

Eviction and Infant-Maternal Health

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Birth outcomes

Health at birth predicts:

- Health across the life course
- Educational outcomes
- Labor market outcomes
- Birth outcomes of offspring

maternal disadvantage → poor health at birth

Eviction

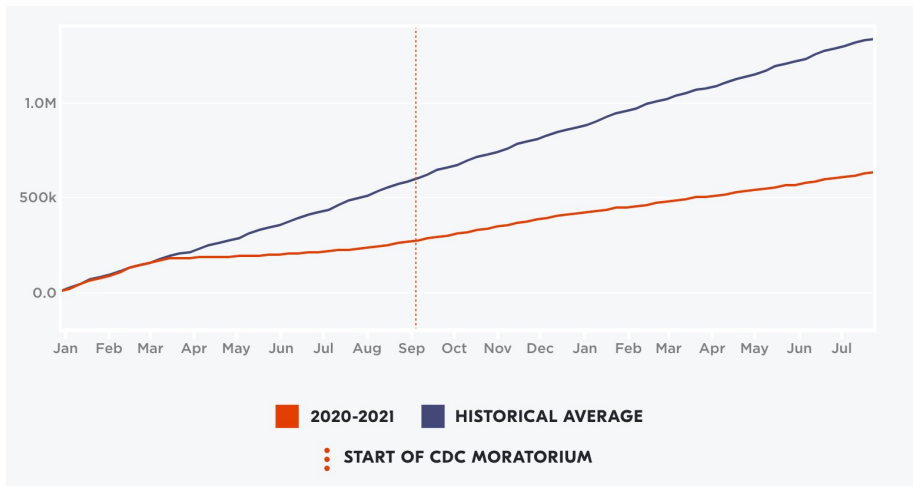
- 6.1% of renter households had an eviction filing in 2016 (2.4 million filings)
- More than three-quarters of evictions in 2017 were for nonpayment of rent
- Median rent has risen 13 percent in the past two decades while median income has risen less than 0.5 percent
- In 2017, more than half of poor tenants in the US were considered rent burdened, spending at least 30 percent of their income on housing

Eviction often reflects the chronic financial precarity of renters, not merely a one-time financial shock.

Eviction in the Era of COVID-19

- The CDC moratorium on eviction prevented over [1.5 million evictions](#)
- Since the federal moratorium ended, [eviction rates have risen](#) in areas without state/local moratoria
- Higher eviction rates increase infection risk for all, including non-evicted people (Nande et al., 2021)
- Policies that limit evictions significantly reduce COVID-19 infections and deaths (Jowers et al., 2021)
- Lifting of some eviction moratoria in late 2020 significantly increased the incidence of COVID-19 morbidity and mortality (Leifheit et al., 2020)

Cumulative evictions January 1, 2020 - July 31, 2021



[← back](#)

Evictions in Houston 3/2020- 11/2021



* Filings in the last week may be undercounted as a result of processing delays. These counts will be revised in the following week.

Black and Hispanic women and families with children are at especially high risk for eviction

- Approximately 20 percent of renters are Black, while 33 percent of eviction filings are against Black renters
- The risk for eviction is 2 percent higher for women than men
- The eviction filing rate against Black women is nearly twice the filing rate against White women (6.4 versus 3.4 percent)

Black and Hispanic women and families with children are at especially high risk for eviction, cont.

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The same populations are at risk of eviction and adverse birth outcomes

Research Question

Does eviction compound the risk of poor health at birth?

Two sources of administrative microdata:

- Court records from > 5 million eviction actions in Georgia 2000-2016
- Birth certificates for > 2 million births in Georgia 2000-2016 linked by mother

Sample

- Probabilistic matching to link birth certificates to eviction data using mother name and address
- Create longitudinal birth and eviction histories
- Limit sample to mothers with at least one eviction filing
 - [Original sample](#) of 2,317,916 births to 1,544,879 mothers
 - [Final sample](#) of 87,537 births to 44,671 women

Not Evicted vs. Evicted

	Not Evicted n=2146720	Evicted n=92527
Mean Mother Age	27.13	26.18
Race		
White	61.1%	27.5%
Black	31.7%	68.8%
Education		
9th through 11th Grade	14.8%	21.9%
High School Diploma or GED	29.2%	38.9%
Some College or Higher	47.0%	34.8%
Mean Infant Birth Weight	3262.1 gm	3146.8 gm
Percent Low Birth Weight	8%	10%
Mean Gestational Age	38.5 weeks	38.2 weeks
Percent Premature	10%	14%
Infant Deaths per 1,000	6.8	9.8

[◀ Linkage](#)

Eviction Not During Pregnancy vs. Eviction During Pregnancy

	Evicted Not During Pregnancy n=77471	Eviction During Pregnancy n=10066
Mean Mother Age	26.15	27.31
Race		
White	28.5%	18.1%
Black	67.6%	77.9%
Education		
9th through 11th Grade	21.3%	16.4%
High School Diploma or GED	38.7%	40.3%
Some College or Higher	34.6%	38.8%
Mean Infant Birth Weight	3149.1	3105.6
Percent Low Birth Weight	10%	12%
Mean Gestational Age	38.2	37.99
Percent Premature	12%	15%
Infant Deaths per 1,000	9.5	11.4

Measuring Health at Birth

Infant Death

- Death before 1 year

Birth Weight

- Mean birth weight in U.S. is 3,250 grams
- Low birth weight < 2,500 grams

Gestational Age

- Mean gestational age in U.S. is 38.4 weeks
- Preterm < 37 weeks

Methods

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbf{Eviction}_i + \beta_2 X_i + \beta_3 \mathit{Zipcode}_i + \beta_4 \mathit{Year}_i + e_i$$

- Y_i - Birth weight, gestational age, prematurity, low birth weight, infant mortality
- **Eviction** $_i$ - Eviction during pregnancy, during first/second/third trimester
- X_i - Maternal age, parity, race, education, marital status
- Zip code and year fixed effects

Results

Relative to births to mothers who experienced evictions during any other time, an eviction action during a pregnancy is significantly associated with:

- 26.9-gram decline in infant birth weight
- 0.9 percentage point increase in the probability of being low birth weight
- 1.1 percentage point increase in probability of being born prematurely

Results, cont.

Relative to births to mothers who experienced evictions during any other time, an eviction action during a pregnancy is significantly associated with:

- 26.9-gram decline in infant birth weight
- 0.9 percentage point increase in the probability of being low birth weight
- 1.1 percentage point increase in probability of being born prematurely

For a sense of magnitude...

- Equivalent to approximately 1/3 the size of the birth weight decrements associated maternal smoking
- Similar in size to the improvements in birth weight seen with the introduction of food stamps and WIC

Results by Trimester of Eviction

Eviction during pregnancy	Outcome		
	Infant birth weight in grams (95% CI)	LBW, % of births (95% CI)	Premature, % of births (95% CI)
Any	-26.88** (-39.53 to -14.24)	0.88** (0.23 to 1.54)	1.14** (0.21 to 2.06)
By Trimester			
First	4.34 (-21.38 to 30.07)	-0.81 (-2.14 to 0.51)	-0.06 (-1.93 to 1.83)
Second	-34.74** (-57.51 to -11.97)	1.42*** (0.25 to 2.59)	1.41* (-0.26 to 3.09)
Third	-35.80** (-52.91 to -18.69)	1.31** (0.43 to 2.19)	1.49*** (0.24 to 2.73)

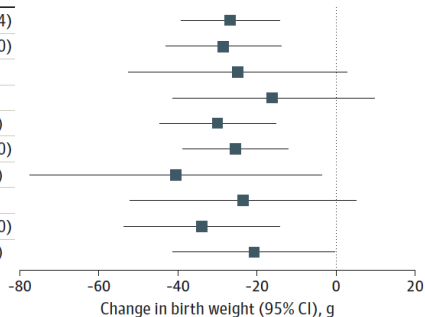
Abbreviation: LBW, low birth weight

Adjusted for parity, maternal age, race, education, marital status

* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Change in Birth Weight Overall and by Subgroup

Subgroup	Change in birth weight (95% CI), g
Overall	-26.88 (-39.50 to -14.24)
Black	-28.50 (-43.10 to -13.80)
White	-24.80 (-52.47 to 2.80)
Married	-15.90 (-41.50 to 9.70)
Unmarried	-30.00 (-44.60 to -15.3)
Urban residence	-25.40 (-38.90 to -12.00)
Rural residence	-40.50 (-77.50 to -3.61)
Less than high school	-23.50 (-52.20 to 5.06)
High school diploma or GED	-34.20 (-53.80 to -14.30)
Some college or higher	-20.80 (-41.30 to -0.30)



Robustness Checks

1. Models with mother fixed effects
2. Logistic models for binary outcomes
3. Limit sample to women with eviction actions not resulting in eviction judgments
4. Limit sample to mothers with just one eviction action
5. Limit sample to mothers in Atlanta

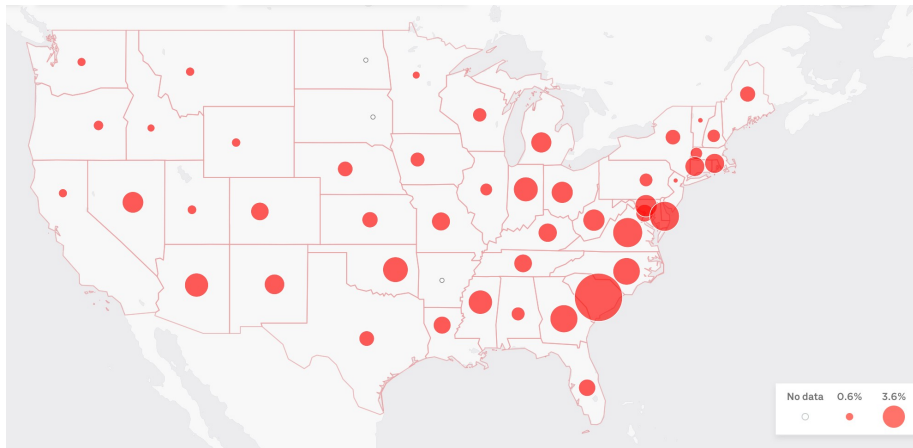
Other Studies on Eviction and Infant-Maternal Health

- **Desmond et al., 2015** - Among infants and mothers in the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing study eviction was associated with a significantly higher likelihood of maternal depression, and worse self-reported mother and child health
- **Sandel et al., 2018** - Mothers of children <2 who experienced an eviction had significantly higher odds of fair/poor caregiver health, maternal depressive symptoms, and child hospitalizations.
- **Hazecamp et al., 2020** - Chicago census tracts with higher eviction rates had significantly higher percentages of infants born very low birth weights and higher infant mortality rate
- **Khadka et al., 2020** - Nationally there was a significant association between living in counties with higher eviction rates during pregnancy (and especially the second and third trimesters) and risk of having a premature or low birth weight infant

Eviction is a Policy Problem with Policy Solutions

Eviction rates [vary widely across the U.S.](#) and are highly dependent on state and local policy environments

U.S. Eviction Rates 2016



Eviction is a Policy Problem with Policy Solutions, cont.

- Eviction rates [vary widely across the U.S.](#) and are highly dependent on state and local policy environments

Research suggests that policy interventions such as:

- Providing legal assistance to tenants
- Increasing investment in affordable housing and rental assistance programs
- Increasing the minimum wage and the expanding public benefits such as health insurance

Can greatly reduce the frequency of evictions

Takeaways

- Eviction during gestation is associated with noteworthy decrements in health at birth
- The 2nd and 3rd trimesters of gestation are times of heightened vulnerability
- Eviction rates vary widely across time and space and are amenable to policy interventions

Eviction and Birth Outcomes in Georgia

- [Full results](#)
- [Maternal characteristics by trimester of pregnancy](#)
- [Results using eviction actions not resulting in judgments](#)
- [Results with mother fixed effects](#)
- [Results in mothers with one eviction](#)
- [Results in mothers evicted in Atlanta](#)
- [Eviction stages](#)

Eviction During Pregnancy and Birth Outcomes

	Infant Birth Weight, Grams N = 85,438 (95% CI)	Low Birth Weight, Percent of Births N = 85,438 (95% CI)	Infant Deaths per Thousand N = 85,438 (95% CI)	Gestational Age, Weeks N = 42,697 (95% CI)	Premature, Percent of Births N = 42,697 (95% CI)
Eviction Action During Pregnancy	-26.88** (-39.53, -14.24)	0.88** (0.23, 1.54)	1.85** (-0.19, 3.89)	-0.09** (-0.16, -0.03)	1.14** (0.21, 2.06)
Parity					
Parity 2	61.61*** (50.54, 72.67)	-2.55*** (-3.12, -1.98)	-1.78* (-3.57, 0.00)	-0.11** (-0.17, -0.04)	-0.01 (-0.94, 0.92)
Parity 3	72.90*** (60.87, 84.92)	-2.53*** (-3.15, -1.91)	-0.94 (-2.88, 0.99)	-0.16** (-0.23, -0.09)	0.74 (-0.23, 1.71)
Parity 4	51.11*** (36.73, 65.50)	-1.60*** (-2.34, -0.86)	0.48 (-1.84, 2.79)	-0.27** (-0.35, -0.19)	2.08*** (0.97, 3.20)
Parity 5+	48.65*** (33.64, 63.67)	-1.06*** (-1.83, -0.28)	0.31 (-2.11, 2.73)	-0.35** (-0.42, -0.27)	3.71*** (2.59, 4.83)
Maternal Age					
19-34 years	1.18 (-17.01, 19.37)	0.82* (-0.12, 1.75)	1.66 (-1.27, 4.59)	-0.11* (-0.24, 0.02)	1.77* (-0.03, 3.57)
35+ years	-24.80** (-47.85, -1.76)	3.96*** (2.78, 5.15)	1.54 (-2.18, 5.25)	-0.35** (-0.49, -0.20)	5.57*** (3.50, 7.64)
Maternal Race					
Black or African-American	-185.48** (-196.83, -174.12)	4.39*** (3.81, 4.98)	3.04*** (1.21, 4.87)	-0.30** (-0.37, -0.24)	3.16*** (2.25, 4.08)
Maternal Education					
9th through 11th Grade	-43.53*** (-71.21, -15.85)	1.12 (-0.31, 2.55)	-1.17 (-5.64, 3.29)	-0.24** (-0.42, -0.05)	3.40** (0.78, 6.02)
High School Diploma/GED	4.57 (-22.77, 31.91)	-0.15 (-1.56, 1.25)	-2.15 (-6.56, 2.26)	-0.20* (-0.38, -0.02)	2.32* (-0.25, 4.88)
Some College or Higher	35.20* (7.47, 62.93)	-1.10 (-2.52, 0.33)	-4.30* (-8.77, 0.17)	-0.16 (-0.34, 0.02)	2.00 (-0.58, 4.59)
Marital status					
Married	55.32*** (45.43, 65.22)	-1.28*** (-1.79, -0.77)	-0.78 (-2.37, 0.81)	0.02 (-0.04, 0.08)	-0.74 (-1.53, 0.05)

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Multivariate ordinary least squares models with zip code and year fixed effects

GED= General Education Diploma

Characteristics of Evicted Mothers by Pregnancy Trimester

	Eviction Action During First Trimester of Pregnancy	Eviction Action During Second Trimester of Pregnancy	Eviction Action During Third Trimester of Pregnancy
	N=2,199	N=2,802	N=5,134
Mean Maternal Age (SD)	27.18 (5.29)	27.41 (5.41)	27.31 (5.36)
Race (%)			
White	445 (20.2)	535 (19.1)	863 (16.8)
Black or African-American	1669 (75.9)	2152 (76.8)	4075 (79.4)
Asian	10 (0.5)	15 (0.5)	18 (0.4)
Education (%)			
Less than 9th Grade	27 (1.2)	38 (1.4)	77 (1.5)
9th through 11th Grade	402 (18.3)	460 (16.4)	803 (15.6)
High School Diploma or GED	875 (39.8)	1138 (40.6)	2064 (40.2)
Some College or Higher	809 (36.8)	1081 (38.6)	2049 (39.9)
Marital Status (%)			
Unmarried	1693 (77.0)	2127 (75.9)	3900 (76.0)
Married	501 (22.8)	669 (23.9)	1217 (23.7)

Birth Outcomes and Evictions not Resulting in Judgments

	Low Infant Birth Weight, Grams N=85,438 (95% CI)	Low Birth Weight, Percent of Births N=85,438 (95% CI)	Infant Deaths Per Thousand N=85,438 (95% CI)	Gestational Age, Weeks N=85,438 (95% CI)	Premature, Percent of Births N=85,438 (95% CI)
Eviction Action During Pregnancy	-29.25*** (-43.69 - 14.81)	1.10*** (0.35, 1.85)	1.72 (-0.62, 4.06)	-0.11*** (-0.19, -0.03)	1.47*** (0.40, 2.54)
Parity 2	60.29*** (46.55, 74.03)	-2.76*** (-3.48, -2.05)	-1.38 (-3.61, 0.85)	-0.07* (-0.16, 0.01)	-0.46 (-1.60, 0.69)
Parity 3	72.91*** (58.05, 87.77)	-2.64*** (-3.41, -1.87)	-1.25 (-3.66, 1.16)	-0.13*** (-0.22, -0.05)	0.18 (-1.02, 1.37)
Parity 4	42.98*** (25.32, 60.64)	-1.52*** (-2.44, -0.60)	1.62 (-1.24, 4.48)	-0.28*** (-0.38, -0.19)	2.13*** (0.76, 3.50)
Parity 5+	42.22*** (23.97, 60.48)	-0.99** (-1.94, -0.04)	0.25 (-2.71, 7.18)	-0.32*** (-0.42, -0.23)	3.33*** (1.96, 4.71)
Maternal Age: 19-34 years	2.23 (-20.32, 24.78)	0.50 (-0.67, 1.67)	2.26 (-1.39, 5.92)	-0.12 (-0.28, 0.04)	1.72 (-0.56, 4.00)
Maternal Age: 35+ years	-25.55* (-54.22, 3.12)	3.73*** (2.24, 5.22)	2.54 (-2.11, 7.18)	-0.36*** (-0.54, -0.17)	5.39*** (2.79, 8.00)
Maternal Race: Black or African American	-180.74*** (-195.45, -166.03)	4.41*** (3.65, 5.17)	4.04*** (1.65, 6.42)	-0.25*** (-0.34, -0.17)	2.45*** (1.27, 3.62)
Maternal Education: 9th through 11th Grade	-36.88** (-71.87, -1.88)	0.62 (-1.20, 2.44)	-0.93 (-6.60, 4.74)	-0.16 (-0.40, 0.07)	1.99 (-1.33, 5.31)
Maternal Education: High School Diploma/GED	8.43 (-26.16, 43.02)	-0.70 (-2.50, 1.10)	-2.40 (-8.01, 3.21)	-0.10 (-0.33, 0.13)	0.73 (-2.52, 3.99)
Maternal Education: Some College or Higher	39.54** (4.42, 74.65)	-1.81* (-3.63, 0.02)	-4.51 (-10.20, 1.18)	-0.08 (-0.31, 0.15)	0.79 (-2.49, 4.06)
Marital Status: Married	52.91*** (40.46, 65.36)	-1.14*** (-1.78, -0.49)	-0.67 (2.69, 1.35)	0.01 (-0.06, 0.08)	-0.61 (-1.60, 0.38)

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Multivariate ordinary least squares models with zip code and year fixed effects
GED= General Education Diploma

Additional Material

Birth Outcomes and Evictions with Mother Fixed Effects

	Low Infant Birth Weight, Grams N=85,438 (95% CI)	Low Birth Weight, Percent of Births N=85,438 (95% CI)	Infant Deaths Per Thousand N=85,438 (95% CI)	Gestational Age, Weeks N=85,438 (95% CI)	Premature, Percent of Births N=85,438 (95% CI)
Eviction Action During Pregnancy	-18.87** (-33.59, -4.15)	0.56 (-0.32, 1.43)	1.10 (-2.11, 4.31)	-0.04 (-0.14, 0.05)	0.61 (-0.82-2.04)
Parity 2	59.15*** (46.70, 71.60)	-2.65*** (-3.39, -1.90)	-1.91 (-4.63, 0.80)	-0.15*** (-0.24, -0.06)	0.74 (-0.64, 2.12)
Parity 3	62.49** (45.50, 79.48)	-2.55*** (-3.57, -1.54)	-0.09 (-3.79, 3.61)	-0.18*** (-0.31, -0.06)	1.28 (-0.58, 3.13)
Parity 4	47.69*** (25.71, 69.66)	-1.91*** (-3.23, -0.60)	-0.66 (-5.45, 4.13)	-0.32*** (-0.48, -0.16)	3.98*** (1.61, 6.34)
Parity 5+	36.59*** (9.22, 63.95)	-1.70*** (-3.33, -0.06)	0.97 (-5.00- 6.93)	-0.45*** (-0.64, -0.25)	5.40*** (2.47, 8.33)
Maternal Age: 19-34 years	-21.11** (-40.52, 1.70)	0.75 (-0.41, 1.91)	1.19 (-3.04, 5.43)	-0.08 (-0.25, 0.08)	2.50** (0.07, 4.94)
Maternal Age: 35+ years	-46.54*** (-79.29, -13.79)	2.30** (0.34, 4.25)	-3.14 (-10.28, 4.00)	-0.07 (-0.32, 0.19)	4.00** (0.20, 0.07.80)

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Multivariate ordinary least squares models with zip code and year fixed effects
GED= General Education Diploma

Birth Outcomes Among Mothers With One Eviction Action

	Low Infant Birth Weight, Grams N=85,438 (95% CI)	Low Birth Weight, Percent of Births N=85,438 (95% CI)	Infant Deaths Per Thousand N=85,438 (95% CI)	Gestational Age, Weeks N=85,438 (95% CI)	Premature, Percent of Births N=85,438 (95% CI)
Eviction Action During Pregnancy	-44.95*** (-68.23, -21.68)	1.55** (0.36, 2.73)	5.56*** (1.92, 9.20)	0.16*** (-0.27, -0.04)	1.78** (0.11, 3.44)
Parity 2	58.15*** (42.55, 73.76)	-2.47*** (-3.27, -1.68)	-0.81 (-3.25, 1.63)	-0.12** (-0.21, -0.03)	-0.12 (-1.45, 1.20)
Parity 3	64.43*** (47.28, 81.59)	-2.13*** (-3.00, -1.25)	-0.12 (-2.81, 2.56)	-0.21*** (-0.31, -0.12)	1.12 (-0.27, 2.52)
Parity 4	46.70*** (25.83, 67.56)	-2.05*** (-3.11, -0.99)	0.44 (-2.83, 3.71)	-0.26*** (-0.37, -0.15)	1.63** (0.02, 3.24)
Parity 5+	45.97*** (23.44, 68.51)	-1.25** (-2.40, -0.10)	1.31 (-2.22, 4.83)	-0.36*** (-0.48, -0.25)	4.13*** (2.45, 5.81)
Maternal Age:					
19-34 years	-0.60 (-26.35, 25.25)	1.30* (-0.02, 2.61)	1.26 (-2.77, 5.29)	-0.07 (-0.24, 0.11)	1.96 (-0.55, 4.47)
35+ years	-13.83 (46.70, 19.03)	3.69*** (2.01, 5.30)	0.30 (-4.84, 5.45)	-0.19* (0.40, 0.01)	4.08*** (1.14, 7.02)
Maternal Race:					
Black or African American	-182.60*** (-198.48, -166.72)	4.49*** (3.68, 5.30)	2.41* (-0.07, 4.90)	-0.27** (-0.36, -0.18)	2.40*** (1.12, 3.67)
Maternal Education:					
9th through 11th Grade	-61.22*** (99.57, -22.88)	1.69* (0.26, 3.65)	-0.77 (-6.77, 5.23)	-0.29** (-0.55, -0.04)	3.84** (0.17, 7.51)
Maternal Education:					
High School Diploma/GED	-8.32 (-46.21, 29.56)	0.04 (-1.89, 1.97)	-2.63 (-8.56, 3.30)	-0.24 (-0.49, 0.01)	2.79 (-0.81, 6.40)
Maternal Education:					
Some College or Higher	25.32 (-13.23, 63.87)	-0.98 (-2.94, 0.99)	-3.83 (-9.87, 2.20)	-0.17 (-0.42, 0.08)	2.23 (-1.41, 5.87)
Marital Status:					
Married	56.05*** (42.15, 69.94)	-1.19*** (-1.89, -0.48)	-0.34 (-2.52, 1.83)	-0.02 (-0.10, 0.06)	-0.36 (-1.48, 0.76)

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Multivariate ordinary least squares models with zip code and year fixed effects

GED= General Education Diploma

◀ Additional Material

Birth Outcomes Among Evicted Mothers in Atlanta

	Low Infant Birth Weight, Grams N=85,438 (95% CI)	Low Birth Weight, Percent of Births N=85,438 (95% CI)	Infant Deaths Per Thousand N=85,438 (95% CI)	Gestational Age, Weeks N=85,438 (95% CI)	Premature, Percent of Births N=85,438 (95% CI)
Eviction Action During Pregnancy	-38.97*** (68.44, -9.49)	2.46*** (0.89, 4.03)	0.37 (-4.32, 5.05)	-0.18** (-0.35, -0.02)	1.61 (-0.70, 3.92)
Parity 2	77.29*** (49.21, 105.37)	-3.85*** (-5.34, -2.35)	-5.91*** (-10.37, -1.45)	-0.00 (-0.17, 0.17)	-0.89 (-3.32, 1.55)
Parity 3	108.02*** (77.24, 138.81)	-3.58*** (-5.22, -1.93)	-3.71 (-8.60, 1.18)	0.01 (-0.17, 0.19)	-0.71 (-3.28, 1.86)
Parity 4	53.47*** (17.86, 89.08)	-1.57 (-3.47, 0.33)	-1.49 (-7.15, 4.17)	-0.06 (-0.27, 0.15)	0.47 (-2.43, 3.37)
Parity 5+	40.14** (5.43, 74.85)	-0.57 (-2.43, 1.28)	-1.53 (-7.05, 3.98)	-0.26*** (-0.46, -0.07)	5.15*** (2.41, 7.89)
Maternal Age: 19-34 years	9.03 (-34.12, 52.19)	0.50 (-1.81, 2.80)	1.31 (-5.55, 8.16)	0.03 (-0.30, 0.36)	0.44 (-4.18, 5.07)
Maternal Age: 35+ years	13.20 (-43.87, 70.28)	2.91* (-0.14, 5.95)	-1.77 (-10.84, 7.30)	-0.05 (-0.43, 0.33)	2.04 (-3.33, 7.41)
Maternal Race: Black or African American	-187.36*** (-230.53, -144.18)	4.73*** (2.43, 7.04)	0.89 (-5.97, 7.75)	-0.15 (-0.43, 0.12)	2.42 (-1.45, 6.29)
Maternal Education: 9th through 11th Grade	-45.32 (115.60, 24.95)	2.95 (-0.80, 6.70)	-3.32 (-14.49, 7.85)	-0.48 (-1.05, 0.09)	5.85 (-2.20, 13.91)
Maternal Education: High School Diploma/GED	-2.88 (-72.96, 67.19)	0.76 (-2.98, 4.50)	-3.35 (-14.49, 7.78)	-0.32 (-0.88, 0.25)	2.37 (-5.61, 10.35)
Maternal Education: Some College or Higher	31.71 (-39.58, 103.00)	0.26 (-3.55, 4.06)	-2.72 (-14.05, 8.60)	-0.31 (-0.88, 0.27)	2.28 (-5.75, 10.32)
Marital Status: Married	39.28*** (9.50, 69.06)	-0.77 (-2.36, 0.82)	-4.82 (-9.55, -0.09)	-0.06 (-0.24, 0.12)	-0.32 (-2.80, 2.16)

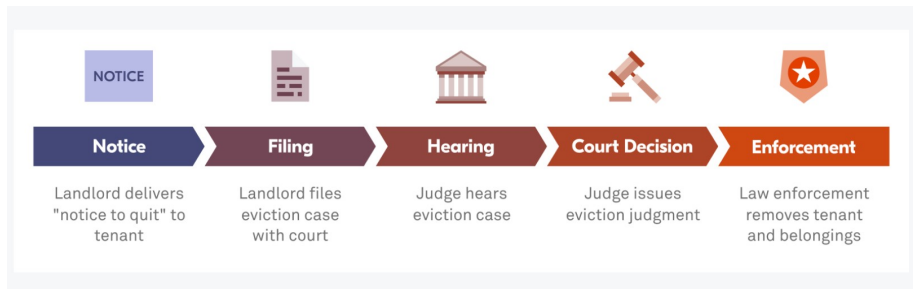
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Multivariate ordinary least squares models with zip code and year fixed effects

GED= General Education Diploma

◀ Additional Material

Eviction Stages



◀ Additional Material