

2024

A Comprehensive Analysis of How Pet Ownership Impacts the Experiences and Well-Being of Homeless Individuals

Alexandra G. Watson

Deerfield Academy, lexiwatson06@gmail.com

Nancy A. Dreschel

Pennsylvania State University - Main Campus, nad5@psu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/paj>

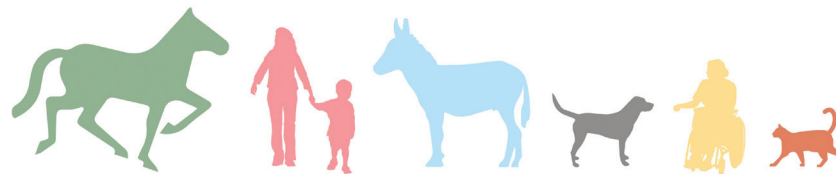


Part of the [Animal-Assisted Therapy Commons](#), [Animal Studies Commons](#), [Community Health Commons](#), [Health Services Research Commons](#), [Other Mental and Social Health Commons](#), [Other Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#), and the [Social Work Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Watson, Alexandra G. and Dreschel, Nancy A. (2024) "A Comprehensive Analysis of How Pet Ownership Impacts the Experiences and Well-Being of Homeless Individuals," *People and Animals: The International Journal of Research and Practice*: Vol. 7 : Iss. 1, Article 10.

Available at: <https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/paj/vol7/iss1/10>



People and Animals: The International Journal of Research and Practice

Volume 7 | Issue 1 | ISSN: 2575-9078

(2024)

A Comprehensive Analysis of How Pet Ownership Impacts the Experiences and Well-Being of Homeless Individuals

Alexandra G. Watson,¹ Nancy A. Dreschel²

Keywords: homelessness, human–animal interactions, homeless animals, human–animal bond, companion animal, homeless pets

Abstract This paper conducts a thorough examination of the relationship between pet ownership and homelessness. In a context where homelessness in the United States is a growing concern, we delve into an aspect that has received little attention: how homeless individuals and their pets interact. Through an extensive review of existing research, this paper aims to uncover the demographic characteristics of homeless pet owners and understand the significant effects of this bond. Our findings reveal that homeless individuals with pets come from diverse backgrounds, including various ages, genders, and racial backgrounds. Their pets provide not only companionship but also emotional support, improved physical health, and a deterrent against criminal behavior. Homeless pet owners often prioritize their pets' well-being, showing the depth of their attachment. However, pet ownership among the homeless comes with challenges. These individuals face barriers to accessing necessary medical care, encounter difficulties finding shelters that allow pets, and sometimes choose to stay on the streets to remain with their pets. They also face discrimination from their communities, which compounds their existing difficulties. This research identifies gaps in the existing literature and suggests areas for further investigation. Future studies should examine the well-being of homeless-owned pets, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on homelessness and pet ownership, and the effectiveness of shelters that accommodate pets and mobile health care services. Addressing these gaps will enhance our understanding of the complex relationship between pet ownership and homelessness and improve support services and policies for this vulnerable population.

(1) Deerfield Academy, (2) Pennsylvania State University—Main Campus)

Introduction

As stated by the National Alliance to End Homelessness, homelessness in the United States has been on the rise since 2017, with the counts of chronically homeless individuals reaching record highs in 2022. According to the January 2022 Point-in-Time Count, 582,462 people were experiencing homelessness across America (Gardner, 2022). It is important to note that there is no universally agreed upon definition of homelessness; however for the purposes of this study the Canadian Definition of Homelessness was used, which states that homelessness is “the situation of an individual, family, or community without stable, safe, permanent, appropriate housing, or the immediate prospect means and ability of acquiring it.” The subject of homelessness is one that has been studied extensively, with findings that have shown the negative health effects it has on individuals experiencing it, such as the prevalence of psychiatric disorders and higher rates of premature mortality than the rest of the population, especially from suicide and injuries (Ramirez et al., 2022). However, there exists little literature on the effects of homelessness on individuals living with pets, and how having a pet may affect their experience with homelessness. An estimated 6–24% of homeless persons own pets (Cronley et al., 2009; Irvine et al., 2012), and the number may be on the rise. This paper reviews existing research on pet ownership among homeless individuals. It aims to understand how the human–companion animal bond impacts homeless individuals’ experiences, mental health, and well-being. This will inform future research and support services, while also considering challenges, benefits, and research gaps related to pet ownership.

Methods

To find papers to review for this study we searched the databases Proquest eLibrary, Google Scholar, PubMed, Anthrozoos, Science Direct, Gale in Context, and JSTOR, using keywords such as “homelessness,” “human–animal bond,” and “homeless

pets.” From there, the study selection criteria were kept broad in order to get an in-depth understanding of the scope of the research done on this particular topic. There was no limit placed on date range, and all study designs were considered in order to obtain a multifaceted understanding of the subject. In terms of inclusion, all studies written in English, peer reviewed, and deemed relevant to the topic were kept. Over 30 papers were identified that addressed the topics relevant to this paper, spanning from 1995 to 2023. Many papers contained information and findings similar to the studies before them, so they were not explicitly cited in this paper. In order to find additional research that did not come up from our searches, reference lists of papers were hand searched and references were pulled if they were deemed related to the subject of this review.

Through a deeper analysis of the research found, themes common to each paper regarding pros and cons of homeless pet ownership were found. That data was extracted from each paper, whether it was in the form of an interview transcript or the results of a survey, and then further analyzed to locate any discrepancies that might be worth considering in the review. There were also topics such as the well-being of the pets themselves and the ways in which homeless people viewed their pets’ role in their lives that came up frequently throughout the research examined, so that information was extracted and analyzed to be used in this review.

Demographics of Homeless People with Pets: An Examination

The demographics of homeless individuals with pets are multifaceted, reflecting diverse age groups, gender identities, racial backgrounds, and housing situations. These demographics provide valuable insights into the characteristics and experiences of this population.

Age

The age of homeless pet owners varies across studies. Homeless youth, in particular, have been studied to

understand the prevalence of pet ownership within this subgroup. In one study by Rhoades et al. (2015), among homeless youth utilizing drop-in centers in Los Angeles, the average age was 21. Similarly, Ramirez et al. (2022) found that the mean age of participants experiencing homelessness with animals in Seattle was 37 years. Scanlon et al. (2021) reported a participant age range of 23 to 65, highlighting the wide age spectrum of homeless individuals with pets. Rew's (2000) qualitative data from homeless youth aged 15 to 23 revealed that pets served as companions to alleviate loneliness, indicating that pet ownership is not limited by age among homeless individuals.

Gender and Gender Identity

Gender diversity is evident among homeless pet owners. Rhoades et al. (2015) observed various gender identities among homeless youth, including male, female, and transgender individuals. Ramirez et al. (2022) reported that out of 44 participants, 18 were male, 18 were female, and 7 identified as nonbinary. Brewbaker (2012) noted that participants identified as female, male, and "either one" gender, illustrating the complexity of gender identity within this population.

Race and Ethnicity

The racial and ethnic backgrounds of homeless pet owners vary across studies. Rhoades et al. (2015) found that among homeless youth, different racial and ethnic groups were represented, with varying rates of pet ownership. Similarly, Ramirez et al. (2022) reported participants from different racial backgrounds, including Native American/Indigenous individuals, indicating diversity within the homeless pet-owning population.

Housing Status

The housing status of homeless individuals with pets offers insights into their living conditions. Ramirez et al. (2022) found that participants reported a range of housing situations, including city-sanctioned encampments, shelters, RVs, and government-funded

housing. This diversity highlights the various living arrangements that homeless pet owners navigate.

Benefits of Pet Ownership Among Homeless Individuals

On the positive side, pet companionship emerges as a fundamental component for survival in the midst of the myriad challenges faced by this vulnerable population. Numerous studies have extensively recorded the adverse impacts on health of living in homelessness, encompassing psychiatric disorders and elevated risks of premature mortality, particularly from suicide and injuries, in comparison to the general population (Edidin et al., 2011). However, homeless individuals with pets experience profound emotional closeness to their animal companions, which has been documented in numerous empirical studies (Howe & Easterbrook, 2018; Singer et al., 1995; Taylor et al., 2004), and it is this attachment that plays a pivotal role in the coping mechanisms of those experiencing homelessness.

Notably, pet ownership exerts tangible effects on the physical health of homeless individuals. Not only do they provide their owners with feelings of physical safety, as documented in numerous surveys and interviews done with homeless pet owners (Brewbaker, 2012; Howe & Easterbrook, 2018; Labrecque & Walsh, 2011; Rhoades et al., 2015), but the responsibilities entailed in caring for their pets, such as regular walks and playtime, contribute to better physical fitness and overall well-being. A study conducted by Erin J. Brewbaker at Smith College investigating the experience of homelessness and the human-companion animal bond found that many homeless pet owners reported they felt an increase in motivation to keep up their physical health due to the responsibilities of owning a pet (Brewbaker, 2012).

Additionally, owning a pet has been found to combat boredom (Kerman et al., 2020), which is a common daily stressor for those experiencing homelessness. In the same vein, pet ownership can be seen to improve one's physical health with the positive impact it may play on one's socioeconomic prospects.

Brewbaker and Irvine both found that homeless pet owners reported an increase in street profits due to the endearing aesthetics of their animal companions and the increase in feelings of sympathy they evoke from the public (Brewbaker, 2012; Irvine et al., 2012).

Another prominent theme that arises from the literature is the substantial positive impact of pet ownership on the mental health of homeless individuals. Those experiencing homelessness are very mentally and emotionally vulnerable (Kerman et al., 2020), with the most frequently self-reported health conditions being psychiatric or emotional conditions, post-traumatic stress disorder, and drug or alcohol abuse (Ramirez et al., 2022). The majority of studies published on the effects of homeless pet ownership found that the companionship provided by pets acts as a buffer against stress and loneliness (Scanlon et al., 2021), which helps to foster emotional resilience amid the adversities of homelessness (Cleary et al., 2019; Howe & Easterbrook, 2018; Oosthuizen et al., 2023; Ramirez et al., 2022). Individuals with pets were found to have lower levels of depression and reported fewer feelings of loneliness than those who did not own pets (Lem et al., 2016; Rhoades et al., 2015; Scanlon et al., 2021). Additionally, participants in various studies have emphasized the role of pets in reducing stress, elevating mood, and offering unwavering love and support (Brewbaker, 2012). Research indicates that pets not only decrease stress and increase happiness, but also offer consistent love and companionship, becoming a primary source of support for their owners (Rhoades et al., 2015; Taylor et al., 2004). In a qualitative study conducted among homeless individuals, more than half of the participants revealed that their pets were their sole sources of companionship and love (Rhoades et al., 2015). Many pet owners assert that it is the nonjudgmental nature of pets that provides a unique bond and helps them to overcome the deficits in human relationships experienced by the homeless population, making pets valuable emotional anchors (Brewbaker, 2012; Howe & Easterbrook, 2018).

Pet ownership has also been linked to reductions in criminal behavior among homeless individuals (Brewbaker, 2012). Because of the sense of responsibility it produces, the presence of a pet may deter

individuals from engaging in illicit activities due to the fear of being separated from their cherished companions through incarceration (Howe & Easterbrook, 2018; Rhoades et al., 2015; Taylor et al., 2004). Baker (2001) found that more non-dog owners took drugs than owners. Consequently, homeless individuals with pets committed lower rates of criminal offenses compared to those without (Williams & Hogg, 2016). A study conducted by Taylor et al. (2004) found that homeless individuals who owned dogs showed a slightly lower crime score compared to those without dogs. Additionally, one dog owner reported a prior inclination toward theft, which had diminished after forming a bond with a stray dog.

The emotional support and therapeutic effects of pets during crisis situations are particularly noteworthy. Pet-related routines, encompassing activities like walking, feeding, and playing, bestow a sense of structure and purpose in the lives of individuals grappling with adversity (Cleary et al., 2019; Oosthuizen et al., 2023). The human-animal bond emerges as a potent source of comfort, alleviating stress and fortifying coping abilities during turbulent times. Research on addiction proposes that animals, including dogs, can function as transitional objects during the treatment of individuals with drug dependency (Ramirez et al., 2022).

On a broader scale, the literature highlights the broader implications of pets in the lives of homeless individuals. Prior research shows that pets are perceived by their owners as catalysts for enhanced social interactions (Brewbaker, 2012; Cleary et al., 2019; Rhoades et al., 2015; Scanlon et al., 2021; Williams & Hogg, 2016), fostering opportunities for meaningful connections and reducing feelings of isolation commonly experienced in homelessness (Oosthuizen et al., 2023).

Pets as Valued Companions in Homeless Narratives

An exploration of homeless individuals' views of their pets reveals an exceptional level of attachment and value placed upon their animal companions

(Ramirez et al., 2022). Thematic analysis done by Howe and Easterbrook (2018) of interviews with several homeless people indicate that interviewees perceive their pets as sources of companionship and a source of a sense of responsibility, which enhances their resilience and contributes to reduced substance abuse. Despite recognizing that their pets may limit their mobility and access to services, interviewees consider this trade-off as a “worthwhile price to pay” for the emotional support and connection their pets provide (Howe & Easterbrook, 2018; Oosthuizen et al., 2023). Surveys consistently demonstrate a high level of attachment to pets among the homeless population (Irvine et al., 2012), with many participants referring to their pets as their “best friend” or “children” they deeply care for (Brewbaker, 2012). In a study done by Irvine et al. (2012), a participant recalled refusing money that was offered to him by a passerby who was interested in buying his dog, saying, “I’m not going to sell my kid to you for any amount.” However, this deep attachment to their pets can also render homeless individuals psychologically vulnerable, with participants across many studies sharing their worries about their pet eventually passing (Brewbaker, 2012; Howe & Easterbrook, 2018).

Disadvantages of Pet Ownership Among Homeless Individuals

A meticulous analysis of scientific literature surrounding pet ownership among homeless individuals reveals a range of challenging implications associated with this practice. One significant theme common among much of the research is that pet owners who are homeless are less likely to utilize essential medical care facilities compared to their non-pet-owning counterparts (Howe & Easterbrook, 2018; Ramirez et al., 2022; Rhoades et al., 2015; Taylor et al., 2004). This suggests that pets often restrict access to crucial aid and facilities for homeless individuals who have pet companions, as the majority of services do not have the means to accommodate pets (Ramirez et al., 2022; Rhoades et al., 2015). For example, close to

half of pet owners facing unsheltered homelessness in Los Angeles, California, revealed that they encountered difficulties accessing emergency shelters as a result of policies related to pets (Kerman et al., 2020). Although human–animal bonds emerge as highly valued sources of companionship and emotional support during crisis situations, separation from pets during such crises has been found to lead to stress and anxiety, dissuading pet owners from seeking help (Oosthuizen, et al., 2023; Rhoades et al., 2015; Ramirez et al., 2022). It has been observed that a significant number of homeless individuals with dogs prefer to continue living without permanent accommodation rather than accept housing options that do not permit pets (Baker, 2001; Singer et al., 1995). Furthermore, pet ownership presents practical challenges for homeless individuals. The mobility of pet owners may be hindered due to the responsibilities associated with caring for their animals, affecting their movements in various situations, particularly as homeless persons usually have no secure location in which to leave a pet even for a short period of time (Howe & Easterbrook, 2018; Brewbaker, 2012). The emotional attachment to pets can pose a barrier to seeking help or refuge during crises, as leaving pets behind in dangerous environments or surrendering them can deter individuals from accessing much-needed support (Oosthuizen et al., 2023; Williams & Hogg, 2016). For many homeless individuals, caring for their pets becomes a priority over accessing resources designed to ameliorate homelessness, potentially prolonging their homelessness (Howe & Easterbrook, 2018; Kerman et al., 2020; Oosthuizen, et al., 2023; Ramirez et al., 2022). Challenges in obtaining health care and housing are often experienced by pet owners due to non-pet-friendly policies and the financial burden of providing for their animals (Brewbaker, 2012; Rhoades et al., 2015). The lack of integration of veterinary care within service systems for supporting the homeless population creates additional barriers to pet ownership (Kerman et al., 2020; Rhoades et al., 2015). The cost of caring for pets and ensuring access to nutritious food poses financial challenges for homeless individuals, who may prioritize their pets’ needs over their own

(Brewbaker, 2012; Ramirez et al., 2022; Rhoades et al., 2015). Additionally, harassment from the community based on a person's relationships with their pets has detrimental effects on mental health and well-being (Brewbaker, 2012; Ramirez et al., 2022; Rhoades et al., 2015); research done by Ramirez (2022) found that at its most extreme harassment may lead to hospital visits due to panic attacks and altercations with authorities. The stigma and discrimination faced by homeless pet owners may further exacerbate their struggles to find stable housing and health care (Rhoades et al., 2015).

The Well-Being of Homeless Owned Pets vs Non-Homeless Owned Pets

The well-being of animals living with homeless individuals presents an intriguing dynamic, with evidence suggesting that animals often fare better than their owners in various aspects. Quantitative results from multiple studies show that pet owners prioritize the health and welfare of their animals, seeking more medical care for their pets than for themselves (Conway et al., 2022; Scanlon et al., 2021). Interestingly, the self-described health of these animals often exceeds that of their owners, with a higher percentage of pets reported as "Healthy" or "Very healthy" compared to their owners (Ramirez et al., 2022). Qualitative research reveals that individuals experiencing homelessness place a high value on their pets' health and welfare, demonstrating a "pet-first" approach to resources (Ramirez et al., 2022).

Moreover, a study conducted by French et al. (2021) in Canada found that the population of dogs and cats owned by homeless individuals and those experiencing housing vulnerability had a mean body condition score of 5.4/9, where an ideal score is five for cats and four to five for dogs. Significantly, 38% of these animals were considered overconditioned (overweight/obese). This suggests that despite the challenges of homelessness, pet owners are keen on maintaining their pets' health and weight within a relatively healthy range. Further enhancing this

perspective, studies have found that dogs owned by homeless individuals tend to be generally healthy and less likely to exhibit behavioral issues, such as aggression and separation anxiety, compared to dogs from the housed community (Ramirez et al., 2022).

Homeless-owned dogs also show lower rates of reported behavioral problems, as seen in research by Williams and Hogg (2016), where these dogs were more likely to be described as "quiet, but friendly," while dogs owned by individuals with stable housing were more prone to displaying aggressive behavior. This study also found that pets of the homeless had a body condition score that indicated a healthier range compared to non-homeless-owned dogs, which had a higher chance of being overweight or obese (Ramirez et al., 2022; Williams & Hogg, 2016). While there is limited research on this topic, the available evidence suggests that animals in homeless situations may indeed fare better than their owners in terms of health and behavior. However, further investigation is needed to draw more conclusive findings and understand the extent of this relationship.

Gaps in Research/Future Research Proposal

The gaps in the literature on pet ownership among homeless individuals reveal critical areas that necessitate deeper exploration and investigation. As discussed in the paragraphs above, few studies have explored the well-being of homeless individuals' pets, but the existing knowledge in this area remains constrained and lacks comprehensive research. A promising avenue for future inquiry involves conducting stress tests on these pets, enabling a comparative analysis with pets owned by nonhomeless individuals. This in-depth investigation could provide invaluable insights into the overall health and resilience of animals living with homeless individuals, thereby enhancing our understanding of the intricate dynamics between pet ownership and homelessness. Another important aspect that requires attention is the potential impact of the COVID-19 pandemic

on the homelessness epidemic and its correlation with an increase in unhoused pets. The pandemic led to a significant surge in layoffs, exacerbating unemployment rates and potentially contributing to a rise in homelessness. An analysis done by the Economic Roundtable in 2021 of unemployment and homelessness in the pandemic economy predicted that the point-in-time homeless population would peak by 2023, with 603,000 additional working-age adults without a place of their own to sleep in the United States (Flaming et al., 2021). However, no current research has specifically examined how this economic downturn has affected the scale and experience of homeless pet owners. Moreover, the effectiveness of pet-friendly emergency shelters in addressing the health risks associated with street homelessness and improving access to services remains unknown, and further investigation is necessary to determine whether these services indeed contribute to expediting exits out of homelessness for individuals with pets. To minimize obstacles to accessing health services, it is essential for studies in this domain to explore the acceptability of mobile outreach health services among homeless pet owners. Another area of uncertainty is the prevalence of pet ownership among the homeless population in different settings, such as urban or rural environments, as it is unknown whether pet ownership among the homeless population is more prevalent in urban or rural settings (Kerman et al., 2019). Understanding this aspect would shed light on the distribution and specific challenges faced by pet owners in different geographical locations. Lastly, while some studies briefly touch on the physical health of pet owners experiencing homelessness, the research in this domain remains limited. Further investigations focusing on the health outcomes of homeless pet owners could provide valuable insights into the potential health benefits or risks associated with pet ownership in this vulnerable population. For example, exploring the prevalence of zoonotic diseases in homeless pets can shed light on public health implications and inform initiatives for improved animal care and overall community well-being.

Notes

Data Access Statement

No new data was created or analyzed in this study.

Ethics Statement

This literature review did not involve any new data collection or experimentation with human participants. It is based entirely on existing literature and publicly available documents. Therefore, this study did not require formal ethics approval.

Conflict of Interest Statement

The author(s) of this manuscript declare that there are no conflicts of interest to disclose. This research was conducted in an unbiased and impartial manner, and no financial or nonfinancial interests have influenced the research, analysis, or the preparation of this manuscript.

References

- Baker, Oswin. 2001. *A Dog's Life: Homeless People and Their Pets*. Oxford, England: Blue Cross.
- Brewbaker, E. J. (2012). *The experience of homelessness and the human-companion animal bond: A quantitative study: A project based upon an investigation at San Francisco Community Clinic Consortium/Veterinary Street Outreach Services, San Francisco, California* (thesis). Retrieved from https://scholarworks.smith.edu/theses/869/?utm_source=scholarworks.smith.edu%2Ftheses%2F869&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages
- Cleary, M., Visentin, D., Thapa, D. K., West, S., Raeburn, T., & Kornhaber, R. (2019). The homeless and their animal companions: An integrative review. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research*, 47(1), 47–59. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10488-019-00967-6>
- Conway, K. L., Jasuja, R. M., Hauser, N. E., & Foley, J. E. (2022). Benefits, companion animal zoonotic disease prevalence and public perceptions of pet ownership among people experiencing homelessness in Northern California. *Zoonoses and Public Health*, 69(7), 806–815. <https://doi.org/10.1111/zph.12970>

- Cronley, C., Strand, E. B., Patterson, D. A., & Gwaltney, S. (2009). Homeless people who are animal caretakers: A comparative study. *Psychological Reports, 105*(2), 481–499. <https://doi.org/10.2466/pr0.105.2.481-499>
- Edidin, J. P., Ganim, Z., Hunter, S. J., & Karnik, N. S. (2011). The mental and physical health of homeless youth: A literature review. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development, 43*(3), 354–375. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10578-011-0270-1>
- Flaming, D., Orlando, A. W., Burns, P., & Pickens, S. (2021). (rep.). Locked out: Unemployment and homelessness in the COVID economy. *Economic Roundtable*. Retrieved from <https://economicrt.org/publication/locked-out/>
- French, S. K., Pearl, D. L., Lem, M., Kilborn, S., Donnelly, B., & Slater, M. (2021). Understanding the associations between owner and pet demographics on pet body condition among those experiencing homelessness and housing vulnerability in Canada. *Preventive Veterinary Medicine, 195*, 105454. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.prevetmed.2021.105454>
- Gardner, J. (2022). Conducting the 2022 point-in-time count during the Omicron surge. Retrieved from <https://endhomelessness.org/blog/conducting-the-2022-point-in-time-count-during-the-omicron-surge/>
- Howe, L., & Easterbrook, M. J. (2018). The perceived costs and benefits of pet ownership for homeless people in the UK: Practical costs, psychological benefits and vulnerability. *Journal of Poverty, 22*(6), 486–499. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10875549.2018.1460741>
- Irvine, L., Kahl, K. N., & Smith, J. M. (2012). Confrontations and donations: Encounters between homeless pet owners and the public. *Sociological Quarterly, 53*(1), 25–43. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.2011.01224.x>
- Kerman, N., Gran-Ruaz, S., & Lem, M. (2019). Pet ownership and homelessness: A scoping review. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 28*(2), 106–114. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10530789.2019.1650325>
- Kerman, N., Lem, M., Witte, M., Kim, C., & Rhoades, H. (2020). A multilevel intervention framework for supporting people experiencing homelessness with pets. Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7602009/>
- Labrecque, Jennifer, and Christine A. Walsh. “Homeless Women’s Voices on Incorporating Companion Animals into Shelter Services.” *Anthrozoös* 24, no. 1 (March 2011): 79–95. <https://doi.org/10.2752/175303711x12923300467447>.
- Lem, M., Coe, J. B., Haley, D. B., Stone, E., & O’Grady, W. (2016). The protective association between pet ownership and depression among street-involved youth: A cross-sectional study. *Anthrozoös, 29*(1), 123–136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08927936.2015.1082772>
- Oosthuizen, K., Haase, B., Ravulo, J., Lomax, S., & Ma, G. (2023). The role of human–animal bonds for people experiencing crisis situations. Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC10000229/>
- Ramirez, V., Frisbie, L., Robinson, J., & Rabinowitz, P. M. (2022). The impact of pet ownership on healthcare-seeking behavior in individuals experiencing homelessness. *Anthrozoös, 35*(5), 615–632. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08927936.2022.2042082>
- Rew, Lynn. “Friends and Pets as Companions: Strategies for Coping with Loneliness among Homeless Youth.” *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing* 13, no. 3 (July 2000): 125–32. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6171.2000.tb00089.x>.
- Rhoades, H., Winetrobe, H., & Rice, E. (2015). Pet ownership among homeless youth: Associations with mental health, service utilization and housing status. Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4194276/>
- Scanlon, L., Hobson-West, P., Cobb, K., McBride, A., & Stavisky, J. (2021). Homeless people and their dogs: Exploring the nature and impact of the human–companion animal bond. *Anthrozoös, 34*(1), 77–92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08927936.2021.1878683>
- Singer, R. S., Hart, L. A., & Zasloff, R. L. (1995). Dilemmas associated with rehousing homeless people who have companion animals. *Psychological Reports, 77*(3), 851–857. <https://doi.org/10.2466/pr0.1995.77.3.851>
- Taylor, H., Williams, P., & Gray, D. (2004). Homelessness and dog ownership: An investigation into animal empathy, attachment, crime, drug use, health and public opinion. *Anthrozoös, 17*(4), 353–368. <https://doi.org/10.2752/089279304785643230>
- Williams, D. L., & Hogg, S. (2016). The health and welfare of dogs belonging to homeless people. *Pet Behaviour Science, 1*(1), 23–30. <https://doi.org/10.21071/pbs.v0i1.3998>