Homelessness Among California’s Youth: Addressing Critical Needs Through Prevention and Early Intervention

BACKGROUND PAPER

Summary:

On a single night in January 2019, volunteers spread out across the country to count the number of sheltered and unsheltered individuals experiencing homelessness. The results of this effort, known as the Point-in-Time (PIT) count, concluded that in January 2019, just over half a million people (567,715) across the nation were living in shelters, empty warehouses, along river beds, and other locations not intended for human habitation. This accounts for a nearly 3% increase in homelessness nationwide since January 2018. In California, however, the rate of homelessness increased 16% over the same period of time.

In January 2018, 129,972 individuals in California were identified as homeless; in January 2019, that number rose to 151,278. California’s homeless population therefore accounts for 27% of the nation’s homeless population. While the number of individuals living on California’s streets has reached crisis levels, recent data demonstrate that, in recent years, the number of youth experiencing homelessness in California has decreased.

In 2018, there were approximately 12,396 youth experiencing homelessness in California; in January 2019 that number decreased by 3.3% to 11,993. Although the number of homeless youth in California decreased between 2018 and 2019, 34% of the nation’s homeless youth population resides in California.

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) defines an unaccompanied homeless youth as a young person under the age of 25 who is not accompanied by a parent or guardian and is not a parent presenting with or sleeping in the same place as their children; the
homeless youth population is further broken out to include youth under the age of 18, and youth between the ages of 18 and 24. ii †

Studies show that unaccompanied youth living on the streets are more likely to suffer from violence; victimization, such as commercial sexual exploitation; engage in risky behaviors, such as survival sex to find shelter or food; use illegal substances; and, are more likely to suffer from poorer health outcomes later in life as a result of trauma and toxic stress.

While a variety of factors contribute to homelessness among the larger population, such as a lack of affordable housing and necessary supports and services to ensure long-term housing stability, it has grown increasingly evident that various subpopulations experiencing homelessness require different interventions and strategies; what may be useful in preventing homelessness among families with children may not be equally effective in addressing chronic homelessness among adults, individuals with substance use disorders, or mental health issues.

As young people who straddle the line between childhood and adulthood, transition-age youth require specific services and supports that are unique to their particular developmental needs. Transition-age youth are often ill-equipped to navigate the complexities of obtaining and retaining long-term housing. Often times, transition-age youth lack the rental or credit history required to sign a lease; do not have the employment skills or history necessary to secure sufficient, steady income; or, have not yet acquired basic living skills, such as the ability to grocery shop, cook, or do their own laundry. These barriers, combined with California’s limited affordable housing supply and lack of youth-specific housing and shelters, has resulted in large numbers of transition-age youth experiencing homelessness.

In recognition of the homelessness crisis, California has implemented a variety of approaches to stemming the flow of individuals out of housing and onto its streets, including: embracing a Housing First philosophy; utilizing rapid-rehousing practices; increasing the supply of emergency shelters and navigation centers; and, creating permanent, supportive housing, as well as transitional housing. Most recently California has allocated over $1 billion through the Homeless Emergency Aid Program (HEAP) and Homeless Housing, Assistance and Prevention (HHAP) Program to allow local flexibility in addressing community-specific challenges.

Half of chronically homeless adults were homeless during the ages of 18 to 24. iii With California’s increased efforts on prevention and early intervention among individuals at risk of homelessness or newly homeless, addressing youth homelessness is imperative in addressing the overall homelessness crisis. In recognition of this, HEAP and HHAP both required, as a prerequisite to receive funding, that recipients set aside a certain percentage of funds to serve homeless youth (5% and 8% respectively). As California continues to bolster its services and supports to address its homelessness crisis, California must continue to address youth homelessness in ways that meet the unique developmental and social needs of transition-age youth.

† For the purposes of this report, youth under the age of 18 will be referred to as adolescents, and youth between the ages of 18 and 24 will be referred to as transition-age youth.
Defining Youth Homelessness

Homeless youth are often undercounted in official counts of homelessness. This is partly due to differing definitions of homeless youth. Depending on the program, the definition for homeless youth varies based on age range, living situation, and parenting status. HUD defines a “homeless unaccompanied youth” as a person under the age of 25 who is not accompanied by a parent or guardian and is not a parent presenting with or sleeping in the same place as their children. This count, however, misses many young people who are living in unstable or inadequate living situations such as sleeping on friends’ couches (colloquially called “couch surfing”), staying in shelters, and living under bridges, in abandoned buildings, and on the streets.

The McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act for education-related services uses a broader definition of youth homelessness, which states that youth are considered homeless if they “[lack] a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence,” including sharing the housing of other persons due to loss of housing, economic hardship, or similar reasons; living in motels, hotels, trailer parks, or campgrounds due to lack of alternative accommodations; living in emergency or transitional shelters; and living in cars, parks, public spaces, abandoned buildings, substandard housing, bus or train stations, or similar places.

The National Network for Youth also uses a broader definition of homeless youth to include “an individual who is 12-24 years of age, who is living on their own, without a parent or guardian, and is without a safe, stable living arrangement.”

These different definitions are significant because each count of homeless youth based on a definition leads to a different estimate of the scale of youth homelessness. How homeless youth are defined in statute establishes the eligibility for certain programs and supports as well as the basis for subsequent policy-making decisions.

Reasons for Becoming Homeless

Just as there are myriad reasons why adults become homeless, there are various reasons that lead youth to become homeless. However, there are some common causes that lead to youth homelessness. Family instability is often cited as a reason for leaving home, and can include child abuse or neglect, domestic violence, or family conflict. Family rejection due to a youth’s sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression often leads to a young person experiencing homelessness. A 2017 study from the Chapin Hall research center at the University of Chicago found that lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning (LGBTQ) youth are at more than double the risk of experiencing homelessness than that of their peers.\textsuperscript{iv}

The homeless youth population also includes minors who have run away from home, minors who have been expelled from their home or have been prevented from returning to their home, and youth who have had experiences with the foster care or juvenile justice systems. In fact, there is a disproportionate representation of youth who have had experiences in the foster care and juvenile justice systems who experience homelessness.
Disproportionate Representation

Former Foster Youth
Youth involved with the child welfare system are particularly at risk of experiencing homelessness. A 2013 study in the Journal of Public Health found that between 31% and 46% of former foster youth had been homeless at least once by age 26. The study found that the odds of becoming homeless by age 19 were higher for those who: (1) had run away more than once while in foster care; (2) were placed in a group care setting at baseline; (3) had been physically abused before entering foster care; (4) had engaged in more delinquent behaviors; and, (5) did not feel very close to a biological parent or grandparent. Additionally, youth who have been involved in the child welfare system are more likely to become homeless at an earlier age and remain homeless for a longer period of time.

Juvenile Justice Involved Youth
The relationship between the juvenile justice system and youth homelessness is bidirectional. In a nationwide survey, nearly 44% of youth who were experiencing homelessness had been in a juvenile detention center, jail or prison; 7% directly attributed their first experience with homelessness to exiting a jail or prison. Homeless youth may also subsequently enter the criminal justice system through laws that may disproportionately affect their circumstances (ex. truancy, panhandling, sitting or sleeping in public places). Additionally, a young person who is experiencing homelessness may be more inclined to steal money or steal goods to sell in order to afford shelter or food, and if caught, could subsequently be charged with theft.

Racial Minorities
San Francisco’s 2019 PIT survey found black or African American and multiracial youth are substantially overrepresented among the city’s homeless youth. While African Americans make up 6% of the city’s total population, 37% of the counted homeless youth were black or African American. Those identifying themselves as multiracial were 5% of general population but 22% of all homeless youth. Moreover, a 2018 study from the Voices of Youth Count administered by Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago found that youth who identified as both LGBTQ and black or multiracial had some of the highest rates of homelessness. Nearly 25% of black male transition–aged youth, who identified as LGBTQ reported explicit homelessness.

A study exploring the differences in youth homelessness by ethnicity found substantial differences in youths’ experiences by race. Though sharing common histories of family dysfunction, the youth differed in their experiences of family, access to housing, street survival strategies, self-presentation, health behaviors and service utilization. White youth generally identified with the term “homeless,” engaged in survival activities, and accessed the services intended to address the needs of homeless youth. In contrast, researchers said the sample of African American youth generally did not perceive themselves as “homeless,” a stigmatized term, and were thus less likely to utilize, or be engaged by, relevant services.

Impacts of Youth Homelessness
Transition-aged youth require unique housing and supports since they are still transitioning to adulthood and likely have not gained the life skills to seamlessly make that transition. These
young people are still developing physically, emotionally, psychologically, and socially. They often have little to no work experience or life skills, such as cooking, money management, housekeeping, and job searching. Youth who have experienced or are experiencing homelessness are also more likely to encounter negative impacts on health and mental health. Homelessness can create barriers to education, job skills, and resources that lead to financial stability and overall wellbeing. The impacts, therefore, of experiencing homelessness as an adolescent or transition-age youth are vast.

Trauma and Toxic Stress
The conditions of homelessness and the resulting stress can be traumatic, and repeat exposure to trauma can have significant effects on an adolescent’s biological and social development. Prolonged exposure to trauma and stress can also affect a youth’s ability to master the developmental tasks of adolescence and the ability to plan and organize for the future. Many adolescents who experience homelessness experience complex trauma, which is the combination of exposure to traumatic events and the impact of this exposure on immediate and long-term outcomes. Complex trauma can affect a youth’s ability to form attachments, develop forms of self-regulation, and attain competency in developmental tasks of adolescence.

Many unaccompanied youth with a history of complex trauma have significant mental health problems, including depression, anxiety disorders, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, suicidal ideation, attachment issues, and substance use disorders. Young people’s responses to trauma are shaped, at least in part, by their age, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. When traumatic events occur before youth leave home, many youth are re-traumatized once they arrive on the street. The youth are therefore trying to recover from traumatic events that prompted their homelessness at the same time that they are trying to survive in a hostile street environment.

Prolonged and repeated exposure to childhood trauma, including physical or emotional abuse, chronic neglect, and caregiver substance abuse or mental illness, can result in “toxic stress.” When someone experiences a stressful situation, the body responds by elevating heart rate, blood pressure, and excreting stress hormones, such as adrenaline and cortisol. Repeated exposure to stressful experiences results in a prolonged state of the body’s response to stress. If stress is extreme and long-lasting and a child lacks the necessary supportive relationships with adults, the physiological effects of stress are not buffered and the child may experience damaged, weakened systems and brain architecture.

Education Access
Youth without stable housing can face a number of barriers to attending and completing high school or college. Barriers to education can include transportation to school, being in violation of school attendance policies, residency requirements, policies about releasing records to a minor without a legal guardian, and a need for proper records. Adolescent youth are more likely to be truant or drop out of high school because daily attendance at school does not immediately improve their circumstance. Additionally, the tasks and assignments required for school (ex. homework, projects, etc.) may be difficult to complete without a stable environment to get the work done. Those who have a job may choose to work instead of attending school so that they can maintain some income.
A 2019 study from the Voices of Youth Count found that transition-age youth who experience homelessness are also less likely to enroll in college, and many that do still struggle with homelessness while attending college. The barriers to education may create difficulty obtaining and maintaining a job, as a lack of sufficient education can create barriers to employment. These may include lack of a stable address or means of contact, proper identification, work experience, transportation, and assistance with, or knowledge of, application materials and processes.

**Trafficking**

Youth experiencing homelessness are also vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation—being forced into commercial sex acts by force, fraud, or coercion—and labor trafficking, which can include forms of domestic servitude, restaurant work, and migrant agricultural work. Studies have found that rates of trafficking among homeless youth range from 19 to 40%. Reversely, 60% of 10- to 17-year-olds who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation are runaway, throwaway (have been expelled from their homes), or homeless youth. A 2017 study that interviewed 911 homeless youth between ages 17 and 25 across the U.S and Canada about their experiences with sex trafficking found that 15% of the total population of homeless youth had been trafficked for sex (21.4% of young women and 10% of young men).

**Unsafe Sexual Practices**

Homeless youth also have a higher likelihood of engaging in earlier sexual intercourse, having multiple sexual partners, and participating in survival sex (sex in exchange for food, money, shelter, drugs, or clothing). One study of more than 200 homeless youth ages 15 to 22 found that, of those who reported recent sexual intercourse, one-third of young men and half of young women did not use a barrier contraceptive method with at least one partner. More than one-fifth said they had participated in survival sex. Of the sexually active respondents, 46% reported receiving a Sexually Transmitted Infection (STI) test in the last three months, and 32% reported positive STI results. Additionally, homeless youth have high pregnancy and parenting rates. As many as one-third of unaccompanied young women have been pregnant; and one-half of unaccompanied young men have had a pregnancy experience. Homeless youth are three times as likely as national samples of youth to be pregnant, to have impregnated someone, or to already be a parent.

**Physical Health**

Youth experiencing homelessness are at high risk for a number of illnesses and for the development of chronic conditions such as influenza, hepatitis, sexually transmitted infections, diabetes, skin diseases, respiratory diseases such as pneumonia and asthma, and dental problems. Once homeless, youth can face a number of barriers to accessing medical care, including a lack of health insurance, transportation, and knowledge of services. In a 2003 article in the journal Seminars in Pediatric Infectious Diseases, researchers noted that, “In addition to the barriers experienced by the adult homeless population, homeless adolescents confront further hurdles stemming from their age and developmental stage. Some of these impediments include a lack of knowledge of clinic sites, fear of not being taken seriously, concerns about confidentiality, and fears of police or social services involvement.”
Mental Health

More than half of homeless youth report mental health problems, including depression, anxiety, psychosis, and post-traumatic stress. The prevalence of psychiatric disorders is almost twice as high as their more stably housed peers. Youth experiencing homelessness may also be at higher risk of suicide. According to a 2012 article in the Journal of Child Psychiatry and Human Development, “While some pre-existing mental and physical health problems associated with abusive and neglectful pre-street backgrounds may contribute to suicidality; these issues are typically intensified by the high risk lifestyle of street living.”

Substance Use

Research indicates that alcohol and other drug use are more prevalent among youth experiencing homelessness. Results vary across studies, but a 2012 literature review in the Journal of Child Psychiatry and Human Development found that prevalence of substance use by homeless youth ranges between 70% and 90%. Other studies, such as one detailed in a 1997 article in the American Journal of Public Health, have indicated that, across substances, youth living on the streets were the most likely to use illicit substances, followed by youth living in shelters and youth living in homes who had a recent runaway/homeless experience. Stably housed youth had the lowest prevalence of substance use.

Strategies for Addressing Homelessness

A number of different models and approaches to reduce homelessness have been implemented at the federal, state, and local levels with varying rates of success. Though these strategies were not designed to focus specifically on homelessness among transition-age youth, many of them can be adapted to address youth homelessness.

Housing First

Housing First is an approach to homelessness that prioritizes moving people quickly into permanent, affordable housing without pre-condition and then offering supportive services in order to help people avoid returning to homelessness. Housing First is premised on the idea that housing should not be denied to anyone, even if they are abusing alcohol or other substances. Supportive services are offered to maximize housing stability and prevent returns to homelessness, as opposed to addressing predetermined treatment goals prior to providing housing. Housing First has been shown to reduce the overall local costs incurred when localities provide social services to people where they are, rather than allowing them to continue to cycle through emergency rooms, jails, and treatment centers. In 2016, Governor Jerry Brown signed SB 1380 (Mitchell), Chapter 847, Statutes of 2016, and established California as a Housing First state requiring state agencies that provide housing or homelessness services to incorporate components of Housing First into their services provisions.

Emergency shelters, crisis services, and navigation centers

Emergency shelters and crisis services help people meet immediate survival needs by providing food, shelter, clothing, and hygiene services while connecting them to stable housing. In recent years, some local jurisdictions have opened navigation centers—programs designed to shelter highly vulnerable and long-term homeless residents who are often fearful of accessing traditional shelter and services—as a response to homelessness. In San Francisco, the navigation centers are
designed to shelter residents experiencing long-term homelessness and differ from a traditional shelter in that they have few barriers to entry and intensive case management services. However, traditional shelter options for adults can be overwhelming or even dangerous for youth, and there are fewer shelter options that are specifically for transition-age youth.

*Rapid re-housing*
Rapid re-housing is a housing model designed to provide temporary housing assistance to people experiencing homelessness by moving them quickly out of homelessness and into permanent housing. Rapid re-housing is provided through short-term interventions to pay housing expenses—rental arrears, ongoing rent, and moving costs—and case management focused on housing stability. Rapid re-housing is a relatively new response to homelessness that became more prominent during the Great Recession. A study conducted by the Urban Institute found that rapid re-housing is a successful intervention for families: it has low barriers to entry, high placement rates, and low rates of return to shelter. However, rapid re-housing does not solve long-term housing affordability problems. After families exit rapid re-housing, many experience high rates of residential instability. Many move again or double up within a year and face challenges paying for rent and household necessities.

*Permanent supportive housing*
Decades of research show that supportive housing with a Housing First requirement ends homelessness among people who experience chronic homelessness. Supportive housing can lower public health costs, improve property values, and decreases recidivism in local jails and state prisons. For these reasons, the state has invested millions of dollars in leveraging federal and local dollars to create more supportive housing.

*Transitional housing*
Transitional housing is longer-term, but not permanent, housing available to individuals and families. Over the last decade, federal funding shifted steering communities away from providing transitional housing except for specific populations, such as transition-age youth and those escaping a domestic violence situation. Federal funding largely is directed toward permanent housing without a limit on stay.

*Capacity building*
Capacity building at the local level is an important activity that helps to coordinate and improve the local response to homelessness. State funding can be used to improve local coordinated entry systems, create or update strategic plans to end homelessness, develop comprehensive plans to maximize the impact of resources, and collect and analyze data. The California Department of Housing and Community Development is offering technical assistance at no charge to local jurisdictions that offer homelessness services to help enhance, develop, and build capacity.

**Federal Programs Addressing Youth Homelessness**

*Federal Youth Demonstration Program*
The Federal Youth Homelessness Demonstration Program (YHDP) provides funding to communities to build local systems to respond to youth homelessness and to support a wide range of housing programs, including: rapid rehousing; permanent supportive housing;
transitional housing; and, host homes. Recipients use funding to support a variety of housing options for youth under the age of 25 who are experiencing homelessness. YHDP also supports youth-focused performance measurement and coordinated entry systems to quickly connect young people with other services and systems of care. Communities that receive funding work with their ‘youth action boards,’ child welfare agencies, and other community partners to create a comprehensive community plan to end youth homelessness. They also participate in a program evaluation to inform the federal effort to prevent and end youth homelessness going forward.

In 2017 and 2018, HUD awarded a combined $76 million to communities across the country to further the efforts of the YHDP. In the first round of awards in 2017, two California communities were among the recipients: San Francisco, which received $2.2 million; and, Watsonville and Santa Cruz City and County, which received $2.2 million. In the second round of awards, announced in 2018, San Diego City and County received $7.94 million. In 2019, HUD announced an additional $75 million in funding to 23 communities across the country, although communities in California were not among the recipients.\textsuperscript{xiv}

State Coordination and Programs

\textit{Homeless Coordinating Financing Council}

In 2016, SB 1380 (Mitchell), Chapter 847, created the Homelessness Coordinating and Financing Council (Council) to coordinate the state’s response to homelessness. SB 1380 required all state agencies or departments that operate programs that provide housing or housing-related services to people experiencing homelessness or at risk of homelessness to adopt guidelines and regulations that include Housing First policies. Under the definition of Housing First adopted by the State, for homeless youth programs that are time-limited, exits to homelessness are required to be extremely rare, and only after a youth refuses assistance with housing search, location and move-in assistance.

\textit{Homeless Youth Act of 2018}

In 2017, SB 918 (Wiener), Chapter 841, established the Homeless Youth Act of 2018 (Act) and expanded the role of the Council to add a focus on homeless youth by requiring the Council to set and measure progress towards goals to prevent and end homelessness among youth in California.

The Act requires the Council to create a plan for addressing youth homelessness in the state and to set measurable goals for ending and preventing homelessness among youth in the state. It also tasks the Council with coordinating funding, policy, and practice efforts related to youth homelessness and engaging stakeholder input while developing policy, practices, and programs. Additionally, to the extent that funding is made available, the Council can provide technical assistance and program development support to increase capacity among new and existing service providers. The Council is required to pay particular attention to areas where services to youth experiencing homelessness have not yet been established, and provide support to service providers in making evidence-informed and data-driven decisions.
Homeless Emergency Aid Program

In 2018, the state authorized one-time funding of $500 million through HEAP to provide localities with flexible block grant funds to address their immediate homelessness challenges. Funding was allocated to Continuums of Care (CoCs)—regional or local planning bodies that coordinate housing and services funding for homeless families and individuals—and large cities. To qualify to receive funds, a city, county, or joint powers authority was required to declare a shelter crisis and a CoC must demonstrate collaboration with the city and county. Funding can be used for emergency housing vouchers, rapid re-housing, construction of emergency shelters, among other uses. CoCs and cities were required to obligate half of the funds by January 1, 2020, and 100% of funds have to be fully expended by June 20, 2021. HEAP required that 5% of funds be used to address the housing needs of homeless youth.

A May 2019 Report by the John Burton Advocates for Youth stated that collectively, local jurisdictions have committed 10.3% of their total HEAP funding to addressing youth homelessness—exceeding the 5% minimum requirement. The most common use of the youth set-aside dollars have been used for funding youth specific shelter, but other uses include transitional housing, rapid re-housing, permanent supportive housing, navigation centers, capital improvements, case management, host homes, prevention services, and hotel vouchers.

Homeless Housing, Assistance and Prevention Program

In 2019, the state authorized one-time funding of $650 million through the HHAP Program. Funds are allocated to CoCs, counties, and large cities for a variety of uses including: rental assistance and rapid rehousing, operating subsidies for shelters and supportive housing, landlord incentives, outreach and coordination, system support to create regional partnerships, delivery of permanent housing like motel and hotel conversion, prevention and shelter diversion to permanent housing, and new navigation centers and shelters based on demonstrated need. CoCs, counties and cities are required to submit a plan for spending the funds that includes a gaps analysis of existing and needed resources to address homelessness. Applications for the program are due on February 15, 2020, and all awards must be made by April 1, 2020. Funds must be obligated by May 1, 2023, and all funds must be expended by June 30, 2025. HHAP required that 8% of funds be used for homeless youth.

Homeless Youth and Exploitation Program

The Homeless Youth Exploitation Program, created in 1984 and administered by the Governor’s Office of Emergency Services, provides outreach services, food, temporary safe shelter, in-person counseling, group counseling, basic health care, long-term stabilization planning, independent living and survival skills, access to or referrals to other services as appropriate follow up services. Funding is allocated to organizations in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, and Santa Clara County. In 2017, a five-year pilot program was created to expand the Homeless Youth Exploitation Program services to four new counties: El Dorado, Fresno, Orange and San Bernardino.

Youth Emergency Services and Housing Program

The Youth Emergency Services and Housing Program, administered by the Governor’s Office of Emergency Services, establishes new or expanded capacity to a range of housing options that meet the needs of homeless youth including rapid rehousing, rental assistance, transitional
housing, and or supportive housing. Funding is provided to one nonprofit from Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, and Santa Clara Counties.

Conclusion

In recent years, California has made significant efforts to not only reduce the number of homeless individuals in the state, but to specifically reduce the number of youth experiencing homelessness. Because experiencing homelessness as a transition-age youth increases the risk of chronic homelessness in adulthood, among other social health impacts, it is imperative that the State continue to focus on reducing youth homelessness as an overall strategy for preventing future homelessness.

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