

Immigration, Welfare Magnets and the Geography of Child Poverty in the United States¹

William H. Frey
The University of Michigan

This study presents a detailed look at the immigration and internal migration dynamics of child poverty for US States based on the 1990 US census. It assesses the impact of two policy-relevant factors on the migration of poor children across States: (1) the role of high immigration levels as a potential "push" for native-born and longer-term resident poor children whose parents may be reacting to the economic competition or social costs in high immigration States; and (2) the role of State AFDC benefits as a potential "pull" for poor children who migrate with their parents to States with higher benefit levels. The results make plain that the inter-state migration patterns of poverty children differ from those of nonpoverty children, especially among whites and blacks. Female-headed households show different inter-state migration patterns than those in married-couple households. However, a multivariate analysis which includes standard state-level economic attributes provides more support for an "immigration push" than for a "welfare magnet pull" in affecting the inter-state migration of poor children. The findings also show a demographic displacement of poor children occurring in high immigration States where the net out-migration of poor children is more than compensated by larger numbers of new immigrant children in poor families with different demographic attributes. Because of these migration dynamics, the demographic profile of the child poverty population will differ across States, suggesting the need for different strategies toward reducing child poverty at the State level.

Please address correspondence to Dr. Frey, Population Studies Center, University of Michigan, 1225 South University Ave., Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2590.

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INTRODUCTION

The incidence and causes of child poverty in the United States have become front-burner issues for social scientists and policy-makers (Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 1996; Children's Defense Fund, 1995). Yet debates regarding the causes and proposed remedies for reducing child poverty typically focus on the nation as a whole. Much less attention has been given to understanding why regions or states vary in their child poverty populations. Also, although a literature is emerging on the children of recent immigrants (Hirschman, 1995; Jensen & Chitose, 1995; Portes, 1995; Rumbaut & Cornelius, 1995), almost no attention has been given to the impacts that immigration and internal migration dynamics hold for child poverty populations in individual States. Because both of these processes, especially immigration, are affected by federal and State policies, an examination of child poverty migration is warranted.

The present study represents the first detailed look at the immigration and internal migration dynamics of child poverty for US States based on aggregate statistics from the 1990 US census. In addition to providing an overview of the broad dimensions of child poverty migration, this analysis addresses two areas where policy can affect State child poverty populations via migration dynamics.

The first of these areas is the impact of immigration itself on State child poverty populations. Its direct impact is fairly obvious for the six States which received more than 75% of recent US immigrants. This is because the incidence of child poverty among recent immigrants is significantly higher than for the total US population (34% versus 18%). However, immigration also holds indirect implications for the redistribution of poor children across States. This is because there appears to be a "demographic displacement" of the poverty population in high-immigration States resulting from the out-migration of longer-term poverty residents, coincident with poverty immigration from abroad (Frey, 1995d; Frey *et al.*, 1996). This pattern was first hinted at in the late 1970s (Walker, Ellis & Barff, 1992; Filer, 1992; White & Hunter, 1993), and has become more accentuated in the last decade (Frey, 1994; 1995c; 1996). This internal out-migration may be associated with an immigrant "push" associated with the job displacement of the native-born poor, or with the perception of higher social costs, taxes, or reduced services in States which are absorbing larger numbers of poor immigrants. Hence, a concomitant demographic displacement of poverty children in high immigration States, may contribute to significant short-term changes in the demographic characteristics of these States' child poverty populations.

The policy relevance of immigrant contributions to State child poverty

populations lies with the fact that both the volume and demographic characteristics of recent US immigrants are affected by numeric ceilings, national origins, and preferences associated with the current US immigration laws (Fix & Passel, 1994; Martin & Midgely, 1994). Scholars (Borjas, 1994; Simon, 1995), commentators (Beck, 1996; Chavez, 1995) and a bipartisan Commission on Immigration Reform (Martin, 1993) have evaluated the social and economic impacts of current immigration policy with an eye toward informing legislation that would alter that policy. The effects of immigration, both direct and indirect, on State child poverty levels are germane to this evaluation.

The second migration-related factor that is relevant to US policy involves the poverty population "magnet" effect on internal migration thought to be linked to a State's welfare benefits, especially those associated with AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children). While there has been a long history of research on this topic (Cebula, 1979; Blank, 1988; Clark, 1991; Cushing, 1993; Peterson & Rom, 1990; Voss, Corbett & Randell, 1992; Moffitt, 1992; Walker, 1994), this issue has again come to the fore in light of current policy debates. The 1996 welfare reform legislation gives States much more independent autonomy in setting their welfare benefits. It has been argued that if, indeed, State welfare benefits act as "magnets" for poor families with dependent children, then there may be a "race to the bottom", leading to lowered welfare benefits in all States, in an attempt to avoid attracting poor migrants from other States (Broder, 1995).

Study Objectives

To place the migration processes of child poverty in proper context, the first part of this study will examine the selective impact of the immigration and internal migration components of change for the child poverty populations in each State. If, indeed, a "demographic displacement" of the child poverty population is occurring as a result of both selective immigration from abroad, along with a selective out-migration of internal migrants to other States, this should be most pronounced in States which gain the largest number of immigrants such as California and New York. We also evaluate how these two migration processes affect the race-ethnic and socioeconomic shifts in California's child poverty population.

Following this assessment of both migration processes, the study then focuses on the patterns and policy-related determinants of the internal migration of poor children across States. The analyses center on the following objectives:

1. *To examine the demographic structure of the migration of poor children across States. Is internal migration redistributing poverty children to different States than immigration? Are the internal movement patterns of*

poverty children different from those for nonpoverty children? Do these patterns differ by race and ethnicity? Do they differ by family type?

2. *To determine if the internal migration of poor children is affected by two policy variables, immigration from abroad and State welfare benefit levels?* Do either of these two factors show independent effects on the movement of poor children between States, when other relevant economic factors are taken into account? As indicated above, previous research suggests that immigration exerts a “push” effect on poor, native-born and longterm residents. Will this also be the case for the redistribution of children in poverty? Likewise, the “pull” of State welfare benefits should be the most pronounced for families with children. If there is an independent effect of State welfare benefits on internal migration, this should be most apparent among poverty children.

The migration data for this study are drawn from tabulations of the five percent Public Use Micro-Sample files weighted to the total population and focus on the fixed internal 5-year migration question. These data permit an assessment of net inter-State migration and foreign immigration to each State over the 1985–90 period. They also permit delineation of state-to-state migration streams. The data were compiled for all children aged 0–17 who were related children of family household heads in 1990, by poverty status, race and ethnicity, family type, English language proficiency, and nativity.² The focus on child migration in this study is unique in the sense that most previous work has focused on movement of households or persons with children. While the decision making for child moves obviously rests with their parent or guardian, the focus of this study is the impact of these moves on the redistribution of the child poverty population.

The use of census data for this analysis provides for an assessment of child poverty redistribution with aggregate data for key population subgroups. However, a well-known weakness of census data is the unavailability of population characteristics at the beginning of the migration (1985–90) since only characteristics that could be identified at census time (1990) are available. This limitation is particularly noteworthy for the poverty population, defined in the 1990 census on the basis of 1989 income. Hence, the poverty population as defined here only approximates the poverty population that existed over the 1985–90 period.

IMMIGRATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC DISPLACEMENT

The impact that foreign immigration holds for increasing the size and demographic displacement of poor children across States is apparent from examining Table 1. Shown here for each State, is its 1985–90 increment in child poverty attributable to foreign immigration, net internal migration,

and the sum of both. These data show that California leads all other States in the total increment to its child poverty population. This increment is 84,750 and represents a gain of 100,754 foreign immigrant poverty children along with the net inter-state out-migration of 16,004. Moreover, in fully 24 States, foreign immigration accounts for most of the State's child poverty migration gains, or serves to reduce the State's child migration poverty losses. Two good examples of the latter are New York and Texas. New York State suffered a net decline of 1,025 poverty children over the 1985–90 period. That represents a loss of 33,724 internal migrants to other States, along with a gain of 32,699 foreign immigrants. Likewise, Texas registered a net loss of 7,478 poverty children, representing a net inter-state out-migration of 36,308 children and a foreign immigration of 28,830. Clearly, within these latter States, a demographic displacement of their child poverty population is taking place.

This demographic displacement within the child poverty population of high-immigration States affects that population's sociodemographic attributes. This is made plain by looking a comparison of immigrant and internal migrant sociodemographic attributes (see Table 2). Overall, children who were foreign immigrants in 1985–90 differed sharply from inter-state migrant children on key attributes of poverty status, race-ethnic composition, and English language. Immigrant children, much more so than inter-State migrant children, are likely to be in poverty, comprised of Latinos and Asians, and likely to speak a language other than English at home. Moreover, when the foreign immigrant—interstate migrant comparison is restricted only to poverty children, another distinction emerges. That is, foreign immigrant children are much more likely to be in married-couple families than is the case with inter-State migrant children. In areas where foreign immigrant children are “displacing” inter-State migrant children, the child poverty population will become more minority-dominant, less able to speak English well, and more likely to live in married-couple families. Overall, these comparisons between immigrant children and inter-State migrant children point up the significance of distinguishing between these two components of child poverty redistribution.

To get a sense of the nature of this, we focus on California's experience over the 1985–90 period. Table 3 shows the aggregate gains of the child poverty population accruing from foreign immigration over the 1985–90 period, as well as the net changes attributable to inter-state migration. The right-hand columns of Table 3 show each gain or loss as a percent of each group's population. What these data make clear is that the demographic displacement of California's child poverty population affects that population's attributes on the dimensions of race-ethnicity, family type, English language proficiency and nativity. The net out-migration of poverty

TABLE 1
1985-90 Migration Components of Change for Poor Children*

State	Migration Components			Ranking		
	SUM	Foreign Immigration	Internal Migration	SUM	Foreign Immigration	Internal Migration
California**	84,750	100,754	- 16,004	1	1	48
Florida**	31,575	22,032	9,543	2	4	6
Washington	21,710	6,549	15,161	3	10	1
Wisconsin	17,607	4,903	12,704	4	11	2
Massachusetts**	13,982	13,123	859	5	5	29
Ohio	13,690	4,045	9,645	6	14	5
North Carolina	13,357	1,086	12,271	7	28	3
Michigan	13,233	4,214	9,019	8	13	7
Pennsylvania	12,921	6,977	5,944	9	8	11
Minnesota	12,786	4,571	8,215	10	12	8
Tennessee	11,168	948	10,220	11	33	4
Georgia	10,329	2,745	7,584	12	18	9
Oregon	8,760	2,481	6,279	13	20	10
Arizona	8,081	6,955	1,126	14	9	28
Virginia	5,906	2,592	3,314	15	19	18
Nevada	5,808	1,720	4,088	16	23	15
Arkansas	5,442	626	4,816	17	37	12
Missouri	5,202	1,046	4,156	18	30	14
Alabama	4,981	629	4,352	19	36	13
South Carolina	4,399	615	3,784	20	38	16
Kentucky	4,016	866	3,150	21	34	19
Maine	3,912	287	3,625	22	41	17

Indiana	3,873	1,061	2,812	23	29	20
Iowa	3,783	1,004	2,779	24	31	21
Maryland	3,428	2,926	502	25	17	34
Rhode Island	3,199	1,886	1,313	26	21	24
Kansas	2,661	1,446	1,215	27	24	27
Colorado	2,619	3,123	-504	28	16	36
Montana	2,614	438	2,176	29	40	22
Idaho	2,076	704	1,372	30	35	23
Utah	1,935	1,238	697	31	26	32
Connecticut	1,545	3,904	-2,359	32	15	41
Nebraska	1,508	205	1,303	33	44	25
Vermont	1,270	31	1,239	34	50	26
New Mexico	1,068	1,842	-774	35	22	38
South Dakota	1,008	187	821	36	45	30
West Virginia	778	29	749	37	51	31
Mississippi	754	111	643	38	48	33
New Hampshire	534	213	321	39	43	35
Delaware	-374	236	-610	40	42	37
New York**	-1,025	32,699	-33,724	41	2	50
Oklahoma	-1,037	963	-2,000	42	32	39
Hawaii	-1,681	1,088	-2,769	43	27	43
District of Columbia	-1,813	443	-2,256	44	39	40
North Dakota	-2,397	125	-2,522	45	47	42
Wyoming	-2,851	86	-2,937	46	49	44
Alaska	-4,099	137	-4,236	47	46	45
New Jersey**	-4,521	8,949	-13,470	48	7	46
Texas**	-7,478	28,830	-36,308	49	3	51
Louisiana	-12,503	1,398	-13,901	50	25	47
Illinois**	-13,883	9,540	-23,423	51	6	49

*Poverty Status determined as of year 1989 (see text).

**States with highest immigration levels.

TABLE 2
**Selected Characteristics of Foreign Immigrant and Inter-State
 Migrant Children in Family Households^a over Period 1985–90**

Elected Characteristics	All Children		Poverty Children	
	1935–90 Foreign ^b Immigrants	1985–90 Interstate Migrants	1985–90 Foreign ^b Immigrants	1985–90 Interstate Migrants
POVERTY STATUS				
Poverty	34	16	100	100
Non Poverty	66	84	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
RACE ETHNIC COMPOSITION^c				
White	26	78	17	58
Black	7	10	5	22
Asian	26	3	24	4
Latino	40	8	54	14
Other	1	1	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100
FAMILY TYPE				
Married Couple	81	80	70	43
Male Head	5	4	5	5
Female Head	14	16	25	52
Total	100	100	100	100
ENGLISH LANGUAGE				
English not well	28	1	43	3
English well	50	9	48	14
Only English at home	22	90	9	83
Total	100	100	100	100
(N) (1000s)	872	5,698	295	934

Source: Compiled at University of Michigan Population Studies Center from 5% PUMS file of 1990 Census (weighted to total population).

^aChildren under 18 in 1990, who are related to heads of family households.

^b1990 US residents living in a foreign country or Puerto Rico in 1985.

^cRace categories White, Blacks, Asian and Other pertain to Non-Latino members of those races.

children is overly represented by whites, persons who speak only English at home, and children who are native-born with native parents. The new immigrant population is dominated by Latinos and Asians, children who speak a language other than English at home. The new immigrant population is also more traditional-family oriented than the internal out-migrants, and will serve to reduce the percentage of poverty children who are in female-headed families.

TABLE 3
Foreign Immigration and Net Inter-State Migration Components for California's Child Poverty Population

Demographic Categories	1985-90 Migration Components		Rates per 1990 Population	
	Immigration from Abroad	Net Internal Migration	Immigration from Abroad	Net Internal Migration
Total	100,754	-16,004	8.4	-1.3
Race-Ethnicity				
Whites	13,942	-18,497	5.2	-6.8
Blacks	1,405	-1,878	0.9	-1.2
Latinos	57,565	-4,438	9.3	-0.7
Asians	27,662	9,828	20.2	7.2
Family Type-Head				
Married Couple	77,688	-7,638	13.5	-1.3
Male Head	5,865	-1,263	7.5	-1.6
Female Head	17,201	-7,103	3.2	-1.3
English Language				
English Not Well	51,878	3,020	24.7	1.4
English Well	45,222	3,507	9.8	0.8
Only English at Home	3,654	-22,531	0.7	-4.3

TABLE 3 (Continued)
Foreign Immigration and Net Inter-State Migration Components for California's Child Poverty Population

Demographic Categories	1985-90 Migration Components		Rates per 1990 Population	
	Immigration from Abroad	Net Internal Migration	Immigration from Abroad	Net Internal Migration
Nativity				
Native Born-Native Parent	na	-21,365	na	-3.9
Native Born-Foreign Parent	na	735	na	0.2
Foreign Born	100,754	4,626	39.0	1.8
Latino-Nativity				
Native Born-Native Parent	na	-1,568	na	-1.0
Native Born-Foreign Parent	na	-2,231	na	-0.7
Foreign Born	57,565	-639	35.9	-0.4
Asian-Nativity				
Native Born-Native Parent	na	-124	na	-3.1
Native Born-Foreign Parent	na	4,599	na	7.7
Foreign born	27,662	5,353	37.8	7.3

**INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF POOR
AND NONPOOR CHILDREN**

Having examined the demographic displacement of poor children in high immigration States, we now turn to an evaluation of inter-state child migration patterns. Are recent inter-state migrant poverty children going to different destinations than immigrant poverty children? The answer, as shown in Table 4, is decidedly yes. Recent immigrant poverty children

TABLE 4

**States with Greatest 1985–90 Gains in Foreign Immigration and
Net Inter-State Migration: Poverty and Non-Poverty Children**

Rank		Greatest Gains Due to 1985–90 Foreign Immigration	
		Poverty Children	Non-Poverty Children
		Size	Size
1.	California	100,754	California 156,303
2.	New York	32,699	New York 69,465
3.	Texas	28,830	Florida 50,056
4.	Florida	22,032	Texas 38,248
5.	Massachusetts	13,123	New Jersey 32,525
6.	Illinois	9,540	Illinois 20,517
7.	New Jersey	8,949	Virginia 19,938
8.	Pennsylvania	6,977	Massachusetts 17,516
9.	Arizona	6,955	Maryland 16,268
10.	Washington	6,549	Washington 11,622

Rank		Gains Due to 1985–90 Net Inter-State Migration	
		Poverty Children	Non-Poverty Children
		Size	Size
1.	Washington	15,161	Florida 166,052
2.	Wisconsin	12,704	Georgia 81,588
3.	North Carolina	12,271	Washington 56,866
4.	Tennessee	10,220	North Carolina 48,394
5.	Ohio	9,645	Virginia 43,934
6.	Florida	9,543	Maryland 36,895
7.	Michigan	9,019	Nevada 32,223
8.	Minnesota	8,215	Arizona 27,737
9.	Georgia	7,584	Tennessee 27,294
10.	Oregon	6,279	Oregon 22,758

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overwhelmingly locate in the large immigrant port-of-entry States of California, New York, Texas, and Florida. In contrast, inter-state poverty children show greatest net migration gains in Washington, Wisconsin, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Of the top ten net migration gainers among inter-state child poverty movers, only Florida and Washington also appear on the top ten list of destinations for immigrants. In fact, as observed above, most of the high immigration states show a net out-migration of poverty children.

Having seen that inter-state migrant poverty children relocate in different States than do immigrant poverty children, it is important to know whether the destinations of poverty children differ from those for nonpoverty children. The data on the lower panel of Table 4 show that the destinations differ sharply for these two groups of children. That is, among poverty children, Washington and Wisconsin—two States with high welfare benefits (see Appendix A)—show leading net migration gains, whereas among nonpoverty children, the economically booming States of Florida and Georgia take the lead. In fact, the top gaining States among child poverty net migrants include many that represent “return migration” destinations for families that may not have been economically successful after the first move. As shall be discussed later, North Carolina, Tennessee, Ohio, and Michigan might be considered as such destinations. Nonpoverty children and their families are more inclined to go to States in the economically prosperous South Atlantic region and to Pacific and Rocky Mountain region States other than California.

Another contrast can be made by looking at the greatest net out-migration States for poverty and nonpoverty children (see lower left panels of Tables 5 and 6). The list of net out-migration States for poverty children is much more heavily dominated by the traditional port-of-entry immigrant States. Texas, New York, Illinois and California lead this list. Although nonpoverty children are also leaving high immigration States (California excepted), they show a greater tendency to relocate away from economically depressed States such as Louisiana, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and Iowa.

The impact of immigration’s “push” on the inter-state migration of poverty children can be seen from the map which contrasts migration patterns for poverty and nonpoverty children across States. The pattern for poverty children suggests a focused “push” away from a select number of States, heavily dominated by the high immigration States. The destinations for poverty children tend to be fairly diffuse rather than the more focused destinations for nonpoverty children. The latter destinations represent economically prosperous parts of the country which tend to attract the more well-off segments of the population who are in a national labor market (see

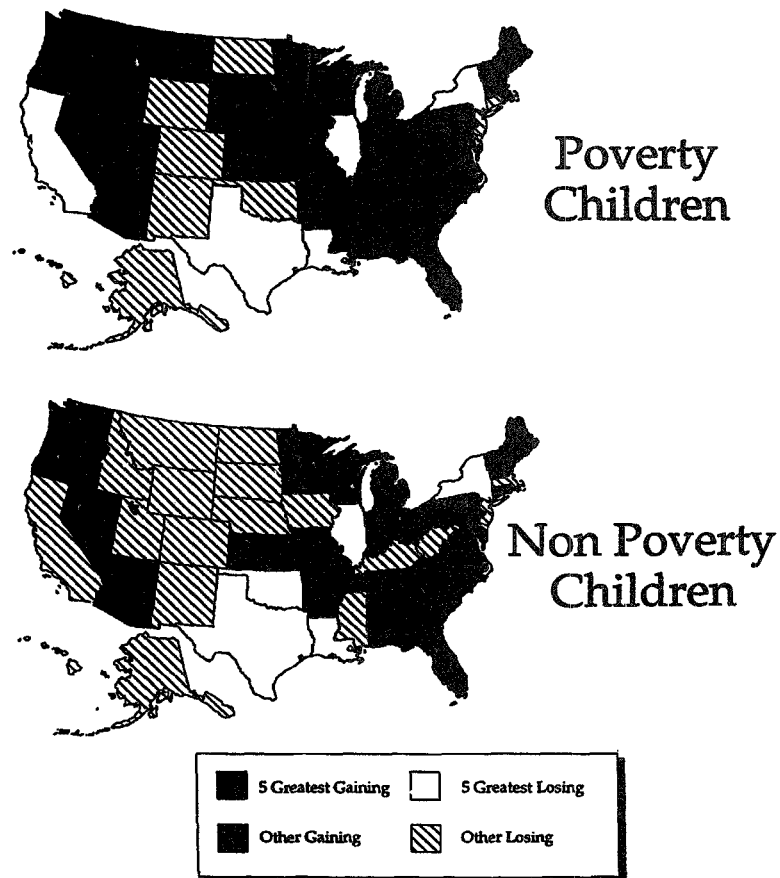


FIGURE 1. Net inter-state migration.

Frey, 1995a, 1996). The contrast between the “push” patterns of poverty children with the more “pull” oriented patterns of nonpoverty children are consistent with previous research, which indicates that the poverty population is less “economically rational” in selecting destinations (Lansing & Mueller, 1964; Long, 1988). That is, poverty families will be more apt to rely on informal channels of information about jobs so that the presence of friends and family tend to be more important than objective economic indicators in their destination selections. In contrast, the nonpoverty popu-

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lation, presumably more represented in professional jobs and those with higher educational demands, are more apt to utilize formal channels of information and be better attuned to national employment gains.

In sum, the data show that inter-state poverty children go to quite different destinations than poverty children who arrive as recent immigrants. Moreover, inter-state poor child migrants locate in different destination States and are more diffuse in their destination selection patterns than are children in non-poor families. The destinations of poor children would appear to be linked to return migration, and possibly to areas with higher welfare benefit levels. However, their patterns are also consistent with the thesis that poor inter-state migrants are "pushed" away from States that are receiving large numbers of recent and poverty-prone immigrants. The independent effects of both welfare benefits and immigration on the internal migration of poverty children will be assessed in the analyses below.

Race and Ethnic Patterns of Inter-State Migration

The overall patterns of inter-state migration among poverty and non-poverty children mask more distinct patterns which can be observed for major race and ethnic groups in the United States. The data presented in Tables 5 and 6 show for poverty children and nonpoverty children, respectively, race-ethnic patterns of net inter-state migration gains and losses. For these comparisons, race-ethnic categories include: non-Latino whites, non-Latino blacks, non-Latino Asians, and Latinos. (For convenience, the terms whites, blacks, Asians, and Latinos will be used throughout.)

The fact that total migration patterns of poverty children mask patterns for specific races is pointed up when the patterns for whites and blacks are contrasted (second and third columns of Table 5). While the States of Washington and Wisconsin show the greatest overall net migration gains in poverty children, Washington ranks at the top of the list for whites and Wisconsin ranks first for blacks. Both of these States have relatively high welfare benefits, but they also lie close to high immigration States and can be subject to "spillover" migration that might result from an immigration "push" (see Frey, 1995b). The other popular destinations for white and black poverty children, respectively, appear to reflect a return to their parental origins or roots. This would appear to explain the net white poverty gains for Arkansas, Michigan, Missouri, and Pennsylvania. Likewise, for blacks, this would explain gains to the South Atlantic States of North Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia. Also, for blacks, movement to Minnesota and Michigan might represent a "spillover" out-migration from Illinois.

The out-migration patterns for poor white and poor black children

TABLE 5
List of States with Greatest 1985-90 Net Inter-State Migration Gains and Losses According to Race and Ethnic Status:
Poverty Children

Rank	Greatest Gains Due to Net Inter-State Migration													
	Total Migration			Whites			Blacks			Asians			Hispanics	
	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size
1.	Washington	15,161	Washington	9,445	Wisconsin	6,698	California	9,828	Florida	5,293				
2.	Wisconsin	12,704	Tennessee	7,576	North Carolina	6,640	Massachusetts	876	Massachusetts	3,858				
3.	North Carolina	12,271	Arkansas	5,689	Georgia	5,662	Wisconsin	669	Washington	3,119				
4.	Tennessee	10,220	Michigan	5,538	Virginia	5,023	Washington	610	Arizona	2,985				
5.	Ohio	9,645	Oregon	5,472	Ohio	4,500	North Carolina	310	Pennsylvania	2,372				
6.	Florida	9,543	Wisconsin	5,222	Minnesota	3,761	Maryland	243	Nevada	1,816				
7.	Michigan	9,019	Missouri	5,032	Michigan	2,745	Pennsylvania	236	Minnesota	1,716				
8.	Minnesota	8,215	Pennsylvania	4,719	Tennessee	2,670	Florida	201	Rhode Island	1,514				
9.	Georgia	7,584	North Carolina	4,198	Florida	2,590	Minnesota	191	Ohio	1,356				
10.	Oregon	6,279	Alabama	4,005	Kansas	2,172	Rhode Island	133	New Mexico	1,330				

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Rank	Greatest Losses Due to Net Inter-State Migration													
	Total Migration			Whites			Blacks			Asians			Hispanics	
	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size
1.	Texas	-36,308	Texas	-24,972	Illinois	-15,153	New York	-15,153	New York	-1,615	New York	-15,374	New York	-15,374
2.	New York	-33,724	California	-18,497	New York	-13,606	Kansas	-13,606	Kansas	-1,128	Texas	-8,149	Texas	-8,149
3.	Illinois	-23,423	New Jersey	-7,887	Louisiana	-4,416	Illinois	-4,416	Illinois	-1,092	California	-4,438	California	-4,438
4.	California	-16,004	Louisiana	-7,759	New Jersey	-3,644	Utah	-3,644	Utah	-1,043	Illinois	-2,076	Illinois	-2,076
5.	Louisiana	-13,901	Massachusetts	-4,998	District of Colum	-2,011	Texas	-2,011	Texas	-1,025	New Jersey	-1,602	New Jersey	-1,602
6.	New Jersey	-13,470	Illinois	-4,949	California	-1,878	Hawaii	-1,878	Hawaii	-757	Oklahoma	-945	Oklahoma	-945
7.	Alaska	-4,236	Alaska	-3,437	Mississippi	-1,866	Michigan	-1,866	Michigan	-702	Louisiana	-856	Louisiana	-856
8.	Wyoming	-2,937	Connecticut	-2,983	Missouri	-1,794	Iowa	-1,794	Iowa	-691	Alaska	-518	Alaska	-518
9.	Hawaii	-2,769	New York	-2,921	Texas	-1,472	Colorado	-1,472	Colorado	-608	Utah	-429	Utah	-429
10.	North Dakota	-2,522	Wyoming	-2,579	Pennsylvania	-1,343	Louisiana	-1,343	Louisiana	-546	Wyoming	-419	Wyoming	-419

TABLE 6
List of States with Greatest 1985-90 Net Inter-State Migration Gains and Losses According to Race and Ethnic Status:
Non-Poverty Children

Rank	Greatest Gains Due to Net Inter-State Migration													
	Total Migration			Whites			Blacks			Asians			Hispanics	
	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size
1.	Florida	166,052	Florida	120,984	Georgia	21,208	California	15,168	Florida	26,892				
2.	Georgia	81,588	Georgia	55,451	Maryland	15,960	New Jersey	6,469	Arizona	5,160				
3.	Washington	56,866	Washington	49,632	Florida	14,609	Florida	3,444	Washington	4,415				
4.	North Carolina	48,394	North Carolina	42,210	Virginia	10,119	Washington	1,981	Nevada	3,739				
5.	Virginia	43,934	Virginia	29,773	North Carolina	5,290	Georgia	1,623	Georgia	3,098				
6.	Maryland	36,895	Nevada	25,677	California	3,561	Maryland	1,114	Maryland	2,932				
7.	Nevada	32,223	Tennessee	25,467	Texas	2,618	Virginia	687	Virginia	2,881				
8.	Arizona	27,737	Arizona	20,769	Nevada	2,508	New Hampshire	574	Oregon	1,943				
9.	Tennessee	27,294	New Hampshire	20,628	Minnesota	1,466	North Carolina	562	Kansas	1,696				
10.	Oregon	22,758	Oregon	19,492	Arizona	1,455	Oregon	430	Wisconsin	1,661				

TABLE 6 (Continued)

Greatest Losses Due to Net Inter-State Migration

Rank	Total Migration		Whites		Blacks		Asians		Hispanics	
	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size
1.	New York	-157,574	New York	-92,858	New York	-27,284	New York	-9,645	New York	-26,608
2.	Texas	-99,338	Texas	-83,623	D.C.	-12,422	Illinois	-3,488	Texas	-16,217
3.	Louisiana	-68,071	Louisiana	-52,872	Illinois	-11,434	Hawaii	-2,200	California	-6,812
4.	Illinois	-61,011	Illinois	-41,504	Louisiana	-10,356	Louisian	-1,892	Illinois	-4,411
5.	Oklahoma	-42,637	Oklahoma	-38,490	Mississippi	-4,534	Wisconsin	-1,745	Louisiana	-2,944
6.	Massachusetts	-33,129	Massachusetts	-33,927	Alabama	-4,154	Texas	-1,722	New Mexico	-2,271
7.	Utah	-28,560	Utah	-27,005	Michigan	-3,618	Missouri	-1,593	Colorado	-2,266
8.	West Virginia	-22,735	West Virginia	-21,470	Pennsylvania	-2,534	Oklahoma	-997	District of Columbia	-1,842
9.	D.C.	-22,098	Iowa	-19,339	Kentucky	-1,924	Minnesota	-977	Hawaii	-1,075
10.	Iowa	-19,845	New Jersey	-17,327	Arkansas	-1,888	D.C.	-956	Oklahoma	-904

(lower panels of Table 5), like the overall patterns, emphasize accentuated movement away from high immigration States. Yet, the specific States differ in their relative magnitudes of loss for the two races. Among whites, Texas and California dominate net migration losses. While both are high immigration States, Texas' economy was also on the downswing due to the decline of oil prices during this period. For blacks, Illinois and New York show the greatest out-migration of poverty children. Again, while both are high immigration States, Illinois sustained declines in heavy manufacturing employment over this period.

The foregoing patterns of net gains and losses for poverty white and black children can be further understood by observing the largest state-to-state migration exchanges over the 1985–90 period (see Table 7). Shown here are the greatest exchanges of all possible state-to-state combinations. The exchanges represent the difference between the out-migration flow from origin-to-destination State minus the smaller in-migration flow operating in the reverse direction. (For example, the net exchange from New York to Florida represents the sum of all migrants moving from New York to Florida minus the sum of all migrants moving from Florida to New York.)

It is clear that for both whites and blacks, these exchanges revolve around key origin States. For whites, six of the ten largest exchanges represent movements away from California (to Washington, Oregon, and Nevada, respectively), and from Texas (to Ohio, Arkansas and Michigan). The flow out of California tends to have a "spillover" character which previous research has found to be unique to California's poverty population (Frey, 1995b). However, the flows out of Texas are directed to both the neighboring state of Arkansas as well as more long distance exchanges with Ohio and Michigan. The latter reflects, in part, a return to heavy manufacturing States which exported migrants to Texas in the early 1980s. Other large white exchanges occur between New York and Florida, New Jersey and Florida, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and Illinois and Wisconsin. All of these involve movement away from high immigration States.

The largest exchanges for black poverty children revolve around two high immigration origin States—Illinois and New York. Illinois represents the origin for four of the eight largest exchanges, led by the exchange between Illinois and Wisconsin. Illinois also exports black poverty children, in large numbers, to Michigan, Minnesota, and California. The flows to neighboring Midwest States represent "spillover" migration. The four large exchanges emanating from New York represent more long distance connections for blacks to South Atlantic region States. New York's exchanges with North Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia probably come in part, to a return to familial origins. The flow to Florida represents, perhaps, expand-

TABLE 7

Largest 1985-90 Inter-State Migration Exchanges of Migration Streams of Poverty Children

Rank	Poverty Children			White Poverty Children			Black Poverty Children		
	Losing	Gaining	Migrants	Losing	Gaining	Migrants	Losing	Gaining	Migrants
1.	NY	FL	8,929	CA	WA	3,439	IL	WI	5,127
2.	IL	WI	6,958	CA	OR	3,145	NY	NC	3,218
3.	CA	WA	5,897	NY	FL	2,107	NY	FL	2,758
4.	TX	CA	3,915	TX	OH	2,103	IL	MI	2,159
5.	CA	OR	3,813	NJ	FL	2,100	IL	MN	1,675
6.	NY	NC	3,673	TX	AR	2,066	NY	VA	1,667
7.	NJ	FL	3,656	TX	MI	1,931	FL	GA	1,505
8.	NY	MA	3,595	IL	WI	1,812	IL	CA	1,448
9.	NY	NJ	3,490	CA	NV	1,761	NY	SC	1,233
10.	NJ	PA	3,347	NJ	PA	1,587	MS	TN	1,230

ing opportunities in that State. The inter-state movement of black poverty children is pronounced around key immigration origin States.

The patterns of inter-state migration gains and losses for poor Asian and Latino children differ sharply from overall patterns. For Asians, California represents the dominant destination, and the States of Wisconsin, Washington, and North Carolina—the largest gainers for the overall population—show relatively small Asian gains. The attraction of California for native-born and longer term Asian families with children suggests that not very much spatial assimilation is occurring for this broad racial group.

Among poor Latino children, Florida shows the highest net migration gain. Although the list of net gainers for Latinos only overlaps with one State (Washington) on the list for the total population, many of the gaining States do not have especially large Latino populations. In fact, longer-term and native-born Latino families with children appear to be leaving most of the traditional Latino port-of-entry origin States. The internal out-migration of these longer-term resident Latino children is overwhelmed by the number of new immigrant Latinos in these States. For example, in California, recent immigrant Latinos represented a gain of 57,565 poor children, while the internal out-migration of longer-term resident Latinos was only 4,438.

Race-ethnic inter-state migration patterns for nonpoverty children are shown in Table 6. In general, they reinforce for whites and blacks what was observed for the overall population—that poverty children can be directed to a somewhat different set of States than nonpoverty children. Hence, nonpoverty white children and their families are more likely to locate in the economically booming States of Florida and Georgia than to the States of Washington and Wisconsin—which dominated the pattern for their counterparts below the poverty line. Similarly, poverty blacks are more apt to be attracted to the economically booming State of Georgia than to Wisconsin. While both poverty and nonpoverty children show gains in several of the economically prosperous South Atlantic States, it is likely that the nonpoverty blacks are attracted by employment opportunities in these areas (or, in the case of Maryland and Virginia, movement to the suburbs from surrounding Washington, DC). Poverty black child migrants to these same States are probably attracted to smaller-sized and rural areas within these States where they hold informal kinship ties (McHugh, 1987; Long, 1988; Johnson & Roseman, 1990). It is noteworthy, however, that the state of California is not on the list of major “exporters” of either white or black nonpoverty children. In fact, nonpoverty blacks show net gains for the state of California. This is consistent with the view that a dual economy exists in California and other high immigration States such that the immigration “push” on the native-born poor population is not evident among the more

well-off portions of that State's longterm residents. This is because immigrants pose less of an economic threat and, in fact, may help to complement the activities of skilled and professional workers in these States (see Walker, Ellis & Barff, 1992; White & Hunter, 1993).

Unlike the case with whites and blacks, there is not a significant disparity between poverty and nonpoverty migration patterns among Asians and Latinos. Nonpoverty Asian children, like their poverty counterparts, are drawn in large numbers to California. However, there is a greater distribution of gains among other States for poverty Asians than for nonpoverty Asians. Likewise, nonpoverty Latino children are, again, drawn to Florida as well as other key States that attract poverty Latinos, such as Arizona, Washington, Nevada, and Georgia. Moreover, the out-migration patterns of nonpoverty Asians and Latinos are greatest out of New York and, in the case of Latinos, other high immigration States.

In sum, this review of race-ethnic inter-state migration patterns for poverty and nonpoverty children points up significant differences in the poverty destinations of whites, blacks, Asians, and Latinos. However, among the first two groups, there is some tendency to relocate toward States with high welfare benefits, and to parts of the country where there are strong familial ties. Out-migration patterns for these groups are most accentuated from high immigration States. The results also show differences when poverty destinations are compared with nonpoverty destinations among white and black inter-state migrants. Poverty destinations, for both races, tend to focus on economically growing parts of the country, though again, these differ by race. For Asians and Latinos, there is less difference by poverty status in the inter-state net gains for child migrants. Together, these results suggest that there exists clear distinctions by both poverty status and race-ethnicity in the inter-state migration patterns of children. Moreover, in the overall population for both whites and blacks, there is some suggestion that state welfare benefits exert an independent "pull" and that recent immigration exerts an additional "push". These suggestions will be investigated in the multivariate analyses in a later section.

Family Type Patterns of Interstate Migration

The assumption that State welfare benefits will exert an independent "pull" effect on poverty children is predicated under the assumption that AFDC benefits will be attractive to female-headed families. In order to assemble some preliminary evidence for testing this assertion, Table 8 shows the States with greatest net migration gains for children by the two family status categories, married couples and female heads. Tables are replicated

TABLE 8
List of States with Greatest 1985-90 Net Inter-State Migration Gains for Children by Family Type and Poverty Status

Rank	Poverty Children—Greatest Inter-State Migration Gains by Family Status																	
	Married Couple			Female-Head			White Married Couple			White Female-Head			Black Married Couple			Black Female-Head		
	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size
1.	FL	7,281	WA	10,527	TN	5,735	WA	6,884	GA	1,732	WI	5,744						
2.	TN	6,028	WI	8,202	AR	4,306	PA	3,740	FL	1,669	NC	5,344						
3.	NC	5,770	OH	7,781	AL	3,390	MI	3,133	VA	1,516	OH	4,241						
4	GA	4,507	MI	6,553	KY	3,130	OH	2,840	NC	1,452	VA	3,425						
5.	WI	4,355	NC	6,368	MO	2,993	IA	2,761	WI	868	GA	3,272						
6.	AR	4,354	MN	5,890	NC	2,876	IN	2,468	MN	592	MN	3,044						
7.	AL	3,553	PA	4,698	WI	2,755	OR	2,392	KS	360	MI	2,928						
8.	WA	3,523	TN	3,682	OR	2,747	WI	2,229	KY	332	TN	2,045						
9.	KY	3,360	IA	3,280	GA	2,187	MN	1,946	TN	310	KS	1,629						
10.	OR	3,092	MA	3,180	MI	2,143	UT	1,880	NV	307	SC	1,367						

TABLE 8 (Continued)

Non-Poverty Children—Greatest Inter-State Migration Gains by Family Status

Rank	Married Couple		Female-Head		White Married Couple		White Female-Head		Black Married Couple		Black Female-Head	
	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size	State	Size
1.	FL	140,791	FL	19,317	FL	106,021	FL	10,804	GA	15,388	MD	5,115
2.	GA	69,202	GA	8,506	GA	49,777	WA	3,606	MD	9,581	CA	4,898
3.	WA	52,069	MD	6,678	WA	45,561	GA	3,529	FL	9,337	FL	4,539
4.	NC	42,920	NC	4,697	NC	38,395	NC	3,010	VA	6,914	VA	2,657
5.	VA	40,143	WA	4,391	VA	29,831	AZ	2,865	NC	3,112	NC	2,016
6.	MD	28,638	AZ	3,827	NV	22,634	TN	2,765	CA	2,592	CA	1,204
7.	NV	27,992	TN	3,334	TN	22,547	NV	2,149	TX	1,822	SC	795
8.	AZ	24,060	NV	2,963	NH	18,890	OR	1,782	NV	1,716	WI	766
9.	TN	23,922	VA	2,918	AZ	18,451	SC	1,374	DE	1,256	CT	759
10.	NH	19,584	CA	2,759	IN	17,080	NH	1,225	MIN	1,134	OH	751

for children in poor families, in non-poor families and separately for whites and blacks. Overall, the results indicate that, indeed, children in poor, female-headed families tend to be directed to somewhat different destinations than those in poor, married-couple families. Overall, and as well as for whites and blacks, the top destinations for children in female-headed families tend to be those with favorable AFDC benefits (Washington for whites and Wisconsin for blacks). The favored destinations for children in poor, married-couple families are more linked to States characterized earlier as "return migration" destinations (Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Kentucky, Missouri, and North Carolina for whites; Georgia, Florida, Virginia and North Carolina for blacks). Finally, the patterns shown for nonpoverty children (lower panel of Table 8) show that there is very little difference in the inter-state destination patterns for children in married-couple families compared with those in female-headed families within a given racial group. These destination patterns are similar to those shown in Table 6, and differ from those shown for the poverty population. This analysis, therefore, points up distinct differences in inter-state migration patterns *within the poverty population*, and lend further support for separate analyses of welfare benefit "pulls" by family type.

IMMIGRATION "PUSHES" AND WELFARE BENEFIT "PULLS"

We turn to the final objective of this paper: to conduct multivariate analyses which will assess the significance of our two policy-relevant factors on the internal migration of poor children. The results from these analyses which appear on Tables 9 and 10, regress the 1985–90 net migration of poor children, for different subgroups, on a battery of state-level economic and demographic attributes that have been used in previous migration studies (Cebula, 1979; Cebula & Belton, 1994; Filer, 1992; Frey *et al.*, 1995; Hanson & Hartman, 1994; Moffitt, 1992; Schram & Krueger, 1994; Southwick, 1991; Voss *et al.*, 1992). The two policy-relevant variables are measured by: the foreign immigration (rate) 1985–90; and the combined AFDC and Food Stamp benefit level (average of annual 1985 and 1988 values, adjusted for state cost of living variations based on McMahon & Chang, 1991 and shown in Appendix A). The other State attributes represent economic factors which are known to affect migration (percent of change in manufacturing employment, 1985–89; percent of change in service employment, 1985–89; average per capita income, 1985–89, with state cost of living adjustments; unemployment rate, 1985), the violent crime rate, averaged over 1985–89, a geographic regional clas-

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sification of States (dummy variables for the Northeast region, the Midwest region, the South Atlantic division, the Mountain division and the Pacific division, where parts of the South, which are not included in the South Atlantic division, represent the omitted category (and the log of the State's 1985 population size) controlling for scale.

Each of the equations in Tables 9 and 10 pertain to net migration for specific demographic subgroups. This permits us to evaluate the significance of recent foreign immigration and welfare benefits *vis-à-vis* other State attributes affecting State internal migration for different demographic categories. Because the earlier section indicated that inter-state migration differs for whites and blacks, and by family type, Table 9 shows specific equations for all children, white children and black children; and Table 10 shows disaggregation for married-couple families and female-headed families.

The most consistent and important finding of these analyses is the strong and significant negative impact of recent foreign immigration on the child poverty population of each of the subgroups examined. The effect seems to be stronger for white children than for black children and for children in female-headed families rather than those in married-couple families. However, the poverty population of each demographic group shows an unmistakably strong effect consistent with the suggested immigrant "push" on internal migration among poverty children. Noteworthy are the far smaller and insignificant effects that recent foreign immigration exerts on the internal migration of children in each nonpoverty subgroup. This, again, is consistent with the view that the more well-off segments of the population are less likely to compete with or absorb the costs of recent immigration in high immigration States.

The second policy-relevant variable—combined AFDC and Food Stamps, representing State welfare benefits—shows a much smaller and insignificant positive relationship to child poverty net migration among the overall population, whites, blacks and those in female-headed families. The effect shows up to be negligible for children in married-couple families. A somewhat modest and insignificant effect of State welfare benefits on poverty migration is surprising in light of the descriptive findings reviewed earlier. However, these results appear to indicate that when relevant economic and demographic factors are included in the equations, the added effect of welfare benefits on the redistribution of poverty children is very small. It should be noted, however, that this variable does have opposite effects on the poverty and nonpoverty child populations of each group. That is, in each comparison, while welfare benefits show a small statistically insignificant positive effect on poverty net migration, it also shows a

TABLE 9
Net Inter-State Migration of Children by Poverty Status and Race Regressed on State Attributes, 1985-90
(Standardized Regression Coefficients)

State Attributes	Total Children		White Children		Black Children	
	Poverty	Non-Poverty	Poverty	Non-Poverty	Poverty	Non-Poverty
Manufacturing Growth	.21	.20	.41*	.24	-.12	-.07
Service Growth	.25	.33	.08	.36	.36	.22
Income Per Capita	.02	.15	-.05	.11	.07	.30
Unemployment Rate	-.01	-.03	.14	.00	-.24	-.27
Violent Crime Rate	.09	-.20	.43*	-.04	-.23	-.64*
Immigration from Abroad	-.67*	-.17	-.94*	-.29	-.32*	.03
Combined AFDC and Food Stamps	.11	-.12	.18	-.10	.19	-.05
Region						
Northeast	.06	-.02	.38*	.09	-.47*	-.51*
Midwest	.14	.11	.25	.16	-.21	-.27
South Atlantic	.25	.39*	.19	.38*	.18	.37*
Mountain	.16	.15	.19	.18	-.06	.00
Pacific	.25	.24	.20	.26	-.02	.03
Population Size (log)	-.04	.01	-.02	.01	.08	.16
R-squared	.53	.56	.62	.59	.45	.61

*Significant at $p < .1$

Notes: 1. The dependent variable is defined, specific to each subpopulation, as 1985-90 Net Internal Migration.

2. Alaska and Hawaii are excluded from this analysis.

3. See text for definitions of State attributes.

4. Omitted category for regional dummy variables includes the remainder of the South region (excluding South Atlantic).

TABLE 10
Net Inter-State Migration of Children by Poverty Status and Family Type Regressed on State Attributes, 1985-90
(Standardized Regression Coefficients)

State Attributes	Children in Married Couple Families		Children in Female Headed Families	
	Poverty	Non-Poverty	Poverty	Non-Poverty
Manufacturing Growth	.29	.21	.11	.05
Service Growth	.28	.32	.21	.39
Income Per Capita	-.11	.15	.13	.12
Unemployment Rate	.05	-.02	-.07	-.11
Violent Crime Rate	.09	-.18	.07	-.26
Immigration from Abroad	-.48*	-.9	-.77*	-.03
Combined AFDC and Food Stamps	.02	-.14	.15	-.01
Region				
Northeast	.06	.01	.06	-.28
Midwest	.12	.12	.15	-.05
South Atlantic	.22	.40*	.25	.30
Mountain	.12	.16	.19	.07
Pacific	.12	.25	.34*	.12
Population Size (log)	-.11	.01	.03	.05
R-squared	.54	.57	.50	.51

*Significant at $p < .1$

Notes: 1. The dependent variable is defined, specific to each subpopulation, as 1985-90 Net Internal Migration.

2. Alaska and Hawaii are excluded from this analysis.

3. See text for definitions of State attributes.

4. Omitted category for regional dummy variables includes the remainder of the South region (excluding South Atlantic).

small statistically insignificant negative effect on net migration for non-poverty children.

While most of the rest of the variables operate in the expected directions, the other most consistent effect involves regional variables. That is, the nonpoverty population is fairly consistently drawn to the economically prosperous South Atlantic region, even when the economic variables are controlled. This is the case for all nonpoverty subgroups except for children in female-headed families. Another noteworthy regional finding is the negative relationship between Northeast and Midwest residence and net migration for black children, in the both the poverty and nonpoverty subpopulations. On the whole, however, this analysis gives strong support to the assertion that immigration exerts an independent effect on the out-migration of poverty children, and does not provide support for the thesis that welfare benefits attract this population, when other State economic attributes are included in the analysis.

IMPLICATIONS

At the outset of this study, we indicated that it is possible that foreign immigration may hold a two-fold impact on the child poverty population in high immigration States. The first of these is the direct contribution that the immigrant population makes, itself, owing to the relatively high level of poverty among recent immigrant children to the United States. The second effect is a more indirect one, confirmed by the previous analysis, which shows the selective net out-migration of poor longer-term and native-born families with children from these high immigration States. This out-migration of the native-born poor is even occurring in high immigration States which also have high welfare benefit levels (e.g., California and New York). The result of these processes lead to child poverty populations which take on more of the sociodemographic characteristics of recent immigrants than of the native-born.

The distinctly different demographics emerging with the child poverty populations in high immigration States such as California, New York or Texas hold important implications for the kinds of schooling and social services that are necessary for these populations, as compared with the child poverty populations in low immigration States and those which are receiving large numbers of internal migrant poverty children. It has been argued elsewhere that the country is becoming "demographically balkanized" on the basis of population characteristics associated with high immigration areas, as contrasted with low immigration areas, or those receiv-

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ing large numbers of internal migrants (Frey, 1995a; 1996). This geographic segmentation may become even more pronounced among the child population and the child poverty population if the patterns observed here continue. This argues for even greater localized solutions to child poverty which, in some areas, might focus on assimilation and bilingual education in the schools, and in other areas, focus on the problems of female-headed families gaining access to schooling and jobs in inner cities or rural areas.

ENDNOTES

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2. Migration status over the 1985–90 period for children aged 5–17 in 1990 was determined from their residence in 1985. For children under age 5 in 1990, migration status was determined by the head of household's residence in 1985.

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APPENDIX A

State Welfare Benefits Used in This Study*

State	Annual Benefit Level
Alabama	\$5,458
Arizona	\$7,351
Arkansas	\$6,678
California	\$9,221
Colorado	\$7,623
Connecticut	\$8,462
Delaware	\$6,716
District of Columbia	\$6,403
Florida	\$7,041
Georgia	\$6,938
Idaho	\$8,010
Illinois	\$7,404
Indiana	\$7,087
Iowa	\$8,222
Kansas	\$8,616
Kentucky	\$6,682
Louisiana	\$6,439
Maine	\$8,110
Maryland	\$7,497
Massachusetts	\$7,791
Michigan	\$8,389
Minnesota	\$9,381
Mississippi	\$5,390
Missouri	\$7,024
Montana	\$8,457
Nebraska	\$8,043
Nevada	\$7,503
New Hampshire	\$8,292
New Jersey	\$7,184
New Mexico	\$7,361
New York	\$8,694
North Carolina	\$6,860
North Dakota	\$8,478
Ohio	\$7,281
Oklahoma	\$7,591
Oregon	\$9,051
Pennsylvania	\$7,916
Rhode Island	\$8,508
South Carolina	\$6,635
South Dakota	\$8,347
Tennessee	\$6,029

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APPENDIX A (Continued)

State	Annual Benefit Level
Texas	\$6,179
Utah	\$8,884
Vermont	\$10,359
Virginia	\$7,220
Washington	\$9,384
West Virginia	\$7,185
Wisconsin	\$9,628
Wyoming	\$8,244

*Benefits represent the average of combined AFDC and Food Stamp Levels (assuming maximum AFDC for State) for years 1985 and 1988, adjusted by the CPI to 1992 Dollar values. Values were further adjusted for State variations in Cost of Living from 1985 and 1989 estimated by McMahon and Chang (1991).

Source for Combined AFDC/Food Stamp Benefit Levels: Overview of Entitlement Programs: 1993 Green Book, US House of Representatives, Committee on Ways and Means. Washington, DC: US. Government Printing Office, 1993.