

**BEFORE AND AFTER TANF:
THE UTILIZATION OF NONCASH PUBLIC BENEFITS
BY WOMEN LEAVING WELFARE IN WISCONSIN**

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Abstract

Welfare caseloads have fallen sharply since the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA), raising questions about the post-welfare experiences of welfare leavers, including whether leavers are participating in Food Stamps and Medicaid when they are eligible for these supports. This paper describes patterns of participation in these two programs for two groups of women who left welfare in Wisconsin, those who left cash welfare in late 1995 (under early welfare reform) and those who left welfare two years later, in the early stages of implementation of Wisconsin Works (W-2), the state's TANF program.

We use administrative data to examine the receipt of Food Stamps and Medicaid among those who are income-eligible at some point in the first year after exit. These take-up rates vary from 60 percent of the 1995 leavers receiving Food Stamps to 92 percent of the 1997 leavers having someone in their families receiving Medicaid. We also conduct multivariate analyses of take-up. Selected findings include: (1) the take-up of both Medicaid and Food Stamps increased between 1995 and 1997; (2) working while still receiving cash benefits is positively associated with take-up of noncash benefits after the cash grant ends; (3) the take-up of benefits declines substantially over time even among those who remain eligible for them. We examine a longer timeframe for the 1995 leavers and find that the take-up of these benefits declines steadily over the three years.

I. INTRODUCTION

Welfare caseloads have fallen sharply since the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA), raising questions about the post-welfare experiences of welfare leavers. Early evidence suggests that most women who left welfare under initial reforms found jobs, although most of them did not earn enough to escape poverty (see Loprest, 1999 and GAO, 1999a for reviews of state-specific studies of leavers). Concerns have arisen over the take-up of means-tested in-kind benefits of the women who leave welfare, and hence the effectiveness of these benefits in supporting the well-being of these welfare leavers.

This paper describes patterns of receipt of Food Stamp and Medicaid benefits for two groups of women who left welfare in Wisconsin. The first group left the main means-tested cash program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, or AFDC in late 1995 (under early welfare reform); the second group left welfare two years later, after the implementation of Wisconsin Works (W-2), the state's Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, or TANF program. PRWORA authorized TANF as a replacement for AFDC.

The experience of Wisconsin is of particular interest because it has often been viewed as an early leader in welfare reform. Wisconsin began work-based welfare reforms in the late 1980s and implemented several major reforms in the mid-1990s before PRWORA.¹ Additional reforms were implemented after PRWORA. Starting in March 1996, most AFDC case heads had at least 20 hours of JOBS program participation per week under a new Pay for Performance initiative, which also imposed a penalty equal to the federal hourly minimum wage for each missed hour. The new Wisconsin Works (W-2) program under PRWORA took effect over a seven-month period in late 1997 and early 1998. Under W-2, no assistance is available to families unless they participate in work or work preparation activities.

¹These include a Parental and Family Responsibility initiative and a Two-Tier AFDC Benefit Demonstration in 1994 (both initiatives covered four counties and both included Milwaukee County, by far the state's largest) and the Work Not Welfare program in two counties in 1995.

Owing to Wisconsin's early start in enforcing intensive work obligations, an analysis of the use of Food Stamp and Medicaid benefits by those who left the caseload during the mid-1990s can provide important insight into noncash benefit use by those who have left and will leave under reforms implemented later in other states. Moreover, a comparison of those who left welfare before the 1996 reforms with those who left under the later, more stringent, work-based policy, can reveal the relationships between these two policy models and the subsequent use of noncash benefits.

Wisconsin is a good state for the study of noncash benefit use among leavers for other reasons as well. Since 1994, the state has operated an integrated automated case management system—called the Client Assistance and Re-employment System, or CARES—which merges data on cash welfare benefits, Food Stamp receipt, and Medicaid eligibility. The information on the receipt and level of benefits in each of these programs in the same data system eliminates the need to match participants across the benefit programs. Wisconsin also has a county-administered income maintenance system, which leaves room for local variation in administrative practice and could allow for consideration of the impact of management practice on Food Stamp and Medicaid take-up rates among welfare leavers. Finally, the percentage of non-citizens among Wisconsin's leavers is relatively low, which is helpful to our analysis because eligibility changes for non-citizens in the PRWORA legislation complicate comparisons over time for this group of leavers (see below).

II. PRIOR RESEARCH ON NONCASH BENEFIT USE AMONG LEAVERS

The Urban Institute's National Survey of American Families (NSAF) has provided much of the recent national evidence concerning Food Stamp and Medicaid utilization among welfare leavers. Based on the survey, Zedlewski and Brauner (1999) revealed that of families with children who (a) had received Food Stamps at some time since the beginning of 1995, (b) were still income-eligible for Food Stamps, and (c) were former cash welfare recipients, just 42 percent were receiving Food Stamps when they were

surveyed in 1997 . These take-up rates are similar to those found in earlier studies of a broader population of former recipients who were eligible (Blank and Ruggles, 1993).

The NSAF also provides national estimates on the Medicaid utilization of former welfare recipients. Garrett and Holohan (2000) report that, among women who stopped receiving cash welfare benefits some time between January 1995 and 1997 (the year in which they were interviewed), just 36 percent reported receiving Medicaid at the time of the interview, while 41 percent were uninsured.² Of children living in families who had left welfare, 50 percent were receiving Medicaid or other state health insurance, and 25 percent were uninsured.

Dion and Pavetti (2000) summarized state studies of Food Stamp and Medicaid benefit utilization among former welfare recipients. They found that studies using administrative data estimated that from 30 percent to 45 percent of former welfare recipients were still on Food Stamps 12 months after leaving welfare. In contrast, estimates of Food Stamp use among welfare leavers based on survey data range from a low of 29 percent in New York State to a high of 60 percent in South Carolina. Medicaid use 12 months after exit was somewhat higher, ranging between 36 percent and 76 percent in the studies using administrative data and between 30 percent and 78 percent in studies based on surveys.

The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (DHSS) also has summarized (at <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/leavers99/ombsum.htm>) results from leavers studies it has funded. Estimates from these studies of Food Stamp participation 12 months after leaving welfare were slightly lower, but generally similar, to the estimates reported by Dion and Pavetti. The studies funded by DHHS showed Food Stamp use 12 months after leaving welfare by 20 percent to 40 percent of leavers. Medicaid use 12 months after leaving welfare ranged quite widely in the DHHS-funded studies, from 15 percent to about 60 percent.

²Another 23 percent of mothers (27 percent of children) had private health coverage and 4 percent of mothers (2 percent of children) received coverage through the military or through Medicare.

The national literature generally discounts program ineligibility as a significant reason for the relatively low use of both Food Stamps and Medicaid. Most families leaving welfare have incomes well under 130 percent of the federal poverty line, the gross income maximum for Food Stamp eligibility.³ Medicaid has even higher income limits and expanded coverage for children.⁴

These low take-up rates among eligible leavers in both the Food Stamp and Medicaid programs are not new, and predate PRWORA and recent state welfare reforms. Ellwood and Adams (1990) found that only 5 percent to 12 percent of families leaving cash welfare in Georgia and California in the early 1980s continued on Medicaid.⁵ Moffitt and Slade (1997) report that just 52 percent of mothers in the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth who left welfare participated in Medicaid one year later. In addition, Blank and Ruggles (1993) reported that a “substantial portion” of welfare leavers in the 1986 and 1987 panels of the Survey of Income and Program Participation remained eligible to participate in the Food Stamp Program but chose not to do so. Still, concerns about Food Stamp and Medicaid take-up have intensified as the number of cash benefit leavers has risen. There is concern that states have not been successful in delinking Medicaid from cash welfare eligibility. With fewer families receiving cash welfare, this traditional link to Medicaid and Food Stamps has been removed. This is of concern because

³The PRWORA legislation reduced eligibility for Food Stamps for families at the high end of the eligibility range by dropping the basic Food Stamp benefit to 100 percent of the Thrifty Food Plan (from 103 percent) and freezing the standard deduction at 1996 levels. However, these modifications had more effect on overall benefit levels than on the number of eligible families (Zedlewski and Brauner, 1999). PRWORA also eliminated eligibility for legal immigrants who have not accumulated at least 40 quarters of social security coverage or served in the U.S. military. However, the Agriculture Research, Extension, and Education Reform Act of 1998 reinstated Food Stamp eligibility for legal elderly, disabled and child immigrants who were living in the U.S. when PRWORA was passed. However, those who entered after PRWORA are eligible for only emergency services, unless they obtain citizenship.

⁴Under the Family Support Act of 1988, families who have received Medicaid in 3 of the last 6 months and leave welfare owing to increased earnings retain Medicaid eligibility for 6 months regardless of income. Families that leave welfare due to increased income from child support retain Medicaid eligibility for 4 months after leaving. Both groups receive another 6 month extension if their household incomes (less disregards for child care expenses) do not exceed 185 percent of the federal poverty line. In addition, federal law requires states to provide Medicaid to children under age six with family incomes below 133 percent of the federal poverty line and to all children born after September 30, 1983 with incomes below the federal poverty line. Indeed, most states have expanded Medicaid coverage (or coverage under the state Children’s Health Insurance Program enacted in 1997) for children well beyond these minimum requirements.

⁵The experiences captured by this study took place under a substantially different regime than that of the later studies as the 1988 legislation extended Medicaid eligibility for 12 months after leaving AFDC.

families who leave cash welfare are much less likely to successfully transition to self-sufficiency if they do not receive the critical supports of Food Stamps and Medicaid to which many are entitled.

III. PRIOR RESEARCH ON NONCASH BENEFIT USE AMONG WISCONSIN LEAVERS

The literature on benefit use among Wisconsin leavers has been limited. Relying on administrative data, Cancian et al. (1999b) found a 46 percent first-quarter-post-exit take-up rate for Food Stamps and Medicaid among those who left the Wisconsin AFDC program in late 1995 and early 1996 and who remained off for at least five quarters after exit. The proportion participating in both Food Stamps and Medicaid declined to 28 percent in the fifth quarter after exit.⁶ The authors did not estimate the percentage of leavers who would have been eligible for the programs. However, all those who left for work are eligible for at least 6 months of transitional Medicaid.

The Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development (1998) has also reported on benefit use by those who received cash benefits between January 1 and March 31, 1998 (during the transition period from AFDC to W-2, so that some participants still received AFDC and some participants were receiving W-2) and who had stopped receiving any cash benefits (whether AFDC or W-2) by April 1, 1998. The data derive from a survey of 547 randomly selected leavers, with a response rate of 69 percent. At the time of their interviews (which occurred from five to eleven months after they stopped receiving cash benefits), 185 (49 percent) were receiving food stamps, and 282 (75 percent) of the leavers or their family members received Medicaid. An additional 44 (8 percent) reported that they or one or more of their family members had some other kind of medical insurance.

Most of the public controversy concerning Food Stamps and Medicaid usage in Wisconsin has focused on overall declines in the Food Stamp and Medicaid caseloads, not on participation rates for

⁶An additional 2.6 percent received Food Stamps only and 37 percent received Medicaid only in the first quarter after exit; in the fifth quarter after exit, another 3 percent received Food Stamps only, and 28 percent received Medicaid only.

those who leave welfare. The U.S. General Accounting Office (1999) reported that Wisconsin experienced the fourth largest Food Stamp caseload decline in the country (a drop of 34 percent) between August 1996 and August 1998. The Wisconsin Legislative Audit Bureau (2000) reported that between March 1995 and July 1999, the low point for Food Stamp participation for the decade of the 1990s, the number of people receiving Food Stamps dropped by 45 percent.⁷ The Audit Bureau also estimated that 97 percent of all Wisconsin residents below the poverty line received Food Stamps in 1994 but that this proportion declined to 70 percent in 1998. Wisconsin has also ranked among the top states in its Medicaid caseload decline. Using edited federal administrative data from the Health Care Financing Administration, Ku and Bruen (1999) reported that Wisconsin had the third largest Medicaid caseload decline among children without a disability and their parents (a drop of 18.6 percent) between 1995 and 1997. As of 1997, 32.9 percent of the poverty population was covered by Medicaid in Wisconsin compared to an overall U.S. rate of 38.9 percent. Among children the comparable percentages are 51.4 percent in Wisconsin and 57 percent nationally (Urban Institute, 2000 [Table 2]).⁸

IV. DATA AND METHODS

This paper reports on the demographic characteristics and patterns of Food Stamp and Medicaid utilization of two cohorts of single mothers who left cash assistance in Wisconsin—those who left during initial welfare reform (the final quarter of 1995) and those who left during the early stages of TANF (the final quarter of 1997). We define a woman as having left welfare if she does not receive cash benefits for two consecutive months, beginning in the last quarter of 1995 or 1997.

⁷However, Wisconsin Food Stamp caseloads rose modestly—by an average of 0.8 percent per month from July 1999 to April 2000 (Wisconsin Legislative Audit Bureau, 2000).

⁸The percentage of the poverty population without any health insurance coverage was substantially lower in Wisconsin than in the nation as a whole: the overall uninsured rate for this population was 24.2 percent in Wisconsin and 32.7 percent in the nation. (*Ibid.*, Table 2.)

The analysis reported here is based on administrative data from the state of Wisconsin. We have merged data from (1) the CARES system, which includes information collected in administering AFDC, W-2, and related means-tested programs, (2) the Computer Reporting Network (CRN) system, the precursor of CARES, providing earlier AFDC administrative data useful for constructing an AFDC history for each case, and (3) the Unemployment Insurance (UI) system, which includes information on quarterly earnings. For welfare leavers who have not returned to the cash benefit system, we estimate eligibility for Food Stamp and Medicaid benefits by assuming that the earnings reported to the UI system represent a family's quarterly income (See Appendix 1.)

Several important limitations must be kept in mind in interpreting our results. We have data only on public assistance received in Wisconsin and on earnings reported to the Wisconsin UI system. Hence, we have no information on individuals who moved out of state, no measures of earnings of individuals in Wisconsin who are self-employed or in other employment not covered by the UI system (covered workers include about 91 percent of official Wisconsin workers).⁹ We do have measures of the earnings of other adults living in the household of the leavers (as they enter or leave the unit from either the AFDC or FS case from the CARES system), but not of other income sources such as property income, or of other adults living in the household but not reported in the CARES system.¹⁰ For our sample, these other income sources would have to be nontrivial (\$2,500–\$3,000 per quarter) to push the typical household past the eligibility threshold for Food Stamps. Because the nonearnings sources of income are unknown but presumably small for this population, we believe that the degree of overstatement in our estimate of

⁹For the 1995 cohort, 17.5 percent of the households had no earnings recorded in the UI system during the first year after exit from AFDC. Of these, 48.7 percent also do not receive any other services (AFDC, food stamps, or Medicaid), suggesting that they may have left the state. For the 1997 cohort, there are 15 percent with no reported earnings during the year. Of these, 24.3 percent also do not receive other services.

¹⁰During the first year after exit the percentage of households in which we observe earnings of household members other than the mother range from a low of 8.4 percent in the first quarter after exit to a high of 10.7 percent in the fourth quarter after exit for the 1995 cohort. For the 1997 cohort the range is from 6.9 percent in the first quarter after exit to 10.2 percent in the fourth quarter after exit.

the eligible population from this source is not substantial.¹¹ Because the UI data are quarterly while eligibility is based on monthly income, we make the simplifying assumption that the household's earnings are equally distributed over the 3 month period. This may result in overestimates of the population ever eligible, and some inaccuracy in defining the period of eligibility.¹² Although we have no way to estimate assets, the value of which may lead some low income families to be ineligible for Food Stamps or Medicaid, Zedlewski, and Brauner (1999) estimate that very few income-eligible families are made ineligible by the assets test.

As noted above, eligibility for legal immigrants under the Food Stamp program changed substantially over this period (see note 3). Because eligibility policies for legal immigrants changed so much between our 1995 and 1997 samples, and because we are unable to determine if or when immigrants obtain citizenship, we have omitted the 1.8 percent of leavers who were coded as non-citizens at the time of welfare entry from the 1995 cohort, and the 3 percent of leavers who were coded as non-citizens in the 1997 cohort.

¹¹Evidence on the proportion of household income that is captured by the earnings of household members is found in Moffitt and Roff (2000) and Isaacs and Lyon (2000). Their estimates indicate that the sum of adult earnings in the households of the leavers accounts for about 75–80 percent of total household income, with public transfer income accounting for nearly all of the remainder. Because we take into account the value of Food Stamps in our measure of income and because we include all of the leavers household receiving Food Stamps or Medicaid in the pool of eligibles, we conclude that our estimate of the size of the eligible population is not substantially greater than the true pool of eligibles. See also Freedman et al. (2000), which contains information from the National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies on the sources of income of leavers, and on the extent to which they live with others with income. Rolston (2000) notes the difficulties inherent in inferring overall family well-being based only on the earnings data that are available from administrative sources.

¹²For example, we may declare a family to be eligible for the entire period when they are only eligible for one or two months, or find a family not eligible when they are eligible for a part of a quarter.

V. WELFARE PARTICIPANTS AND EARLY AND LATE LEAVERS: SOME COMPARISONS OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS AND LEAVERS

Before considering benefit utilization patterns for the groups of 1995 and 1997 leavers, we first review the characteristics of the entire population of citizen welfare recipients in each period, and the probability that those with various characteristics left cash assistance.¹³ The first column of Table 1 shows the characteristics of the 48,197 women meeting the sample criteria who received cash welfare in September 1995 (See Appendix 1 for sample criteria), and the third column shows the characteristics of the much smaller group of 19,738 women receiving benefits two years later, on the eve of the implementation of W-2. We count as “leavers” those who exit cash assistance within three months of our initial observation, and remain off the welfare caseload for at least two consecutive months.¹⁴ While 16 percent of AFDC participants in September 1995 left the program in the next three months, a 40 percent rate is recorded for recipients as of September 1997.

Although the characteristics of the two groups of recipients (and the two groups of leavers) are fairly similar, the 1997 leavers have more barriers to employment than the 1995 leavers.¹⁵ This reflects the characteristics of all recipients in 1997, as well as the higher rates of exit among less employable recipients in the later year. The 1997 leavers included a higher proportion of women who are less likely to achieve self-sustaining employment, including those:

- without a high school degree (45 percent vs. 33 percent)
- caring for more children (34 percent with 3 or more children vs. 23 percent)
- in families with more very young children (27 percent with a child less than age 1 vs. 15 percent).

¹³These comparisons are somewhat similar to those in Cancian et al. (2000). Here, however, we exclude 1413 non-citizens in 1995 and 870 in 1997.

¹⁴Our sample includes both those who did and who did not return to welfare within the next calendar year.

¹⁵See Cancian et al. 2000 for a discussion of the factors associated with employment and earnings.

- living in Milwaukee County (56 vs. 39 percent) and
- who are African-American (46 percent vs. 31 percent)

In other respects, the prospects of those leaving welfare in 1997 were similar to or only a little worse than those leaving in 1995. For example, the 1997 leavers were less likely to have recently entered welfare (21 percent entered within the last three months, compared to 28 percent for the 1995 leavers). They also had a little less recent work experience: (14 percent with earnings in all quarters in the prior two years vs. 19 percent).

VI. BENEFIT RECEIPT IN THE YEAR AFTER LEAVING WELFARE FOR TWO COHORTS

Table 2 compares the patterns of benefit receipt of the two cohorts in the year after exiting welfare. The top line for each cohort shows the percentage of leavers who return to TANF/AFDC after leaving the rolls. A somewhat lower percentage of women in the later cohort of leavers return to receipt of cash benefit sometime during the 12 months following exit—25 percent vs. 29 percent.¹⁶ Among those who return, however, the amount of cash benefits received is about \$1,000 per year (or about 50 percent) higher in the second cohort. In part, this reflects the higher W-2 benefits for families with one or two children (effective in 1997) relative to the maximum benefits available in 1995.

The next panel in Table 2 shows the participation and benefit patterns of families eligible for Food Stamps. While 60 percent of 1995 eligible leavers received Food Stamp benefits during the first year after leaving, 82 percent of eligible 1997 leavers were Food Stamp recipients. One reason for the greater take-up among the 1997 leavers may be that because they had lower income, they were eligible

¹⁶About 18 percent of leavers receive cash benefits in most of the four quarters after leaving in the 1995 group. This percentage falls to about 15 percent in the 1997 group.

for larger amounts of Food Stamp benefits.¹⁷ (In a companion paper examining earnings and income, we find that earnings and income among leavers in the later cohort were substantially lower than in the early cohort [Cancian et al., 2000].) Because a somewhat lower percentage of the later cohort were receiving cash benefits, the increase in Food Stamp take-up is probably not attributable to a return to cash benefits and the implicit connection (no longer automatic under TANF, but still structural) to Food Stamps which cash benefits entail. For both groups, the percentage of eligible leavers who received Food Stamps fell over the four quarters after welfare exit, but the decline was modest—from 50 percent to 44 percent for the 1995 cohort, and from 75 to 65 percent for the 1997 leavers.

This pattern of participation is also shown in Figure 1, which shows the distribution of Food Stamp participants, eligible nonparticipants, and ineligible for each quarter during the first three years after leaving welfare for the 1995 cohort and the first year after leaving for the 1997 cohort. The share of leavers who are participating declines fairly consistently across the three-year period for the 1995 cohort, and also declines in the 1997 cohort. The declines are generally offset by increases in the share not eligible; the percent eligible but not participating is fairly stable over time—though for the 1997 cohort, the nonparticipation rate increases from 25 percent to 32 percent over the four quarters.

While the 1995 cohort averaged about \$1,300 in Food Stamp benefits, the benefits for the 1997 cohort were over \$1,900, a substantial increase. However, while the level of quarterly Food Stamp benefits rose modestly over the year for the earlier cohort (from \$436 in the first quarter to \$477 in the fourth quarter), they fell for those in the 1997 cohort of leavers (from \$648 to \$572 over the first four quarters after leaving).

¹⁷In future work, we plan to add the estimated amount of potential benefits into models of whether the leavers participate in benefits. The amount of benefits received by participants did increase: in constant 1998 dollars, the average Food Stamp benefit (for those receiving Food Stamps) over the year after exit was 44 percent higher (\$1,925 compared to \$1,339) for the 1997 cohort than the 1995 cohort. The differences are generally smaller controlling for family size, [\$1,043 versus \$953 (9 percent) for families with one child; \$1,728 versus \$1,366 (27 percent) for families with two children, and \$2,818 compared to \$1,943 (45 percent) for families with three or more children] but substantial nonetheless.

The third panel of Table 2 shows that the take-up rate in the Medicaid program¹⁸ also increased between the two cohorts, though not by as much as the take-up rate in the Food Stamp program. About 80 percent of the 1995 eligible leaver participated in Medicaid at some point during the year after exit. This increased to 92 percent of the 1997 eligible leavers. The Medicaid take-up rate decreased over the first year after leaving for both cohorts—from 75 percent in the first quarter after exit to 63 percent in the fourth quarter after exit for the early cohort, and from 89 to 82 percent for the later cohort.

Figures 2 and 3 show the patterns of Medicaid eligibility and participation for case heads and children for both the 1995 and 1997 groups of leavers. Both figures show substantial declines in participation over the period, and increases in the proportion not eligible. Figure 2 shows that those adults eligible, but not participating, in the Medicaid program rose from 34 to 42 percent during the 12 quarters after exit for the 1995 cohort, and remained fairly steady at about 24 percent over the first four quarters after exit for the 1997 cohort.¹⁹ However, Figure 3 reveals that children in the 1995 cohort eligible for, but not participating in, Medicaid increased as a percentage of the distribution, from 26 percent in the first quarter after exit to 50 percent in the 12th quarter. For the 1997 cohort, there is also an increase in the proportion of children eligible for but not participating in Medicaid from 11 percent to 19 percent over the four quarters.

In general, the results reported in Table 2 indicate substantial post-exit take-up of noncash benefits in both the 1995 and 1997 group of leavers. These take-up rates are substantially greater than

¹⁸Note that take-up refers to obtaining a card showing Medicaid eligibility, not necessarily receipt of services under the program. Note also that children born after September 1983 are eligible for Medicaid as long as their family income is less than the poverty line. Because of this factor, more individuals will be income-eligible in the second cohort than the first, and this could increase overall take-up rates.

¹⁹The decline in participation in the first quarter of 1997 may be an artifact of a computer error. In late March, 1997, as the Department of Workforce Development (DWD) prepared its administrative data systems for full W-2 implementation, the Department “delinked” the CARES determination of eligibility for Medicaid from the determination of eligibility for AFDC and W-2. Unfortunately, the necessary programming was incomplete and resulted in incorrect denial of Medicaid for some participants who had earned income. The sudden decline in the caseload was noted by the Department of Health and Family Services as well as DWD. In April or early May, 1997, the two agencies discovered the cause of the problem and issued directions to county workers on how to “work around” the error in CARES to ensure accurate determination of Medicaid eligibility. In September, 1997, the programming in CARES was corrected.

those reported in other studies.²⁰ The take-up rate for the 1997 group of leavers is substantially greater than that for the 1995 cohort.

It is possible to compare our results with a limited number of other estimates of Food Stamp and Medicaid take-up after exit. Like our study, Zedlewski and Brauner (1999) also report Food Stamp participation rates among those who are eligible. However, their estimates are based on survey information from the National Survey of America's Families (NSAF) for the whole United States, as compared to our Wisconsin data based on administrative records.²¹ Zedlewski and Brauner report that 42 percent of eligible leavers received Food Stamps in the month of their interview in 1997. This compares to our quarterly Wisconsin figures indicating participation rates from 44–50 percent for those who left in 1995, and rates of 65–75 percent for those who left in 1997. Because families may have received Food Stamps in one or two rather than all three months, the 1995 quarterly figures seem roughly consistent with 42 percent monthly rates reported by Zedlewski and Brauner.²² The high take-up rates for the 1997 cohort are substantially greater than the 42 percent rate based on NSAF data. Ten studies funded by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services also report on Food Stamp participation after exit from welfare. In most of these studies, between one-third and one-half of leavers received Food Stamps immediately after exit, and between one-fifth and two-fifth of the families participated in Food Stamps a year after exit.²³

²⁰While our take-up rates are reported over the eligible population, those of other studies are typically over the entire group of leavers. As Table 2 indicates, however, annual take-up rates over all leavers are only slightly lower than those measured over the eligible leavers—from 1.4 to 2.4 percentage points for Food Stamps, and less than one percentage point for Medicaid cases.

²¹Respondents in the NSAF were asked for their current Food Stamp participation status at the time of the interview. We use administrative records to indicate whether leavers participated over time by calendar quarter after welfare exit.

²²Earnings from Unemployment Insurance records are available only by calendar quarter, which requires that calculations of eligibility for Food Stamps using these data be performed by calendar quarter. Actual participation in the Food Stamp program is, however, a monthly event, and we have considered a family to be participating in the program if it did so in any of the three months of a quarter. It is more likely that a family would be participating in at least one of three months of a quarter than in the particular month in which they are surveyed.

²³Since these studies use all leavers rather than just eligible leavers, the percentage receiving benefits is expected to be somewhat lower than in studies using only the eligible population.

For Medicaid, Garrett and Holohan (2000) report that 56 percent of women (regardless of eligibility) who left welfare within six months before their NSAF interview reported current Medicaid participation. This figure is quite similar to our finding of a Medicaid participation rate for 1995 case heads of 63 percent in at least one month in the first quarter after leaving (and 62 percent in the second quarter). After the first six months, however, the Wisconsin and national findings diverge: Garrett and Holohan report that between 6 and 12 months after exit, 35 percent of women leavers participated in Medicaid, whereas we find participation rates among case heads of 59 percent and 57 percent in quarters three and four.²⁴ Our first and second quarter take-up rates of about 75 percent for eligible case heads in the 1997 cohort of leavers is again substantially greater than those found in the NSAF data. The DHHS-funded projects generally reported Medicaid participation rates of around 40 percent in the fourth quarter after exit.

VII. PREDICTORS OF FOOD STAMP AND MEDICAID TAKE-UP

In this section, we examine the relationship of a number of family characteristics to the take-up of noncash benefits, using a multivariate descriptive model. Table 3 summarizes the results of probit analyses of benefit receipt among cases which left cash welfare and were eligible at any point during the year after exit for noncash benefits. We show separate results for both the 1995 and 1997 groups of leavers, and also show whether the coefficients for 1995 and 1997 differ. The first set of columns summarizes results for Food Stamp benefit reciprocity; the second set presents results for receipt of Medicaid benefits by any member of a welfare leaver's household; the third and fourth sets show results for receipt of Medicaid by a casehead and by any child in the case.²⁵

²⁴Similar trends between the two studies exist for children, where both studies find similar participation rates in the first 6 months after welfare exit, but a divergence after that in the direction of higher rates of Medicaid participation.

²⁵The detailed probit estimates that are summarized in Table 3 are presented in Appendix 2.

Consider first the Food Stamp results. For both the early and the late group of leavers, a similar set of variables are related to Food Stamp participation:

- being African American (+, 1995 only)
- having more than one child (+)
- other adults in the household (-)
- having a child on SSI benefits (-)
- having more quarters of employment in the two years before leaving welfare (+)
- having more months of AFDC in the two years before leaving (+)
- having more than one spell of AFDC in the last two years (+, 1995 only)
- the percentage of female-headed households in the neighborhood (+, 1997 only)
- the number of quarters of eligibility for Food Stamps (+)

The remaining columns show results for Medicaid take-up for any person in the household, case heads and children. Many of the patterns observed for Food Stamp take-up are seen in these columns as well. However, a few differences do exist. While the respondent's years of schooling was not significantly related to the probability of Food Stamp receipt, it is positively related to the probability of Medicaid use by the mother. Moreover, race is not significantly related to the probability of Medicaid receipt. Finally, while age of the youngest child is not significantly related to Food Stamp use, it is related to Medicaid use: children are more likely to be covered in families with younger children, a pattern consistent with Medicaid eligibility rules.

The positive relationship between the number of previous quarters in the labor force and the probability of receiving Food Stamps or Medicaid is interesting. Note also that the number of months receiving welfare in the previous two years has a positive relationship to receiving noncash benefits. There are a number of potential welfare/work trajectories that might explain these findings. One is that there may be a confluence of factors which causes some women to cycle in and out of the labor force while moving in and out of welfare receipt. This could be due to difficulties in holding a job once one is

obtained, necessitating repeated returns to welfare. Or it may be related to the work or living patterns of a partner, spouse or other adult, who may move in and out of the house or in and out of the labor force, resulting in complex patterns of welfare receipt and work by the woman. We would also expect women who exhibit this kind of cycling to understand what benefits are available and how to access them.

Women who combined work and welfare in the past might continue to do so—thus even after they leave AFDC for work, they continue to receive noncash benefits, even as they have received cash benefits while working. We test this possibility by creating variables that reflect the number of prior quarters with both earnings and AFDC. The results of the test support our conjecture—the number of prior quarters with both work and welfare is positively and significantly related to the probability of receiving Food Stamps or Medicaid after leaving AFDC. An additional dynamic may be related to the work requirements of the Food Stamp Employment and Training program: unemployed leavers are subject to FSET's work requirements. Women who left W-2 rather than comply with W-2's work requirements may also choose not to receive FS because of the similar work requirements. Finally, those who leave AFDC for reasons other than work (or child support) are ineligible for the Medicaid extension.

The patterns shown in our base model in Table 3 (and Appendix 2, which contains the probit estimates themselves) describe the direction of the relationship between a number of household characteristics and the statistical significance of these relationships. However, because the results are based on probit estimations, it is not easy to determine the magnitude of the effects implicit in the coefficients. In Table 4, we present simulation results describing the probability of benefit take-up during the first year after leaving welfare for a number of household types, identified by race, schooling, location, number of children, age of youngest child, prior welfare receipt, and quarters of eligibility. Probabilities of take-up are shown for Food Stamps, Medicaid receipt by the case head, and Medicaid receipt by any child in the family.

The patterns in Table 4 illustrate the prior results. In the first panel, the likelihood of Food Stamp benefit receipt is shown. The likelihood of receipt for a prototypical African-American living in

Milwaukee is about 18 percentage points higher for the 1997 group of leavers, than for the 1995 cohort. The estimate for a Caucasian woman with the same other characteristics is somewhat lower in 1995 (by 6 percentage points), but differs by only 1 percentage point in 1997. If this Caucasian woman were living in a rural area (as opposed to Milwaukee), her estimated probability of receiving Food Stamps would be even lower. Returning to the African American woman in Milwaukee, the most important quantitative effects simulated are for not working in the prior two years (-16 percentage points in 1995; -5 percentage points in 1997), and welfare receipt of less than 6 months in the prior two years (-12 percentage points in 1995; -7 percentage points in 1997). Finally, those eligible for only one quarter of the year are substantially less likely to receive benefits than those eligible all four quarters (the base case).

As noted above, the independent effects of education, race, and location on the probability of Medicaid participation sometimes differ from that for Food Stamps, but again the effects are modest. For both the case head and any child, and for both 1995 and 1997, the largest effects on the probability of receipt are for the prior work experience, length of welfare receipt variables, and number of quarters of eligibility. For the 1995 cohort, not working during the prior two years decreases the likelihood of the mother receiving Medicaid benefits by almost 24 percentage points, while having received welfare for less than 6 months in the prior two years reduces the likelihood of receiving Medicaid benefits by about 16 percentage points. These prior work and welfare experience effects are present for the 1997 cohort as well, but are less substantial there.²⁶

Local administrative practice may also affect participation in Food Stamps and Medicaid. In particular, what case managers say about Medicaid and Food Stamps at exit and at required recertifications and, for working people, the convenience of recertification (such as weekend or evening

²⁶The difference in effects between the two cohorts could be due to behavioral responses to changes in labor markets or income support policy, or to differences in underlying characteristics not captured in the observed variables included in the models. We ran the model over the combined 1995 and 1997 samples, and then applied a likelihood ratio test of the difference in coefficients between the two groups. This test indicates that the relationship between background characteristics and take-up is different between the two time periods, and this is true for both Food Stamps and Medicaid. The results of this test are available from the authors.

office hours) may affect the choice of whether or not to participate.²⁷ Our results provide some evidence of county variation in take-up rates, even after controlling for the composition of the caseload and some indicators of county characteristics. Linking administrative practices to take-up rates (perhaps following field observation of local administrative practice) might be important in further exploring the role of administrative practice in encouraging or discouraging the take-up of benefits.

VIII. LONGER TERM TAKE-UP OF BENEFITS

Over longer periods of time, we would expect to see mothers who leave welfare increase their success in the labor market, or to change family composition in ways that lead to a loss of eligibility for benefits. Such a loss of eligibility can be viewed as a successful transition out of welfare dependency. However, among those leavers with less success in the labor market or who otherwise remain eligible for benefits, success may imply higher rates of noncash benefit take-up. Thus, separating out the eligible and ineligible populations becomes more critical with time.

In Table 5, we show the pattern of benefit receipt over three years for the 1995 cohort. The first panel shows the steady decline in the proportion of the leavers cohort who receive cash benefits—from 29 percent during the first year after exit to less than eight percent three years after exit. However, the dollar amount received by those with benefits increases, reflecting the increase in cash benefits under TANF for smaller families.

The eligibility and take-up rates for Food Stamps and Medicaid are shown in the remaining panels of Table 5. These figures show that over time a decreasing share of these leavers are eligible for

²⁷Under statewide policy, recertification is now required quarterly for Food Stamps and annually for Medicaid. For routine cases, every other Food Stamp recertification may be accomplished by phone contact; the intervening recertifications require in-person contact. The annual Medicaid recertifications must be conducted in person. The state's policy for FS recertification changed in 1999; prior to that (in 1995 and 1997) Food Stamp recertification required in-person contact every six months. Medicaid recertification policies are largely unchanged in recent years; in 1995 and 1997, Medicaid recertifications for most cases required annual in person reviews.

these benefits.²⁸ For Food Stamps, the percent of cases that are eligible falls from 96 percent in the first year to 89 percent by the third year after leaving. For Medicaid, the decrease is smaller—from 99 percent of cases to 95 percent.²⁹ Among those that remain eligible, the take-up rates for both forms of benefits also falls. While 60 percent of eligible cases received Food Stamp benefits in the first year after leaving, only 40 percent of these leavers were Food Stamp recipients by the third year. For eligible Medicaid recipients, the reductions are even larger—from 70 percent to 36 percent for case heads, and from 79 percent to 51 percent for eligible children.³⁰ The mean amount of Food Stamp benefits received also falls over time, from \$1339 in the first year to \$1168 by year three.

These participation patterns are consistent with increases in income over time, one of the findings of previous research on the income patterns of welfare leavers (Cancian et al., 2000; Meyer and Cancian, 1998). Increases in income over time would reduce both eligibility for Food Stamps and the amount of benefits for which individuals are eligible (which would then reduce the incentive to apply for benefits). Decreasing participation over time is also consistent with an increasing lack of access to offices that certify benefit eligibility, high transaction costs, or other administrative barriers. Similarly, the reduction in the amount of Food Stamp benefits received may reflect an increase in incomes, or the negative effect of higher incomes on the value of Food Stamp benefits, or other factors. Since the value of Medicaid is constant over income levels among those eligible (unlike the value of Food Stamps), the steady decline in the take-up of Medicaid is perhaps more surprising. Part of the explanation for the observed decline may be that some of these families obtain private employer-based coverage, but this factor is not likely to account for all of this decrease. The explanation may also lie in some combination of high transaction

²⁸For comparison, the Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development reports that of the 73,204 families receiving AFDC in April 1995, 83 percent were also receiving Food Stamps and 99.4 percent were receiving Medicaid. In April 1997 there were 40,849 families receiving AFDC, 82 percent of whom were also receiving Food Stamps, and 99.6 percent of whom were receiving Medicaid.

²⁹However, for the heads of these families, the percentage of leavers who are eligible falls from 96 percent to 80 percent over the three years.

³⁰The pattern is similar across the three age groups shown in the table: 1–5 years, 6–14 years and 15–18 years.

costs to establish eligibility, lack of knowledge, limited access to care under Medicaid providers in the community in which they live, or other administrative obstacles. Finally, it may be that the portion of family income captured by our administrative data declines overtime—for example, if women marry we do not capture spouses earnings, and thus may mismeasure eligibility. More research is clearly needed to understand these patterns.

IX. CONCLUSION

The results of our analysis suggest several conclusions. Here we summarize the more salient.

1. Take-up increased among leavers between 1995 and 1997. Although the overall declines in Food Stamp caseloads have generated much attention in Wisconsin, these declines do not appear to be attributable to declining rates of participation in these programs among leavers in the first year after leaving cash welfare. This result is not particularly surprising in that AFDC leavers do not comprise a large proportion of the Food Stamp caseload. Zedlewski and Brauner (1999) examine national data on Food Stamp recipients in 1997 and report that about half the caseload involves individuals simultaneously receiving TANF, about 40 percent involves individuals who have not received AFDC/TANF since 1995, and only about 10 percent involves those who left AFDC/TANF.

The increasing rate of take-up among welfare leavers in Wisconsin in 1997 is in contrast to anecdotal reports which suggest that some individuals were not being told about their ongoing eligibility for Food Stamps and Medicaid in the later period. Perhaps this is related to these leavers having lower income, which would increase the number who are eligible for Food Stamps and would also make them eligible for higher amounts (which could then increase take-up). In our ongoing work, we are examining the relationship between the amount of benefits a leaver is eligible for and take-up.

2. There is some evidence that working while still receiving cash benefits is positively associated with take-up of noncash benefits after the cash grant ends. It may be that people become accustomed to

combining work and the noncash benefits, and that the familiarity of doing so carries over after cash benefits terminate. If this is so, a policy of allowing people to work and simultaneously receive cash benefits might stimulate Medicaid and Food Stamp participation after all cash benefits end.

3. The take-up of benefits appears to decline substantially over time even among those who remain eligible for them. In the case of Food Stamps, it may be that those who are eligible for small amounts of Food Stamps do not collect them, but it may also be that there exist substantial barriers to obtaining the benefits for which they are eligible. It is also possible that our measures of income are less complete in later years, leading us to misclassify a growing portion of leavers as eligible. The drop off to a Medicaid take-up rate of about 50 percent for eligible children suggests potential problems in the access to health care for the families of these children.

Appendix 1

Sample Definition

We extracted data from the CARES database for all 65,823 AFDC-Regular recipients in Wisconsin in September 1995 and all 30,980 recipients of either AFDC-Regular or W-2 cash benefits in Wisconsin in September 1997. For both samples, we excluded cases in which there were no children identified in the assistance group (n=716, 1995; n=195, 1997), cases in which the children are not cared for by a parent (n=6,165, 1995; n=3,543, 1997), cases in which the case head was receiving Supplement Security Income (SSI) (n=6,269, 1995; n=5,516, 1997), cases in which the case head was less than 18 or more than 65 years old (n=294, 1995; n=91, 1997), cases in which the case head was a male (n=1,679, 1995; n=504, 1997), cases with two parents present in the household (n=482, 1995; n=136, 1997), and cases which were open in September but received \$0 in cash benefits in both September and October (n=613, 1995; n=387, 1997). Because of the change in eligibility for legal immigrants between 1995 and 1997 we also excluded cases in which any household member was not a US citizen from our analysis (n=1,408, 1995; n=870, 1997).

This results in final sample sizes of 48,197 for the 1995 cohort, and 19,738 for the 1997 cohort. Most of the analyses in this report are performed on the subset of each cohort that left cash assistance in the fourth quarter of the year (the leavers). Specifically, leavers are defined as those who received \$0 in cash assistance for two consecutive months between October and January. By this definition there were 7,879 leavers in the 1995 cohort and 7,828 leavers in the 1997 cohort.

Unlike some earlier reports on welfare leavers in Wisconsin (e.g., Cancian, Haveman, Kaplan, and Wolfe, 1999) we include *all* leavers, even those who do not appear in any administrative records after leaving welfare (“disappearers”). Thus these results are comparable in this respect to DHHS leavers’ studies in other states.

Demographic Variables

The demographic variables were taken from the CARES database and reflect the characteristics as of September 1995/1997. These variables include mother’s age, mother’s education level, mother’s race, the number of own and foster children in the household, the age of the youngest child in the household, the presence of other household members who are not part of the AFDC case, SSI status of children, and county of residence. For analysis purposes the counties are grouped as follows: Milwaukee County, other urban counties (Brown, Calumet, Chippewa, Dane Douglas, Eau Claire, Kenosha, La Crosse, Marathon, Outagamie, Ozaukee, Pierce, Racine, Rock, St. Croix, Sheboygan, Washington, Waukesha, and Winnebago), and rural counties (all other counties).

Earnings Variables

Earnings information came from the state Unemployment Insurance database. We have information on quarterly earnings of each household member from first quarter 1993 through fourth quarter 1998. These data were used to calculate the number of quarters the mother worked in the two years before we observe her (fourth quarter 1993 through third quarter 1995 for the 1995 cohort and fourth quarter 1995 through third quarter 1997 for the 1997 cohort) as well as her total earnings during this period. We also calculated total household earnings in each of the four quarters after exit for the 1997 cohort and in each of the 12 quarters after exit for the 1995 cohort. This information is used to estimate Food Stamp and Medicaid eligibility in the quarters after exit as described below.

Food Stamp Variables

Information on Food Stamp receipt for all household members in our samples was obtained from the CARES database. This information was obtained for the period July 1995 through December 1998 for the 1995 cohort and the period July 1997 through December 1998 for the 1997 cohort. These data were used to determine whether anyone in the household was receiving assistance in each of the quarters following exit, as well as the total amount of Food Stamp benefits received by the household.

Medicaid Variables

Information on Medicaid receipt for all household members in our samples was obtained from the CARES database. This information was obtained for the period July 1995 through December 1998 for the 1995 cohort and the period July 1997 through December 1998 for the 1997 cohort. These data were used to determine whether anyone in the household was receiving assistance in each of the quarters following exit.³¹

Geographic Variables

The percentage of female-headed households in the zipcode of residence was taken from the 1990 census zipcode-level database, STF3B.

Monthly county-level unemployment rates are from the Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development, Local Area Unemployment Statistics. The reported unemployment rates are for the entire county. For members of our samples who reside on an Indian reservation, unemployment rates for the following counties were used:

Indian Reservation	County Unemployment Rate Used
Red Cliff	Bayfield
Stockbridge Munsee	Shawano
Lac du Flambeau	Vilas
Bad River	Ashland
Oneida	Green Bay MSA

Estimation of Eligibility for Food Stamps and Medicaid

A household is considered to be eligible for Food Stamps in a given quarter if the total earnings of all household members, as reported in the Wisconsin State Unemployment Insurance (UI) database, are less than 130 percent of the federal poverty level. If a household was determined not to be eligible by this standard in a given quarter, but did receive Food Stamps during the quarter, the data was corrected to reflect that the family was eligible for Food Stamps. This occurred in between 1.6 and 3.4 percent of cases each quarter. This is due to our assumption that a family’s earnings are spread evenly across the quarter, whereas a family may have actually had very little earnings in one month, making them eligible to receive Food Stamps in that month.

³¹Note that receipt of Medicaid only indicates the person obtained a Medicaid card, not that they actually received medical services paid for by Medicaid.

We calculated Medicaid eligibility for each household member based on the poverty-related criteria for eligibility. We do not have data available to estimate eligibility under the more lenient medically-needy categories of eligibility. Household earnings were calculated as the total earnings reported in the UI database with deductions of \$90/month for work expenses and \$30/month plus 1/3 of the remainder earnings disregarded.³² (Note that From October 1995 through August 1997 a person who was not eligible for AFDC did not receive the \$30 plus 1/3 disregard. Since we do not know whether each person is eligible for AFDC, we use the \$30 plus 1/3 disregard for everyone. We also estimated eligibility using only the \$90/month deduction and found that the change in our estimates was insignificant.)

Based on these earnings, adults are eligible if household income is less than the amounts listed in Table A1. Pregnant women³³ and children up to age six are eligible if household income is less than 185 percent of the federal poverty level. Children between the ages of six and 19 born after September 30, 1983 are eligible if household income is less than 100 percent of the federal poverty level. If a person was determined not to be eligible by this standard in a given quarter, but did receive Medicaid during the quarter, the data was corrected to reflect that the person was eligible for Medicaid. This occurred in between 1.9 and 6.5 percent of cases each quarter. About half of these cases were eligible for a twelve month extension of their Medicaid benefits after obtaining work. The other cases are a combination of people who were eligible under the medically-needy categories and the result of our smoothing a family's earnings over the three months during a quarter.

Table A1.

<u>Family Size</u>	<u>Maximum Monthly Income</u>
1	\$311
2	550
3	647
4	772
5	886
6	958
7	1,037
8	1,099

³²From October 1995 through August 1997 a person who was not eligible for AFDC did not receive the \$30 plus 1/3 disregard. Since we do not know whether each person is eligible for AFDC, we use the \$30 plus 1/3 disregard for everyone. We also estimated eligibility with only the \$90/month deduction and found that the change in our estimates was insignificant.

³³We do not have data indicating that a woman is pregnant. Therefore, mothers are assumed to be pregnant for the two quarters preceding the addition of a child into the household.

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Table 1: Characteristics of the AFDC-Regular Caseload in Wisconsin-US Citizens Only

	1995		1997	
	All Cases	Leavers	All Cases	Leavers
Total (N)	48,197	7,879	19,738	7,828
Percent		16.3		39.7
Region				
Milwaukee	55.0	38.9	75.7	56.3
Other Urban	29.1	36.4	16.8	29.7
Rural	15.9	24.7	7.5	14.1
Casehead's Age				
18-24	36.3	32.3	38.0	38.4
25-29	23.9	24.1	22.5	23.4
30-39	32.2	34.9	30.6	30.3
40+	7.6	8.7	8.9	7.9
Education				
<11 Years	22.8	18.0	27.3	22.6
11 years	19.7	15.0	25.8	22.3
12 Years	42.9	48.3	37.1	42.0
>12 Years	14.6	18.6	9.8	13.1
Race				
White	41.4	54.5	22.9	35.9
African American	43.3	30.9	59.6	45.7
Hispanic	6.2	5.9	6.8	7.3
Other	3.1	3.2	2.5	3.6
Unknown	6.1	5.5	8.2	7.5
Number of Own and Foster Children				
1	39.1	46.9	33.1	35.6
2	30.0	30.3	29.2	30.1
3+	30.9	22.8	37.7	34.3
Age of Youngest Child				
<1	18.4	14.5	23.7	27.1
1	17.0	13.9	17.6	16.8
2	13.0	12.6	11.1	10.0
3 to 5	24.2	26.0	21.6	20.8
6 to 11	19.5	22.5	18.7	18.3
12 to 18	7.8	10.4	7.4	6.9
Other Household Members				
Other Children Only	2.4	1.7	3.9	3.0
Other Adults Only	20.4	23.0	17.9	19.0
Other Adults and Other Children	7.3	8.0	7.1	7.2
Child on SSI				
	9.2	6.4	11.8	8.8
Start of Current Spell (Months before Sept., 1995/1997)¹				
0-3 months	14.7	27.6	17.3	21.1
4-6 months	6.7	10.3	10.0	11.9
7-9 months	5.2	6.5	6.8	7.7
10-12 months	4.4	5.4	5.2	6.1
13-18 months	7.1	7.0	6.3	6.6
19-24 months	6.1	5.2	4.5	4.7
more than 24 months	55.9	38.0	49.9	41.9
Number of Months Received Welfare in Previous Two Years¹				
6 months or less	9.7	15.9	8.5	12.6
7-12 months	9.0	13.3	9.3	11.8
13-18 months	12.0	17.0	14.5	16.4
19-24 months	69.3	53.8	67.7	59.2
Number of Quarters with Earnings in Previous Two Years¹				
None	27.7	13.9	20.4	12.6
1-3 quarters	32.3	29.1	34.9	33.8
4-7 quarters	29.8	37.5	35.0	39.7
8 quarters	10.2	19.4	9.7	13.9
Total Earnings in Previous Two Years¹				
<\$500	38.1	20.1	31.8	21.4
\$500-\$2,499	19.0	15.7	22.3	21.7
\$2,500-\$7,499	21.1	25.5	24.5	28.2
\$7,500 or more	21.7	38.7	21.5	28.7

¹Sample for the 1995 cohort includes caseheads who were 18 or older in October, 1993 (N=44,7161 total and 7,452 leavers); sample for the 1997 cohort includes those 18 or older in October 1995 (N=17,854 total and 7,113 leavers). Previous two years is October, 1993 through September, 1995 for the 1995 cohort, and October 1995 through September, 1997 for the 1997 cohort.

Table 2: Benefit Receipt of Leavers in Year After Exit - US Citizens Only (1998 Dollars)

	Quarter before Exit	1st Quarter after Exit	2nd Quarter after Exit	3rd Quarter after Exit	4th Quarter after Exit	Year after Exit
All Leavers (4th Q 1995 N=7,879)						
Percent Receiving AFDC/TANF	100.0	17.6	18.5	18.0	16.2	29.1
Mean AFDC/TANF Amount for Recipients	\$1,111	\$660	\$866	\$926	\$970	\$2,055
Percent Receiving Food Stamps	90.3	45.9	43.3	39.6	37.5	57.7
Percent of Cases Eligible to Receive Food Stamps	99.9	91.4	89.3	88.2	85.3	96.0
Percent of those Eligible Receiving Food Stamps	90.4	50.2	48.5	44.9	44.0	60.1
Mean Food Stamp Amount for Recipients	\$578	\$436	\$468	\$482	\$477	\$1,339
Percent of Cases Receiving Medicaid	100.0	74.1	68.6	65.8	61.0	79.7
Percent of Cases Eligible to Receive Medicaid	100.0	98.8	98.1	97.8	96.3	99.6
Percent of Eligible Cases Receiving Medicaid	100.0	75.0	70.0	67.3	63.3	80.0
Percent of Caseheads Receiving Medicaid	98.5	57.9	54.9	52.4	47.1	67.2
Percent of Caseheads Eligible to Receive Medicaid	99.7	91.4	89.0	88.2	83.1	95.9
Percent of Eligible Caseheads Receiving Medicaid	98.7	63.4	61.7	59.4	56.6	70.1
Percent of Cases with Eligible Children Receiving Medicaid	100.0	74.5	69.4	66.7	62.8	79.4
Less than 1 year	99.8	76.6	79.4	79.0	NA	78.6
1-5 years	99.6	73.0	67.5	64.9	60.9	77.6
6-14 years	99.7	74.6	69.2	67.0	63.4	78.1
15-18 years	98.4	74.4	69.5	67.8	68.1	77.9
All Leavers (4th Q 1997 N=7,828)						
Percent Receiving AFDC/TANF	100.0	13.6	16.5	17.3	15.3	25
Mean AFDC/TANF Amount for Recipients	\$1,145	\$1,046	\$1,292	\$1,275	\$1,221	\$3,047
Percent Receiving Food Stamps	91.8	72.2	66.3	62.1	59.2	80.8
Percent of Cases Eligible to Receive Food Stamps	99.9	96.7	94.9	93.6	91.0	98.3
Percent of those Eligible Receiving Food Stamps	91.9	74.6	69.9	66.3	65.1	82.2
Mean Food Stamp Amount for Recipients	\$676	\$648	\$596	\$571	\$572	\$1,925
Percent of Cases Receiving Medicaid	99.9	88.7	85.5	83.6	80.4	92.3
Percent of Cases Eligible to Receive Medicaid	100.0	99.6	99.4	99.1	98.4	99.8
Percent of Eligible Cases Receiving Medicaid	99.9	89.0	86.0	84.4	81.7	92.4
Percent of Caseheads Receiving Medicaid	95.8	71.3	68.1	66.5	62.4	80.9
Percent of Caseheads Eligible to Receive Medicaid	99.4	93.8	91.8	90.6	86.8	96.9
Percent of Eligible Caseheads Receiving Medicaid	96.5	76.0	74.1	73.4	71.9	83.5
Percent of Cases with Eligible Children Receiving Medicaid	99.6	88.8	85.7	84.0	81.3	92.1
Less than 1 year	97.4	89.2	86.6	86.3	NA	90.0
1-5 years	99.6	88.7	85.4	83.4	80.7	90.8
6-14 years	99.3	88.4	85.9	85.0	82.9	91.3
15-18 years	97.9	83.8	81.3	80.2	77.9	87.5

NA - Less than 10 observations in cell.

Table 3: Comparison of Probits on FS/MA Takeup for those Eligible for FS/MA - US Citizens Only

	FS Receipt			Any MA Receipt			Casehead MA Receipt			Any Child MA Receipt		
	1995	1997	95 & 97 diff.	1995	1997	95 & 97 diff.	1995	1997	95 & 97 diff.	1995	1997	95 & 97 diff.
Casehead's Age												
age					--			--				--
age squared					++			+		+		++
Education (Compared to Less than a High School Degree)												
High school graduate	-						++			+		
More than high school graduate	--			++			+++	+++		++		
Race (Compared to White)												
African American	+++											
Hispanic	+											
Other		+										
Number of Own and Foster Children (Compared to One)												
Two		+++	***		+			+	*			++
Three or more	++	+++	***		+							
Age of Youngest Child (Compared to Less Than One)												
One				---	--					---		---
Two					--	*						--
Three to Five				-	--			+				--
Six to Eleven					--							--
Twelve to Eighteen	-				--							--
Other Adults in Household	---	---	*				--					
Other Children in Household		--	*					--				
At Least One Child on SSI	---	---										
County of Residence (Compared to Other Urban Counties)												
Milwaukee		++										
Rural counties		+		+								
Brown		+++	*									
Dane	++	++			--	*		-	*		--	*
Douglas		+										
Eau Claire	++	++		+++						++		
Kenosha		+++										
Lacrosse	+++	+++										
Marathon								-	-	**		
Racine		+	*	--						--		
Rock		+++	*									
Waukesha					++	*					+	
Winnebago					-	**						**
Number of Quarters with Earnings in Previous Two Years¹												
(Compared to zero)												
1-3 quarters	+++	+++		+++	+++		+++	+++	*	+++	+++	
4-7 quarters	+++	+++		+++	+++	*	+++	+++	***	+++	+++	**
8 quarters	+++	+++		+++	+++		+++	+++	***	+++	+++	
Percent of Female Headed Households in Zipcode of Residence		+++	**									
Number of Months Received Welfare in Previous Two Years¹												
(Compared to 6 months or less)												
7-12 months	+++	++		+++	++		+++	+++		+++	+++	
13-18 months	+++	+++		+++	+++	**	+++	+++		+++	+++	*
19-24 months	+++	+++	*	+++	+++		+++	+++		+++	+++	
More than 1 Spell in Previous Two Years¹	++			+								
Unemployment Rate in County of Residence²												
Number of Quarters Eligible to Receive Benefit												
(Compared to one quarter)												
Two quarters	+++		***				+++	++				
Three quarters	+++	+++	***	+++	+		+++	+++		+++	+	
Four quarters	+++	+++	*	+++	+++		+++	+++	*	+++	+++	
Constant Term	---	---			+	**	---		*			**

+++ positive and significant at the 1% level; ++ positive and significant at the 5% level; + positive and significant at the 10% level.

--- negative and significant at the 1% level; -- negative and significant at the 5% level; - negative and significant at the 10% level.

¹October, 1993 through September, 1995 for the 1995 cohort, and October 1995 through September, 1997 for the 1997 cohort.

²September, 1995 for the 1995 cohort and September, 1997 for the 1997 cohort.

Table 4: Simulation of Probabilities of Benefit Take-Up During the Year After Exit from Welfare - US Citizens Only

Mother's Characteristics	1995 Cohort		1997 Cohort	
	Likelihood of Benefit Receipt	Change in Likelihood	Likelihood of Benefit Receipt	Change in Likelihood
Food Stamp Receipt				
Prototypical African-American in Milwaukee	75.9		94.1	
Prototypical Caucasian in Milwaukee	70.3	-5.6	93.0	-1.1
Prototypical Caucasian in a rural county	68.4	-7.5	88.2	-5.9
African American in Milwaukee				
Less than 12 years education	77.7	1.8	94.2	0.1
More than 12 years education	74.8	-1.1	93.6	-0.5
One child	75.0	-0.9	90.7	-3.4
Three or more children	78.5	2.6	95.1	1.0
Youngest child age one	75.1	-0.8	94.6	0.5
Youngest child age 12 - 18	71.2	-4.7	94.0	-0.1
Did not work in previous two years	60.0	-15.9	88.8	-5.3
Received welfare for 6 months or less in last 2 years	63.9	-12.0	86.7	-7.4
Eligible for Food Stamps in one quarter of year	33.3	-42.6	74.2	-19.9
Mother Receiving Medicaid				
Prototypical African-American in Milwaukee	80.3		92.2	
Prototypical Caucasian in Milwaukee	81.3	1.0	92.6	0.4
Prototypical Caucasian in a rural county	85.5	5.2	94.4	2.2
African American in Milwaukee				
Less than 12 years education	77.7	-2.6	92.2	0.0
More than 12 years education	81.9	1.6	94.5	2.3
One child	81.1	0.8	90.9	-1.3
Three or more children	79.4	-0.9	91.0	-1.2
Youngest child age one	78.8	-1.5	90.3	-1.9
Youngest child age 12 - 18	77.6	-2.7	88.8	-3.4
Did not work in previous two years	56.5	-23.8	85.3	-6.9
Received welfare for 6 months or less in last 2 years	64.2	-16.1	82.9	-9.3
Eligible for Medicaid in one quarter of year	37.6	-42.7	52.2	-40.0
Any Child Receiving Medicaid				
Prototypical African-American in Milwaukee	84.0		95.0	
Prototypical Caucasian in Milwaukee	85.9	1.9	95.5	0.5
Prototypical Caucasian in a rural county	90.8	6.8	96.4	1.4
African American in Milwaukee				
Less than 12 years education	82.4	-1.6	95.1	0.1
More than 12 years education	85.4	1.4	96.0	1.0
One child	82.7	-1.3	93.7	-1.3
Three or more children	84.0	0.0	94.8	-0.2
Youngest child age one	82.1	-1.9	94.7	-0.3
Youngest child age 12 - 18	85.5	1.5	94.1	-0.9
Did not work in previous two years	65.0	-19.0	88.5	-6.5
Received welfare for 6 months or less in last 2 years	66.7	-17.3	86.4	-8.6
Eligible for Medicaid in one quarter of year	54.7	-29.3	72.4	-22.6

NOTE: Prototypical is defined as age 29, 12 years of education, 2 children, youngest child age 3-5, no other household members, no child on SSI, received welfare for 19-24 months in last two years in a single spell, worked 4-7 quarters in previous two years, and was eligible to receive benefit in all four quarters of the year. The mean unemployment rate and percentage female-headed households specific to the county/region are used.

Table 5: Benefit Receipt of Leavers in Three Years After Exit - US Citizens Only (1998 Dollars)

	First Year After Exit	Second Year After Exit	Third Year After Exit	Three Years After Exit
All Leavers (4th Q 1995 N=7,879)				
Percent Receiving AFDC/TANF	29.1	18.2	7.6	34.6
Mean AFDC/TANF Amount for Recipients	\$2,055	\$2,509	\$2,684	\$3,638
Percent Receiving Food Stamps	57.7	43.2	35.6	66.1
Percent of Cases Eligible to Receive Food Stamps	96.0	92.7	89.4	98.2
Percent of those Eligible Receiving Food Stamps	60.1	46.7	39.8	67.4
Mean Food Stamp Amount for Recipients	\$1,339	\$1,325	\$1,168	\$2,663
Percent of Cases Receiving Medicaid	79.7	59.8	49.4	84.2
Percent of Cases Eligible to Receive Medicaid	99.6	97.4	95.4	99.8
Percent of Eligible Cases Receiving Medicaid	80.0	61.4	51.7	84.4
Percent of Caseheads Receiving Medicaid	67.2	44.0	29.1	73.5
Percent of Caseheads Eligible to Receive Medicaid	95.9	87.1	79.7	97.8
Percent of Eligible Caseheads Receiving Medicaid	70.1	50.5	36.4	75.1
Percent of Cases with Eligible Children Receiving Medicaid	79.4	60.9	51.3	83.7
Less than 1 year	78.6	NA	NA	NA
1-5 years	77.6	60.4	51.1	81.9
6-14 years	78.1	59.5	49.1	76.4
15-18 years	77.9	62.4	52.6	73.6

NA: Less than 10 observations.

Appendix 2, Table 1: Probability of Food Stamp Take-Up Among Households Eligible to Receive Food Stamps - US Citizens Only

	1995 Cohort		1997 Cohort		1995 and 1997 Cohorts Different
	Coefficient	Std. Error	Coefficient	Std. Error	
Casehead's Age					
age	0.003	0.017	0.019	0.017	
age squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
Education (Compared to Less than a High School Degree)					
High school graduate	-0.058	0.035 *	-0.010	0.040	
More than high school graduate	-0.094	0.046 **	-0.048	0.058	
Race (Compared to White)					
African American	0.169	0.050 ***	0.086	0.052	
Hispanic	0.132	0.070 *	0.068	0.078	
Other	0.101	0.089	0.195	0.103 *	
Number of Own and Foster Children (Compared to One)					
Two	0.029	0.038	0.238	0.046 ***	***
Three or more	0.115	0.046 **	0.327	0.053 ***	***
Age of Youngest Child (Compared to Less Than One)					
One	-0.018	0.057	-0.009	0.057	
Two	0.004	0.060	-0.041	0.069	
Three to Five	0.007	0.054	-0.057	0.057	
Six to Eleven	-0.054	0.061	-0.021	0.066	
Twelve to Eighteen	-0.137	0.079 *	-0.065	0.090	
Other Adults in Household					
	-0.169	0.036 ***	-0.273	0.042 ***	*
Other Children in Household					
	0.039	0.055	-0.117	0.059 **	*
At Least One Child on SSI					
	-0.257	0.063 ***	-0.318	0.065 ***	
County of Residence (Compared to Other Urban Counties)					
Milwaukee	0.118	0.113	0.317	0.139 **	
Rural counties	0.110	0.075	0.211	0.116 *	
Brown	0.088	0.109	0.465	0.171 ***	*
Dane	0.232	0.102 **	0.292	0.128 **	
Douglas	0.156	0.183	0.325	0.170 *	
Eau Claire	0.260	0.129 **	0.396	0.184 **	
Kenosha	0.130	0.102	0.405	0.137 ***	
La Crosse	0.245	0.132 *	0.596	0.206 ***	
Marathon	0.196	0.143	0.174	0.208	
Racine	-0.064	0.102	0.236	0.134 *	*
Rock	0.083	0.105	0.390	0.147 ***	*
Waukesha	-0.049	0.118	0.223	0.162	
Winnebago	-0.030	0.124	0.133	0.189	
Number of Quarters with Earnings in Previous Two Years¹ (Compared to zero)					
1-3 quarters	0.312	0.048 ***	0.219	0.056 ***	
4-7 quarters	0.450	0.048 ***	0.344	0.056 ***	
8 quarters	0.591	0.056 ***	0.474	0.073 ***	*
Percent of Female Headed Households in Zipcode of Residence					
	0.241	0.153	0.584	0.159 ***	**
Number of Months Received Welfare in Previous Two Years¹ (Compared to 6 months or less)					
7-12 months	0.177	0.055 ***	0.140	0.062 **	
13-18 months	0.341	0.055 ***	0.287	0.066 ***	
19-24 months	0.348	0.044 ***	0.449	0.055 ***	*
More than 1 Spell in Previous Two Years¹					
	0.090	0.037 **	0.059	0.044	
Unemployment Rate in County of Residence²					
	-0.013	0.033	0.007	0.026	
Number of Quarters Eligible to Receive Benefit (Compared to one quarter)					
Two quarters	0.599	0.103 ***	0.135	0.135	***
Three quarters	0.843	0.093 ***	0.383	0.123 ***	***
Four quarters	1.136	0.081 ***	0.911	0.107 ***	*
Constant Term	-1.741	0.294 ***	-1.290	0.310 ***	
Log Likelihood	-4726.1		-3196.5		
Sample Size	7,566		7,696		

* Statistically significant at the 10% level.

** Statistically significant at the 5% level.

*** Statistically significant at the 1% level.

NOTE: Model also controls for missing race and percent of female headed households variables.

¹ October, 1993 through September, 1995 for the 1995 cohort, and October 1995 through September, 1997 for the 1997 cohort.

² September, 1995 for the 1995 cohort and September, 1997 for the 1997 cohort.

Appendix 2, Table 2: Probability of Medicaid Take-Up By Casehead Among Households With a Casehead Eligible to Receive Medicaid - US Citizens Only

	1995 Cohort		1997 Cohort		1995 and 1997 Cohorts Different
	Coefficient	Std. Error	Coefficient	Std. Error	
Casehead's Age					
age	-0.025	0.018	-0.039	0.019 **	
age squared	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000 *	
Education (Compared to Less than a High School Degree)					
High school graduate	0.088	0.036 **	0.000	0.040	
More than high school graduate	0.148	0.048 ***	0.179	0.062 ***	
Race (Compared to White)					
African American	-0.038	0.052	-0.028	0.053	
Hispanic	0.025	0.073	0.076	0.079	
Other	-0.036	0.091	0.034	0.107	
Number of Own and Foster Children (Compared to One)					
Two	-0.031	0.039	0.083	0.049 *	*
Three or more	-0.063	0.047	0.004	0.053	
Age of Youngest Child (Compared to Less Than One)					
One	-0.030	0.060	-0.010	0.058	
Two	0.090	0.063	0.009	0.070	
Three to Five	0.021	0.056	0.109	0.059 *	
Six to Eleven	0.091	0.063	0.022	0.065	
Twelve to Eighteen	-0.070	0.081	-0.090	0.091	
Other Adults in Household	-0.087	0.037 **	-0.032	0.044	
Other Children in Household	-0.026	0.058	-0.128	0.062 **	
At Least One Child on SSI	-0.062	0.066	-0.060	0.066	
County of Residence (Compared to Other Urban Counties)					
Milwaukee	0.018	0.119	0.015	0.153	
Rural counties	0.105	0.080	0.101	0.133	
Brown	0.082	0.116	-0.056	0.184	
Dane	0.051	0.108	-0.264	0.141 *	*
Douglas	0.060	0.195	-0.124	0.183	
Eau Claire	0.175	0.142	0.350	0.227	
Kenosha	0.006	0.107	-0.098	0.149	
La Crosse	-0.050	0.139	0.186	0.235	
Marathon	0.181	0.155	-0.388	0.221 *	**
Racine	-0.176	0.106 *	-0.079	0.147	
Rock	0.068	0.110	0.023	0.162	
Waukesha	0.002	0.125	0.261	0.199	
Winnebago	0.094	0.132	-0.131	0.208	
Number of Quarters with Earnings in Previous Two Years¹ (Compared to zero)					
1-3 quarters	0.465	0.049 ***	0.327	0.057 ***	*
4-7 quarters	0.687	0.049 ***	0.367	0.057 ***	***
8 quarters	0.948	0.059 ***	0.496	0.074 ***	***
Percent of Female Headed Households in Zipcode of Residence	-0.127	0.157	-0.022	0.151	
Number of Months Received Welfare in Previous Two Years¹ (Compared to 6 months or less)					
7-12 months	0.178	0.057 ***	0.284	0.066 ***	
13-18 months	0.383	0.058 ***	0.303	0.068 ***	
19-24 months	0.488	0.046 ***	0.469	0.057 ***	
More than 1 Spell in Previous Two Years¹	0.061	0.040	0.005	0.045	
Unemployment Rate in County of Residence²	-0.034	0.034	-0.040	0.028	
Number of Quarters Eligible to Receive Benefit (Compared to one quarter)					
Two quarters	0.459	0.098 ***	0.274	0.112 **	
Three quarters	0.912	0.084 ***	0.717	0.100 ***	
Four quarters	1.167	0.073 ***	1.362	0.088 ***	*
Constant Term	-0.882	0.303 ***	-0.044	0.326	*
Log Likelihood	-4184.9		-3061.0		
Sample Size	7,558		7,584		

* Statistically significant at the 10% level.

** Statistically significant at the 5% level.

*** Statistically significant at the 1% level.

NOTE: Model also controls for missing race and percent of female headed households variables.

¹ October, 1993 through September, 1995 for the 1995 cohort, and October 1995 through September, 1997 for the 1997 cohort.

² September, 1995 for the 1995 cohort and September, 1997 for the 1997 cohort.

Appendix 2, Table 3: Probability of Medicaid Take-Up By Any Child in Household Among Households With a Child Eligible to Receive Medicaid - US Citizens Only

	1995 Cohort		1997 Cohort		1995 and 1997 Cohorts Different
	Coefficient	Std. Error	Coefficient	Std. Error	
Casehead's Age					
age	-0.028	0.019	-0.045	0.022 **	
age squared	0.000	0.000 *	0.001	0.000 **	
Education (Compared to Less than a High School Degree)					
High school graduate	0.065	0.038 *	-0.007	0.048	
More than high school graduate	0.122	0.051 **	0.097	0.072	
Race (Compared to White)					
African American	-0.081	0.054	-0.049	0.063	
Hispanic	-0.070	0.075	-0.008	0.094	
Other	-0.057	0.097	0.139	0.133	
Number of Own and Foster Children (Compared to One)					
Two	0.054	0.042	0.115	0.057 **	
Three or more	0.054	0.050	0.095	0.063	
Age of Youngest Child (Compared to Less Than One)					
One	-0.167	0.062 ***	-0.182	0.070 ***	
Two	-0.015	0.067	-0.188	0.084 **	
Three to Five	-0.089	0.060	-0.152	0.071 **	
Six to Eleven	-0.083	0.067	-0.169	0.079 **	
Twelve to Eighteen	-0.027	0.088	-0.237	0.109 **	
Other Adults in Household	0.027	0.040	-0.011	0.053	
Other Children in Household	-0.051	0.061	-0.036	0.075	
At Least One Child on SSI	-0.015	0.071	-0.044	0.079	
County of Residence (Compared to Other Urban Counties)					
Milwaukee	-0.191	0.127	0.037	0.183	
Rural counties	0.115	0.085	0.115	0.161	
Brown	0.205	0.128	0.077	0.227	
Dane	0.051	0.114	-0.330	0.167 **	*
Douglas	-0.186	0.201	0.049	0.224	
Eau Claire	0.416	0.170 **	0.010	0.246	
Kenosha	-0.073	0.113	0.030	0.182	
La Crosse	-0.015	0.149	-0.001	0.264	
Marathon	0.202	0.171	-0.079	0.266	
Racine	-0.259	0.111 **	-0.150	0.175	
Rock	-0.038	0.117	0.012	0.193	
Waukesha	0.064	0.132	0.536	0.284 *	
Winnebago	0.233	0.148	-0.323	0.237	**
Number of Quarters with Earnings in Previous Two Years¹ (Compared to zero)					
1-3 quarters	0.362	0.050 ***	0.344	0.064 ***	
4-7 quarters	0.611	0.051 ***	0.445	0.065 ***	**
8 quarters	0.836	0.061 ***	0.824	0.093 ***	
Percent of Female Headed Households in Zipcode of Residence	0.189	0.162	0.146	0.183	
Number of Months Received Welfare in Previous Two Years¹ (Compared to 6 months or less)					
7-12 months	0.218	0.059 ***	0.203	0.076 ***	
13-18 months	0.440	0.060 ***	0.250	0.078 ***	*
19-24 months	0.564	0.047 ***	0.548	0.066 ***	
More than 1 Spell in Previous Two Years¹	0.060	0.042	0.043	0.054	
Unemployment Rate in County of Residence²	-0.002	0.037	-0.053	0.033	
Number of Quarters Eligible to Receive Benefit (Compared to one quarter)					
Two quarters	0.028	0.191	0.080	0.328	
Three quarters	0.443	0.163 ***	0.601	0.315 *	
Four quarters	0.878	0.141 ***	1.049	0.271 ***	
Constant Term	-0.469	0.340	0.663	0.460	**
Log Likelihood	-3685.9		-2018.4		
Sample Size	7,833		7,808		

* Statistically significant at the 10% level.

** Statistically significant at the 5% level.

*** Statistically significant at the 1% level.

NOTE: Model also controls for missing race and percent of female headed households variables.

¹ October, 1993 through September, 1995 for the 1995 cohort, and October 1995 through September, 1997 for the 1997 cohort.

² September, 1995 for the 1995 cohort and September, 1997 for the 1997 cohort.

Figure 1: Food Stamp Receipt

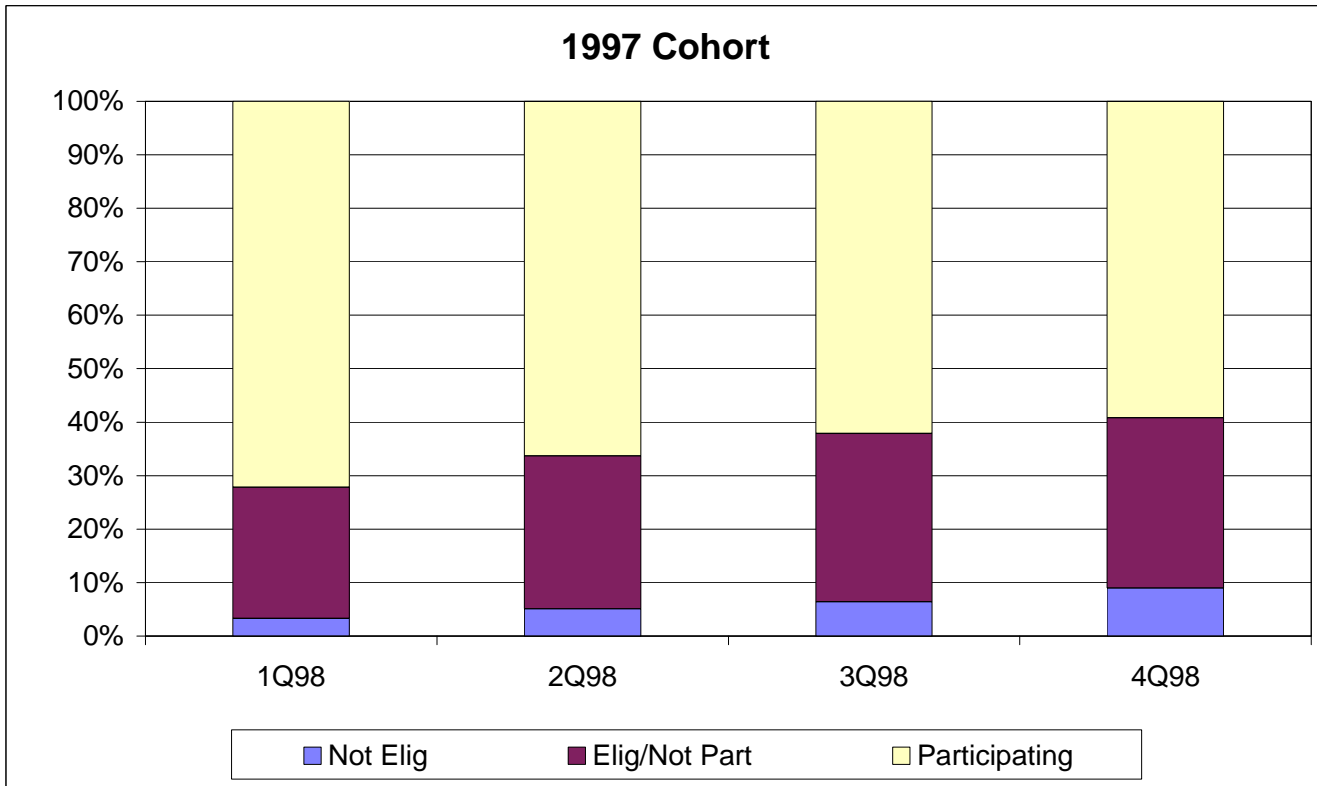
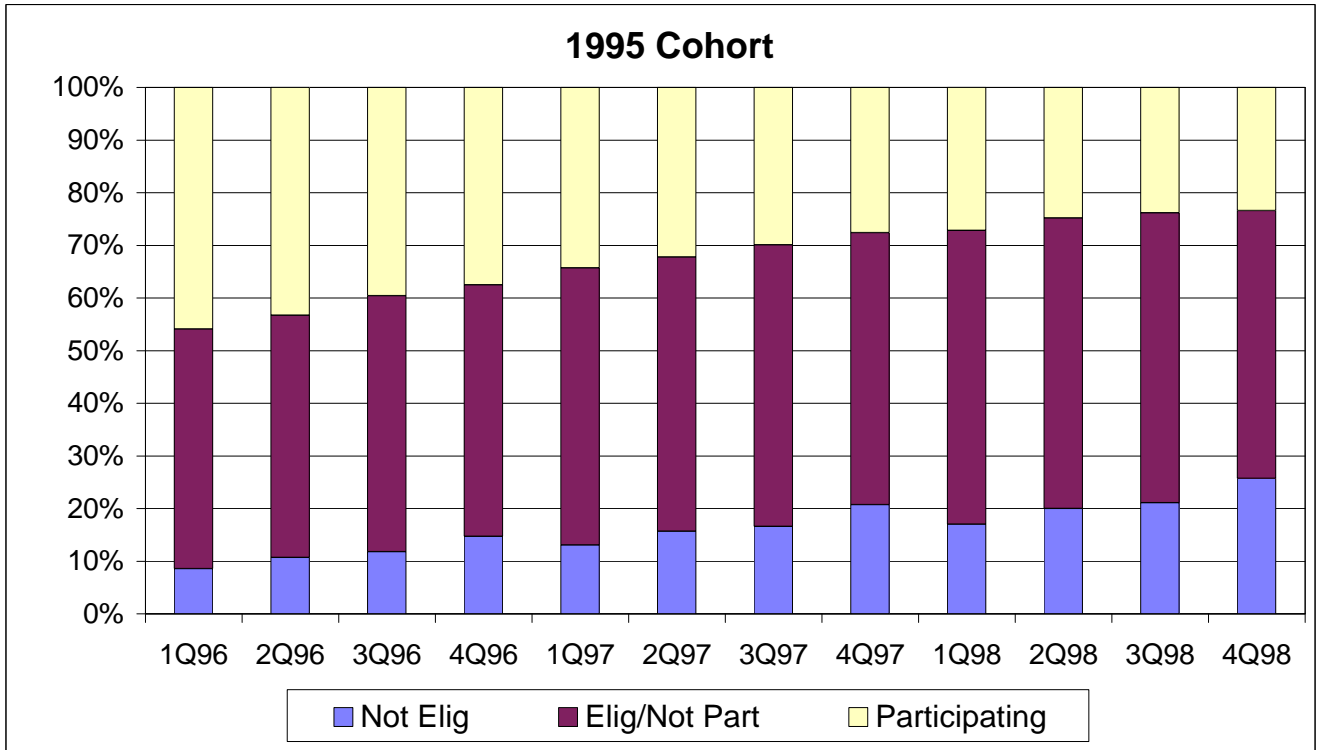


Figure 2: Mother's Medicaid Receipt

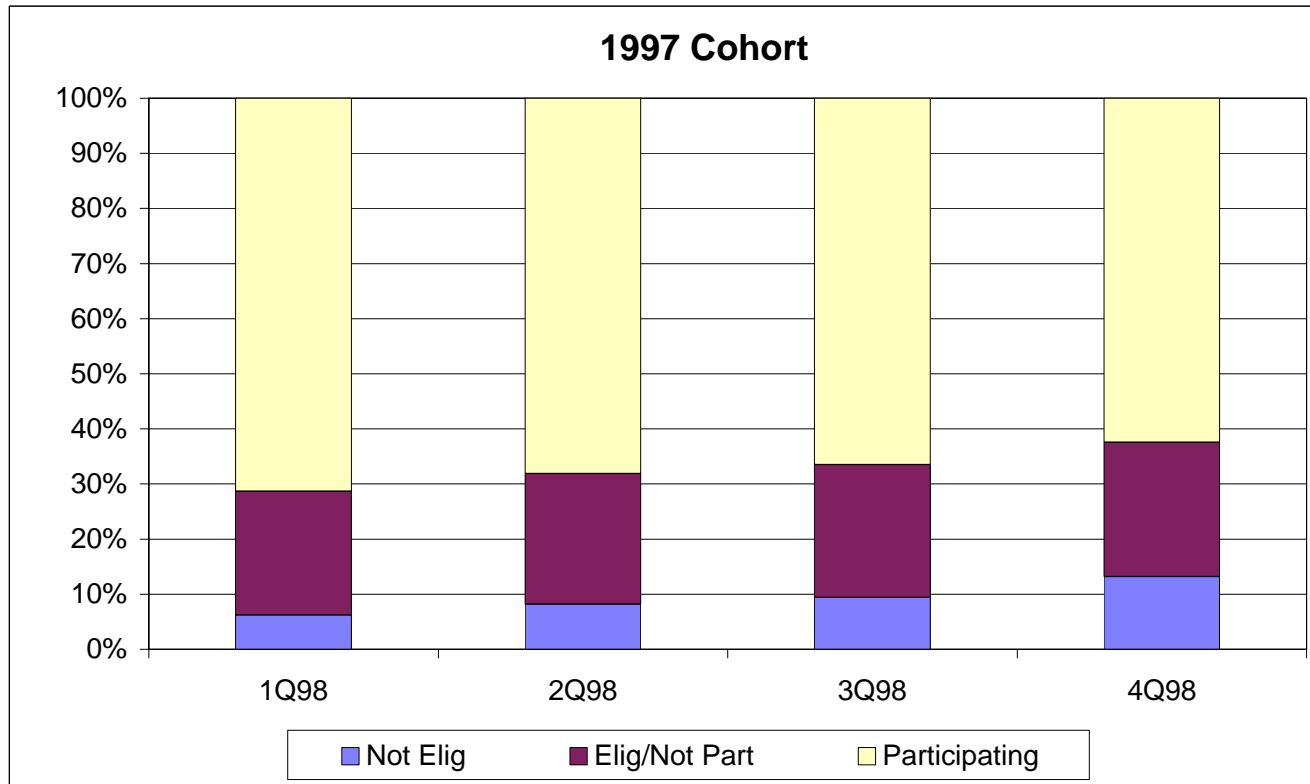
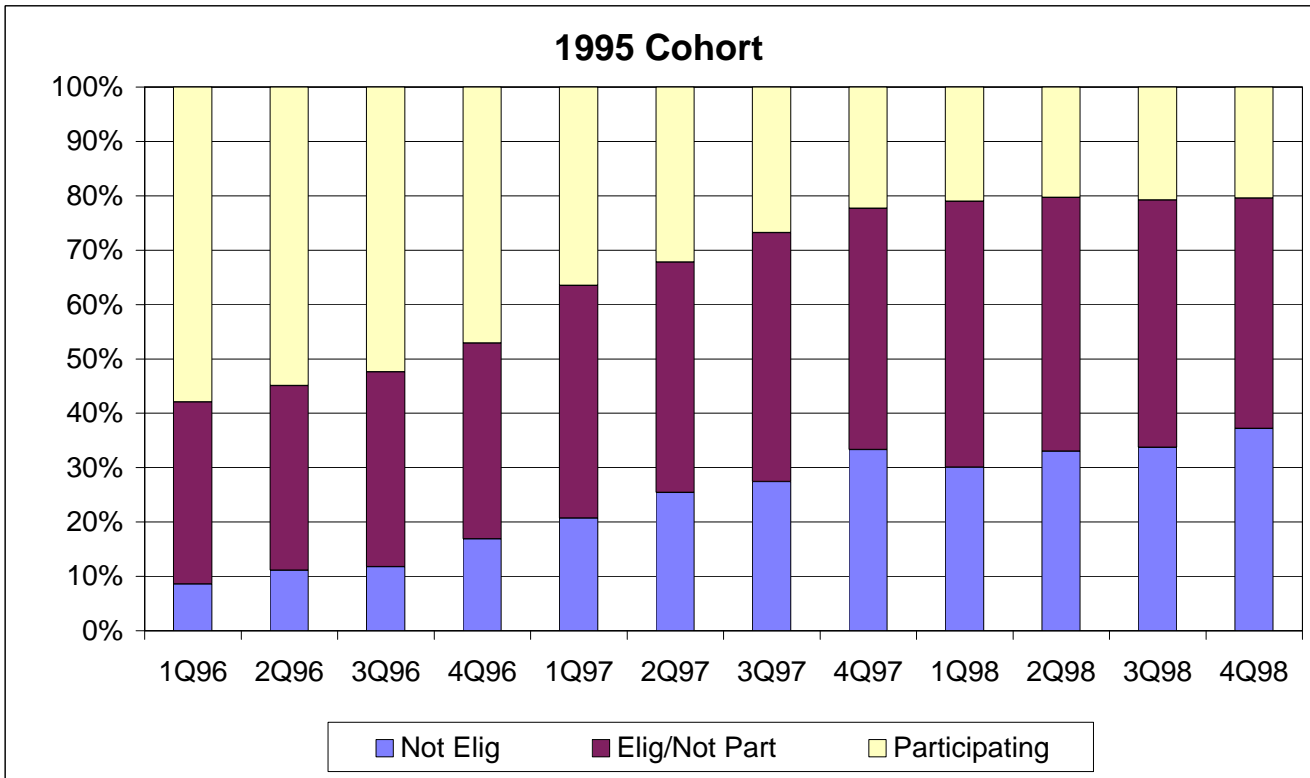


Figure 3: Children's Medicaid Receipt

