

December 1997

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Gaffney, Susan and Dubey, Sumati (1997) "Time Series Analysis of the Implementation of Child Support Enforcement Policies in Federal Region V States," *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*: Vol. 24: Iss. 4, Article 6.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15453/0191-5096.2451>

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Time Series Analysis of the Implementation of Child Support Enforcement Policies in Federal Region V States

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This study examines the impact legislation, such as the Family Support Act of 1988, Child Support Recovery Act of 1992 and Ted Weiss Child Support Enforcement Act of 1992 had on child support enforcement in Federal Region V states (Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin). These pieces of legislation authorize coercive means to force noncustodial parents to meet their child support obligations. Child support is the money noncustodial parents are obligated to pay for the support of their children on a monthly basis. Child support laws have been enacted to increase the number of noncustodial parents located, paternities established, child support orders issued, and child support payments. Social and economic factors that help to explain state variations in child support collections are also analyzed. Time series analysis was applied to secondary data collected from 1984–1994. The data was collapsed into two periods 1984–1988 and 1989–1994 in order to determine if legislation enacted after 1988 had an effect on child support enforcement in Federal Region V. The results from this study indicate that certain variables had the greatest impact on child support enforcement in each state in Federal Region V. The findings from this study provide beneficial strategies which may enhance current child support enforcement practices.

Introduction

There were an estimated 16, 334,000 children living in mother only households in 1994. Children living in mother only households are three times more likely to be living at or below the poverty level compared to children in father only households and six times more likely compared to children living with both parents (Rodgers, 1994). Mother only households are often forced to become dependent on welfare due to their limited earnings, large number of dependents, and the noncustodial parent's failure to pay child support. Thus, the United States Congress has enacted numerous pieces of legislation to encourage noncustodial parents to meet their financial obligation to their children. Making noncustodial parents economically responsible for their children is one of the strategies for reducing poverty and welfare dependence among poor families.

Legislative Overview of The Child Support Enforcement Program

The Federal government has been helping families having financial difficulties for more than 60 years. The Social Security Act of 1935 was the first comprehensive federal welfare legislation. Title IV of this act, known as Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), provided cash benefits to families who had lost their sole provider, usually due to an untimely death.

In 1950, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws drafted the Uniform Reciprocal Enforcement of Support Act (URESA) which contained child support policies regarding noncustodial parents residing in another state. Amendments were added to this body of legislation in 1952, 1958, and 1968 (Committee on Ways and Means, United States House of Representatives, 1993). This early attempt at child support enforcement was viewed as a means of containing the growth in ADC cases and reducing child poverty.

In the 1960's the name of ADC was changed to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), which also provided benefits to the caretaker (Blum, 1994). The objective of this legislation was to reduce poverty without forcing mothers, primarily widows, into the labor force. AFDC continued to grow in size and began

to serve families headed by divorced, separated, or never married mothers.

In 1973, there were 113 children per thousand receiving AFDC benefits. Census data showed that children residing in single parent households were more likely to live below the poverty level. (Peterson and Petersen, 1994). In 1975, to combat this growing problem Congress added Part D to Title IV of the Social Security Act of 1935, (Public Law 93-647) which created the Federal Office of Child Support Enforcement and required all states to set up Child Support Enforcement agencies. This amendment mandated that states (1) locate absent noncustodial parents; (2) establish paternity; (3) establish support orders; and (4) enforce support collections for families receiving AFDC benefits.

In 1980, the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act (Public Law 96-272) granted federal funding for the state child support enforcement agencies to help non-AFDC families collect child support. The states were allowed to charge an application fee up to \$25 for child support enforcement services for non-AFDC families (Committee on Ways and Means: United States House of Representatives, 1993) The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 (Public Law 97-35) gave states the power to withhold past due support from federal tax refunds when a noncustodial parent owed more than \$150 in child support for a child receiving AFDC.

In 1984, Congress enacted the Child Support Enforcement Amendments to the Social Security Act of 1935, to strengthen child support enforcement. These amendments allowed states to (1) withhold state tax refunds; (2) report noncustodial parents to credit bureaus for delinquent child support amounts; (3) notify AFDC recipients of the amount the state had collected in child support on their behalf; (4) permit the establishment of paternity until the child's 18th birthday; (5) impose IRS federal tax offset for non-AFDC families that have noncustodial parents who owe more than \$500 for past due child support; and (6) assign liens on real and personal property.

Although the 1984 Child Support Amendments provided states with more leverage over noncustodial parents, the majority of them still did not meet their child support obligation. The average child support award was \$1,250 annually which was only \$3.45 a day for food, clothing, day care, and recreational activities

(Bergmann, 1987). In 1985, out of an estimated \$10.9 billion owed by noncustodial parents for child support, only \$7.2 billion was collected.

In 1988, the Family Support Act (Public Law 100-485) Title I, Child Support and the Establishment of Paternity strengthened existing child support policies. The most important provisions in this legislation were: (1) standards for establishing paternity in hospitals, through the courts, and by the IV-D agency for non-contested cases; (2) standard guidelines for establishing child support awards which states must review and adjust every three years; (3) states have the authority to impose wage withholding on noncustodial parents in all newly modified child support cases; (4) the authority to send regular billing, delinquency notices, liens on property, seizure and sale of property; (5) and the authority to report arrearages to credit agencies, garnishments of wages, and intercepting state and federal income tax refunds of noncustodial parents.

In 1992, the Ted Weiss Child Support Enforcement Act (Public Law 102-537), amended the Fair Credit Reporting Act requiring credit reporting agencies to include and retain in the consumer credit report the information on child support delinquencies for seven years. The Child Support Recovery Act of 1992 (Public Law 102-521) imposed a federal criminal penalty on noncustodial parents who flee to other states to avoid paying their child support obligation. The penalty for the first conviction is \$5,000 and/or imprisonment for not more than six months; and for the second conviction a fine up to \$150,000 and or/imprisonment up to two years.

The most recent child support legislation is Title III, Child Support of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (P.L. 104-193). This legislation grants states more flexibility over the dispersion of welfare and child support collections. The most significant provisions are: (1) states have the option of enforcing a support order against the grandparents (the parent of a minor noncustodial parent) if the minor custodial parent is receiving IV-A assistance, now called Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF); (2) state birth record agencies must offer an opportunity to putative fathers for voluntary acknowledgment of paternity which must be legally binding unless rescinded

within 60 days; (3) states are authorized to suspend drivers, professional, occupational, and recreational licences of delinquent noncustodial parents; (4) credit bureaus must provide reports to authorized IV-D officials; and IV-D agencies must report arrearages to credit bureaus; (5) federal government is authorized to deny passports to noncustodial parents with arrears of more than \$5,000; (6) all IV-D child support orders must include health care coverage if available; and (7) states must have an Automated State Directory of New Hires System in place by October 1, 1997 (Turetsky, 1996).

Theoretical Framework for Understanding the Behaviors of Noncustodial Parents

There are three theories that may explain the behavior of noncustodial parents regarding their financial obligations to their children: (1) deterrence, (2) shame and embarrassment, and (3) defiance. The deterrence theory takes the premise that people can be dissuaded from committing a prohibited act if they believe the sanctioning agency will deliver a swift and severe punishment (Sherman, 1993). The rate of compliance with the law thus seems to be associated with certainty, swiftness and severity of punishment for noncompliance. In general compliance rates are expected to increase both by the probability of detection and the severity of expected sanctions. To be effective punishment must be repeated often and extensive surveillance or monitoring of behavior is also necessary. Sanctions only deter the offender from breaking the law if he or she feels that the sanction is legitimate, the offender has a strong bond with the community, and she or he wants to maintain a connection within the community (Sherman, 1993). Thus, noncustodial parents who believe that coercive measures are legitimate will attempt to pay their child support obligation, even if they do not feel emotionally attached to that child.

However, according to Braithwaite (1989) shame and embarrassment within the community sometimes has a greater impact than one's belief of legitimate legal sanctions. Shame refers to a self-imposed sanction that occurs when actors feel guilt or remorse due to violation of internalized norms (Grasmick, Burrsik, and Arneklev, 1993). Embarrassment is defined as socially imposed sanctions which occur when actors violate norms

endorsed by their significant others whose opinions the actors value and who have become aware of the actor's transgression (Grasmick, Burrsik, and Arneklev, 1993). Noncustodial parents who feel ashamed to have their pictures on delinquent child support posters or on the Internet and who do not want the stigma of being known as deadbeat parents will attempt to pay their child support obligation. Noncustodial parents who feel that the child support enforcement laws are illegitimate and unfair will defy them joyously. Sherman (1993) devised four characteristics which may define the behavior of a deadbeat parent: (1) He or she defines sanctions as unfair, (2) is poorly bonded to or alienated from the sanctioning agency or the community the agency represents, (3) defines the sanction as stigmatizing, not a lawbreaking act, (4) and refuses to acknowledge the shame caused by sanctions. Thus, noncustodial parents who do not feel that child support enforcement laws are fair will abrogate their responsibility to provide toward their children's economic well being. Compliance is also dependent on how well the law is implemented by the governing agency (Robinson, 1995).

Enforcement of laws enacted to change behavior is also influenced by the target groups' access to information, the implementing agency's ability to enforce policies; the agency's ability to regulate sanctions, procedures, and the incentives for compliance. State agencies must make compliance an easy process. The factors that make it seem forbidding must be identified and changed. If the process for compliance is too difficult to understand or has too many costly barrier it makes it virtually impossible for people to respond to it positively.

In regards to child support obligations states which provide information about procedures and benefits to the public about the child support obligation and clearly convey what sanctions can be imposed quickly on noncustodial parents are likely to be more effective in achieving the purpose of child support enforcement policies. The purpose of this study is to determine whether more stringent measures passed since 1988 have increased the effectiveness of child support enforcement, particularly in respect to: (1) noncustodial parents located, (2) paternity and support orders established and (3) the amount of child support collected.

Research Design

Selection of Research Methods: Time series analysis was used for studying the effect of tougher child support enforcement policies because this approach allowed the researchers to find out what factors were most influential and what events may have caused fluctuations in child support enforcement. Through time series analysis we analyzed the trend before and after the enactment of Family Support Act of 1988 to obtain a projection of what would have happened without the additional stringent measures. This projection was then compared with the actual trend after the intervention. The major limitation of the time series design is that one needs a large number of pre-intervention observations in order to model pre-intervention trends accurately.

To determine what impact the legislation has had on the dependent variables: noncustodial parents located, paternities established, support orders established, and the amount of child support collected, data were collected for eleven years and divided into two periods: (I) 1984–1988 and (II); 1989–1994. These two periods represent five years before and six years after the passage of the Family Support Act of 1988 in which more stringent measures were included and subsequent legislation that has given states more authority to collect child support.

Selection of Sample: The study covers states in Federal Region V (Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio and Wisconsin). They have been selected because 18% of the national population resides in these states. Federal Region V states also represent 24.3% of all child support cases. For fiscal year 1994 out of \$10 billion collected in child support, Federal Region V states collected \$2.6 billion which represents 27% of the total collections; these states established 112,245 paternities, 19% of all paternities established (N=590,819); established 204,187 support orders 20% of all support orders established (N=1,023,292); and located 436,596 noncustodial parents, 11% of all noncustodial parents located (N=4,104,349). Thus, performance trends in these states are likely to approximate the trend in the other states as well.

Sources of Data: Data for this study were collected from numerous secondary sources: Current Population Surveys on Child

Support, Federal Office of Child Support Enforcement's Annual Reports, social services agencies from each state in Federal Region V, U. S. Bureau of Census, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, General Accounting Office Reports on child support and welfare.

Definition and Operationalization of Variables: Child support policies enacted from 1988 to the present primarily focus on four issues; the location of noncustodial parents, the establishment of paternity, the establishment of child support orders, and the collection of child support obligations. Location of parent refers to retrieving the noncustodial parents current home address or place of employment. The state and federal agencies most often contacted to trace noncustodial parents are the Social Security Administration, Internal Revenue Services, Department of Labor and State Employment Services, Veterans Affairs, Department of Motor Vehicles, and utility companies. Paternity establishment refers to the determination of fatherhood either by voluntary acknowledgment or by adjudication of the courts or an administrative agency on the basis of the matching genetic codes. The child support award refers to monthly monetary amount determined by courts that is owed to a custodial parent or to the IV-D agency. The total amount of child support collected is the gross amount received from the noncustodial parent. Child support collections are primarily deducted from the following sources automatically: wages, state tax refund, federal tax refund, and unemployment compensation. In Federal Region V states most incomes of noncustodial parents can be used for child support including lottery winnings, dividends paid on stocks or bonds and rent from property. The states' demographic and economic conditions may have an influence on child support enforcement, such as total population and the number of unemployed men. States with large populations also tend to have a large number of child support cases. In addition, annual caseloads per child support worker and state expenditures on child support enforcement may also affect a states' performance. These four factors were used as independent variables in a linear regression model to determine if they had a significant impact on the number of noncustodial parents located, paternity and support orders established, and the amount of child support collected within each state.

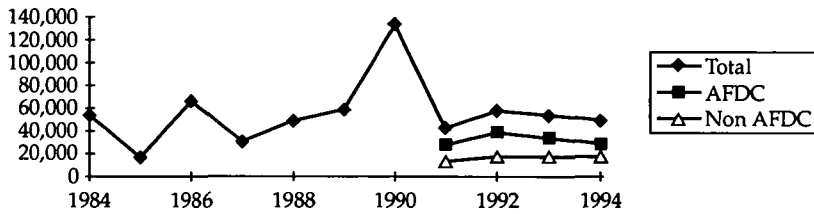
Analysis of Data and Findings

To determine if the child support legislation enacted after 1988 had an effect on the four dependent variables: noncustodial parents located, paternity and support order establishment, and the total amount of child support payments collected, a series of graphs were developed to illustrate fluctuations within each state for both periods: (1984–1988) and (1989–1994). Because each state operates its own child support agency variations may occur uniquely in that state. Prior to 1987 states were not mandated to report the number of paternities and support orders established for AFDC and non-AFDC cases separately. Therefore, the amounts given for 1984–1987 represent AFDC and non-AFDC clients. In 1991, states began to report the number of noncustodial parents located for AFDC and non-AFDC clients separately. Thus the figures for 1984–1990 represent noncustodial parents located for both AFDC and non-AFDC clients.

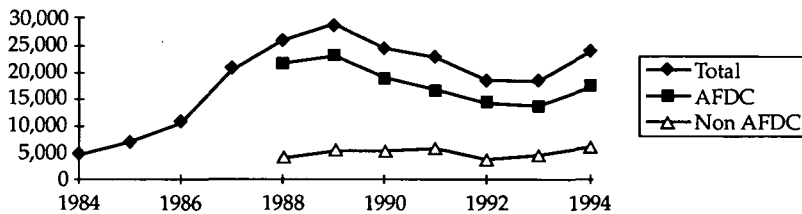
In Illinois the number of noncustodial parents located, the number of paternity and support orders established and the total amount of child support collected has remained relatively constant, except in 1990 when a record 135,290 noncustodial parents were located. This figure appears extremely high; however, state officials verified this number as accurate. One may expect that the increase of this magnitude would also cause paternity and support orders' establishment to rise for fiscal year 1990. However, the number of paternities established declined by 15% in 1990, while the number of support orders established remained constant. There was a slight increase in the amount of child support collected for both AFDC and non-AFDC cases in the state.

The number of noncustodial parents located in 1991 in Illinois dropped to 43,305, a decrease of 68% and the number of child support orders declined by 39%. From 1992–1994 the number of noncustodial parents located, paternity and support orders established has fluctuated every year. However, the amount of child support collected has steadily increased during both periods. The number of noncustodial parents located had the greatest impact on child support orders established in 1990. The data discussed above are given in graphs 1–6.

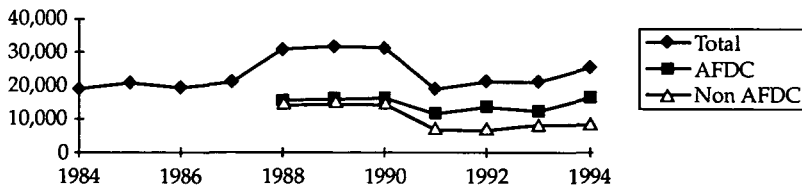
Graph 1

Noncustodial Parents Located in Illinois from 1984–1994

Graph 2

Number of Paternities Established in Illinois from 1984–1994

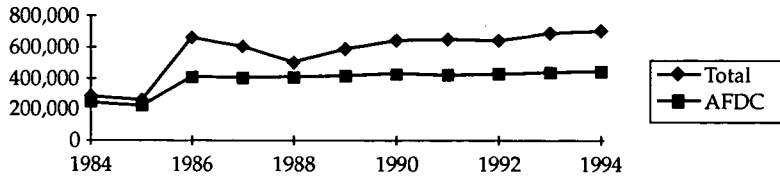
Graph 3

Number of Support Orders Established in Illinois from 1984–1994

Indiana, like Illinois has experienced consistent fluctuations in both periods. In 1992, Indiana located 12,334 noncustodial parents, after which there has been a steady decline in the location of noncustodial parents. The number of paternities being established has continued to decline since 1989, while the number of support orders established and the amount of child support being

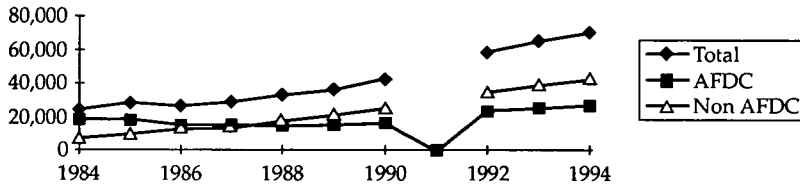
Graph 4

AFDC and Non AFDC Child Support Cases in Illinois from 1984–1994



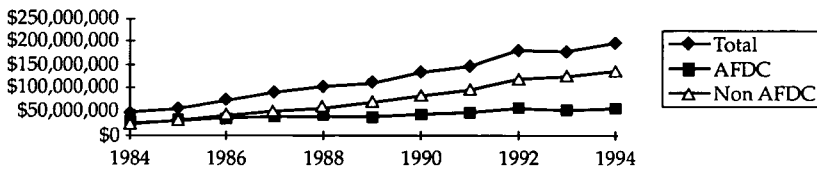
Graph 5

AFDC and Non AFDC Cases Resulting in the Collection of a Child Support Payment in Illinois from 1984–1994



Graph 6

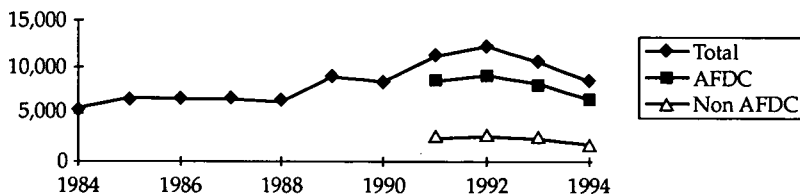
Total Amount of Child Support Collected for AFDC and Non AFDC Families in Illinois from 1984–1994



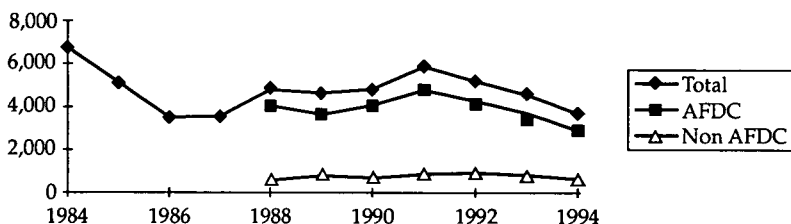
collected has steadily increased for both AFDC and Non-AFDC cases since 1989. Thus, the amount of child support collected seems to be affected by the number of support orders established see graphs 7–12.

The state of Michigan has had the most dramatic short term fluctuations compared to the other states in Federal Region V.

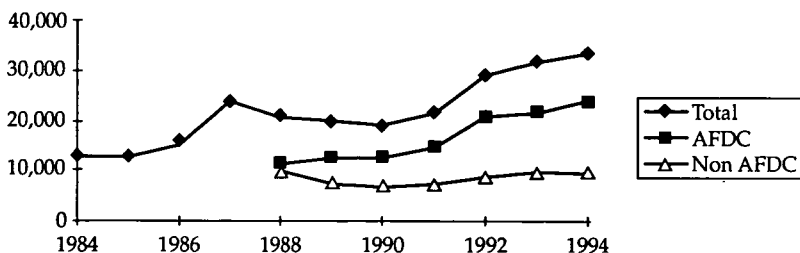
Graph 7

Noncustodial Parents Located in Indiana from 1984–1994

Graph 8

Number of Paternities Established in Indiana from 1984–1994

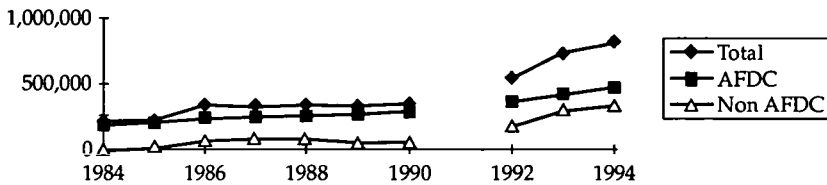
Graph 9

Number of Support Orders Established in Indiana from 1984–1994

For instance, in 1990 Michigan reported locating 203,529 non-custodial parents and establishing 154,348 child support orders. However, the following year, the number of noncustodial parents located declined to 67,949 and the number of support orders established decreased to 36,661. Even with all of the fluctuations

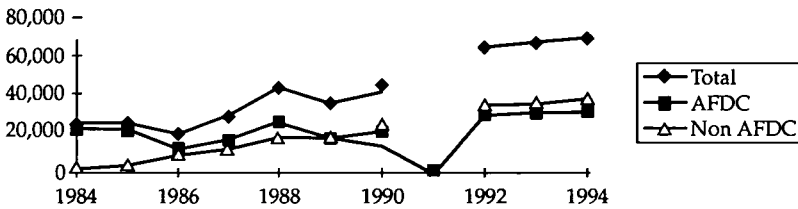
Graph 10

AFDC and Non AFDC Child Support Cases in Indiana from 1984–1994



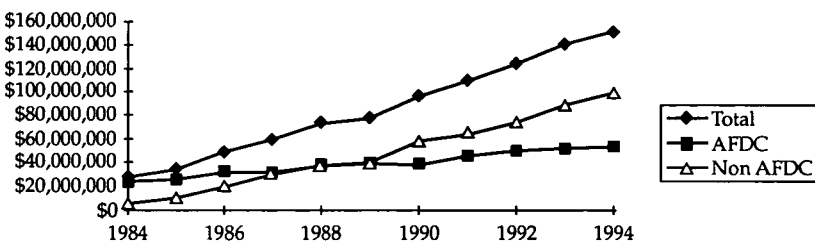
Graph 11

AFDC and Non AFDC Child Support Cases in which a Payment was Collected in Indiana from 1984–1994



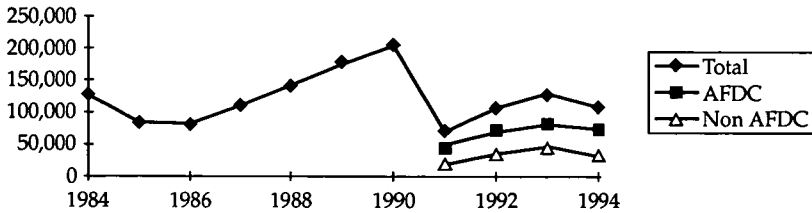
Graph 12

Total Amount of Child Support Collected for AFDC and Non AFDC Cases in which a Payment was Collected in Indiana from 1984–1994

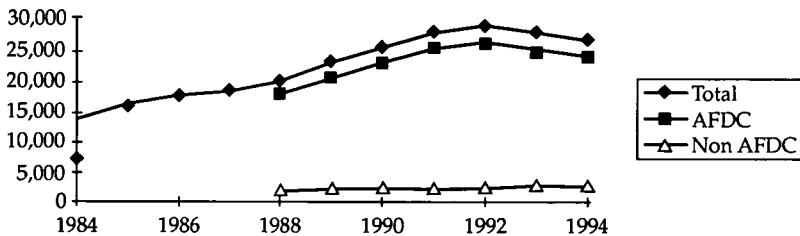


in the number of noncustodial parents located, paternity and support establishment, the amount of child support collected for both AFDC and Non-AFDC cases continued to rise. Data in graphs 13–18 show the change in each area.

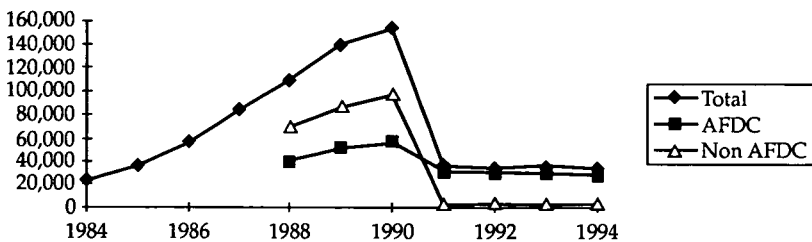
Graph 13

Noncustodial Parents Located in Michigan from 1984–1994

Graph 14

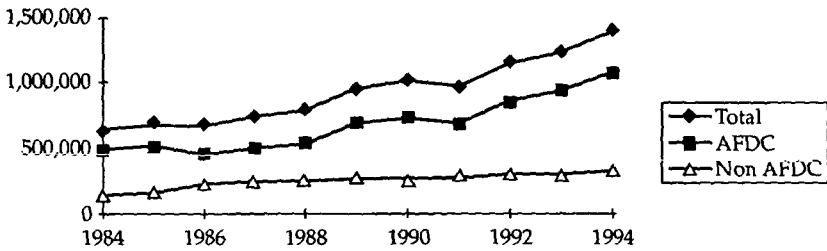
Number of Paternities Established in Michigan from 1984–1994

Graph 15

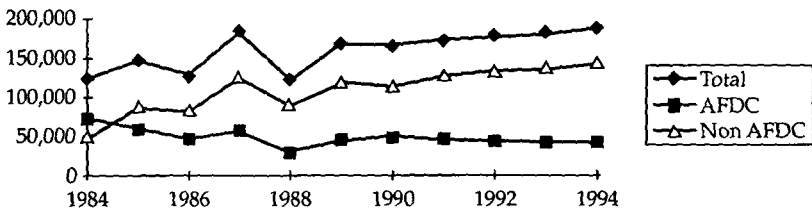
Number of Child Support Orders Established in Michigan from 1984–1994

Minnesota located a record 25,894 noncustodial parents in 1992 which was an increase of 191%, from 1991. However, in 1993 there was a decrease of 70% in the number of noncustodial parents located. In 1991 the number of paternities established reached 7,356 which was an increase of 37% from 1990. However,

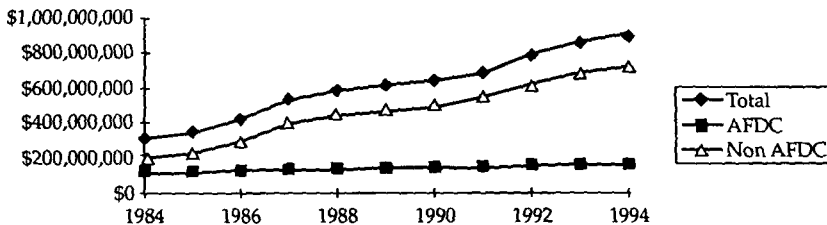
Graph 16
AFDC and Non AFDC Child Support Cases in Michigan from 1984–1994



Graph 17
AFDC and Non AFDC Cases in which a Child Support Payment was Collected in Michigan from 1984–1994



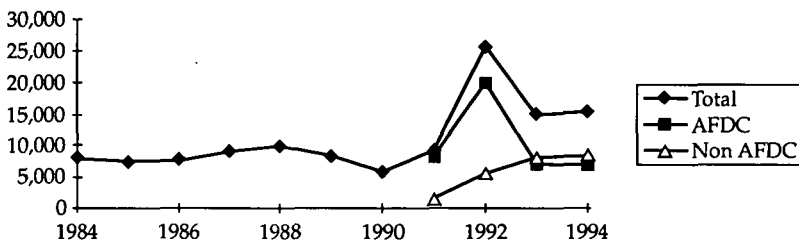
Graph 18
Total Amount of Child Support Collected for AFDC and Non AFDC Cases in which a Payment was Collected in Michigan from 1984–1994



paternity establishment decreased by 57% in 1992, followed by a 32% decrease in 1993, then an increase of 128% in 1994. There is a two-year pattern of fluctuation. The number of support orders established has been increasing since 1990. The amount of child support being collected for AFDC and non-AFDC cases has continued to increase. The data summarized here are given in graphs 19–24.

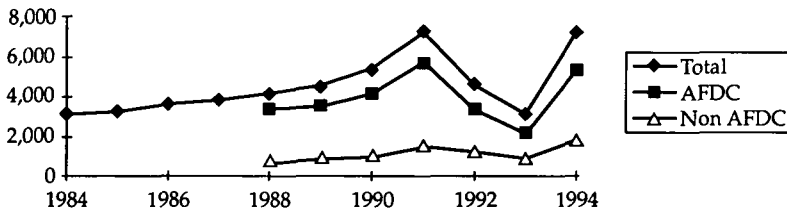
Graph 19

Noncustodial Parents Located in Minnesota from 1984–1994



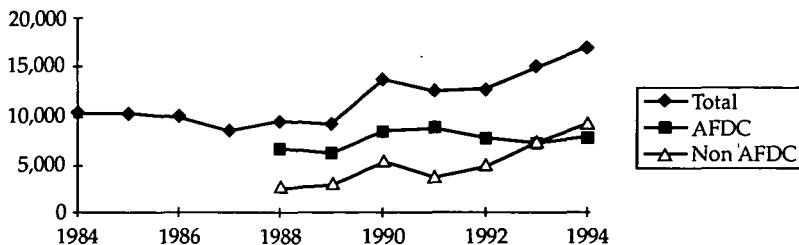
Graph 20

Number of Paternities Established in Minnesota from 1984–1994

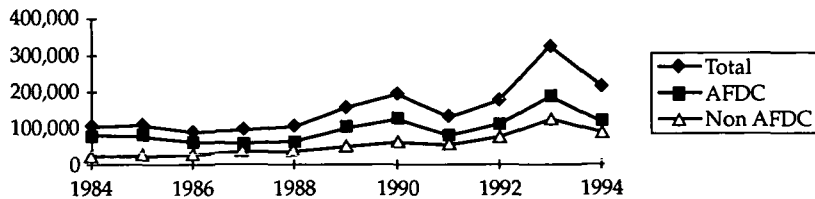


Graph 21

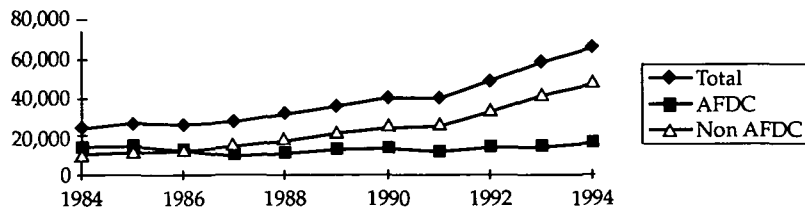
Number of Support Orders Established in Minnesota from 1984–1994



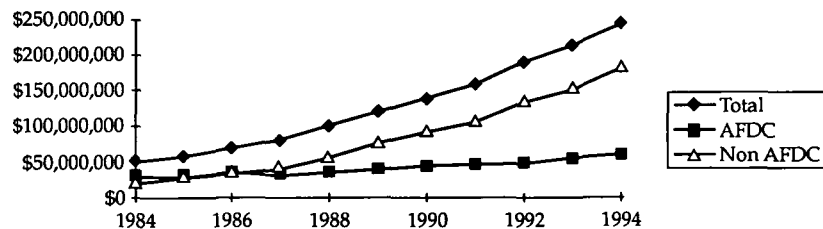
Graph 22

AFDC and Non AFDC Child Support Cases in Minnesota from 1984–1994

Graph 23

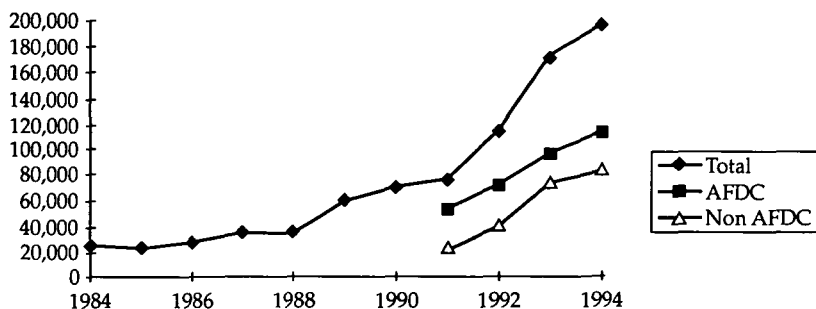
AFDC and Non AFDC Cases Resulting in the Collection of a Child Support Payment in Minnesota from 1984–1994

Graph 24

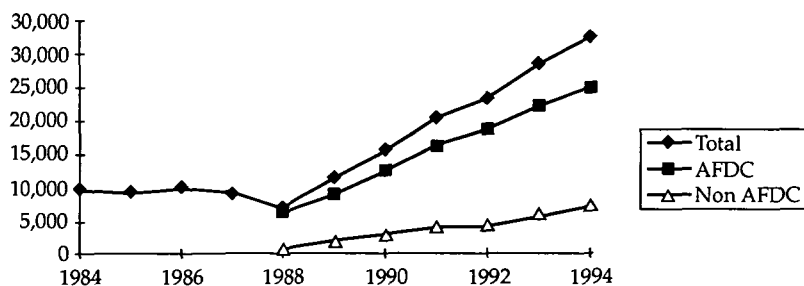
Total Amount of Child Support Collected for AFDC and Non AFDC Cases in which a Payment was Collected in Minnesota from 1984–1994

The state of Ohio has been the most successful state in regards to the number of noncustodial parents located, paternity and support orders established, and the amount of child support collected for AFDC and Non-AFDC cases. There has been a steady increase in all areas since 1988. The data in graphs 25–30 show these trends in both periods.

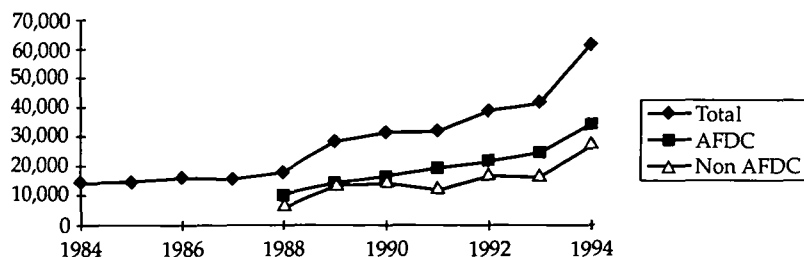
Graph 25

Noncustodial Parents Located in Ohio from 1984–1994

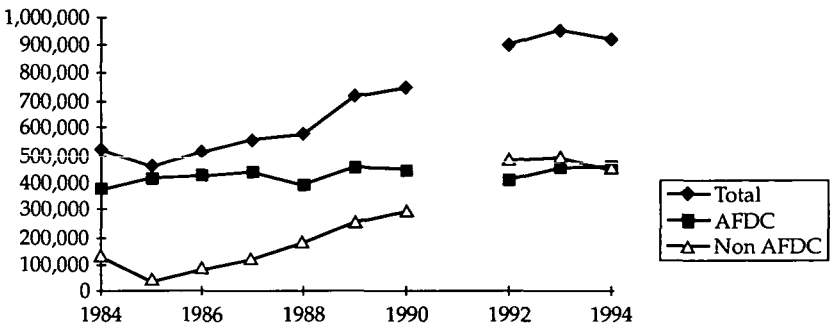
Graph 26

Number of Paternities Established in Ohio from 1984–1994

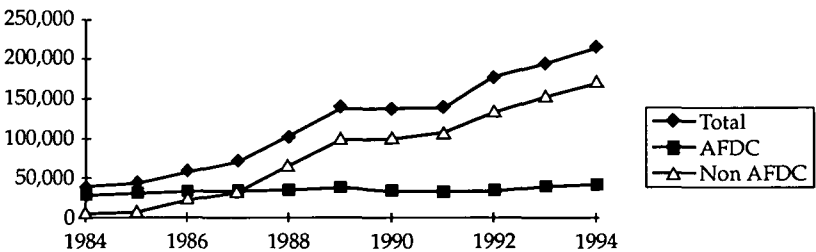
Graph 27

Number of Support Orders Established in Ohio from 1984–1994

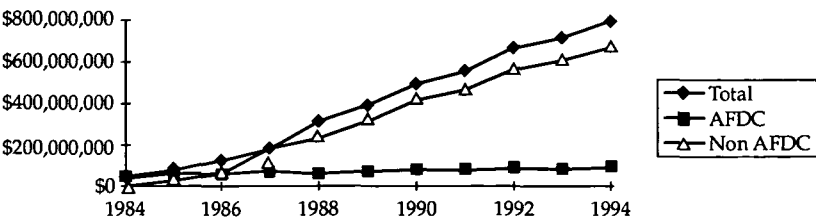
Graph 28
AFDC and Non AFDC Child Support Cases in Ohio from 1984–1994



Graph 29
AFDC and Non AFDC Cases Resulting in the Collection of a Child Support Payment in Ohio from 1984–1994



Graph 30
Total Amount of Child Support Collected for AFDC and Non AFDC Cases in which a Payment was Collected in Ohio from 1984–1994

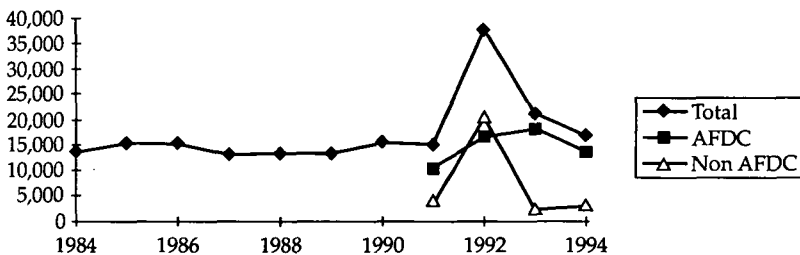


In Wisconsin the only area of fluctuation was in the number of noncustodial parents located. In 1992, Wisconsin reported locating 38,137 noncustodial parents, which declined to 21,498 in 1993. The state has achieved a steady increase in the number of paternity and support orders and the amount of support collected for AFDC and Non-AFDC cases. The data are presented in graphs 31–36.

In regards to the number of child support cases there has been a consistent increase in AFDC and Non-AFDC cases in Federal Region V states. In Indiana and Wisconsin the caseload per employee has steadily risen, even though more full-time employees have been hired each year. Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, and Ohio have hired more employees to reduce caseloads. However, the

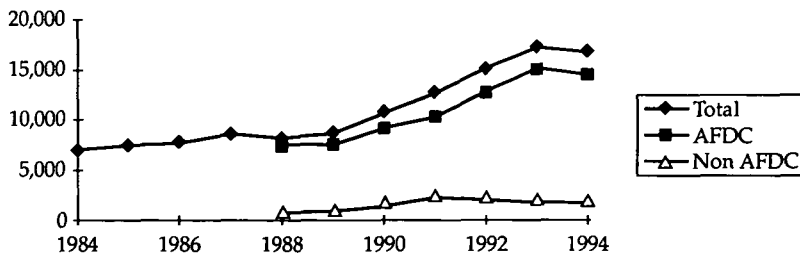
Graph 31

Noncustodial Parents Located in Wisconsin from 1984–1994



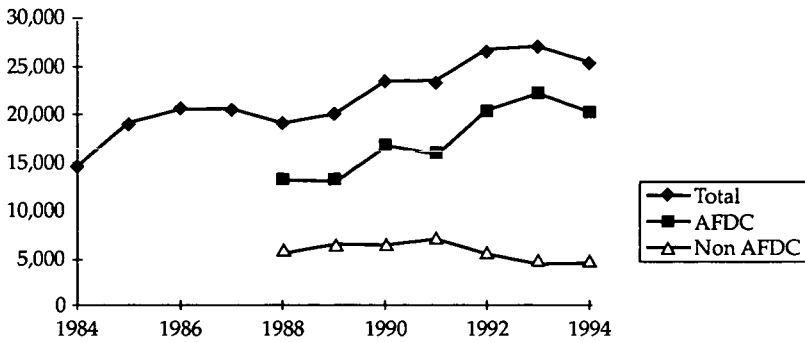
Graph 32

Number of Paternities Established in Wisconsin from 1984–1994



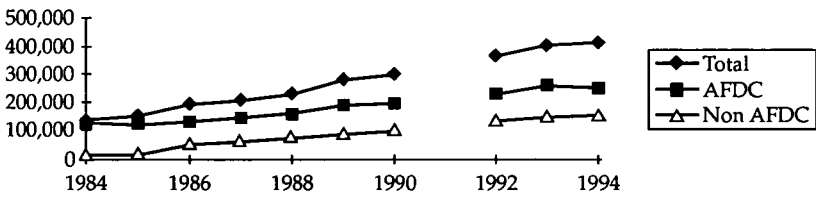
Graph 33

Number of Support Orders Established in Wisconsin from 1984–1994



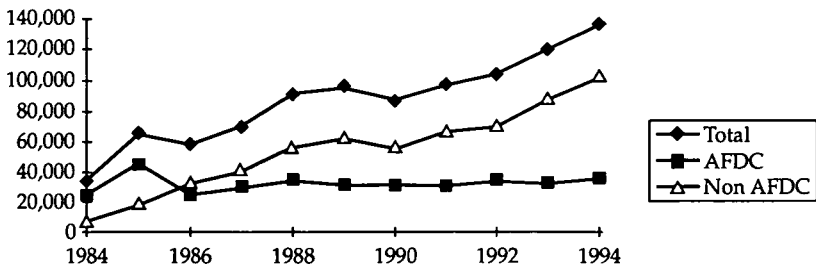
Graph 34

AFDC and Non AFDC Child Support Cases in Wisconsin from 1984–1994



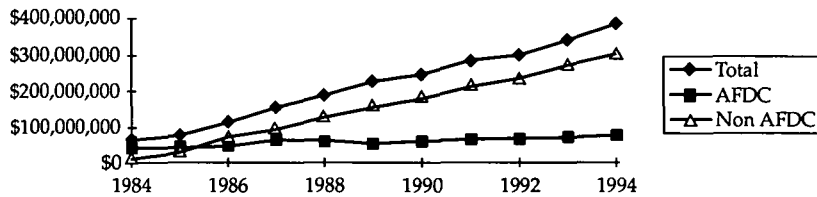
Graph 35

Number of Child Support Orders Established in Wisconsin from 1984–1994



Graph 36

Total Amount of Child Support Collected for AFDC and Non AFDC in Wisconsin from 1984–1994



average number of paternity and support orders established per employee has not risen. The amount of child support collected per employee varies by state. Indiana is the only state that has continued to increase the amount of support collected for the entire eleven year period. The data described above are given in tables 1–7.

Table 1

Child Support Cases in Federal Region V from 1984–1994

Year	Illinois	% Change	Indiana	% Change	Michigan	% Change
1984	285,579		194,171		630,595	
1985	266,125	–7%	222,619	15%	691,727	10%
1986	662,667	149%	309,555	39%	666,953	4%
1987	607,600	–8%	325,065	5%	733,774	10%
1988	505,063	–17%	340,755	5%	786,284	7%
1989	598,199	18%	326,125	4%	958,811	22%
1990	656,025	10%	352,589	8%	1,017,141	6%
1991	663,265	1%		–100%	973,029	4%
1992	661,777	0%	557,077		1,163,067	20%
1993	705,272	7%	757,399	36%	1,241,644	7%
1994	726,406	3%	832,766	10%	1,416,756	14%

continued

Table 1, *continued*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Minnesota</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>Ohio</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>% Change</i>
1984	95,908		512,623		137,985	
1985	104,730	9%	461,701	-10%	152,128	10%
1986	88,135	-16%	512,288	11%	195,985	29%
1987	92,686	5%	560,137	9%	209,921	7%
1988	104,987	13%	579,251	3%	231,574	10%
1989	154,304	47%	710,973	23%	280,103	21%
1990	188,748	22%	746,178	5%	300,463	7%
1991	129,685	-31%		-100%		-100%
1992	181,806	40%	904,679		361,529	
1993	328,368	81%	957,196	6%	399,159	10%
1994	212,657	-35%	931,463	-3%	403,131	1%

Table 2

Number of Child Support Workers in Federal Region V from 1984-1994

<i>Year</i>	<i>Illinois</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>Indiana</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>Michigan</i>	<i>% Change</i>
1984	630		353		925	
1985	816	30%	388	10%	905	-2%
1986	936	15%	378	-3%	934	3%
1987	978	4%	403	7%	1500	61%
1988	1054	8%	437	8%	1530	2%
1989	1040	-1%	462	6%	1670	9%
1990	1118	8%	487	5%	1718	3%
1991	1175	5%	521	7%	1728	1%
1992	1211	3%	571	10%	1879	9%
1993	1345	11%	628	10%	1851	-1%
1994	1362	1%	669	7%	2221	20%

continued

Table 2, *continued*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Minnesota</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>Ohio</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>% Change</i>
1984	504		899		563	
1985	509	1%	1108	23%	593	5%
1986	579	14%	1118	1%	587	-1%
1987	607	5%	1213	8%	657	12%
1988	642	6%	1901	57%	659	0%
1989	697	9%	2165	14%	680	3%
1990	705	1%	2474	14%	821	21%
1991	759	8%	2821	14%	876	7%
1992	812	7%	3194	13%	973	11%
1993	812	0%	3893	22%	1,010	4%
1994	1097	35%	3,803	-2%	1,020	1%

Table 3

Child Support Cases Per Child Support Employees from 1984-1994

<i>Year</i>	<i>Illinois</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>Indiana</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>Michigan</i>	<i>% Change</i>
1984	453		550		682	
1985	326	-28%	573	4%	764	12%
1986	707	117%	666	16%	814	7%
1987	621	-12%	689	3%	554	-32%
1988	479	-23%	689	0%	579	5%
1989	575	20%	705	2%	574	-1%
1990	588	2%	724	3%	592	3%
1991	564	-4%		-100%	563	-5%
1992	546	-3%	976		619	10%
1993	524	4%	1206	24%	671	8%
1994	533	2%	1245	3%	638	-5%

continued

Table 3, *continued*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Minnesota</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>Ohio</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>% Change</i>
1984	190		459		245	
1985	206	8%	417	-9%	257	5%
1986	203	-1%	510	22%	358	39%
1987	209	3%	518	2%	350	-2%
1988	222	6%	343	-34%	390	11%
1989	231	4%	328	4%	309	-21%
1990	268	16%	321	-2%	365	18%
1991	170	-37%		-100%		-100%
1992	224	32%	283		372	
1993	245	9%	246	-13%	395	6%
1994	194	-21%	245	0%	395	0%

Table 4

Amount of Child Support Collected Per Full-Time Employee in Federal Region V from 1984-1994

<i>Year</i>	<i>Workers</i>	<i>Collections</i>	<i>Collections Per Employee</i>	<i>% Change</i>
<i>Illinois</i>				
1984	630	\$ 42,239,767	\$ 67,047	
1985	816	\$ 54,863,726	\$ 67,235	0.28%
1986	936	\$ 74,813,188	\$ 79,929	18.88%
1987	978	\$ 91,031,305	\$ 93,079	16.45%
1988	1054	\$103,905,393	\$ 98,582	5.91%
1989	1040	\$112,930,446	\$108,587	10.15%
1990	1118	\$136,019,329	\$121,663	12.04%
1991	1175	\$150,134,425	\$127,774	5.02%
1992	1211	\$183,308,184	\$151,369	18.47%
1993	1345	\$183,888,905	\$136,720	-9.68%
1994	1362	\$202,190,918	\$148,451	8.58%

continued

Table 4, *continued*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Workers</i>	<i>Collections</i>	<i>Collections Per Employee</i>	<i>% Change</i>
<i>Indiana</i>				
1984	353	\$ 26,630,063	\$ 75,439	
1985	388	\$ 34,451,004	\$ 88,791	17.70%
1986	378	\$ 48,929,482	\$129,443	45.78%
1987	403	\$ 59,474,870	\$147,580	14.01%
1988	437	\$ 72,525,653	\$165,963	12.46%
1989	462	\$ 77,155,840	\$167,004	0.63%
1990	487	\$ 96,144,569	\$197,422	18.21%
1991	521	\$110,117,296	\$211,358	7.06%
1992	571	\$124,614,492	\$218,239	3.26%
1993	628	\$141,164,475	\$224,784	3.00%
1994	669	\$151,625,857	\$226,646	0.83%
<i>Michigan</i>				
1984	925	\$306,990,240	\$331,881	
1985	905	\$345,027,995	\$381,246	14.87%
1986	934	\$424,646,890	\$454,654	19.25%
1987	1500	\$531,136,477	\$354,091	-22.12%
1988	1530	\$579,194,856	\$378,559	6.91%
1989	1670	\$610,783,160	\$365,738	-3.39%
1990	1718	\$644,734,097	\$375,282	2.61%
1991	1728	\$697,633,759	\$403,723	7.58%
1992	1879	\$782,804,209	\$416,607	3.19%
1993	1851	\$859,543,761	\$464,367	11.46%
1994	2221	\$898,391,429	\$404,499	-12.89%
<i>Minnesota</i>				
1984	504	\$ 50,780,523	\$100,755	
1985	509	\$ 58,915,998	\$115,749	14.88%
1986	579	\$ 69,015,839	\$119,198	2.98%
1987	607	\$ 79,594,540	\$131,128	10.01%
1988	642	\$ 98,793,487	\$153,884	17.35%
1989	697	\$121,301,494	\$174,034	13.09%
1990	705	\$139,345,200	\$197,653	13.57%
1991	159	\$160,363,427	\$211,283	6.90%
1992	812	\$189,495,152	\$233,368	10.45%
1993	812	\$214,479,725	\$264,138	13.18%
1994	1097	\$246,251,702	\$224,477	-15.01%

Table 4, continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Workers</i>	<i>Collections</i>	<i>Collections Per Employee</i>	<i>% Change</i>
<i>Ohio</i>				
1984	899	\$ 42,640,533	\$ 47,431	
1985	1108	\$ 86,832,671	\$ 78,369	65.23%
1986	1118	\$125,035,958	\$111,839	42.71%
1987	1213	\$181,025,380	\$149,238	33.44%
1988	1901	\$312,465,670	\$164,369	10.14%
1989	2165	\$392,472,909	\$181,281	10.29%
1990	2474	\$489,515,383	\$197,864	9.15%
1991	2821	\$552,649,301	\$195,905	-0.99%
1992	3194	\$665,999,069	\$208,516	6.44%
1993	3893	\$714,132,131	\$183,440	-12.03%
1994	3803	\$789,319,376	\$207,552	13.14%
<i>Wisconsin</i>				
1984	563	\$ 63,240,964	\$112,329	
1985	593	\$ 83,451,623	\$140,728	25.28%
1986	587	\$113,824,858	\$193,909	37.79%
1987	657	\$154,726,439	\$235,504	21.45%
1988	659	\$189,698,326	\$287,858	22.23%
1989	680	\$220,654,542	\$324,492	12.73%
1990	821	\$241,272,036	\$293,876	-9.44%
1991	876	\$276,711,611	\$315,881	7.49%
1992	973	\$293,459,750	\$301,603	4.52%
1993	1010	\$332,813,885	\$329,519	9.26%
1994	1020	\$380,584,443	\$373,122	13.23%

Table 5

Average Number of Paternities Established Per Employee in Federal Region V from 1984–1994

<i>Year</i>	<i>Illinois</i>	<i>Indiana</i>	<i>Michigan</i>	<i>Minnesota</i>	<i>Ohio</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>
1984	7	19	15	6	11	12
1985	9	13	18	6	8	12
1986	12	9	19	6	9	13
1987	21	9	12	6	8	13
1988	25	12	13	7	6	13
1989	29	11	14	7	5	13
1990	23	11	15	8	6	13
1991	18	12	16	10	9	
1992	16	10	15	7	7	16
1993	14	8	15	5	7	18
1994	18	6	15	7	9	17

Table 6

Average Number of Support Orders Established Per Employee in Federal Region V from 1984–1994

<i>Year</i>	<i>Illinois</i>	<i>Indiana</i>	<i>Michigan</i>	<i>Minnesota</i>	<i>Ohio</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>
1984	30	35	27	20	16	26
1985	25	32	39	20	13	32
1986	21	42	62	17	14	35
1987	22	59	56	14	13	31
1988	32	52	72	16	17	33
1989	33	46	83	15	15	32
1990	31	43	90	22	13	29
1991	16	45	21	19	15	
1992	18	56	19	18	12	29
1993	16	56	20	20	11	28
1994	19	56	15	16	16	26

Even though states have been locating parents, establishing paternity and support orders for children receiving AFDC, the number of support orders established and child support payments collected from noncustodial parents of the AFDC children are low, compared to the orders established and amounts collected from Non-AFDC custodial parents. This may be because noncustodial parents of AFDC children are often low wage earners, unemployed, or derive income from illegal activities or receive cash payments for their services which cannot be ascertained for child support orders and payment. Due to their unstable income they do not meet their monthly child support obligation (Dubey, 1995). The child support payment collected on behalf of the Non-AFDC cases goes directly to the family, while payments for AFDC families go to the state except for \$50.00. Thus, noncustodial parents of the children who are not on welfare may be more willing to comply with child support policies.

It was argued that each states' unique characteristics may affect the states' performance in enforcing child support policies. The variables whose influences that are measurable for both periods are (1) the total population, (2) the number of unemployed men 16 years of age and over, (3) annual caseloads of child support workers, and (4) state expenditures on child support enforcement. These factors are used as independent variables in a linear regression model. Such factors as the number of children born out-of-wedlock, the custodial and noncustodial parents age, income and educational level may also affect child support enforcement within each state. However, these factors are not included in the linear regression model due to the unavailability of data for the entire eleven year period. The expression of regression model is provided below.

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1X_1 + \beta_2X_2 + \beta_3X_3 + \beta_4X_4$$

χ_1 = total state population; χ_2 = unemployed men; χ_3 = child support cases per full-time employee; χ_4 = state expenditures on child support enforcement

The results of the linear regression revealed that only population size had a significant effect on the location of noncustodial parents in Ohio, ($r=.9391$) In Illinois and Michigan the total

population size had an influence on paternity establishment. In Indiana and Ohio state expenditures on child support enforcement and the size of the population had an effect on paternity establishment. In Wisconsin, none of the independent variables had a significant effect on paternity establishment.

The independent variables did not have an effect on the number of support orders established in any state in Federal Region V. State expenditures on child support enforcement and total population size had an effect on child support collections, in all other states in the region, except in Wisconsin. Child support employees' caseloads and the number of unemployed men age 16 years and over did not have significant impact on the dependent variables. Data in tables 7–8 show the influence of the population size, unemployed men, and state expenditures for the eleven-year period. Table 10 has data on the impact of each independent variable on the dependent variable within each state.

Summary of the Findings and Implications

The findings of this study indicate that stringent measures do not seem to have a consistent impact on the outcome of child support enforcement. States vary among themselves and do not show any consistent trend in respect to outcome measures: location of noncustodial parents, establishment of paternity and

Table 7

State Populations in Federal Region V States from 1984–1994

<i>Year</i>	<i>Illinois</i>	<i>Indiana</i>	<i>Michigan</i>	<i>Minnesota</i>	<i>Ohio</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>
1984	11,412,132	5,458,322	9,049,452	4,157,706	10,737,746	4,735,563
1985	11,399,806	5,459,211	9,076,293	4,184,302	10,734,926	4,747,767
1986	11,387,257	5,454,108	9,127,775	4,205,212	10,730,268	4,755,618
1987	11,391,178	5,473,012	9,187,481	4,235,136	10,760,090	4,777,919
1988	11,390,183	5,491,735	9,217,998	4,296,166	10,798,552	4,822,388
1989	11,409,782	5,523,693	9,253,295	4,338,057	10,829,217	4,856,574
1990	11,446,801	5,555,019	9,310,677	4,387,209	10,861,875	4,902,197
1991	11,516,124	5,602,878	9,366,110	4,429,003	10,929,391	4,948,184
1992	11,596,257	5,651,855	9,418,156	4,474,568	11,000,309	4,995,952
1993	11,669,597	5,706,597	9,453,250	4,525,647	11,059,480	5,045,362
1994	11,734,164	5,750,033	9,486,335	4,572,360	11,096,753	5,084,476

Table 8

Unemployed Men Age 16 and Over in Federal Region V States from 1984–1994

<i>Year</i>	<i>Illinois</i>	<i>Indiana</i>	<i>Michigan</i>	<i>Minnesota</i>	<i>Ohio</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>
1984	277,000	129,000	266,000	90,000	288,000	109,000
1985	297,000	115,000	233,000	78,000	265,000	95,000
1986	261,000	91,000	212,000	66,000	257,000	99,000
1987	250,000	95,000	207,000	72,000	212,000	90,000
1988	222,000	82,000	198,000	47,000	186,000	64,000
1989	202,000	70,000	182,000	60,000	168,000	61,000
1990	201,000	74,000	206,000	70,000	175,000	66,000
1991	248,000	92,000	246,000	77,000	202,000	82,000
1992	261,000	107,000	225,000	75,000	231,000	76,000
1993	257,000	79,000	183,000	80,000	203,000	74,000
1994	187,000	73,000	152,000	62,000	168,000	77,000

Table 9

Child Support Expenditures in Federal Region V States from 1984–1994

<i>Child Support Expenditures in Illinois from 1984–1994</i>				
<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Expenditures</i>	<i>Cost-Effectiveness</i>	<i>AFDC</i>	<i>Non-AFDC</i>
1984	\$18,589,182	\$2.31	\$1.31	\$0.99
1985	\$25,514,515	\$2.14	\$1.09	\$1.04
1986	\$30,256,837	\$2.40	\$1.07	\$1.33
1987	\$35,745,945	\$2.51	\$1.08	\$1.42
1988	\$39,467,053	\$2.68	\$1.04	\$1.64
1989	\$40,719,191	\$2.77	\$0.92	\$1.85
1990	\$52,072,759	\$2.61	\$0.85	\$1.76
1991	\$57,028,890	\$2.63	\$0.86	\$1.77
1992	\$63,146,253	\$2.90	\$0.93	\$1.97
1993	\$77,819,539	\$2.36	\$0.72	\$1.65
1994	\$87,861,833	\$2.30	\$0.69	\$1.61

continued

Table 9, *continued*

<i>Child Support Expenditures in Indiana from 1984–1994</i>				
<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Expenditures</i>	<i>Cost-Effectiveness</i>	<i>AFDC</i>	<i>Non-AFDC</i>
1984	\$ 7,924,610	\$3.29	\$2.84	\$0.44
1985	\$ 8,886,663	\$3.79	\$2.77	\$1.02
1986	\$ 9,759,870	\$4.82	\$3.04	\$1.77
1987	\$11,600,727	\$5.22	\$2.71	\$2.51
1988	\$13,119,459	\$5.49	\$2.69	\$2.80
1989	\$14,458,153	\$5.34	\$2.58	\$2.77
1990	\$15,642,993	\$6.15	\$2.44	\$3.71
1991	\$15,625,603	\$7.05	\$2.88	\$4.17
1992	\$19,006,213	\$6.56	\$2.59	\$3.97
1993	\$21,897,009	\$6.45	\$2.38	\$4.07
1994	\$25,847,201	\$5.87	\$2.01	\$3.86

<i>Child Support Expenditures in Michigan from 1984–1994</i>				
<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Expenditures</i>	<i>Cost-Effectiveness</i>	<i>AFDC</i>	<i>Non-AFDC</i>
1984	\$ 44,523,046	\$6.86	\$2.40	\$4.46
1985	\$ 44,750,478	\$7.62	\$2.50	\$5.12
1986	\$ 50,979,436	\$8.33	\$2.46	\$5.87
1987	\$ 55,774,557	\$9.52	\$2.29	\$7.24
1988	\$ 65,825,464	\$8.80	\$2.00	\$6.80
1989	\$ 71,195,704	\$8.58	\$1.94	\$6.64
1990	\$ 82,380,055	\$7.83	\$1.76	\$6.06
1991	\$ 86,419,662	\$8.07	\$1.78	\$6.29
1992	\$ 94,057,330	\$8.32	\$1.79	\$6.53
1993	\$103,693,114	\$8.29	\$1.63	\$6.66
1994	\$115,007,934	\$7.81	\$1.53	\$6.28

continued

Table 9, *continued*

<i>Child Support Expenditures in Minnesota from 1984–1994</i>				
<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Expenditures</i>	<i>Cost-Effectiveness</i>	<i>AFDC</i>	<i>Non-AFDC</i>
1984	\$17,759,671	\$2.94	\$1.61	\$1.33
1985	\$20,248,667	\$2.91	\$1.52	\$1.39
1986	\$22,796,804	\$3.02	\$1.49	\$1.53
1987	\$22,655,777	\$3.51	\$1.58	\$1.93
1988	\$27,479,571	\$3.59	\$1.47	\$2.12
1989	\$33,242,319	\$3.65	\$1.27	\$2.38
1990	\$38,946,864	\$3.58	\$1.13	\$2.45
1991	\$42,876,614	\$3.74	\$1.11	\$2.63
1992	\$44,399,292	\$4.27	\$1.20	\$3.07
1993	\$51,081,051	\$4.20	\$1.10	\$3.10
1994	\$63,381,377	\$3.89	\$0.97	\$2.92

<i>Child Support Expenditures in Ohio from 1984–1994</i>				
<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Expenditures</i>	<i>Cost-Effectiveness</i>	<i>AFDC</i>	<i>Non-AFDC</i>
1984	\$ 21,285,706	\$1.95	\$1.88	\$0.08
1985	\$ 24,501,589	\$3.38	\$1.94	\$1.43
1986	\$ 28,311,839	\$4.41	\$2.09	\$2.31
1987	\$ 32,001,005	\$5.65	\$2.09	\$3.56
1988	\$ 28,784,009	\$10.83	\$2.44	\$8.39
1989	\$ 64,637,187	\$6.07	\$1.09	\$4.98
1990	\$ 67,891,146	\$7.21	\$1.13	\$6.08
1991	\$ 92,005,727	\$6.01	\$0.92	\$5.09
1992	\$124,551,446	\$5.35	\$0.81	\$4.54
1993	\$130,380,323	\$5.48	\$0.81	\$4.67
1994	\$138,252,361	\$5.71	\$0.82	\$4.89

continued

Table 9, *continued*

<i>Child Support Expenditures in Wisconsin from 1984–1994</i>				
<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Expenditures</i>	<i>Cost-Effectiveness</i>	<i>AFDC</i>	<i>Non-AFDC</i>
1984	\$20,156,686	\$3.25	\$2.21	\$1.04
1985	\$21,999,223	\$3.73	\$2.21	\$1.52
1986	\$25,388,391	\$4.78	\$2.11	\$2.66
1987	\$24,958,921	\$6.20	\$2.30	\$3.90
1988	\$31,571,578	\$6.01	\$1.96	\$4.06
1989	\$35,719,258	\$6.18	\$1.68	\$4.50
1990	\$41,906,176	\$5.76	\$1.42	\$4.34
1991	\$41,403,677	\$6.69	\$1.48	\$5.21
1992	\$42,552,308	\$6.83	\$1.48	\$5.34
1993	\$46,552,308	\$7.15	\$1.41	\$5.74
1994	\$49,171,187	\$7.74	\$1.66	\$6.08

support orders and the collection of child support amounts in these two periods. Each state has experienced fluctuations in both periods in respect to the outcome measures. The findings also show that child support policies seem to be more effective in collecting child support from the noncustodial parents of children not receiving welfare. The states' population, unemployed men, size of caseloads and expenditures on child support enforcement did not reveal any consistent pattern of impact.

Child support policies do not seem to alter the target groups' behavior. Neither deterrence nor shame and embarrassment seem to affect child support policies. Noncustodial parents of children not receiving welfare, deterrence and shame may be responsible for compliance. Noncustodial parents of children on welfare do not appear to be affected.

Laws are effective if they are obeyed and are able to alter the target groups' behavior. Therefore, stringent child support enforcement policies are effective with the noncustodial parents who have the means to pay their support obligation, but not with the poor unemployed fathers. Incarcerating resourceless noncustodial parents would cause the states to furnish housing, food,

Table 10

Regression Analysis on child Support Enforcement in Federal Region V States from 1984-1994

State		Illinois		Indiana		Michigan		Minnesota		Ohio		Wisconsin	
Dependent Variable		Noncustodial Parents Located		Noncustodial Parents Located		Noncustodial Parents Located		Noncustodial Parents Located		Noncustodial Parents Located		Noncustodial Parents Located	
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Caseload Per Employee	.1527	Caseload Per Employee	.5232	Caseload Per Employee	.1012	Caseload Per Employee	-.1059	Caseload Per Employee	.6182	Caseload Per Employee	.0924
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	State Cost	.4057	State Cost	.4466	State Cost	-.0062	State Cost	.3339	State Cost	.8878	State Cost	-.0632
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Total Population	.5773	Total Population	.5689	Total Population	-.0288	Total Population	.4029	Total Population	.9391	Total Population	-.1080
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Unemployed Men	-.0593	Unemployed Men	-.028	Unemployed Men	.0807	Unemployed Men	-.1037	Unemployed Men	.1545	Unemployed Men	.1959
Dependent Variable		Paternity Establishment		Paternity Establishment		Paternity Establishment		Paternity Establishment		Paternity Establishment		Paternity Establishment	
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Caseload Per Employee	.3918	Caseload Per Employee	.8971	Caseload Per Employee	.1094	Caseload Per Employee	-.0830	Caseload Per Employee	.5816	Caseload Per Employee	.0240
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	State Cost	.7975	State Cost	.9486	State Cost	.8413	State Cost	.4373	State Cost	.9334	State Cost	.1856
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Total Population	.9438	Total Population	.9337	Total Population	.9070	Total Population	.4043	Total Population	.9514	Total Population	-.0561
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Unemployed Men	.0629	Unemployed Men	.2636	Unemployed Men	.0895	Unemployed Men	-.0223	Unemployed Men	.0681	Unemployed Men	.7099

Table 10
Continued

State		Illinois		Indiana		Michigan		Minnesota		Ohio		Wisconsin	
Dependent Variable		Support Orders Established		Support Orders Established		Support Orders Established		Support Orders Established		Support Orders Established		Support Orders Established	
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Caseload Per Employee	.5536	Caseload Per Employee	.8781	Caseload Per Employee	.1229	Caseload Per Employee	-.0752	Caseload Per Employee	.6839	Caseload Per Employee	-.1084
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	State Cost	.8525	State Cost	.8959	State Cost	-.1017	State Cost	.8489	State Cost	.8850	State Cost	-.0990
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Total Population	.8184	Total Population	.8213	Total Population	-.1057	Total Population	.7940	Total Population	.8982	Total Population	-.0878
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Unemployed Men	.2724	Unemployed Men	.2191	Unemployed Men	.0066	Unemployed Men	-.1070	Unemployed Men	.3127	Unemployed Men	.5634
Dependent Variable		Support Collected		Support Collected		Support Collected		Support Collected		Support Collected		Support Collected	
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Caseload Per Employee	.5328	Caseload Per Employee	.8971	Caseload Per Employee	.1103	Caseload Per Employee	-.0793	Caseload Per Employee	.7972	Caseload Per Employee	-.0567
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	State Cost	.9577	State Cost	.9486	State Cost	-.9698	State Cost	.9806	State Cost	.9275	State Cost	-.9473
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Total Population	.9587	Total Population	.9337	Total Population	.9821	Total Population	.9878	Total Population	.9397	Total Population	.7526
Independent Variable	Adjusted R-Square	Unemployed Men	.3546	Unemployed Men	.2636	Unemployed Men	.3154	Unemployed Men	-.0997	Unemployed Men	.3812	Unemployed Men	.1840

security, medical, and recreation. Reducing a low wage earner's income by garnishing a portion of their salary for a child support obligation may force the noncustodial parent to seek state assistance. These two approaches would not be cost-effective to the state. Therefore, laws aimed at deterring non-compliance may not have an effect on low wage earners and unemployed noncustodial parents. Noncustodial parents that reside in a community where it is common to father children by several different women and then relinquish financial responsibility to mother, shame and embarrassment would not have an impact. Noncustodial parents that fall into this category do not obey any laws that they feel are infringing upon their lifestyle. Therefore, these noncustodial parents may deliberately defy anything associated with a government institution or societal norms.

Therefore, child support policies should focus on giving noncustodial parents the opportunity to help custodial parents through in-kind services such as providing child care or participating in parenting programs. This may foster a closer relationship between noncustodial parents which in turn may encourage them to seek employment or a higher paying job. In addition, child support policies need to focus on training and educating noncustodial parents which will allow them an opportunity to earn income and share their financial responsibility toward their children.

The legislation enacted after 1988 has increased societies' awareness of the financial crisis facing children and that tougher child support enforcement is a good strategy for reducing child poverty and reducing welfare dependency. Though, the legislation has not had a significant impact on child support collections for families dependent on AFDC, yet the number of noncustodial parents located, paternity and support orders established for this population has increased, thus making the child support enforcement process easier to enforce in the future. The legislation has helped non-AFDC families collect child support which may have reduced the number of families that would have needed welfare.

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