

The Impact of Homelessness on Children

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This article reviews and critiques community-based research on the effects of homelessness on children. Homeless children confront serious threats to their ability to succeed and their future well-being. Of particular concern are health problems, hunger, poor nutrition, developmental delays, anxiety, depression, behavioral problems, and educational underachievement. Factors that may mediate the observed outcomes include inadequate shelter conditions, instability in residences and shelters, inadequate services, and barriers to accessing services that are available. Public policy initiatives are needed to meet the needs of homeless children.

Research on the impact of homelessness on children indicates that homeless children (generally identified as those in emergency shelter facilities with their families) confront serious threats to their well-being. Of particular concern are health problems, hunger and poor nutrition, developmental delays, psychological problems, and educational underachievement. This article examines the problems faced by homeless children in each of these areas. Where possible, we describe the extent to which homeless children are at a disadvantage, relative not only to the population at large but to other poor children. That is, we attempt to understand to what extent problems are associated with homelessness per se and to what extent they are linked with extreme poverty.

A second task of this article is to understand how homelessness leads to the outcomes we document and to identify which conditions in the lives of homeless children lead to particular adverse effects. As Molnar and Rubin (1991) pointed out, homelessness is a composite of many conditions and events, such as poverty, changes in residence, schools, and services, loss of possessions, disruptions in social networks, and exposure to extreme hardship. Effects of homelessness on children may be mediated by any of these ecological conditions and by their effects on parents and the family system. Research on homeless children, however, has not generally examined mediating mechanisms. We focus on mechanisms that can be influenced by social policy, namely, inadequate shelter conditions, instability of shelters and residences, lack of adequate services, and barriers to accessing available services. A final section describes linkages among outcomes and discusses implications for public policy.

Health Problems

Studies have consistently found that homeless children experience elevated levels of acute and chronic health

problems. Risk for health problems begins before birth. Chavkin, Kristal, Seabron, and Guigli (1987) compared the reproductive experience of 401 homeless women in welfare hotels in New York City with that of 13,249 women in public housing and with all live births in New York City during the same time period. Significantly more of the homeless women (16%, compared with 11% of women in public housing and 7% of all women) had low birth-weight babies. Infant mortality was also extraordinarily high: 25 deaths per 1,000 live births among the homeless women, compared with 17 per 1,000 for housed poor women and 12 per 1,000 for women citywide.

Wright (1987, 1990, 1991) examined the medical records of 1,028 homeless children under 15 years of age who were treated in the Robert Wood Johnson Health Care for the Homeless programs in 16 cities. He compared the occurrence of various diseases and disorders among homeless children with rates reported in the National Ambulatory Medical Care Survey for U.S. ambulatory patients ages 15 and under. All of the disorders studied were more common among homeless children, often occurring at double the rate observed in the general pediatric caseload. The most common disorders among homeless children were upper respiratory infections (42% vs. 22% in the national sample), minor skin ailments (20% vs. 5% in the national sample), ear disorders (18% vs. 12% in the national sample), chronic physical disorders (15% vs. 9% in the national sample), and gastrointestinal disorders (15% vs. 4% in the national sample). Infectious ailments, although less common than other disorders among homeless children (7%), occurred at more than 35 times the rate of those in the national sample. The Health Care for the Homeless and National Ambulatory Medical Care Survey samples differ along several dimensions. Members of the homeless sample are more likely to be poor, members of minority groups, and urban dwellers. Also, both surveys assess prevalence among those who use health services rather than among the general population. Al-

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