Under a temporary roof and in the classroom: Service agencies for youth who are homeless while enrolled in community college

Rashida M. Crutchfield

Accepted author version posted online: 27 Apr 2018.
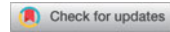Published online: 25 May 2018.

Submit your article to this journal 🖉

Article views: 88

View Crossmark data 🔗

Check for updates

Under a temporary roof and in the classroom: Service agencies for youth who are homeless while enrolled in community college

Rashida M. Crutchfield

California State University, Long Beach, California, USA

ABSTRACT

Youth experiencing homelessness are part of the large, diverse student population served by community colleges in the United States. These students, who are often unsupported in college environments, turn to housing agencies to provide critical resources. This qualitative study included interviews with 20 students, ages 18–24, attending community college while homeless. Students in this study accessed critical services and social supports in homeless service agencies; however, the requirements of some agency policies were a barrier to reaching academic goals. Housing agencies provided participants with necessary resources; however, participants described facing unique obstacles as they navigated agency eligibility requirements while attending college.

Introduction

Among the large, diverse student population served by community colleges in the United States is a generally unknown and underserved population of students experiencing homelessness. Although the benefits of earning a college degree are well known (Holland, 2010; Howard, 2003; Ma, Pender, & Welch, 2016; Perna, 2000; Rendón, Jalomo, & Nora, 2000; Renn & Arnold, 2003), research shows that children and youth experiencing housing instability have low college graduation rates (Dworsky & Perez, 2009; Peters, Dworsky, Courtney, & Pollack, 2009; Stagner & Lansing, 2009). Youth who experience homelessness have a wide range of unique barriers, needs, strengths, and aspirations that influence their participation in college (Gupton, 2017; Hallett & Crutchfield, 2018; Hallett & Freas, 2017; Tierney, Gupton, & Hallett, 2008). However, the narratives of their higher education experiences have rarely been told.

Overall, research on youth homelessness in higher education is very limited (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD], 2015a). There is some research that speaks to the precollege experience for students who are homeless

CONTACT Rashida M. Crutchfield, Ed.D., MSW ✉ rashida.crutchfield@csulb.edu 📧 Assistant Professor, California State University, Long Beach, School of Social Work, 1250 Bellflower Blvd MS 4206, Long Beach, CA 90840.

(Dworsky, 2008; Hallett, 2010; Hallett, Low, & Skrla, 2015; Hallett, Skrla, & Low, 2015; Miller, 2015; Murphy & Tobin, 2012; Tierney xet al., 2008), but there is very little research addresses the experience of these youth once they get beyond admission into college. Research must also address how youth who experience homelessness engage with college systems, how housing and homeless service agencies can support students, and how guiding policies for services agencies present access and barriers for college youth who are homeless.

Strategies of support must be based in research and require distinctive knowledge of overall vulnerability and protective measures (Clayton & McGill, 2000; Obradovi et al., 2009) as well as an understanding of how institutions have responded, or not responded, to these youth. This study informs practice and policy for community-based agencies serving youth who choose to enroll in college. College-going youth who experience homelessness have specific experiences and needs that must be addressed. I aim to begin to fill the gap in research with this understudied population using their own words and perspectives.

Literature review

Homelessness in higher education

The education subtitle of the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act (1987), as amended by the Every Student Succeeds Act (2015) (hereafter referred to as the McKinney-Vento Act), defines homelessness for youth as those who lack a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence as well as unaccompanied homeless youth, as those youth not in the physical custody of a parent or guardian. This definition is the basis for homelessness determinations for K-12 students. The McKinney-Vento Act definition provides a frame of reference for understanding the experience of college-going youth who are homeless. However, the McKinney-Vento Act provides little guidance or protection for students who are homeless in higher education other than stipulations for access from high school. Research also has minimally focused on higher education for youth who experience homelessness, favoring instead issues such as the connection between youth homelessness and economic stability (Ferguson, Bender, Thompson, Maccio, & Pollio, 2012; Gwadz et al., 2009; Lenz-Rashid, 2006), trauma (Bender, Thompson, Ferguson, Yoder, & Kern, 2014), and individual outcomes such as psychological health (Bearsley-Smith, Bond, Littlefield, & Thomas, 2008), drug use, and family formation (Bantchevska, Bartle-Haring, Dashora, Glebova, & Slesnick, 2008; Bearsley-Smith et al., 2008; Busen & Engebretson, 2008; Miles & Okamoto, 2008).

According to the most recent data from 2015–2016, 31,948 U.S. college financial aid applicants were unaccompanied homeless youth, as indicated on Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA®) applications or as determined by a college or university federal aid administrator (National Center for Homeless Education, 2017). These are likely low estimates, as Morton, Dworsky, and Samuels (2017) report that in the United States during a 12-month period, a minimum of 3.5 million

young adults ages 18–25 experience at least one incidence of homelessness. Further, for college students among this population, many students are unaware of the status designation on the FAFSA or may be hesitant to identify as such (HUD, 2015b).

Recent research indicates there are a significant number of college students experiencing homelessness. Research at the University of Massachusetts found that 5.4% of students experienced homelessness and 45% of participants reported housing insecurity (Silva et al., 2015). The City University of New York reported that 40% of students experienced housing instability (Tsui et al., 2011). A study of the California State University system suggests that 10.9% of students experience homelessness (Crutchfield & Maguire, 2018). Studies suggest that community colleges have even higher rates, ranging from 30–50% of students experiencing housing insecurity and 13–14% experiencing homelessness (Goldrick-Rab, Richardson, & Hernandez, 2017; Wood, Harris, & Delgado, 2016). Much of this available research is reliant on quantitative study (Broton, Frank, & Goldrick-Rab, 2014; Goldrick-Rab, Broton, & Eisenberg, 2015; HUD, 2015b; Silva et al., 2015; Tsui et al., 2011).

Barriers and supports in higher education

HUD (2015b) pointed out in its report on college housing instability that the cost of housing has become a large contributing factor in the college persistence of students. Students struggle to find affordable housing near their campus, and federal, state, and institution aid is falling short of the cost of the entire higher education experience, including housing (Goldrick-Rab, 2016). Sackett, Goldrick-Rab, and Broton (2016) point out that students in general are now less likely to live on campus but are more likely to live at home, and low-income students are at a higher risk for housing instability.

Sackett et al. (2016) provide a report of suggestions of best practices for youth in college. Specifically, the authors explore how to best facilitate the complicated process of accessing financial aid. The FAFSA is required for any student who wants to apply for U.S. federal or state educational financial aid. The FAFSA requires students to provide financial information from their parents or guardians to determine student eligibility for aid and mandates a parental/guardian signature. However, the law allows students to be considered independent if they are verified as unaccompanied and homeless during the school year in which the application is submitted or unaccompanied, at risk of homelessness, or self-supporting. Crutchfield, Chambers, and Duffield (2016) studied community college students and university financial aid administrator (FAA) perceptions of access and barriers to financial aid for students experiencing homelessness. This study indicated that youth reported burdensome verification procedures not required by law, and FAAs reported requiring extensive justification to prove the homeless status.

Collegiate homelessness is a new field of study. There is evidence to suggest that students who experience homelessness contend with meeting a variety of competing needs, including managing personal and financial responsibilities, dealing with physical and mental stress, and navigating the college environment (Crutchfield, 2016; Crutchfield & Maguire, 2018; Goldrick-Rab et al., 2015; Goldrick-Rab et al.,

2017; Gupton, 2017; Hallett & Freas, 2017). Research in this area largely focuses on the responsibility of institutions to be aware of and respond to the needs of students who are not stably housed; however, research suggests these institutions often have limited capacity to best serve them (Broton & Goldrick-Rab, 2016; Crutchfield, 2016). These studies provide a larger context for the need for the development of campus programs and services for youth experiencing homelessness; however, there is no exploration of the barriers or supports outside of college environments. Further, most of these studies call for the inclusion of qualitative data to deepen and further explore the experiences of youth in college experiencing homelessness.

Youth service sector

Within college environments, students are not required to identify as homeless to college faculty and staff, and the faculty and staff are not trained to look for them (Broton & Goldrick-Rab, 2016; Crutchfield, 2016; Hallett & Crutchfield, 2018). Additionally, many youth may expressly hide their circumstances and are unwilling to discuss their difficulties with those who are able to help them, mainly due to the stigma associated with homelessness (Bender, Thompson, McManus, Lantry, & Flynn, 2007; Gupton, 2017; Milburn, Ayala, Rice, Batterham, & Rotheram-Borus, 2006). Therefore, youth experiencing homelessness attempt to persevere but often go unsupported in college environments. These students may seek and receive support reaching their college goals from the homeless service agencies with which they regularly interact rather than from the college itself.

The availability and capacity of housing agency support for youth who are homeless varies greatly from region to region (Brooks, Milburn, Rotheram-Borus, & Witkin, 2004; Esparza, 2009). Many states have few youth-focused housing agencies and lack the capacity to respond to mental and physical health care or educational needs. This study took place in southern California, which while not completely meeting the need, has more agencies with the primary focus on this population than most states (Brooks et al., 2004; Esparza, 2009).

Housing agencies can provide a wide range of support services for homeless youth as these students progress through college. Often focused on critical needs such as food, physical and mental health care, housing and shelter, employment, and independent living skills, these service agencies can become a significant support for college-going youth attempting to avoid chronic homelessness (Brooks et al., 2004; Slesnick, Dashora, Letcher, Erdem, & Serovich, 2009).

Agency funding often establishes and defines the policies and practices of homeless service agencies (Gharabaghi & Stuart, 2010). HUD provides a restrictive definition of homelessness (HUD, 2012) and sets requirements for funding allocation and evaluation of success from housing agencies (HUD, 2016) that is at times also used by a wider audience of funding revenues. Current guidance and program funding are focused on identifying expedient access to housing, rental assistance, and case management for those who experience homelessness (HUD, 2015a). To meet these demands by funding sources, agencies use performance measures such as quick transition to permanent housing, employment and income growth, and

use of case management. Although these requirements have shown some success for many individuals and families experiencing homelessness (HUD, 2013), there has been no study whether the use of these short-term benchmarks has ongoing effectiveness specifically with youth (HUD, 2015a; National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2014). Service providers are often constrained by the principal concern for funding with outcome requirements based on immediacy while attempting to meet the specific needs of youth in their care (Gharabaghi & Stuart, 2010). These strategies, focused on immediate outcomes such as low wage employment, may be at odds with long-term goals for higher education.

Despite myriad challenges, college is an important avenue for youth experiencing homeless who do not want their housing status to circumscribe their future. For those youth who do enroll in higher education, retention through to graduation comes with enormous challenges; therefore, it is reasonable to wonder whether homeless service agencies and the policies that fund them are addressing the barriers that keep students from being as successful as possible or abetting them. In some cases, it may be that social service agency policies are inadvertently creating additional barriers for homeless youth because these agencies are unaware of or unable to support the specific needs of college-going students. The lack of research on higher education experiences for homeless youth perpetuates this problem.

Theoretical framework

As a former staff person in a shelter for homeless youth, now an academic with a research focused on collegiate homelessness, and a collaborator in the development of university support services for students who are homeless, I find it important to use a theoretical framework that incorporates a perspective that reflects an understanding of the population as individuals as well as the college and agency systems they experience. Thus, validation theory provided the theoretical perspective for this study.

Validation theory incorporates both the efforts of the student as a participant in her own experience as well as the institution's active role in engaging and supporting her (Rendón, 1994; Rendón Linares & Muñoz, 2011). Rendón (1994) theorized that first-generation, low-income, and students of color have more difficulty transitioning into college. Students may express doubt about their capabilities to achieve and are less likely to be aware of the need to take advantage of opportunities such as faculty mentorship or support services.

This is an appropriate fit for a study of youth homelessness because the populations share many attributes (Clayton & McGill, 2000). Aware that homelessness carries stigma, many youth may purposefully hide their circumstances and be unwilling to discuss their difficulties with those who can help (Bender et al., 2007; Gupton, 2017; Milburn et al., 2006; Tierney et al., 2008), making them less likely to seek support. Validation theory requires investigation that recognizes the student is not the sole proprietor of success, understanding that the exchange between students and institutions is dynamic. This perspective redirects the focus from the individual to the interaction between the individual and outside systems.

From the validation theory perspective, students have the strength and the consciousness to make personal choices and self-determination that influence their lives and determine their own success and failure. However, Rendón (2002) contends it is the responsibility of institutions to develop opportunities and systems to actively engage and retain students versus waiting for students to persist and take the lead in accessing support. While this theoretical frame was developed for college environments, validation theory is expanded in this study to include service agencies that engage and retain youth to ensure their goals.

Methodology

Interviews were used in this study to obtain a rich, thick, descriptive data set indicative of the experiences of youth experiencing homelessness while in college (Geertz, 1973; Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2012; Huberman & MiJorge, 2002). This qualitative interview study (Gibson & Brown, 2009; Merriam, 2009) was well suited as a methodological approach because it allowed for the exploration of college as experienced by youth and how they make meaning of their experience (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009; Nichols, 2008). To focus on the youth as people and not as an abstraction, it was vital to bring richness to the literature by further exploring their stories using their own voices (Nichols, 2008). The goal of this research was to reveal the meanings that community college students experiencing homelessness construct by providing broad explanations based on the research findings. The interview protocol and procedure for this study were reviewed and approved by the author's institutional review board.

Participants

At the time of their interview, participants were all homeless, unaccompanied, between 18 and 24 years old, and enrolled in community college. Though the participants were drawn from the greater Los Angeles area, the racial diversity of the sample was slightly greater than the overall homeless population (Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority, 2008). Participants were much more female ($N = 14$) than male ($N = 6$), which is inconsistent with other research on homeless youth (Cauce et al., 2000; Heinze, Toro, & Urberg, 2004). None of the participants identified as transgender.

All of the youth were homeless based on the definition determined by the McKinney-Vento Act and included those living in shelters or in transitional living facilities experiencing ongoing instability in their living arrangements. However, participants had a variety of homeless experiences, depending on where they were being temporarily housed (see Table 1). Some participants reported having six- to nine-month living arrangements with a shelter or transitional agency, and others reported an ongoing challenge of seeking a place to sleep on a daily basis. All those living in agency housing reported limits on their housing due to time constraints placed by an agency.

Table 1. Individual participant demographics.

Pseudonym	Gender	Ethnicity	Age	Housing Status
Araceli	Female	Filipina	20	Transitional Apartment
Charles	Male	Multi-racial	22	Transitional Shelter
Elias	Male	Black	21	Crisis Shelter
Franklin	Male	Black	20	Crisis Shelter
Ginny	Female	Black	21	Transitional Apartment
Hailey	Female	Unknown	18	Transitional Apartment
Jasmin	Female	White	24	Doubled Up
Kassandra	Female	Latina	23	Transitional Apartment
Lauren	Female	Black	21	Transitional Shelter
Mary	Female	White	23	Transitional Apartment
Nathaniel	Male	Iranian	20	Transitional Apartment
Omarion	Male	Black	22	Crisis Shelter
Penelope	Female	Unknown	20	Transitional Shelter
Rachel	Female	Black	21	Crisis Shelter
Shannon	Female	White	19	Doubled Up
Teri	Female	Unknown	20	Transitional Shelter
Urma	Female	Korean	19	Transitional Shelter
Vivian	Female	Filipina	19	Transitional Apartment
Waldo	Male	Latino	22	Sober Living
Yanel	Female	White	24	Transitional Shelter

Like other studies of homeless youth, this study relied on recruitment of participants using service providers, such as shelters (Gwadz et al., 2009; Kidd & Shahar, 2008; Nichols, 2008) and drop-in centers (Bantchevska et al., 2008; Bender et al., 2007; Gwadz et al., 2009). Further, many youth serving agencies limit their eligibility requirements to those under the age of 24. Inevitably left out of the study were students over the age of 24 and those who did not use social services because of a lack of knowledge of available services, they were otherwise unable or unwilling to seek agency support, or simply because they wished to avoid the attention of authorities.

Twenty youth participated in semi-structured interviews lasting 60–90 minutes. Participants were asked broad, open-ended questions about their experiences with homelessness while in college on and off college campuses. Interviews were held in semi-private locations such as enclosed community spaces in shelter facilities or in local coffee shops selected by the participants. Pseudonyms were used to protect participant privacy. Participants were asked questions focused on four areas: their perceptions of themselves, their knowledge of support services and how they used them, their social connections, and the barriers and supports they experienced while in community college.

Data analysis

Data analysis took place throughout the data collection process before being formalized toward the conclusion of the study and used the constant comparative method (Glaser & Straus, 1967). Open coding was conducted on each transcript produced from the interviews (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), maintaining openness to all of the participants' ideas without preconceived notions about what codes and themes might appear (Saldaña, 2009). Preliminary codes and themes were developed (Creswell, 2007). In a second cycle of coding, data were reduced and analyzed, compared, and

condensed to develop more accurate codes and themes. Codes and themes were then changed and reorganized throughout the analysis process to determine the most accurate and descriptive analysis possible (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

This study examined two research questions for homeless youth:
- How did housing service agencies support their progress in college?
- How did housing service agencies present barriers to their progress in college?

Throughout the coding of these transcripts, three overarching or central themes emerged from the data: 1) housing and support services as critical resources; 2) agency staff as key academic and social supports; and 3) the tension surrounding the need to manage agency responsibilities, manage the demands of employment, and manage the need to attend college. Together, these themes presented a picture of how youth perceived their journey in college.

Findings

Participants expressed an understanding of the need for a college degree to reach their goal of an economically stable adulthood. However, they described facing unique obstacles in college as they attempted to manage academic demands while navigating the requirements of homeless service agencies. Participants described services from agencies that were critical to their college success while also noting barriers to their experiences. Participants expressed gratitude for a range of services and important people found in agencies that facilitated their progress. They also acerbically described the fear and frustration that failing to accomplish their educational goals could result in long-term poverty since these barriers, at times, diverted them toward low-income employment rather than college.

Data were analyzed considering the validation theory contention that there is a reciprocal role between the youth and their agencies in relation to their college experience (Rendón, 1994; Rendón Linares et al., 2011). Themes of the data related to college for youth experiencing homelessness as layered under the context of their appreciation for the support service agencies provided. At the same time, they had to simultaneously balance employment to fulfill the requirements of those same housing and service agencies with meeting their academic requirements. All of the youth who participated in this study attended college knowing their current living situation was temporary. Once the allotted time at the agency was up, they would continue to be homeless without access to temporary housing and without a college degree. The participants all expressed a passion for learning and for becoming long-term, self-sufficient adults, yet they proceeded with omnipresent urgency to get their immediate needs met given the policies surrounding homeless services.

Housing and support services as critical resources

Housing, support, and therapeutic services
Youth who participated in this study expressed clear awareness that housing agencies provided them resources critical to their college-going goals and experiences.

Many of the participants felt that a lack of housing would have made going to college impossible. For Nathaniel, homelessness meant living on the street, in public bathrooms, in parks, and other outdoor areas. He was emotional when talking about how important it was to find a housing agency so he could concentrate on school. When Nathaniel received news he had housing, he said he wanted to cry: "That moment it was like this was change for me. This was the difference. I'm not going to wander around, find the next place to sleep kind of thing … I'm not going to go spend the night in the bathroom at some community pool." Nathaniel secured housing for a year and, like others, described the overwhelming relief felt after he was provided transitional living so he could attend school. As youth found some stability in their housing, they also reported an upswing in their grades and academic stability. For many participants, temporary housing provision allowed for the security needed to focus on college.

Participants expressed an overall appreciation that housing agencies provided far more than a place to live. Along with housing, agencies provided other resources such as access to food and toiletries, therapeutic services, transportation, recreational activities, medical care, and internships. Youth also received mentorship, job training, job development, and job search assistance. Further, several youth mentioned that the therapeutic services they received through housing agencies were critical to their emotional and mental health. Hailey, who had lived in a shelter for more than six months, spoke about how important it was to have someone help her deal with her emotional health even after her life became more stable:

> Seriously, when I came to this program, I was telling [my case manager] like, I need a counselor now 'cause I don't know why the fuck I have been crying so much. Like, I think this is the time where I am letting it out, like, all those years when I didn't … all those times when I would suck it up … just like eat it and be stronger, and like go to school and do it … like this semester, it got to me, like everything just got to me, and it was like frustrating … But thank God I have the program cause now I can be like "I'm fuckin' cryin' and I don't know why."

For Hailey, as with many others, the assistance that agencies gave went beyond providing for the students' basic needs. Participants recognized their own needs and pinpointed the services they received to help them manage their logistical constraints, develop skills, validate their feelings, and develop their emotional and psychological health. They related their success in higher education to access to these services.

Time limits to support services

Temporary housing for participants was a critical resource; however, participants were constantly aware that the time they had in those programs was limited, which caused stress. They expressed the importance of using the time they had to make substantial changes in their lives so they could financially sustain themselves after completing the housing program. Kassandra articulated the struggle of trying to get an associate's degree before the end of her housing program so she could earn the

degree and work full-time upon being discharged, coming in a month. Talking about the struggles she saw ahead, Kassandra shook her head as she spoke about her worry that her time in transitional housing was running out: "And so when I get out [of housing], I am going to be so, I don't even know, I want to think about it, but I don't, because it's a challenge."

Similarly, Mary knew her housing limit was quickly approaching and struggled to determine how she could find new housing before her time ran out in 40 days. She hoped a scholarship program would accept her, but her status at the time of the interview was uncertain. She said, "So right now I'm like scrambling. Looking on [online ads] saying, 'Can I find something affordable?' And so I'm like really scared right now." Mary and Kassandra both were pressing up against their housing deadlines and feared the future without housing. Participants felt they were blazing a hard path through college completion in a race against time with a weighted knapsack of homelessness to carry.

Agency academic and social support

Participants suggested that helpful agency staff, such as education specialists, case managers, and tutors, were invaluable to ensuring their college retention. Agency staff were universally discussed as more helpful than the academic counselors at colleges. Specifically, education specialists provided advice, academic counseling, tutoring, and access to financial aid and scholarships. Teri, who had recently moved into a nine-month transitional housing program, spoke about the importance of her education specialist. When asked to explain how her agency had helped facilitate her college process, she did not hesitate:

> A counselor that was assigned to me and could force them to really plan my schedule. That's what [my education specialist] did for me for 2012. She put all my prerequisites and she's like, "You can take them this semester." … Why can't my counselor at school do that more professionally? Like knowing what you have to do and the system.

Many participants expressed frustration that they had received little or no information or received conflicting or incorrect information from financial aid administrators and academic advisors at their community colleges. Educational specialists at housing agencies often supplemented campus educational assistance, provided verification of homelessness documentation, provided support in filling out the FAFSA, and supplemented or replaced campus-based support services, which participants perceived as ineffective or counterproductive.

Case managers were often mentioned as social and logistical supports to college retention. These agency staff met with agency participants and provided guidance on goal setting, resource referrals, and social and emotional support. Quite often, case managers were people the students viewed as family, who genuinely cared about them. Kassandra related the following about her case manager:

> When I'm on one of my low days, he will kind of just say, "[Kassandra] what are you doing, get up." And it kind of just helps. Like, with my English class, I'll be like, " … I don't know if I want to do this." Like he says, "Just try to do your best, pull through it. You have so much you need to do."

While case managers might not have been addressing college issues directly, all of these experiences influenced how successful youth could be in college because it became an overall dialogue about success. Furthermore, case managers were viewed as advocates who facilitated the students' focus on higher education.

Choosing between employment versus college

All of the participants were financially dependent on college financial aid, as well as part- or full-time jobs to meet agency work requirements and supplement aid provided by public assistance or housing agencies. Financial aid was dependent on their matriculation, enrollment levels, and academic achievement. Some youth chose to work long hours or multiple low-income jobs to support their basic needs and academic expenses not supported by financial aid or the agency. There was a fine line and, at times, a conflicting balancing act for the students to manage their housing obligations, college demands, and employment.

Employment requirements for housing

Many of the participants said their housing agencies had eligibility requirements dependent on the employment status of the youth. To stay in housing, many participants were required to prove employment or show ongoing attempts to seek employment. Beyond social support, case managers were described as being advocates for participants, at times interceding with the competing demands of the housing agency toward acquisition of employment advocating for the need of students to focus on college. Rachel, in a 30-day crisis shelter, spoke about her case manager helping her stay focused on school despite being pushed toward employment like others in the shelter:

> I know like the purpose of this place is to find employment. But she says since you're on a whole 'nother track, she actually talked to people for me, like the higher ups and see if it was okay for me to actually go to school full time and have study time when I should, when I could be spending that time looking for a job.

Like other participants, Rachel appreciated this help from her case manager because she realized that simply working, without going to college, would never pull her out of poverty. She said, "I was just like … I have to, I have to go to school … California is so high like to live here, I know a 9-to-5 wasn't or just an 8-hour at $8 [per hour] job wasn't going to do it."

While Rachel's case manager supported her college path despite what appeared to be opposition of the housing agency requirements, Teri did not have an advocate for college. Teri was challenged by her case manager to focus on her job, but she chose instead to focus on college and lost her job. Her case manager let her know she could not stay in the shelter if she did not gain employment:

> I was going to take [a class] in winter and I wasn't able to because they wouldn't let me go back to school … oh yeah, I stopped going to school because I didn't have a job and they were like "your focus is too much on school. You're not really caring about employment." They kind of didn't support me going to school. So I had to stop.

Nathaniel spoke about being discouraged from going to college by an agency representative whom he contacted to get public assistance:

> They recommended I didn't even go to school. Like, I just work. I mean I guess that makes sense. I would argue otherwise. Going to school … if you just work and you're living paycheck-to-paycheck kind of thing, that's what I was doing at the time. I was like I'm never really going to make it to school if I don't start. So, I just went.

Nathaniel, like many others, was advised by a service agency representative to focus on his immediate needs rather than attend college. While he understood the necessity of immediate stability, Nathaniel chose to attend college to gain long-term self-sufficiency.

Program participation requirements

Beyond employment, participants discussed housing agency requirements that youth participate in shelter services, activities, and structure in order to stay, and described these as both supportive of and a barrier to a successful college experience. The agency structure often included a specific time in the morning to leave the shelter, specific and limited time schedules for accessing personal belongings in rooms, scheduled meal times and wake-up times, and curfews at night. Required shelter services also included case manager meetings, therapeutic services, group meetings, and life skills courses.

Many participants suggested these services and structure were important tools for college retention. However, for most youth, this ongoing tension among agency, college, and work responsibilities meant that the students were constantly pressed for time. Araceli, in a year-long transitional program, related how exhausted she was after working, taking classes, and meeting the structured time for chores and wake-up calls:

> So, that was like hard for me and I mean before when I was full-time and it was really hard attending school and at the same attending my work because I'm tired. I barely have sleep and when I go home [the shelter] I have to like clean my room when you wake up early. … You know it was really hard.

Araceli wished she could go to school full-time because it would have increased her progress and given her access to college campus services and textbook fee waivers that had full-time enrollment eligibility requirements. Unfortunately, she had to work longer hours to pay for her expenses, including food, books, and other basic needs and maintain her place in housing. She said, "I'm not full time [as a student] anymore, and I just bought my own books. So, I mean maybe in the future because right now I need a roof over my head, right?" Araceli suggested she would have loved not to have two part-time jobs and to go to school full-time, but she did not see another option.

While youth understood that the services housing agencies provided were critical, they also felt that having to juggle the demands of the agency and attending college often caused high levels of anxiety. Participants overwhelmingly believed they needed to go to college to move out of poverty, but balancing varied demands

of college, agency, and employment often seemed impossible. Youth described trying to manage impending homelessness and competing demands under apparent housing agency policies that seemed to prioritize employment over college, which undermined their choice to go to college and relegated them to low-income employment.

Discussion

The participants in this study were committed to college graduation in an attempt to find long-term stability. They were clear that without the support of a housing agency and housing staff, there was little chance they would be able to attend college at all. Participants suggested that housing, in and of itself, was a stabilizing factor that made college possible. They found support from case managers and educational specialists who provided services they had not found on college campuses. At the same time, participants were meeting the seemingly incompatible demands of their housing agencies, employment, and college requirements. They experienced stress and anxiety about the looming end of their temporary housing opportunities and sometimes navigated the apparent goals of the agencies to lead them to employment rather than higher education. Participants found it difficult to make time to study, work, and meet agency obligations due to lack of time and constant pressing obligations.

The role of service agencies with college going youth who are homeless

These findings suggest that agencies provided critical support of youth. Playing an institutional role in the retention of youth in higher education, temporary housing and services that youth accessed were instrumental, allowing them to focus on their educational goals. Moreover, agencies facilitated relationships with staff that would not otherwise have been available, including education specialists and case managers who provided support that youth lacked in college. From a validation perspective, this link acknowledges the responsibility of the agency to ease the passage into and through college for youth. This is consistent with findings from Esparza (2009), who contended that despite myriad barriers and financial shortfalls, youth benefit from homeless agencies' programs and services. Unfortunately, youth sector homeless services rarely have the capacity to provide services that address transitional supports beyond the time youth reside with them (Gharabaghi & Stuart, 2010).

Youth concurrently struggled with the strain of rigorous schedules that included work and college, which were exacerbated by competing demands of their housing agencies. They reported a great deal of strain as they responded to a variety of settings in order to move forward in their lives. This is similar to Miller's (2011) finding of "duress of homelessness" (p. 556), or the stress of providing for basic needs under highly unstable financial housing constraints, making progress in education difficult. For youth, the duress of homelessness, the concern about managing

competing responsibilities, the stress of the inevitable end of temporary housing, and the need to seek and maintain employment served as ongoing, constant pressure. This is also consistent with other studies that suggest youth who are homeless and enrolled in college experience high levels of stress due to compounding pressures (Crutchfield & Maguire, in press; Hallett & Freas, 2017). Hurdling the obstacles of instability and the goals set for them by circumstance and, in some cases, their agencies, youth approached the college experience with urgency. Participants had little opportunity to relax, to make mistakes, or to lose motivation. Unlike their housed college peers, youth experiencing homelessness had nothing to fall back on.

Housing agencies, in collaboration with colleges, should use a validation theory perspective to do more to step forward to catch youth experiencing homelessness, developing policy and practice that support youth toward their educational goals (Rendón, 1994; Rendón Linares et al., 2011). Though the immediate need to secure basic needs is clear, the lack of accommodation to allow youth to go to college guarantees their futures as members of a low-income workforce. If there is an institutional intention to support youth to be economically sufficient adults, policy and practice must fund, develop, and support work exceptions that allow participation in higher education. Further, evaluative measures for agency success must include enrollment, academic success, and completion of educational goals.

Policy and practice to support higher education

An important question remains: Is the propensity for a focus on short-term outcomes a product of HUD and other funding requirements, or are these self-imposed practices a product of internal agency priorities? Housing agencies may be responding to these funding source requirements, implementing services toward immediate housing and employment. This study did not explore the perspectives of housing agency staff or the perspectives of college staff, faculty, and administrators. While foundational research from the perspectives of college employees has been conducted (Broton & Goldrick-Rab, 2016; Broton et al., 2014; Crutchfield, 2016), more exploration in both of these systems is necessary to provide a multidimensional view of how practices that deter higher education develop.

It is reasonable to support youth in finding employment to ensure they are not homeless in their immediate future; however, stipulations must be made to allow youth the opportunity to go to college while accessing service support. It is the responsibility of the systems around youth to seek to determine how barriers to economic wellbeing are embedded in current practices (Rendón, 1994; Rendón Linares et al., 2011). The benefits of earning a college degree are well known both to society in general and youth specifically (Holland, 2010; Howard, 2003; Ma, Pender, & Welch, 2016; Perna, 2000; Rendón, Jalomo, & Nora, 2000; Renn & Arnold, 2003). Attempting to earn a degree, students aspired to grow as educated adults who could share new talents in their communities and in employment positions that provide a living wage. However, policy and practice may be pushing these youth into ongoing low-income outcomes.

As these youth access economic stability through education, they are better able to provide for themselves and share that wellbeing with society overall. Findings from this study indicate a potential incompatibility of youth shelter systems and college systems, suggesting the need for research to determine what role these policies play in limiting educational opportunities for youth experiencing homelessness. Augmentation to program or funding policy specifically to allow developmentally appropriate interventions for youth should shift a model dependent on short-term, low-income employment to a longer-term investment in housing to allow higher education goals as a benchmark for success, supporting college enrollment as an investment in adult wellbeing. Development of policy that embraces both housing and education might provide greater societal benefits by allowing students to realize a college education.

In its own report on strategies to support students experiencing homelessness, HUD (2015b) recommended that interagency working groups with other agencies and higher education institutions explore effective strategies for this population. These recommendations were mirrored by the National Association for the Education of Homeless Children and Youth (2016), which is an organization that has been working at practice and policy levels to clear paths to higher education for homeless youth.

Future research

Long-term research on the outcomes of youth who are homeless and choose college over employment is necessary so that agency resources for youth are directed at lasting self-sufficiency. Employment and immediate self-sufficiency are the missions of those tasked to help youth out of their situation. However, as youth in this study wisely suggested, stopping the bleeding of financial instability does not provide a durable fix. While they may pull themselves out of homelessness with a low-skilled job, these strategies may not pull them out of poverty.

Success in college for youth who are homeless is multilayered. Institutional barriers present for youth who experience homelessness restrict their ability to graduate and hinder their long-term capacity to become economically self-sufficient adults. A commitment is needed to ensure retention of youth in higher education by establishing policies and services that enhance their strengths, provide access to resources that respond to their specific barriers, and augment service systems so that college policies and practices meet the needs of homeless youth. Further research to explore the stories of youth experiencing homelessness in higher education is vital for colleges and agencies to best implement policy that can make systemic change that will benefit them.

References

Bantchevska, D., Bartle-Haring, S., Dashora, P., Glebova, T., & Slesnick, N. (2008). Problem behaviors of homeless youth: A social capital perspective. *Journal of Human Ecology*, *23*(4), 285–293. doi:10.1080/09709274.2008.11906082

Bearsley-Smith, C., Bond, L. M., Littlefield, L., & Thomas, L. R. (2008). The psychosocial profile of adolescent risk of homelessness. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, *17*(4), 226–234. doi:10.1007/s00787-007-0657-5

Bender, K. A., Thompson, S. J., Ferguson, K. M., Yoder, J. R., & Kern, L. (2014). Trauma among street-involved youth. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders*, *22*(1), 53–64. doi:10.1177/1063426613476093

Bender, K., Thompson, S. J., McManus, H., Lantry, J., & Flynn, P. M. (2007). Capacity for survival: Exploring strengths of homeless street youth. *Child & Youth Care Forum*, *36*(1), 25–42. doi:10.1007/s10566-006-9029-4

Brooks, R. A., Milburn, N. G., Rotheram-Borus, M. J., & Witkin, A. (2004). The system-of-care for homeless youth: Perceptions of service providers, *Evaluation and Program Planning*, *27*(3), 443–451. doi:10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2004.07.007

Broton, K., & Goldrick-Rab, S. (2016). The dark side of college (un)affordability: Food and housing insecurity in higher education. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, *48*(1), 16–25. doi:10.1080/00091383.2016.1121081

Broton, K., Frank, V., & Goldrick-Rab, S. (2014, October). *Safety, security, and college attainment: An investigation of undergraduates' basic needs and institutional response*. Association for Public Policy and Management. Retrieved from http://www.wihopelab.com/publications/APPAM.Draft.10.28.2014.pdf

Busen, N. H., & Engebretson, J. C. (2008). Facilitating risk reduction among homeless and street-involved youth. *Journal of the American Academy of Nurse Practitioners*, *20*(11), 567–575. doi:10.1111/j.1745-7599.2008.00358.x

Cauce, A. M., Paradise, M., Ginzler, J. A., Embry, L., Morgan, C. J., Lohr, Y., & Theofelis, J. (2000). The characteristics and mental health of homeless adolescents: Age and gender differences. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders*, *8*(4), 230–239. doi:10.1177/106342660000800403

Clayton, P., & McGill, P. (2000). Access issues in adult vocational guidance and counseling for people at risk of social exclusion: Perspectives from two qualitative research projects. *Journal of Access and Credit Studies*, *2*(1), 4–18.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crutchfield, R. (2016). *Serving displaced and food insecure students in the CSU*. California State University, Long Beach. Retrieved from http://www.calstate.edu/AcadAff/documents/ServingDisplacedandFoodInsecureStudetnsintheCSUJanuary20163.8.16.pdf

Crutchfield, R. M., Chambers, R. M., & Duffield, B. (2016). Jumping through the hoops to get financial aid for college students who are homeless: Policy analysis of the College Cost Reduction and Access Act of 2007. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services*, *93*(3), 191–199. doi:10.1606/1044-3894.2016.97.25

Crutchfield, R. M., & Maguire, J. (in press). California State University Office of the Chancellor Study of Student Basic Needs. Retrieved from http://www.calstate.edu/basicneeds

Dworsky, A. (2008). *Educating homeless children in Chicago: A case study of children in the family regeneration program*. Chicago, IL: Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago.

Dworsky, A., & Perez, A. (2009). *Helping former foster youth graduate from college: Campus support programs in California and Washington State*. Chicago, IL: Chapin Hall Center for Children.

Esparza, N. (2009). Community factors influencing the prevalence of homeless youth services. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *31*(12), 1321–1329. doi:10.1016/j.childyouth.2009.06.010

ESSA (2015). Every Student Succeeds Act of 2015, Pub. L. No. 114-95 § 114 Stat. 1177 (2015-2016)

Ferguson, K. M., Bender, K., Thompson, S. J., Maccio, E. M., & Pollio, D. (2012). Employment status and income generation among homeless young adults: Results from a five-city, mixed-methods study. *Youth & Society*, *44*(3), 385–407. doi:10.1177/0044118X11402851

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. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2008.01.004

Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretative theory of culture. *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays* (pp. 3–30). New York, NY: Basic Books.

Gharabaghi, K., & Stuart, C. (2010). Voices from the periphery: Prospects and challenges for the homeless youth service sector. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *32*(12), 1683–1689. doi:10.1016/j.childyouth.2010.07.011

Gibson, W. J., & Brown, A. (2009). *Working with qualitative data*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Goldrick-Rab, S. (2016). *Paying the price: College costs, financial aid, and the betrayal of the American dream*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Goldrick-Rab, S., Broton, K., & Eisenberg, D. (2015). *Hungry to learn: Addressing food and housing insecurity among undergraduates*. Wisconsin HOPE Lab with the Health Minds Study, the Association of Community College Trustees, and Single Stop. Retrieved from http://wihopelab.com/publications/Wisconsin_hope_lab_hungry_to_learn.pdf

Goldrick-Rab, S., Richardson, J., & Hernandez, A. (2017). *Hungry and homeless in college: Results from a national study of basic needs insecurity in higher education*. Wisconsin HOPE Lab with the Association of Community College Trustees. Retrieved from http://wihopelab.com/publications/hungry-and-homeless-in-college-report.pdf

Guest, S., Namey, E., & Mitchell, M. (2012). *Collecting qualitative data: A field manual for applied research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gupton, J. (2017). Campus of opportunity: A qualitative analysis of homeless students in community college. *Community College Review*, *45*(3), 190–214.

Hallett, R. E. (2010). Homeless: How residential instability complicates students' lives. *About Campus*, *15*(3), 11–16. doi:10.1002/abc.20023

Hallett, R. E., & Crutchfield, R. (2018). *Homelessness and housing insecurity in higher education: A trauma-informed approach to research, policy, and practice*. ASHE Higher Education Report Series. Boston, MA: Jossey-Bass.

Hallett, R. E., & Freas, A. (2017). Community college students' experiences with homelessness and housing insecurity. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, *22*(1). doi:10.1080/10668926.2017.1356764.

Hallett, R. E., Low, L., & Skrla, L. (2015). Beyond backpacks and bus tokens: Next steps for a district homeless student initiative. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *28*(6), 693–713. doi:10.1080/09518398.2015.1050898

Hallett, R. E., Skrla, L., & Low, L. (2015). That is not what homeless is: A school district's journey toward serving homeless, doubled-up, and economically displaced children and youth. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *28*(6), 671–692. doi:10.1080/09518398.2015.1017859

Heinze, H. J., Toro, P. A., & Urberg, K. A. (2004). Antisocial behavior and affiliation with deviant peers. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, *33*(2), 336–346. doi:10.1207/s15374424jccp3302_15

Holland, N. E. (2010). Postsecondary education preparation of traditionally underrepresented college students: A social capital perspective. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *3*(2), 111–125. doi:10.1037/a0019249

Howard, T. C. (2003). "A tug of war for our minds": African American high school students' perceptions of their academic identities and college aspirations. *High School Journal*, *87*(1), 4–17. doi:10.1353/hsj.2003.0017

Huberman, M., & MiJorge, M. (2002). *The qualitative researcher's companion*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kidd, S., & Shahar, G. (2008). Resilience in homeless youth: The key role of self-esteem. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *78*(2), 163–172. doi:10.1037/0002-9432.78.2.163

Lenz-Rashid, S. (2006). Employment experiences of homeless young adults: Are they different for youth with a history of foster care? *Children and Youth Services Review*, *28*(3), 235–259. doi:10.1016/j.childyouth.2005.03.006

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority. (2008). *2007 Greater Los Angeles homeless count*. Retrieved from http://www.lahsa.org/2007homelesscountreport.asp

The McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act of 1987, 42 U.S.C. § 11301 et seq. As amended by Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) of 2015, Pub. L. No. 114–95 § 114 Stat. 1177 (2015–2016).

Ma, J., Pender, M., & Welch, M. (2016). Education Pays 2016: The benefits of Higher Education for Individuals and Society. *Trends in Higher Education Series*. College Board. Retrieved from https://trends.collegeboard.org/sites/default/files/education-pays-2016-fullreport.pdf

Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Milburn, N. G., Ayala, G., Rice, E., Batterham, P., & Rotheram-Borus, M. (2006). Discrimination and exiting homelessness among homeless adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *12*(4), 658–672. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.12.4.658

Miller, P. M. (2011). Homeless families' education networks: An examination of access and mobilization. *Education Administration Quarterly*, *47*(4), 543–581. doi:10.1177/0013161X11401615

Miller, P. M. (2015). Families' experiences in different homeless and highly mobile settings: Implications for school and community practice. *Education and Urban Society*, *47*(1), 3–32. doi:10.1177/0013124512469814

Miles, B. W., & Okamoto, S. K. (2008). The social construction of deviant behavior in homeless and runaway youth: Implications for practice. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, *25*(5), 425–441. doi:10.1007/s10560-008-0131-3

Morton, M. H., Dworsky, A., & Samuels, G. M. (2017). *Missed opportunities: Youth homelessness in America. National estimates*. Chicago, IL: Chapin Hall and the University of Chicago. Retrieved from http://voicesofyouthcount.org/wpcontent/uploads/2017/11/ChapinHall_VoYC_NationalReport_Final.pdf

Murphy, J. F., & Tobin, K. (2012). Addressing the problems of homeless adolescents. *Journal of School Leadership*, *22*(3), 633–663.

National Alliance to End Homelessness. (2014). *Rapid re-housing: A history and core components*. Retrieved from http://www.endhomelessness.org/library/entry/rapid-re-housing-a-history-and-core-components

National Association for the Education of Homelessness Children and Youth. (2016). *Strategies for implementing HUD homeless assistance requirements to collaborate with schools and early learning programs*. Retrieved from http://naehcy.org/educational-resources/housing

National Center for Homeless Education. (2017). *FAFSA data on unaccompanied homeless youth: 2013–2014, 2014–2015, and 2015–2016 application cycles*. Retrieved from https://nche.ed.gov/ibt/fafsa.php

Nichols, N. E. (2008). Gimme shelter! Investigating the social service interface from the standpoint of youth. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *11*(6), 685–699. doi:10.1080/13676260802392957

Obradovi-, J., Long, J. D., Cutuli, J. J., Chan, C., Hinz, E., & Heistad, D. (2009). Academic achievement of homeless and highly mobile children in an urban school district: Longitudinal

evidence on risk, growth, and resilience. *Development and Psychopathology*, *21*(2), 493–518. doi:10.1017/S0954579409000273

Perna, L. (2000). Differences in the decision to attend College among African Americans, Hispanics, and Whites. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *71*(2), 117–141. doi:10.2307/2649245

Peters, C. M., Dworsky, A., Courtney, M. E., & Pollack, H. (2009). *Extending foster care to age 21: Weighing the costs to government against the benefits to youth*. Chicago, IL: Chapin Hall Center for Children.

Rendón, L. I. (1994). Validating culturally diverse students: Toward a new model of learning and student development. *Innovative Higher Education*, *19*(1), 33–51. doi:10.1007/BF01191156

Rendón, L. I. (2002). Community college puente: A validating model of education. *Educational Policy: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Policy and Practice*, *16*(4), 642–667. doi:10.1177/0895904802016004010

Rendón, L. I., Jalomo, R., Jr., & Nora, A. (2000). Theoretical considerations in the study of minority student retention in higher education. In J. M. Braxton (Ed.), *Reworking the student departure puzzle* (pp. 127–156). Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Rendón Linares, L. I., & Muñoz, S. M., & (2011). Revisiting validation theory: Theoretical foundations, applications, and extensions. *Enrollment Management Journal*, *5*(2), 12–33.

Renn, K. A., & Arnold, K. D. (2003). Reconceptualizing research on college student peer culture. *Journal of Higher Education*, *7*(3), 261–291. doi:10.1080/00221546.2003.11780847

Sackett, C., Goldrick-Rab, S., & Broton, K. (2016). *Addressing housing insecurity and living costs in higher education: A guidebook for colleges and universities*. U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research. Retrieved from https://www.huduser.gov/portal/sites/default/files/pdf/HousingInsecurityInHigher Ed.pdf

Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Silva, M. R., Kleinert, W. L., Sheppard, A. V., Cantrell, K. A., Freeman-Coppadge, D. J., Tsoy, E., & Pearrow, M. (2015). The relationship between food security, housing stability, and school performance among college students in an urban university. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory and Practice*, *19*(3), 284–299.

Slesnick, N., Dashora, P., Letcher, A., Erdem, G., & Serovich, J. (2009). A review of services and interventions for runaway and homeless youth: Moving forward. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *31*(7), 732–742. doi:10.1016/j.childyouth.2009.01.006

Stagner, M., & Lansing, J. (2009). Progress toward a prevention perspective. *Future of Children*, *19*(2), 19–38. doi:10.1353/foc.0.0036

Tierney, W. G., Gupton, J. T., & Hallett, R. E. (2008). *Transitions to adulthood for homeless adolescents: Education and public policy*. Los Angeles, CA: Center for Higher Education Policy Analysis, University of Southern California. Retrieved from http://www.usc.edu/dept/chepa/pdf/Homeless_Youth_final.pdf

Tsui, E., Freudenberg, N., Manzo, L., Jones, H., Kwan, A., & Gagnon, M. (2011). *Housing instability at CUNY: Results from a survey of CUNY undergraduate students*. New York, NY: Healthy CUNY Initiative, City University of New York.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research. (2012). *The homeless definition and eligibility for SHP, SPC, and ESG*. Retrieved from https://www.hudexchange.info/resource/2020/the-homeless-definition-and-eligibility-for-shp-spc-and-esg/

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Exchange. (2015a). *Rapid re-housing: Northwest youth services program profile*. Retrieved from https://www.hud exchange.info/resource/4494/rrh-for-youth-northwest-youth-services-program-profile/

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. (2013). *2011 Homelessness prevention and rabid re-housing program (HPRP): Year 2 summary*. Retrieved from https://www.hudexchange.info/resources/documents/HPRP_Year2Summary.pdf

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research. (2015b). *Barriers to success: Housing insecurity for U.S. college students: Insights into housing and community development policy.* Retrieved from http://www.huduser.org/portal/periodicals/insight/insight_2.pdf

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research. (2016). *Housing assistance.* Retrieved from http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/comm_planning/homeless

Wood, J. L., Harris, III, F., & Delgado, N. R. (2016). *Struggling to survive — striving to succeed: Food and housing insecurities in community college.* San Diego, CA: Community College Equity Assessment Lab.