Youth Homelessness: A Sociological Literature Review

Honors Thesis

Breann Barfield

Oklahoma State University

Spring 2019

Youth Homelessness: A Sociological Literature Review

Abstract

Beliefs about homelessness responsibility are constantly fluctuating according to the time period and context (Kidd, 2012). This paper will be a critical literature review concerning the magnitude of the social issues driving youth homelessness, the need for solutions in remedying youth homelessness, and how society has viewed the homeless youth population both within scholarly research and mass media coverage. There are limitations within the research that should be analyzed for further studies. Research has historically lacked clear operational definitions, and the methodology and sample sizes have slowly improved to adequately understand the breadth of the problem. This paper will examine the literature concerning homeless adolescents to evaluate both academic and journalistic representations and perceptions from a sociological lens. While academic literature is attuned to focus on solutions and research, most of society receives information through mass media so it is critical to compare and contrast the scholarly academic information with the information that the masses are receiving from media outlets on a daily basis.

Introduction

The adolescent homeless population is an underrepresented, underserved and stigmatized group that exists because of social problems in today's society. While homelessness is perceived as a social issue, there has been little research of academic quality completed about varying perceptions and depictions of youth homelessness. Most academic research has focused on origins and effects of youth homelessness. Historically, there has been a fluctuation as to how the masses view homeless youths as well. During the 1910s-1930s and again in the late 1940s-late 1960s, research was influenced by societal perceptions that homelessness was a deficiency

within the individual (Kidd, 2012). During the 1930s-1940s, a macroeconomic lens was applied to adolescent homelessness in terms of responsibility due to the influence of the Great Depression. Homelessness was then understood to be influenced by larger society; however, a return to individual-responsibility occurred in the 1940s-1960s because of the "runaway reaction" (Kidd, 2012, p. 535). The Counterculture movement in the 1960s-1970s prompted an increase in public awareness about adolescent homelessness because many youths were travelling for adventure. This deviation from established society was problematic because homelessness is typically not an individual decision. Finally, during the 1980s, an influx of articles began to emerge and the public focused their attention on the issue from a macro-level, or sociological perspective. Currently, society places blame on both the individual and society to varying degrees.

<div align="center">Importance & Magnitude of Adolescent Homelessness</div>

According to 2017 data collected by the National Alliance to End Homelessness, 553,742 people experience homelessness on a given night in the United States ("The State of Homelessness in America," 2017). Approximately 40% of this population are under 18 years old with the highest rate of unsheltered youth existing in the western hemisphere of the country (Beck, 2019). Statistics concerning homelessness are only estimations since the population is challenging to contact and study due to their constant movement and avoidance of potential victimization, stigma, and prejudice. Current estimates claim that within the age range of 13-17 years old, 1 in 30 experienced a form of homelessness over a year-long period of time (Beck, 2019). For the age range of 18-25, 1 in 10 people surveyed out of 26,000 reported that they had experienced homelessness during some point in the previous calendar year (Balingit, 2017). Within this same study conducted by researchers at Chapin Hall Youth Policy Center at the

University of Chicago, close to 3.5 million young adults and 660,000 adolescents had been homeless within the year 2016-2017 (Balingit, 2017). Shelters and agencies provide the most statistical data for researchers and advocates; however, there are approximately 1.3 million homeless youth living unsupervised within the United States (Beck, 2019). For the purpose of this paper, and in order to discuss multiple studies, the terms "adolescent", "youth", "teen" etc. will reflect individuals within the population who are 13-24 years of age. The terms used will correlate to the source being discussed. The reasoning for this is because puberty onsets at approximately 13 years old, and brain development has not been completed until roughly the age of 25. The drastic physical and mental changes during this time can be contributory factors to decision-making and behavior (Steinberg, 2017).

According to *The New York Times*, 32,000 people on average slept in a shelter each night during February 2002 (Egan, 2002). This was an increase of 23% compared to 2001, which was the largest increase since the Great Depression. In the state of New York alone, homeless families accounted for 75% of the state's shelter population (Egan, 2002). While individual homelessness has declined within the past decade, the rate of homeless families including youths, increased over 30% between 2015-2016 (Balingit, 2017).

Although homeless families may contain adolescents, most studies that research homeless adolescents do not include those that are sheltered with a family. Until the use of contemporary data, the numbers also did not include those youth who were lost in the system, in and out of foster cares, in mental health institutions etc. (Barden, 1990). The stereotypical view of homeless adolescents is the archetypal runaway. The 1993 House Subcommittee on the Constitution estimated that approximately 2 million adolescents run away each year and that 1 in 8 children will run away before they turn 18 (Whitbeck & Simons, 1993). While most homeless

youth are displaced from their homes forcefully, an adolescent's choice to run away still shows evidence of a problem within the family unit, societal system and institutions intending to prevent such social problems from occurring.

The adolescent homeless community is extremely difficult to study and contact because many of these individuals tend to avoid any form of contact with services, legal authorities, and medical personnel (Ringwalt, Greene, Robertson, & McPheeters, 1998). Those who do utilize services and are able to be counted vary drastically because there are significant differences in sex, age, sexual orientation etc. (Tyler, Akinyemi, & Kort-Butler, 2012). This variation in service utilization contributes to confusion about the makeup of the population. The purpose of this study is to critically analyze literature concerning youth homelessness in the areas of pathways, solutions, and perceptions. While evidence supports the claim that youth homelessness is a social problem, research must still be improved and evaluated. One important way to improve perceptions and knowledge about the magnitude of the issue, is to prompt discussions between academic researchers and media outlets. This effort would provide more realistic descriptions of the issue and thus necessitate more intersectional models of change.

Homelessness, especially among the adolescent population, is also highly criminalized. For example, in 11 states including Oklahoma, being a "runaway" is considered a "status offense" and 20 states have legislation that criminalizes the concealment of a minor or runaway youth (State Index on Homelessness, 2018, p. 3). Not only do homeless adolescents intentionally avoid contact with service providers, they may also be invisible in comparison to traditional non-homeless youth and may stay in locations inaccessible to researchers (Ringwalt et al., 1998). There are various sociological reasons that homeless adolescents would not want to be identified. First, there is a harsh stigma against homelessness. A stigma is "an attribute that is deeply

discrediting" which includes being a member of a social group such as the homeless (Rohall et. al., 2014, p. 196). A 2007 study by Kidd provides evidence that there is statistically relevant correlations between "perceived stigma due to homeless status, and sexual orientation, pan handling and sex trade involvement, and amount of time homeless" (Kidd, 2007, p. 291). Adolescents are also particularly vulnerable to self-esteem issues such as feeling lonely, trapped, guilty or suicidal. Many also value their autonomy to the point of creating a personal fable (Steinberg, 2017). Their perceived invincibility may encourage them to persist through hardships with resiliency in order to prove themselves as capable. Research finds that resiliency is still lower for homeless youth who experience higher rates of psychological and mental distress (Perron, Cleverley, & Kidd, 2014). Regardless of adolescent perception or societal stigma and prejudice, the adolescent homeless community requires quality services and increased attention.

One area within this community that needs to be explored is the effectiveness of resources that homeless youth can utilize. For example, a 2018 cross-sectional survey of 226 diverse homeless youth showed that of those adolescents who utilized resources such as drop-in centers, shelter service utilization, the perception of attendance among friends and peers, relationships to staff-members and attachment styles all influenced attendance and their decision to utilize services (Tucker, Pedersen, Parast, & Klein, 2018). With the knowledge of why some services are used more frequently than others, solutions may be uncovered to change policies and programs. There still remains however, the question of effectiveness at reaching the homeless youth population. Many adolescents may utilize resources and services available to them, but we as researchers still do not know the sheer number of adolescent homeless who do not take advantage of these resources and are more disconnected from societal structures. This prompts the question of what resources and advantages are available to not only homeless individuals, but

homeless adolescents specifically. Before analyzing the possibilities and avenues that homeless

adolescents have, it is necessary to discuss the possible reasons why an adolescent experiences

homelessness. By focusing attention on the source of homelessness, resources should be able to

adapt to serve those pre-existing problems.

<div align="center">Researcher Reflexivity and Positionality</div>

After choosing youth homelessness as my research topic for my honors thesis, I realized

how little I knew about the actual problem and community. My various privileges blinded me to

a global issue that is evident in my local community for individuals who are my age. My original

research question was, "How do major newspapers depict adolescent homelessness?" During this

research however, I realized that in order to study perceptions of homeless youth, I needed to

understand whether adolescent homelessness was a social problem, what the sociological reasons

were for homelessness in society, and what solutions could be posed. This shifted my research to

a descriptive literature review, but I still also focused on how homeless youth are portrayed in

literature. I chose to contrast academic literature with mass media representations because both

depictions of adolescent homelessness vary in context, quality, and tone. The lack of discussion

across academic disciplines and media outlets contributes to confusing and sometimes

contradicting ideas of the dynamics of youth homelessness. This paper is an effort to shed light

on the magnitude of the problem, why it occurs, the effects of homelessness on youth, the

contrasting literature, and potential solutions.

<div align="center">Main Pathways for Adolescent Homelessness</div>

While there are a multitude of personal reasons for why an individual becomes homeless,

there are similarities and trends within stories reported by homeless adolescents that underscore

macro-level social problems within society as contributing factors. According to *Rawhide*, a

religious-based program that aids "at risk youth" located in Wisconsin, the self-reported main

causes of homelessness among adolescents are that 46% were physically abused, 38% were

emotionally abused, and 17% were forced into nonconsensual sexual activity (Beck, 2019).

Although this organization provides aid within a religious context, the data was seemingly

collected without religious bias. This organization has personal experience with homeless youth

which provides them with opportunities to study the population from a qualitative standing.

Empirical data such as the analysis of homeless youth interviews conducted by Tyler & Schmitz

(2013) support this claim. During their interviews, they discovered that family backgrounds of

homeless youth were often riddled with "substance abuse, child maltreatment, and witnessing

violence" which contributed to their transitions from home (Tyler & Schmitz, 2013).The

Rawhide organization also found that approximately 50% of adolescents aging out of the foster

care system often become homeless within 6 months of release due to their lack of education,

and a lack of support both financially and socially (Beck, 2019). Other youths who are at a high

risk for homelessness include those who are exiting the juvenile justice system. According to the

2018 Index on Youth Homelessness, 21 states do not have pre-existing plans for transition from

the juvenile justice system to a stable form of shelter and 43 states have no way of addressing

shelter or housing following discharge. From a sociological lens, it is known that social

connections and networks are integral to success and stability especially for adolescents who are

processing through a time of change both physically and mentally. Parents, peers and education

play a monumental role in development, cognition, and social ability during adolescence

(Steinberg, 2017). These social networks are imperative to preventing poverty, substance abuse,

delinquency, and health problems. Adolescents who aged out of the foster care system or

juvenile justice system, may also have an identity with that institution that correlates to feelings

of abandonment which is detrimental to adolescent self-esteem and growth. Other influential

causes of youth homelessness include family problems, economic problems, health problems,

and transitional problems (Beck, 2019).

While most homeless adolescents are perceived as runaways, *Rawhide* found that over

50% of shelter and street-residents reported that their parents either forced them to leave, or

knew about their leaving and did not care or try to stop them (Beck, 2019). Many of these

homeless adolescents who are forcibly ostracized from their homes are those that come out as

non-heterosexual. These individuals serve as examples of the matrix of domination because their

statuses affect them at differing levels of inequality. Non-heterosexual people may face prejudice

and discrimination by society, but they are also now facing homelessness because of the

ostracism from their family units. Despairingly, many homeless adolescents fled their

homophobic families only to realize that their sexual orientation as a non-heterosexual individual

still discouraged them from many homeless shelters (Stewart, 2017). This has led to an increased

awareness about the compounding powers of inequality. Some policy change is beginning to

happen, but there is still a large stigma since being heterosexual is the social norm. Research

from Van Leeuwen et. al. (2006) contributes knowledge that shows the gaps in policy for non-

heterosexual homeless youth and how problems that they face are exacerbated by stigma

surrounding their sexuality, thus promoting a need for specialized focus on this population (Van

Leeuwen et al., 2006). One interesting gap within this literature is the invisibility of trans youth.

Many homeless trans youth face increased systematic barriers due to their specialized needs, but

they can often be excluded from discussions (Shelton, 2015). The authors argue for program

funding, training, technical assistance and further research to respond to the needs of the gay,

lesbian and bisexual (LGB) community, but trans youth are seemingly left out of the literature and must be incorporated (Van Leeuwen et. al., 2006).

Another common archetypal adolescent who is pushed out of their homes, is the teenage mother. There is stigma associated with teen pregnancy as there is for the LGB community. Both populations require certain programs and services that are tailored to their needs. There are also external factors that contribute to the 'pushing out' of teenage mothers such as the correlation between poverty and teen pregnancy. Pregnancy during adolescence is not only a potential cause for youth homelessness, but it can also be a consequence. According to Thompson et. al. (2008), 20% of young homeless women become pregnant and are then faced with difficulties such as access to medical care, financial resources, and protection (Thompson, Bender, Lewis, & Watkins, 2008). According to a media journal article by *The Washington Post*, Pingree, a current college student was a teenage mother who was forced to leave her house at the age of 15. This also caused separation from her daughter for 3 years due to her homelessness and transitioning between friends and shelters (Balingit, 2017). This population faces compounded stress and potential health issues for themselves and their children. While the overall teen pregnancy rate has declined in recent years, the rate of women from disadvantaged communities remains alarmingly high for ages 15-19 years old. For example, in one area of Chicago, the birth rate is ten times higher than in a wealthier area as designated by *The Chicago Tribune* (Rubin, 2013).

According to Whitbeck & Simons (1993), 60% of the 156 adolescents in their study claimed that they were "barred" from returning home by their parents. This statistic was also influenced by gender with males being more likely to self-report feelings that they would not be allowed back home (67% compared to 51% of females). Some older male adolescents according to the *Chicago Tribune*'s article, "Study of Homeless Kids Paints a Picture of Neglect, "choose

to leave home because they believe they have "become a burden on their mothers" (Stein, 1993). This difference in gender promotes a conversation concerning toxic masculinity. Society encourages males to be strong, masculine, non-emotional, autonomous beings who provide for their families rather than be cared for by them. According to Steinberg's textbook titled, *Adolescence*, "adolescent males who do not conform to traditionally masculine gender-role norms have lower self-esteem, are judged more deviant, and are more likely to be bullied" than their female counterparts who deviate from norms of femininity (Steinberg, 2017, p. 234).

Most of these reasons for homelessness are out of the adolescent's control such as being subjected to abuse or neglect. Larger social problems such as poverty, local cost of living, and housing accessibility all have impacts on adolescent homelessness. In an individualistic society such as the United States, agents of socialization attempt to emphasize control and one's ability to decide their own fate. Because of this individualistic misperception, those who are impoverished or homeless face stigma and prejudice as lazy when in reality, many are forced to leave harmful situations out of their realm of control.

<div align="center">Resources for Homeless Adolescents</div>

While there is a large number of homeless youths, resources only alleviate small portions of the problem. According to *Rawhide*'s data about adolescent homelessness, only 4,200 beds are provided in shelters or facilities for this young adult population which leaves over 90% without proper shelter or amenities (Beck, 2019). Since society has perceived homelessness as an issue primarily for older men, programs and solutions are often directed at this population. This is evident even in my own bias-when observing the local community, we often see older males panhandling rather than homeless youth. This again can be due to the stigma and fear of criminalization for this population. Baillet, a college graduate who has experienced homelessness

in her life, claimed that "shelters can be unsafe and uncomfortable places for homeless youth" because services are geared towards the older male population (Balingit, 2017). This contributes to the need for discussions about shelter safety.

In the same *Washington Post* article that discusses Baillet, the author also discusses a male college graduate who was told at 17 by his mother that he could no longer live in her home because of his sexuality (he was gay). Although he was privileged to graduate high school and college, his housing later fell through after he took a teaching job in another state. He was forced to live in his car because he felt that the shelter was unsafe (Balingit, 2017). As Whitbeck & Simons (1993) mention in their research study, there are physical threats both on the streets and in shelters so adolescents are left with paranoia and anxiety (Whitbeck & Simons, 1993). For individuals who already lack the basic necessities such as food, clothing, fresh water, and support, there are still institutional barriers to finding shelter (Nott & Vuchinich, 2016).

Not only are these shelters potentially dangerous, they are also often packed to maximum capacity, full of energetic, crying, and sick children, and dormitory style bedding where privacy is nonexistent. Possessions are at constant risk of being stolen, and residents must abide by strict rules such as curfew, no visitation, limited time outside, rigid check-in and check-out instructions etc. (Egan, 2002). While one adolescent homeless mother claimed that the rules and regulations were worth it to say "I'm going home", many still encouraged her to leave the shelter (Rubin, 2013). Even when residents are placed into transitional housing by the shelter, there still may be problems. For example, in the third temporary placement home that a mother and her two children were given, the apartment lacked hot water and heat. The young boy who had been ill was forced to wear his soiled clothing because nothing and no one could be washed or bathed. The mother was forced to miss work and her two children were forced to miss school another

day in order for the family to retrieve their belongings that the previous shelter had placed in a

storage facility without their consent (Egan, 2002). These facilities often do not keep occupants

notified of their eligibility for housing until they have been denied. According to Egan (2002),

"New York's Department of Homeless Services often functions in a lurching and seemingly

arbitrary way." These residents are forced to live with confusion, and that confusion is only

compounded with the lack of knowledge during adolescence.

There are resources available for adolescent homeless individuals, but they are often

small and short-term. Many facilities also only accept certain groups of homeless people such as

families, or teen mothers. In 1995, a *Chicago Tribune* article discussed the monumental Marshall

Field's grant of $5,000 to the Harbour Inc. for their work with "abused, neglected and homeless

adolescent girls" ("Grant for girls," 1995) . The grant enabled the facility to house 17 to 21 year

old girls in a transitional-living program to provide them with advantages like counseling, job

skills, education accessibility and housing ("Grant for girls," 1995). Adolescent girls under the

age of 17 or over the age of 21 were not admitted, therefore excluding a large population of at-

risk, unsheltered youth. Another example of specificity, is the St. Ann's Infant and Maternity

Home in Hyattsville which helps adolescent mothers who are homeless. Unfortunately, only four

beds are federally funded and available at this facility, and according to the director, "they're

always full" (McCoy, 2015). Homeless adolescent parents are often the focus of service

programs since children are given priority over single adolescents.

In 2013, the *Chicago Tribune* published an article about a new housing center that would

have the ability to help young mothers and children. This $12.5 million dollar facility only had

the capacity for 23 new residents. This facility took approximately 5 years to construct, and the

astronomical costs for a small number of residents is astounding. While this new housing

program provides resources such as parenting skills classes, job training, and day care, only a

select few teen mothers and their families have the ability to utilize them. The previous popular

shelter in this area served over 220 mothers with 263 children which is a much higher percentage

of the population. Even then, over 600 homeless families were turned away within the period of

one year (Rubin, 2013) . This new facility provides 30 studio apartments for mothers with a

single child and 10 one-bedroom apartments are allotted for mothers with two or more children.

At the time of the article, the organization was viewing over 2,500 applications for shelter;

however, only 17 spots were available. According to the author, these are "tougher odds than

getting accepted at Harvard" (Rubin, 2013). While this could be seen as a great program for

adolescent mothers, large populations of homeless individuals are left without shelter. Dormitory

style housing may be uncomfortable to some, but there is also a level of social interaction and

group identity that is formed through this that is necessary to social ability. Isolation, especially

during adolescence can lead to further harm. Ultimately, shelters that provide more accessibility

at the loss of some privacy are still serving more in-need members of the community.

Shelters and homeless aid agencies are often at capacity each night and many adolescents

are turned away. Antonio Wilson, a 14 year-old who left his home because of physical abuse,

was rejected from adult shelters because he was too young. He was also turned away from family

shelters when he tried to reunite with his now homeless mother. According to these organizations

and facilities, he was "considered too old a male to stay with his mother and younger siblings"

(Stein, 1993). This heartbreaking case not only shows the harsh stipulations of shelters, but it

also exemplifies toxic masculinity. As a male, he was expected to be the leader of the family and

not reliant on his mother even though he, himself was just a child. His story is not unlike others

in similar situations. The two popular Night Ministry shelter programs in Chicago lack space to

such a severe degree that they are forced to turn away over 400 adolescents per year (Stein,

1993.). These adolescents are breaking the cycle of stigma- they are reaching out rather than

hiding from authorities and services because they know that they need and deserve help. Those

adolescents who are hiding from authorities and services do have their reasons such as the risk of

being criminalized and policed so many homeless youth continue to be unsheltered (Stuart,

2015). Society gives meaning to homelessness and a deviant label has often been attached to that

meaning.

       While there is a high chance of being rejected from shelters, accessibility is still lacking

in many areas. A 1985 study, although outdated, found that there were 21,000 estimated

homeless youth in Illinois that were living "mostly without access to emergency shelters or

help" (Stein, 1993). Another article from the *New York Times* estimated that more than 3,000

young people are turned away from the Youth Services Network per year due to the lack of

space (Barden, 1990). Recent legislation such as New York Mayor, Bill de Blasio's 2016

program, promises to increase the capacity of shelters and extend duration of stays. His plan is to

add 100 beds per year over the next three years to New York's homeless shelters because of the

increasing problem of homophobic households contributing to runaway adolescents (Stewart,

2017). While this is a move in the right direction, there still remains a massive number of

adolescents without proper shelter. While the homeless are encouraged to seek resources in order

to 'take control of their lives' or not appear 'lazy' or 'delinquent', the resources just don't exist at

the level that is needed.

The Effect of Homelessness on Adolescents

Adolescents who struggle with homelessness face a multitude of issues that are correlated to the lack of shelter, stability, and social opportunity that occur with homelessness. Homeless persons are potentially in danger of psychological issues such as low self-esteem, loneliness, depression and various other mood disorders. Due to the lack of stability and positive support, many individuals begin to practice risky behaviors during their homeless period in order to either cope or survive. Adolescents who are homeless also face an increased risk of victimization and physical harm because they are on their own to protect themselves in dangerous situations. It is important to note that the adolescent is both a product of their environment, and an actor in their environment. Their context affects them, but they also affect their context as explained through the Transactional Model (Kidd, 2012).

According to Whitbeck & Simons (1993), homeless adolescents are at a higher risk for psychological harm due to the "continual vulnerability to physical harm, exhaustion, poor nutrition, and stress of living in public places" (Whitbeck & Simons, 1993, p. 135). The co-morbidity of homelessness and psychological disorders is often discovered through research, especially for the adolescent population since they are enduring physical and psychological changes due to puberty and continuing brain development. Many homeless adolescents who are classified as 'runaways' self-report that physical abuse, parental rejection, and a lack of parental monitoring factored into their decision to leave home (Whitbeck & Simons, 1993). This shows that pre-existing psychological issues could have occurred before the adolescent became homeless. Between the ages of 13 to 15 years-old, adolescents have likely formed a self-concept and identity. As they age, this self-concept changes due to the increased level of societal and formal education. Homeless adolescents are at risk of finding their self-concept in their

circumstances, and if they left harmful or abusive situations in the past, they most likely already have a poor self-concept (Boesky, 1995). These problems are exacerbated and increase when the adolescent becomes homeless.

According to a study conducted by Rice et. al. (2012), 2/3 of the homeless adolescent population meet the criteria for at least one psychiatric disorder designated by the DSM IV, and this population is also six times more likely to exhibit signs of two or more mood disorders. Depressive disorders are common in about 1/3 of the population, and anxiety disorders exist in 1/5 of the population surveyed. PTSD was another common psychological issue with approximately 36% of runaways and homeless adolescents meeting the criteria (Rice, Kurzban, & Ray, 2012). Adolescents in this study reported low rates of self-esteem, and a high prevalence rate of suicidal thoughts, actual suicide attempts, and self-harm (Rice et al., 2012). Egan (2002) claims that "the illusion that their parents can protect them-shelter them, literally from the world's indifference- is broken swiftly and severely." Their mood and behavior can be affected by the trauma and the realization that they lack a family support network, and they must become independent adults quickly in order to survive. The brain is forced to adapt to adulthood while they are still technically children. This attitude is expressed through shame and anger that adolescents attempt to keep to themselves.

Many homeless adolescents endure chronic loneliness (Perron et al., 2014). Personal space, possessions and friendships can contribute to an adolescent's fragile identity becoming that of a "drifter" as expressed by a 22 year-old homeless woman who had shifted in and out of homelessness since the age of 13 (Stein, 1993). The lack of space & material items of one's own can decrease self-esteem, and isolation and depression are potential consequences. This "drifter" ideology can also lead to the self-fulfilling prophecy because homeless adolescents may remain

homeless through multiple stages of their lives. This poses the risk of self-identifying as a homeless individual and consequently losing hope and determination to change the situation.

Further consequences for homeless adolescents and children who grow up in homelessness include accessibility to education. According to *Rawhide*'s data, 75% of homeless youth, including runaways, either have dropped out or will drop out of the school system (Beck, 2019). In interviews with homeless families and children/adolescents, Egan (2002) discovered that children are often transitioned rapidly from school to school due to the family's lack of control about where the shelter places them for temporary housing. According to the 2018 Index on Youth Homelessness, only five states have processes within their legislation for mobile homeless youth who are forced to change schools such as transferring partial credits across schools (Index on Youth Homelessness, 2018). It is possible for homeless youth to graduate high school and be successful, but supportive networks are needed to aid in this process (Rahman, Turner, & Elbedour, 2017). Sheltered individuals awaiting housing eligibility often can be moved to 10-day placements which does not allow enough time for acceptance, enrollment, and attendance at new schools. One mother explained that one week after being accepted to a new school, she and her children were forced to move to another borough (Egan, 2002). This causes an increased delay in education for children and adolescents and it also does not allow for proper fostering of peer groups which are necessary to development. According to Boesky (1995), school and activities are of dire importance to developing and maintaining peer relationships, and since homeless adolescents lack the stability of schooling, they also lack the important friendships that need to be cultivated. According to her study, 11% of homeless youth self-reported "having no friends at all" and they often felt "lonely, bored and rejected" in combination with feelings of a lack for control in their environment (Boesky, 1995). As the study

of sociology dictates, social relationships are integral to mental and physical wellbeing. Within the study of adolescent homelessness, there is debate about whether the peer groups they tend to gravitate towards are actually helpful or harmful to the adolescent. Age, sexuality, gender, and the amount of time spent homeless all affect whether homeless youth associate with pro-social peers or peers who shape an increased likelihood of risky behaviors (Rice, Stein, & Milburn, 2008).

Adolescent homelessness can contribute to risky habits and behaviors that are often perpetuated by peers within their social group. There may be confounding variables that contribute to an adolescent's risky behavior. For example, the brain is not fully formed until the age of 25 and rational and critical thinking skills are consequently still developing throughout this time period. Risk assessment is lower since many adolescents create their own personal fable that they are invincible and therefore not responsible for following societal norms and regulations (Steinberg, 2017). Adolescents who face chronic homelessness may also begin partaking in risky behaviors such as selling drugs and trading sex in order to financially survive (Gwadz et al., 2009). Approximately 40% of African American youth, and 36% of Caucasian youth within *Rawhide*'s study admitted to selling drugs for money while on the streets (Beck, 2019). From a sociological perspective, this data is largely supported because of the correlation between poverty and deviance.

While homeless, adolescents may also communicate with peers of a similar background who encourage deviant and antisocial behaviors. Adolescents are at a particularly high risk of being exploited or exploiting one another. Exposure Theory claims that those individuals who spend an excessive amount of time in public places such as parks, streets, and shelters "are particularly vulnerable to criminal victimization" (Whitbeck & Simons, 1993). The combination

of survivalist tendencies and peer pressure may contribute to risky behaviors that are deemed unacceptable by societal norms. These often include shoplifting, panhandling, selling substances, theft, and/or prostitution (Whitbeck & Simons, 1993). Each of these deviant behaviors can lead to victimization. In terms of mental health, these risk behaviors co-occur with depression or depressive symptoms which could promote research focusing on whether delinquency could actually be a call for help rather than the conscious choice to break societal norms (Rice et al., 2012). Delinquency is also related to the time that an adolescent spends while homeless. For example, Rice et. al (2012) found that the longer an adolescent spends time homeless, the likelihood of having positive social peers and relations decreases while their risk of practicing deviance and antisocial behaviors increases. Homeless adolescents do seem to have some peer-based relationships, but the research is inconclusive whether the benefits of social interaction outweigh the costs of potential deviance and risky habits.

While mental and social problems are rampantly an issue within the adolescent homeless community, physical issues also occur. According to Egan (2002), homeless children and adolescents are at a higher risk for health problems, increased hospitalizations and they experience developmental delays and learning disabilities at four times the rate of home-based children. Through her interviews and research, Egan discovered that almost 70% of homeless children endure some form of chronic illness like anemia or asthma (Egan, 2002). Their immune systems are lower due to the stress of homeless life. For example, Egan also shed light on the reality of homeless living for the younger population. Possessions have to be carried with oneself at all times, or be placed in storage that is nearly inaccessible. These adolescents are separated from their families and may not have the education or opportunity to properly care for themselves. Teenage mothers such as Pingree as discussed in Balingit's (2017) *Washington Post*

article, faced separation from their children for months or even years (Balingit, 2017). This fear

and anxiety can take a toll on a person's immune system and mental capacities.

Homeless adolescents are also prime candidates for victimization both mentally and

physically. Their association with deviant peer groups, and lack of protection put them at risk of

being victims of criminal activity. According to Whitbeck & Simons (1993), homeless youth are

at a higher risk for "robbery, rape, being threatened with a weapon, and assaulted with a weapon

than homeless adults" (Whitbeck & Simons, 1993, p. 145). This may be due to the correlation

between power and age since adults have more autonomy, education and experience. They may

have more power to control their situations unlike adolescents. According to this study of 84

homeless youth who were living on the streets, 40% had been physically beaten up or assaulted

on the streets during their homelessness. Results also showed that 43% of females in the study

had been victims of rape and more than 50% of adolescent men had been threatened with a

dangerous weapon (Whitbeck & Simons, 1993). Adolescents reported that "street life simply

substitutes new risks of victimization for old ones" (Whitbeck & Simons, 1993). Since most of

these adolescents escaped situations in which they were victims, this realization is devastating.

Statistically, 20,000 adolescents and children are annually forced into human trafficking and

prostitution and 5,000 "unaccompanied youth" die per year due to "assault, illness, or suicide"

(Beck, 2019). Because of the mental and physical strain that homelessness situates on

adolescents, 80% of youth ages 12 to 21 utilize a substance whether it be alcohol or drugs in

order to self-medicate and dull the traumatic experiences and abusive past that they have endured

(Beck, 2019). Drug overdoses and suicide rates of this population contribute to a mortality rate

that is four times that of housed youth (Kidd, 2012). Social learning theory provides the ideology

that children learn from their parents and since these adolescents often are the result of poor

home environments, they may also behave in ways that result in their continuing victimization

(Whitbeck & Simons, 1993).

      Ultimately, adolescents attempt to avoid displaying any symbolism of homelessness

because of the stigma and prejudice that they will likely face. As previously mentioned, in

Egan's (2002) article, "To Be Young and Homeless" she discusses the journey of a mother and

her two children through homelessness. The daughter is an adolescent at the age of 16 who

refused to even tell her college aged boyfriend that she was homeless. She and her 7th grade aged

brother pretended to live with family members temporarily rather than admit that they were

homeless. They used excuses and humor to distract officials and peers from the problem that

their family faced (Egan, 2002). This invisibility acts as a barrier against research and aid to help

adolescents before it is too late. There is a wide spectrum with many adolescents living in

poverty and instability while the fortunate adolescents who transition out of homelessness

become professionals with incomes. The proportions for each of these categories is unknown and

requires further research. Academic research has approached adolescent homelessness from a

different perspective than mass media and society as a whole. They influence one another and

contribute to the work in each field; however, little conversation exists between the two

disciplines which contributes to the varying depictions of youth homelessness.

<center>A Comparison of Themes & Patterns within the Literature</center>

      The area of academic research is still lacking in exploring societal perceptions of

homeless adolescent populations since it focuses primarily on origins and effects. Some reasons

for this disparity are the lack of accessibility to homeless adolescents, and their unwillingness to

participate in studies; however, there are numerous research flaws as well. Historically,

operational definitions for youth who experience homelessness have been arbitrary and varying

across studies which leads to a misrepresentation in the statistical analysis stage. Many

definitions are influenced by the government-made definitions; however, the wide range of terms

used to describe the problem contributes to a lack of cohesion in the academic body of work.

When searching the term "homeless youth" different articles surface than when searching

"homeless adolescents." A universal age range must be designated for the population in order to

compare literature and compile more comprehensive bodies of information. Research is

increasing, but not at the rate with which the problem necessitates. There have been historical

fluctuations in societal perceptions and attitudes about homeless adolescents which influence

research from that time period. Many of these societal perceptions and attitudes are influenced

by depictions of homelessness within the mass media such as newspapers and online articles.

Most individuals do not have access or knowledge about online scholarly journals and are

therefore missing the integral information gathered from scholarly studies. Instead, they are

receiving their information about youth homelessness from misguided and skewed media articles

that promote dangerous stereotypes and misperceptions.

   The lack of accessible academic research contributes to a confused population of

individuals in society that do not perceive adolescent homelessness as a major issue. Prejudices

and misperceptions persist with the continuation of criminalized stereotypes of "street" youth.

Blame and responsibility for adolescent homelessness have shifted throughout the last hundred

years ranging from individualistic responsibility of the adolescent, to the acknowledgement of

macro-level environmental factors that contribute to the growing population (Kidd, 2012).

According to Kidd's (2012) analysis of historical perceptions, there are three important

"culturally-bound dimensions from which we construct our understanding and responses to

youth homelessness" (Kidd, 2012, p. 533). These three dimensions are: scope of responsibility,

location of moral responsibility and the amount of agency attributed to the youth (Kidd, 2012).

Kidd also asserts that there are major gaps which in exist in the research about adolescent

homelessness because there is a lack of universal definition about what constitutes an

'adolescent' and what constitutes being 'homeless.' Kidd (2012) references multiple terms to

describe this population such as "runaway" which was commonly used in the academic literature

of the 1980s, "throwaways" which is the more appropriate term since most of these individuals

are forced out of their homes, "homeless youth", "street-youth", and "street-involved youth."

Most of these titles hold a negative connotation which displays how language can affect the way

that society perceives and studies certain subjects. The operational definition often given for

homelessness is, "those who lack shelter" or those who "live rough" (Kidd, 2012, p. 534). This

designation that a homeless life is a "rough" life shows how the culture of homelessness deviates

from societal norms and is therefore stigmatized and ostracized from dominant society.

Not only is there ambiguity in definitions, there is also variation in what constitutes an

'adolescent' or 'youth' in terms of age. The lowest cut-off seemingly included in academic

research concerning adolescents is 12, while the highest age cut-off is 24 (Kidd, 2012). This

range of ages does include what is typically deemed an 'adolescent'; however, each study varies

on the ages that they include in their sample. Because of this arbitrariness, there is no real

possible estimation about the sheer size of the homeless adolescent population. A consensus has

been reached that the population is large and growing and the homeless youth face a multitude of

intersectional risks such as barriers to shelter, access to health/medical care, prejudice and

discrimination, and criminalization. It is apparent that researchers do care about the homeless

population, but there are barriers to their studies. For example, longitudinal research is extremely

costly and time-consuming and there is a high rate of attrition, especially for this age group and

population. Most researchers opt for cross-sectional studies rather than longitudinal studies due to feasibility; however, longitudinal studies are needed to evaluate shifting effects and experiences over time. Studies focused on the effectiveness of resource utilization should also be considered as well as receiving qualitative feedback from homeless youth themselves. This community could be approached through incentives, such as bus passes and gift cards, to participate.

A research team of Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago completed the first "nationally representative survey to capture the problem of youth homelessness" in 2016 and 2017 (Balingit, 2017). The researchers recognized the issue that most studies only surveyed the young homeless population at a given "point-in-time" which counts the number of homeless individuals on a given date. Their results concluded that homelessness has many faces and does not exist as a stereotypical cliché. Anyone can experience homelessness in their lives, and the creators of the survey provided numerous examples of adolescents and adults who did not conform to the stereotype of homelessness. Morton, the head-researcher claimed, "our findings probably challenge the images of homelessness…homelessness is young…[and] it's more common than people expect…[and] it's largely hidden" (Balingit, 2017). This challenges the idea that homelessness is old and male. As Pingree, a college-educated woman who experienced homelessness as an adolescent says, "there's a lot of times people are shocked to find out someone was homeless" (Balingit, 2017). Members of society subconsciously internalize prejudices and stereotypes of what they believe a certain 'type' of person looks like.

Most research on homeless adolescents are primarily focused on risks and deficits, but some monumental studies such as Nott & Vuchinich's (2016) study, focus on an effort to help homeless youth by discovering what they themselves believe are their strengths. Research

models such as this allow the struggling population to have a voice and platform to shed reality

on the issue rather than wait for a news media station to approach them and exaggerate their

story. In this study, five groups of adolescents from a homeless shelter and five groups from a 4-

H program participated in focus groups in order to provide qualitative data to the researchers.

Differences between groups were found in areas of happiness, identity, strengths, risk avoidance,

and family support. Self-awareness and adaptation were also more apparent in the homeless

youth population. This study sought to empower adolescents in their own development to assert

that they are not merely victims of circumstance, but instead act as authors of their own

trajectories (Nott & Vuchinich, 2016).

　　　While there are major flaws with historical academic research in this area, there have

been signs of improvement with an emphasis on intersectional approaches to combatting

adolescent homelessness. Intersectional approaches include targeting both the causes and

consequences of youth homelessness, and shifting a focus to minority populations within the

homeless community in order to serve a diverse population with various needs. Sample sizes

need to be larger and more representative, longitudinal studies should be conducted, programs

and strategies need to be reevaluated and revised, and terms need to be universally defined.

Despite these errors, academic research does seem to focus on the reality of homelessness in

comparison to media reports of adolescent homelessness that exaggerate details of stories in

order to market their articles. Those with research backgrounds and sociological or psychological

education, such as social workers are able to understand the connection between past

experiences, and environmental factors on current situations (McCoy, 2015). They must share

this knowledge though with dominant society rather than disbursing the information to only

academic elite. The mass media could realistically portray youth homelessness if academic research was used to support article findings.

While academic research attempts to discover the magnitude of the issue and how best to address it, media such as newspapers and websites are sympathetic, but blind to the harsh realities that homelessness, especially during adolescence, can create. There is a continuum of how media treats homeless adolescent's stories. Extreme ends of this continuum are the sympathetic sob stories that take pity on homeless youth, but promote an us vs. them attitude, and those stories that glorify the resiliency and persistence of homeless adolescents that contributes to their later success. Both of these clichés draw from rare, exceptional stories that grab media attention rather than focus on the actual problem and solutions. While media reporters should highlight stories in which individuals overcome homelessness, there needs to be an emphasis that explains the rarity of exceptional cases such as the ones outlined here. Since success if often exaggerated in these articles, readers may misunderstand the breadth of the issue. This misperception could cause further defunding and a decrease in sympathy for the homeless youth population. Media articles are also exaggerated to portray homeless youths as victims who lack any form of control. This tone insults the adolescent homeless community because it disregards their agency and resiliency.

Success stories such as Kim Velsey's *New York Times* article, "From Homeless Shelter to Her First Apartment" are often outrageous outliers and exceptions to the norm, thus decreasing credibility and empathy towards the social issue. This particular article discusses Tamantra Bowen's journey from homelessness to success. While negative memories of the shelter are shared, the article emphasizes how glorious Bowen's life currently is - she has a beautiful apartment paid for by the Cerebral Palsy Association, and she has a successful paid internship.

Bowen had numerous statuses such as that of being an immigrant, disabled, young, etc. that contributed to her struggles, but minor emphasis is directed to these statuses and their influence on her journey. This story does foster hope that it is possible to seek help and end the cycle of homelessness, but her situation is very different from those of most homeless adolescents. Because of her disability, she qualified for special aid- not because of her homelessness specifically. The tone of this article is an inflated grandiose tale in which the victim's suffering paid off because she now is living in a large private apartment, of which pictures are plastered across the article. Her past struggles seem disregarded in relation to her current material wealth. Since this is not the norm for most homeless adolescents, it gives a false perception of what the community actually experiences. This also disregards macro-level factors such as poverty and exorbitant housing costs, that contribute to homelessness. Media representations continue to promote individualistic ideologies in which the homeless population is expected to pull themselves out of their situation themselves without consideration of the complex societal environment in which they live.

At the opposite level of exaggeration, the overly sympathetic stories paint homeless adolescents as passive victims. Rubin's (2013) article, "Housing Center Gives Teen Parents a Fresh Start" published in the *Chicago Tribune* makes the gratefulness of a sheltered teen mother seem as if she were a victim until she was 'saved' by the facility. Media reporters seem to draw quotes from victims that exaggerate their original meaning. For example, Rubin quoted a mother who described the facility, "like heaven." She also quoted the director saying "we wanted to have a place where we didn't have to worry about gunfire…where no bullets could hurt our babies" (Rubin, 2013) . Media extracts the most tragic quotes possible and makes the adolescents sound as if they were incapable of surviving or practicing agency before the organization existed.

Rubin (2013) also discusses the small joys that sheltered individuals had at New Mom's Inc., such as using their own appliances. While adolescents who have experienced homelessness are most likely grateful for the ability to utilize their own appliances, there are much larger issues that could have been discussed. Rubin could have used this platform as a way to advocate for safer, or cleaner more hygienic shelters, but instead it seemed like a marketing ad for the facility (Rubin, 2013).

Other examples of the sad, cheesy and cliché anecdotes tend to exist in articles concerning homeless adolescent mothers such as McCoy's (2015) article in the *Washington Post* titled, "Inside the Hidden World of Homeless Teen Mothers." While sad stories may be effective at gaining sympathy, the main point of the article seems to be the sadness itself. O'Connor's (1995) article reviewing a movie about adolescent homelessness provides the following quote: "homeless teen-agers are convenient pegs on which television movies can hang periodic semblances of a social conscience" (O'Connor, 1995). Mass media continues to perpetuate stereotypical perceptions of homelessness that contribute to misperceptions and prejudices; however, some authors such as Egan (2002) provide critical commentary on the social problem of homelessness through in-depth interviews with the homeless population. If media reporters use academic research as a foundation to study and comment on social issues, their sources would have more credibility and realistic tones. This would also serve as a way for society to access academic knowledge.

One topic of concern among researchers and media reporters, is the perceived behavior of homeless youth and how that perception influences their daily activities. Criminalization and discouragement of behaviors among the adolescent homeless population have increased and therefore begs the question of whether society places moral responsibility on the youths

themselves, or on larger society (Kidd, 2012). Should the adolescents themselves be eradicating their poverty, or should society help to alleviate some of the problems that it created? From a sociological perspective, individuals lack mobility in societal systems that continue to oppress and disadvantage them. Without changes to external factors such as poverty, there is little ability for individuals to change their situation on their own. By discussing these social problems in relation to youth homelessness, the mass media could eradicate stereotypes and bring awareness about the macro-level issues that contribute to homelessness. This again necessitates discussions with academic researchers and sociologists who can provide the statistical correlations between environmental factors and youth homelessness.

　　　Among mass media outlets there is also debate concerning youth agency. Adolescents are either judged as adults who are completely autonomous and free to change their trajectories, or they are viewed as victims of their circumstances in which they lack agency to change their situation. The belief that adolescents are completely free to act in ways that they choose finds its origins during the Counterculture movement in which adolescents were making the conscious decisions to leave home simply for adventure. The opposite extreme of viewing homeless adolescents as victims emerged during the 1980s and 1990s when abuse explanations were researched to account for why adolescents become homeless (Kidd, 2012). In reality, adolescents fall somewhere in between this spectrum. Adolescents do have some capacity to be active in their trajectories; however, there are also major social institutions and agencies affecting their stories as well. Conversations between academic researchers and mass media journalists such as utilized in Egan's (2002) article provide factually supported academic evidence paired with real, qualitative personal stories and experiences. These types of media representations are the most useful and the most educational. Providing education about the magnitude of a social problem

should be the purpose of discussing it in the media: the purpose should not be to exaggerate and stereotypically write articles in order to receive the most clicks for popularity.

<div align="center">Conclusions & Solutions</div>

The homeless adolescent population has reached an alarmingly high estimation rate and policy must address the increasing number of youths lacking proper shelter and resources. Barden, in his (1990) *New York Times* article, claims that "any conflict over numbers should not detract from the plight of those involved." Whether the number is in the hundreds or in the millions, these are still young people at risk for multiple issues aside from just their homelessness.

There are multiple reasons that an adolescent can become homeless including abuse, fear, rejection, poverty etc.; however, quality research must be conducted in order to discover the proportions of adolescents within each group in order to effectively treat past and present problems such as trauma, depression, or anxiety exacerbated by homelessness. Part of uncovering the real numbers is decreasing the stigma of homelessness. McCoy (2015) asserts that "kids will do anything to avoid the embarrassment of admitting they're homeless" and because of this, "no one-not the District's Department of Human Services, not the schools, not advocates- is sure how many there are." This leads to further barriers such as adolescent discouragement and avoidance of utilizing resources or speaking with researchers.

Research within the field of adolescent homelessness must be more thoroughly conducted at larger, representative scales in order to produce valid and credible data. The increase in diversification of the homeless population calls for adaptation in strategies and analyses of risks (Lee, Tyler, & Wright, 2010). Before studies begin, there needs to be a universal definition of terms applied so that studies can be replicated and revised if necessary. Also, more cohesive data

may be accessible if the same scale is being utilized by researchers. Discussions between

scholars and media journalists could also contribute to a wider range of realistic knowledge that

could be accessible to the masses.

Programs for prevention and de facto aid are necessary at both the individualistic and

macro-levels for the youth homeless population in order to serve as many adolescents as possible

(Kidd, 2012). Kidd (2012) discusses the need for a comprehensive body of credible research that

directly links macro-level factors and homelessness because it would "assist in both improving

the recognition that youth homelessness is in many instances, a symptom of more fundamental

social problems" and it "would provide motivation for larger social responses" (Kidd, 2012, p.

539). Research also constantly needs to be conducted concerning the programs that are already in

place. Members of research teams should analyze the effectiveness of current prevention and

intervention programs with a goal of revitalizing and adapting the programs to fit the needs of a

changing community. Knowledgeable advocates should be placed within governmental

institutions in order to affect policy change at the local level while awaiting the bureaucratic

process of changing the federal government (Kidd, 2012). This would allow for a sense of social

action: if one community were to make a change in their policy concerning homeless

adolescents, other communities can evaluate and learn from their experience to implement their

own effective strategies.

Educational programs such as parenting classes, job training, strengths tests, etc. should

also be provided within shelters. Since the shelter community is private and ostracized from

larger society, better communication between the shelters and potential volunteers could lead to

impactful training and education that could begin to prevent further homelessness among the

adolescent community. Another potential policy change could be the access to internet and

networking for homeless adolescents. Although their access to internet is limited to public

libraries and services, it is imperative to maintaining positive social networks (Rice et al., 2012).

Home-based peers and relations are critical to prevent isolation and depression among this

community. It is important to gain feedback from homeless adolescents themselves as well in

order to find the personal needs of the community, rather than over-relying on information given

by shelters and agencies. Participatory research is invaluable to this community, so our focus

should be on integrating services and resources that youth are willing to utilize and provide

feedback on (Garcia, Minkler, Cardenas, Grills, & Porter, 2014). For example, since youth tend

to use drop-in services when they believe their peers are using drop-in services, programs such as

a buddy system could be incorporated to provide accountability and shared support and

encouragement among homeless youth who are enduring shared experiences. A daily real-time

assessment could also be useful to realistically understanding the daily lives of homeless youth.

This could be conducted through access to the internet, social media, or cell phones in which

adolescents could not only keep in contact with pro-social support systems such as family, but

solutions could be evaluated based on the real-time needs of the population. With a sociological

mindset and ecological perspective of youth homelessness, policies may slowly change and

adapt to the diverse needs of this community.

References

Balingit, M. (2017). 1 in 10 young adults has been homeless over the past year, survey finds. *The*

Washington Post. Retrieved March 25, 2019, from Washington Post website:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/one-in-ten-youth-have-been-homeless-

over-the-past-year-survey-finds/2017/12/31/6acfcef2-ebf7-11e7-8a6a-

80acf0774e64_story.html

Barden, J. C. (1990, February 5). Yound and adrift; A special report. 7 case histories: page B8.;

strife in families swells tide of homeless youths. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from

https://www.nytimes.com/1990/02/05/us/yound-adrift-special-report-7-case-histories-

page-b8-strife-families-swells-tide.html

Beck, B. (2019). Homeless youth: America's hidden population. *Rawhide.* Retrieved April 26,

2019, from *Rawhide* website: https://www.*Rawhide*.org/blog/infographics/homeless-

youth-americas-hidden-population/

Boesky, L. M. (1995). Age differences in psychosocial variables among older and younger

homeless adolescents. Retrieved from

http://search.proquest.com/socialsciences/docview/304232240/abstract/28EF5E0668A84

B3APQ/2

Egan, J. (2002). To be young and homeless. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from

https://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/24/magazine/to-be-young-and-homeless.html

Garcia, A. P., Minkler, M., Cardenas, Z., Grills, C., & Porter, C. (2014). Engaging homeless

youth in community-based participatory research: a case study from Skid Row, Los

Angeles. *Health Promotion Practice*, *15*(1), 18–27.

https://doi.org/10.1177/1524839912472904

Grant for girls: Marshall Field's has awarded... (1995). *The Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved March

25, 2019, from https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1995-02-05-9502050208-

story.html

Gwadz, M. V., Gostnell, K., Smolenski, C., Willis, B., Nish, D., Nolan, T. C., … Ritchie, A. S.

(2009). The initiation of homeless youth into the street economy. *Journal of Adolescence*,

32(2), 357–377. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2008.01.004

Kidd, S. (2012). Invited commentary: Seeking a coherent strategy in our response to homeless

and street-involved youth: A historical review and suggested future directions. *Journal of

Youth and Adolescence; New York*, *41*(5), 533–543.

http://dx.doi.org.argo.library.okstate.edu/10.1007/s10964-012-9743-1

Kidd, S. A. (2007). Youth homelessness and social stigma. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*,

36(3), 291–299. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-006-9100-3

Lee, B. A., Tyler, K. A., & Wright, J. D. (2010). The new homelessness revisited. *Annual

Review of Sociology*, *36*(1), 501–521. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-

115940

McCoy, T. (2015). Inside the hidden world of homeless teen mothers. *The Washington Post*.

Retrieved March 25, 2019, from Washington Post website:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/inside-the-hidden-world-of-homeless-teen-

mothers/2015/04/24/15b479f8-e868-11e4-9767-6276fc9b0ada_story.html

Nott, B. D., & Vuchinich, S. (2016). Homeless adolescents' perceptions of positive

      development: A comparative study. *Child & Youth Care Forum*, *45*(6), 865–886.

      http://dx.doi.org.argo.library.okstate.edu/10.1007/s10566-016-9361-2

O'Connor, J.J. (1995). Television Review;Surviving on the Street As a Homeless Teen-Ager -

      The New York Times. Retrieved March 25, 2019, from

      https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/28/arts/television-review-surviving-on-the-street-as-a-

      homeless-teen-ager.html

Perron, J. L., Cleverley, K., & Kidd, S. A. (2014). Resilience, loneliness, and psychological

      distress among homeless youth. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing*, *28*(4), 226–229.

      https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apnu.2014.05.004

Rahman, M. A., Turner, J. F., & Elbedour, S. (2017). The U.S. homeless student population:

      Homeless youth education, review of research classifications and typologies, and the U.S.

      federal legislative response: Correction. *Child & Youth Care Forum*, *46*(6), 947–947.

      https://doi.org/10.1007/s10566-017-9420-3

Rice, E., Kurzban, S., & Ray, D. (2012). Homeless but connected: The role of heterogeneous

      social network ties and social networking technology in the mental health outcomes of

      street-living adolescents. *Community Mental Health Journal; New York*, *48*(6), 692–698.

      http://dx.doi.org.argo.library.okstate.edu/10.1007/s10597-011-9462-1

Rice, E., Stein, J. A., & Milburn, N. (2008). Countervailing social network influences on

      problem behaviors among homeless youth. *Journal of Adolescence*, *31*(5), 625–639.

      https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2007.10.008

Ringwalt, C. L., Greene, J. M., Robertson, M., & McPheeters, M. (1998). The prevalence of

>   homelessness among adolescents in the United States. *American Journal of Public*

>   *Health*, *88*(9), 1325–1329. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.88.9.1325

Rubin, B.M. (2013). Housing center gives teen parents a fresh start. *The Chicago Tribune*.

>   Retrieved March 25, 2019, from https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-2013-10-

>   30-ct-x-1030-homeless-teen-moms-20131030-story.html

Shelton, J. (2015). Transgender youth homelessness: Understanding programmatic barriers

>   through the lens of cisgenderism. *Children and Youth Services Review, Elsevier, vol.*

>   *59*(C), pages 10-18.

Steinberg, L. D. (2017). *Adolescence* (11th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.

Stein, S. (1993). Study of homeless kids paints picture of neglect. *The Chicago Tribune*.

>   Retrieved March 25, 2019, from chicagotribune.com website:

>   https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1993-06-22-9306220080-story.html

Stewart, N. (2017). New york to add 300 shelter beds for homeless young people. *The New York*

>   *Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/09/nyregion/new-york-to-add-

>   300-shelter-beds-for-homeless-young-people.html

Stuart, F. (2015). On the streets, under arrest: Policing homelessness in the 21st century.

>   *Sociology Compass*, *9*(11), 940–950. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12324

The state of homelessness in America. (2017). Retrieved April 29, 2019, from National Alliance

>   to End Homelessness website: https://endhomelessness.org/homelessness-in-

>   america/homelessness-statistics/state-of-homelessness-report-legacy/

Thompson, S. J., Bender, K. A., Lewis, C. M., & Watkins, R. (2008). Runaway and pregnant:

      risk factors associated with pregnancy in a national sample of runaway/homeless female

      adolescents. *The Journal of Adolescent Health: Official Publication of the Society for*

      Adolescent Medicine, *43*(2), 125–132. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2007.12.015

True Colors Fund. (2018) *State Index on Youth Homelessness 2018.* Retrieved from

      https://drive.google.com/file/d/14hCgF6gwxF7At2kanWLulciE1NPN-Z5C/view

Tucker, J. S., Pedersen, E. R., Parast, L., & Klein, D. J. (2018). Factors associated with drop-in

      center utilization among unaccompanied youth experiencing homelessness. *Children and*

      Youth Services Review, *91*, 347–354. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.06.027

Tyler, K. A., Akinyemi, S. L., & Kort-Butler, L. A. (2012). Correlates of service utilization

      among homeless youth. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *34*(7), 1344–1350.

      https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2012.03.010

Tyler, K. A., & Schmitz, R. M. (2013). Family histories and multiple transitions among homeless

      young adults: Pathways to homelessness. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *35*(10),

      1719–1726. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2013.07.014

Van Leeuwen, J. M., Boyle, S., Salomonsen-Sautel, S., Baker, D. N., Garcia, J. T., Hoffman, A.,

      & Hopfer, C. J. (2006). Lesbian, gay, and bisexual homeless youth: an eight-city public

      health perspective. *Child Welfare*, *85*(2), 151–170.

Whitbeck, L. B., & Simons, R. L. (1993). A comparison of adaptive strategies and patterns of

      victimization among homeless adolescents and adults. *Violence and Victims; New York*,

      8(2), 135–152. http://dx.doi.org.argo.library.okstate.edu/10.1891/0886-6708.8.2.135