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THE CONSEQUENCES OF ABORTION FUNDING BANS

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INTRODUCTION

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- * Public assistance programs in the U.S. are closely linked
- Policy Trade-offs: Reducing funding in one area may shift individuals to rely on other public programs

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THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS (II)

* Funding Cuts Deepen Disparities:

* Cuts to public programs disproportionately affect low-income and minority populations (*Currie and Grogger, 2002; Toffolutti and Suhrcke, 2019; Jackson et al., 2021*)

* Expanding Access to Public Program Has Lasting Benefits:

Greater access to public programs yields long-term, intergenerational benefits (Sommers and Oellerich, 2013; Chetty et al., 2016; Hoynes et al., 2016; Aizer et al., 2016; Goodman-Bacon, 2018, 2021; Hoehn-Velasco, 2021; East et al., 2023)



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MOTIVATION: NO FEDERAL ABORTION FUNDING

- * Prime example of a long-standing public funding restriction: The Hyde Amendment
 - * Prohibits the use of federal funds for abortion services
 - * Prohibits all federally funded abortions except in extreme circumstances of *rape, incest, or the endangerment of the pregnant woman's life*
- * Hyde Amendment in effect for almost 50 years-since 1976



- * The Hyde Amendment mainly affects those receiving Medicaid
- * Medicaid is a major source of public health insurance in the U.S.
 - * It covers 79 million Americans; 16 million are women of reproductive age
 - It covers more than 40% of births
 - Medicaid covers one in five reproductive-age women (KFF, 2022b,a, 2024)

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RESEARCH QUESTION

* What is the effect of a ban on public funding for abortion?

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RESEARCH QUESTION

* What is the effect of a ban on public funding for abortion?

- 1. Fertility
- 2. Participation in public assistance programs (1st and 2nd generation)



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- * Treatment: Compare counties based on pre-Hyde % Medicaid eligible population
- * Methodology: County-level event-study design
 - * Control for state-by-year fixed effects-effects are within state effects
 - * Vital statistics birth certificate data and SEER population data



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KEY FINDINGS: FERTILITY

- * Results: Fertility \Uparrow by 1-2% at the average levels of AFDC participation
 - * Increase in fertility mainly for young women (<30)
 - Amounts to 14,400 additional births in 1978 in line with historical estimates (Cates 1981)

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ECONOMIC OUTCOMES WELFARE PARTICIPATION

- Treatment: State-level % decline in Medicaid-covered abortions between 1976 and the average of 1978-1982
- * Methodology: Event-study design at state level
 - Compare states with larger declines to smaller declines
 - Compare non-white to white women
 - CPS data (1st generation) and ACS data (2nd generation)

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KEY FINDINGS: PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

- Results 2nd Generation: An ↑ in the probability of receiving public insurance, and some evidence of an increase in welfare participation for non-white women versus white women born around the Hyde Amendment

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PREVIOUS LITERATURE

1. Effect of Hyde Amendment

 Garbacz, 1990; Blank et al., 1996; Levine et al., 1996; Haas-Wilson, 1997; Levine et al. 1996; Kane and Staiger, 1996; Cook et al., 1999; ACKGROUND

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PREVIOUS LITERATURE

1. Effect of Hyde Amendment

- Garbacz, 1990; Blank et al., 1996; Levine et al., 1996; Haas-Wilson, 1997; Levine et al. 1996; Kane and Staiger, 1996; Cook et al., 1999;
- * Contribution: Use within-state variation and consider all states with reduced public funding

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PREVIOUS LITERATURE

2. Effects of Restrictions on Abortion

Joyce and Kaestner, 1996; Matthews et al., 1997; Blank et al., 1996; Haas-Wilson, Deborah, et al., 1996; Kane and Staiger, 1996; Bitler and Zavodny, 2001; Levine and Phillip B, 2003; Hock et al., 2007; Oreffice, 2007; Guldi, 2008; Klick and Stratmann, 2008; Jacobson and Royer, 2011; Sabia and Rees, 2013; Sabia and Anderson, 2016; Fischer et al., 2018; Myers and Ladd, 2020; Lindo et al., 2020; Lindo and Pineda-Torres, 2021; Miller et al., 2023; Jones and Pineda-Torres, 2024

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PREVIOUS LITERATURE

2. Effects of Restrictions on Abortion

- Joyce and Kaestner, 1996; Matthews et al., 1997; Blank et al., 1996; Haas-Wilson, Deborah, et al., 1996; Kane and Staiger, 1996; Bitler and Zavodny, 2001; Levine and Phillip B, 2003; Hock et al., 2007; Oreffice, 2007; Guldi, 2008; Klick and Stratmann, 2008; Jacobson and Royer, 2011; Sabia and Rees, 2013; Sabia and Anderson, 2016; Fischer et al., 2018; Myers and Ladd, 2020; Lindo et al., 2020; Lindo and Pineda-Torres, 2021; Miller et al., 2023; Jones and Pineda-Torres, 2024
- * Contribution: Provide evidence of the downstream impacts of abortion funding restrictions on participation in public assistance programs



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PREVIOUS LITERATURE

3. Expanding Access to Public Programs Can Have Long-term and Multi-Generational Benefits

* Sommers and Oellerich, 2013; Hoynes et al., 2016; Hoehn-Velasco, 2021; Goodman-Bacon, 2018, 2021; East et al., 2023

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PREVIOUS LITERATURE

- 3. Expanding Access to Public Programs Can Have Long-term and Multi-Generational Benefits
 - * Sommers and Oellerich, 2013; Hoynes et al., 2016; Hoehn-Velasco, 2021; Goodman-Bacon, 2018, 2021; East et al., 2023
 - * Contribution: Inter-generational impacts of health care funding restrictions

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ABBREVIATED TIMELINE OF REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS



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TIMELINE OF HYDE AMENDMENT

* In 1976, US Congress passed the Hyde Amendment

- * Bans the use of federal funding for abortions (Gold, 1980)
- Hyde Amendment publicized in newspapers in all 50 states over these years, 1976-1977

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TIMELINE OF HYDE AMENDMENT

- * In 1976, US Congress passed the Hyde Amendment
 - * Bans the use of federal funding for abortions (Gold, 1980)
 - Hyde Amendment publicized in newspapers in all 50 states over these years, 1976-1977
- * Full enforcement of Amendment delayed enforcement until August 4th, 1977, when the injunction was lifted (*Lincoln et al., 1977; CDC, 1977; Cates, 1981*)
- 7-month period in 1980 when federal funding resumed while a Supreme Court ruling was pending on the Hyde Amendment (*Cates, 1981*)

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HYDE AMENDMENT

- * Prior to the Hyde Amendment:
 - * Medicaid-funded abortions paid for by the federal government and the states
- Post-Hyde Amendment:
 - States could fund abortions entirely with state funds or stop providing abortion services through Medicaid programs
 - By February 1979, 16 states and DC were providing funding for abortion in medically necessary cases, but many of these states still had declines in funding
 - From 1977 to 1978, publicly funded abortions fell from 295,000 to around 194,000 abortions (Gold, 1980, Trussell et al., 1980)





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- 1. Fertility Data: Natality Detail Files (National Vital Statistics System (NVSS), National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS))
- 2. Population Composition: SEER Population Data (SEER 2024)
- Medicaid Eligibility: Share of the population receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) (Census County and City Data Books (2012))
 - * Statutory link between cash welfare receipt and Medicaid eligibility
 - AFDC receipt used as a proxy for Medicaid in similar studies (Goodman-Bacon, 2018, 2021)
- 4. Changes in Medicaid abortions: Digitized data on the state-level % decline in Medicaid abortions, 1976 vs average (1978-1981) (Lincoln et al. (1977), Gold (1980), Gold (1982))
- 5. Economic outcomes: Current Population Survey (CPS) and American Community Survey (ACS)



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COUNTY-LEVEL PERCENT AFDC: MEDICAID ELIGIBILITY



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EMPIRICAL STRATEGY. FERTILITY

Use an event-study specification for state s, county j and conception year t = 1971, ..., 1984:

 $ln(Fertility)_{jst} =$

* In(Fertility)_{jst} the number of conceptions per 1,000 women in the conception year

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EMPIRICAL STRATEGY. FERTILITY

Use an event-study specification for state s, county j and conception year t = 1971, ..., 1984:

$$\ln(\text{Fertility})_{jst} = \alpha + \sum_{m=1971}^{1984} \beta_m$$
 Hyde Amendment_m × Proportion AFDC_{js}

- * In(Fertility)_{jst} the number of conceptions per 1,000 women in the conception year
- * Hyde Amendment_m × Proportion $AFDC_{js}$ captures the Hyde effect based on the proportion of 1976's Medicaid-eligible population in county j

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EMPIRICAL STRATEGY. FERTILITY

Use an event-study specification for state s, county j and conception year t = 1971, ..., 1984:

$$ln(Fertility)_{jst} = lpha + \sum_{m=1971}^{1984} eta_m$$
 Hyde Amendment $_m imes$ Proportion AFDC $_{js}$
+ X'_{jt} γ

- * In(Fertility)_{*j*st} the number of conceptions per 1,000 women in the conception year
- * Hyde Amendment_m × Proportion AFDC_{js} captures the Hyde effect based on the proportion of 1976's Medicaid-eligible population in county j
- * X_{jt} represents the county-level controls-the share white, other race, female, and unemployment rate

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EMPIRICAL STRATEGY. FERTILITY

Use an event-study specification for state s, county j and conception year t = 1971, ..., 1984:

$$\begin{split} \mathsf{In}(\mathsf{Fertility})_{jst} &= \alpha + \sum_{m=1971}^{1984} \beta_m \; \mathsf{Hyde} \; \mathsf{Amendment}_m \times \mathsf{Proportion} \; \mathsf{AFDC}_{js} \\ &+ \mathsf{X}'_{jt} \gamma + a_j + \eta_{st} + \psi_{u(j)t} + \epsilon_{jst} \end{split}$$

- * $\ln(\text{Fertility})_{jst}$ the number of conceptions per 1,000 women in the conception year
- * Hyde Amendment_m × Proportion AFDC_{js} captures the Hyde effect based on the proportion of 1976's Medicaid-eligible population in county j
- * X_{jt} represents the county-level controls-the share white, other race, female, and unemployment rate
- * Fixed effects: county a_j , state-by-conception-year η_{st} , and population-size-by-conception-year and urbanicity-by-conception-year $\psi_{u(j)t}$
- * Robust standard errors clustered at the county level

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EVENT STUDY: FERTILITY



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EVENT STUDY: FERTILITY <30



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ESSENTIAL CHECKS ON THE MAIN FINDINGS

- 1. Functional form: similar results with Poisson model
- 2. Alternative Measure of Eligibility: percentile of eligibility, decile and quartile of eligibility
- 3. Additional Controls: Controlling for abortion providers (log of providers and providers per reproductive-age female) and Title X clinics; controlling for education level and marital status of births; controls for county-level income, unemployment
- 4. Placebo Test: randomly assigning eligibility
- 5. **Other checks:** dropping one state at a time, dropping states with parental involvement laws (1980s) and Medicaid expansions, adjusting standard errors for spatial correlation, clustering standard errors at the state level

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EVENT STUDY: FERTILITY. AGES 18-19



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EVENT STUDY: FERTILITY. AGES 20-24





- * Poor black women are more affected as compared with their white counterparts
 - 39 percent of black women rely on Medicaid for their health care-including abortion-compared to just seven percent of white women (Lincoln et al., 1977, pg 213)





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IMPACT OF HYDE ON ECON OUTCOMES. 1ST GENERATION

- * Disproportionate Impact: Fertility effects are strongest among non-white women
- * Pathways:
 - Women facing unintended pregnancies may turn to welfare programs for financial support.
 - Women already receiving welfare may have additional children, deepening reliance on public assistance.
- * Data: Current Population Survey (CPS) respondents younger than 30.



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EMPIRICAL STRATEGY. 1ST GEN ECONOMIC EFFECTS

Use an event-study specification for individual i, in state s and year t as follows:

Welfare $_{ist} =$

* Welfare ist welfare receipt for individual i living in state s in year t

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EMPIRICAL STRATEGY. 1ST GEN ECONOMIC EFFECTS

Use an event-study specification for individual i, in state s and year t as follows:

Welfare_{*ist*} = $\alpha + \sum_{m=1974}^{1981} \beta_m$ Hyde Amendment_m × +%Decline Medicaid Abortions_s × 1(Non-white)_i

- * Welfare ist welfare receipt for individual i living in state s in year t
- * Hyde Amendment_m × %Decline Medicaid Abortions_s × 1(Non-white)_i captures the Hyde effect for non-White relative to White based on the average change in Medicaid abortion between 1976 vs 1978-1982

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EMPIRICAL STRATEGY. 1ST GEN ECONOMIC EFFECTS

Use an event-study specification for individual i, in state s and year t as follows:

Welfare_{*ist*} = $\alpha + \sum_{m=1974}^{1981} \beta_m$ Hyde Amendment_m × +%Decline Medicaid Abortions_s × 1(Non-white)_i + 1(Non-White)_i + %Decline Medicaid Abortions_s × 1(Post)_t + + 1(Non-White)_i × 1(Post)_t + %Decline Medicaid Abortions_s × 1(Non-White)_i +X'_{*ist*} $\gamma + a_s + \eta_t + \epsilon_{$ *ist* $}$

- * Welfare ist welfare receipt for individual i living in state s in year t
- * Hyde Amendment_m × %Decline Medicaid Abortions_s × 1(Non-white)_i captures the Hyde effect for non-White relative to White based on the average change in Medicaid abortion between 1976 vs 1978-1982
- * X_{ist} represents individual level controls–age, a_s, η_{st} state and year fixed effects, 1(Post)_t indicator for 1977 and after, robust standard errors clustered at the state level

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RECEIVING WELFARE



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CHILDREN IN THE HOUSEHOLD



Hyde Amendment and Economic Outcomes–2nd Generation

- Data Source: We use the American Community Survey (ACS) to study second-generation effects for women born around the Hyde Amendment
- * Mechanisms:
 - Women facing unintended pregnancies may turn to welfare programs for financial support
 - * Families have more children
 - Financial and time resources within households may decline, affecting children's outcomes
- * **Empirical Strategy:** Follows a similar approach as the CPS analysis, but examines *adult economic outcomes (2000–2019)* based on state and year of birth.

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PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE 2ND GENERATION



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CONCLUSIONS: FERTILITY

 Primary Finding: Hyde Amendment raises fertility for women <30 by 2% at average level of Medicaid eligibility ACKGROUND 0000 EMPIRICAL STRATEGY

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CONCLUSIONS: FERTILITY

- Primary Finding: Hyde Amendment raises fertility for women <30 by 2% at average level of Medicaid eligibility
- * Differs from prior state-level findings, e.g., Levine et al. (1996); Haas-Wilson (1997). Why?
 - We use a county-level approach based on eligibility and % decline in funding
 - Prior work compared states based on the binary availability of Medicaid funding



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CONCLUSIONS: PUBLIC ASSISTANCE – 1ST GENERATION

- Non-White vs White women within the states with larger declines in abortion funding have a higher likelihood of receiving welfare
 - * Why? More likely to have children, have more children in the household, making it more difficult to participate in the labor market

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CONCLUSIONS: PUBLIC ASSISTANCE – 2ND GENERATION

- Non-White vs White women born between 1977-1980 more likely to be receiving public insurance (e.g,. Medicaid) and welfare
- * The Hyde Amendment exacerbates economic inequality for two generations
 - Children are born into already disadvantaged households and are likely to experience similar economic challenges and dependency on public assistance as adults

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POLICY IMPLICATIONS

 Key Implication: Reducing abortion funding increases the need for public assistance (e.g., cash welfare, public insurance).

* Welfare Perspective:

- Policymakers must plan to provide additional public assistance when imposing abortion funding restrictions.
- * **Long-Term Effects:** Abortion funding restrictions have inter-generational impacts on public assistance participation

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DOES THIS MATTER TODAY?

NEWS ADMINISTRATION ISSUES
PRESIDENTIAL ACTIONS
ENFORCING THE
HYDE AMENDMENT
EXECUTIVE ORDER
January 24, 2025

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Thank you! Comments very much appreciated Email: Ivelasco@gsu.edu