Characteristics of Youth Formerly in Foster Care Who Experienced Homelessness as Young Adults

A Denver Metro Area Study

REPORT HIGHLIGHTS:

- Implementing U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development approved changes to homeless services privacy notices is necessary to determine the percentage of youth formerly in foster care who experience homelessness as young adults.

- Services and policies aimed at preventing homelessness among young people formerly in foster care could be tailored to three groups of youth. Read more on .

- Females and BIPOC youth may be priority populations for culturally-responsive services and policies aimed at lessening the duration of homelessness. Read more on .

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Executive Summary

The link between foster care and homelessness is well established nationally, though not yet locally. This pilot study builds on national literature by describing the characteristics of Colorado's youth who were formerly in foster care and later accessed homeless services as young adults. The aim of this research is to inform ways to identify, tailor, and prioritize services and policies focused on preventing and lessening the duration of homelessness for youth formerly in foster care across Colorado.

Foster Care and Youth Homelessness

National research suggests that youth who access homeless services are likely to be involved in juvenile justice systems and/or to have a history in child welfare services. An estimated 50% of young adults experiencing homelessness in the U.S. at any given time were once in foster care,[1] with 25% experiencing homelessness within just two to four years after aging out of the foster care system.[2] Forty-four percent of homeless youth interviewed in 11 U.S. cities reported having stayed in a jail, prison, or a juvenile detention center. [3]

Young adults experiencing homelessness transition among different settings, including doubling-up with acquaintances, sleeping outside, or staying in transitional housing or shelters.[4] The vast majority of youth experiencing homelessness report using more than one sleeping arrangement and changing arrangements frequently throughout any given week.[5] Despite these shifts, youth typically stay in their state of origin rather than crossing state lines.[6]

The lack of a safe, stable place to call home is directly linked to challenges that prevent youth from thriving,[7] including:

- Social – The ages of 18-24, a period sometimes known as "emerging adulthood," is a pivotal developmental phase during which a number of skills essential to independence and well-being are typically fostered.[8] With a focus on maintaining basic survival needs like food and shelter, career and educational goals are often out of reach.[9]

- Health – Homelessness and housing insecurity are distinct causes of preventable hospitalization and correlate with interpersonal family trauma, asthma, depression, behavioral health concerns, and numerous other chronic medical conditions.[10, 11]

- Safety – Young adults facing the termination of child welfare services and unstable housing are likely to be targeted by traffickers.[12] An estimated 40-70% of homeless youth engage in prostitution to meet their basic needs, [13] with Colorado having the 19th highest documented rate of human trafficking nationwide.[14]

Findings and Next Steps

Percentage of Youth

The research sought first to identify the percentage of Colorado youth previously in foster care who accessed homeless services through Metro Denver Homeless Initiative (MDHI). Estimating homelessness among youth formerly in foster care is a difficult endeavor because not all young people who experience homelessness engage in formal services. When they do, they may not provide their legal name, which is necessary to match them to child welfare records. In this study, no valid estimate of the total percentage

of youth who experienced foster care and later accessed homeless services could be produced because homeless services data were only available if the youth had signed a Release of Information.

Next Steps

MDHI and the Colorado Lab have worked with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to better align privacy notices to individuals receiving homeless services. As a result of this project, Continuums of Care throughout Colorado have begun to update their privacy notices so that homeless service data can be more comprehensively connected to child welfare records. HUD has awarded a grant to the Center for Policy Research to work in partnership with the Colorado Lab to continue this statewide research.

Characteristics of Youth

A second research question examined the characteristics of Colorado youth previously in foster care who later accessed MDHI services. Three groups were identified, each with a collection of attributes that characterize the former foster youth experiencing homelessness:

- Group One is characterized by *Intensive Division of Youth Services (DYS) Involvement and Emancipation* (32% of youth served).

- Group Two is characterized by *Family-based Challenges, Neglect, and Moderate DYS Involvement* (41% of youth served).

- Group Three is characterized by *Youth Behavior and Substance Use Challenges, but Reunified with Family* (26%).

Next Steps

Most housing programs and voucher systems are for all youth, with the exception of tailored programs for pregnant and parenting youth. The descriptive information about groups of former foster youth who later accessed homeless services can be cross-walked with existing policies and practices to identify gaps and opportunities.

Representation Among Youth

The third and final research question explored whether there is disproportionate representation among these youth by race, gender, or child welfare history. Findings show that youth formerly in foster care who are female or Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) accessed homeless services at disproportionately high rates, with young males and White youth accessing services at a lesser rate.

Next Steps

These findings suggest value in identifying ways to tailor strategies, services, and outreach methods for youth by race, gender, or child welfare history to lessen or eliminate disparities.

The Colorado Department of Human Services (CDHS) Office of Children, Youth and Families has demonstrated a strong commitment to advancing policies and practices that ensure young people who exit the foster care system have the support and skills to transition into adulthood.

This pilot study builds the capacity to monitor, identify, and prioritize services and policies aimed at preventing and lessening the duration of homelessness for youth formerly in foster care.

Abstract

This pilot study builds on national literature by describing the characteristics of Colorado youth who were formerly in foster care and later accessed homeless services as young adults. State-focused data are important as youth experiencing homelessness typically stay in their state of origin. It was not possible in this study to estimate the total percentage of youth who experienced foster care and later accessed homelessness services due to the limited number of signed Release of Information forms needed to access services through Metro Denver Homelessness Initiative. However, informed by this study, Continuums of Care across the state have already begun to update their privacy notices and a next phase of research will examine this more fully. The study identified three groups, each with a collection of attributes that characterize the former foster youth experiencing homelessness, including: youth with differing levels of Division of Youth Services involvement, specific challenges (behavior, substance use, family-based, poverty) and emancipation or reunification with family. Findings also show that female and Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) youth formerly in foster care accessed homeless services at disproportionately high rates. The descriptive characteristics groupings and identification of disproportionate representation among these youth by race, gender or child welfare history can be cross-walked with existing policies and practices to identify policy and services gaps and opportunities to prevent and lessen the duration of homelessness for youth formerly in foster care across Colorado.

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Acknowledgements

Data Sources

This study uses data from two sources that were connected through the Linked Information Network of Colorado (LINC):

1. Colorado Department of Human Services provided client-level demographic and child welfare involvement data. These data were extracted from Trails.

2. Metro Denver Homeless Initiative provided client-level information indicating a youth accessed homeless services if they had an active Release of Information.

LINC is a collaborative effort of the Colorado Evaluation and Action Lab and the Colorado Governor's Office of Information Technology that safely and securely connects and anonymizes data across state agencies and systems to fully inform solutions to specific societal challenges. The data used for this report came from a LINC project approved by participating data partners. The findings do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Colorado Governor's Office of Information Technology, the Colorado Evaluation and Action Lab, or the organizations contributing data.

Suggested Citation

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Introduction

On an average night in January 2020, approximately 331 youth between the ages of 19-24 experienced homelessness in the Denver metro area.[15] National estimates suggest that 50% of young adults experiencing homelessness at any given time were once in foster care.[16] Data also indicate that at least 40% are prone to facing housing insecurity within the first two years of aging out of child welfare services.[17] Locally, we do not yet know the prevalence of youth formerly in foster care experiencing homelessness or the types of child welfare experiences that are associated with increased risk of homelessness for young adults statewide. This research seeks to explore the characteristics of youth formerly in foster care in the state of Colorado who later accessed homelessness support services in the Denver metro area, with the intention of generating action steps for homelessness prevention statewide.

What Homelessness Looks Like for Young Adults

Young adults tend to vacillate between a number of sleeping arrangements while unhoused. Most commonly, youth stay with a series of acquaintances, or "couch surf", if they do not have access to their own home.[18] Additional possibilities include a formal agency resource, such as a shelter, or transitional housing; on an average night in January 2020, 4,493 of Denver's 6,104 unhoused residents of all ages stayed either in an emergency shelter or transitional housing.[19] It is also common for youth to sleep in spaces not meant for inhabitation, such as parks, stairwells, or abandoned buildings. The vast majority of youth experiencing homelessness report using more than one sleeping arrangement and changing arrangements frequently throughout any given week.[20]

"I was sleeping in the car… I didn't have money to go to the store and buy food, let alone pay for my education."

- Anna, a young adult formerly in foster care in the Denver metro area

Despite these many shifts in physical location, youth typically stay in their state of origin rather than crossing state lines.[21] All of these likely arrangements leave young adults without a safe place to reliably call home, preventing them from growth and stability in other developmentally appropriate areas. In a Denver metro area study of individuals either formerly or currently in foster care, many young adults reported that when faced with homelessness, career and educational goals were out of reach; maintaining basic survival needs, such as meals and shelter, occupied a priority of their time and effort.[22]

Homelessness[23]

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) uses four distinct categories to define youth homelessness.

- **Literal Homelessness:** Individuals and families who live in a place not meant for human habitation (such as streets or car), emergency shelter, transitional housing, or hotel paid for by an organization.

- **Imminent Risk of Homelessness:** Individuals or families who will lose their primary nighttime residence within 14 days.

- **Homeless Under Other Statutes:** Unaccompanied youth under the age of 25, or families with children or youth who have not had a lease and have moved two or more times in the past 60 days and are likely to remain unstable due to special circumstances or barriers.

- **Fleeing Domestic Violence:** Individuals or families who are fleeing or attempting to flee domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, or stalking, and who lack resources and support networks to obtain alternative permanent housing.

Housing Insecurity

Young adults who are not currently homeless may be experiencing housing insecurity. Over the past 10 years, housing prices in the Denver metro area have skyrocketed at a rate disproportionate to the increase in median salary. In March 2021, the average single-family home in the Denver metro area cost $632,581, an increase of over 17% compared with the previous year.[24] In 2019, Denver experienced its highest median rent in 10 years at $1,484, an 89% increase from the median rent in 2009.[25] By contrast, income increased only 47% between 2010 and 2018. This discrepancy has resulted in a large number of Denver households becoming cost burdened,[26] leaving many families at risk of eviction, unable to pay for other necessities outside of housing, and more likely to live in poor conditions. In the Denver metro area, an estimated 13.3% of renters were behind on rent in April 2021.[27] For youth who are just beginning to enter the workforce, pursuing a postsecondary degree or credential, pregnant or parenting young children, Denver housing costs may be out of reach, unsustainable, or necessitate living in poor quality housing, unstable neighborhoods, and/or overcrowded situations.

Housing Insecurity[28]

The US Department of Health and Human Services has identified four categories that constitute Housing Insecurity.

- **High Housing Costs:** When housing consumes more than 30% of a household's gross monthly income.

- **Poor Housing Quality:** Housing that is lacking complete plumbing or a kitchen, has inadequate heating or electricity, or has "upkeep issues."

- **Unstable Neighborhoods:** Neighborhoods categorized by conditions such as poverty, crime, and lack of job opportunities.

- **Overcrowding:** When more than one person lives in a room.

Literature: Preventing Homelessness Can Improve Health, Well-being, and Safety Challenges Associated with Homelessness

Young people who have experienced homelessness have worse overall health and well-being into adulthood.[29] Homelessness and housing insecurity correlate with interpersonal family trauma, asthma, depression, behavioral health concerns, and numerous other chronic medical conditions.[30] Not only is health often compromised by the poor housing conditions associated with housing insecurity, such as lead paint toxicity, but without an established home, it is very difficult to attend to preventative, holistic, and affordable healthcare. Subsequently, homelessness and housing insecurity are considered distinct causes of preventable hospitalization nationwide.[31]

Lack of access to safe and stable housing is also linked to social challenges that prevent youth from thriving in developmentally appropriate areas.[32] The ages of 18-24, a period sometimes known as "emerging adulthood," is a pivotal developmental phase during which a number of skills essential to independence are typically fostered.[33] Education and career advancement, financial literacy, and healthy relationship growth—all developmental tasks standard for this age group—suffer if youth do not have a stable home base.[34] Lack of permanent stable housing limits these developmentally appropriate opportunities, as youth are required to spend their time and resources meeting survival needs rather than engaging in future-oriented goals.[35] Analysis of panel data from a large representative sample of individuals and families experiencing homelessness and housing insecurity in Australia discovered that those who first experienced homelessness in childhood were less likely to be employed as adults.[36] Delay of these developmental landmarks may have lasting implications for mental health as youth progress toward adulthood.[37] Reducing the risk of homelessness for those exiting foster care may in turn improve outcomes in these other essential areas of social and emotional well-being.[38]

Youth experiencing homelessness are also at increased risk of human trafficking.[40] As many as 40-70% of homeless youth "engage in [survival sex work] to meet their basic needs."[41] Further, interviews with 654 youth in 11 cities nationwide found that more than 60% had experienced physical and sexual violence while experiencing homelessness.[42] Though rates of human trafficking are difficult to determine due to the covert and complex nature of the problem, the Denver metro area has been identified as a high-risk area; the accessible international airport, interstate highway, and large immigrant population facilitate increased potential for human trafficking.[43] In 2019, 11,500 human trafficking cases were reported to the National Human Trafficking Hotline, with 179 originating in Colorado, making it the state with the 19th highest documented rate of human trafficking nationwide.[44] Young adults facing the instability of homelessness and the termination of child welfare services are likely to be targeted by traffickers, as typically, individuals who are perceived to be vulnerable due to situational or social/emotional factors are at increased risk of being trafficked.[45]

> *"I'll share this with you, but I don't wanna talk much about it. After foster care I was trafficked. Right after I got off parole. Everything in foster care didn't even compare to that."*
>
> **- Celeste, a young adult formerly in foster care in the Denver metro area**[39]

> **Human Trafficking Definition[46]**
>
> The US Department of Justice defines Human Trafficking as a crime that involves exploiting a person for labor, services, or commercial sex.
>
> The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and its subsequent reauthorizations define human trafficking as:
>
> a) Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age; or
>
> b) The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery. (22 U.S.C § 7102(9)).

Literature: Characteristics of Youth At-Risk for Homelessness

> **Understanding the characteristics and experiences of youth who experience homelessness can inform tailoring prevention strategies. The national literature is a starting point, and this study builds upon the literature by describing the characteristics of Colorado's youth who were formerly in foster care and later accessed homeless services as young adults.**
>
> **This information may be used to further develop an array of policies and practices that are tailored to the common characteristics and experiences of these young people.**

Social determinants such as race, gender identity, and sexual orientation are known correlates of homelessness and housing insecurity. African American youth are both disproportionately represented within the child welfare system and at higher risk of homelessness overall.[47] Similarly, LGBTQ+ youth and youth who are pregnant or parenting are more likely to be involved in child welfare services and to experience homelessness than peers. Prior research explains that these groups may face isolation, stigmatization, and general lack of social and emotional support while in foster care, resulting in a high number of placements. LGBTQ youth report that because of these negative experiences, they are more likely to run away or forego a placement that feels unsupportive, in exchange for couch surfing or one of the other commonly used resources.[48]

Child Welfare and Juvenile Justice Involvement

Situational experiences have also shown to be predictive of homelessness for young adults. In Washington State, it was discovered that those who withstood multiple foster care placements while involved in child welfare services—particularly congregate care placements like group homes—were at higher risk for homelessness within the first year of aging out of services, while those placed with a family member tended to be at less risk. The National Alliance to End Homelessness reports that over 25% of youth previously involved in the child welfare and foster care system become homeless within just two to four years of aging out of the foster care system.[49] Youth who are themselves parents and those who have historically been involved in the juvenile justice system are also more likely to sustain housing insecurity.[50] Furthermore, those who have experienced homelessness in their family of origin are more likely to become involved with the foster care system, as parents who endure the stresses associated with housing

insecurity tend to face additional obstacles in meeting the caregiving needs of their children.[51] Ending homelessness not only for youth exiting foster care but also for families at risk of involvement with child welfare could break this cycle and vastly improve the developmental, health, and well-being outcomes for vulnerable families.

This report focuses on youth who experienced an out-of-home placement or were in "foster care" as defined in federal statute and other out-of-home placements.

Foster Care

Foster care means 24-hour substitute care for children placed away from their parents or guardians and for whom the Title IV-E agency has placement and care responsibility. This includes, but is not limited to, placements in foster family homes, foster homes of relatives, group homes, emergency shelters, residential facilities, child care institutions, and pre-adoptive homes.

Research suggests that youth who access homeless services are simultaneously likely to be involved in juvenile justice systems and/or to have a history in child welfare services.[52] Forty-four percent of homeless youth interviewed in 11 U.S. cities reported having stayed in a jail, prison, or a juvenile detention center, and 78% had had at least one interaction with police. Sixty-two percent of the homeless youth interviewed had been arrested. Lack of safe and stable housing positions youth to miss school, spend time in public outdoor spaces after hours, and exchange sex or services to meet survival needs, all leading to involvement with juvenile justice systems.[53]

The intersection of juvenile justice and foster care involvement is unique, with linked, cross-sector, administrative data providing a useful tool for examining the characteristics of youth involved in both systems. In 2016, researchers integrated records from juvenile justice and child welfare systems across three U.S. cities. They discovered that African American young men, those who experienced congregate care placements while in foster care, and youth who were older when first placed in foster care were most likely to also be involved in the juvenile justice system.[54] A study from New York City reflected similar findings and generated further implications for youth dually involved in both foster care and juvenile justice. Researchers compared three groups; one consisted of youth strictly involved in foster care, a second group consisted of youth strictly involved in the juvenile justice system, and a third of those involved in both the juvenile justice and foster care systems. Through the integration of administrative data, they found that dually-involved youth were more likely than youth from the other two groups to be involved in additional human services systems. Rates of Cash Assistance, SNAP, Medicaid, single adult shelter stays, detention stays, jail stays, and emergency room visits were all higher for this third group.

COVID-19 Pandemic

The economic fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic has increased the prevalence of unemployment, financial hardship, and subsequent evictions across the board.[55] Colorado's economy has been hit particularly hard. In April 2020, an estimated 323,500 jobs had been lost statewide,[56] with 16% of working residents filing for unemployment; mostly from low wage jobs typically occupied by those already facing housing instability and poverty.[57] Though homelessness is far from a novel phenomenon, housing insecurity has spiked in response to the pandemic, further intensifying the urgent need to protect youth and families from the tangible possibility of becoming unhoused.[58]

Description of the Study

Though the link between foster care and homelessness is well established nationally,[59] research has yet to explore what constellations of characteristics describe Colorado youth formerly in foster care who later experience homelessness. A deeper understanding of the combinations of pre-existing and situational features of those youth who experience homelessness will shed light on possible policy solutions, with the aim of decreasing homelessness for youth transitioning out of foster care. Thus, this report builds on prior literature by addressing the following research questions:

1. **What percentage of Colorado youth previously in care (on or after December 1, 2000) later accessed Metro Denver Homeless Initiative (MDHI) services between late 2018 and early 2020?**

2. **What are the characteristics of youth previously in foster care who later accessed homelessness support services in the metro Denver area?**
   a. **How many distinct groups of youth experiencing homeless can be identified?**
   b. **What percentage of youth experiencing homelessness belong to each group?**
   c. **Which demographic and case history characteristics describe each group of youth previously in care?**

3. **Is disproportionate representation by race, gender, or child welfare history present among former foster youth who access homelessness services?**

Key Findings and Recommendations

Implementing U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development approved changes to homeless services privacy notices is necessary to determine the percentage of youth formerly in foster care who experience homelessness as young adults.

> **No valid estimate of the total percentage of youth who experienced foster care and later accessed homelessness services could be produced because homeless services data were only available if the youth had signed a Release of Information.**

Estimating the prevalence of homelessness among young adults who were formerly in foster care would require more comprehensive access to homeless services data than what was available for this project.

- Incomplete information was available for if these youth accessed homeless services. Only those with an active Release of Information with MDHI could be included in this study (i.e., numerator was incomplete data).

- Complete information was available for the number of youth formerly in foster care in Colorado (i.e., denominator was complete data).

This means it was impossible to confirm if a young person had not accessed homeless services.

Furthermore, this study was specific to accessing homeless services in the Denver metro area, ideally statewide data from Continuums of Care would be used to determine if youth formerly in foster care accessed homeless services.

MDHI and the Colorado Lab have worked with HUD to align privacy notices to individuals receiving homeless services to address this limitation in future research. HUD has awarded a grant to the Center for Policy Research to work in partnership with the Colorado Lab to continue this research.

Recommended Privacy Notice Language for all Continuums of Care

How Protected Personal Information (PPI) May Be Shared and Disclosed

Unless restricted by other laws, the information we collect can be shared and disclosed under the following circumstances:

- To provide or coordinate services.

- For payment or reimbursement of services for the participating organization.

- For administrative purposes, including but not limited to HMIS system administrator(s) and developer(s), and for legal, audit personnel, and oversight and management functions.

- For creating de-identified PPI.

- When required by law or for law enforcement purposes.

- To prevent a serious threat to health or safety.

- As authorized by law, for victims of abuse, neglect, or domestic violence.

- For academic research purposes.

- Other uses and disclosures of your PPI can be made with your written consent.

Some COCs have already made these changes to their privacy notice.

Services and policies aimed at preventing homelessness among young people formerly in foster care could be tailored to three groups of youth.

Group One is characterized by *Intensive Division of Youth Services (DYS) Involvement and Emancipation* (32% of youth served).

Group Two is characterized by *Family-based Challenges, Neglect, and Moderate DYS Involvement* (41% of youth served).

Group Three is characterized by *Youth Behavior and Substance Use Challenges, but Reunified with Family* (26%).

Some policies, such as those in the recently passed HB21-1094 Foster Youth in Transition Act, aim to establish meaningful connections and authentic natural supports outside of the child welfare system, are

designed to provide supports for all youth formerly in foster care to prevent or lessen the duration of homelessness.

> The results from this study may provide insight into development or furthering of implementation efforts for an array of strategies that create a continuum of policies and practices.
>
> The group categories can be used to cross-walk current and proposed strategies to identify where there may be gaps in the array of policies, practices, and supportive services.
>
> Individual youth may benefit from strategies that are aligned with multiple groups.

Table 1: Examples of Strategies Tailored to Groups Identified in This Study

Group	Example of a Tailored Strategy	Alignment with Group Characteristics
Intensive DYS Involvement and Emancipation	Consistent access to Chafee services throughout the state and expanded age edibility.	The John H. Chafee Foster Care Program for Successful Transition to Adulthood (Chafee) is a federally-funded grant program providing states a flexible and supplemental funding source to support youth who are at risk of leaving foster care without achieving permanency. Some youth are eligible for these resources until age 21; however, the Former Foster Youth Steering Committee highlighted that these services are not consistently available throughout the state and that eligibility should be extended to youth's 23rd birthday.[60]
	Strengthening case planning before youth emancipate or exit DYS at age 18+.	Clear guidelines across the state for when to a close a case in window of age 18 to 21 that articulate when to close a case and allows for voluntary services (i.e., implementation of the Foster Youth in Transition Act Provisions).
Family-based Challenges, Neglect, and Moderate DYS Involvement	Prioritize young people formerly in foster care for Earn to Learn Apprenticeship programs	The ability to earn income while pursuing a postsecondary credential may meet the financial stability needs of young people with a family history of poverty successfully transition into young adulthood. Eligibility for Earn to Learn programs can include no felony convictions.
	Develop pathways to access evidence-based mental health and substance use services after child welfare case closure.	Addressing the mental health needs of youth and strengthening family functioning can prevent homelessness. Colorado's bold candidacy definition in the Family First Prevention Services Plan could allow for federal reimbursement of evidence-based services after reunification and even if the child welfare case is closed.
	Considering the Foster Power recommendations for including youth in decision making around prescription medicine.	The Foster Power recommendations span strategies to engage youth in their treatment process and set them up to be self-advocates in their health care. A specific recommendation that may prevent the instability that can

Group	Example of a Tailored Strategy	Alignment with Group Characteristics

Females and Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) youth may be priority populations for culturally responsive services and policies aimed at lessening the duration of homelessness.

> Females and BIPOC youth formerly in foster care are disproportionately highly represented among the young people who are already accessing homeless services.
>
> Whereas, males and white youth might benefit from outreach to connect them to homeless services, as the results of this study suggest they are not currently over-represented among young people accessing services as are females or BIPOC youth.

Most housing programs and voucher systems are tailored to youth broadly, with the exception of programs for pregnant and parenting youth. Given that youth formerly in foster care who currently access homeless services in the Denver metro area are disproportionally female or BIPOC, there may be more opportunities to tailor strategies aimed at lessening the duration of homelessness to these young people.

Outreach strategies to make youth aware of how homeless service may be able to support their goals might be further targeted to males and white youth. There is no evidence from this study to suggest young people with these demographics are experiencing homelessness at lesser rates; the study only suggests that they are not tapping into formal services (e.g., perhaps couch surfing, living on the street or in a car).

This finding should be applied with caution as a limitation of the study was that data were only available for youth with an active Release of Information. It is possible that the overrepresentation of females and BIPOC youth reflect a propensity to sign release forms.

Methods

Methods

Linking Child Welfare and Homelessness Data

The data integration and de-identification work for this study was accomplished by the Linked Information Network of Colorado (LINC). LINC is a public-private collaborative among the Colorado Lab and state and local data owners in Colorado that rely upon a data linking hub in the Governor's Office of Information Technology. LINC is available on a fee-for-service basis to link and de-identify data approved by the data owners for research and analytics. The LINC Data Scientist performing the functions of the linking hub has technical expertise in identity resolution and has met all certification and background check requirements that permit the handling of protected records.

This study is a LINC project approved by the Colorado Department of Human Services (CDHS) Office of Children, Youth and Families, and MDHI. Child welfare data came from the state's administrative database, Trails (the Colorado Comprehensive Child Welfare Information System), as maintained by CDHS. Homelessness data came from the Homelessness Management Information System (HMIS), as maintained by MDHI. Table 2 delineates the data sources, data ranges, and other data restrictions. The Results and Limitations sections of this report describe how the Release of Information rate shaped interpretation of the findings.

Table 2: Linked Data Sources

Data Source Received	Organization	Data Date Ranges	Other Data Restrictions
Trails Child Welfare Extract (200,767 records)	Colorado Department of Human Services, Office of Children, Youth and Families	All Trails clients from 2000 through 2019.	Used LINC Trails extract rather than a direct pull from Trails.
Homelessness Management Information System (HMIS) Extract (2,287 records)	Metro Denver Homeless Initiative (MDHI)	All MDHI enrollments where age > 18 as of 12/1/2018.	Only those records with a signed Release of Information held by MDHI. This restriction reduced the study population by about 50%.

The data sources were merged using personal identifiers; redundancies and inconsistencies were corrected and identifiers removed from the data prior to the authors receiving access to the dataset for analysis.

Data were deduplicated within both the HMIS and Trails data. Two tools were available for performing identity resolution: (1) the Senzing identity resolution application; and (2) SQL queries. Because multiple records for an individual might exist with slight variations (e.g., use of nickname instead of first name) or errors, the goal of the deduplication process was to recognize these slight differences so that the records could be consolidated into a set of unique individuals. Senzing uses a pre-trained analytical model that already understands how to identify these slight variations and how much weight to give to a similar first

name, last name, date of birth, SSN, etc. Senzing has been used effectively for projects of matching two sets of personal identifiers, with SQL queries used afterwards as a secondary means of identification.

After generating a list of potential duplicates with Senzing, the two records in a pair of potential duplicates were compared. For example, if the name was unusual and matched exactly or nearly so, and the date of birth was identical, then it was decided that the pair was the same person. If, however, the name and date of birth were a complete mismatch but the SSN was an identical match, it was decided that one of the people had an incorrect SSN entry and that the two are actually unique individuals even though their SSNs are an identical match. This human quality check provided balance to the use of the pre-trained model. If a pair was determined to be a duplicate pair, a final assessment was made to determine which of the two records were kept as the master record. To make that determination, each item of a pair was examined for whether it would then be the best candidate in the second round of matching when the HMIS records would be compared to the Trails dataset. For example, a more complete HMIS record would be a better matching candidate than an incomplete record. All substantive data from duplicate records were reassigned to the master record, and, thus, all system involvement of the individual was preserved.

With a unique set of identifiers for the HMIS dataset, the next step was to run the identity resolution process with Trails with deduplication of the Trails dataset performed after the matching process was completed. Because of known data entry errors in Trails, it might be possible for one HMIS record to match only one of two duplicate Trails records. By deduplicating the Trails data after matching, the match rate could be maximized.

At every stage of the matching process, results were sampled and examined to avoid mismatches, and a final quality check was run to detect possible bias in the matching. With the identity resolution process completed and the population of the study established, the substantive data elements from the database could be extracted and the linkage identifiers anonymized. All personal identifiers were deleted with the exception of date of birth, which was anonymized by retaining the month and year of birth but setting the day of birth to the first day of the month for all individuals.

Three resulting datasets contained Trails data for (1) child demographics, (2) child out-of-home removal episodes, and (3) child placements during removal. They also contained a flag indicating whether or not a child served by CDHS later accessed homelessness services through MDHI between the ages of 18 and 24

Sample

Research Question One:

- To answer the [first research question](#), the statewide population of youth formerly in foster care who were also age-eligible to receive homeless services (i.e., young adults during study timeframe) was identified.

- Statewide Population of Age-Eligible Youth: a subset of Trails out-of-home removal records were selected such that the child removed would be age 18-24 during the study time period (December 2018 through March 2020) and thus eligible for MDHI services. The most recent removal episode, defined by begin date, for each child was retained for analysis. Thus, a population of 18,262 unique children in Colorado who could have accessed MDHI services during the study time period was identified.

Research Questions Two and Three:

- To answer the second and third research questions, information about the last foster placement within the child's most recent removal episode was selected. The analytic sample was limited to youth whose last placement occurred in the Denver metro area. Finally, the analytic sample was further limited to youth who accessed homeless services, provided by MDHI, as young adults— ages 18 to 24—between December 1, 2018 and March 31, 2020.

- Metro Denver Area Sample of Age-Eligible Youth: the population of children was limited to those youth whose last removal episode was in a county that is served by MDHI (i.e., Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Broomfield, Denver, Douglas, and Jefferson Counties). This narrowed study population was 7,709 youth with a final removal episode in one of the seven counties who could have accessed MDHI services during the study time period.

- Primary Analytic Sample: youth who actually accessed MDHI services during the study period were identified, for a final analytic sample of 285 youth.

Measures

The selection of pre-existing and situational characteristics of youth included in this study began with a review of information that could be drawn from their administrative child welfare records in Trails and in consultation with CDHS. The research team narrowed the set of measures to an initial list of 44 variables (see Table 3), which prior research and/or practical experience suggested might reasonably characterize youth previously in foster care and now experiencing homelessness. From a policy perspective, however, 44 characteristics were too many to meaningfully describe groups of youth experiencing homelessness. Therefore, the initial list was further narrowed to 32 characteristics by removing those which were: redundant (e.g., both parents' ages at birth or child's age at current removal); not child-specific (e.g., parents' ethnicities and relationship of foster caregiver to child); or, administrative (e.g., whether the foster caregiver received a stipend to care for the child). A final selection of characteristics for Latent Class Analysis (LCA) was made after preliminary results indicated which would most meaningfully differentiate among groups of youth experiencing homelessness.

Table 3: Variable Progression to Final LCA Model

Original List of 44 (bold eliminated to get to second list)	Second List of 32 (bold eliminated to get to final list)	Final List of Variables Used in LCA Model
Demographic Characteristics		
Gender	Gender	Gender
Race/ethnicity	Race/ethnicity	Race/ethnicity
Mother age at birth	**Youngest Parent age at birth**	--
Father age at birth	--	--
Mother ethnicity	--	--
Father ethnicity	--	--
Child Welfare Experiences		
Number of child welfare referrals	**Number of child welfare referrals**	--
Number of child welfare assessments	**Number of child welfare assessments**	--
Number of child welfare founded assessments	--	--
Number of child welfare cases	**Number of child welfare cases**	--
Number of youth DYC cases	**Number of youth DYC cases**	--
Number of child welfare placements	Number of child welfare placements	Number of child welfare placements
Number of child welfare removals	Number of child welfare removals	Number of child welfare removals
Age at first removal	**Age at first removal**	--
DYC involvement	DYC involvement	DYC involvement
DYC detention	DYC detention	DYC detention
DYC commitment	DYC commitment	DYC commitment
Adopted from child welfare	Adopted from child welfare	Adopted from child welfare
Emancipated from child welfare	Emancipated from child welfare	Emancipated from child welfare
Number of children in household	**Number of children in household**	--
Reason for removal ending	Reason for removal ending	Reason for removal ending
Removal family structure (e.g. single parent)	**Removal family structure (e.g. single parent)**	--
Removal Manner (e.g. emergency removal)	--	--

Original List of 44 (bold eliminated to get to second list)	Second List of 32 (bold eliminated to get to final list)	Final List of Variables Used in LCA Model
Child Welfare Experiences (continued)		
Length of final removal span	**Length of final removal span**	--
Age at final removal	--	--
Number of placement episodes	--	--
Removal reason – Caregiver substance use	Removal reason – Caregiver substance use	Removal reason – Caregiver substance use
Removal reason – Neglect	Removal reason – Neglect	Removal reason – Neglect
Removal reason – Child behavior	Removal reason – Child behavior	Removal reason – Child behavior
Removal reason – Child substance use	Removal reason – Child substance use	Removal reason – Child substance use
Removal reason – Housing	Removal reason – Housing	Removal reason – Housing
Removal reason – Parent inability to cope	Removal reason – Parent inability to cope	Removal reason – Parent inability to cope
Removal reason – Physical abuse	Removal reason – Physical abuse	Removal reason – Physical abuse
Removal reason – Sexual abuse	Removal reason – Sexual abuse	Removal reason – Sexual abuse
Removal reason – Parent incarceration	Removal reason – Parent incarceration	Removal reason – Parent incarceration
Removal reason – Parent death	**Removal reason – Parent death**	--
Removal reason – Child disability	Removal reason – Child disability	Removal reason – Child disability
Removal reason – Abandonment	Removal reason – Abandonment	Removal reason – Abandonment
Removal reason – relinquishment	--	--
Primary caregiver relationship to child	--	--
Secondary caregiver relationship to child	--	--
Placement Type (family-like or institutional)	Placement Type (family-like or institutional)	Placement Type (family-like or institutional)
Paid placement (y/n)	--	--
Discharge setting	--	--

Analytic Approach

The sample (n=285) was analyzed via LCA using PROC LCA in SAS 9.4. LCA is a statistical method used to identify a set of groupings of individuals based on their values of a set of observed categorical variables. In the current study, LCA yields groups of youth with like demographic and child welfare experiences within the sample of youth formerly in foster care who experienced homelessness as young adults. LCA was run using the 22 characteristics listed in the rightmost column of Table 3. The researchers fit a two-group, three-group, and four-group model. They evaluated the fit of these models by using comparisons of Akaike[61] and Bayesian[62] information criterion, with a lower metric indicating better fit. A three-group model was indicated based on these criteria. Selection of the three-group model as the final model was confirmed after verifying that groups were distinguishable based on item-response probabilities, that no group was negligible in size, and that a meaningful, descriptive label could be applied to each group.[63] Finally, the optimal three-group solution was confirmed by re-running the SAS procedure with 10 different, random starting seeds and confirming that the same solution was calculated by the algorithm each time.
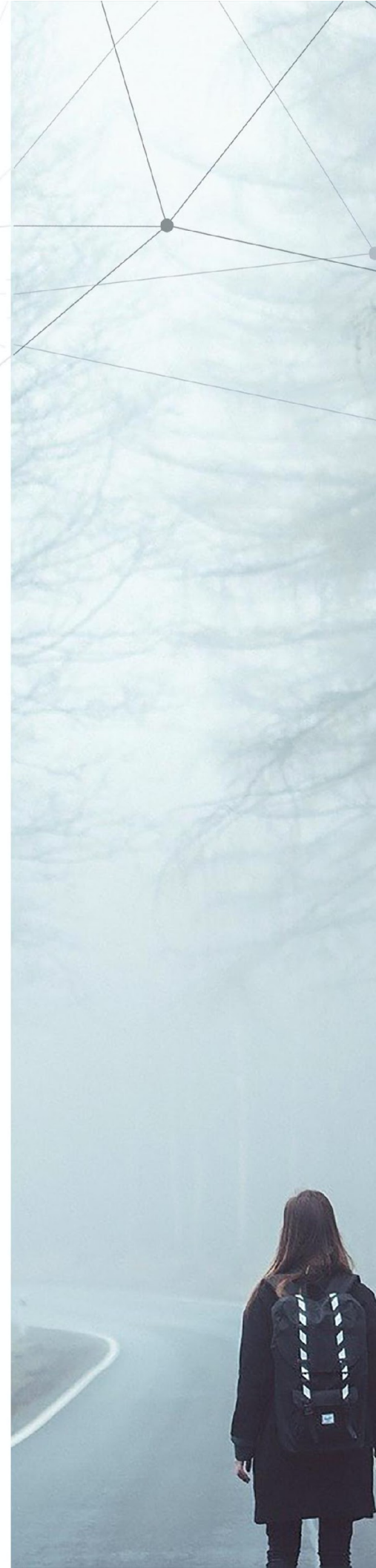
Results

Results

Research Question One

What percentage of Colorado youth previously in care (on or after December 1, 2000) later accessed MDHI services between late 2018 and early 2020?

> **No valid estimate of the total percentage of youth who experienced out-of-home removal and later accessed homelessness services could be produced from the current dataset.**

Estimates would require more comprehensive access to homeless services data than what was available for this project. For this project:

- Incomplete information was available for if these youth accessed homeless services. Only those with an active Release of Information with MDHI could be included in this study (i.e., numerator was incomplete data).

- Complete information was available for the number of youth formerly in foster care in Colorado (i.e., denominator was complete data).

This means it was impossible to confirm if a young person had not accessed homeless services. Lack of clarity in HUD regulations about whether or not homeless services data can be shared for research without an active Release of Information led to this limitation in the dataset.

The available data showed that 461 of 18,262 in the initial statewide population (2.5%) accessed homelessness services through MDHI during the study time period. This "statewide" percentage is surely an undercount, as the 461 youth all accessed services in the Denver metro area while the population of 18,262 eligible youth experienced their last removal and placement across the state.[i] Limiting to seven Denver metro area counties, there were 7,709 youth in the eligible population based on age and county of final out-of-home placement. Of these, 285 youth (or 3.7%) accessed MDHI services during the study. This percentage is a more accurate (but still under-counted) estimate of the number of Colorado youth who experience out-of-home removal who later become homeless.

The Colorado Lab requested and received guidance from HUD indicating that updating the privacy notice to include an exception for research will address the Release of Information issue. Colorado's Continuum of Care (COC) sites are in the process of implementing this change to their privacy notices. Some COC, including MDHI, have already implemented this change. Future studies will be able to access the comprehensive data necessary to provide valid prevalence estimates of youth formerly in foster care who experience homelessness as young adults.

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[i] Furthermore, these 461 were only the subset of all MDHI clients who signed a Release of Information.

Research Question Two

What are the characteristics of youth previously in foster care who later accessed homelessness support services in the Metro Denver area?

> There are three distinct groups of youth who experienced foster care and later accessed homelessness services in Metro Denver.
>
> - Group One is characterized by *Intensive DYS Involvement and Emancipation* (32% of youth served).
>
> - Group Two is characterized by *Family-based Challenges, Neglect, and Moderate DYS Involvement* (41% of youth served).
>
> - Group Three is characterized by *Youth Behavior and Substance Use Challenges, but Reunified with Family* (26%).

A well-fitting, three-group solution resulted from the LCA, as described in the Methods section. These groups describe constellations of attributes that characterize the former foster youth experiencing homelessness. It is worth noting that these results do not indicate factors which predict homelessness. The LCA results do not tell us which characteristics of the population of 7,709 Denver metro area foster youth are most commonly associated with later homelessness. The results describe current and historical characteristics of the 285 youth who did access services.

Group One – Intensive DYS Involvement and Emancipation (32% of youth served)

The first group of youth who accessed MDHI services were highly likely to have emancipated from the child protective services system. Very few were ever adopted and they were not reunified with their family of origin at the end of their last out-of-home removal. About 70% of youth were not in a family-like setting for their final placement. These youth are likely to have experienced at least three or more lifetime placements. Almost 70% had child behavior problems listed as one reason for their last removal from home; about 30% had parent inability to cope listed as a reason for removal. Finally, experiences of DYS involvement (70%+) and detention (almost 60%) were common.

Group Two – Family-based Challenges, Neglect and Moderate DYS Involvement (41% of youth served)

The second group had fewer overall out-of-home placements, with almost 50% having two or fewer lifetime placements. Seventeen percent achieved permanency via adoption following an out-of-home placement. Thirty percent were removed for parent substance use and 45% were removed for neglect, with higher percentages of parent substance use and neglect than in the other two groups. Almost 90% of the youth in Group Two were in a family-like setting for their last placement and almost 50% ended their last removal living with an adoptive parent or guardian. Likewise, almost 50% reunified with parents. Most of these youth (80%) had never been detained in DYS and none experienced DYS commitment.

Group Three – Youth Behavior and Youth Substance Use Challenges, but Reunified with Family (26% of youth served)

The third group also had fewer overall out-of-home placements than Group One, with almost 40% having two or fewer lifetime placements. Very few were adopted following out-of-home placement(s) and 75% of this group reunified with parents after their final placement. Over 90% were removed for reasons including child behavior problems and none had a removal reason including parent substance use or neglect. Fifteen

percent included a removal reason of child substance use. Only about 30% were in a family-like setting for their last placement. Most of these youth (70%) had been detained at least once in DYS, and 85% had a DYS involvement of some type.

Table 4: Descriptive Characteristics of the Three Latent Classes

	Class Name		
	Group 1: Intensive DYS Involvement and Emancipation	Group 2: Family-based Challenges, Neglect and Moderate DYS Involvement	Group 3: Youth Behavior and Youth Substance Use Challenges, but Reunified with Family
Class membership probabilities	32%	41%	26%
Item response probabilities			
Gender			
Male	39%	39%	52%
Female	61%	61%	48%
Race/ethnicity			
White	31%	23%	34%
Black	27%	24%	37%
Hispanic	38%	45%	26%
Person of color/Not AA or Hispanic	3%	8%	4%
Number of child welfare placements			
<3	6%	47%	39%
≥3	95%	53%	61%
Number of child welfare removals			
<2	37%	59%	42%
≥2	63%	41%	58%
DYC involvement			
Yes	72%	56%	85%
No	28%	44%	15%
DYC detention			
Yes	59%	20%	71%
No	41%	80%	29%
DYC commitment			
Yes	6%	0%	1%
No	95%	100%	99%
Adopted from child welfare			
Yes	3%	17%	8%
No	97%	83%	92%
Emancipated from child welfare			
Yes	99%	0%	3%
No	1%	100%	97%
Reason for final removal ending			
Emancipated	80%	0%	0%
Non-agency reason	20%	2%	6%
Adoption or Guardianship	0%	49%	19%
Reunified with parents	0%	49%	75%
Removal reason – Caregiver substance use			
Yes	13%	29%	0%
No	87%	71%	100%

	Class Name		
	Group 1: Intensive DYS Involvement and Emancipation	Group 2: Family-based Challenges, Neglect and Moderate DYS Involvement	Group 3: Youth Behavior and Youth Substance Use Challenges, but Reunified with Family
Removal reason – Neglect			
Yes	20%	45%	0%
No	80%	55%	100%
Removal reason – Child behavior			
Yes	67%	14%	92%
No	33%	86%	8%
Removal reason – Child substance use			
Yes	6%	1%	15%
No	94%	99%	85%
Removal reason – Housing			
Yes	6%	15%	0%
No	94%	85%	100%
Removal reason – Parent inability to cope			
Yes	29%	31%	17%
No	71%	69%	83%
Removal reason – Physical abuse			
Yes	10%	21%	2%
No	90%	79%	98%
Removal reason – Sexual abuse			
Yes	6%	6%	10%
No	94%	94%	90%
Removal reason – Parent incarceration			
Yes	4%	5%	1%
No	96%	95%	99%
Removal reason – Child disability			
Yes	3%	1%	3%
No	97%	99%	97%
Removal reason – Abandonment			
Yes	13%	7%	7%
No	87%	93%	93%
Placement Type			
Family-like	28%	87%	33%
Institutional	72%	13%	67%

Research Question Three

Is disproportionate representation by race, gender, or placement history present among former foster youth who access homelessness services?

> **Females, youth of color, and young people with long histories of child welfare involvement accessed homeless services at disproportionately high rates.**

Table 5 describes demographic characteristics of the final sample of 285 youth. Fifty-eight percent were female, and 72% of the sample identify as BIPOC (i.e., non-White) whereas, the population of Colorado youth who were in out-of-home care over the last 10 calendar years, averaged 43% female and 56%

BIPOC.[64] This illustrates substantial overrepresentation of females and BIPOC youth formerly in foster care accessing homeless services as young adults.

Table 5: Youth Who Experienced Out-of-home Removal and Later Accessed Homelessness Services by Gender and Race/Ethnicity (n=285)

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Identified Gender			
Female	164	58%	58%
Male	121	42%	100%
Identified Race/Ethnicity			
African American	80	28%	28%
Hispanic	107	38%	66%
American Indian, Asian, Hawaiian or Multi-Race, Non-Hispanic	15	5%	72%
White	80	28%	100%

*Note.* Race/Ethnicity is missing for 3 participants.

Table 6 shows that youth in the sample had more removal episodes and greater placement instability than the state average for youth in the same age and date ranges who were also in out-of-home care during the study time frame. Fifty-three percent of youth who later accessed homeless services were removed from home at least twice, whereas the state average for youth in the same age range was 29%. Sixty-eight percent of youth who later accessed homeless services spent time living in three or more distinct placements while removed from home; whereas the state average for youth in the same age range was 31%.

Table 6: Youth Who Experience Out-of-home Removal and Later Accessed Homelessness Services by Removal and Placement History

	Youth Who Accessed Homeless Services		All Youth with an Out-of-home Removal	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Lifetime number of out of home removals				
One lifetime removal	135	47%	8783	71%
Two or more lifetime removals	150	53%	3570	29%
Lifetime number distinct placements while out of home				
Fewer than 3 lifetime placements	90	32%	5996	69%
Three or more lifetime placements	195	68%	6257	31%

Note. State average data were generated by LINC.

Additional descriptive tables for the sample are contained in Appendix A (Tables A1-A5), including information on youth DYS involvement, reasons for the child's last out-of-home removal and permanency outcomes.
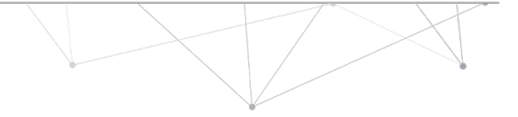
Limitations

Estimating homelessness among youth formerly in foster care is a difficult endeavor because not all young people who experience homelessness engage in formal services. When they do, they may not provide their legal name – which is necessary to match them to child welfare records, and as noted throughout the adjustments to privacy notices is needed to share data with researchers or LINC.

The descriptions of characteristics of youth are specific to those youth who accessed homeless services and were in the child welfare system in the Denver metro area. This information is best used to ensure that policies and practices aimed at prevention or lessening the duration of homelessness are available for young people with characteristics similar to each group in this report. This study did not assess risk of homelessness or protective factors, as all youth in the sample for research questions two and three had accessed homeless services.

Conclusion

CDHS's Office of Children, Youth and Families has demonstrated a strong commitment to advancing policies and practices that ensure young people who exit the foster care system have the support and skills to transition into adulthood. Preventing homelessness is one aspect of that work. This pilot study supports this work by building the capacity to monitor how many youth exiting the foster care system access homeless supports as young adults. As a result of this project, Continuums of Care throughout the state of Colorado have begun to update their privacy notices so that homeless service data can be more comprehensively connected to child welfare records. This pilot study also yielded descriptions of groups of youth formerly in foster care who accessed homeless services and highlighted that females and BIPOC youth access homeless services at disproportionally high rates.

This descriptive information about groups of youth who later accessed homeless services can be cross-walked with existing policies and practices aimed at preventing homelessness of youth formerly in foster care. In doing so, policy gaps or opportunities to expand eligibility can be identified. The finding that females and BIPOC youth who tend to access homeless services at particularly high rates, relative to males and White young people, can help prioritize services aimed at lessening the duration of homelessness for youth formerly in foster care.

Appendix A: Tables

Table A1

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Identified Gender				
Female	164	58%	164	58%
Male	121	42%	285	100%
Identified Race/Ethnicity				
African American	80	28%	80	28%
Hispanic	107	38%	187	66%
American Indian, Asian, Hawaiian or Multi-Race, Non-Hispanic	15	5%	202	72%
White	80	28%	282	100%
	Frequency Missing = 3			

Table A2

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Lifetime Number of Out of home Removals				
One lifetime removal	135	47 %	135	47%
Two or more lifetime removals	150	53%	285	100%
Lifetime Number of Distinct Placements While Out of Home				
Fewer than 3 lifetime placements	90	32%	90	32%
Three or more lifetime placements	195	68%	285	100%

Table A3

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Division of Youth Services involvements				
Any past DYS involvement	196	69%	196	69%
No DYS involvement	89	31%	285	100%
Division of Youth Services detentions				
Any past DYS detention	131	46%	131	46%
No DYS detention	154	54%	285	100%
Division of Youth Services commitments				
Any past DYS commitment	6	2%	6	2%
No DYS commitment	279	98%	285	100%

Table A4

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Adoption				
Previously Adopted	29	10%	29	10%
Never Adopted	256	90%	285	100%
Emancipation from Child Protective Services				
Previously Emancipated from CPS Care	94	33%	94	33%
Never Emancipated from CPS Care	191	67%	285	100%
End Reason for Last Out of home Removal				
Last removal Ended with Emancipation	74	27%	74	27%
Last removal Ended with Other non-agency reason	25	9%	99	36%
Last removal Ended with Adoption, Guardianship, or Living with Relatives	69	25%	168	61%
Last removal Ended with Parental Rights Reinstatement or Reunification with Parents	108	39%	276	100%
	Frequency Missing = 9			

Table A5

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Parent Substance Use				
Last removal reasons included Parent Substance Use	46	16%	46	16%
Last removal reasons did not include Parent Substance Use	239	84%	285	100%
Neglect				
Last removal reasons included Neglect	71	25%	71	25%
Last removal reasons did not include Neglect	214	75%	285	100%
Child Behavior Problems				
Removal reasons included Child Behavior Problems	148	52%	148	52%
Last removal reasons did not include Behavior Problems	137	48%	285	100%
Child Substance Use				
Removal reasons included Child Substance Use	18	6%	18	6%
Last removal reasons did not include Child Substance Use	267	94%	285	100%
Housing Problems				
Last removal reasons included Housing Problems	23	8%	23	8%
Last removal reasons did not include Housing Problems	262	92%	285	100%

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Parent Inability to Cope				
Last removal reasons included Parent Inability to Cope	77	27%	77	27%
Last removal reasons did not include Parent Inability to Cope	208	73%	285	100%
Physical Abuse				
Last removal reasons included Physical Abuse	36	13%	36	13%
Last removal reasons did not include Physical Abuse	249	87%	285	100%
Sexual Abuse				
Last removal reasons included Sexual Abuse	20	7%	20	7%
Last removal reasons did not include Sexual Abuse	265	93%	285	100%
Parent Incarceration				
Last removal reasons included Parent Incarceration	11	4%	11	4%
Last removal reasons did not include Parent Incarceration	274	96%	285	100%
Child Disability				
Last removal reasons included Child Disability	6	2%	6	2%
Last removal reasons did not include Child Disability	279	98%	285	100%
Abandonment				
Last removal reasons included Abandonment	25	9.77%	25	9%
Last removal reasons did not include Abandonment	260	91%	285	100%

Endnotes

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