

# **Broken Promises: The failure of homelessness spending in California**

**A “Follow the Money” report of the  
Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Foundation**

**By Adam B. Summers**

April 15, 2026

## Introduction

The Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Foundation, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, is the legal and educational arm of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, established in 1978 to protect Proposition 13, the right to vote on taxes, and the interests of California taxpayers.

It is important to hold state and local governments accountable for responsibly spending the hard-earned tax dollars of the people who live and work in this state. That is the goal of the Foundation's "Follow the Money" reports, which seek to shine a light on wasteful, ineffective and even abusive spending by public officials.

This year's report, "Broken Promises: The failure of homelessness spending in California," is a comprehensive review of the money spent to address the crisis, and the outcomes of those efforts.

The Foundation wishes to thank Adam B. Summers for his research and writing to create this year's "Follow the Money" report.

We hope you find it informative.



Jon Coupal  
Chairman



Craig Mordoh  
President

Broken Promises:  
The failure of homelessness spending in California

# Contents

1. Background
2. The Scope of Homelessness in California
  - a. California
  - b. United States
  - c. San Francisco
  - d. San Jose
  - e. Los Angeles
  - f. San Diego
3. Homelessness Spending
  - a. California's Lack of Transparency and Accountability
  - b. Voters Are Not Getting What They Were Promised from Several Housing and Homelessness Measures in Los Angeles
    - i. Problems Emerge
      1. Overpromising and Under-Delivering on Housing
      2. Oversight Issues
      3. Chaos at LAHSA
  - c. San Francisco Spends Big Dollars But Homelessness Only Gets Worse
  - d. Federal Probes into California Homelessness Spending
4. Conclusion

## **1. Background**

Homelessness is a devastating problem that exacts a horrible toll on far too many people in our state, oftentimes those suffering from substance abuse, mental illness, or other untreated traumas. It also affects those who live and work in formerly nice communities that have been turned to squalor. And it impacts the taxpayers who are compelled to try to help fix the problem with their hard-earned money. Appropriately addressing the issue requires compassion, but it also demands a reasoned and responsible approach that will not squander scarce resources, so that the greatest number may be helped in the most efficient ways, or, worse, even enabling further destructive behavior.

Californians first named homelessness the top issue facing the state in a September 2019 Public Policy Institute of California poll (tied with jobs and the economy).<sup>1</sup> It is not difficult to understand why. Large tent encampments were exploding across the state and San Francisco was becoming the face of the problem due to the deterioration of the quality of life on and around the streets, which were strewn with used drug needles and human excrement. The city drew nationwide derision when it was forced to form a “Poop Patrol” to disinfect sidewalks,<sup>2</sup> and an app was created to funnel the tens of thousands of reports and complaints about the conditions each year. While that intensity of concern over homelessness has waned somewhat in recent years,<sup>3</sup> housing and homelessness are still major issues for a large portion of the state’s population, and housing affordability in general remains top of mind for many, even prompting a good number of people to leave California altogether.

It is against this backdrop that politicians and voters approved numerous taxes, bond measures, and general fund outlays and the state and local government levels to address a severe and seemingly intractable problem. We must make a financial commitment equal to the scope of the problem, we were told. To that end, California has spent roughly \$37 billion over the past six years, according to an analysis of the fiscal year 2025-26 budget by the state’s nonpartisan Legislative Analyst’s Office.<sup>4</sup> With a current estimate of 187,084 people experiencing homelessness,<sup>5</sup> that translates to nearly \$200,000 per homeless individual.<sup>6</sup>

But merely throwing money at a problem without discernment or accountability is a recipe for disaster—and the more money that is up for grabs by the political class, the greater the potential waste and harm to taxpayers. And, sure enough, despite the tens of billions of dollars dedicated

to solving the homelessness crisis in California, the problem has only worsened. To add insult to injury, the state—and many local governments—have failed to adequately track the tens of billions of dollars spent.

According to the State Auditor’s office, California distributes homelessness funding through nine agencies and more than 30 programs, though the auditor acknowledged that even this tally may be incomplete, since “the state does not centrally track this information for all existing programs.”<sup>7</sup>

This lack of oversight, accountability, and general stewardship of taxpayer dollars leads to terrible outcomes for people experiencing homelessness and taxpayers alike. How many more people could have been helped if the money had been spent efficiently? And how much of taxpayers’ hard-earned money has been wasted in the process?

This report does not seek to solve every problem related to homelessness in California. Rather, it is intended to highlight the waste and inefficiency for which the state and local governments in California are responsible, so that these examples may serve as a lesson of what not to do and point the way to better address the problem in the future.

## **2. The Scope of Homelessness in California**

Homelessness may be found throughout the country—in rich states and poor states, large, urban metropolises and small, rural towns—but it has become particularly prevalent in California, especially over the past 10 years.

California comprises 11.5 percent of the nation’s population,<sup>8</sup> yet more than 24 percent of people experiencing homelessness.<sup>9</sup> The problem is even more acute when you consider that California has among the top per capita rates of homelessness (trailing only the District of Columbia, New York, Hawaii, Oregon, and Vermont)<sup>10</sup> and accounts for 42 percent of people experiencing chronic homelessness in the U.S. and 45 percent of the nation’s unsheltered homeless.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, two-thirds (66 percent) of California’s population of those experiencing homelessness are unsheltered—the highest rate in the nation.<sup>12</sup>

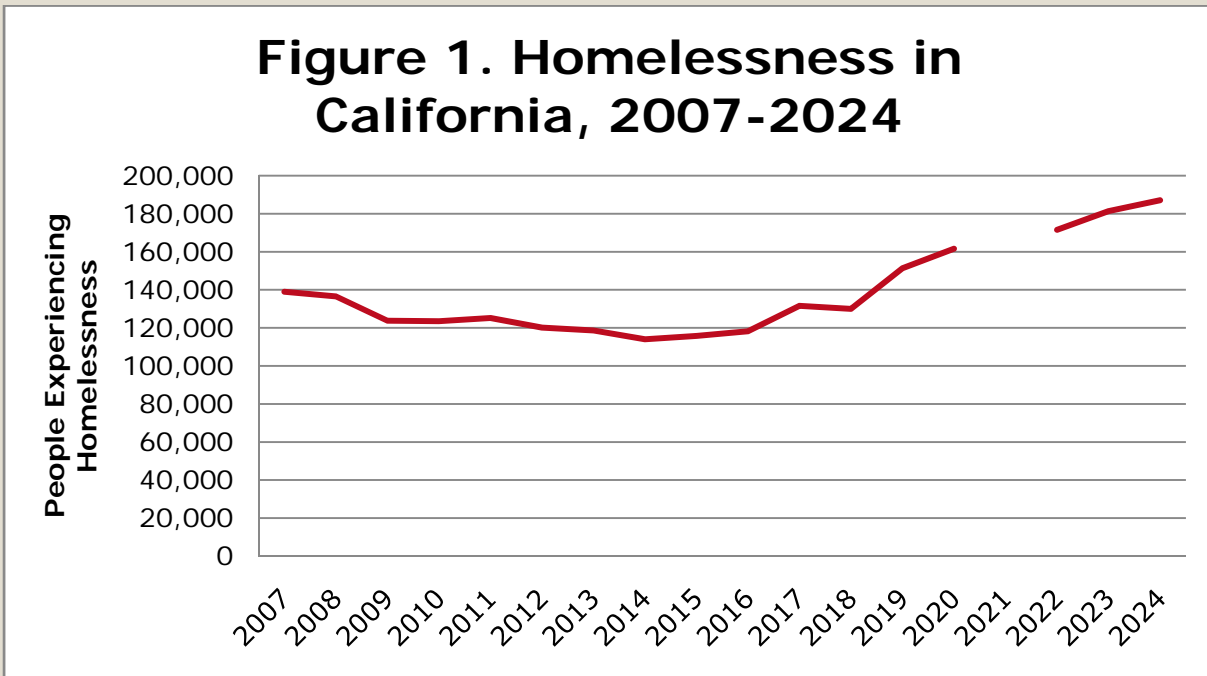
Some might postulate that California’s moderate climate might account for its outsized homelessness problem, and while that may exacerbate its high rate of unsheltered homelessness, other large Sunbelt states have seen very different results. In fact, while California experienced

one of the largest increases in homelessness between 2007 and 2024 (35 percent), Florida and Texas saw some of the largest declines in the nation during this period (-35 percent and -30 percent, respectively).<sup>13</sup>

The charts below illustrate how the homelessness problem has evolved over time in the nation, California, and some of the Golden States select major cities. (Note that homeless counts were either incomplete or not taken at all during 2021 due to the coronavirus pandemic, so that year is skipped in the charts.)

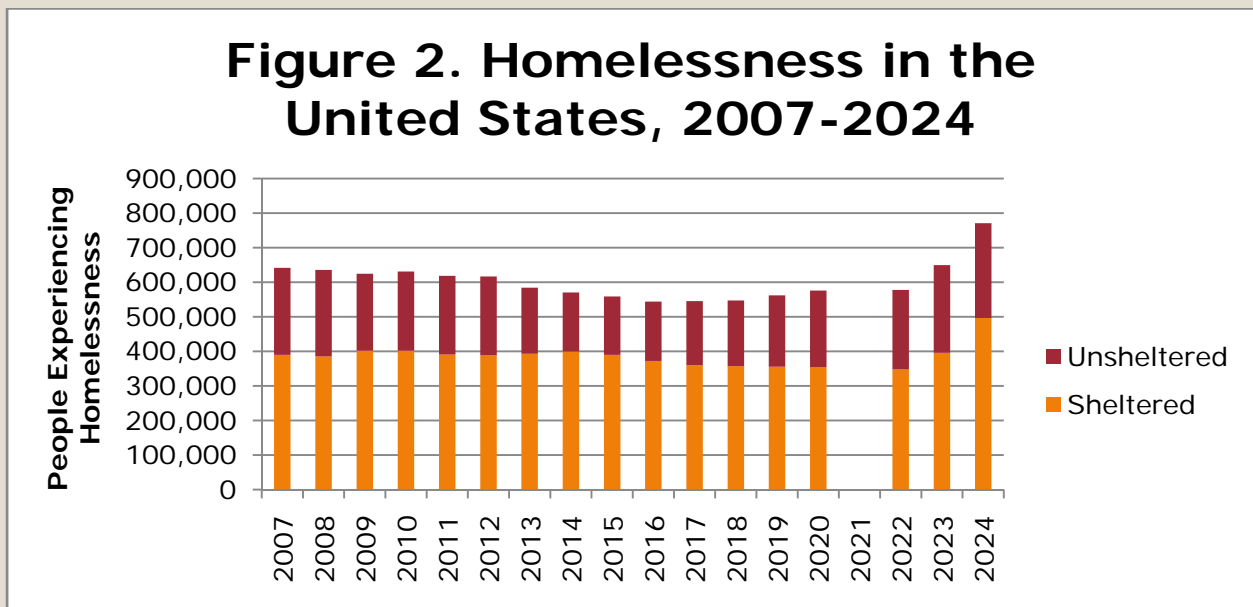
## CALIFORNIA

California actually experienced a slightly declining homeless population from 2007 – 2014, but then suddenly reversed course and embarked on a steep upward trajectory for the next decade, jumping 64 percent from 2014 – 2024 (see Figure 1).



## UNITED STATES

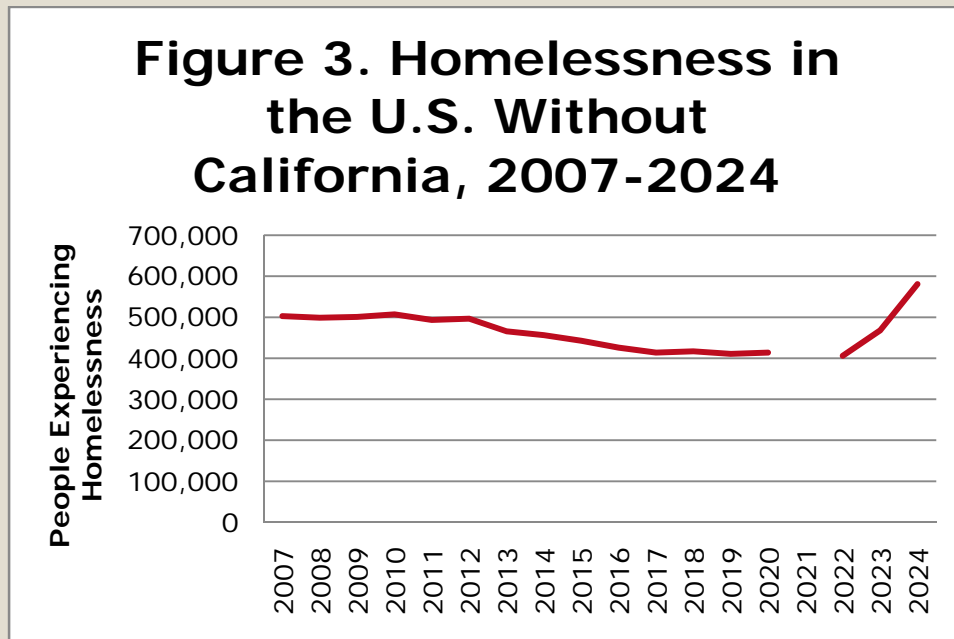
In contrast to California, the United States as a whole experienced a long period of fairly steady decline in the number of people experiencing homelessness, dropping 19 percent from 2007 – 2022. It then saw a sharp increase of 43 percent from 2022 – 2024 (see Figure 2). This period coincided with the aftermath of the COVID-19 outbreak, as well as the influx of millions of undocumented immigrants, many of whom arrived with little money to their names and struggled to find stable housing.





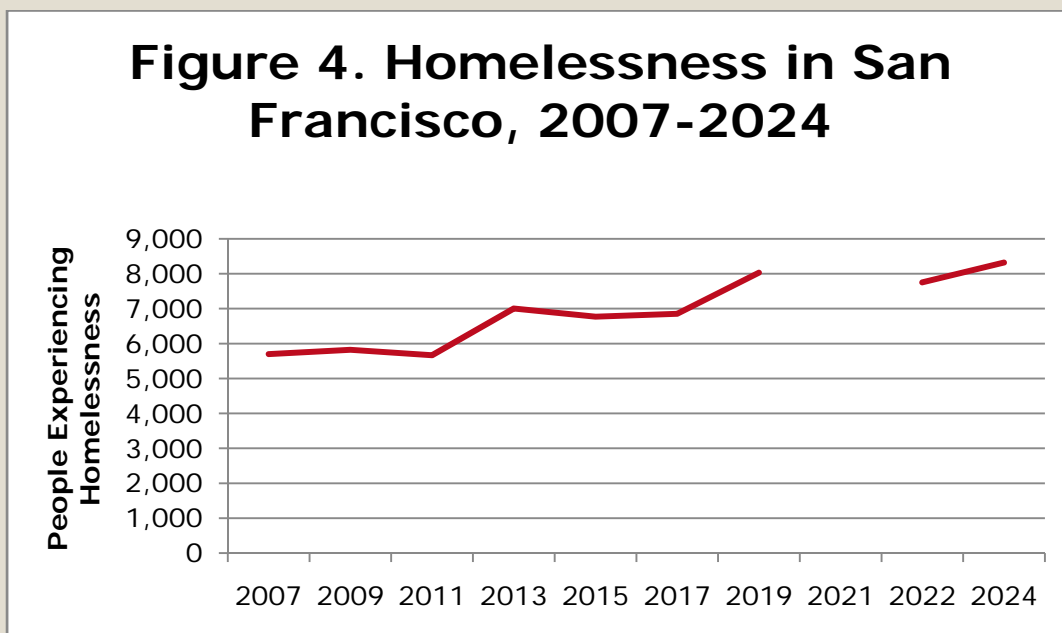
## UNITED STATES, WITHOUT CALIFORNIA

The difference between California and the rest of the U.S. is even more stark when you remove California and isolate the situation in the other 49 states (see Figure 3).



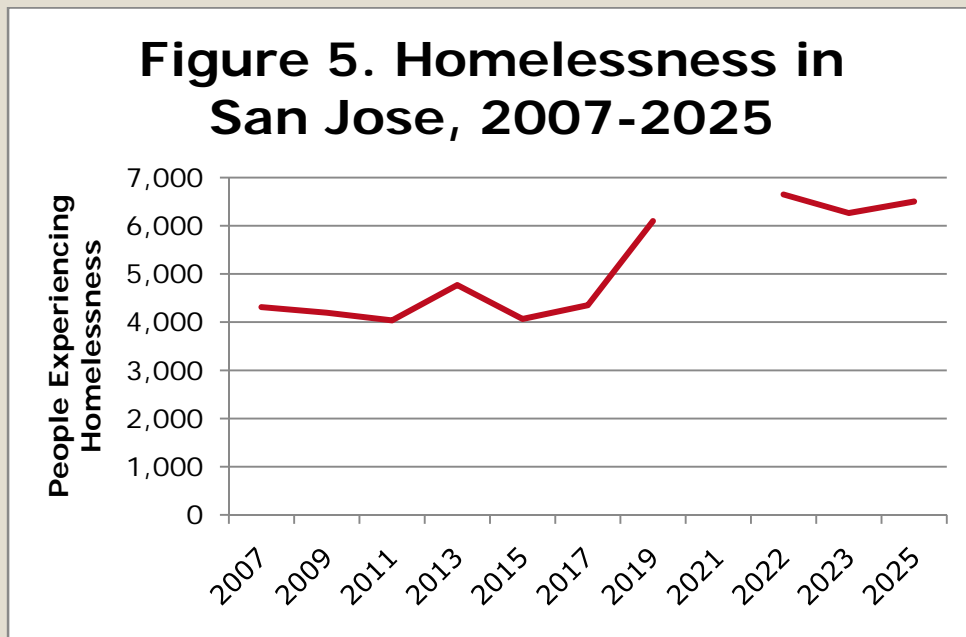
## SAN FRANCISCO

The pattern in San Francisco is simple: a substantial and sustained rise throughout the period. The number of people experiencing homelessness ballooned a sobering 46 percent from 2007 – 2024 (see Figure 4).



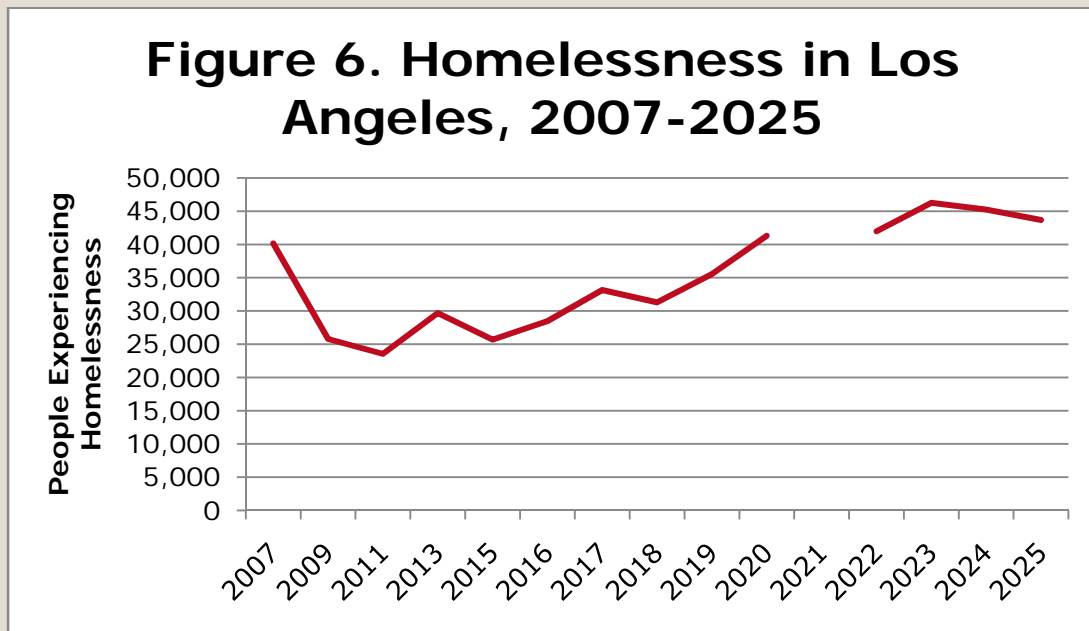
## SAN JOSE

The number of people experiencing homelessness in San Jose was relatively stable from 2007 – 2017, but then shot up sharply (53 percent) from 2017 – 2022 before leveling off again at that higher plateau (see Figure 5).



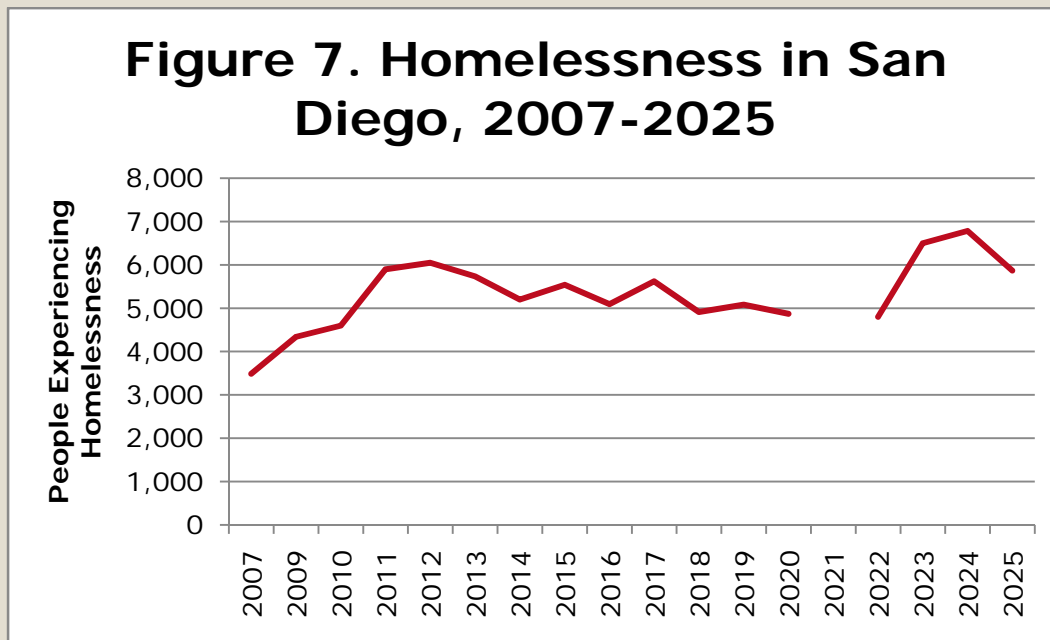
## LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles experienced a steep drop in its homelessness count from 2007 – 2009, followed by a slight decline during the next two-year period, before it adopted a trend that looks more like San Francisco’s. The meteoric rise was even sharper than San Francisco’s, however, nearly doubling (+97 percent) from 2011 – 2023. The good news is that it has fallen a modest, but significant, 6 percent since that peak (see Figure 6).



## SAN DIEGO

The City of San Diego has perhaps the most unusual pattern to its homelessness count of all those examined here. Homelessness in America's Finest City rocketed up 74 percent from 2007 – 2012 before sustaining a long, steady 21 percent decline over the next decade. It then jumped up again by 41 percent in just two years, then saw a big 14 percent drop last year (see Figure 7).



### **3. Homelessness Spending**

#### **A. California's Lack of Transparency and Accountability**

California made national headlines in April 2024 when the State Auditor's office reported that the state was unable to track the \$24 billion spent on homelessness over a five-year period. (As noted above, that estimate has since been revised to \$37 billion over six years.)

"The state lacks current information on the ongoing costs and outcomes of its homelessness programs, because [the California Interagency Council on Homelessness (Cal ICH)] has not consistently tracked and evaluated the state's efforts to prevent and end homelessness," the state auditor wrote. "Cal ICH has also not aligned its action plan to end homelessness with its statutory goals to collect financial information and ensure accountability and results."<sup>14</sup>

Moreover, the state auditor noted, Cal ICH had produced just a single report, in 2023, covering financial information for the state's homelessness programs from fiscal year 2018–19 through fiscal year 2020–21, and had not tracked any spending data since that time, "despite the significant amount of additional funding the state awarded to these efforts in the past two years." The agency had no plans to conduct any future assessments.<sup>15</sup>

This is not merely irresponsible from an accounting perspective. For, if the state does not track its spending on homelessness programs, then it is not effectively evaluating the programs and operators that are the beneficiaries of that funding, much less using this information to inform budgetary decisions and direct funding where it would do the most good and get the best results.

As the state auditor explained, "Because Cal ICH does not analyze the available data to determine program effectiveness, it cannot provide critical information that state policymakers could use when prioritizing funding decisions for the myriad state homelessness programs."<sup>16</sup>

The month after the state auditor's report was issued, lawmakers on both sides of the aisle were frustrated when representatives of the state's Homeless Housing, Assistance, and Prevention (HHAP) program, which provides grants to local governments for homelessness relief, could not answer basic questions before the Assembly Budget Subcommittee on Oversight and Accountability about how the money was spent or how many people experiencing homelessness were served.

“You’re coming to the hearing today, we’ve spent billions, and you can’t tell us at all how many people we’ve helped?” an incredulous Assemblyman Phil Ting (D-San Francisco) asked. “How do you expect us to vote on something without any data?” he continued.<sup>17</sup>

The Newsom administration had an opportunity to improve accountability for the program, but instead it merely punted. Assembly Bill 2570, introduced by Assemblyman Joe Patterson (R-Rocklin), would have required the Department of Housing and Community Development to include an evaluation of the HHAP program in its annual report to the governor and the legislature. Yet, despite claiming, “I support increasing transparency and accountability for cities’ and counties’ use of state funding to address homelessness,” Gov. Newsom vetoed the bill, stating in his veto message that it would be duplicative of other state efforts and “creates an unnecessary ongoing workload for the Department without providing additional accountability or transparency to taxpayers.”<sup>18</sup> Legislators clearly disagreed. In a remarkable display of bipartisanship, AB 2570 passed both the Assembly and the Senate without a single vote in opposition.

“This was a bipartisan bill with no opposition,” Assemblyman Patterson said in response. “Clearly the Legislature agreed on the need to rein in Newsom’s wasteful spending on ineffective homelessness programs. I’m glad we were able to get some safeguards written into the budget, but the state can’t keep cutting corners on accountability when dishing out billions of taxpayer dollars and seeing the problem get worse.”<sup>19</sup>

The lack of state homelessness spending transparency and accountability is not a new problem, and it has persisted for years. “No one today can tell me how much money is being spent on homelessness in California on all levels,” then-Assemblyman David Chiu (D-San Francisco) bemoaned back in 2020. “They always say, to know where you gotta go, you have to know where you’re starting from.”<sup>20</sup>

If even legislators, particularly those from the majority party in control of things in Sacramento, cannot even get satisfactory answers, this bodes especially ill for both the state’s taxpayers and people experiencing homelessness who are doomed to ineffective programs.

## **B. Voters Are Not Getting What They Were Promised from Several Housing and Homelessness Measures in Los Angeles**

As with the state government, both the City and County of Los Angeles have spent substantial sums of money to address homelessness over the past decade. This has been facilitated by several voter-approved measures.

In November 2016, Los Angeles voters passed Proposition HHH by a wide margin, with 77 percent approving.<sup>21</sup> The measure authorized the issuance of \$1.2 billion in bonds (about \$1.9 billion with interest) for the construction of housing and related facilities, including those providing services such as addiction treatment and mental health care, for people experiencing homelessness or those at risk of homelessness.

City voters passed another housing measure in November 2022 in the form of Measure ULA, dubbed the “mansion tax,” which imposed a 4 percent tax on the sale and transfer of property worth more than \$5 million and a 5.5 percent transfer tax on property valued at more than \$10 million. The proponents claimed that the measure would generate between \$600 million and \$1.1 billion in revenue per year for affordable housing and tenant protection and assistance programs,<sup>22</sup> but actual revenue has fallen far short of that, resulting in a grand total of \$1.1 billion over the first *three years* of its implementation.<sup>23</sup>

At the county level, just four months after City of Los Angeles voters approved Proposition HHH, Los Angeles County voters provided another homelessness funding stream when they approved Measure H in March 2017. Measure H imposed a 0.25 percent sales tax estimated to provide the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority (LAHSA) and local partners with approximately \$355 million a year for 10 years. It was superseded by an even higher 0.5 percent sales tax when Measure A was passed in November 2024. Measure A is expected to bring in roughly \$1 billion a year for both housing production and homelessness support services. Unlike Measure H, however, Measure A had no sunset provision, so it will remain in effect unless repealed by voters.

### **Problems Emerge**

The Los Angeles homelessness measures have been plagued from the start by a number of problems, from the high cost and slow production of housing to oversight issues.



## Overpromising and Under-Delivering on Housing

A common theme of the Los Angeles housing and homelessness measures is overpromising and under-delivering. Voters are promised that lots of housing units will be built quickly and relatively cheaply, thereby helping many people currently experiencing homelessness or at risk of becoming homeless. But the housing developments drag on for years and years, construction costs rise—meaning not as many units can be built—and tax revenues fall short of rosy predictions.

Then-City Controller Ron Galperin produced a series of critical audit reports.<sup>24</sup> **“HHH is still unable to meet the demands of the homelessness crisis.** The cost of each unit continues to rise and the pace of development remains sluggish,” the controller asserted in a 2022 report, more than five years after the passage of Proposition HHH. (Emphasis in original.) During that five-year period, only 1,142 units had been completed, out of the promised 10,000 units.<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, the city had adopted wildly optimistic cost estimates for its “affordable housing” projects, predicting that they would be built for between \$350,000 and \$414,000 per unit.<sup>26</sup> As of 2021, Proposition HHH developments were averaging just shy of \$600,000 per unit, with a number of developments in excess of \$700,000 a unit and one project estimated to cost \$837,000 per unit.<sup>27</sup> The controller, additionally, recommended further streamlining the permitting process and building some short-term, interim housing instead of just permanent supportive housing, which is expensive and takes at least several years to build, in order to aid people experiencing homelessness quicker.<sup>28</sup>

The high cost of so-called affordable housing has been a problem throughout the state, particularly in coastal regions. A 2022 *Los Angeles Times* article noted that there were a number of affordable housing projects in the San Francisco Bay Area that topped \$1 million per apartment.<sup>29</sup> One significant driver of these astronomical price tags is labor costs. The authors of both Proposition HHH and Measure ULA caved in to labor union interests to include project labor agreement mandates, which require almost all workers to be union members earning prevailing (union) pay scales, which are significantly higher than the market rate for nonunion labor. Not surprisingly, labor unions were major backers of both measures.

A May 2017 report from the California Center for Jobs and the Economy and the California Business Roundtable found that mandating prevailing wages increased average construction costs for affordable housing projects by between 10 percent and 25 percent, and could raise market-rate housing prices in areas like Los Angeles by as much as 46 percent.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, a 2024

RAND study found that such project labor agreements increased Proposition HHH total development costs by an average of \$92,700 (21 percent).<sup>31</sup> Moreover, because the project labor agreement provision only applied to developments of more than 65 units, it encouraged developers to produce a smaller number of units just below the threshold in order to avoid having to pay the substantially higher labor costs. Unfortunately, as RAND economist Jason Ward observed, “Measure ULA doubled-down [on] project labor agreements by dramatically lowering the threshold to just 40 units.”<sup>32</sup>

The claim that a government is going to build affordable housing is but a farce when it substantially inflates costs with union giveaways, so that the final product is no more affordable than market-rate housing with market-rate (nonunion) labor. If the government is truly to build affordable housing, then it must take all reasonable measures to keep its costs down. But such is the inherent disadvantage of any public project, which is more subject to political pressures and whims than the economic incentives and realities faced by private-sector providers.

### Oversight Issues

Measure ULA has the United to House LA Citizens’ Oversight Committee (ULACOC), a 15-member panel charged with auditing and analyzing ULA expenditures, conducting a periodic housing and homelessness needs assessment, and making recommendations to the City Council.

Measure A funds are divided and controlled by two separate agencies. The Executive Committee for Regional Homeless Alignment (ECRHA) directs about 60 percent of Measure A funds. It consists of eight elected officials from the county, the City of Los Angeles, and other cities within the county, plus a representative of the governor. The committee’s recommendations must be approved by the Board of Supervisors to be adopted. The supervisors, additionally, created the Leadership Table for Regional Homeless Alignment (LTRHA) to aid the committee in developing a plan to reduce homelessness. The Leadership Table is comprised of 29 appointees representing homeless services organizations, faith-based communities, business, labor, academia, and veterans. The Los Angeles County Affordable Housing Solutions Agency (LACAHS), established by the California legislature in 2022 as a regional authority, is responsible for managing nearly 40 percent of Measure A funds. The 22-member board includes the five county supervisors, Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass, Los Angeles City Councilmember Nithya Raman, elected officials from several other local cities, and nonprofit leaders.

Councilmember Raman, who also sits on the ECRHA, has voiced frustration that the Board of Supervisors has failed to enact recommendations made by the committee.<sup>33</sup>

Then there is the problem of the sheer number of oversight boards. While having too many oversight bodies may be a better problem to have than too few, navigating (much less understanding) the alphabet soup of agencies, oversight committees, and advisory boards can nonetheless be confusing and difficult to follow for the average concerned citizen—and even for those on the oversight committees themselves.

“I’m confused by all the different entities,” Kerry Morrison, who serves on the yet another oversight committee for Proposition HHH, told the *Los Angeles Times*. “I’m not sure how they operate in connection with everybody else.”

“Where does the buck stop with those three entities?” Morrison added, referring to the ULA and Member A agencies. “Unless the buck stops somewhere, it just ventures into space.”<sup>34</sup>

#### Chaos at LAHSA

The oversight issues are nothing compared to the chaos at the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority, however. LAHSA was created in 1993 and is jointly funded by the city and the county. But disputes over funding, performance, and an egregious lack of accountability in the wake of a series of scathing audits that uncovered serious mismanagement of contracts and taxpayer funds have prompted the county to pull the plug and go its own way. The county will be taking about \$300 million in funding and hundreds of staff with it.

“LAHSA does not know who it is paying and for what. The City doesn’t know how much it is paying, and for what,” Elizabeth Mitchell, attorney for the L.A. Alliance for Human Rights, which sued both the city and the county for being derelict in their duties to address the homelessness crisis, wrote in a court filing. “The system is disjointed and mismanaged, with layers of redundancies and bureaucracy built on top of itself. There is near zero financial oversight or accountability by the City and County of LAHSA, or by LAHSA of the service providers with whom it contracts. Nobody is ensuring that services which are paid are actually given. Contracts are vague, unclear, and often missing.”

A December 2024 audit by the city controller likewise castigated the agency for a lack of reliable information<sup>35</sup> and “vastly inadequate” program management and monitoring.<sup>36</sup> “The agency does not have a formal process in place to regularly review the performance of providers, including occupancy/placement rates, and hold underperforming service providers accountable by

requiring significant corrective action,” the controller wrote.<sup>37</sup> As a result, only 17 percent of those in shelters were placed in permanent housing,<sup>38</sup> and about one in four interim beds went unused, translating to a potential waste of \$218 million over a five-year period.<sup>39</sup>

A March 2025 court-ordered audit found that LAHSA’s recordkeeping was so disjointed and beset by missing information and inaccuracies that it was not possible to do a full accounting of the books. Moreover, “LAHSA’s service provider invoice review and payment approval process failed to verify whether the services invoiced were provided, or whether the amounts invoiced were adequate or reasonable to meet the requirements of their contracts,” the auditor concluded. “Essentially, LAHSA did not evaluate the linkage between the services being paid for and the services received, potentially impacting resource allocation and, consequently, the quality of services reaching the population served.”<sup>40</sup>

The results of LAHSA’s services speak for themselves. More than twice as many participants ended up returning to the streets than securing permanent housing (48 percent versus 22 percent, respectively).<sup>41</sup>

In the end, the county had had enough—and likely was sick of getting dragged into lawsuits over LAHSA’s mismanagement.

“To end the madness of the homelessness crisis in Los Angeles, we must streamline and consolidate our services and resources, and be driven by measurable outcomes,” Supervisor Lindsey Horvath said in a statement. “This proposal isn’t more government; it’s smarter, more effective government. With recent audits underscoring the urgent need for reform and stronger accountability, now is the time to implement long overdue change.”<sup>42</sup>

Time will tell if the county will be able to turn this ship around and make good on such promises to taxpayers and people experiencing homelessness alike.

### **C. San Francisco Spends Big Dollars, But Homelessness Only Gets Worse**

The homelessness problem in San Francisco is acute, and the city has not been shy about pouring money into its intended solutions. The trouble is that it just hasn’t worked, as evidenced by the

continually rising number of people experiencing homelessness. This certainly is not due to a lack of available funds.

San Francisco's main homelessness agency is the Department of Homelessness and Supportive Housing (HSH). The department has a budget of \$786 million in the current fiscal year, and is budgeted for \$705 million in FY 2026–27.<sup>43</sup> It received a funding boost from Proposition C, a November 2018 measure that imposed a gross receipts tax on businesses with annual revenue greater than \$50 million. The funds are dedicated for housing services and shelters for people experiencing homelessness, mental health and other support services, and homelessness prevention through the Our City, Our Home Fund. The measure is expected to generate \$250 million to \$300 million in revenue per year.

Add in funding from other sources, including the private/nonprofit sector and state and federal funding, and by some measures homelessness spending in San Francisco is \$1 billion or more per year.<sup>44</sup>

Yet, all of this money could not make HSH immune to the auditor's review. "The Department does not sufficiently monitor provider contracts to ensure service goals are met," the San Francisco Budget and Legislative Analyst wrote in an August 2020 report prepared for the Board of Supervisors. In addition, "The Department does not have documented policies defining program monitoring, and our review shows widespread inconsistencies."<sup>45</sup>

Moreover, while the city is good at periodically establishing goals to improve various aspects of homelessness, such as reducing chronic homelessness and youth homelessness by 50 percent, ending family homelessness, and eliminating long-term encampments within five years,<sup>46</sup> it is far less adept at actually achieving those goals, and there appears to be no accountability for failing to meet these standards.

"When the city misses a homelessness benchmark deadline like those above, which occurs regularly, officials simply extend the target date and throw more money at the problem, with no accountability for failure," Independent Institute Senior Fellow and Director of the Center on Entrepreneurial Innovation Lawrence McQuillan explains. "Continually, government initiatives are being created, and more taxpayer money is being spent, yet the problem escalates. The logical conclusion is that ineffectiveness is the result of design problems, not awareness problems or money problems."<sup>47</sup>

“We must stop measuring success by dollars spent; otherwise, we will continue to spend more while falling further behind,” McQuillan adds.<sup>48</sup>

## **D. Federal Probes into California Homelessness Spending**

There is some evidence that a degree of accountability may be coming to the state’s homelessness programs, however. In April 2025, Bill Essayli resigned from his seat in the California Assembly to accept the position of U.S. Attorney for the Central District of California. Among Essayli’s first actions was the formation of the Homelessness Fraud and Corruption Task Force, charged with investigating waste and corruption in homelessness program funding in Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara and Ventura counties.

“California has spent more than \$24 billion over the past five years to address homelessness,” Essayli said in a statement. “But officials have been unable to account for all the expenditures and outcomes, and the homeless crisis has only gotten worse. Taxpayers deserve answers for where and how their hard-earned money has been spent. If state and local officials cannot provide proper oversight and accountability, we will do it for them. If we discover any federal laws were violated, we will make arrests.”<sup>49</sup>

In order to better pursue these efforts, the U.S. Attorney’s Office will partner with other federal agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Inspector General and the Internal Revenue Service’s Criminal Investigation unit.

“Any exploitation of the homelessness crisis via the theft of funds intended to improve conditions cannot and will not be tolerated,” said Akil Davis, the Assistant Director in Charge of the FBI’s Los Angeles Field Office. “The FBI is proud to join the newly formed task force and will continue to investigate fraudulent schemes and corrupt officials who misappropriate government funding or private donations intended to aid those in need.”<sup>50</sup>

It seems that the effort is already beginning to bear some fruit. In October 2025, the Justice Department arrested a Beverly Hills man for submitting fake bank statements and false balance sheets to secure a homeless housing contract in Thousand Oaks. Cody Holmes, 31, former chief financial officer of Shangri-La Industries LLC, a downtown Los Angeles-based affordable housing developer, allegedly falsified business records in applications to the California

Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD) to secure a \$25.9 million grant from the state's Project Homekey program. The DOJ claims that Holmes transferred \$2.2 million from Shangri-La to a personal account and shortly thereafter paid more than \$2 million to his American Express cards, including charges for purchases at "well-known luxury retailers." Shangri-La had previously received grants from HCD for homeless housing projects in other California cities, including Redlands and King City. If convicted, Holmes faces up to 20 years in federal prison for mail fraud, a felony offense.<sup>51</sup>

The Thousand Oaks project, which involved converting a former Quality Inn hotel to permanent housing for those experiencing homelessness, was to be the city's first homeless housing project. Work on the hotel conversion stalled with the project only about 20 percent complete after subcontractors allegedly stopped getting paid, and the project was never completed.<sup>52</sup>

Around the same time, the DOJ charged a Brentwood man with using fake bank statements and false cash representations to obtain loans and lines of credit for his Los Angeles-based real estate business, including a loan for a Cheviot Hills property that was sold to a homeless housing developer purchasing it with public funds from the City of Los Angeles and State of California. Steven Taylor, 44, is also accused of lying to lenders about his intended use of multiple properties. Taylor allegedly told the lender funding the Cheviot Hills property, for example, that he planned to renovate the property for his personal use, even though he was already under contract to sell it to the homeless housing developer. According to the indictment, Taylor used false bank statements to obtain a loan to purchase the property for \$11.2 million, then sold it to the homeless housing developer for \$27.3 million (again, paid for with public funds) and utilized a double-escrow transaction to keep the lender and others in the dark. If convicted, he would face up to 30 years in federal prison for each of seven bank fraud counts, up to 10 years in federal prison for money laundering, and a mandatory consecutive two-year prison sentence for aggravated identity theft.<sup>53</sup>

In January, the DOJ arrested a Westwood man and charged him with fraudulently obtaining \$23 million in homelessness funding and stealing at least \$10 million of the funds. Alexander Soofer, 42, is executive director of a Hyde Park-based charity called Abundant Blessings. Through his charity, Soofer obtained multiple contracts with the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority (LAHSA) to provide housing and supportive services to more than 600 people experiencing homelessness, or at risk of becoming homeless, at multiple South Los Angeles sites. Between 2018 and 2025, Soofer received more than \$5 million directly from LAHSA and more than \$17 million



from Special Service for Groups, Inc., a nonprofit health and human service organization based in downtown Los Angeles.

According to the DOJ, Soofer fabricated vendor and rent invoices; provided only basic foods such as breakfast bars, Ramen noodles, and canned beans, instead of the three full meals per day per the provisions of his contracts; and made it appear that he was leasing properties for homeless housing from third-party landlords at market rates when, in fact, he was paying himself above market rates and misappropriating money. In addition, a LAHSA investigator determined that the Abundant Blessings board of directors was fake, comprised of people who did not exist, or who had never heard of Soofer or Abundant Blessings.<sup>54</sup>

“He used that public money for a down payment on his \$7 million Westwood home, millions of dollars of upgrades to that home, private schooling for his children, lavish spending in Las Vegas, private jet travel, and stays at luxury resorts across the United States — from Hawaii to Florida,” the Justice Department asserted in a press release. “Soofer also appeared to use \$475,000 to purchase a vacation property in Greece, sending this money to a Greek property developer.”<sup>55</sup>

If convicted, Soofer faces up to 20 years in federal prison for wire fraud.

“California is the poster child of rampant fraud, waste, and abuse of tax dollars,” said First Assistant United States Attorney Bill Essayli. “The state has facilitated the spending of billions of dollars to combat homelessness, with little to show for it and almost no oversight. Thankfully, the federal government has begun auditing California’s spending and today’s is just one example of how fraudsters have swindled millions of dollars from taxpayers. This money should have gone to those in need, instead it lines the pockets of individuals subsidizing their lavish lifestyle.”<sup>56</sup>

There are additional federal anti-fraud efforts as well. During his State of the Union Address in February, President Donald Trump announced a “war on fraud,” including a task force to be led by Vice President J.D. Vance. Trump cited the recent Minnesota scandal involving Somali-run day care centers that received public funds but appeared to lack children in their care, and asserted that California and a few other states are “even worse.”<sup>57</sup> Given the high-profile failing of California to keep track of its spending on homelessness programs, there is a good chance that this may be one of the targets of the federal fraud investigators. In addition, just a month before Trump’s announcement, Vance noted that the Small Business Administration had already identified approximately \$7 billion in improper payments in California.<sup>58</sup> It will be interesting to see whether the Trump administration will be able to replicate that success by evaluating the state’s homelessness programs.



## **4. Conclusion**

It is encouraging that now, at least, there seems to be some semblance of adult supervision, that someone is finally trying to do something about the waste, fraud, and abuse in the system. It is disappointing that such an effort had to be imposed from outside the state and local governments, however. And it makes one wonder how much of this waste and corruption remains undetected—and for how many years was it allowed to persist.

There have been no shortage of audit reports detailing the numerous failings of state and local homelessness programs—the lack of oversight and accountability, special-interest giveaways that raise the cost of services and reduce the number of people who may be helped, the fraud that has gone unchecked. They cannot be allowed to continue to collect dust on unused bookshelves in dreary government buildings.

California taxpayers deserve better. They have been extremely patient and extremely generous with their wealth. After tens of billions of dollars spent and years of funding the same failed policies, it is not too much to demand greater accountability and results, for a change, and less bureaucracy. Perhaps it is also time to recognize that in the public sector the incentives to engage in self-dealing and wasteful activities are too strong, and those to produce positive results are too weak. By bypassing the middleman, who tends to skim off the top and leave fewer funds available for their intended purpose, we could address the problem of homelessness more efficiently and more compassionately by going directly to the private and nonprofit sectors and rewarding those with the best solutions and results. That is the least we can do, both for the taxpayers and those suffering a difficult life on the streets.

## About the Author

**Adam B. Summers** is an economist, writer, editor, and public policy analyst. He is currently a columnist and contributing editor for the *San Diego Union-Tribune*. Mr. Summers has previously worked as a research fellow at the Independent Institute, an editorial writer and columnist at the *Orange County Register* and its 10 sister newspapers in the Southern California News Group, and a senior policy analyst at the Reason Foundation.

Mr. Summers has written extensively on California and national politics, individual liberty, tax and government reform, property rights, housing and homelessness, law and economics, public pension reform, occupational licensing, privatization, privacy/Fourth Amendment and civil liberties issues, and various other political and economic topics. He has authored hundreds of columns and dozens of public policy studies and white papers, contributed to books on housing and homelessness policies (*Beyond Homeless: Good Intentions, Bad Outcomes, Transformative Solutions*, 2025) and the bureaucratization and politicization of the U.S. legal system (*The Pursuit of Justice: Law and Economics of Legal Institutions*, 2010), and appeared in an award-winning documentary on homelessness (“Beyond Homeless: Finding Hope,” 2022). In addition to his numerous *Orange County Register* articles, Mr. Summers’s columns have been published by the *Wall Street Journal*, *US News & World Report*, *Los Angeles Times*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Diego Union-Tribune*, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *Washington Times*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Contra Costa Times* (now the *East Bay Times*), *The Hill*, *The Daily Caller*, *Reason*, *National Review*, *The Freeman*, and many others.

He has testified before state legislative committees in Arizona, California, Louisiana, and Michigan on topics such as public pension reform and occupational licensing regulations.

Mr. Summers holds an M.A. in economics from George Mason University and a B.A. with a double-major in economics and political science from the University of California, Los Angeles.

## **Endnotes**

---

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Sheeler, “Californians say homelessness is a top problem facing the state, survey finds,” *Sacramento Bee*, Capitol Alert Blog, October 2, 2019, <https://www.sacbee.com/news/politics-government/capitol-alert/article235716172.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Heather Knight, “It’s No Laughing Matter—SF Forming Poop Patrol to Keep Sidewalks Clean,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 14, 2018, <https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/heatherknight/article/It-s-no-laughing-matter-SF-forming-Poop-13153517.php>.

<sup>3</sup> Lauren Mora and Shannon McConville, “Californians’ Concern about Homelessness Has Softened,” PPIC Blog, November 14, 2025, <https://www.ppic.org/blog/californians-concern-about-homelessness-has-softened/>.

<sup>4</sup> California Legislative Analyst’s Office, “The 2025-26 Budget: Oversight of Encampment Resolution Funding,” March 5, 2025, <https://lao.ca.gov/Publications/Report/5007>.

<sup>5</sup> U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development data, “2007 – 2024 Point-in-Time Estimates by State,” <https://www.huduser.gov/portal/sites/default/files/xls/2007-2024-PIT-Counts-by-State.xlsb>.

<sup>6</sup> While a preliminary count appears to show a decline in homelessness in some areas of the state in 2025, and Gov. Gavin Newsom has touted a 9 percent reduction in unsheltered homelessness based on this estimate, the data is incomplete because a number of local governments did not conduct counts that year. (See, for example, Tom Philp, “Newsom says California homelessness is down. Beware of his numbers,” *Sacramento Bee*, January 8, 2026, <https://www.sacbee.com/opinion/article314250505.html>.) The next comprehensive count will be for 2026, though the numbers had not yet been reported as of the publication of this report. It should also be noted that the “point-in-time” counts are an imperfect method of assessing the true scope of the problem, and are widely considered to be an undercount of the actual number of people experiencing homelessness, perhaps by a substantial margin. The counts take place during a single night in January (typically, one of the coldest times of year), methodologies differ from one place to another (and sometimes from one year to another), and counts oftentimes miss people who are not sleeping in vehicles or tents. (See, for example, Jared Kofsky, Maia Rosenfeld, and Jaclyn Lee, “‘You can’t be accurate’: Annual count of US homeless population misses large numbers of people, experts warn,” abcnews.com, February 3, 2024, <https://abcnews.com/US/accurate-annual-count-us-homeless-population-misses-large/story?id=106671876>; and Louis Abramson, Jason M. Ward, Sarah B. Hunter, and Rick Garvey, “Growing Inaccuracies in Official Counts Jeopardize LA Homelessness Wins,” RAND Corporation, October 15, 2025, [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RRA4438-1.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA4438-1.html).)

<sup>7</sup> California State Auditor, *Homelessness in California: The State Must Do More to Assess the Cost-Effectiveness of Its Homelessness Programs*, Report 2023-102.1, April 9, 2024, p. 4, <http://www.auditor.ca.gov/pdfs/reports/2023-102.1.pdf>.

<sup>8</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts: California,” <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/CA/PST045225>, and “U.S. and World Population Clock,” <https://www.census.gov/popclock/>. (Population estimates are as of July 1, 2025.)

<sup>9</sup> Author’s calculations based on U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development data, “2007 – 2024 Point-in-Time Estimates by State,” <https://www.huduser.gov/portal/sites/default/files/xls/2007-2024-PIT-Counts-by-State.xlsb>.

<sup>10</sup> U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Community Planning and Development, *The 2024 Annual Homelessness Assessment Report (AHAR) to Congress, Part 1: Point-in-Time Estimates of Homelessness*, December 2024, pp. 76-79, <https://www.huduser.gov/portal/sites/default/files/pdf/2024-AHAR-Part-1.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> Author’s calculations based on U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development data, “2007 – 2024 Point-in-Time Estimates by State.”

---

<sup>12</sup> U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Community Planning and Development, *The 2024 Annual Homelessness Assessment Report (AHAR) to Congress, Part 1: Point-in-Time Estimates of Homelessness*, p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Community Planning and Development, *The 2024 Annual Homelessness Assessment Report (AHAR) to Congress, Part 1: Point-in-Time Estimates of Homelessness*, p. 85.

<sup>14</sup> California State Auditor, *Homelessness in California: The State Must Do More to Assess the Cost-Effectiveness of Its Homelessness Programs*, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> California State Auditor, *Homelessness in California: The State Must Do More to Assess the Cost-Effectiveness of Its Homelessness Programs*, introductory letter and p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> California State Auditor, *Homelessness in California: The State Must Do More to Assess the Cost-Effectiveness of Its Homelessness Programs*, p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Ashley Zavala, “California lawmakers grill Newsom administration on homelessness spending and lack of data,” KCRA.com, May 6, 2024, <https://www.kcra.com/article/california-lawmakers-grill-newsom-homelessness-spending-data/60707542>.

<sup>18</sup> Gavin Newsom, Office of the Governor, Veto Message, Assembly Bill 2570, July 15, 2024, <https://www.gov.ca.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/AB-2570-Veto-Message.pdf>.

<sup>19</sup> Ashley Zavala, “Gov. Newsom vetoes homelessness spending accountability bill,” KCRA.com, July 15, 2024, <https://www.kcra.com/article/newsom-vetoes-homelessness-spending-accountability-bill/61603251>.

<sup>20</sup> Hannah Wiley and Sophia Bollag, “How Much Does California Really Spend on Homelessness? Democrat Wants a Final Answer,” *Sacramento Bee*, February 18, 2020, <https://www.sacbee.com/news/politics-government/capitol-alert/article240314016.html>.

<sup>21</sup> Ballotpedia, “Los Angeles, California, Homelessness Reduction and Prevention Housing, and Facilities Bond Issue, Measure HHH (November 2016),” [https://ballotpedia.org/Los\\_Angeles,\\_California,\\_Homelessness\\_Reduction\\_and\\_Prevention\\_Housing,\\_and\\_Facilities\\_Bond\\_Issue,\\_Measure\\_HHH\\_\(November\\_2016\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Los_Angeles,_California,_Homelessness_Reduction_and_Prevention_Housing,_and_Facilities_Bond_Issue,_Measure_HHH_(November_2016)).

<sup>22</sup> City of Los Angeles, City Clerk, Voter Information Pamphlet, November 8, 2022, p. 29, [http://ens.lacity.org/clk/elections/clkelections3679171379\\_05042023.pdf](http://ens.lacity.org/clk/elections/clkelections3679171379_05042023.pdf).

<sup>23</sup> Los Angeles Housing Department, “ULA Revenue Dashboard,” <https://housing.lacity.gov/ula-revenue> (accessed March 6, 2026).

<sup>24</sup> See City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *The High Cost of Homeless Housing: Review of Proposition HHH*, October 8, 2019, [https://firebasestorage.googleapis.com/v0/b/lacontroller-2b7de.appspot.com/o/audits%2F2020%2FThe-High-Cost-of-Homeless-Housing\\_Review-of-Prop-HHH\\_10.8.19.pdf?alt=media&token=19e1a0d9-0a16-46ae-bffc-27dbe8625b92](https://firebasestorage.googleapis.com/v0/b/lacontroller-2b7de.appspot.com/o/audits%2F2020%2FThe-High-Cost-of-Homeless-Housing_Review-of-Prop-HHH_10.8.19.pdf?alt=media&token=19e1a0d9-0a16-46ae-bffc-27dbe8625b92); City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *Meeting the Moment: An Action Plan to Advance Prop. HHH*, September 9, 2020, <https://firebasestorage.googleapis.com/v0/b/lacontroller-2b7de.appspot.com/o/audits%2F2020%2FMeeting-the-Moment-An-Action-Plan-to-Advance-Prop.-HHH.pdf?alt=media&token=ae34fb72-79a1-486d-81e9-a677d83402f8>; and City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *The Problems and Progress of Prop. HHH*, February 23, 2022, [https://firebasestorage.googleapis.com/v0/b/lacontroller-2b7de.appspot.com/o/audits%2F2022%2F2.22.23\\_The-Problems-and-Progress-of-Prop-HHH\\_Final.pdf?alt=media&token=8ebb4887-6208-4166-aa91-7e2c305d3c87](https://firebasestorage.googleapis.com/v0/b/lacontroller-2b7de.appspot.com/o/audits%2F2022%2F2.22.23_The-Problems-and-Progress-of-Prop-HHH_Final.pdf?alt=media&token=8ebb4887-6208-4166-aa91-7e2c305d3c87).

<sup>25</sup> City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *The Problems and Progress of Prop. HHH*, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *The High Cost of Homeless Housing: Review of Proposition HHH*, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *The Problems and Progress of Prop. HHH*, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *The Problems and Progress of Prop. HHH*, p. 7.

- 
- <sup>29</sup>Liam Dillon and Ben Poston, “Affordable housing in California now routinely tops \$1 million per apartment to build,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 2022, <https://www.latimes.com/homeless-housing/story/2022-06-20/california-affordable-housing-cost-1-million-apartment>.
- <sup>30</sup> California Center for Jobs & the Economy and California Business Roundtable, *Regulation and Housing: Effects on Housing Supply, Costs & Poverty*, May 2017, pp. 9-13, [https://centerforjobs.org/wp-content/uploads/center\\_for\\_jobs\\_regulation\\_and\\_housing\\_study\\_may\\_2017.pdf](https://centerforjobs.org/wp-content/uploads/center_for_jobs_regulation_and_housing_study_may_2017.pdf).
- <sup>31</sup> Jason M. Ward, *Project Labor Agreements and Affordable Housing Production Costs in Los Angeles*, RAND Corporation, August 13, 2024, p. vi, [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\\_reports/RRA1300/RRA1362-2/RAND\\_RRA1362-2.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RRA1300/RRA1362-2/RAND_RRA1362-2.pdf).
- <sup>32</sup> Jason Ward, “Measure ULA Reflects the wrong Lessons from proposition HHH,” *Los Angeles Daily News*, November 26, 2022, available at <https://www.rand.org/pubs/commentary/2022/11/measure-ula-reflects-the-wrong-lessons-from-proposition.html>.
- <sup>33</sup> Doug Smith, “New taxes will soon dwarf the billions spent on homelessness in last decade. Who’s watching over it?” *Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 2025, <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2025-04-23/new-tax-money-will-soon-dwarf-the-billions-of-dollars-spent-on-homelessness-in-past-decade-whos-watching-over-it>.
- <sup>34</sup> Smith, “New taxes will soon dwarf the billions spent on homelessness in last decade. Who’s watching over it?”
- <sup>35</sup> City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *Homelessness Audit: Pathways to Permanent Housing*, December 10, 2024, p. 4, [https://firebasestorage.googleapis.com/v0/b/lacontroller-2b7de.appspot.com/o/PH%20Pathways\\_LAHSA%20Final\\_12.10.2024.pdf?alt=media&token=0f6681b8-a28b-44ed-8bfa-e040fd2a127f](https://firebasestorage.googleapis.com/v0/b/lacontroller-2b7de.appspot.com/o/PH%20Pathways_LAHSA%20Final_12.10.2024.pdf?alt=media&token=0f6681b8-a28b-44ed-8bfa-e040fd2a127f).
- <sup>36</sup> City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *Homelessness Audit: Pathways to Permanent Housing*, p. 6.
- <sup>37</sup> City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *Homelessness Audit: Pathways to Permanent Housing*, p. 6.
- <sup>38</sup> City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *Homelessness Audit: Pathways to Permanent Housing*, p. 7.
- <sup>39</sup> City of Los Angeles, City Controller, *Homelessness Audit: Pathways to Permanent Housing*, pp. 30-31.
- <sup>40</sup> Diane Rafferty, *Independent Assessment of City-Funded Homelessness Assistance Programs*, Alvarez & Marsal Public Sector Services, LLC, March 6, 2025, p. 99, <https://www.cacd.uscourts.gov/sites/default/files/Dkt%20870%20AM%20Draft.pdf>.
- <sup>41</sup> Rafferty, *Independent Assessment of City-Funded Homelessness Assistance Programs*, p. 129.
- <sup>42</sup> Jason Henry, “Supervisors push to shift homeless funding from LAHSA to new LA County department,” *Pasadena Star-News*, March 1, 2025, <https://www.ocregister.com/2025/03/16/supervisors-push-to-shift-homeless-funding-from-lahsa-to-new-la-county-department/>.
- <sup>43</sup> City and County of San Francisco, “HSH Budget Fiscal Year 2005 to 2007,” August 8, 2025, <https://www.sf.gov/reports--december-2024--hsh-budget-fiscal-year-2025-2027>.
- <sup>44</sup> Mary L. G. Theroux and Adam B. Summers, eds., *Beyond Homeless: Good Intentions, Bad Outcomes, Transformative Solutions* (Oakland, CA: Independent Institute, 2025), p. 76.
- <sup>45</sup> San Francisco Budget and Legislative Analyst, *Performance Audit of the Department of Homelessness & Supportive Housing*, August 6, 2020, pp. iii-iv, [https://sfbos.org/sites/default/files/BLA\\_Performance\\_Audit\\_Homelessness\\_%26\\_Supportive\\_Housing\\_080620.pdf](https://sfbos.org/sites/default/files/BLA_Performance_Audit_Homelessness_%26_Supportive_Housing_080620.pdf).
- <sup>46</sup> City and County of San Francisco, Department of Homelessness and Supportive Housing, *Five-Year Strategic Framework Update and Implementation Plan 2019*, July 2019, p. 2, <https://live-hsh-sf.pantheonsite.io/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/2019-HSH-Implementation-Plan-7.31.19.pdf>.
- <sup>47</sup> Mary L. G. Theroux and Adam B. Summers, eds., *Beyond Homeless: Good Intentions, Bad Outcomes, Transformative Solutions*, pp. 87-88.

---

<sup>48</sup>Mary L. G. Theroux and Adam B. Summers, eds., *Beyond Homeless: Good Intentions, Bad Outcomes, Transformative Solutions*, p. 87.

<sup>49</sup>U.S. Attorney’s Office, Central District of California, “United States Attorney Bill Essayli Announces Criminal Task Force to Investigate Fraud and Corruption Involving Homelessness Funds,” April 8, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/united-states-attorney-bill-essayli-announces-criminal-task-force-investigate-fraud>.

<sup>50</sup> U.S. Attorney’s Office, Central District of California, “United States Attorney Bill Essayli Announces Criminal Task Force to Investigate Fraud and Corruption Involving Homelessness Funds.”

<sup>51</sup>U.S. Attorney’s Office, Central District of California, “Beverly Hills Man Arrested, Brentwood Man Charged in Separate Criminal Cases Linked to Fraud in Public Homelessness Funds,” October 16, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/beverly-hills-man-arrested-brentwood-man-charged-separate-criminal-cases-linked-fraud>.

<sup>52</sup> Michael Montalvo, “DOJ arrests Thousand Oaks homeless housing project CFO,” *Thousand Oaks Acorn*, November 7, 2025, <https://www.toacorn.com/articles/doj-arrests-thousand-oaks-homeless-housing-project-cfo/>.

<sup>53</sup>U.S. Attorney’s Office, Central District of California, “Beverly Hills Man Arrested, Brentwood Man Charged in Separate Criminal Cases Linked to Fraud in Public Homelessness Funds.”

<sup>54</sup> U.S. Attorney’s Office, Central District of California, “Executive Director of South L.A-Based Charity Arrested on Federal Complaint Alleging \$23 Million Swindle of Homelessness Funds,” January 23, 2026, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/executive-director-south-la-based-charity-arrested-federal-complaint-alleging-23>.

<sup>55</sup> U.S. Attorney’s Office, Central District of California, “[Executive Director of South L.A-Based Charity Arrested on Federal Complaint Alleging \\$23 Million Swindle of Homelessness Funds.](https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/executive-director-south-la-based-charity-arrested-federal-complaint-alleging-23)”

<sup>56</sup> U.S. Attorney’s Office, Central District of California, “[Executive Director of South L.A-Based Charity Arrested on Federal Complaint Alleging \\$23 Million Swindle of Homelessness Funds.](https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/executive-director-south-la-based-charity-arrested-federal-complaint-alleging-23)”

<sup>57</sup>Sara Dorn, “Trump Says JD Vance Will Lead ‘War on Fraud,’ Alleging Democratic States Are Hotbeds of Corruption,” *Forbes.com*, February 24, 2026, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/saradorn/2026/02/24/trump-says-jd-vance-will-lead-war-on-fraud-alleging-democratic-states-are-hotbeds-of-corruption/>.

<sup>58</sup> Zain Kahn, “California’s massive fraud is way worse than Minnesota’s – totals \$7 billion: JD Vance,” *New York Post*, January 23, 2026, <https://nypost.com/2026/01/23/us-news/jd-vance-says-7b-of-fraud-discovered-in-california/>

Copyright 2026

Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Foundation  
621 S. Westmoreland Avenue, Suite 200  
Los Angeles, CA 90005  
213-384-9656