Appendix A: State abortion bans

Our starting point for classifying state abortion bans is state policy reviews published and periodically updated by the Center for Reproductive Rights (2025), Guttmacher Institute (2025), KFF (2023), and the New York Times (2022). We also consult the language of specific statutes and judicial decisions, as well as news articles that confirm the dates of enforcement. Our classifications capture the evolution of state policies through January 2025, though the analyses in this paper do not exploit variation occurring after 2023.

We use the term "total ban" to describe a ban on abortions at all gestational ages with very limited exceptions. All enforced total bans have exceptions to protect the life of the pregnant person. In addition, 5 have exceptions to protect the health of the pregnant person, 3 have exceptions for cases of rape or incest, and 2 have exceptions in cases of fatal fetal anomalies (KFF, 2023). Critics argue that exceptions to preserve mother's life or health are not feasible in practice due to the lack of specificity of clinical conditions (KFF, 2023).

Since June 2022, 15 states have enforced a total ban for a period of at least one month: Alabama, Arkansas, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.[21] In 12 of these states bans automatically took effect shortly after the Dobbs decision under "trigger laws" passed prior to Dobbs designed to ban abortion in the event that Roe was ever overturned. In Wisconsin, a de facto ban took effect when all of the state's abortion facilities ceased offering services because they they viewed the state as likely to enforce a 19th century abortion statute as a ban. In two states, Indiana and West Virginia, total bans took effect due to legislative actions following the Dobbs decision.

We use the term "gestational age ban" to describe a ban on abortions beyond a specified gestational age limit occurring prior to fetus viability, which is roughly 22 to 24 weeks gestation. To date, gestational age bans have been established at thresholds of 6, 12, 15 and 18-weeks gestation. The 6-week gestational age bans are by far the most restrictive of the pre-viability bans. Because pregnancy is dated from the first day of the last menstrual period (LMP), in a 28-day cycle fertilization would occur at approximately 14 days gestation and implantation of the resulting embryo in the uterus would then occur at approximately 20 to 26 days post fertilization. The earliest a person might expect a positive pregnancy test following fertilization and implantation is approximately 28 days LMP. Hence, at the soonest possible moment a person might realize that they are pregnant, they are already at 4 weeks gestational age, giving them at most 2 weeks to make a decision regarding the abortion, gather resources, and obtain the abortion before the 6-week ban prohibits it. Many pregnant people will have even less time and some will not know they are pregnant until

[21] This count does not include Arizona, where all abortion providers briefly closed twice in the months following Dobbs as a judicial battle over a pre-Roe abortion ban played out. It also does not include Utah, where a total ban was in effect for 3 days until it was enjoined by court order.

after 6 weeks. In 2020, 45.3% of abortions occurred at 6 weeks or earlier and an additional 25.6% occurred at 7–9 weeks gestation (Kortsmit, 2022). Less than 7% of abortions occurred after 13 weeks (Kortsmit, 2022).

Texas became the first state to enforce a gestational age ban when Senate Bill 8 (the "Texas Heartbeat Act") took effect on September 1, 2021, nearly 10 months before the Dobbs decision.[22] Following Dobbs, 6 additional states–Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee–enforced 6-week gestational age bans. Idaho and Tennessee's 6-week bans were quickly supplanted by total bans, while Ohio's was enjoined after two months. At present, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, and South Caroline are enforcing 6-week bans. In addition, Nebraska and North Carolina are enforcing 12-week bans, Kansas enforced a 15-week ban until December 2024, and Utah is enforcing an 18-week ban.

In addition, 5 states that were not enforcing pre-viability abortion bans are nonetheless considered "hostile" to abortion rights by organizations such as the Guttmacher Institute (2025) and Center for Reproductive Rights (2025). States classified as hostile may have pending litigation determining future enforcement of a ban or be considered likely to enact a ban in the future. In fact, three of the states these organizations were previously classified as hostile in 2022, Florida, Iowa, and South Carolina, now enforce 6-week gestational age bans (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2025).

In the remainder of this appendix, we provide state-by-state information on pre-viability abortion bans and other factors contributing to a characterization as "hostile" or "protected." Table A.1 presents dates of enforcement of pre-viability bans and a summary classification of the state policy environments.

State-by-state review

Alabama

Alabama Code §26-23H-4, a trigger law that took effect on 6/24/2022, prohibits abortions at all stages of pregnancy. The ban includes exceptions to prevent the death of the pregnant person, to prevent serious risk to the pregnant person's physical health, and where there is a lethal fetal anomaly. This state is characterized as enforcing a total ban.

Alaska

The Alaska Supreme Court ruled in 1997 that the privacy provision of Alaska's constitution protects the right to an abortion (*Valley Hospital Association, Inc. v. Mat-Su Coalition for Choice* 948: 963-73). This state is characterized as protected.

[22] This law banned abortions after detection of fetal cardiac activity, which typically occurs at about 6 weeks gestation. While critics charged that enforcement of a pre-viability abortion ban was clearly not constitutional under Roe and Casey and multiple lawsuits challenging the law were filed, the Supreme Court refused to issue an emergency injunction and the law was enforced until the Dobbs decision, at which point Texas replaced it with a total ban.

Arizona
Following the Dobbs decision, there was confusion and uncertainty about whether an total abortion ban dating to Arizona's founding criminal code in 1864 (A.R.S. §§13-3603) was enforceable. Per the facility documentation in the Myers Abortion database, all Arizona abortion facilities ceased providing services on or around 6/24/2022 under threat of enforcement. Most resumed services on or around 7/11/2022 when a judicial ruling blocked enforcement of the law. A lengthy litigation process ensued, and during it facilities again ceased services between 9/24/2022 and 10/7/2022. On 4/9/2024 the state supreme court upheld the ban (*Planned Parenthood v. Mayes* 254 Arizona 401). At that point, the total ban appeared poised to take effect in May. However, the state legislature acted quickly, passing a bill to repeal the ban that was signed by the governor on 5/1/2024. At that point the state attorney general announced the ban would not be enforced. Abortion rights proponents then introduced a ballot initiative and on 11/5/2024 state voters passed an amendment to the state constitution to protect abortion rights.

Separately, the Arizona legislature enacted statute §36-2322, a 15-week gestational age ban, after the Dobbs decision. This law took effect on 9/25/2022. After the voter referendum in November 2024, the Center for Reproductive Rights filed a lawsuit challenging the 15-week ban. On 12/5/2024 the Arizona Attorney General agreed not to enforce the ban while litigation proceeded, stating that it was no longer constitutional under the new amendment.

Arkansas
Arkansas Code §5-61-301 to –304, a trigger law that took effect on 6/24/2022, prohibits abortions at all stages of pregnancy. This total ban includes an exception to prevent the death of the pregnant person.

California
California statute allows abortion up to fetal viability (HSC §123468). Further, Prop 1 in November 2022 passed by popular vote and clarified the state constitution's right to privacy to include a right to an abortion and contraceptives. This state is characterized as protected.

Colorado
Colorado has not enacted any restrictions on the gestational age limits at which abortion can be performed. Further Colorado §§25-6-403, effective April 2022, guarantees a right to abortion in Colorado. This state is characterized as protected.

Connecticut
Connecticut § 19a-602(a) leaves the decision to have an abortion to a pregnant woman. This state is characterized as protected.

Delaware
Tit. 24, § 1790 (b) expressly allows abortion up to fetal viability.This state is characterized as protected.

District of Columbia
D.C. CODE §2-1401.06 recognizes a right to an abortion. The District of Columbia is characterized as protected.

Florida
Florida statute §390.0111 established a 15-week gestational age ban effective 7/1/2022. The

law remained in effect during an extended legal battle. On 4/13/2023, Florida's governor signed the "Heartbeat Protection Act" into law, amending Florida's statutes to establish a ban on abortions after fetal cardiac activity is detected, typically at about 6 weeks gestation. This law was not enforced during a period of judicial review, but the 15-week ban remained in effect. On 4/1/2024 the state Supreme Court ruled that the state constitution did not protect a right to abortion and that the bans could take effect (*Planned Parenthood of Southwest and Central Florida v. State of Florida* No. 384 So.3d 67) and the 6-week ban began effective and superseded the 15-week ban on 5/1/2024. Florida is characterized as enforcing a gestational age ban.

Georgia
The Georgia legislature enacted House Bill 481 in 2019, establishing a ban on abortions after fetal cardiac activity is detected. Enforcement of the ban was blocked until after the Dobbs decision, when it took effect on 7/20/2022. During an extensive battle carried in Georgia courts, enforcement was briefly enjoined between 11/15/2022 and 11/21/2022 and again between 9/30/2024 and 10/7/2024. Florida is characterized as enforcing a gestational age ban.

Hawaii
Hawaii §453-16(b) allows abortion until viability. This state is characterized as protected.

Idaho
In 2020 Idaho enacted §18-622(1)(a), a trigger ban prohibiting abortions at all stages of pregnancy. The law offered no exceptions, but did note that if prosecuted, a physician could rely on a defense that the abortion was necessary to save the life of the pregnant person, and bear the associated burden of proof. In 2021 Idaho enacted a second abortion ban on abortions after 6 weeks gestation that included exceptions to save the life of or to prevent irreversible permanent bodily damage to the pregnant person. Both bans were scheduled to take effect after Dobbs, but the trigger ban was temporarily enjoined by a federal court because it conflict with federal Emergency Medical Treatment and Labor Act (EMTALA) mandates. Meanwhile, the 6-week ban took effect on 8/19/2022 after a federal court upheld Georgia's similar 6-week ban. The state of Idaho appealed the injunction against the total ban, and it was then allowed to take effect on 8/25/2022. the total ban was allowed to take effect. In July 2023, Idaho amended the total ban to allow exceptions to save the life of the pregnant person or in cases of rape or incest reported to legal authorities. This state is classified as enforcing a total abortion ban.

Illinois
Illinois §775-55/1-25(a) allows abortion until viability. This state is characterized as protected.

Indiana
Indiana Senate Enrolled Act 1, enacted after Dobbs in a special session of the state legislature on 8/5/2022, makes it illegal to perform an abortion. The ban includes exceptions to preserve the life or health of the pregnant person, in cases of rape or incest, and in cases of severe fetal anomalies. This law was challenged and enforcement enjoined until the state supreme court issued a ruling on 8/1/2023 that it could take effect. The ban took effect on 8/21/2023. This state is classified as enforcing a total abortion ban.

Iowa
The Iowa legislature enacted House Bill 481 in 2019, establishing a ban on abortions after fetal cardiac activity is detected. The law was challenged and enjoined until 7/29/2024, when it took effect. This state is classified as enforcing a 6-week gestational age ban.

Kansas
Hodes & Nauser, MDsS, P.A. v. Schmidt, 440 P.3d 461, 502 clarified that the state constitution guarantees a right to an abortion. A ballot measure H.C.R. 5003 failed that would have changed this in August 2022. This state is characterized as protected.

Kentucky
The Kentucky legislature enacted a trigger ban in 2019. The ban, codified as §311.772, took effect on 6/24/2022. The ban includes exceptions to preserve the life or health of the pregnant person. This state is classified as enforcing a total abortion ban.

Louisiana
The Louisiana legislature enacted a trigger ban in 2006, making it among the first states to do so. The ban, codified as §§40.87.7-8 and 40:1061, took effect on 6/24/2022. The ban includes exceptions to preserve the life or health of the pregnant person. This state is classified as enforcing a total abortion ban.

Maine
Maine §22-1598 ensures the right to an abortion up to viability. This state is characterized as protected.

Maryland
Maryland §20-209 ensures the right to an abortion up to viability. This state is characterized as protected.

Massachusetts
The decision in *Moe v. Secretary of Administration and Finance* ruled that abortion is protected under the due process clause of the state constitution. In addition, Gen. Laws ch. 112, § 12L. ensures a right to an abortion. This state is characterized as protected.

Michigan
Michigan statute §333.17015 allows abortion with informed consent up to the point of viability. Article I §28 of the Michigan state constitution protects the right to an abortion. This state is characterized as protected.

Minnesota
The Minnesota Supreme Court ruled in 1995 that the state constitution protects a right to abortion (*Doe v. Gomez* 542 N.W.2d 17). In January 2023, the governor signed the Protect Reproductive Options Act into law, affirming Minnesotans' fundamental right to make independent decisions about their own reproductive health, including the right to obtain an abortion. This state is characterized as protected.

Mississippi
The Mississippi legislature enacted a trigger ban in 2007, making it among the first states to

do so. The ban, codified as §41-41-45, took effect on 7/7/2022. The ban includes exceptions to preserve the life of the pregnant person or in cases of rape or incest reported to law enforcement. This state is classified as enforcing a total abortion ban.

Missouri
The Missouri legislature enacted a trigger ban in 2019, codified as §188.017. This ban took effect on 6/24/2022. The ban includes exceptions to preserve the life of the pregnant person. In November 2024, Missouri voters approve an amendment to the state constitution to protect abortion rights. On 12/23/2024, the state Supreme Court held that the abortion ban was unconstitutional following this amendment and enjoined the bans (Comprehensive Health of Planned Parenthood Great Plains et al. v. Missouri, No. 2416-CV31931). As of February 2025, no facilities have resumed abortion services in the state.

Montana
Montana's Supreme Court held in 1999 that the state's constitutional protections for privacy extend to the right to access to abortion (*Armstrong v. State* 296 Mont. 361). Montana statute (§50-20-603) prohibits abortions beyond 20 weeks gestation, but this law was enjoined and ultimately struck down in 2024 (*Planned Parenthood of Montana v. State of Montana* No. DV-21-999). In 2023, the state legislature enacted Senate Bill 154 to redefine the constitutional right to privacy to exclude the right to abortion. But in 2024, Montana voters amended the state constitution to expressly provide a right to abortion. This state is characterized as protected.

Nebraska
The Nebraska governor signed a 12-week abortion ban (L.B. 574, 108th Leg.) into effect on 5/22/2023 and it became effective immediately. In November 2024, Nebraska voters rejected a ballot initiative to protect abortion and enshrine the 12-week abortion ban in the state constitution (Article 1, §31). This state is characterized as enforcing a 12-week gestational age ban.

Nevada
Nevada voters ratified a law (§442.250) in 1990 that expressly protects the right to abortion before 24 weeks. In November 2024, Nevada voters approved an amendment to the state constitution to protect abortion rights, but this will require a second vote to be implemented. This state is characterized as protected.

New Hampshire
New Hampshire's legislature enacted a ban on abortions after 24 weeks codified as §329-34 and effective 1/1/2022. No law expressly allows or prohibits pre-viability abortion. The Center for Reproductive Rights characterizes this state as "not protected," a status that is intermediate between "protected" and "hostile" and shared by only two other states (New Mexico and Virginia). Similarly, the Guttmacher Institute characterizes New Hampshire as having "some restrictions." We characterize New Hampshire as protected for our limited purpose of describing changes in abortions and births across three groupings of states. We encourage other researchers to critically evaluate whether this characterization is appropriate for their analytical purposes.

New Jersey
New Jersey's Supreme Court determined in 1982 that the state constitutional right to privacy

extends to abortion (*Right to Choose v. Byrne* 91NJ287).In 2022, the state legislature also enacted Senate Bill 49 establishing a right to abortion. This state is characterized as protected.

New Mexico
New Mexico's legislature repealed the state's pre-Roe abortion ban (§30-5-1(c), repealed by S.B. 10, 55th Legislature). No law expressly allows or prohibits pre-viability abortion and the state's supreme court determined whether the state's constitution protects abortion. The Center for Reproductive Rights characterizes this state as "not protected," a status that is intermediate between "protected" and "hostile" and shared by only two other states (New Hampshire and Virginia). However, given the state's recent history of repealing abortion restrictions, the Guttmacher Institute characterizes New Mexico as protective of abortion rights. We adhere to Guttmacher's characterization.

New York
The New York legislature enacted statutory protections for abortion in 2019 (§2599). In 2024, New York voters passed a state ballot initiative to enshrine abortion rights in the state constitution. This state is characterized as protected.

North Carolina
North Carolina's legislature enacted a suite of abortion restrictions effective 7/1/2023. These included a 12-week gestational age ban (§90-21.81). This state is characterized as enforcing a 12-week gestational age ban.

North Dakota
In 2007 North Dakota's legislature enacted HB 1466, a trigger ban that was one of the first in the country. When the state attempted to enforce the ban following the Dobbs decision, it was initially struck down because it did not provide exceptions to preserve the life or health of the mother. The state legislature then amended the ban to add these exceptions, and it was allowed to take effect on 4/23/2023. The law was again challenged, and on 9/12/2024 the state Supreme Court determined that the state constitution protects a right to abortion, invalidating the law (*Access Independent Health Services v. Wrigley* No. 08-2022-CV-1608). However, the state has repealed the ruling and as of February 2024 no facilities in North Dakota are publicly advertising abortion services. This state is classified as hostile.

Ohio
In April 2019, Ohio's legislature enacted a ban on abortions performed after the detection of fetal cardiac activity (Ohio Rev. Code Ann. § 2919.195), which typically takes place at about 6 weeks gestation. A court issued a preliminary injunction against enforcement, which a district court then dissolved on 6/24/2022 following the Dobbs decision. A 6-week gestational age ban therefore took effect on 6/24/2022. Enforcement was temporarily enjoined effective 9/14/2022 and the ban was subsequently struck down on 10/24/2024 (*Preterm-Cleveland v. Yost* No. A2203203 Ct. C.P. Ohio). Furthermore, on 11/7/2023, voters in Ohio approved Issue 1, a constitutional amendment to protect reproductive decision making. As a result of this series of events, the Center for Reproductive Rights characterization of Ohio evolved from hostile to protective. The Guttmacher Institute characterizes the state as having "some abortion restrictions." We characterize Ohio as "hostile" for our limited purpose of describing changes in abortions and births between 2021 and 2023 across

three groupings of states. We encourage other researchers to critically evaluate whether this characterization is appropriate for their analytical purposes.

Oklahoma
Oklahoma's legislature enacted a trigger ban in 2021 designed to make it's pre-Roe ban (§861) take effect immediately following a reversal of Roe. This ban, which only includes an exception to preserve the life of the pregnant person, took effect on 6/24/2022. However, even prior to this ban taking effect, Oklahoma had begun enforcing pre-viability bans. On 5/3/2022, Senate Bill 1503, modeled on Texas SB8, created private citizen enforcement of a 6-week ban making abortions after six weeks prohibitively costly. On 5/26/2022, this was replaced with a total abortion ban. This state is classified as enforcing a total abortion ban.

Oregon
Oregon repealed its pre-Roe abortion ban in 1983. In 2023 it enacted statutory provisions to codify abortion as a right (§435.305). This state is characterized as protected.

Pennsylvania
Pennsylvania does not include express constitutional or statutory protections for abortion. The current Pennsylvania governor is supportive of abortion, but the state also has many restrictions in place and the state legislature has attempted to enact more in recent years. The Center for Reproductive rights characterizes Pennsylvania as "hostile" and Guttmacher as "restrictive." This state is classified as hostile.

Rhode Island
Rhode Island enacted statutory protections for abortion (§23-4.13-2) in 2019. This state is characterized as protected.

South Carolina
South Carolina enacted a trigger ban in 2021 (§§ 44-41-610 et seq.) designed to ban abortions after the detection of fetal cardiac activity. This ban was in effect from 6/24/20022 to 8/17/2022, when the state supreme court issued a temporary injunction pending review. Ultimately, on 1/5/2023 the state supreme court issued an opinion striking down the law on the grounds that it violated a right to privacy protected by the state constitution (Planned Parenthood S. Atl. v. South Carolina, No. 28127). In response to this ruling, the state legislature revised the law in 2023. Enforcement was immediately enjoined pending resolution of this challenge, but the law was ultimately upheld and took effect on 8/23/2023 (*Planned Parenthood South Atlantic v. South Carolina*, No. 2023-000896). We classify the state as enforcing a 6-week ban from 6/24/2022–8/17/2022 and 8/23/2023–present.

South Dakota
South Dakota enacted a trigger ban (§22-17-5.1) in 2021 that made performing an abortion a felony except in cases to save the life of the mother. The last took effect on 6/24/2022.

Tennessee
Tennessee's constitution was amended in 2014 to preclude protection of abortion rights. Tennessee enacted a trigger ban in 2019 (§39-15-213) that took effect on 8/25/2022. The following year, the Tennessee legislature also enacted House Bill 2263, which included a 6-week gestational age ban. Enforcement of this 6-week ban was enjoined, but a court allowed

it to take effect on 6/28/2022 following Dobbs. It was superseded by the total abortion back on 8/25/2022. This total ban includes exceptions to preserve the life or health of the pregnant person.

Texas
Texas Senate Bill 8, which took effect on September 1, 2021, marked the first enforcement of a pre-viability abortion ban in the months leading up to Dobbs. The law allowed private citizens to sue anyone suspected of assisting an abortion that occurred after the detection of fetal cardiac activity, which occurs at about six weeks of pregnancy. Texas also enacted a trigger ban, codified as §§170A.001-7, which took effect on 8/25/2022. But all of the state's abortion providers ceased services immediately on 6/22/2022 after Dobbs out of concern they would be prosecuted under an extant pre-Roe ban. A judge briefly enjoined enforcement of this pre-Roe ban on 6/28/2022 before the state Supreme Court again allowed it on 7/2/2022. Texas is classified as enforcing a 6-week ban from 9/1/2021 through 6/21/2022, a total ban from 6/22/2022-6/28/2022, a 6-week ban from 6/29/2022-7/1/2022, and a total ban from 7/1/2022 forward.

Utah
Utah's legislature enacted a trigger ban in 2020, codified as §76-7a-201. This total ban briefly took effect between 6/24/2022 and 6/27/2022 before a temporary restraining order was issued followed by a preliminary injunction (*Planned Parenthood Association of Utah v. Utah*, No. 220903886, July 11, 2022). This injunction was affirmed by the state Supreme Court on 8/1/2024 pending further review by lower courts. Utah is enforcing a ban on abortions at 18 weeks (§§76-7-302) that took effect on 6/26/2022.

Vermont
The Vermont legislature enacted comprehensive abortion rights legislation in 2019 (§9493). These protections were further strengthened in November 2022 when voters approved Proposal 5, which enshrines reproductive freedom in the Vermont constitution. This state is characterized as protected.

Virginia
Virginia's legislature repealed multiple abortion restrictions in 2020, including a mandatory waiting period and supply-side regulations. No law expressly allows or prohibits pre-viability abortion. The Center for Reproductive Rights characterizes this state as "not protected," a status that is intermediate between "protected" and "hostile" and shared by only two other states (New Hampshire and New Mexico). Similarly, the Guttmacher Institute characterizes Virginia as having "some restrictions." We characterize Virginia as protected for our limited purpose of describing changes in abortions and births across three groupings of states. We encourage other researchers to critically evaluate whether this characterization is appropriate for their analytical purposes.

Washington
Washington law includes long-standing statutory protections of abortion rights (§9.02.110). This state is characterized as protected.

West Virginia
In the months and weeks leading up to Dobbs, West Virginia's attorney general issued a

series of contradictory statements about potential enforcement of the state's 19th century enforcement ban, and the state's sole abortion facility closed on 6/24/2022, citing concerns over enforcement action. The attorney general issued a memorandum on 6/29/2022 confirming that he regarded the state's 1849 abortion ban as in effect. Providers at the abortion facility filed for relief, and a state court granted a preliminary injunction on 7/20/2022 (*Women's Health Center of West Virginia v. Miller* No. 22-C-556, Jul. 20, 2022). The legislature then called a special session to enact a new total ban, which was signed by the governor and took effect on 9/16/2022, codified as §16-2R-3. The ban includes exceptions to preserve the life or health of the pregnant person, for cases of rape or incest, and for fatal fetal anomalies.

Wisconsin
Wisconsin's 1849 abortion ban was never repealed, and Wisconsin's abortion facilities began to close a month prior to the Dobbs decision, citing risk of enforcement of an 1849 pre-Roe criminal abortion ban. After a lower court ruled it was not enforceable, the facilities began to reopen on 9/18/2023. The ruling has been appealed to the state Supreme Court, which heard oral arguments in November 2024. As of February 2025, the Court has not issued a final ruling. We classify Wisconsin as enforcing a total ban between 6/22/2022 and 9/18/2023.

Wyoming
Wyoming enacted a trigger ban in 2022 (H.B. 92, 66th Leg. amending Wyo. Stat. Ann. §35-6-102). Just hours after the ban took effect on 7/27/2022, a judge issued an injunction blocking enforcement (*Johnson v. State*, No. 18732). On 3/21/2023, the legislature enacted another total abortion ban, codified as §35-6-102, but it was enjoined and struck down prior to taking effect.

Table A.1: Summary of pre-viability abortion bans

State	Classification	Enforcement Dates
Alaska	Protected	
Alabama	Total ban	6/24/2022–present
Arizona	Hostile	15-week ban 9/25/2022–12/5/2024. Facilities also closed 6/24/2022–7/11/2022 & 9/24/2022–10/7/2022 due to perceived enforcement risks.
Arkansas	Total ban	6/24/2022–present
California	Protected	
Colorado	Protected	
Connecticut	Protected	
D.C.	Protected	
Delaware	Protected	
Florida	6-week ban	15-week ban 7/1/2022–4/30/2024; 6-week ban 5/1/2024–present
Georgia	6-week ban	7/20/2022–11/15/2022; 11/21/2022–9/30/2024; 10/7/2024–present
Hawaii	Protected	
Idaho	Total ban	6-week ban 8/19/2022–8/24/2022; Total ban 8/25/2022–present
Illinois	Protected	
Indiana	Total ban	8/21/2023–present
Iowa	6-week ban	7/29/2024–present
Kansas	Protected	
Kentucky	Total ban	6/24/2022–present
Louisiana	Total ban	6/24/2022–present
Maine	Protected	
Maryland	Protected	
Massachusetts	Protected	
Michigan	Protected	
Minnesota	Protected	
Mississippi	Protected	7/7/2022–present
Missouri	Hostile	Total ban 6/24/2022–12/23/2024
Montana	Protected	
Nebraska	12-week ban	5/22/2023–present
Nevada	Protected	
New Hampshire	Protected	
New Jersey	Protected	
New Mexico	Protected	
New York	Protected	
North Carolina	12-week ban	7/1/2023–present
North Dakota	Hostile	Total ban 4/23/2023–9/12/2024
Ohio	Protected	6-week ban enforced 6/24/2022–10/24/2022. We characterize the state as "hostile" until 11/7/2023, when voters approved a constitutional amendment to protect abortion rights.
Oklahoma	Total ban	6-week ban 5/3/2022–5/25/2022; Total ban 5/26/2022–present.
Oregon	Protected	
Pennsylvania	Protected	
Rhode Island	Protected	
South Carolina	6-week ban	6/24/2022–8/17/2022; 8/23/2023–present
South Dakota	Total ban	6/24/2022–present
Tennessee	Total ban	6-week ban 6/28/2022-8/24/2022; total ban 8/25/2022–present
Texas	Total ban	6-week ban 9/1/2021–6/21/2022; total ban 6/22/2022–6/28/2022; 6-week ban 6/29/2022–7/1/2022; total ban 7/2/2022–present
Utah	18-week ban	Total ban 6/24/2022–6/27/2022; 18-week ban 6/26/2022–present
Vermont	Protected	
Virginia	Protected	
Washington	Protected	
West Virginia	Total ban	6/22/2024–7/20/2022; 9/13/2022–present
Wisconsin	Hostile	Total ban 6/22/2022–9/18/2023
Wyoming	Hostile	

Notes: Table provides dates of contemporary enforcement of pre-viability abortion bans. The classification column characterizes policies at the time of writing in February 2025. Where this classification differs from that represented in Figure 1, it is because policies differed in December 2022.

Appendix B: Alternative specifications and additional results

In the main body of the paper, we allude to various alternative specifications of our primary models. These include the following estimates:

- Table B.1 reports results of specifications omitting economic control variables from the models.
- Table B.2 reports results of specifications omitting economic and demographic controls from models
- Table B.3 reports results of specifications omitting the county-by-half-year interactions adjusting for seasonality.
- Table B.4 reports results of the primary specification in omitting economic and demographic control variables and the county-by-half-year interactions from the models.
- Table B.5 reports results of the primary specification estimated for a sample that excludes Texas.
- Table B.6 reports results of alternative specifications to the Poisson. The outcome is the natural logarithm of the birthrate and the model is estimated with WOLS where the weights are the population of women aged 15–44.
- Table B.7 reports results of alternative specifications to the Poisson. The outcome is the natural logarithm of the birthrate and the model is estimated with OLS.

Each of these tables can be directly compared to the primary estimates in Table 2 to demonstrate that the results are robust to these alternative specifications and sample selection criteria. For instance, based on the results in Column 1 of Table 2, we report in the paper that the average ban increases births by 2.3%. Using the alternative specifications and samples here, the smallest estimated effect is 1.3% if we exclude Texas from the analysis (Table B.5). This smaller effect is in keeping with the fact that Texas exhibits some of the largest distance increases in the country and distance is a mediator of bans. The results of the remaining alternative specifications are also in keeping with the primary results, ranging from a 1.6% increase in births (Table B.2 and Table B.4) to a 2.3% increase in births (Table B.3 and Table B.6)

Next, consider the estimated effect of the average ban based on Column 2 of Table 2. As we describe in the paper, the average person affected by a ban experience an increase in distance from 50 miles before the ban to 300 miles after the ban. The results in Table 2 suggest that this resulted in a 2.8% increase in births. Using the alternative specifications

and samples here, the smallest estimated effect is 1.6% if we exclude all controls and adjustments for seasonality (Table B.4) and the largest is 2.9% using the weighted ordinary least squares model (Table B.6).

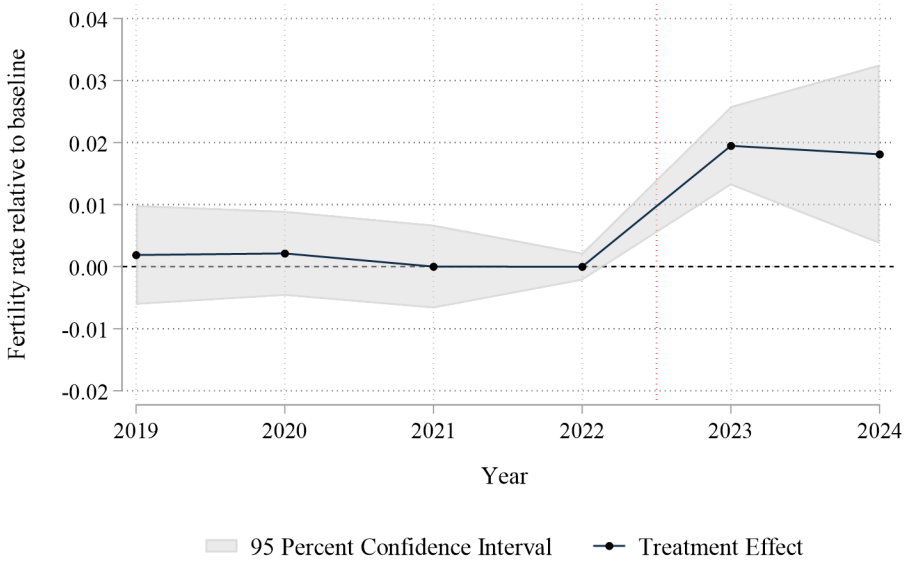
The results for models that add state-by-year fixed effects (Column 3), controls for appointment availability (Column 4), and state-by-year fixed effects and controls for appointment availability (Column 5) are similarly robust across specifications.

In addition, we estimate thre alternative Synthetic Difference-in-Differences specifications for comparison to the results in Figure B.3:

- Figure B.1 reports results of a specification that includes Wisconsin as a ban state rather than excluding it from the analysis. All Wisconsin abortion facilities closed in response to the Dobbs decision and the threatened enforcement of a 19th century abortion ban, but the resumed services in September 2023 after a judicial ruling enjoined enforcement. In our primary analysis, we exclude Wisconsin. In this alternative approach, we classify it as as ban state and include it.
- Figure B.2 reports results of a specification that uses the level birth rate (births per 1,000 women aged 15-44) rather than the log birth rate.
- Figure B.3 reports results of a specification that uses the level birth rate and includes Wisconsin as a ban states

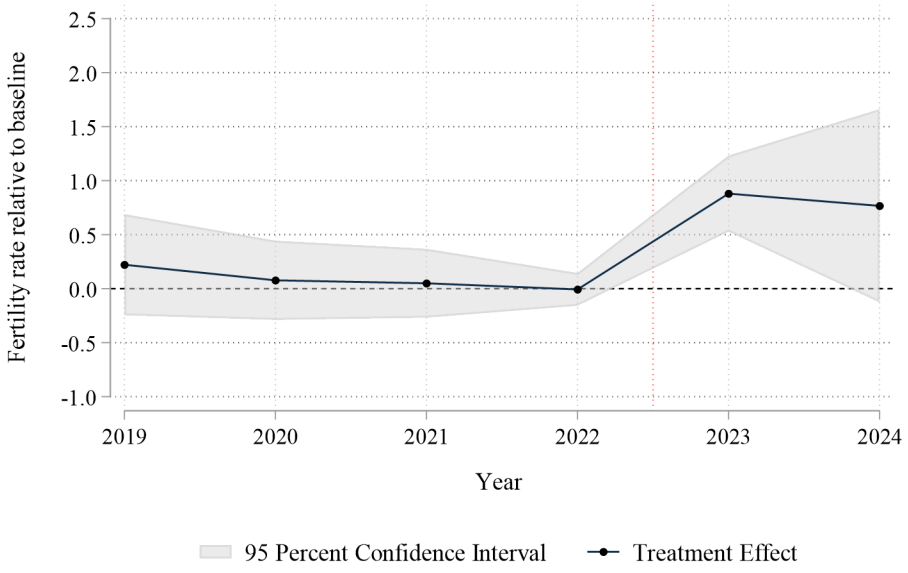
These results are substantively the same as those reported in Figure B.3 and all support the view that abortion bans resulted in a sustained increase in births relative to states that protected abortion access.

Figure B.1: Alternative Figure B.3 results estimated with Wisconsin included in the ban states



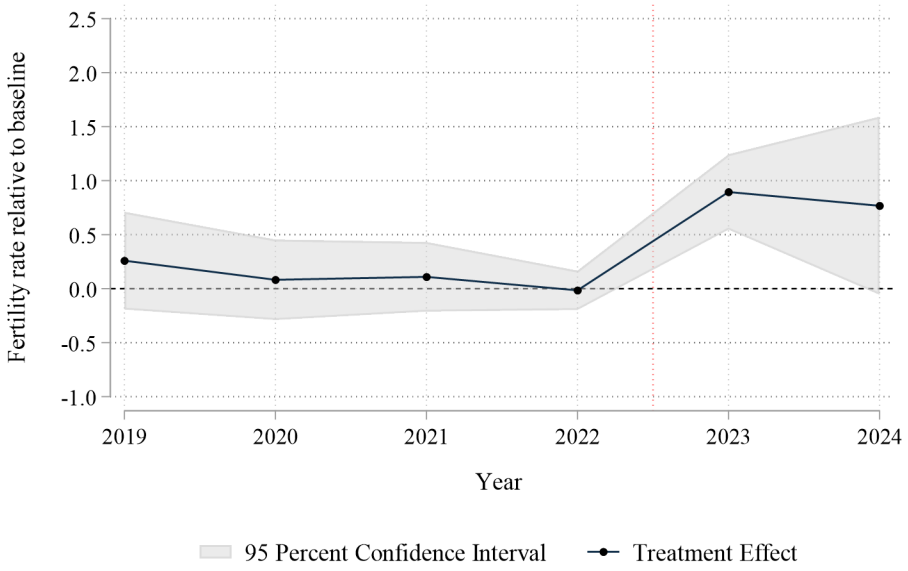
Notes: Compare to Figure B.3. The ban states include Wisconsin, where abortion facilities resumed services in September 2023.

Figure B.2: Alternative Figure B.3 results estimated with level birth rates as the outcome rather than log rates



Compare to Figure B.3. The outcome is defined births per 1,000 women aged 15-44 rather than the log of this value.

Figure B.3: Alternative Figure B.3 results estimated with Wisconsin included in the ban states



Compare to Figure B.3. The outcome is defined births per 1,000 women aged 15-44 rather than the log of this value. The ban states also include Wisconsin, where abortion facilities resumed services in September 2023.

Table B.1: Alternative Table 2 results: Omitting economic controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total ban	0.0208***	0.0088***		0.0097***	
	(0.002)	(0.003)		(0.003)	
Distance		0.0097***	0.0073***	0.0093***	0.0069***
		(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Distance^2		-0.0009***	-0.0009***	-0.0009***	-0.0009***
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Appointment constraint				0.0036*	0.0028
				(0.002)	(0.002)
Economic controls	no	no	no	no	no
Demographic controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Seasonal adj.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
County f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Time f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
State∗Time fixed effects	no	no	yes	no	yes
N	18,645	18,645	18,639	18,543	18,537

Notes: Compare to Table 2. Table reports results of specifications that omit controls for economic conditions.

Table B.2: Alternative Table 2 results: Omitting economic and demographic controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total ban	0.0163***	0.0066**		0.0064**	
	(0.002)	(0.003)		(0.003)	
Distance		0.0075***	0.0053**	0.0076***	0.0049*
		(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Distance^2		-0.0008**	-0.0005	-0.0008**	-0.0005
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Appointment constraint				-0.0009	0.0026
				(0.002)	(0.002)
Economic controls	no	no	no	no	no
Demographic controls	no	no	no	no	no
Seasonal adj.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
County f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Time f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
State∗Time fixed effects	no	no	yes	no	yes
N	18,645	18,645	18,639	18,543	18,537

Notes: Compare to Table 2. Table reports results of specifications that omit all controls, including for economic conditions and demographic characteristics interacted with a time trend as well as a control for 6-week bans.

Table B.3: Alternative Table 2 results: Omitting county-by-half-year interactions that adjust for seasonality

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total ban	0.0232***	0.0110***		0.0125***	
	(0.002)	(0.003)		(0.003)	
Distance		0.0090***	0.0082***	0.0083***	0.0077***
		(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Distance^2		-0.0007*	-0.0011***	-0.0007*	-0.0010***
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Appointment constraint				0.0056***	0.0025
				(0.002)	(0.002)
Economic controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Demographic controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Seasonal adj.	no	no	no	no	no
County f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Time f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
State$*$Time fixed effects	no	no	yes	no	yes
N	18,648	18,648	18,642	18,560	18,554

Notes: Compare to Table 2. Table reports results of models that removed the county-by-half-year indicators that adjusting for state-specific half-year seasonality in births.

Table B.4: Alternative Table 2 results: Omitting controls and county-by-half-year interactions that adjust for seasonality

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total ban	0.0161***	0.0075**		0.0078**	
	(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	
Distance		0.0041	0.0045	0.0040	0.0039
		(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Distance^2		-0.0002	-0.0004	-0.0002	-0.0003
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Appointment constraint				0.0008	0.0032
				(0.003)	(0.003)
Economic controls	no	no	no	no	no
Demographic controls	no	no	no	no	no
Seasonal adj.	no	no	no	no	no
County f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Time f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
State∗Time fixed effects	no	no	yes	no	yes
N	18,648	18,648	18,642	18,560	18,554

Notes: Compare to Table 2. Table reports results of models that omit all demographic and economic controls and also remove the county-by-half-year indicators that adjusting for state-specific half-year seasonality in births.

Table B.5: Alternative Table 2 results: Omitting Texas

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total ban	0.0130***	0.0034		0.0039	
	(0.002)	(0.003)		(0.003)	
Distance		0.0171***	0.0135***	0.0176***	0.0134***
		(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Distance^2		-0.0029***	-0.0012	-0.0030***	-0.0011
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Appointment constraint				0.0025	0.0033
Economic controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Demographic controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Seasonal adj.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
County f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Time f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
State∗Time fixed effects	no	no	yes	no	yes
N	17,124	17,124	17,118	17,022	17,016

Notes: Compare to Table 2. Table reports results with Texas omitted from the sample.

Table B.6: Alternative Table 2 results: Population weighted OLS with $ln(birthrate)$ as outcome

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total ban	0.0233***	0.0101***		0.0111***	
	(0.002)	(0.003)		(0.004)	
Distance		0.0113***	0.0096***	0.0109***	0.0093***
		(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Distance^2		-0.0011***	-0.0013***	-0.0011***	-0.0012***
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Appointment constraint				0.0047*	0.0025
				(0.002)	(0.003)
N	18,624	18,624	18,618	18,522	18,516
Economic controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Demographic controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Seasonal adj.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
County f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Time f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
State∗Time fixed effects	no	no	yes	no	yes
N	18,624	18,624	18,618	18,522	18,516

Notes: Compare to Table 2. Table reports results of an alternative specification estimated with weighted ordinary least squares. The outcome is the log of the birthrate.

Table B.7: Alternative Table 2 results: Unweighted OLS with $ln(birthrate)$ as outcome

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total ban	0.0018	-0.0106		-0.0106	
	(0.006)	(0.008)		(0.008)	
Distance		0.0173**	0.0214**	0.0173**	0.0207**
		(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.009)
Distance^2		-0.0017	-0.0023*	-0.0018	-0.0022*
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Appointment constraint				-0.0004	-0.0019
				(0.005)	(0.006)
Economic controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Demographic controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Seasonal adj.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
County f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Time f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
State∗Time fixed effects	no	no	yes	no	yes
N	18,624	18,624	18,618	18,522	18,516

Notes: Compare to Table 2. Table reports results of an alternative specification estimated with ordinary least squares. The outcome is the log of the birthrate.