

Extended Testimony

Testimony before the Committee on Education & Labor of the U.S. House of Representatives
Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Human Services
Chairwoman Suzanne Bonamici
Ranking Member James Comer

Hearing Title: Strengthening Federal Support to End Youth Homelessness
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Thank you, Chairwoman Bonamici, Ranking Member Comer, and members of the Committee, for the opportunity to join this important hearing.

My name is Dr. Matthew Morton, and I am a researcher associated with Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago. I lead the institute's research agenda on youth homelessness, which includes Voices of Youth Count, a public-private partnership and the most comprehensive national research initiative to-date focused on youth homelessness in America. This research was designed in response to the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act (RHYA; Public Law [P.L.] 110-378), through which Congress called for replicable national prevalence and incidence estimates of youth homelessness and data concerning the population's needs and characteristics. In addition to having worked previously on this issue in the U.S. government, in philanthropy, and with youth-serving non-profits, I come from a family background of lived experience.

I lost my parents at a young age and grew up with a great deal of turbulence at home. I had brief runaway experiences, but I was lucky. Teachers, coaches, and community leaders saw potential in me before I even saw it in myself, and they helped me to realize that potential in spite of my adversities. Others, like my little sister, are not so lucky. Their adversity escalates to enduring crisis and homelessness, and many of them remain invisible. I got into research because I believe good data can help make the invisible, visible.

Evidence can help us know where and how to make things better for all our nation's youth. The success of our young people has a direct impact on the success of our country. As long as millions of youth do not live up to their potential as individuals, we don't live up to our potential as a nation.

### **Prevalence & Incidence**

In the first ever nationally-representative survey of homelessness among youth and young adults, Chapin Hall's Voices of Youth Count came to alarming conclusions. Our estimates indicate that at least 1 in 30 adolescents, ages 13-17, endures some form of homelessness within a 12-month period. As expected, with young adults, ages 18-25, the prevalence climbs even higher. 1 in 10 young adults reported some form of homelessness within a year. About half of these were young people reporting couch surfing without a safe and stable living arrangement.<sup>1 2</sup>

Moreover, the prevalence rates of youth homelessness were statistically equal between rural and non-rural communities. There are still more youth experiencing homelessness in urban communities because there are more people living in urban places. Yet, as a share of the population, youth homelessness is just as much of a problem in rural America as it is elsewhere.

At the same time, homelessness can look different in rural communities. Our brief youth surveys show that youth in smaller, rural counties are about half as likely to be staying in shelters—often because those shelters don't exist or aren't youth-friendly—and twice as likely to be staying with others while homeless as compared to their peers in larger, more urban counties.<sup>3</sup> This reality further complicates conventional approaches for identifying and counting youth experiencing homelessness in rural communities because these have depended largely on shelter- and street-based counting methods. Our study underscores that, just because youth homelessness might be less visible in rural communities and small towns, doesn't mean it doesn't exist.

Understanding the scale of our prevalence estimates may be assisted by understanding the broader socio-economic context from which these estimates emerge. A Harvard study found that high housing costs disproportionately affect young households, especially in the 100 largest metro areas.<sup>4</sup> In more rural areas where housing costs may escalate less rapidly, poverty rates also tend to be higher and economic opportunities fewer for young people, which could contribute to comparable youth homelessness rates in these communities.<sup>5</sup> Equally concerning is the fact that young adult householders have among the highest poverty rates in the country—especially unmarried young householders. Unmarried male household heads under age 25 have a poverty rate of 36 percent, and unmarried female household heads under age 25 have a staggering poverty rate of 49 percent. These are well above the national poverty rate of 13.5 percent.<sup>6</sup> About 4 in 10 adults, ages 18 to 29, have student loan debt,<sup>7</sup> and student loan balances have more than tripled since 2004, with an average balance per borrower of nearly \$30,000.<sup>8</sup>

Taking these factors into account, it is perhaps not surprising that, according to the American Community Survey and the Current Population Survey, the share of young adults continuing to live with their parents has risen sharply over the last decade, with one-half of 20- to 24-year-olds living with their parents in 2015.<sup>9</sup> Cost burden is a commonly cited reason for young adults continuing to live with their parents. On top of this, many youth cannot rely consistently on parents for safe and stable housing when their other options are exhausted. Take, for instance, many of the nearly 1 million youth, ages 14–26, who have spent time in foster care since their 14th birthday.<sup>10</sup>

All the aforementioned trends disproportionately affect youth of color whom are also at higher risk for experiencing homelessness. Due to data limitations, it is difficult to empirically assess the extent to which each of these factors contributes to the prevalence of youth homelessness, but they illustrate an important backdrop against which high annual estimates of homelessness experiences can be better understood.

### **Disproportionalities**

Our research shows that not all youth experience homelessness at equal rates. Some subpopulations are at greater risk than others.<sup>11</sup>

Race and ethnicity: Youth of color—especially American Indian and Alaska Native, Black, multiracial, and Hispanic youth—have significantly higher homelessness prevalence as compared to their White non-Hispanic peers. Rates are especially high among American Indian and Alaska Native youth and Black youth, who face about twice the risk of experiencing homelessness as other youth. With respect to American Indian and Alaska Native youth experiencing homelessness, it is important to point out that, contrary to popular perception, like the Native population overall, the vast majority of these young people do not reside in rural communities or tribal lands. As such, policies focused spatially on reservations alone to address the specific needs of this population would be insufficient. Tailored strategies to address the disproportionate risk for homelessness among American Indian and Alaska Native youth living in urban and suburban communities are also critically needed.

We also find disproportionately high rates of homelessness among Hispanic youth, which is different than what we typically see with administrative shelter data across the country. Other representative surveys, however, have come to similar conclusions. This suggests that these young people are experiencing homelessness at concerning levels, but their experiences may be more hidden—for example, in the forms of couch surfing, doubling up, and avoidance of shelters.

Sexual orientation and gender identity: In addition, our data show that young people identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer (LGBTQ) face a 120 percent increased risk for homelessness compared to young people identifying as heterosexual and cisgender.<sup>12</sup> Across the 22 counties in which we conducted youth homelessness counts with brief surveys, the share of homeless youth identifying as LGBTQ generally ranged from 15 to 40 percent, which is much higher than the share of youth identifying as LGBTQ in the general population. Our research finds that, not only do LGBTQ youth experience homelessness at higher rates, but, among youth experiencing homelessness, they also face even greater degrees of adversity—ranging from exposure to violence and sexual abuse, to discrimination, to early death—compared to their non-LGBTQ peers.

Our analysis also underscores the importance of an *intersectional* understanding of different identities and risks. Youth belonging to multiple at-risk subpopulations—such as a Black youth who also lacks a high school diploma, or is parenting, or identifies as LGBTQ—face compound risk for homelessness. And different identities can shape young people’s trajectories into homelessness and experience with systems and services in different ways along their journeys.

### **Risk Factors**

In addition to demographic disproportionalities, certain experiences also put young people at increased risk for homelessness.

Low education: First, the single factor that we measured and found most strongly correlated with higher risk for homelessness among young adults was low educational attainment, and in particular the lack of a high school diploma. These young people had over 4.5 times the risk of homelessness as young adults who had attained at least a high school level of education. Although we cannot make causal inferences, this finding reinforces the extent to which education, and underlying factors that support educational attainment, might protect youth from becoming homeless. There

is likely a bidirectional link between school dropout and housing instability, and multi-sectoral policies and programs are needed to address these interconnected outcomes.

Systems involvement: Second, we have strong evidence that youth exposed to certain systems face much greater risk for homelessness. Among the youth experiencing homelessness who we surveyed across our 22 diverse partner counties, 29 percent had ever been in foster care, and 46 percent had ever spent time in juvenile detention, jail, or prison.<sup>13</sup> To appreciate how high these percentages are, consider that two percent of the 18- to 28-year-olds in a nationally representative survey sample—the third wave of the Add Health Study—had ever lived in a foster home, and that 15 percent of the 24- to 34-year-olds who participated in the fourth wave of the Add Health Study had ever spent time in a jail, prison, juvenile detention center, or other correctional facility.<sup>14</sup>

Our research doesn't necessarily show that involvement in these systems *causes* youth homelessness, and, in many cases, youth do not necessarily exit directly from these systems into homelessness. For instance, some young people could have been in foster care earlier in their childhood, subsequently adopted or placed into kinship care, and then experienced homelessness as older adolescents or young adults. But the data nonetheless show the significant overlap between these systems involvement and youth homelessness, and they underscore that youth involved in these systems should be viewed as at higher risk for homelessness and in need of increased early identification efforts and developmentally-appropriate support to mitigate that risk.

From other research, we also beginning to learn about the poor transitions of many youth from behavioral health systems. For example, a recent Washington state study found that 17 percent of young people exiting inpatient mental health services, and 28 percent of those exiting substance use disorder facilities, were homeless within a year of discharge.<sup>15</sup>

Taken together, these findings suggest that we need to work across public systems in partnership with runaway and homeless youth service providers to facilitate more supported transitions into and out of different systems. We also need to recognize that youth with histories of involvement with child welfare, criminal justice, and behavioral health systems are broadly populations at higher risk for homelessness and needing our help.

Parenting and family instability: Third, our improved understanding of risk factors reveals a blurry line between youth and family homelessness. For one thing, a large share of youth experiencing homelessness are themselves parenting. In fact, we found that about 44 percent of young adult women, and 18 percent of young men, experiencing homelessness were pregnant or a parent.<sup>16</sup> These young people need coordinated services that respond to the developmental needs of a youth parent, of their young children, and the holistic needs of a family. Systems could also recognize pregnancy as a potential early warning indicator for risk of homelessness among vulnerable youth.

Moreover, the intersection between youth and family homelessness also comes into play with respect to youths' trajectories into homelessness. Indeed, through our in-depth interviews with youth in five communities, we found that 3 out of 4 young adults experiencing homelessness had first experience homelessness as minors, and 1 in 4 experienced family homelessness before they experienced unaccompanied homelessness.<sup>17</sup> In both respects, these data clearly underscore the

need for more coordinated, seamless systems of care that address both youth and family homelessness.

## **Pathways**

Beyond the scale, scope, and characteristics of youth experiencing homelessness, it is important to understand this issue in a broader context of trauma, loss, and fluidity. For youth, homelessness is about more than the loss of housing; it is about the lack or loss of relationships and connections that most people had to rely on more consistently for love, support, safety, and stability. Housing instability is but one factor that characterizes their journeys. Every young person's journey into and through homelessness is unique. Each tells its own story of adversity and resilience.

Take the example of Baylee, a 17-year-old multiracial female living in San Diego and one of 215 young people who participated in Voices of Youth Count in-depth interviews. Baylee's homelessness started at age two when her mom and two older sisters became homeless. Baylee described these childhood years as "mov[ing] around a lot" between hotels, shelters, apartments of friends, and family. Instability marked many areas of Baylee's early childhood. She recalled attending "at least 15 elementary schools" and having "missed the fourth grade entirely." She attributed this instability to her mother's poor health and, as a result, her mom's inability to hold a steady job.

When Baylee was 11, her mom committed suicide, and Baylee entered foster care. She lived in a group home and two foster homes, which she described as abusive. Throughout, she contemplated suicide. It took two years for the court to approve an out-of-state placement with her dad, stepmother, and stepsiblings. Once there, she became the target of ongoing conflict and arguments. Often kicked out, she would temporarily stay with other family members. Baylee increasingly struggled with her mental health and was hospitalized multiple times for attempting suicide. Upon discharge, her required "safety plan" included talking with her dad. Baylee explained, "Because of my mental health issues, like I told my dad that I needed to talk to him, and he was like, 'No!'" Feeling rejected, she left home. Her dad told her to never return. She never did.

Baylee first stayed in a hotel with a friend whose family was also homeless, but then she moved to an emergency shelter for minors. However, she was turned away after her dad refused to sign the required paperwork. Baylee then began to exchange sex and "do stuff" to pay for a hotel room. Not wanting this to continue and afraid of sleeping outside on the streets, she returned to the emergency shelter at 2:30 a.m. They let her in for the night, and the following morning, the shelter convinced Baylee's father to sign for her to stay. When we met Baylee, her 21-day time limit at the shelter (a federally mandated time limit) was approaching. She was eagerly awaiting acceptance into Job Corps. But as a minor, she needed a 2-week extension in order to remain at the shelter and avoid placement into foster care for 6 months until she turned 18. Baylee felt optimistic that through Job Corps a brighter future was on her horizon.

Baylee's story reflects the unique and complex pathways that lead young people into homelessness. At the same time, our in-depth interviews also reveal some commonalities in youths' pathways into and through homelessness, several of which we see reflected in Baylee's experience.<sup>18</sup>

Family disruption, loss, and adversity: First, nearly all young people link the beginning of their homelessness to earlier disruptions of family and home. For many, these disruptions included family homelessness and entrance into foster care. Relatedly, youth pathways through homelessness are also characterized by significant personal losses. In fact, a startling 35 percent of youth experienced the death of at least one parent or primary caregiver.<sup>19</sup> When we take other forms of loss into account—loss of family, loss of home, loss of trust, loss of safety, loss of childhood, and loss of routine, friends, school, or community due to instability—loss emerges as an incredibly poignant and prominent shared experience among runaway and homeless youth. Baylee experienced so many of these forms of loss over the course of her young life.

Our in-depth interviews further revealed that youth experiencing homelessness, like Baylee, face astounding levels of adversity, including exposure to violence, maltreatment, exploitation, and discrimination, among others. In response to histories of loss and adversity—both while housed and unhoused—many youth learn over time to seek to emotionally and physically protect themselves against the risk of future losses. Systems and services need to understand these natural coping mechanisms that young people justifiably acquire and respond by providing trauma-informed environments for young people to gradually recover a sense of safety and stability in their lives.

Fluidity: Second, as with Baylee’s situation of moving in and out of homelessness and between a range of different sleeping arrangements over time, we found fluidity to be a common trait of young people’s experiences of housing instability. This is an important difference in how youth tend to experience homelessness and housing instability compared to chronically homeless older adults who the general public often imagines when thinking of “homelessness.” Nearly all (93 percent) of the youth in our in-depth interviews who experienced what some call “literal homelessness”—i.e., sleeping on the streets or in shelters—also experienced couch surfing at some point, or at multiple points, across their pathways. Few young people reported using only one type of sleeping arrangement across their pathways. Instead, the majority (91%) experienced two to three different types. While in a single day youth may use one type of sleeping arrangement (for example, staying on the streets), over the course of a week, youth often cycled between many types.<sup>20</sup> This fluidity of young people’s homelessness experiences reinforces why it is so important to capture young people’s housing situations over a period of time, and not just on a single night, and to capture the full spectrum of sleeping situations a young person has to engage in while unstably housed.

Overall, young people’s pathways demonstrate that homelessness is not an event. Our in-depth interviews revealed that young people rarely shifted abruptly from a positive and stable situation one day to entrenched homelessness the next. Rather, young people’s pathways reflect complex journeys into and out of different forms of housing and homelessness, positive and negative experiences and relationships, and different systems and services. The research on these pathways underscores why preventing and ending youth homelessness takes all of us—multiple systems, programs, and institutions—working together, sharing data and information wherever appropriate, to avoid the many missed opportunities illuminated by young people’s trajectories into homelessness.

## Conclusion

The breadth and depth of insights produced by the Voices of Youth Count initiative illuminate the benefits of a comprehensive, mixed-methods approach to studying youth homelessness at the national level. We have invested in developing methods to studying the prevalence, incidence, characteristics, and experiences of youth homelessness that are both robust and replicable. None of it would have been possible without the impetus from Congress to fund better evidence to help address the problem. On behalf of my colleagues and partners across the country, I want to thank this body for its critical investment in establishing a better foundation of data.

We encourage Congress to now consider its role in supporting the replication of national prevalence, incidence, and experiences data on youth homelessness going forward so that we can track our progress as a nation toward the goal of ending youth homelessness and tailor strategies as needed. Trend data based on repeated nationally representative studies are commonly gathered and used to inform policy in a range of other areas, such as child welfare, substance use, domestic violence, sexual risk behaviors, and employment, among others. We need this sort of federal commitment in the case of youth homelessness, too. We simply cannot end youth homelessness in the dark.

Our findings reveal youth homelessness as a broad and hidden challenge as well as a complex problem with deep roots in family adversities and structural inequalities. Youth homelessness will not be fixed by short-term or simple fixes. At the same time, youth homelessness is a solvable problem. While there is much greater need for investment in evaluation of programs and practices in this space, our evidence review revealed interventions that demonstrated measureable reductions of youth homelessness, and several of our research components shed light on key entry points in the lives of youth and across public systems where better policies can make a difference.

It may help in mobilizing the resolve and resources to end youth homelessness if we consider what is at stake. Research shows that the single most common pathway into adult homelessness is not eviction, not substance use or mental health problems, not adult domestic issues, but youth homelessness.<sup>21</sup> In other words, if we care about ending homelessness overall, we need to invest in preventing and ending youth homelessness. Further, our analysis, along with colleagues at the University of Southern California, of homelessness systems administrative data across 16 communities has shown that the longer we wait, the harder and more expensive the job of ending youth homelessness becomes. Of the few youth who come into homelessness systems and are offered a HUD-funded housing resource, most wait about 4.5 months or longer to get housing placements. And these bottlenecks in resources and service delivery have consequences. Every additional day of waiting was associated with a 2 percent decrease in a youth's likelihood of staying stably housed even after getting into a housing program.<sup>22</sup> We have to act more effectively and more efficiently to help young people achieve housing stability and get on a path to thriving.

A lack of safe and stable housing is a lack of freedom to act fully on one's unique assets and realize one's potential. This is particularly concerning during adolescence and young adulthood. Ample research documents adolescence and young adulthood key developmental windows that significantly shape our life trajectories. Every day of housing instability represents accumulated

trauma and missed opportunities to support young people's healthy development, transitions to productive adulthood, and capacity to contribute to vibrant and economically competitive communities. We all lose out in these missed opportunities.

### **Summary of Findings that Directly Impact RHYA**

The purpose of Chapin Hall's "Missed Opportunities" reports has been to connect the dots between Voices of Youth Count research findings and implications for meaningful policy change. We realize that the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act is of interest to this Subcommittee and can be directly informed by the findings of our research.

In summary, one could take away five themes from our findings: (1) address interpersonal trauma; (2) apply a developmental lens to program practices and rules of participation; (3) match policy to the fluidity of the homeless experience; (4) coordinate with the child welfare systems to enhance our family-based prevention efforts; and (5) improve engagement and share data across service systems and geographic locations. Each theme allows a window into the multiple areas within RHYA that could be strengthened. We encourage Congress and other stakeholders to consider the implications of our findings to align federal policy with the real challenges that confront young people experiencing homelessness or housing instability.

*(1) Address Family Disruption and Interpersonal Trauma:* The significant effects of interpersonal trauma and loss are a thread woven throughout many of the stories of youth who experience homelessness. A consistent source of trauma among young people we interviewed was borne from the conflict and struggles youth experienced earlier, within their families. This finding invites us to reorient policies that inform our work by centering family conflict and family disruption as core to the problem of youth homelessness.

This includes the experiences of stigma and discrimination that youth faced, particularly LGBTQ youth, in their own family systems. To bolster the trauma specific nature of services, there is opportunity within RHYA to acknowledge the universality of family disruption and interpersonal trauma among youth experiencing homelessness and recommend specific evidence-supported practices to address the interpersonal trauma in the lives of these young people. Core to this trauma-informed approach is valuing youth perspectives and insights regarding unique needs for support in achieving their life goals.

*(2) Apply a Developmental Lens:* Adolescence and emerging adulthood usher in a time in a young person's life where healthy relationships are critical to fostering growth and healing, especially from relationship-based traumas and losses that have occurred in their families. Our findings also support attention to identity development for youth who experience stigma and discrimination. RHYA would benefit from a focus on the unique and diverse developmental needs within this population. Our findings would promote healthy development through healing from the interpersonal trauma, family conflict, and disruption that young people reported impacts their relationships, and shapes how/if they engage with people who may be available as resources and supports (family, friends, peers). Providing young people with second chances is critical. Developmentally speaking, all young people need opportunities to make mistakes and to recover and learn from them. Our service systems must provide those second chances and critically important developmental supports. This means flexibility in



programs and services is needed. Consider that for every participant in our study, peers were a critical factor in their decision making; young people regularly prioritized retaining friends over finding or maintaining housing stability. Youth we interviewed shared that if the rules and requirements of a program placed important relationships at risk, youth prioritized maintaining those relationships. Said differently, if asked to choose, youth would prematurely exit, or altogether avoid, a program instead of abandoning relationships with peers/family/pets that mattered to them. Youth also require extended supports during moments of transition. Finally, young people whose identities are developing in the context of stigma and discrimination will also avoid service providers and family members who are not sensitive to their developmental needs for identity safety, nurturance, and belonging.

- (3) *Youth Homelessness Policy Should Match the Fluidity and Mobility of the Homelessness Experience*: Even within a single week, many of the young people in our study cycled among couch surfing, shelters, abandoned buildings, cars, family homes, and the street. Yet most youth remained within their home states. The RHYA has the opportunity to reflect the nature of these patterns in mobility, and this attunement to fluidity should exist across all three program types authorized under RHYA, including Basic Center, Transitional Living, and Street Outreach.
- (4) *Coordinate with Child Welfare Systems to Enhance Family-based Prevention Efforts in Families*: The Family First Prevention Services Act (FFPSA) of 2018 provides the opportunity for RHYA-authorized service providers to coordinate with child welfare systems when the families of young people require more supports beyond what is allowable under the RHYA. Child welfare systems can now provide prevention services for families and youth who are at risk of foster care placement. This new legislation allows for a level of coordination among child welfare and RHYA-authorized services that has not been possible before.

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<sup>1</sup> Morton, M.H., Dworsky, A., Matjasko, J.L., Curry, S.R., Schlueter, D., Chavez, R., Farrell, A.F. (2017). *Missed opportunities: Youth homelessness in America. National Estimates*. Chicago, IL, Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago.

<sup>2</sup> Morton, M.H., Dworsky, A., Matjasko, J.L., Curry, S.R., Schlueter, D., Chávez, R., & Farrell, A.F. (2018). "Prevalence and Correlates of Youth Homelessness in the United States." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 62(1):14-21.

<sup>3</sup> Morton, M. H., Dworsky, A., Samuels, G. M., & Patel, S. (2018). *Missed opportunities: Youth homelessness in rural America*. Chicago, IL: Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago.

<sup>4</sup> Joint Center for Housing Studies (JCHS) of Harvard University. (2016). *The State of the Nation's Housing: 2016*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Chapin Hall analysis of U.S. Census data.

<sup>7</sup> Cilluffo, A. (2017). "5 facts about student loans," FactTank. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. <http://pewrsr.ch/2vau4Bw>

<sup>8</sup> Brown, M., Haughwout, A., Lee, D., Scally, J., & van der Klaauw, W. (2015). "The student loan landscape," Liberty Street Economics. New York, NY: Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Annie E. Casey Foundation (AECF). (2017). *The Road to Adulthood: Aligning Child Welfare Practice with Adolescent Brain Development*. Baltimore, MD: Author.

<sup>11</sup> Morton, M. H., Dworsky, A., Matjasko, J.L., Curry, S.R., Schlueter, D., Chávez, R., & Farrell, A.F. (2018). "Prevalence and Correlates of Youth Homelessness in the United States." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 62(1):14-21.

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- <sup>12</sup> Morton, M. H., Samuels, G. M., Dworsky, A., & Patel, S. (2018). *Missed opportunities: LGBTQ youth homelessness in America*. Chicago, IL: Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago.
- <sup>13</sup> Morton, M.H., Dworsky, A., Matjasko, J.L., Curry, S.R., Schlueter, D., Chavez, R., Farrell, A.F. (2017). *Missed opportunities: Youth homelessness in America. National Estimates*. Chicago, IL, Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago.
- <sup>14</sup> Harris, K. M. (2009). *The national longitudinal study of adolescent to adult health (Add Health), Wave IV, 2007–2009*. Chapel Hill, NC: Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- <sup>15</sup> McCanne, E.S. (2018). *From Inpatient Treatment to Homelessness: Envisioning a Path Toward Healing and Safe Housing for Young People in Washington State*. Seattle: A Way Home Washington.
- <sup>16</sup> Dworsky, A., Morton, M. H., Samuels, G. M. (2018). *Missed opportunities: Pregnant and parenting youth experiencing homelessness in America*. Chicago, IL: Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago.
- <sup>17</sup> Samuels, G. M., Cerven, C., Curry, S., Robinson, S. R., & Patel, S. (2019). *Missed opportunities in youth pathways through homelessness*. Chicago, IL: Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup> Chamberlain, C., & Johnson, G. (2013). “Pathways into adult homelessness,” *Journal of Sociology* 49 (1): 60–77.
- <sup>22</sup> Morton, M.H., Rice, E., Blondin, M., Hsu, H., & Kull, M. (2018). *Toward a system response to ending youth homelessness: New evidence to help communities strengthen coordinated entry, assessment, and support for youth*. Chicago, IL: Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago.