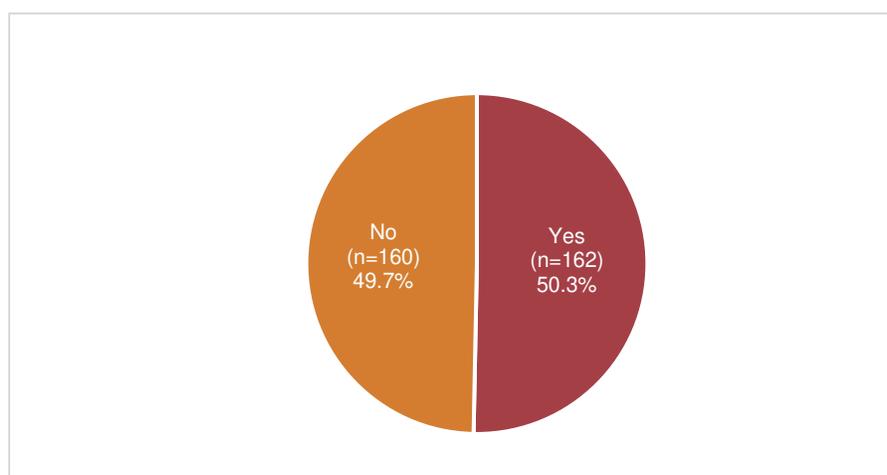


*The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

Employment and income

Approximately half of participants reported being employed at program entry (50.3%; Figure 8).

Figure 8. Employment at program entry (N=322).



*One program participant did not have employment data at entry and was excluded.

The majority of the 323 program participants had some form of income (i.e., income from any source) (80.8%; Table 3). Nearly half of all participants had earned income (44.9%), and smaller proportions of participants received income from other sources (Table 4).

Table 3. Income status at program entry (N=323).

Income status at entry	Frequency	Percentage
Yes, has income from any source	261	80.8%
No, does not have income from any source	62	19.2%
Overall total	323	100%



Table 4. Source of income at program entry.*

Source of income	Frequency	Percentage
Earned income	145	44.9%
Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)	59	18.3%
Child support	41	12.7%
Social Security Income (SSI)	30	9.3%
Other	22	6.8%
Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI)	19	5.9%
Unemployment	6	1.9%
Veterans Administration	**	**
Retirement income	**	**
General assistance	**	**
Alimony	**	**
Unknown source/no source reported	14	4.3%

*These categories are not mutually exclusive, as program participants could have multiple sources of income and/or benefits. Percentages show the proportion of the 323 program participants who had a particular source of income.

**The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

Among all 323 program participants, the average monthly income from all sources at program entry was \$1,217 (SD \$1,047; median \$1,060), ranging from \$0 to \$4,705.

Among the 261 program participants who reported income from any source, the average monthly income from all sources at program entry was \$1,507 (SD \$960; median \$1,400), ranging from \$46 to \$4,705.

Among the 141 program participants who reported an earned income amount at program entry, the average monthly earned income was \$1,738 (SD \$847; median \$1,667), ranging from \$50 to \$4,160.⁹

Health insurance

The majority of the 323 program participants were covered by health insurance at program entry (89.2%; Table 5). Most participants received state health insurance (52.6%) or Medicaid (35.9%; Table 6).

Table 5. Health insurance status at program entry (N=323).

Health insurance status at entry	Frequency	Percentage
Yes, is covered by health insurance	288	89.2%
No, is not covered by health insurance	35	10.8%
Overall total	323	100%

⁹ While 145 program participants reported having earned income at program entry, only 141 reported the amount of their earned income.



Table 6. Health insurance source at program entry.*

Health insurance source	Frequency	Percentage
State health	170	52.6%
Medicaid	116	35.9%
Medicare	11	3.4%
Other	6	1.9%
State child	6	1.9%
Private pay	**	**
Employer	**	**
Veterans Administration	**	**
Indian Health	**	**

*These categories are not mutually exclusive, as program participants could have multiple sources of health insurance. Percentages show the proportion of the 323 program participants who had a particular health insurance source.

**The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

Household size and composition

Household size and composition are presented in Table 7.¹⁰ The number of adults in each household ranged from one to four, and the number of children in each household ranged from zero to six. Of the 323 households, 240 (74.3%) were households with one adult and 83 (25.7%) were households with two adults or more. More than 90% of households with multiple adults had two adults. There were 39 households that did not have children (12.1%). Household sizes ranged from one to eight people. The mean household size was 3.0 (SD=1.3), and the median was 3.0.

Table 7. Household size and composition (N=323).

Children and adults per household	Total household size	Frequency	Percentage
Single-adult households		240	74.3%
0 children	1	33	10.2%
1 child	2	100	31.0%
2 children	3	57	17.6%
3 children	4	31	9.6%
4+ children	5+	19	5.9%
Two or more adult households		83	25.7%
0 children	2	6	1.9%
1 child	3	26	8.0%
2 children	4	25	7.7%
3 children	5	18	5.6%
4+ children	6+	8	2.5%
Overall total		323	100%

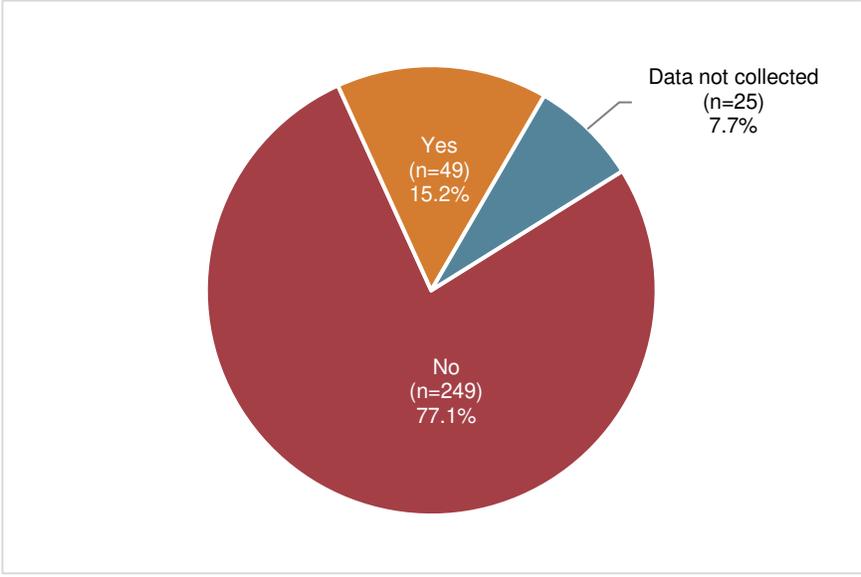
¹⁰ To determine household size and composition, household head and non-household head cases with the same group identification number were counted as being in the same household.



Children in out-of-home placements

The majority of the 323 program participants (77.1%) did not have children in an out-of-home placement (e.g., foster or relative care), whereas 15.2% did have children in out-of-home placement (Figure 9).

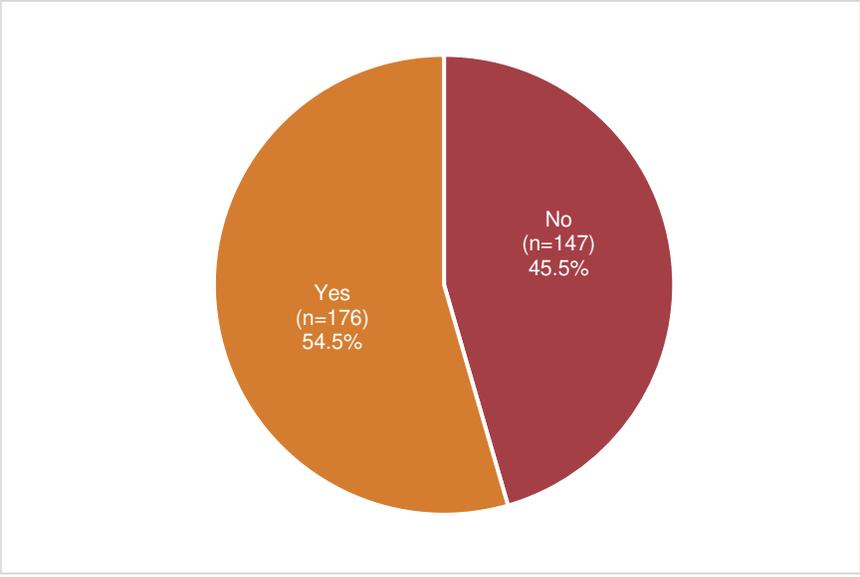
Figure 9. Children in out-of-home placements (N=323).



Disabilities

More than half of all 323 program participants (54.5%) reported having a disability (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Disabilities (N=323).



When program participants were asked to report the type of disability they had, the most common was mental health problem (36.2%), followed by chronic health condition (27.9%) and physical disability (12.4%; Table 8). Note that program participants could have more than one disability.

*Table 8. Disabilities.**

Disability	Frequency	Percentage
Mental health problem	117	36.2%
Chronic health condition	90	27.9%
Physical disability	40	12.4%
Substance use disorder (SUD)	31	9.6%
Drug abuse only	11	3.4%
Alcohol abuse only	8	2.5%
Both	12	3.7%
Developmental disability	24	7.4%
Physical/medical disability	**	**
HIV/AIDS diagnosis	**	**

*These categories are not mutually exclusive, as program participants could have multiple disabilities. Percentages show the proportion of the 323 program participants who had a particular disability.

**The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

Safety

Perceived safety

When asked about their feelings of safety at program entry, 35.9% of participants answered, “I don’t often feel safe,” and 36.2% answered, “I sometimes feel safe” (Table 9). Only one in four program participants (25.7%) answered, “I usually feel safe.”

Table 9. Perceived safety by program participant at entry (N=323).

Perceived safety	Frequency	Percentage
“I don’t often feel safe.”	116	35.9%
“I sometimes feel safe.”	117	36.2%
“I usually feel safe.”	83	25.7%
Data not collected	7	2.2%
Overall total	323	100%

Use of crisis services

The majority of program participants (77.4%) reported not using crisis services, such as the Pierce County Crisis Line or the Pierce County Mobile Outreach Crisis Team, in the past year (Table 10).



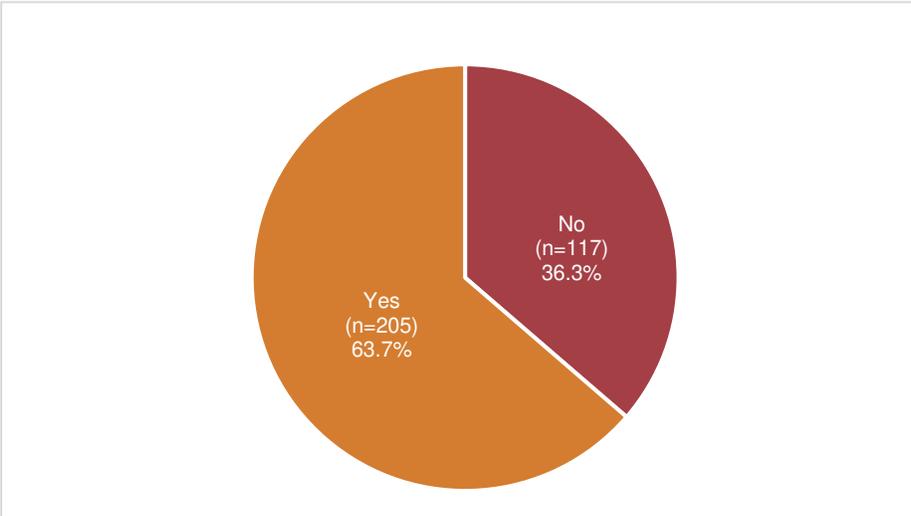
Table 10. Use of crisis services within the past 12 months (N=323).

Use of crisis services	Frequency	Percentage
Never	250	77.4%
1 time	34	10.5%
2 times	12	3.7%
3 times	6	1.9%
4 or more times	12	3.7%
Data not collected	9	2.8%
Overall total	323	100%

Domestic violence

Among all 323 program participants, approximately two in three reported being survivors of domestic violence in the present or anytime in the past (205 or 63.7%; Figure 11).¹¹ According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), nearly 20% of women and 14% of men report having experienced domestic violence in their lifetime.¹² Thus, the rate of domestic violence among 211-Diversion program participants is much higher than the national average.

Figure 11. Domestic violence survivors (N=322).



*One program participant did not have data on domestic violence experience and was excluded.

Of the 205 program participants who reported being survivors of domestic violence in the present or anytime in the past, 80 (39.0%) reported the most recent occurrence as one year ago or more, and 77 (37.6%) reported the most recent occurrence as within the past three months (Figure 12). Nearly half (44.6%) of the 205 program participants who reported being survivors of

¹¹ In the HMIS data dictionary, the field name is "Domestic Violence Victim/Survivor," but this report refers to this variable as domestic violence survivor. A "Yes" indicates the program participant has experienced any domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, stalking, or other dangerous or life-threatening conditions that relate to violence against the individual or a family member, including a child, that has either taken place within the individual's or family's primary nighttime residence (<https://files.hudexchange.info/resources/documents/HMIS-Data-Standards-Manual.pdf>).

¹² Centers for Disease Control and Prevention website. Intimate partner violence page. <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/intimatepartnerviolence/index.html>



domestic violence in the present or anytime in the past reported fleeing domestic violence at the time they entered the program (Figure 13).¹³

Figure 12. Most recent occurrence of domestic violence (N=205).

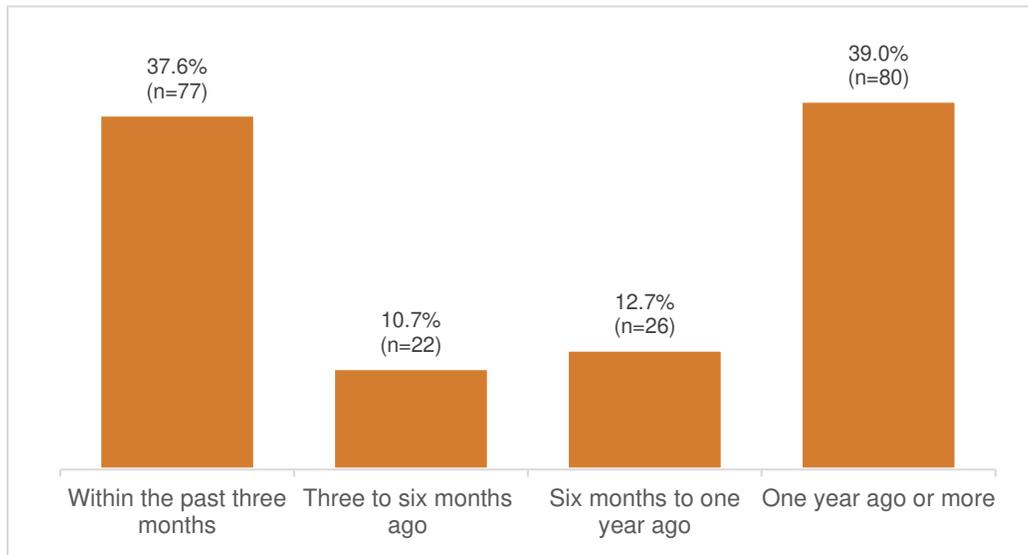
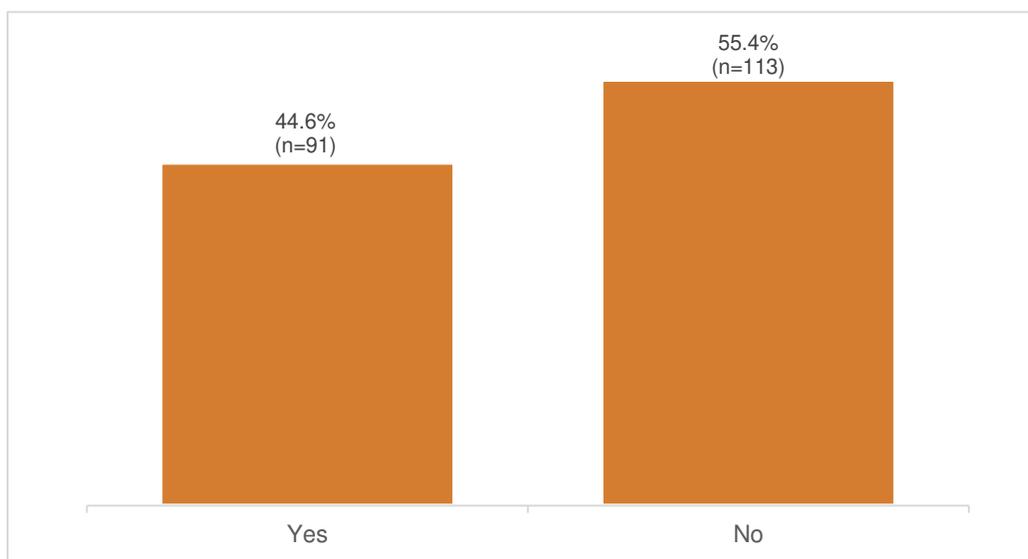


Figure 13. Participants who were currently fleeing domestic violence (N=204).



*One program participant did not have data on domestic violence experience and was excluded.

Interview respondents were asked for their insights into the high number of domestic violence survivors enrolling in the program. Both 211 and Pierce County staff mentioned that the proportion of program participants who were domestic violence survivors was higher than expected (compared with 211 callers in general and program participants enrolled in CE

¹³ Rates on when domestic violence occurred and program participants currently fleeing domestic violence for all 323 program participants (N=323) can be found in Appendix A.



programs other than domestic violence shelters). One interview respondent mentioned that a possible reason for the higher proportion of program participants who were domestic violence survivors was that it might be safer for participants to make a phone call than to seek services in person.



Diversion services

Flex funds

Of the 323 program participants enrolled in 211-Diversion, 100 (31%) received flex funds.¹⁴ A total of \$92,014 in flex funds were spent to assist program participants (Table 11). There were 135 flex funds transactions completed for the 100 households; the majority of these were for rent payment assistance (n=48; 35.6%) and rental deposit assistance (n=45; 33.3%).

Table 11. Types of flex funds assistance (N=135).*

Type of assistance	Frequency	Percentage	Amount
Rent payment assistance	48	35.6%	\$41,144.77
Rental deposit assistance	45	33.3%	\$34,294.11
Relocation assistance	9	6.7%	\$5,007.05
Moving services	7	5.2%	\$3,989.90
General relief applications	7	5.2%	\$1,826.20
Rental application fee payment assistance	**	**	\$1,824.00
Utility service payment assistance	**	**	\$1,254.87
Gas money	**	**	\$850.00
General furniture provision	**	**	\$811.80
Food vouchers	**	**	\$500.00
Home insurance	**	**	\$258.00
Utility service providers	**	**	\$253.00
Overall total	135	100%	\$92,013.70

*Percentages show the proportion of that type of assistance out of the total number of flex funds transactions (N=135), not out of the number of participants in the program (N=323) or the number of households that used flex funds (N=100).

**The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

At the beginning of 211-Diversion program implementation, the target was to spend \$600.00 on average per household. This was not a hard cap but instead a target for flex fund spending across all participants that was originally informed by Pierce County’s CE flex funding guidelines at the time. This was to encourage Housing Solutions Navigators to explore housing solutions that utilized other resources available in the community or required little to no flex funds. However, as time went by, Housing Solutions Navigators realized that many program participants needed at least \$1,200.00 to cover rent. Consequently, the target amount was adjusted and staff worked to serve clients with flex funds as needed.

The mean amount of flex funds used among the 100 program participants who used flex funds was \$920.14 (SD=\$393.41; median \$1,000.00), ranging from \$75.00 to \$2,339.44 (Table 12). The mean amount of flex funds used among all 323 program participants enrolled was \$284.87 (SD=\$478.66; median \$0.0), ranging from \$0.00 to \$2,339.44.

¹⁴ One flex funds transaction was removed from analysis because that transaction had an identifier that did not match any of the program participants enrolled in 211-Diversion.



Table 12. Flex funds used.

Flex funds used	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Program participants who used flex funds (N=100)	\$920.14 (SD=\$393.41)	\$1,000.00	\$75.00	\$2,339.44
All program participants (N=323)	\$284.87 (SD=\$478.66)	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$2,339.44

Length of program enrollment

The average number of days enrolled among 322 program participants was 38.7 days (SD=25.9 days; median 31.0 days), ranging from zero to 138 days.¹⁵ Table 13 shows that 41.9% of participants were enrolled from zero through 30 days, and most (77.6%) were enrolled 60 days or fewer. If program participants were enrolled zero days (n≤5), the reason for the short length of enrollment, according to program staff, was that a housing solution was quickly identified.

Table 13. Participant length of time enrolled in the program (N=322).

Days enrolled	Frequency	Amount
0–30 days	135	41.9%
31–60 days	115	35.7%
61–90 days	58	18.0%
91 days or more	14	4.3%
Overall total	322	100%

¹⁵ One program participant was removed from this analysis because the length of enrollment was determined to be an extreme outlier of 426 days. Extreme outliers are identified as greater than 3*Interquartile Range + 3rd quartile.



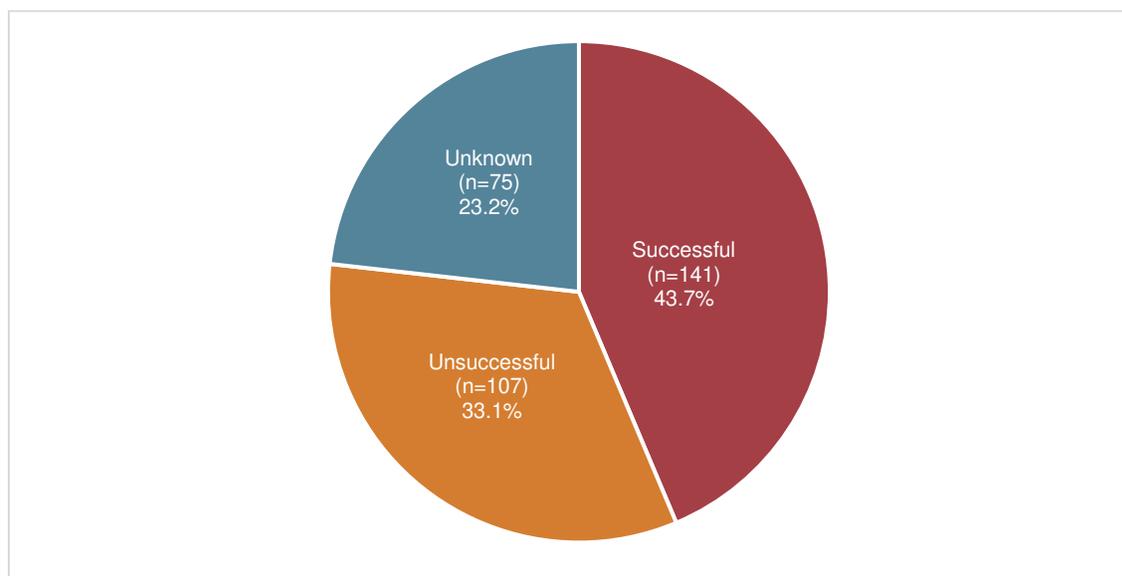
Housing outcomes

Exit types and destinations

Among the 323 program participants, 141 (43.7%) had successful exits (Figure 14).

Although every program participant had an exit date, nearly a quarter (23.2%) did not complete an exit interview (i.e., had an unknown exit), which means that either the Housing Solutions Navigator lost contact with them or their exit destination was not recorded in HMIS. It is unknown whether those households obtained housing.

Figure 14. Exit success* determined by exiting into permanent or temporary housing (N=323).



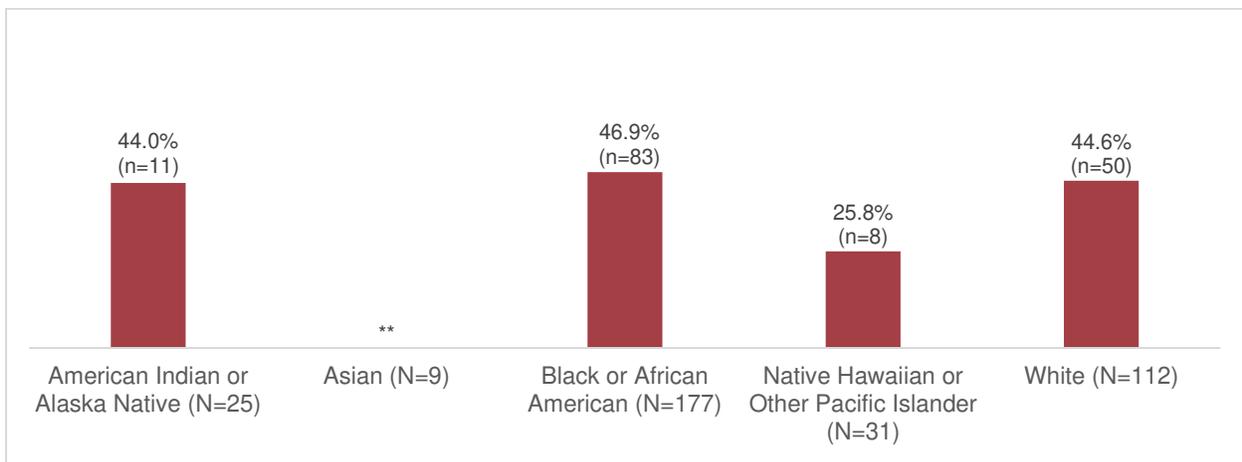
*Successful exits were rental by client with or without an ongoing housing subsidy, rental by client in a public housing unit, rental by client with a housing choice voucher (HCV), staying or living with family or friends permanently, or exiting to a hotel or motel paid for without an emergency shelter voucher. Unsuccessful exits were places not meant for habitation, staying or living with family or friends temporarily, emergency shelter including hotel or motel paid for with an emergency shelter voucher, and transitional housing.

In interviews, both 211 and Pierce County staff mentioned that the rate of unknown exits was higher than expected. Pierce County staff said it was quite high compared with other CE programs. According to interview respondents from 211, this could be because the service is done over the phone, and staff can more easily lose contact with callers not seen in person. Furthermore, 211 staff speculated that if an immediate housing solution was not found, program participants may have stopped engaging in services. It may also have been because of the high turnover rate for the Housing Solutions Navigator positions. At times during the program, only one Housing Solutions Navigator was working directly with program participants while a second one was being hired and/or trained, which resulted in inconsistencies in service capacity at different times throughout the program. The issue was discussed in Learning Circles early in the program, and Housing Solutions Navigators tried to follow up with program participants who had

unknown exits at that time and continued follow-up efforts for the remainder of the program. This resulted in a decrease in unknown exits over time (see Appendix B, Table B1).

Figure 15 shows the proportion of successful exits by race. In this figure, those who identified as two races are counted for each of the races they identified. Successful exit data by race, using a multiracial category instead of counting a person for each race with which they identified, are presented in Figure B1. While 43.7% of participants overall had successful exits (Figure 14), 46.9% of Black or African American, 44.6% of White, and 44.0% of American Indian or Alaska Native program participants exited successfully. Only 25.8% of Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander program participants exited successfully.

*Figure 15. Successful exits by race where those who identified with two races are counted for each race that they identified.**



*These are not mutually exclusive categories. If a program participant identified as two races (multiracial), they are counted once in each category. Race data were not available for 14 program participants.

**The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

Successful exits by other program participant characteristics are presented in Appendix B (see Figures B2 through B8).

Flex funds assistance

Of the 141 program participants who successfully exited the program, about two-thirds used flex funds (69.5%; Figure 16). Of the 107 program participants who had unsuccessful exits, less than 10% used flex funds. Similarly, of the 75 program participants with unknown exits, less than 10% used flex funds. Flex fund usage among program participants who exited the program successfully are presented by race in Appendix B (see Tables B2 and B3).



Figure 16. Use of flex funds by exit success.



*The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

In interviews, Pierce County staff explained that 211-Diversion had a higher proportion of successful exits without flex funds and a lower proportion of unsuccessful exits with flex funds compared to other CE programs. According to 211 staff, some of the Housing Solutions Navigators were particularly skilled at finding creative solutions that needed little to no flex funds. There was a consensus among interview respondents that this was also likely due to 211 being an information agency with strong connections to multiple community resources, allowing Housing Solutions Navigators to connect program participants to a variety of helpful resources. For example, if a participant struggled to pay rent due to childcare costs, Housing Solutions Navigators were able to connect them to a resource for free childcare. As mentioned in Learning Circles, additional types of referrals included resources for employment, furniture, legal assistance, credit counseling, budgeting and financial counseling, gas cards, food banks, health insurance, disability rights, mental health resources, transportation, and the Department of Social and Health Services.

The average amount of flex funds used for program participants who exited successfully and among all 323 participants is presented in Table 14.

Table 14. Flex funds used by program participants who exited successfully.

Flex funds used	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Program participants who used flex funds and exited successfully (N=98)	\$929.70 (SD=\$390.55)	\$1,000.00	\$75.00	\$2,339.44
All program participants (N=323)	\$284.87 (SD=\$478.66)	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$2,339.44

Length of enrollment

Overall, program participants were enrolled for an average of 38.7 days (SD=25.9 days; Table 15). Among participants with a known exit destination (N=247), the average number of days enrolled was 34.9 (SD=24.6 days). Program participants who exited successfully were enrolled



fewer days on average than people who exited unsuccessfully (30.2 versus 41.3 days). According to program staff, during enrollment, Housing Solutions Navigators checked in with program participants to support the progress made toward the housing solution identified during the Diversion conversation. In some cases, if the housing solution was unsuccessful, the participant might avoid contact or not feel inclined to update contact information. When this occurred, the participant remained enrolled for a longer period because the Housing Solutions Navigator continued to follow up. The goal of Diversion is to get participants housed within approximately 30 days. According to Pierce County staff, averages tend to hover around 30 to 45 days across CE programs.

Table 15. Length of enrollment in days.

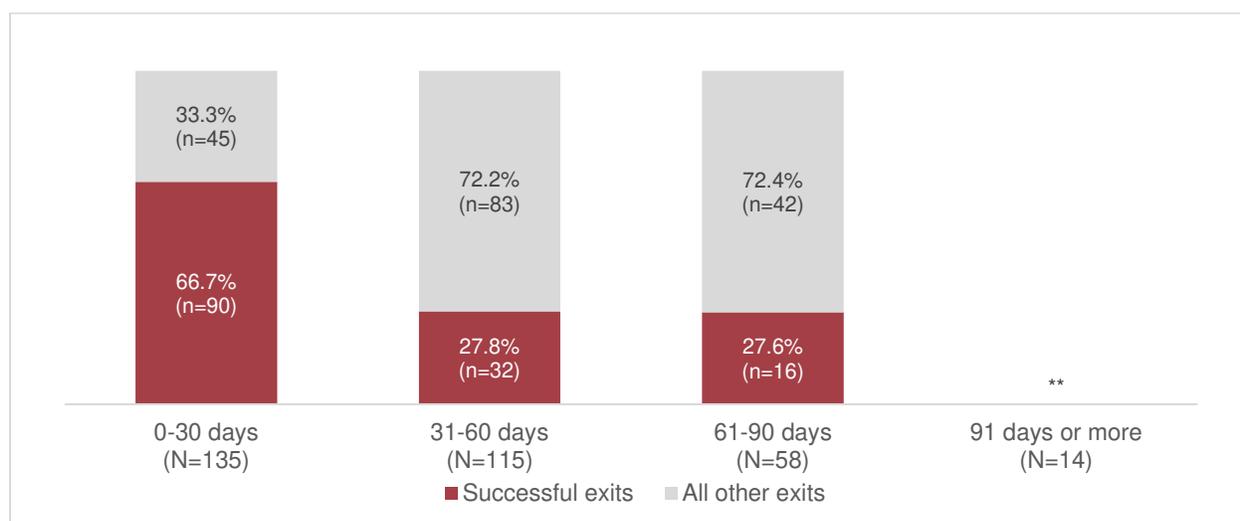
Length of Enrollment	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Days enrolled for all program participants (N=322)*	38.7 (SD=25.9)	31.0	0	138
Days enrolled for program participants with a known exit destination (N=247)	34.9 (SD=24.6)	30.0	0	138
Days enrolled for program participants with a successful exit (N=141)	30.2 (SD=25.5)	22.0	0	138
Days enrolled for program participants with an unsuccessful exit (N=106)	41.3 (SD=22.0)	32.0	0	112
Days enrolled for program participants with an unknown exit destination (N=75)	51.2 (SD=26.2)	41.0	16	132

*One program participant was removed from this analysis because the length of enrollment was determined to be an outlier.

A plurality of the 322 program participants were enrolled zero to 30 days (n=135). Of the 135 participants enrolled zero to 30 days, two in three exited successfully (66.7%; Figure 17). The majority of the program participants with successful exits were enrolled between zero and 30 days with 31 to 60 days as the next most common length of enrollment for successful exits. According to Pierce County staff who were interviewed, this aligns with the general length of enrollment for successful exits for Diversion across CE programs.



Figure 17. Exit success by length of enrollment (N=323).



*The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

Sustained housing stability

Most of the 141 program participants who exited 211-Diversion successfully remained outside of the county's homeless system. For those who successfully exited by January 31, 2020 (i.e., at least six months before the end of the reporting period; N=126), 107 (84.9%) remained outside the county's homeless system (Table 16). For those who successfully exited by June 30, 2019 (i.e., at least one year before the end of the reporting period; N=97), 78 (80.4%) remained outside the county's homeless system.

Table 16. Participants who did and did not return to the homeless system by length of time of exit from program.

Exit period	Number who exited successfully	Number who returned to the county's homeless system*	Number who remained outside of the county's homeless system
At least 6 months before end of reporting period	126	19 (15.1%)	107 (84.9%)
At least 12 months before end of reporting period	97	19 (19.6%)	78 (80.4%)

*These cells are not mutually exclusive. If a program participant exited at least 12 months before the end of the reporting period, they were also counted in the returns for those who exited at least six months before the end of the reporting period.

COVID-19 snapshot

COVID-19 pandemic restrictions began in the United States in March 2020. In order to assess the impact the pandemic may have had on service delivery or program participant characteristics, data for participants who entered and exited the program between March 1 and June 30, 2020, were examined and compared with characteristics and outcomes of program participants who entered and exited the program between March 1 and June 30, 2019, the year prior.

A total of 40 participants entered and exited the 211-Diversion program between March 1 and June 30, 2019. A total of 15 participants entered and exited the 211-Diversion program between March 1 and June 30, 2020. Due to the number of program participants who entered and exited during this time period, exact numbers and percentages often could not be presented due to the need to protect privacy.

Interviews provided possible insight into why the number of program participants who entered and exited the program was much lower during the COVID-19 time period. Only one trained Housing Solutions Navigator was tasked with taking general calls for 211 due to increased call volumes, leaving less time for providing 211-Diversion services. In addition, housing programs in general were keeping people in programs longer to provide long-term support. Thus, it is possible that participants who entered the program during this time exited after the reporting period (June 30, 2020).

There was a statistically significant association between perceived safety and the period in which participants enrolled (Appendix C, Table C1). A greater proportion of program participants enrolled during the COVID-19 time period reported, “I don’t often feel safe,” compared to program participants enrolled during the same months of the previous year (greater than 60.0% versus 38.5%) and a smaller proportion of program participants enrolled during the COVID-19 time period reported, “I sometimes feel safe,” compared to program participants enrolled during the same months of the previous year, although exact proportions cannot be shown.¹⁶

The proportion of domestic violence survivors was statistically similar for both the 2019 and 2020 time periods. Among domestic violence survivors, the proportion of those who reported they were currently fleeing domestic violence at the time they enrolled in 211-Diversion within the COVID-19 time period was statistically significantly higher than those enrolled in 2019, although exact proportions cannot be shown (Appendix C, Table C2).¹⁷

When looking only at program participants who were fleeing domestic violence when they entered 211-Diversion, there was not a statistically significant difference in feelings of safety, although exact proportions cannot be shown.

¹⁶ A Fisher’s exact test was conducted; $p < 0.05$ (see Appendix C, Table C1).

¹⁷ A Fisher’s exact test was conducted; $p < 0.05$ (see Appendix C, Table C2).



Among program participants enrolled during the COVID-19 time period whose housing stability at exit was known, nearly all were stably housed at exit, while less than three out of four (72.7%) of those enrolled in the same months of the previous year were stably housed. Although a statistically significant association was not found here, the large difference does suggest that COVID-19 may have an impact on housing outcomes. A possible reason for this posited by 211 staff was that more funding became available in response to COVID-19, which meant that Housing Solutions Navigators were able to connect program participants to an increased number of housing solution resources.



Program strengths and challenges

Strengths

Learning Circle attendees and interview respondents shared several strengths of implementing 211-Diversion. One advantage of the program, shared by staff in both Learning Circles and interviews, was their wide range of in-house referral and resource knowledge already used for 211 callers. The staff could leverage these existing tools as they assisted 211-Diversion program participants, and this could be a possible explanation as to why nearly one in three successful exits did not involve flex funds.

Another strength identified with implementing 211-Diversion was increased capacity in serving program participants. Representatives from Associated Ministries and Catholic Community Services attended Learning Circles as Diversion providers. Their support for 211-Diversion staff was a key strength of the program; they were available to answer questions, offer training and shadowing, and ensure coordination and support.

Staff also discovered early in the program (within the first six months of implementation) that it afforded the 211 and Associated Ministries screening teams the opportunity to learn more about possible disparities using 211-Diversion data. These data could help Pierce County better serve populations who are underserved, including Black, Native, and LGBTQ communities.

Interview respondents shared several advantages of providing Diversion services over the phone as compared to providing services in person. One advantage was that it made Diversion easily accessible and more anonymous. Some interview respondents said this could be a possible reason the proportion of domestic violence survivors was so high, if program participants felt safer calling than going somewhere in-person. In Learning Circles, representatives from Associated Ministries mentioned making several referrals to 211-Diversion for program participants who had difficulty completing Diversion in person or preferred having a conversation over the phone. Another advantage was that while some organizations were adjusting or transitioning to remote work due to COVID-19, 211 was already a phone-based service provider and therefore had fewer problems in serving clients remotely. They were also able to advise partner organizations who were transitioning to phone-based services.

A strength of 211-Diversion and 211 becoming a CE entry point was that it helped open communication between 211 and other CE programs. The I & R Specialists originally did not have access to HMIS data, but were later given access, better equipping them to assist callers. In interviews, Pierce County staff mentioned that giving I & R Specialists access to HMIS data helped 211 be more relevant and connected, and 211 staff shared that it meant more successful referrals and a greater ability to keep track of callers in order to better understand their backgrounds and what services callers had received in the past.

A strategy used by a Housing Solutions Navigator that may have contributed to successful exits was entering callers into the priority pool if they were not ready for 211-Diversion, following up



and continuing to support them, and later transferring them into 211-Diversion if a solution was in sight. It is worth noting that this approach to Diversion services is somewhat unique compared to other Diversion programs in the county. In other programs, case managers may not follow up and transfer clients between programs in this way.

Finally, in both Learning Circles and interviews, Housing Solutions Navigators expressed that offering hope and a sense of accomplishment to participants was a strength of the program. Having creative conversations was a way to highlight program participants' strengths and abilities, resulting in successful housing based on participants' own efforts.

Challenges

Learning Circle attendees and interview respondents mentioned several challenges with implementation. Some challenges identified early in program implementation were addressed, and improvements or solutions were put in place.

At the start of implementation, 211 staff held a range of attitudes about the program. Some were enthusiastic from the beginning about learning and trying Diversion with 211 callers. Others felt uncertain and confused about the process. Over time, confidence has grown among 211 staff, as they have observed successes resulting from the program.

Getting documents to and from program participants without meeting in person was an implementation challenge because some participants did not have the resources to receive, print, scan, and return documents to 211. In interviews, 211 staff explained that, when necessary, Housing Solutions Navigators met with program participants in person to assist with documentation, applications, or other actions that were challenging over the phone, thus eliminating this challenge for many participants.

Early in the pilot program, there was a high rate of unknown exits. However, this issue was raised during Learning Circles, and Housing Solutions Navigators began following up with many of the program participants who had unknown exits. The number of unknown exits decreased over time.

From the beginning of the program, staff turnover was a major challenge and was discussed in both Learning Circles and interviews. As part of the grant, two Housing Solutions Navigators were hired. Throughout the reporting period, Housing Solutions Navigators left and new ones transitioned into their positions, causing momentum to slow. This remained a challenge throughout the duration of the program.

High call volume was also an overwhelming challenge. According to interview respondents from both Pierce County and 211, when call volumes were high, including during the COVID-19 time period, Housing Solutions Navigators needed to perform other responsibilities within 211. These responsibilities included taking other calls and training other 211 staff on screening and data entry, taking them away from 211-Diversion services.



Another challenge expressed in Learning Circles was coordinating with CE and not duplicating efforts for the same program participants who called both agencies and received either multiple case managers or redundant services. When 211 took over CE screenings for Pierce County, this stopped being a challenge. In addition, Pierce County staff explained in an interview that the creation of a data entry position was helpful for capturing the data and resolving this issue.

Finally, one goal of 211-Diversion was to serve callers who were experiencing housing instability in addition to those who were experiencing homelessness. During the reporting period, however, 211-Diversion prioritized serving program participants who were experiencing homelessness, with the hope of expanding to serve those experiencing housing instability. It became a challenge to serve those who were experiencing housing instability due to staff turnover and the persistently high volume of calls. However, by the end of the reporting period, I & R Specialists were able to have “mini conversations” with callers experiencing housing instability and do some problem-solving with them. The program intends to serve this population for prevention more fully in the future.



Summary and next steps

During the first two-and-a-half years of 211-Diversion, 323 participants were enrolled in the program: all 323 exited the program, and 248 had a successful or unsuccessful exit recorded in HMIS. The median length of enrollment among program participants was 38.7 days, and 43.7% of participants (N=141) exited successfully to a rental, to permanently staying with family or friends, or to a hotel or motel. All the participants who enrolled in 211-Diversion were experiencing homelessness at the time of program entry, with 94.1% (N=304) staying at a place not meant for habitation. The vast majority of program participants who successfully exited 211-Diversion remained outside of the county's homeless system.

To assess the impact COVID-19 may have had on the program, the measurements of the 40 participants who entered and exited the program between March 1 and June 30, 2019, were compared to the 15 participants who entered and exited the program between March 1 and June 30, 2020. There was a statistically significant increase in the proportion of clients during the pandemic who reported, "I don't often feel safe," compared to the participants from the previous year. Furthermore, although there was a significantly similar proportion of domestic violence survivors within both periods, a significantly higher proportion of those were currently fleeing domestic violence during the pandemic.

Learning Circle attendees and interview respondents shared program strengths and challenges encountered during the first two-and-a-half years of 211-Diversion. Strengths of implementing the program included 211 staff's ability to utilize existing resources to assist program participants, having Associated Ministries and Catholic Community Services available to answer questions and support service delivery by 211 staff, identifying population disparities, and advantages of providing services over the phone. Challenges of implementing the program that persisted through the reporting period included staff turnover and high call volumes that exceeded staff capacity, resulting in an inability to assist callers who were unstably housed to prevent homelessness.

Moving forward, 211 staff will continue to conduct CE screenings and use creative conversations during 211 calls. The 211-Diversion program will focus on increasing staff capacity and serving program participants, including those who are experiencing housing instability. Furthermore, learning from the data compiled in this evaluative report will facilitate continued learning for program improvement.



Appendix A. Demographics

Ethnicity combined with race

Table A1. Ethnicity and race information combined.

Ethnicity combined with race	Frequency	Percentage of total population (N=323)
Hispanic/Latinx	39	12.1%
White	15	4.6%
Black/African American	*	*
Black/African American & White	*	*
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	*	*
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander & Black/African American	*	*
Data not collected	10	3.1%
Non-Hispanic/Non-Latinx	278	86.1%
White	66	20.4%
American Indian/Alaska Native	11	3.4%
Asian	6	1.9%
Black/African American	131	40.6%
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander	23	7.1%
American Indian/Alaska Native & White	8	2.5%
Asian & White	*	*
Black/African American & American Indian/Alaska Native	6	1.9%
Black/African American & Asian	*	*
Black/African American & Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander	*	*
White & Black/African American	19	5.9%
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander & Black	*	*
Ethnicity data not collected	6	1.9%

*The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

Domestic violence data for the full 211-Diversion population (N=323)

Although 205 participants identified having ever experienced domestic violence, Figures A1 and A2 and Table A2 include participants with **any** information on any of the domestic violence measurements shown below, which includes some participants who answered “No” for ever having experienced domestic violence.



Figure A1. When domestic violence occurred (N=323).

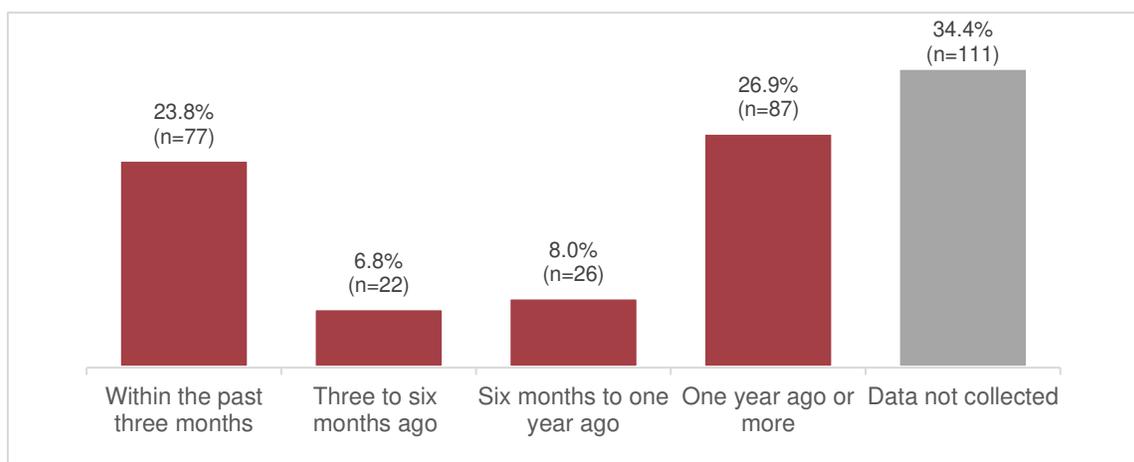


Figure A2. Currently fleeing domestic violence (N=323).

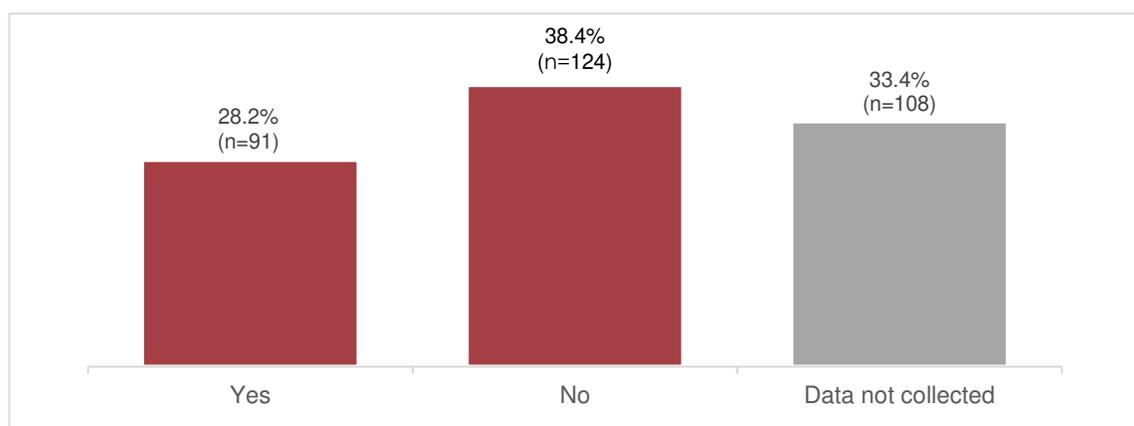


Table A2. Domestic violence by race.

Race	Domestic violence survivors		Currently fleeing domestic violence	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage*
American Indian or Alaska Native (N=11)	**	**	**	**
Asian (N=6)	**	**	**	**
Black or African American (N=140)	95	89.5%	46	48.4%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (N=24)	12	50.0%	**	**
White (N=82)	49	59.8%	20	40.8%
Multiracial (N=45)	32	71.1%	10	32.3%

*Percentage currently fleeing domestic violence was calculated out of the total number of domestic violence survivors for each race.

**The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.



Appendix B. Outcomes

Unknown exits over time

Table B1. Unknown exits over time.

Time period	Total number of exits	Unknown exits
January–June 2018	64	23 (35.9%)
July–December 2018	102	21 (20.6%)
January–June 2019	82	16 (19.5%)
July–December 2019	50	10 (20.0%)
January–June 2020	22	*

*The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

Flex funds assistance

Table B2. Flex funds assistance used by race for successful exits.*

Race	Number who exited successfully	Number who used flex funds	Percentage who used flex funds
American Indian or Alaska Native	**	**	66.7%
Asian	**	**	**
Black or African American	67	53	79.1%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	**	**	**
White	32	18	56.3%
Multiracial	23	16	69.6%

*Race data were not available for seven participants who exited successfully, including five participants who used flex funds.

**The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

Table B3. Amount of flex funds used by race for successful exits.

Race	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum
American Indian or Alaska Native (N≤5)	\$439.00 (SD=\$55.15)	\$439.00	\$400.00	\$478.00
Asian (N≤5)	\$1,184.36 (SD=\$820.52)	\$899.50	\$599.00	\$2,339.44
Black or African American (N=53)	\$893.72 (SD=\$335.68)	\$1,000.00	\$90.00	\$1,516.00
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (N≤5)	\$1,308.75 (SD=\$153.80)	\$1,308.75	\$1200.00	\$1,417.00
White (N=18)	\$923.93 (SD=\$395.06)	\$1,100.00	\$75.00	\$1,600.00
Multiracial (N=16)	\$983.00 (SD=\$440.71)	\$975.00	\$500.00	\$2,210.00

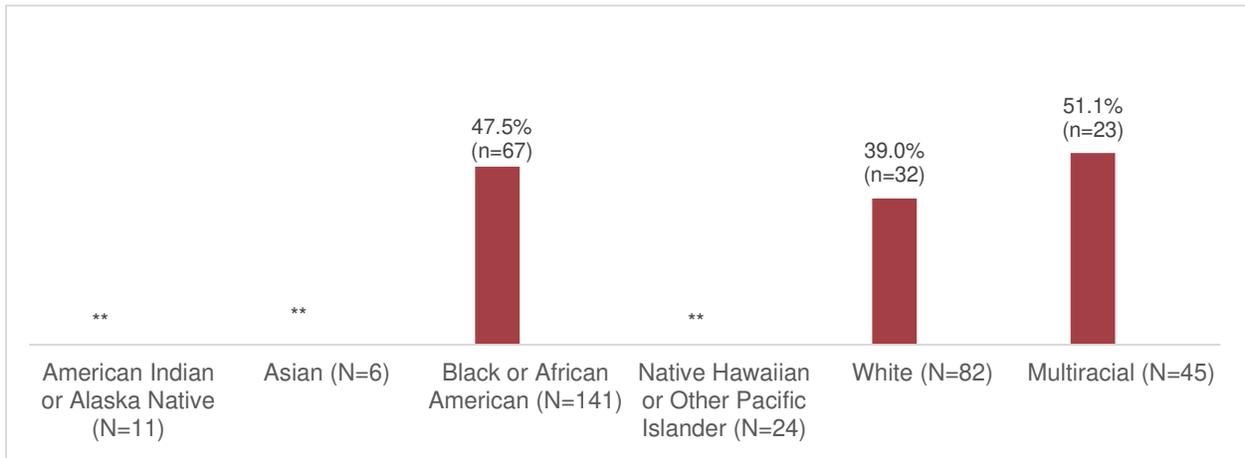
*Race data were not available for seven participants who exited successfully, including five participants who used flex funds.



Successful exits

Note that 43.7% of the 323 program participants had successful exits (Figure 14).

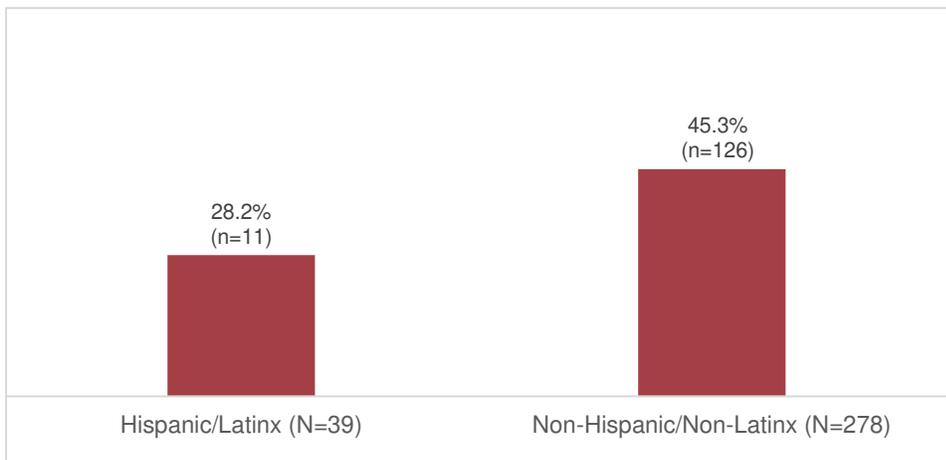
*Figure B1. Successful exits by race where those who identified with two races are counted in a single multirace category.**



*Race data were not collected for 14 program participants.

**The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

*Figure B2. Successful exits by ethnicity.**



*Ethnicity data were not collected for six program participants.

Figure B3. Successful exits by age.

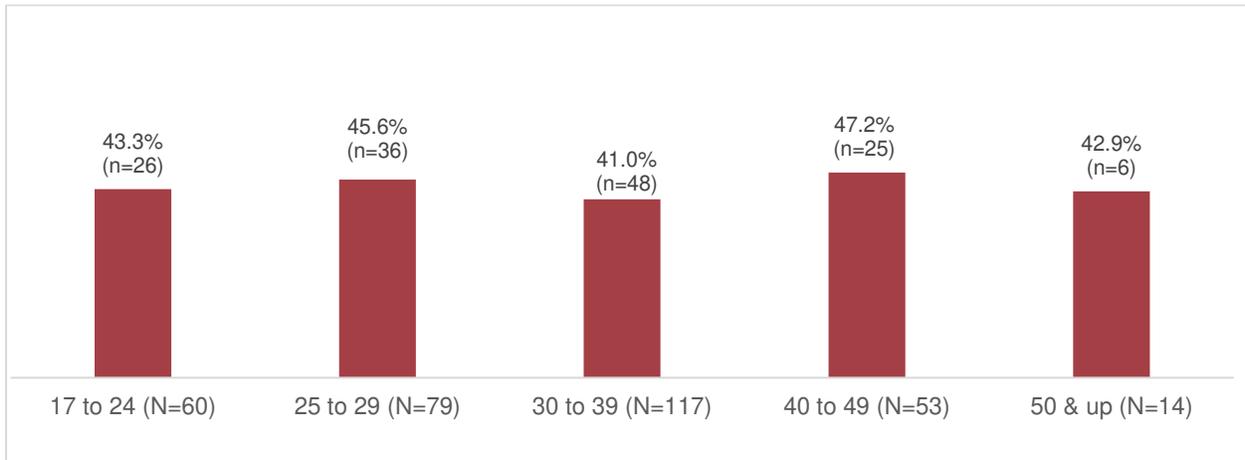
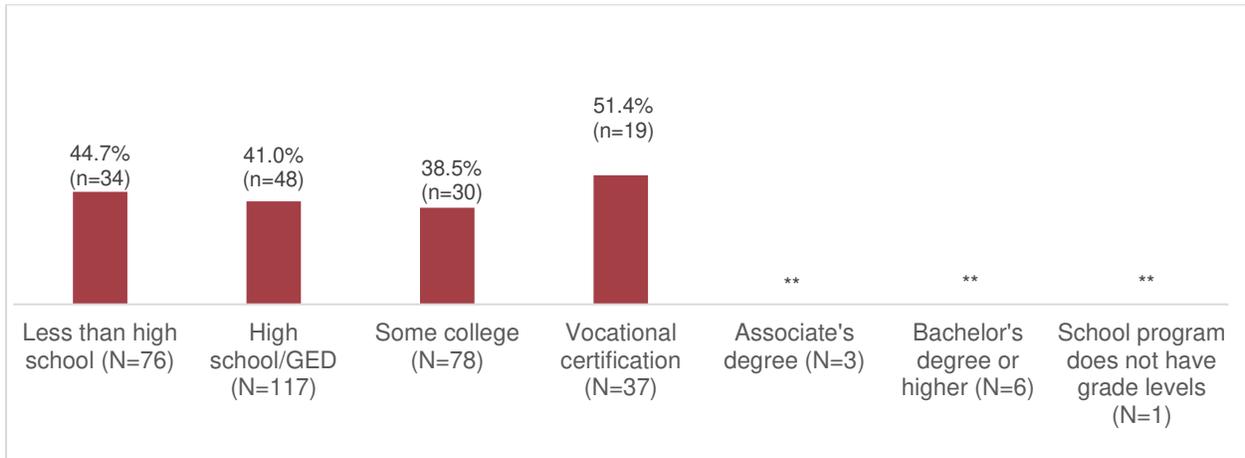
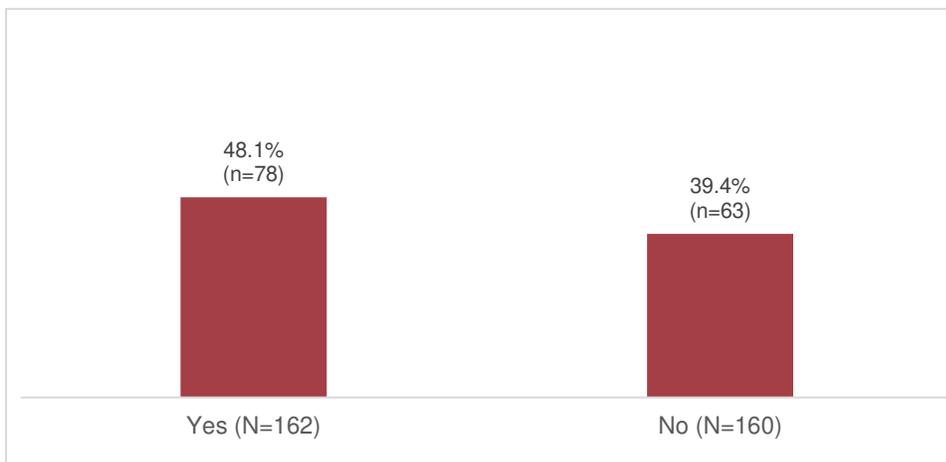


Figure B4. Successful exits by highest level of education.*



*Education data were not collected for five program participants.

Figure B5. Successful exits by employment status.*



*Employment data were not collected for one program participant.



Figure B6. Successful exits by disabling condition.

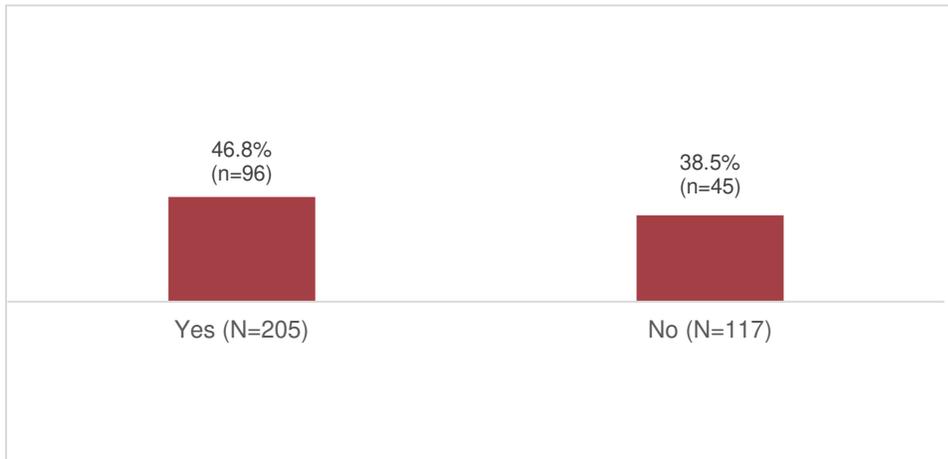
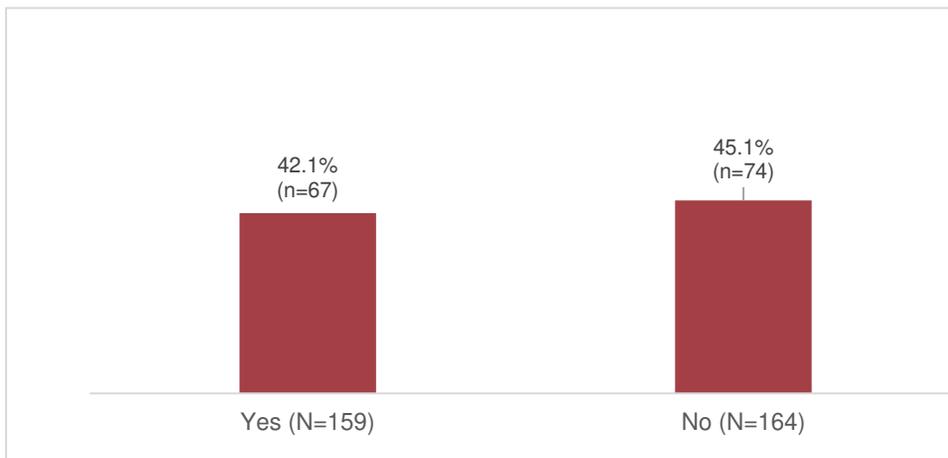
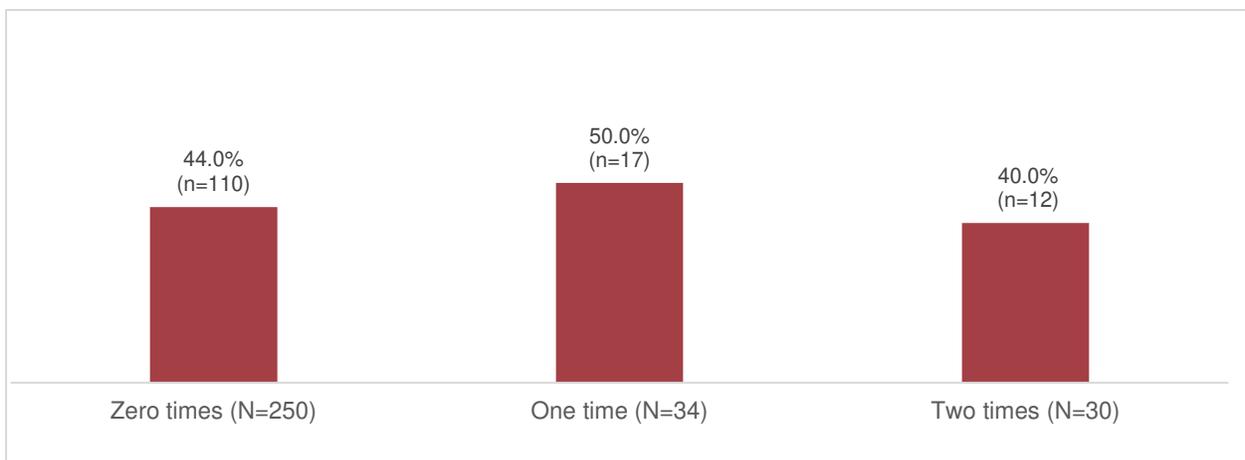


Figure B7. Successful exits by use of crisis services.*



*Use of crisis services data were not collected for nine program participants.

Figure B8. Successful exits by domestic violence history.*



*Domestic violence data were not collected for one program participant.

Appendix C. COVID-19 snapshot

Table C1. Perceived safety (N=54).

Safety statements	March 1–June 30, 2019	March 1–June 30, 2020 (COVID-19 time period)
"I don't often feel safe."	15 (38.5%)	*
"I sometimes feel safe."	17(43.6%)	*
"I usually feel safe."	7(17.9%)	*
Overall total	39 (100%)	15 (100%)
Fisher's exact test		
Asymptotic significance (2-sided)		
Fisher's exact test	0.019	

*The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

Table C2. Currently fleeing domestic violence (N=40).

Currently fleeing	March 1–June 30, 2019	March 1–June 30, 2020 (COVID-19 time period)
Yes	11 (37.9%)	*
No	18 (62.1%)	*
Overall total	29 (100%)	11 (100%)
Fisher's exact test		
Asymptotic significance (2-sided)		
Fisher's exact test	0.031	

*The number and percentage of program participants were suppressed to ensure privacy.

