

# Student Homelessness in Post-Secondary Schools An Introductory Case Study Conference Paper for the Canadian Alliance to End Homelessness Conference Hamilton, November 2018

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"Don't wait until the end of the day to figure out where you're sleeping that night. It makes it far more stressful. Try to focus on class the best you can and know that if you stick with it, it will pass. Reach out and let people know the situation that you're in, even if you're embarrassed about it because it may not even be your fault. Make sure you're fed and just keep your head up." (RDC student, 2018).

## Introduction

"A few days ago, one my students came up to me to discuss her low grade - this is after I had submitted all the final grades for her class. I told her that if she had showed up more, been more on top of her work, well then, maybe then I could have reconsidered her failing grade. Then she, well, she kind of broke my heart and made me angry at the same time: she said, 'Well, you wouldn't feel that way if you knew I have been homeless this whole term.' And she walked away. I literally didn't know what to say or do. You tell me; what do we do?" (Anon. instructor at RDC College in Central Alberta December 18, 2017)

This statement underscores the difficulty we face when thinking about post-secondary student homelessness in Canada. On the one hand, we who work as educators and in poverty research recognize the significant research done that links low income and housing insecurity with problematic education outcomes for children and youth in primary and secondary schools. For the most part, however, very little is known about the experience of post-secondary students who face these barriers. However, we hear stories like the one guoted above so often that we surmise it is a widespread phenomenon. In general terms, the stories we hear always emphasize how damaging are housing insecurity and homelessness to the educational and professional achievement of people trying to learn skills and develop the cultural capital to be economically and socially viable citizens. We know from anecdotal information gathered in collaborations and conversations with homeless adults that prior student homelessness and poverty are variables that they understand to have contributed to their later experiences of homelessness and poverty. In fact, many students cling to the belief that a higher education will help to relieve their poverty. It does not take a great leap of faith to imagine that student homelessness occurs at the great expense of individuals' dreams and hopes, lost productivity in our economies, and the cultural wealth of our communities. For these moral and practical reasons, we need to look at the causes and effects of post-secondary student homelessness. In order to begin to do this, we have to know what it looks like in all its complexity and ask, "how big a problem is it?" The following is a first step in that direction.

#### Background

The following is a discussion paper based on the basic findings of a simple survey study undertaken between 2017-18 at Red Deer College. The study was done to get a preliminary



idea of what post-secondary student homelessness looks like, and as such the findings presented here are suggestive, not conclusive. Currently, the study is being undertaken at three other sites and the methodology and findings are being refined. However, some very compelling basic observations and analysis are offered herein. It is our hope that we can engage other researchers and institutions, and governments, in a more in-depth and comprehensive study with the goal of literally ending student homelessness.

This study began with the personal experiences of Dr. Weissman at various postsecondary institutions : Concordia University, University of Texas Medical Branch, College of New Caledonia and Red Deer College. In each of these sites, students, staff and faculty had talked about their direct and indirect knowledge of student homelessness. These experiences ranged from being literally unsheltered ( students sleeping in gym change rooms and empty classrooms) to couch surfing and sleeping in vehicles and conformed more or less to the typology offered by the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness ( COH 2016)<sup>i</sup>. Another generality of this experience was that no one had been aware of research specifically examining homelessness(es) in the post-secondary sector in Canada, even though most had agreed that there must be some. We asked ourselves, "who is working on this and why are we not aware of each other?" There were references made to other teachers and students and rumors of shelters built for students at "some university in California," to quote an anonymous colleague. In the absence of census data or other widely publicized recognition of the issue, the ubiquity of such anecdotal evidence gave weight to a sense of urgency to understand the problem in more detail.

In 2017-18 while at Red Deer College, Dr. Weissman had discussions with students who had, in the past, been homeless while studying and had been forced to drop out, or who were currently homeless and studying, but deeply worried about their educational outcomes. Their stories suggested that they were less likely to achieve scholastic, social, personal and professional goals. As an example, one student, struggling with addictions and who had to live with friends to avoid a dangerous situation in her family home, had tried numerous times to complete her coursework, but simply could not do it. As a result, she had been forced to retake classes, had lost tuition fees, and suffered extreme anxiety so much so that she required medical intervention. Another student was in the process of leaving her program unfinished to find work because she could not afford her rent and other needs while going to school. She spoke about how uneasy she felt while staying in someone else's place, the building anxiety as her life seemingly became more dependent on unpredictable people and events, and how such distractions at the spiritual and psychic level suspended her in a certain sense of despair.

Other stories suggested that dangerous health behaviours such as, smoking, over drinking, drug use, committing theft and sexual exploitation increased in these periods of instability. Although a cursory review of literature at that time demonstrated that such experiences in the context of post-secondary schools had not been systematically studied here, the commonness of these narratives suggested the issue remained broad and urgent.<sup>ii</sup>



However, as much as post-secondary student homelessness in Canada is on our radar, to date, we have no idea how big a problem it is or how it is distributed regionally and across other dimensions such as, age, gender and ethnicity and so on. We do not know what it costs us as a nation in terms of the health and social wellbeing of our citizens or the economic and cultural impacts on our communities.

In 2016, there were approximately 5 million students in public elementary and secondary schools in Canada<sup>iii</sup> and 2,034,957 in post-secondary institutions<sup>iv</sup>. Together these groups represent approximately 20% of the Canadian population. A great deal of literature from around the globe and in Canada, looks at the relationship between food insecurity, family poverty and educational outcomes for public and high school age children (those most likely to be living in a family of some form) (EG.)<sup>v</sup>. However, there is surprisingly little research or publication in terms of post-secondary students, even though numerous news articles from the US and other sites speak to the rising numbers of students in jeopardy<sup>vi</sup>. In fact, it seems that the problem of post-secondary student homelessness has received much more attention in other jurisdictions than here in Canada.

Research done by Housing and Urban Development, the US Department of Education and various US State Departments of Education, cited in Ilyana Keyohane (COH, 2016) and Weissman (2017) suggests that as many as 1.4 million US students fall under the category of homelessness<sup>vii</sup>. These experiences range from being literally unsheltered to couch surfing. Newspapers tend to carry these stories because of the dramatic nature – homeless students? Students failing at courses, unable to find jobs, sleeping in gymnasiums, libraries, stairwells of empty academic buildings, and riding subways all night; each an almost unbelievable story, except they are so common. That number, 1.4 million, is considered a conservative estimate by some researchers and news accounts.<sup>viii</sup> The total number of US students in the US is 56.6 million K-12 and 19.9 million in post-secondary (colleges, see previous endnote), representing approximately 24% of the population of 325.7 million. The total rate of student homelessness sits at approximately 1.6% of all students and a 2017 national survey by the University of Wisconsin shows that 13% all post-secondary students are homelessness<sup>ix</sup>. Generally numbers on the extent of homelessness generated by the Department of Education (DOE) and most educational sources in the US are significantly higher than Housing and Urban Development (HUD) or other agencies because the DOE understands that the term is not simply about shelter or housing, but about the kinds of relationships, safety, sense of well-being, and ability to focus on goals (to even have goals) that having stable housing provides and which are intrinsic to educational success<sup>x</sup>. To them, couch surfing, vouchered and otherwise unstable forms of housing that do not contribute to a student's success at school are types of homelessness, just as we might consider relying on shelters, a type of homelessness. In response, a few US university student unions have had to build shelters specifically for students.xi

It is beyond the scope of this research brief to explore the reasons for this in detail (we do this in our full report currently being developed), but this gap seems to be related to the



greater focus paid to vulnerable families and children for whom there are more poverty relief strategies and state-led interventions and so more research has been directed towards their needs. It might be also that the issue of post-secondary outcomes is addressed to some degree in this work, but a focused and determined account of the issue ion the Canadian context seems evasive. Furthermore, as many student respondents suggested, there is a great deal of stigma attached to living in homelessness and so students don't often talk about it with each other. Many were surprised to hear that these narratives are widespread in Canadian schools. For many reasons then, it seems we need to look at the issue in a Canadian context, and this study is a start.

With the current federal government's position on homelessness prevention, a number of poverty and homelessness researchers agree that it is absolutely necessary to address student homelessness at all levels as a unique vector of social life because, after all, as dehumanizing as it is to be homeless, for a student, this lived condition could directly prevent people from active economic roles and thereby lead to chronic and episodic homelessness in adult life.

"Paying for school and living is a very hard and stressful thing to do and has put a huge impact on my school, I know I have potential, but it is hard to focus only on school when you are stressed about other things like money, bills etc." RDC Student

# The Study – Some Principles

**1. An Assumption** – Students who experience homelessness are less likely to achieve their academic and professional goals and will more than likely appear in homeless counts again. This situation rarely sorts itself out in ways that truly benefit the student, or us, as a society where education and the pursuit of one's goals is highly valued.

**2. What Does Student Homelessness in Canada Look Like?**— If we know the size and shape of the issue, its geographical and community-based prevalence, we can begin to develop strategies to manage it, end it and move on.

**3. Prevention** – We can contribute to the prevention of long term and chronic homelessness by helping young people and people trying to learn new skills to complete their schooling and get their accreditation. We can help adults thrust out of jobs or adult roles learn new skills by providing for their housing needs as they re-educate themselves.

**4. Students Are Resources and Parts of the Solution** – Students themselves have stories to tell about the causes of their homelessness and strategies they understand to be effective responses that we need to understand. The engagement of student associations and students in the research, outreach and policy implementation is a central pillar of any solution.



**5. Need to See Systemic factors** -There is no way to address the issue of students without understanding how structural barriers such as, the practices of landlords and university housing services, impact the success of students.

**6.** Indigenous student homelessness - Indigenous students who are typically far removed from their home communities experience homelessness in specific ways that need identification and tailored responses. Cultural practices and visions of home must be included in any attempts to address the issue as must embrace culturally relevant modes of learning and communicating.

**7.** A need to overcome stigma -We must find ways to make it safe for students to seek out and receive assistance. The stigma of poverty and homelessness prevents it from being a common discussion.

8. Mental health is a major concern – Mental health issues associated with homelessness of all kinds are not necessarily causal. Some experiences of homelessness are caused by mental health issues . For others, being homeless can be seen as the cause of mental health issues. For students, mental health is a potentially additive factor that is complicated or exacerbated by financial and educational barriers.

# The RDC Baseline Test

In order to begin to test these ideas and provide some evidence to support the call for a broader study, Dr. Weissman undertook a small exploratory survey of students at Red Deer College. The study is based on a simple 40-question survey. The survey approved by the college REB, was anonymous, distributed to students in various faculties by email and completely voluntarily. These students were contacted because they were enrolled in courses in the humanities and social sciences – the actual student body is closer to 8000. 189 responses were gathered from an estimated pool of approximately 1200 students who learned of the study directly from faculty who shared a link to the study in their classes. We estimate the response rate to be  $16.4\%^{xii}$ . The goal of this basic research is to contribute to a baseline measure of the frequency and distribution of student homelessness using scaled survey responses, and to sensitize us, through long form answers, to the kinds of unanticipated concerns that students have.

"I am a single mother of three. I am ok because my ex-husband has a good job and pays his child support, but if he didn't, I would never be able to go back to college. I know my situation is different than a lot of people I know. More people would go back to school if there were lowered rent allowances for people such as single parents. Rent is outrageously expensive, even if a person is working full time, and I



think the government needs to cap how much rent people can charge. It's ridiculous! In my situation, to pay my rent and my bills, and feed my growing children, I need to make a minimum of \$50,000.00 a year to be alright." (Anonymous Respondent)

## **Basic Demographic Data**

1. 84% Female, 14 % male and 2.5% Gender Queer/Gender Non-conforming

- 2. 83% Canadian, 9% FNMI, 8% Ethnic Canadian
- 3. 55% between 18 and 22 years of age

4. 18.5% very well-off families, 40% well-off, 25% - well off and optimistic (please see survey for categories)

5. 60% of students in survey earned less than 15,000 CDN/yr., 22% earned 15-24,000 CDN/yr.

## **Thematic Findings**

**Mental health** – 43% of respondents had had mental health diagnoses. 23.7% were ongoing We found this a curious, if not troubling result; it is twice the expected rate. It could mean that students with this experience were more likely to fill out the survey. We know for example that many of the students in this sample were in nursing, social work and sociology programs, and had expressed lived experiences of trauma and other experiences that led them to these vocational choices. So that might explain their participation rate and response. Again, this is a type of result we would want to refine in future research. Still, it is a high number and worthy of examination.

**Prior experience with homelessness** – 31.4 % of current students said they had previously experienced homelessness (as defined by the COH typology) and that 52.5 % of those were students at that time: 70% of this was "hidden homelessness" - 7% had lived completely unsheltered. (Only 2 out of 39 positive responses to this question cited primary or secondary school, so that means, 37/39 ( 42 in total) respondents to this question, experienced this as post-secondary students.

**Currently homeless** – 3.6% reported that they were currently homeless. (2.7% if looking at only youth 18-25).

**Stress**—31% of students said they worried about their housing and this stress was a major concern impacting the performance of 48% of these people. (Respondents offered elaborate explanations of what this stress looks like).

**Tactics and resilience** – Alarmingly, almost 40% of students suggested they would do anything to find shelter. And this has obvious implications for understanding the criminalization and



exploitation of youth. 72.5% of respondents would couch surf while 14.4% would sleep in a car or RV. The remaining 13% of respondents listed locker rooms, abandoned buildings and "I do not know where I would go." These findings are troubling too. We want to eliminate them. But we also want to see a positive lesson from some of the strategies we encountered. So, we feel the need to question what it means that even students facing dire circumstances are willing to make sacrifices in pursuit of their education.

We have heard from some scholars that the fact that students are staying in school or returning to it despite hardship, might demonstrate the resilience of youth who see education as vital and have adapted or made choices to stay on a path to the future. Clearly, they are not helpless or lazy—they are actually inspired and willing to make tremendous sacrifices. From their perspective, we might gain very useful understandings of how individuals navigate the exigencies of post-secondary funding. We might also ask if students today see the sacrifice as normal. In other words, do they understand insecure housing as just an acceptable part of that journey? And if so, why is that? What we do know is that students in this position might come from places where insecurity is not abnormal; where it is intergenerational and so their expectations for support from the "system" or others might be different than people who see housing and education as basic rights.

Regardless, of where one stands on these questions, students' experiences are a key resource for us going forward.

**General awareness of the Issue** – 62% said they never hear stories about other students being homeless, but 17% suggested they do hear stories about it. They even know students who are homeless but do who do not recognize it as such. This suggests that those who are vulnerable to homelessness are also more likely to be sensitive to this in fellow students. Of those who reported hearing stories, 50% suggested they heard it about 2 or more students. Again, sensitivity to the issue may lead to greater awareness and disclosure.

**Stigma**—71% of students are aware of the issue, but they see the stigma attached to it as the reason few people talk about it. They also suggest that they have no idea to whom they should talk, if it is an issue. Several respondents to the RDC survey indicated that many of their colleagues do not recognize their own homelessness, or do, but will not admit or discuss it. The social and cultural repercussions are too high. Some suggested that the experience might be racialized; compared to the poverty of the reserves, and, admitting it, therefore, all but eliminates a person's social capital in some social circles. Even more troubling, some students remark that admitting to homelessness is associated with a narrative of failure that has had the region in its grip since the oil bust in 2013. (In the current economic growth cycle, things might be changing). Furthermore, some students suggest that in Central Alberta, hardship is common, linked to boons and busts, so they ignore current living arrangements for a long-term hope of having housing. In other words, some students suggest that people living within the COH categories of hidden homelessness do not recognize this as a type of homelessness, even if they



recognize it as a kind of hardship. Furthermore, there is a formidable degree of stigma attached to being labeled, "homeless," even though Red Deer in particular had seen its economy dwindle and its population decline as a result of economic drop-offs between 2013 - 2016. It is more than just a case of not wanting to be seen or looked upon as a "homeless person"; there is the real fear that renters will not rent to poor students, grants and other loans might not be made available, and that highly competitive courses like nursing and some trades are simply out of reach for very low-income students. The optics of being hit hard by the economy are easier to accommodate and might actually be a point of solidarity, whereas, admitting to homelessness speaks to a narrative of failure. To paraphrase, some students suggest that "you just don't want them knowing you are homeless or at risk 'cause they (school administrators) will see you as a risk and not a person with potential and other students will ignore you."

Who to talk to – utilizing an existing structures and networks – Of those that did identify individuals to speak to, 42% selected a teacher/instructor, 31.4% chose a friend, and 11% selected student services. Clearly this indicates that from a structural perspective, in line with the observation that started this summary, educators are key agents for addressing this issue.

Another interesting finding linking the questions with long from responses and informal conversations with students is that respondents said that they would be more than likely to talk to an instructor first, then a friend, rather than clergy, counselors and others. They said that they are aware of the services provided by the school(s) but that they were either uncomfortable revealing their situation or felt their prior help-seeking behaviour had poor results. This suggests that a preexisting social structure and institutional infrastructure is in place to support students in their help seeking efforts, but that it might not be working as well as it can. Because students are part of social networks, they have supports of various kinds; it might be that developing techniques for mining these networks could help students avoid negative impacts of homelessness. This means we need to map out these networks and see what makes some effective and others fail. And if we really understood what aspects of the institutional culture and infrastructure satisfied the help seeking needs of students, we might more effectively help them avoid episodes of homelessness. We imagine developing a digital APP for students that can help them find resources and supports pertaining to housing.

So, the good news is, again based on this example, that the central problem students face is not structural or relational – schools have trained personnel and infrastructures in place that, given the knowledge and tools, could be used to gather and disseminate information and to help students manage their housing experiences more effectively.

**The role of schools** – 77% of students think that schools ought to play a central role in addressing the issue. Furthermore, 78.6% felt that students should not have to leave school because of poverty and lack of housing. This supports the premise that for our respondents, school is seen as a basic and necessary right of all persons wishing to obtain it. In the US, some



student associations have raised money and built shelters specifically for homeless students. In other cases, schools and other NPOs provide some resources. As Keohane pointed out in 2016, some Canadian Universities have food banks for students; Concordia in Montreal has had student run coop bistros and stores specifically engineered to cut the cost of food for students. So, there is recognition that being a student is not always the privileged and easy experience that one might think.

**Education as a basic right** –72.9% of respondents felt that housing and education are basic rights that a combination of all levels of government should support.

**Duration and episodes** – We have not prepared the long form responses at this time. However, several observations are worthy to note. For example, there is evidence to suggest that these experiences, regardless of type of homelessness are often sudden, short term and sporadic. The unpredictability and inconsistency of the experience makes planning for them and finding matching supports very difficult.

Indigeneity and student poverty – Of Red Deer's 100, 418 residents, 5,185, or 5.3% are Indigenous, which is a 13% increase from the previous census. This is slightly higher than the national average of 4.9%. 7.7% of our respondents were FNMI. This initial survey cannot make any observations based on the data since we are yet to cross-tabulate their responses to the questions. However, informal discussions about the project with Indigenous students overwhelmingly suggests that they see the reserve system in Alberta as a form attenuated homelessness, and worse as a sort of "cruel joke," as one student put it. However, some also remarked that they were grateful for the full explanation of homelessness at the beginning of the survey because it helped them see what they had thought as a normal and acceptable form of housing as something else, something deserving of change. As there are also many remote reserves in Alberta, students are forced to leave their home community in search of postsecondary education. This displacement, without adequate living supports, further imperils their stable transition into higher education and leads many to drop out. The issues facing Indigenous Peoples experiencing homelessness are well documented in Jesse Thistle's definition (Thistle 2017)<sup>xiii</sup>. Since we know that Indigenous Canadians are disproportionately represented in jails and on the streets, and underrepresented in higher education and the economy, a future concentration on Indigenous student enrolment and homelessness is especially warranted.

**Looking Ahead** – As stated earlier, this survey is a simple exploratory project. We have made some assertions in here simply to raise more questions than to answer. We recognize the need to refine and develop the methodology and in fact, that is what we are doing. Currently, the survey has been adapted for implementation at the University of New Brunswick, Lakehead University and the University of Calgary. Though we are tempted to make some comparisons already, we will not, other than to say that, based on early responses from UNB, our general findings and impressions seem to be valid. Our hope is to generate and mobilize knowledge



about the issue and to obtain funding for a national survey and ethnographic study of student homelessness. Our ultimate goal is to understand the full gravity of the situation, the types of solutions that might be effective and to empower policies to help vulnerable students achieve their post-secondary goals.

Given that there are approximately 2,000,000 students in Post-Secondary schools in Canada, and if the 3.6% rate of current homelessness turns out be a universal and valid rate, then almost 62,000 Canadian students are currently (2017) experiencing some kind of homelessness. We recognize that such an extrapolation is precarious. One can only imagine what the number looks like, if we factor in mental health issues, food and other income related insecurities and fluctuating governmental supports. In fact, one would have to do a very comprehensive, nation-wide study to really know. That is exactly what we are proposing. If the deleterious impact of homelessness suggested in these responses is universal, or even simply, a big problem, then we have a certain moral obligation in addition to numerous practical considerations, to address this issue rapidly. The cost to our communities for emergency and social services and to individuals in terms of personal suffering and anxiety is just too great to bear. Like all forms of homelessness, this experience, left unresolved, costs the student and the communities where it happens far more than addressing and resolving it. Unlike trying to find housing for people who are already living in literal or chronic homelessness, helping students to keep their housing and obtain their goals would significantly reduce the long-term demands on housing supports and governments to manage and end homelessness.

"[sic] ... i have to not focus on the bills and pray food will come, or my husband will get some overtime. saying no to things my child wants to do but we cannot afford it like gymnastics or a holiday. try not to get depressed or anxious. feelings of being a failure and suicide often come up. i have to focus on the positive and believe that going to school will get me a good paying job. we have an over 60,000 of credit card debt. gambling contributed to that and me not being able to get work during school hours so i could be home with my child. my husband works shift work. sitters are expensive. for example, working at fast food places they want you available for all shifts. by the time i pay a sitter there is no money left and i would not have seen my child. so that was pointless. then i get depressed because you want to work and get out of this horrible situation, but it seems hopeless. i had always wanted to go to school so i applied and got a student loan. i cannot think of all the debt because i literally can't breathe at times. it is very overwhelming living like this." RDC student



Please Note: Link to initial survey: https://goo.gl/forms/SxSzDIr8WUMRzDJr1

# Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> http://www.homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/COHhomelessdefinition.pdf

<sup>ii</sup> A literature view is part of the draft we are working on for publication.

<sup>iii</sup> https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/151119/dq151119d-eng.htm And https://www.statista.com/statistics/449105/enrollment-in-public-elementary-andsecondary-schools-in-canada/

<sup>iv</sup> https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=3710001101

v For example:

Buckner, J. C. (2008). Understanding the impact of homelessness on children: Challenges and future research directions. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(6), 721–736 *Review*, 46(3), 445–475.

Miller, Peter W. (2011). A Critical Analysis of the Research on Student Homelessness, *Review of Educational Research*. September 2011, Vol. 81, No. 3, pp. 308–337.

Pavlakis, A. E. (2014). Living and learning at the intersection: Student homelessness and complex policy environments. *The Urban* Review, 46(3), 445-475.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. (2016). The annual homeless assessment report to Congress. Retrieved from http://www.hudhre.info/documents.2010HomelessAssessementReport.pdf

<sup>vi</sup> For example:

https://www.independent.co.uk/topic/student-homelessness

https://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-hidden-problem-of-homelessness-on-college-campuses/

<sup>vii</sup> There is some variation depending on which data one refers to. For example: http://homelesshub.ca/blog/how-can-universities-address-needs-homeless-students

https://www.npr.org/sections/ed/2016/06/13/481279226/as-the-number-of-homeless-students-soars-how-schools-can-serve-them-better

https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d16/tables/dt16\_204.75d.asp



Weissman, Eric 2017. Tranquility on the Razor's Edge. Oakville: Rock's Mill's Press.

<sup>viii</sup> "The number of students projected to attend American colleges and universities in fall 2018 is 19.9 million, which is higher than the enrollment of 15.3 million students in fall 2000, but lower than the enrollment peak of 21.0 million in fall 2010 (source). Total enrollment is expected to increase between fall 2018 and fall 2027 to 20.5 million." Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=372

<sup>ix</sup> https://www.npr.org/sections/ed/2017/03/15/520192774/national-survey-shows-high-ratesof-hungry-and-homeless-community-college-studen

<sup>x</sup> Weissman, Eric 2012. *Dignity in Exile*. Mount Forest: Exile Publications.

<sup>xi</sup> U.S. Department of Education. (1999). FY 1997 report to Congress on the education United States Interagency Council on Homelessness. (2015).

Opening doors: Federal strategic plan to prevent and end homelessness of homeless children and youth. Washington, DC: Author. (as amended in 2015). Retrieved from https://www.usich.gov/resources/uploads/asset\_library/USICH\_OpeningDoors\_ Amendment2015\_FINAL.pdf

<sup>xii</sup> The actual rate is likely higher or lower since we did not collect emails or register contact info during outreach. We were most concerned at seeing who responded and drawing inference, about gender, age and other variables from that we asked what our sample looked like rather than pursuing a specific random sample.

xiii http://homelesshub.ca/IndigenousHomelessness