

CHAPTER 10

ADVERSE CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

*Highlights: Homeless Clients*¹

- A significant share of homeless clients have spent portions of their childhoods away from their family home. Over a quarter (27 percent) report spending time in foster care, a group home, or another children’s treatment facility before age 18. Of these, half spent more than two years in such places.
- 33 percent of homeless clients say that before they reached age 18 they ran away from home for more than 24 hours, and 22 percent report they were forced to leave home for more than 24 hours.
- 21 percent of homeless clients report a first homeless episode before the age of 18.
- Many homeless clients used drugs and alcohol during their childhoods. 13 percent started drinking alcohol to get drunk and 11 percent started using drugs regularly before the age of 15. Another 15 percent started drinking alcohol to get drunk and 15 percent started using drugs regularly between the ages of 15 and 17.
- Many homeless clients also had school-related problems as children. Almost one-third repeated a grade in school (25 percent repeated one grade and 6 percent repeated two or more grades). Over half (53 percent) of homeless clients dropped out of school, 44 percent report being suspended, and 18 percent report being expelled from school.
- White non-Hispanic and especially Hispanic homeless clients are more likely than others to have run away from home for more than 24 hours before age 18.
- Examining experiences of homelessness before age 18, clients in families are more likely than single clients to have had this experience (28 versus 20 percent), as are those with alcohol, drug, or mental health problems compared to those without these problems (23 versus 17 percent), and those who are white or Hispanic (26 percent each) compared to those who are black or Native American (16 and 12 percent, respectively).

¹ Unless noted specifically in the text, all comparisons are statistically significant at $p = .10$ or better, and all percentages presented by themselves have a 90 percent confidence interval no larger than ± 4 percentage points. A confidence interval of ± 4 percentage points means that if the reported percent is 60, 60 is the estimate of the value and the probability is 90 percent that the value falls between 56 and 64 percent. Confidence intervals greater than ± 4 percentage points will be noted in a footnote as: 90% C.I. = $\pm X$ percentage points.

Highlights: Currently and Formerly Homeless Clients and Other Service Users Compared

- Currently and formerly homeless clients are similar on many childhood measures relating to spending time away from home, drug and alcohol use, and school-related problems. Other service users age 65 and older are the least likely to have encountered these adverse childhood experiences.

INTRODUCTION

After almost two decades of research, quite a bit is known about the factors associated with a higher risk of homelessness. Much of the most relevant research has been published quite recently. Longitudinal studies have documented some of the more direct causes of homeless episodes, and shown just how fragile is the hold some people have on stable housing (see, for example, Koegel and Burnam 1991; Koegel, Burnam, and Morton 1996; Piliavin, Sosin, and Westerfelt 1993; Robertson, Zlotnick, and Westerfelt 1997). Both longitudinal and other studies have also highlighted strong associations of negative childhood experiences with homelessness (Bassuk, et al. 1997; Caton et al. 1994; Herman et al. 1997; Koegel, Melamid, and Burnam 1995; Mangine, Royse, and Wiehe 1990; Susser, Struening, and Conover 1987; Susser et al. 1991; Weitzman, Knickman, and Shinn 1992; Wood et al. 1990). In particular, histories of foster care and other out-of-home placement, physical and sexual abuse (which often precede out-of-home placement), parental alcohol and/or drug use, and residential instability and homelessness with one's family as a child are much more common among people who have experienced adult homelessness than among people who have not.

The NSHAPC survey asked clients about various experiences and events that happened when the client was a child. These include questions concerning clients' living experiences in foster care, group homes, or children's treatment facilities, and problems related to schooling, drug and alcohol use, and victimization. The survey only asked questions relating to childhood homelessness, running away, and out-of-home placement of clients who were determined by the survey as having ever been homeless. As will be seen, the results confirm previous findings that these childhood experiences are common among homeless clients.

HOMELESS CLIENTS

Childhood Out-of-Home Placement and Homelessness

A large share, 27 percent, of homeless clients report having been placed in foster care, a group home, or some other type of children's institution before reaching age 18 (table 10.1). The share of homeless clients who stayed in each of these three settings are 12 percent in foster care, 10 percent in a group home, and 16 percent in another type of children's treatment facility (figure 10.1). Clients may have stayed in more than one of these settings. Fifteen percent of homeless

clients were in various types of out-of-home placements before reaching age 13 (9 percent in foster care, 6 percent in a group home, and 6 percent in another type of children's treatment facility), and 20 percent were placed in one of these three settings between the ages of 13 and 17 (8 percent in foster care, 8 percent in a group home, and 13 percent in another type of children's treatment facility). Among homeless clients who stayed in such places, 52 percent report time away from home of more than two years, while 25 percent had relatively short periods of out-of-home placement (six months or less). In addition, before reaching age 18, one-third of all homeless clients ran away from home for more than 24 hours and 22 percent were forced to leave their homes for more than 24 hours (figure 10.2).

Twenty-one percent of homeless clients report that their first experience of homelessness occurred before the age of 18. The survey did not ascertain whether they were in this circumstance because their families were homeless, or because they themselves were homeless as runaways.

Alcohol and/or Drug Use

Questions about alcohol and/or drug use and the age at which it first started, along with questions about problems related to school, were asked of everyone (table 10.2). A significant proportion of homeless clients started drinking alcohol to get drunk and using drugs regularly (defined as three or more times per week) when they were children. Twenty-eight percent of homeless clients started drinking alcohol to get drunk on a regular basis before reaching age 18, with 13 percent reporting that this behavior started before age 15. Twenty-six percent started using drugs regularly before age 18, with 11 percent reporting that this behavior started before age 15 (figure 10.3).

School Problems

Chapter 3 described some school experiences of clients, concentrating on the level of schooling they had achieved and whether they had ever received special education services. In this chapter the aspect of interest with respect to educational experiences is the degree of difficulty clients report having had in school.

Thirty-eight percent of homeless clients do not have a high school diploma and almost one-third (31 percent) report repeating at least one grade in school. Over half of homeless clients say they have dropped out of school at some point in their lives, 44 percent have been suspended from school, and 18 percent have been expelled from school (figure 10.4).

Table 10.1
Out-of-Home Experiences of Clients, by Homeless Status

| | Homeless Status | |
|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Currently Homeless Clients (N=2938) | Formerly Homeless Clients (N=677) |
| Before Age 18, Ever Placed In: | | |
| Foster care, Group Home, or Institution | 26(%) | 19(%) |
| Foster care | 12 | 8 |
| Group home | 10 | 8 |
| Institution | 16 | 12 |
| Before Age 13, Ever Placed In: | | |
| Foster Care, Group Home, or Institution | 15 | 11 |
| Foster care | 9 | 7 |
| Group home | 6 | 3 |
| Institution | 6 | 3 |
| Between Ages 13 and 17, Ever Placed In: | | |
| Foster Care, Group Home, or Institution | 20 | 16 |
| Foster care | 8 | 5 |
| Group home | 8 | 7 |
| Institution | 13 | 10 |
| Length of Time Lived Away From Home Before Age 18^a | | |
| Less than one week | 3 | 1 |
| 1 to 4 weeks | 7 | 20 |
| 1 to 6 months | 15 | 5 |
| 7 to 12 months | 12 | 7 |
| 13 to 24 months | 13 | 9 |
| More than 2 years | 52 | 58 |
| Ever Run Away From Home for More Than 24 Hours Before Age 18 | 33 | 27 |
| Ever Forced to Leave Home for More Than 24 Hours Before Age 18 | 22 | 19 |
| First Time Became Homeless Occurred Before Age 18 | 21 | 12 |

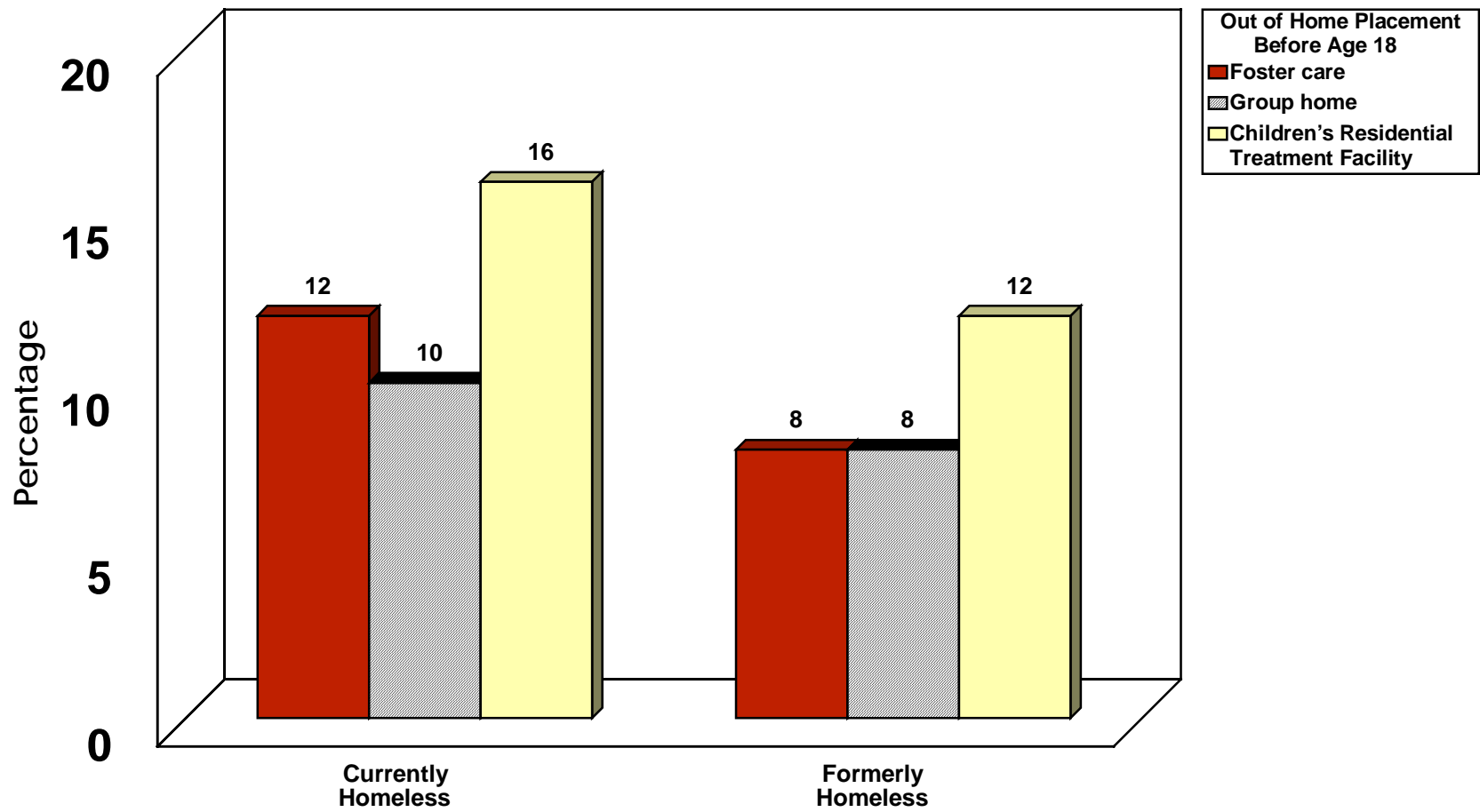
Source: Urban Institute analysis of weighted 1996 NSHAPC client data.

Note: Percentages do not sum to 100% due to rounding.

*Denotes values that are less than .5 percent but greater than 0.

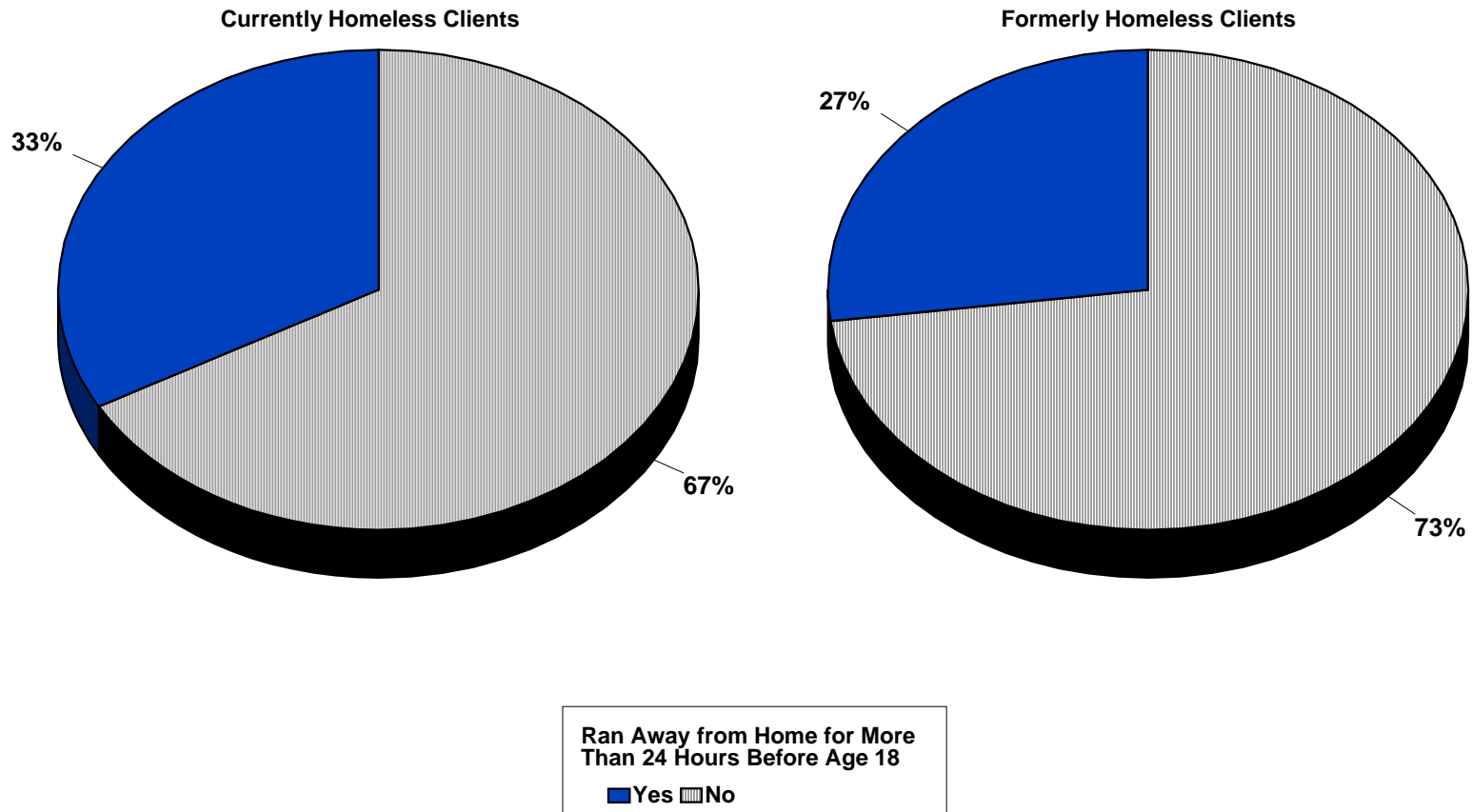
^aAmong ever homeless clients who spent time in foster care, a group home, or an institution before they were 18 years old.

Figure 10.1
Out-of-Home Placement Before Age 18, by Homeless Status



Note: Numbers may not sum to 100% or other total due to rounding.

Figure 10.2
Running Away from Home Before Age 18, by Homeless Status



Source: Urban Institute analysis of weighted 1996 NSHAPC client data.

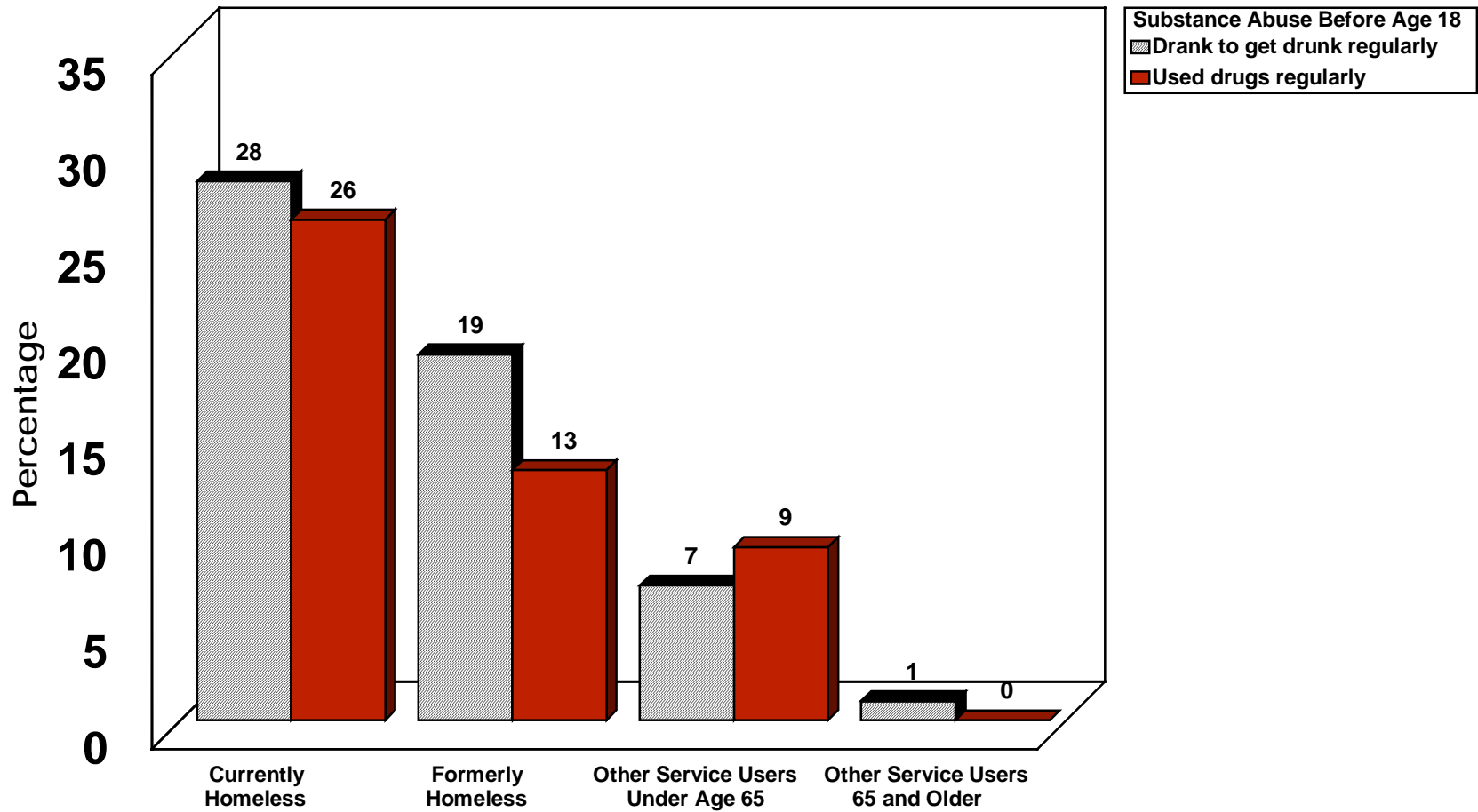
Table 10.2
Adverse Childhood Experiences, by Homeless Status

| | Homeless Status | | | Other Service Users, by Age Category | |
|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|
| | Currently Homeless Clients (N=2938) | Formerly Homeless Clients (N=677) | Other Service Users (N=518) | Other Service Users Under Age 65 (N=410) | Other Service Users 65 and Older (N=108) |
| First Started Drinking | | | | | |
| Before age 15 | 25(%) | 19(%) | 6(%) | 7(%) | 1(%) |
| Between age 15 and 17 | 21 | 19 | 15 | 12 | 24 |
| First Started Drinking to Get Drunk | | | | | |
| Before age 15 | 13 | 7 | 2 | 3 | * |
| Between age 15 and 17 | 15 | 12 | 4 | 5 | 1 |
| First Started Using Drugs Regularly | | | | | |
| Before age 15 | 11 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Between age 15 and 17 | 15 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 0 |
| Less than High School Degree | 38 | 42 | 49 | 40 | 69 |
| Ever Repeated a Grade | | | | | |
| One grade | 25 | 23 | 18 | 20 | 12 |
| More than one grade | 6 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 5 |
| Ever Dropped Out of School | | | | | |
| Elementary school | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 6 |
| Junior high/middle school | 8 | 8 | 15 | 7 | 36 |
| Senior high school | 43 | 37 | 28 | 33 | 17 |
| Ever Suspended From School | 44 | 31 | 20 | 25 | 2 |
| Ever Expelled From School | 18 | 18 | 8 | 10 | 1 |
| Before Age 18 Someone You Lived With | | | | | |
| Left you without adequate food or shelter | 12 | 10 | 4 | 5 | 1 |
| Physically abused you, to cause physical harm | 22 | 18 | 5 | 7 | 1 |
| Forced you or pressured you to do sexual acts that you did not want to do | 13 | 13 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Abuse/ Neglect Combinations | | | | | |
| Physical and/or sexual abuse but not neglect | 25 | 22 | 6 | 8 | 2 |
| One or more abuse/neglect experiences | 29 | 23 | 8 | 10 | 2 |

Source: Urban Institute analysis of weighted 1996 NSHAPC client data.

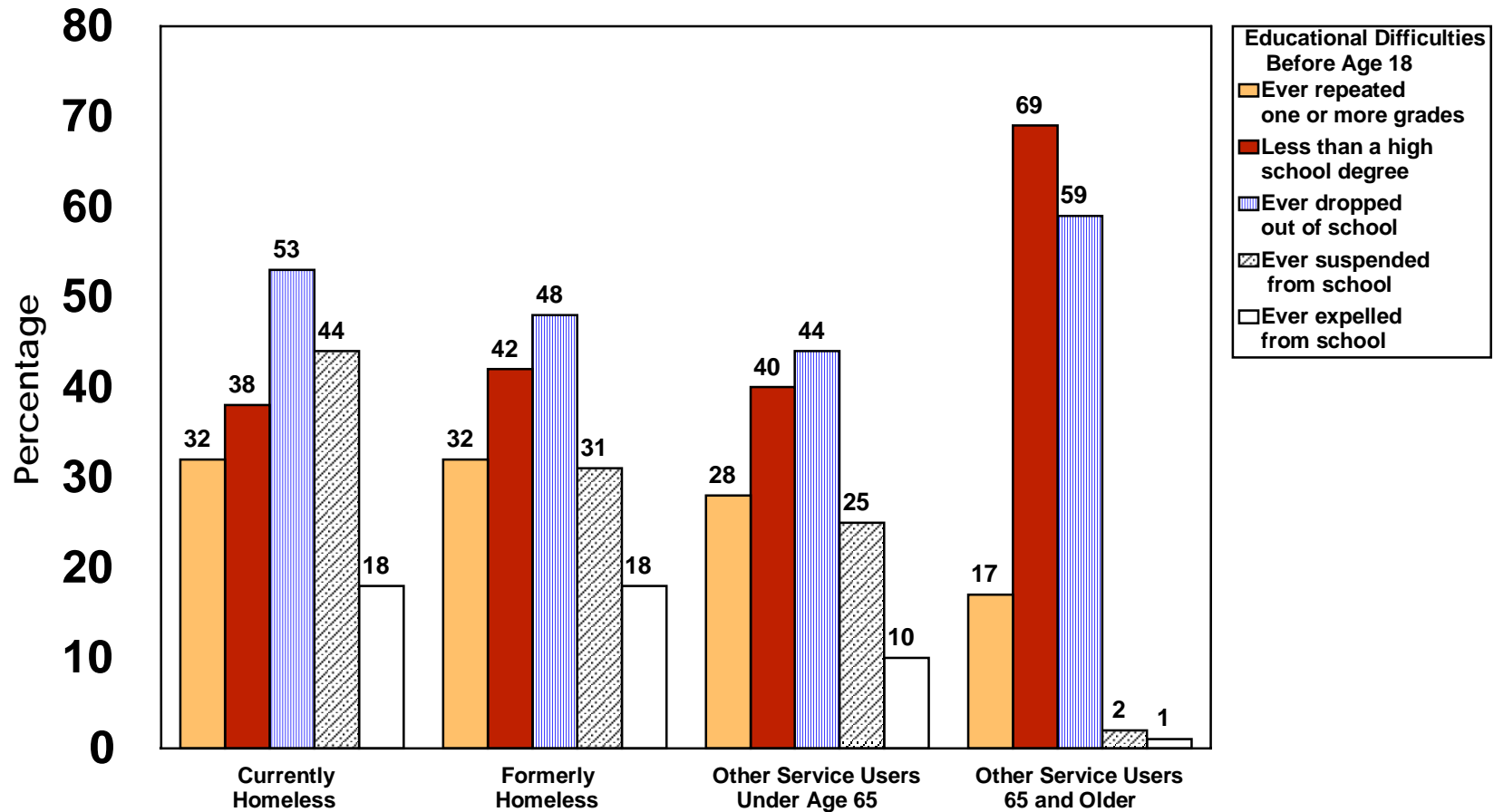
*Denotes values that are less than .5 percent but greater than 0.

Figure 10.3
Substance Use Before Age 18, by Homeless Status



Source: Urban Institute analysis of weighted 1996 NSHAPC client data.

Figure 10.4
Educational Difficulties of Clients Before Age 18, by Homeless Status



Source: Urban Institute analysis of weighted 1996 NSHAPC client data.

Victimization Before Age 18

Chapter 8 reported a variety of adult victimization experiences among clients. This chapter reviews three measures of victimization *prior to age 18*: (1) whether a caretaker ever left the client without adequate food or shelter (neglect), (2) whether a household member ever physically abused or caused physical harm to the client, and (3) whether a household member ever forced or pressured the client to do sexual acts that he/she did not want to do. These items all pertain to victimization by a household member; NSHAPC did not ask about childhood victimization by others. Twelve percent of all homeless clients report that a caretaker left them without adequate food or shelter at some point in their childhood. Almost a quarter (22 percent) report physical abuse as a child or youth, and 13 percent report sexual abuse. Looking at the prevalence of physical and/or sexual abuse, 25 percent report one or both, suggesting that many homeless clients who experienced physical abuse also experienced sexual abuse. When neglect is added to the mix, 29 percent report experiencing at least one of these three forms of childhood victimization.

Differences by Family Status

A few adverse childhood experiences differ by a client's family status (Appendix tables 10.A1 and 10.A2). The experience of out-of-home placement as a child is equally common among clients in families and single homeless clients. But among those with any such experiences, clients in families compared with single clients are more likely to report short periods (14 versus 9 percent had periods of four weeks or less) and less likely to report long periods (58 versus 66 percent had periods of one year or more).

Compared to single homeless clients, clients in families are less likely to have started using drugs regularly before age 18 (19 versus 28 percent) but *more* likely to have less than a high school education (53 compared with 36 percent). Childhood sexual abuse among homeless clients also varies by family status. Clients in families are more likely than single homeless clients to have been sexually abused as a child or youth (20 versus 11 percent). This difference may arise largely from the fact that clients in families are predominantly women whereas most single homeless clients are men.

Differences by Alcohol, Drug, or Mental Health Problems

Strong associations exist between a client's classification as with or without ADM problems in the past month and many adverse childhood experiences. Over a third (36 percent) of homeless clients with past-month ADM problems started drinking alcohol to get drunk regularly before age 18, with half of these clients (18 percent) reporting that this behavior actually started before age 15. Only 13 percent of homeless clients without ADM problems report starting to drink to get drunk regularly before age 18, with 5 percent of this group

reporting that this behavior started before age 15. Thirty-two percent of homeless clients with ADM problems in the past month started using drugs regularly before age 18 compared to only 16 percent of homeless clients without ADM problems in the past month. Fifteen and 5 percent, respectively, of these groups reported that regular drug started before age 15.

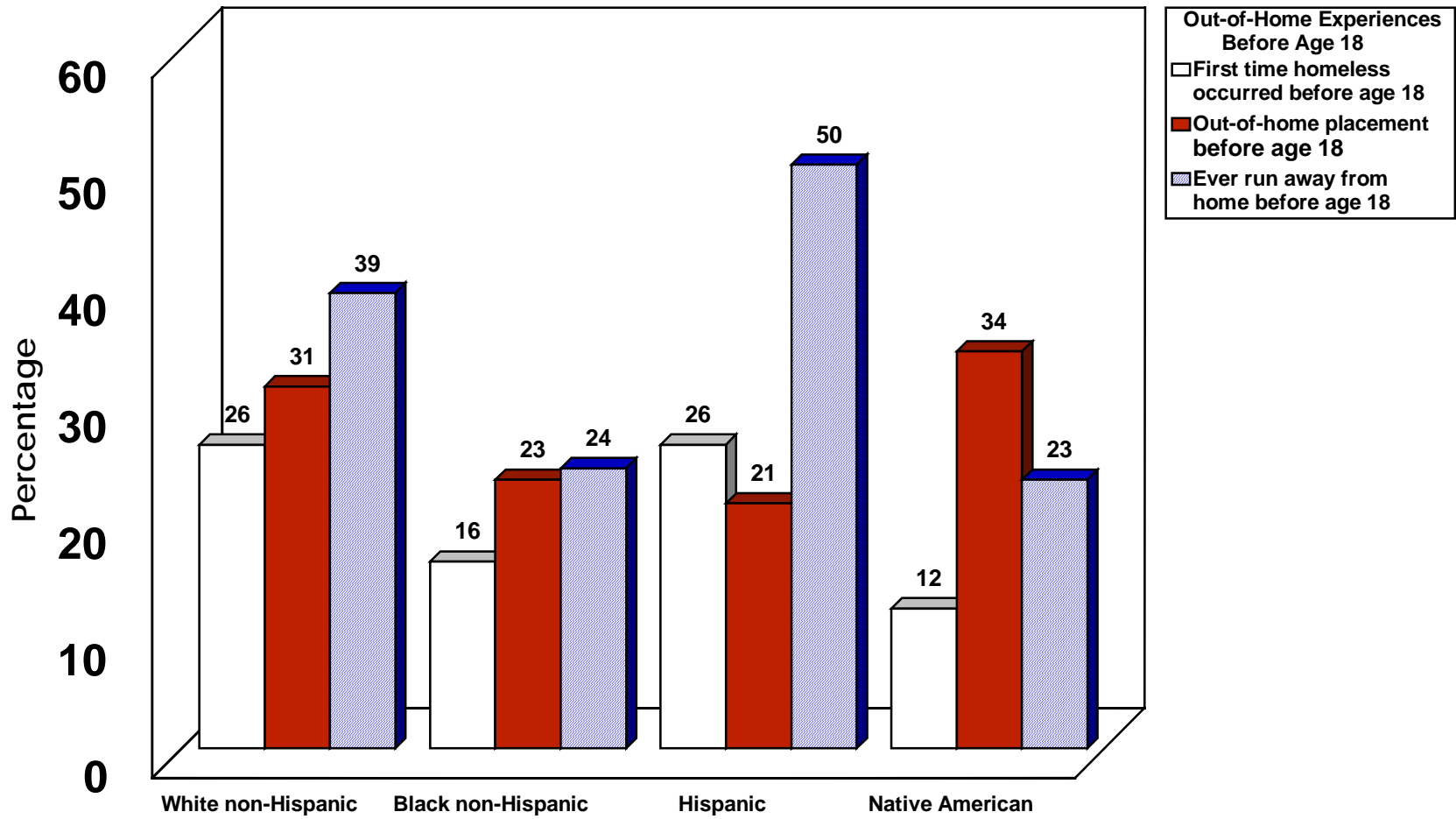
Childhood victimization experiences are also about twice as likely among homeless clients with past-month ADM problems as among those without such problems, with 26 and 14 percent, respectively, reporting childhood physical abuse. Clients with past-month ADM problems are also more likely to report multiple experiences, with 29 percent saying they were physically or sexually abused or both, compared to 17 percent of those without past-month problems. Adding neglect to the mix increases childhood victimization rates to one in every three clients with past-month ADM problems.

Differences by Race/Ethnicity

A number of measures of adverse childhood experiences vary according to the race/ethnicity of homeless clients. Hispanic and black non-Hispanic homeless clients are less likely than white non-Hispanic clients to have been in foster care, group homes, or other children's institutions before age 18. Homeless Hispanic clients are much more likely than black non-Hispanic and Native American clients to have run away from home for more than 24 hours before age 18 (50, 24, and 23 percent, respectively) with white non-Hispanic clients falling in between at 39 percent. Black non-Hispanic clients are less likely than white or Hispanic homeless clients to have been forced out of their homes as children (16 percent compared to 27 percent). White and Hispanic homeless clients are more likely than Native American and black non-Hispanic clients to have been homeless for the first time before age 18 (26 percent versus 12 to 16 percent) (figure 10.5).

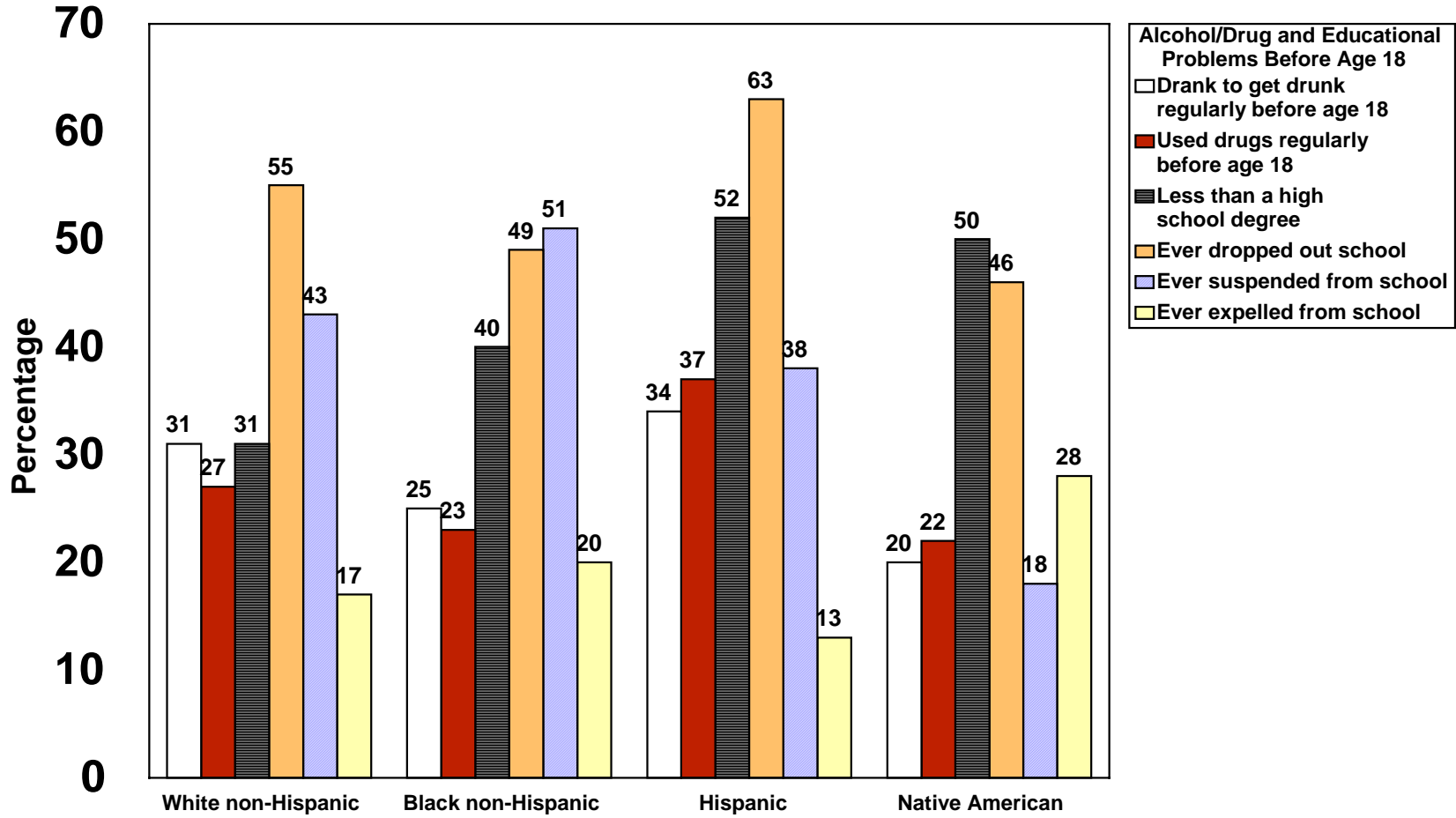
Hispanic homeless clients are more likely than Native American clients to have started using alcohol excessively (34 and 20 percent, respectively) and started using drugs regularly (38 and 22 percent, respectively) before the age of 18 (figure 10.6). Hispanic homeless clients are also much more likely than black non-Hispanic clients to report that they started drinking to get drunk (23 compared to 10 percent) and started using drugs regularly before age 15 (20 compared to 8 percent). The majority (51 percent) of black non-Hispanic homeless clients have been suspended from school compared to only 38 percent of Hispanic and 18 percent of Native American homeless clients. Compared to other homeless clients, Hispanic clients are the least likely to have been expelled from school (13 percent) while Native Americans are the most likely to have had this experience (28 percent).

Figure 10.5
Out-of-Home Experiences of Homeless Clients Before Age 18, by Race/Ethnicity



Source: Urban Institute analysis of weighted 1996 NSHAPC client data.

Figure 10.6
Alcohol/Drug and School Problems of Homeless Clients Before Age 18, by Race/Ethnicity



Source: Urban Institute analysis of weighted 1996 NSHAPC client data.

CURRENTLY AND FORMERLY HOMELESS CLIENTS AND OTHER SERVICE USERS COMPARED

Survey questions pertaining to out-of-home placement, running away, and childhood homelessness were asked only of clients who had ever been homeless. Therefore, on these measures, one is only able to compare currently homeless with formerly homeless clients (table 10.1). Compared to formerly homeless clients, currently homeless clients show higher rates of many measures of out-of-home placement, running away, and childhood homelessness, but the differences are not large (never exceeding 10 percentage points), indicating that both groups have had a good deal of disruption in their childhoods.

In contrast, large differences can be found between currently homeless clients, formerly homeless clients, and both groups of other service users on measures relating to alcohol and/or drug use and school-related problems (table 10.2).² For example, 28 percent of currently homeless clients drank to get drunk regularly before age 18, compared to 1 to 19 percent of all other clients (figure 10.7). Other service users 65 and older are the least likely to have started drinking to get drunk before age 18 (1 versus 8 to 28 percent). In the case of drug use, other service users 65 and older are also the least likely to have started using drugs regularly before age 18 (0 versus 9 to 26 percent). For a significant number of clients who report starting to drink excessively or use drugs regularly before age 18, this behavior actually began before age 15. Thirteen percent of homeless clients started drinking to get drunk before age 15. The corresponding percentages for formerly homeless clients and other service users under 65 are 7 and 3 percent, respectively. In terms of starting to use drugs regularly before age 15, 11 percent of homeless clients, 6 percent of formerly homeless clients, and 2 percent of other service users under 65 report that their use of drugs began at this young age.

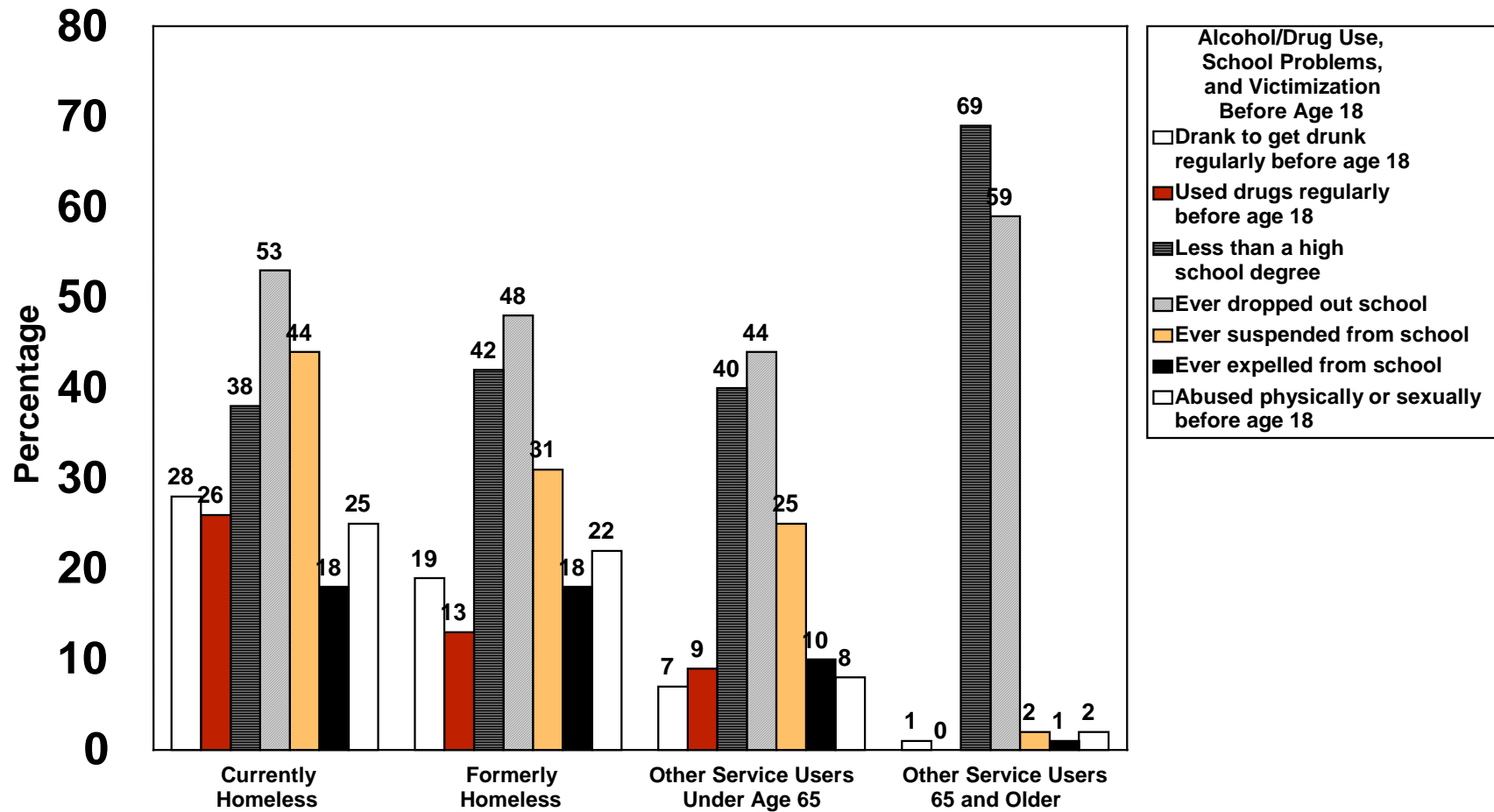
Although other service users 65 and older are less likely to report having used drugs or alcohol before age 18, they are *more* likely than all other clients to have less than a high school education (69 versus 38 to 42 percent). Other service users age 65 and older are the most likely group to report dropping out of junior high/middle school (36 versus 7 to 8 percent). However, they are also the least likely to have dropped out of senior high school. Only 17 percent of other service users age 65 and older indicate dropping out of senior high school compared to 33 to 43 percent of all other clients. In contrast to these other service users, those under age 65 present educational characteristics similar to those of currently and formerly homeless clients.

In addition to educational attainment, rates of suspension and expulsion also differ by homeless status. While only 2 percent of other service users age 65 and older report ever having been suspended from school, 31 percent of formerly homeless clients and 44 percent of currently homeless clients report this experience. Expulsion rates present a similar pattern, with 18 percent of both current and formerly homeless clients and only 1 percent of other service users age 65 and older and 10 percent of those younger than 65 having ever been expelled from school.

² See page 2-6 for the reasons why the group of other service users is split into two groups by age for textual discussions.

Figure 10.7

Alcohol/Drug Use, School Problems and Victimization of Clients Before Age 18, by Homeless Status



Source: Urban Institute analysis of weighted 1996 NSHAPC client data.

Finally, levels of neglect and abuse are lower among other service users age 65 and older than among all other clients. Only 1 percent of other service users 65 and older report having been left without adequate food or shelter as a child or youth, compared to 10 and 12 percent of currently and formerly homeless clients, respectively. Physical abuse levels are also higher among currently and formerly homeless individuals. Twenty-two percent of currently and 18 percent of formerly homeless clients report being physically abused, compared to 7 percent of other service users under age 65 and only 1 percent of those age 65 and older. Sexual abuse is also least likely among other service users, with only 3 percent of younger and 1 percent older users reporting such an experience (versus 13 percent of all other clients). Combined rates indicate almost equal proportions of currently and formerly homeless clients reporting physical or sexual abuse or both (25 and 22 percent), which is much higher than the 2 percent of older and 8 percent of younger other service users who report these types of victimization. Another 4 percent of currently homeless clients also experienced neglect without abuse as children.

Appendix Table 10.A1
Out-of-Home Experiences of Homeless Clients, by Standard Groupings

| | All Homeless Clients (N=2938) | Family Status | | ADM, Past Month@ | | Race/Ethnicity | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| | | Clients in Families (N=465) | Single Clients (N=2473) | With ADM (N=1826) | Without ADM (N=1112) | White Non-Hispanic (N=1176) | Black Non-Hispanic (N=1275) | Hispanic (N=335) | Native American (N=106) |
| Before Age 18, Ever Placed In: | | | | | | | | | |
| Foster care, Group Home, or Institution | 26(%) | 25(%) | 26(%) | 25 (%) | 27(%) | 28(%) | 23(%) | 21(%) | 34(%) |
| Foster care | 12 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 25 |
| Group home | 10 | 11 | 10 | 8 | 14 | 11 | 8 | 11 | 13 |
| Institution | 16 | 16 | 16 | 15 | 16 | 18 | 14 | 11 | 10 |
| Before Age 13, Ever Placed In: | | | | | | | | | |
| Foster Care, Group Home or Institution | 15 | 11 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 14 | 14 | 27 |
| Foster care | 9 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 22 |
| Group home | 6 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 10 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 11 |
| Institution | 6 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 5 |
| Between Ages 13 and 17, Ever Placed In: | | | | | | | | | |
| Foster Care, Group Home, or Institution | 20 | 22 | 20 | 19 | 23 | 22 | 18 | 19 | 25 |
| Foster care | 8 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 11 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 17 |
| Group home | 8 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 10 | 8 | 7 | 10 | 5 |
| Institution | 13 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 15 | 11 | 11 | 7 |
| Length of Time Lived Away From Home Before Age 18^a | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than one week | 3 | 1 | 3 | 4 | * | 3 | 4 | Insufficient N | |
| 1 to 4 weeks | 7 | 13 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 10 | 4 | | |
| 1 to 6 months | 15 | 13 | 15 | 13 | 18 | 17 | 12 | | |
| 7 to 12 months | 12 | 16 | 11 | 10 | 16 | 15 | 11 | | |
| 13 to 24 months | 13 | 3 | 15 | 13 | 12 | 14 | 9 | | |
| More than 2 years | 52 | 55 | 51 | 53 | 49 | 42 | 60 | | |
| Ever Run Away From Home for More Than 24 Hours Before Age 18 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 33 | 35 | 33 | 36 | 26 | 39 | 24 | 50 | 23 |
| Forced to Leave Home for More Than 24 Hours Before Age 18 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 22 | 27 | 21 | 25 | 17 | 27 | 16 | 27 | 23 |
| First Time Became Homeless Occurred Before Age 18 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 21 | 28 | 20 | 23 | 17 | 26 | 16 | 26 | 12 |

Source: Urban Institute analysis of weighted 1996 NSHAPC client data. Note: Percentages do not sum to 100% due to rounding.

* Denotes values that are less than .5 percent but greater than 0. Insufficient N signifies that sample size was too small for data to be reported.

^aAmong homeless clients who spent time in foster care, a group home, or an institution before they were 18 years old.

@ADM = Alcohol, drug, or mental health problem in the past month.

Appendix Table 10.A2
Adverse Childhood Experiences, by Standard Groupings

| | All Homeless Clients (N=2938) | Family Status | | ADM, Past Month@ | | Race/Ethnicity | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| | | Clients in Families (N=465) | Single Clients (N=2473) | With ADM (N=1826) | Without ADM (N=1112) | White Non-Hispanic (N=1176) | Black Non-Hispanic (N=1275) | Hispanic (N=335) | Native American (N=106) |
| First Started Drinking | | | | | | | | | |
| Before age 15 | 25(%) | 12(%) | 28(%) | 33(%) | 10(%) | 26(%) | 24(%) | 30(%) | 22(%) |
| Between age 15 and 17 | 21 | 28 | 19 | 23 | 17 | 20 | 24 | 17 | 9 |
| First Started Drinking to Get Drunk | | | | | | | | | |
| Before age 15 | 13 | 7 | 14 | 18 | 5 | 15 | 10 | 23 | 9 |
| Between age 15 and 17 | 15 | 19 | 14 | 18 | 8 | 17 | 15 | 11 | 11 |
| First Started Using Drugs Regularly | | | | | | | | | |
| Before age 15 | 11 | 4 | 13 | 15 | 5 | 12 | 8 | 20 | 12 |
| Between age 15 and 17 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 17 | 11 | 16 | 14 | 18 | 10 |
| Less than High School Degree | 38 | 53 | 36 | 37 | 41 | 31 | 40 | 52 | 50 |
| Ever Repeated a Grade | | | | | | | | | |
| One grade | 25 | 20 | 26 | 25 | 27 | 29 | 22 | 32 | 17 |
| More than one grade | 6 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 3 |
| Ever Dropped Out of School | | | | | | | | | |
| Elementary school | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 2 |
| Junior high/middle school | 8 | 11 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 17 | 9 |
| Senior high school | 43 | 45 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 47 | 42 | 39 | 35 |
| Ever Suspended From School | 44 | 38 | 45 | 47 | 37 | 43 | 51 | 38 | 18 |
| Ever Expelled From School | 18 | 17 | 19 | 19 | 16 | 17 | 20 | 13 | 28 |
| Before Age 18 Someone You Lived With | | | | | | | | | |
| Left you without adequate food or shelter | 12 | 13 | 12 | 15 | 7 | 14 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
| Physically abused you, to cause physical harm | 22 | 22 | 22 | 26 | 14 | 30 | 15 | 23 | 13 |
| Forced you or pressured you to do sexual acts that you did not want to do | 13 | 20 | 11 | 15 | 8 | 18 | 9 | 5 | 15 |
| Abuse/ Neglect Combinations | | | | | | | | | |
| Physical and/or sexual abuse but not neglect | 25 | 27 | 25 | 29 | 17 | 38 | 18 | 28 | 19 |
| One or more abuse/neglect experiences | 29 | 30 | 29 | 33 | 20 | 37 | 22 | 25 | 26 |

Source: Urban Institute analysis of weighted 1996 NSHAPC client data. Note: Percentages may not sum to 100% or other total due to rounding.

@ADM = Alcohol, drug, or mental health problem in the past month.