Temporal Effects of Distressed Housing on Early Childhood Risk Factors and Kindergarten Readiness\*

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## Motivation

- Environment in which children spend their early years is crucial to their long-term outcomes.
- By kindergarten, children exposed to 'toxic' environments already well behind in their cognitive and social development.
- How do housing conditions and the surrounding areas factor into their school readiness?

## Purpose of the study

- To examine the influence of early childhood housing conditions on school readiness for all children entering kindergarten in a big city school system.
- To demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of using Integrated Data Systems (IDSs) that link administrative data on individual children and residential properties to investigate housing and early childhood policy concerns.

# Conceptual model: Hypothesized relationships between housing, mediators and kindergarten readiness scores



## **Research questions**

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Does the data provide evidence that cumulative exposure to poor quality housing and disadvantaged neighborhoods during early childhood negatively affect school readiness at kindergarten entry?



How: Are problematic housing and nbhd conditions positively associated with the likelihood of child maltreatment, residential instability and lead poisoning in early childhood?

3

Are child maltreatment incidents, residential instability, and lead poisoning negatively associated (mediators) with housing conditions and school readiness?

## Sampling and Study Design

• Sampling criteria

 Children who entered kindergarten for the first time in the Cleveland Metropolitan School District (CMSD) during the 2007-2010 academic years

- Sample size
  - o 13,762 children
- Study design
  - Longitudinal, population-based study that draws on IDSs covering children and properties
  - Study population was followed from birth through kindergarten entry using monthly address histories from a combination of administrative records.

## Data Systems: Childhood Integrated Longitudinal Data (CHILD) System and Neighborhood Stabilization Team (NST) Web App.

CHILD system



NST web application



## Model specification: Marginal Structural models (MSM)

- Dynamic selection into housing-nbhd conditions (HN) is influenced by poverty  $(X_1)$  and in turn influences subsequent poverty  $(X_2)$ .
- Mediators in the housing-nbhd readiness relationship (HN-Y) for one stage (HN<sub>1</sub>) are confounders for another (HN<sub>2</sub>).



- Typical regression fails to identify the full effect of housing and neighborhoods when variables are simultaneously mediators and confounders.
- Thus, we estimate inverse probability of treatment weights based on a selection model and apply to a marginal structural model of cumulative exposure (Robins et al., 2000).

## Summary Statistics 2007-2010 K Cohort

#### Poverty

75%

Share of time below poverty line

#### **Housing Quality**

Poor condition Low value Public/subsidized 36 % 59% 18%

Percent ever

#### **Housing Finance Distress**

Tax delinquency, Foreclosure, Owned by speculator

**50%** Percent ever

#### Neighborhood Disadvantage

Concentrated disadvantage (>70p)

**0.66** Mean share of time

#### **Kg Readiness**

**15.8** Average KRA-L score (0-29)

#### **Elevated Lead**

**39%** Tested positive (>5 μg/dL)

#### **Child Maltreatment Investigation**

**40%** Percent ever

#### **Residential Mobility**

**3.3** Average # of moves

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# Marginal Structural Models (MSM) for the relationship between KRA-L and housing conditions

Variable	b	se		b	se		b	se	
Neighborhood quality <sup>a</sup>									
Concentrated disadvantage <sup>b</sup>	-0.71	0.20	***	-0.77	0.22	***	-0.74	0.22	***
Housing characteristics <sup>a</sup>									
Poor condition housing	-0.43	0.23	+	-0.34	0.24		-0.13	0.24	
Low value housing <sup>c</sup>	-0.13	0.20		-0.33	0.20		-0.25	0.20	
Public housing or project based Section 8				-0.17	0.29		-0.15	0.29	
Housing mkt distress <sup>a</sup>									
Parcel with tax delinquency				-0.78	0.28	**	-0.52	0.29	+
Parcel in foreclosure				-1.39	0.44	**	-1.01	0.44	*
Parcel owned by speculator				-1.54	0.39	***	-1.25	0.39	**
Buffer 500ft- Avg. number of parcels									
With tax delinquency				0.05	0.02	**	0.05	0.02	*
In foreclosure				-0.11	0.05	*	-0.11	0.05	*
Owned by speculator				0.02	0.05		0.03	0.05	
Mediators									
Child neglect/abuse investigation <sup>a</sup>							-2.21	0.34	***
Residential moves (average per year)							-0.45	0.17	*
Lead level in blood>5µg/dL (Ref:Negative)									
(Positive)							-0.84	0.14	***

*Note.* p<.10, p<.05, p<.01, p<.01, p<.001. p

## Marginal effects for probability of testing positive

Multinomial Lead Model (tested positive, negative, not tested)

Variable	dy/dx	se
Neighborhood quality <sup>a</sup>		
Concentrated disadvantage score above 70th p.	0.086	0.013 ***
Housing characteristics <sup>a</sup>		
Poor condition housing	0.038	0.012 **
Low value housing (<\$30,000 inflation adjusted)	0.054	0.011 ***
Public housing or project based Section 8	-0.008	0.017
Housing mkt distress <sup>a</sup>		
Parcel with tax delinquency	0.057	0.014 ***
Parcel in foreclosure	0.051	0.024 *
Parcel owned by speculator	0.046	0.027 +
Buffer 500ft- Avg. number of parcels		
With tax delinquency	0.003	0.001 ***
In foreclosure	0.010	0.003 **
Owned by speculator	0.000	0.004

*Note.*  ${}^{+}p$ <.10,  ${}^{*}p$ <.05,  ${}^{**}p$ <.01,  ${}^{***}p$ <.001. N=13,758 children over all periods for child maltreatment and residential moves panel models. N=13,681 children for lead model (Multiple imputation, *m*=30). Fixed effects models include an age variable; lead model controls for year of birth. Dependent variable values=Positive, Negative, Not Tested. <sup>a</sup>Share of years up to age 3 exposed to each condition. *dy/dx* = Margins for probability of testing positive

### Findings from dynamic selection and fixed effects models



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# Average predicted test scores for levels of housing and neighborhood distress



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## Limitations

- This study focused on the population of school children in one large city during a particular time, and the results cannot be readily generalized to other times and places.
- The study relied on administrative records data, which limited our choice of study variables.
- Several of our key outcome variables have limitations (e.g., KRA-L test, lead test, and child maltreatment).
- Despite a rich set of variables and various methods to control for selection bias and confounding, we could not rule out all threats.

## **Policy Considerations**

- Our analysis evidences that neighborhood and housing quality further impacts educational outcomes of low income children.
- Housing finance crisis in old industrial cities played a role in exacerbating housing problems and their effects on children.
- Two-thirds of renter families below the poverty line receive no housing assistance\*. What is the role of housing policy?
- Replicate successful lead remediation programs like Rochester's.
- IDSs that incorporate detailed information on children and on the conditions of the properties that they live in can be useful for research and policy planning at a population scale.

<sup>\*</sup>Desmond, M. 2015. Unaffordable America: Poverty, housing, and eviction. Fast Focus 22-2015. University of Wisconsin Madison.