

Online Appendix

A Background

Figure A.1: Table of Medicaid Eligibility, 1975

TABLE 54.—UNDUPLICATED YEARLY NUMBER OF RECIPIENTS BY BASIS OF ELIGIBILITY,
FISCAL YEAR 1975
(in thousands)¹

State	Total recipients	Aged	Blind	Disabled	Children under 21	AFDC adults
Alabama	323	121	2	40	110	51
Alaska	10	1		1	5	3
Arizona	(²)	(²)				
Arkansas	184	72	1	22	60	28
California	3,344	637	24	481	1,507	695
Colorado	151	32	.5	25	62	32
Connecticut	192	24	.3	20	112	35
Delaware	49	4	.3	3	30	11
District of Columbia	147	12	.2	12	82	40
Florida	386	86	2	53	170	76
Georgia	516	113	2	58	240	102
Guam ⁴						
Hawaii	93	10	.2	5	56	22
Idaho	39	6	.1	5	19	9
Illinois	1,600	108	2	194	957	339
Indiana	242	34	1	21	128	58
Iowa	143	30	1	10	69	33
Kansas	139	22	.6	12	77	27
Kentucky	357	78	2	40	153	84
Louisiana	397	127	2	47	157	64
Maine	122	21	.4	16	56	29
Maryland	345	45	.4	33	188	78
Massachusetts	588	132	8	63	278	109
Michigan	955	107	2	86	528	232
Minnesota	245	45	.7	22	127	50
Mississippi	287	85	2	30	128	42
Missouri	342	90	3	29	156	64
Montana	45	8	.2	6	21	10
Nebraska	70	16	.3	9	31	14
Nevada	23	4	.1	2	12	6
New Hampshire	50	11	.5	4	23	11
New Jersey	623	57	1	55	363	148
New Mexico	76	10	.3	11	39	16
New York	2,696	412	6	317	1,295	667
North Carolina	329	91	7	72	103	56
North Dakota	27	7	.1	3	12	5
Ohio	764	131	.9	20	396	217
Oklahoma	214	59	1	26	102	27
Oregon	169	18	1	17	86	47
Pennsylvania	1,090	102	15	97	512	364
Puerto Rico	1,098	37	.4	21	784	255
Rhode Island	109	33	.3	11	40	25
South Carolina	264	85	3	31	103	43
South Dakota	42	12	.1	4	18	9
Tennessee	319	84	1	49	137	47
Texas	729	248	4	77	286	115
Utah	55	6	.2	6	29	15
Vermont	49	9	.1	5	25	10
Virgin Islands	19	1		.1	14	3
Virginia	312	60	2	33	148	69
Washington	274	40	.7	41	133	61
West Virginia	124	21	.7	20	50	32
Wisconsin	419	96	2	44	202	75
Wyoming	11	2		1	6	2
Total ³	21,197	3,699	107.1	2,308	10,421	4,662

SOURCE: Medicaid/Medicare Management Institute (1978) Page 70.

Figure A.2: Medicaid Eligibility, 1976

TABLE 54.—UNDUPLICATED YEARLY NUMBER OF RECIPIENTS BY BASIS OF ELIGIBILITY,
FISCAL YEAR 1976
(in thousands)^{1, 5, 6}

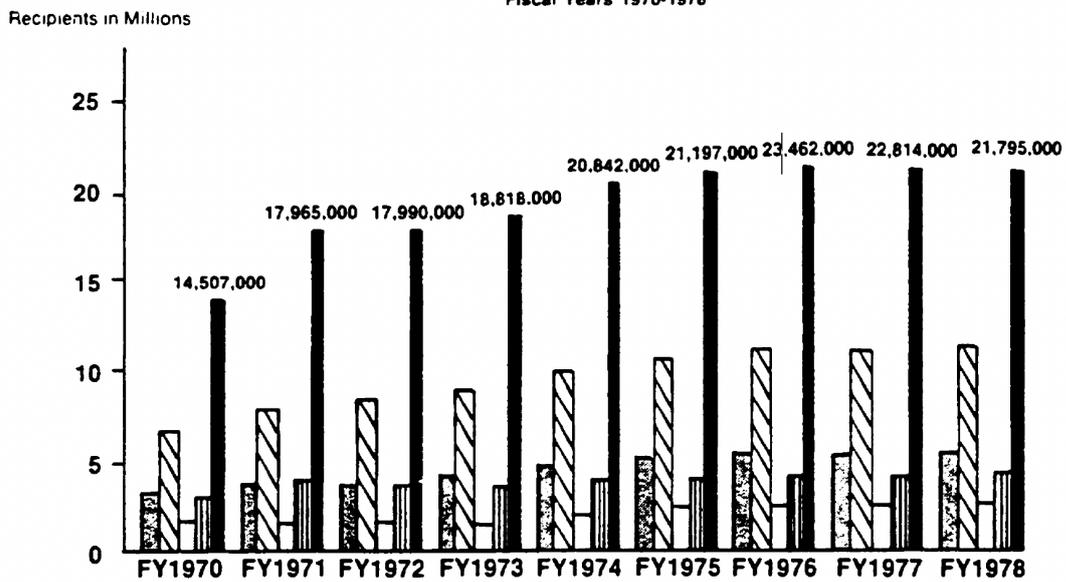
State	Total recipients ⁴	Aged	Blind	Disabled	Children under 21	AFDC adults
Alabama	321.6	110.9	1.9	47.6	111.2	50.0
Alaska	9.6	1.0	(7)	1.4	5.3	1.9
Arizona	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Arkansas	220.9	72.1	1.6	32.6	80.5	34.1
California	3,393.6	597.7	23.6	503.1	1,552.8	716.5
Colorado	180.3	38.2	0.4	20.4	91.0	30.4
Connecticut	211.0	24.9	0.3	19.4	124.6	41.7
Delaware	52.3	4.6	0.3	3.7	32.2	11.5
District of Columbia	152.7	12.9	0.2	13.3	85.0	41.2
Florida	398.2	92.8	2.2	65.5	164.3	73.3
Georgia	591.0	140.9	3.5	90.0	248.1	108.6
Guam	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
Hawaii	95.6	9.8	0.1	5.6	57.5	22.5
Idaho	41.7	6.6	0.1	5.4	19.9	9.8
Illinois	1461.1	98.8	2.1	188.2	804.2	367.8
Indiana	253.8	32.5	1.2	22.2	135.5	62.4
Iowa	154.6	31.9	1.1	13.6	69.3	38.8
Kansas	158.1	24.0	0.5	14.4	88.5	30.6
Kentucky	404.9	75.3	2.2	48.1	180.5	98.8
Louisiana	428.9	125.7	2.2	64.3	167.1	69.6
Maine	126.1	18.2	0.3	12.7	60.0	34.9
Maryland	355.6	46.4	0.5	35.7	191.8	81.3
Massachusetts	835.8	126.8	8.6	60.6	478.4	161.4
Michigan	979.0	99.3	1.6	89.0	547.8	241.2
Minnesota	269.1	52.1	0.8	31.1	133.4	51.6
Mississippi	299.9	87.1	1.7	31.5	136.0	43.7
Missouri	366.0	78.7	3.2	29.9	174.7	79.4
Montana	41.6	7.7	0.3	6.3	18.6	8.6
Nebraska	70.5	15.2	0.3	8.5	32.1	14.5
Nevada	26.3	4.7	0.2	2.4	12.5	6.5
New Hampshire	49.1	10.3	0.4	4.2	22.8	11.4
New Jersey	656.1	61.6	1.2	63.3	376.2	153.7
New Mexico	81.3	11.5	0.3	12.6	40.9	15.9
New York	2,884.0	463.3	5.4	331.1	1,383.7	700.4
North Carolina	345.8	76.1	4.5	58.6	112.7	93.9
North Dakota	26.1	6.5	0.1	2.9	11.6	5.1
Ohio	803.5	129.2	1.4	33.4	411.7	227.8
Oklahoma	205.6	55.5	0.8	24.7	99.4	25.2
Oregon	189.6	20.3	1.3	18.9	96.9	52.2
Pennsylvania	2,241.4	175.7	7.0	235.5	1,159.8	663.3
Puerto Rico	1,106.7	23.8	0.2	25.4	852.3	204.9
Rhode Island	116.1	32.1	0.3	11.9	43.3	28.6
South Carolina	292.2	98.9	3.2	45.0	97.3	47.9
South Dakota	40.5	10.1	0.1	3.8	18.2	8.1
Tennessee	358.6	90.9	1.4	60.0	152.8	53.5
Texas	722.5	251.1	4.6	94.0	269.4	103.4
Utah	59.5	5.7	0.1	5.7	32.7	15.3
Vermont	56.9	9.3	0.1	6.3	28.0	13.1
Virgin Islands	9.1	1.1	(7)	0.1	6.6	1.3
Virginia	320.4	61.0	1.7	36.4	151.0	70.4
Washington	274.2	39.4	0.7	38.5	136.1	59.5
West Virginia	192.7	30.4	0.8	32.3	83.8	45.4
Wisconsin	516.9	104.7	1.3	51.3	257.1	102.5
Wyoming	13.0	2.3	(4)	1.2	6.8	2.7
Totals ⁴	23,461.7	3,807.7	98.3	2,663.7	11,653.6	5,238.3

¹ Number rounded to nearest hundred.

SOURCE: Medicaid/Medicare Management Institute (1979) Page 76.

Figure A.3: Medicaid Eligibility by Category Over Time

TABLE 14
Number of Medicaid Recipients
Fiscal Years 1970-1978



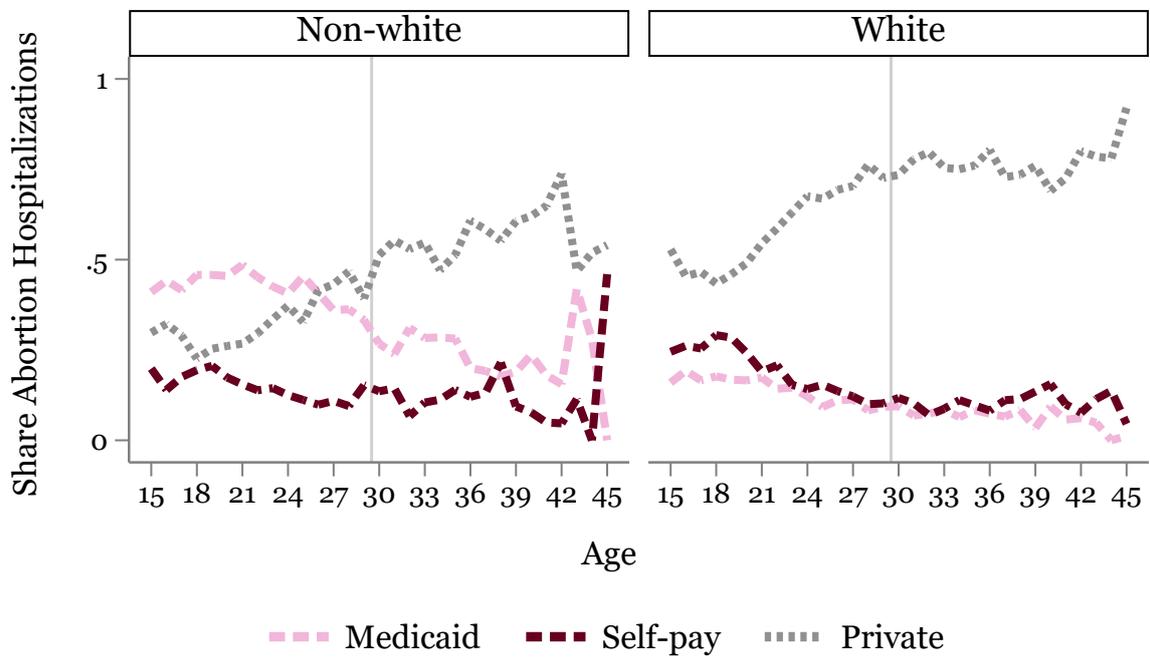
Source: Published data by the Office of Research, Demonstrations and Statistics recipients for Fiscal Years 1977-1978 are estimated from preliminary data in ORDS Research Report B-5 for Fiscal Years 1977 and 1978.

October 1979

- LEGEND**
-  Adults in AFDC Families
 -  Children Under 21
 -  Blind & Disabled
 -  Aged
 -  Total

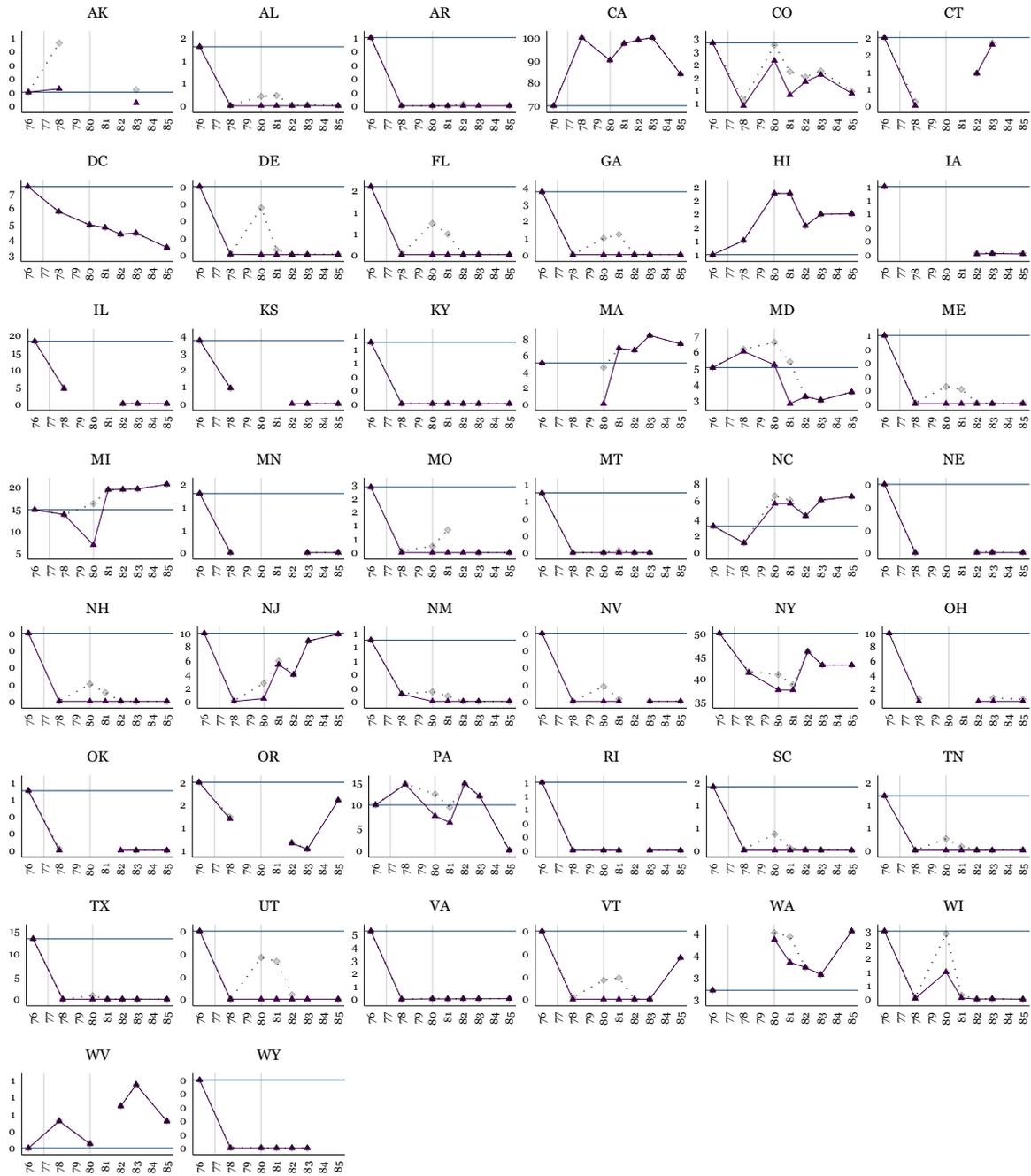
SOURCE: Medicaid/Medicare Management Institute (1979) Page 14.

Figure A.4: NHDS Abortion Complications – Share Payer by Age and Race



SOURCE: National Hospital Discharge Survey (NHDS) Files.
 NOTE: Shows the share of abortions by each payer by race and over age.

Figure A.5: Medicaid Abortions in 1976 and Subsequent State-Funded Abortions

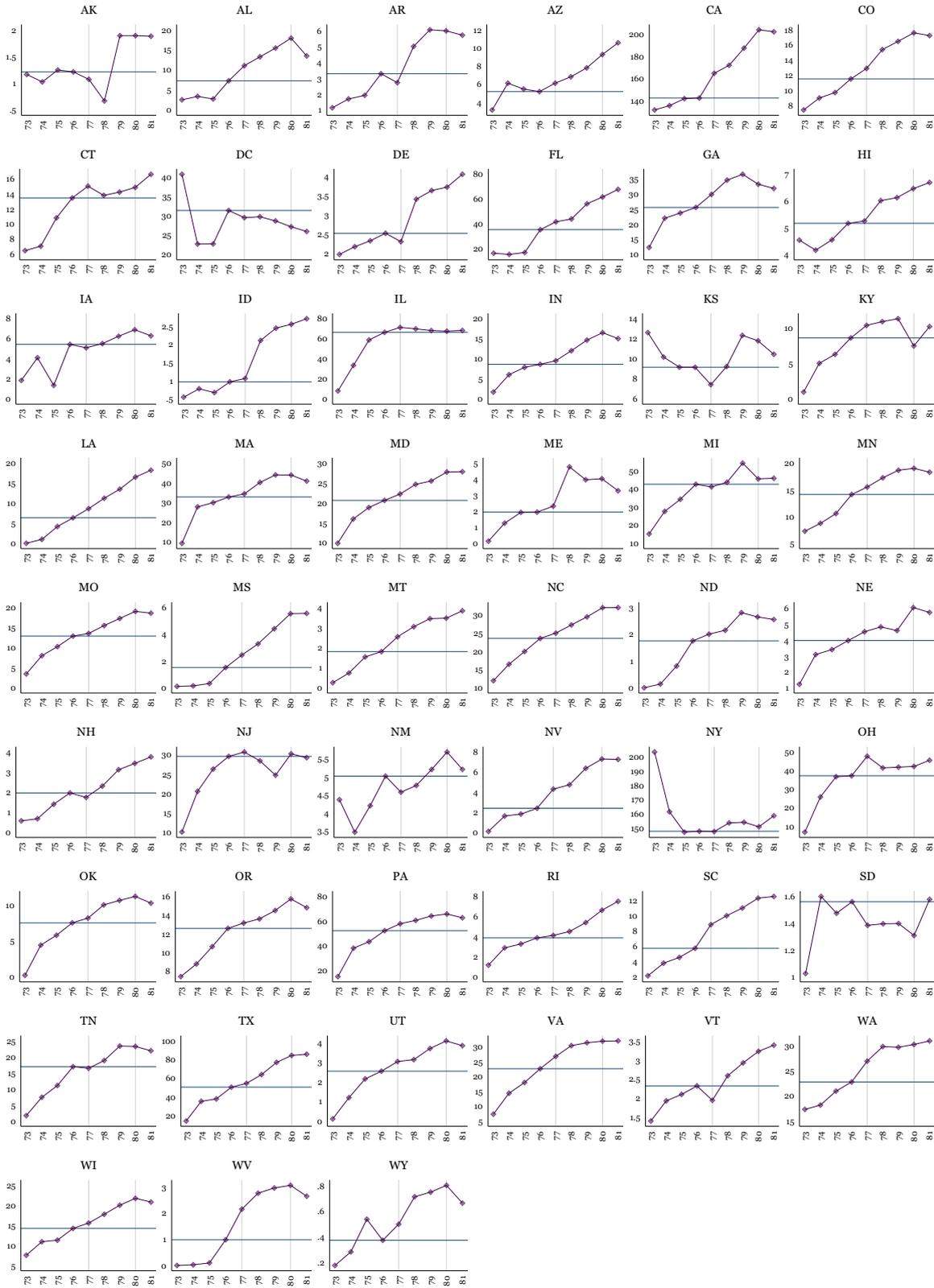


▲ State Funded ◆ All Medicaid Abortions

SOURCES: Lincoln et al. (1977), Gold (1980), Gold (1982), Nestor and Gold (1984), Gold and Nestor (1985), Gold and Macias (1986).

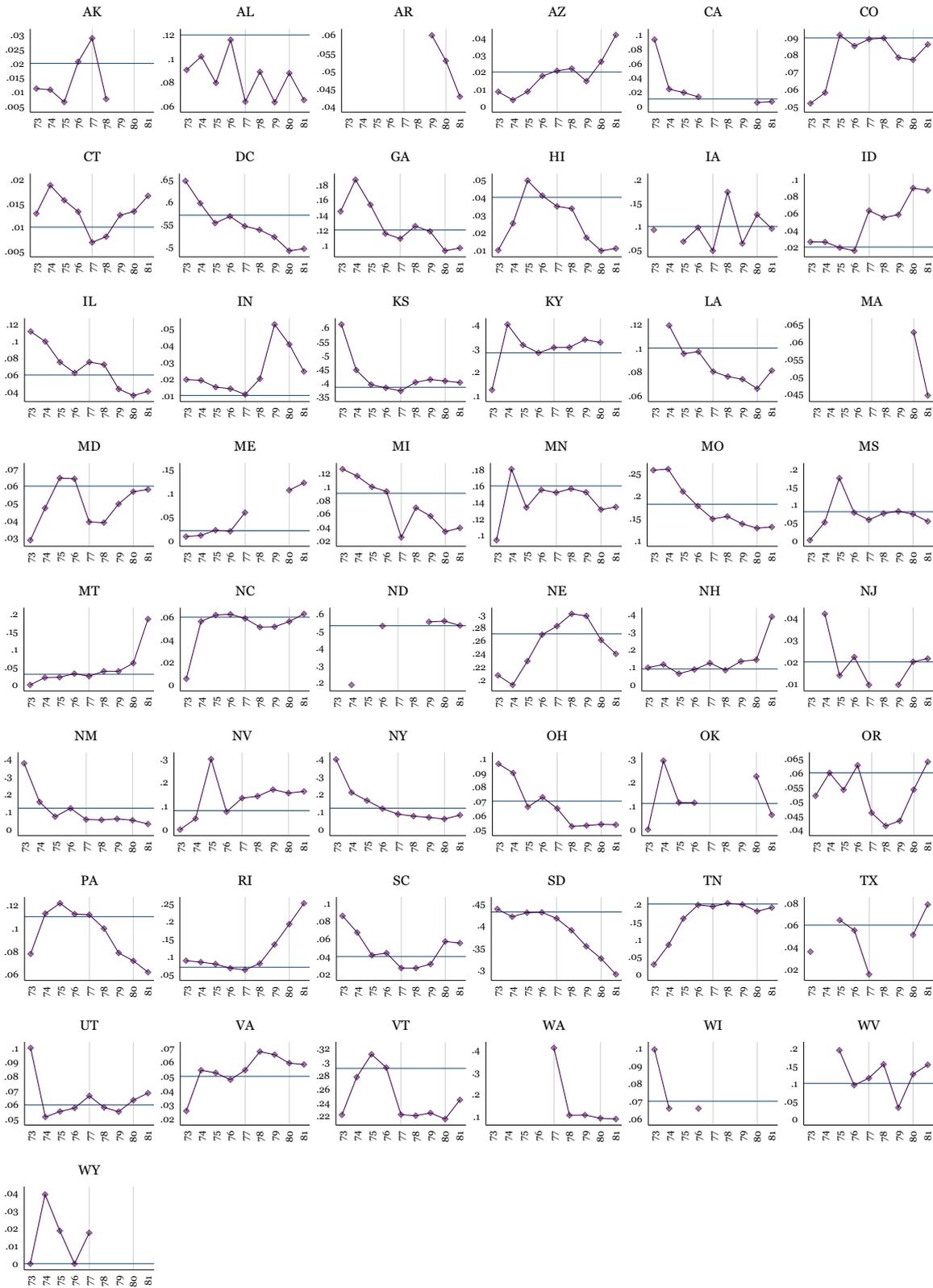
NOTES: Shows the number of Medicaid abortions in 1,000s, both the total Medicaid abortions (federal + state, gray diamonds) and state-funded abortions (colored triangle/solid line). The y-axis represents the number of abortions in thousands, and the x-axis represents years.

Figure A.6: All Abortions by State



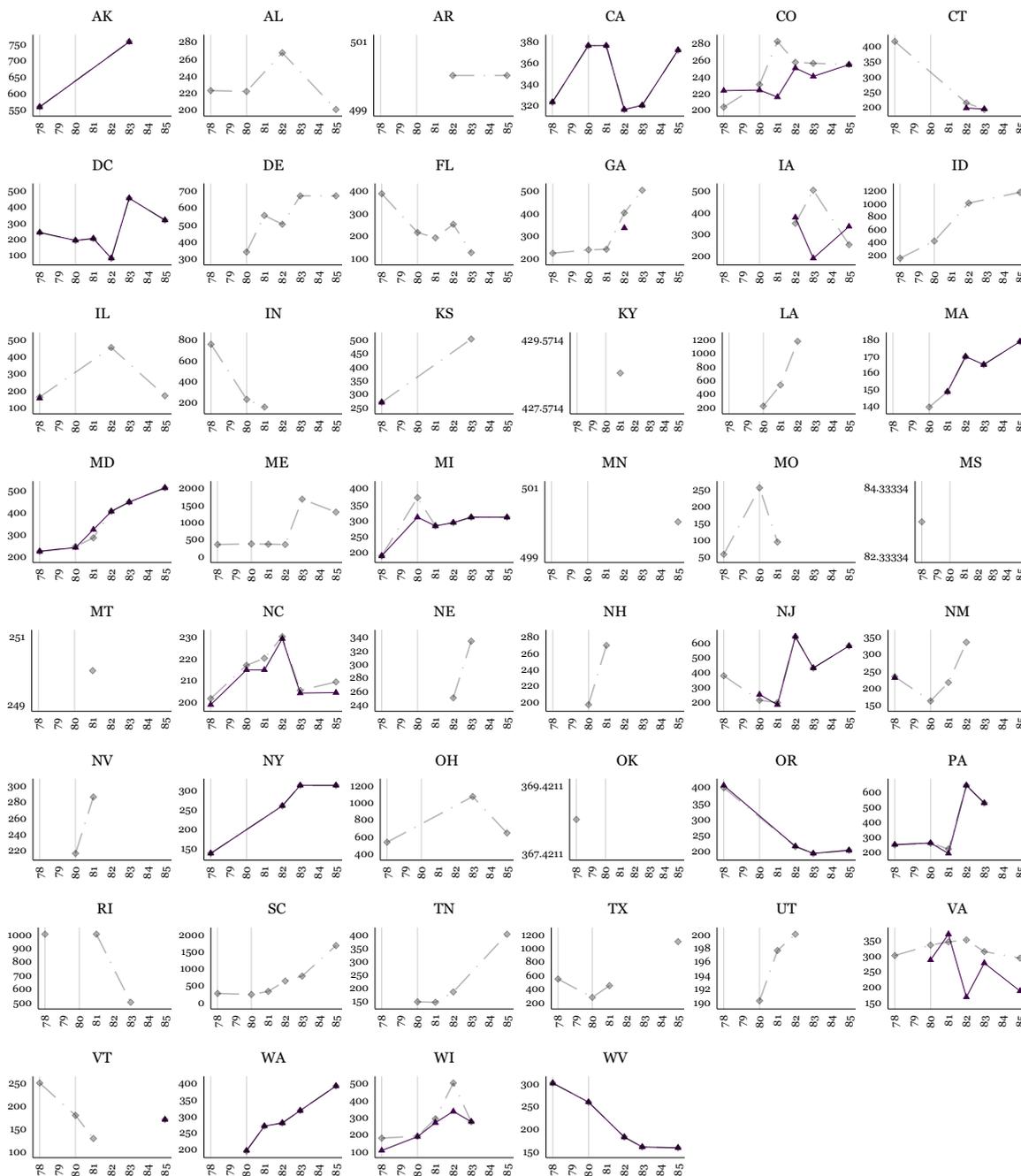
SOURCES: Abortion data from the CDC Abortion Surveillance Program (CDC, 1977).
 NOTES: Shows the total abortions in 1,000s in each state. The y-axis represents the number of abortions in thousands, and the x-axis represents years.

Figure A.7: Abortions From Out-of-State Residents



SOURCES: Abortion data from the CDC Abortion Surveillance Program (CDC, 1977).
 NOTES: Shows the share of abortions from out-of-state residents.

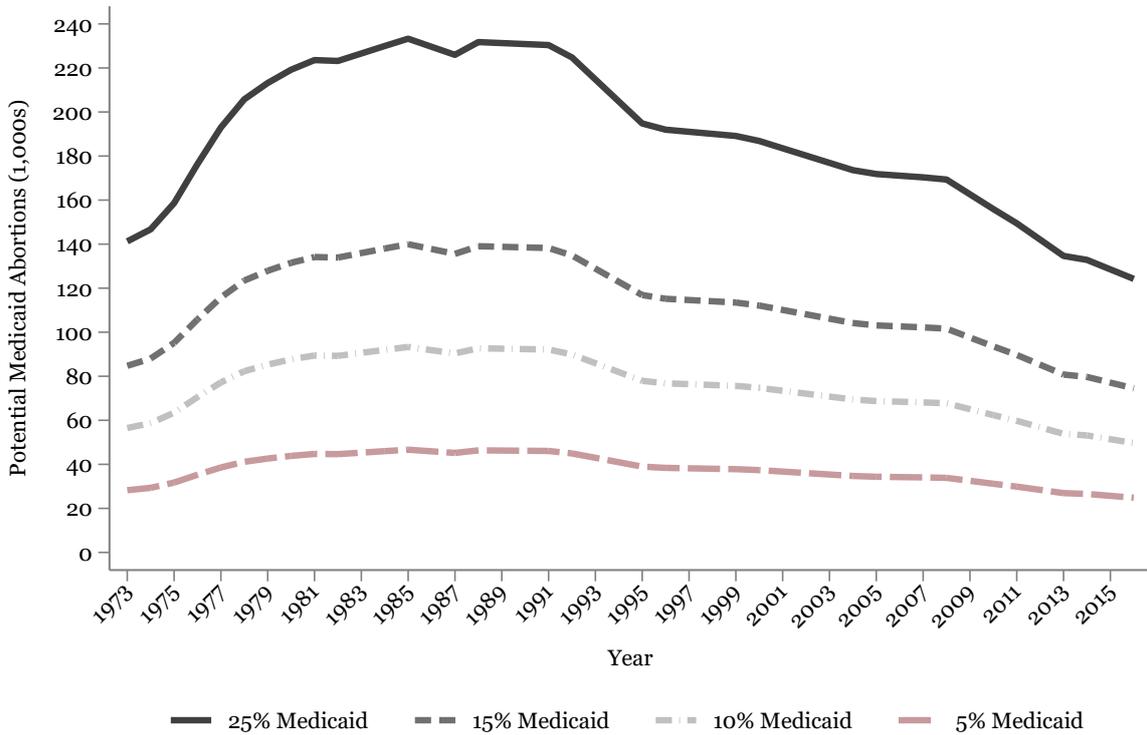
Figure A.8: Costs–Funding / # Abortions



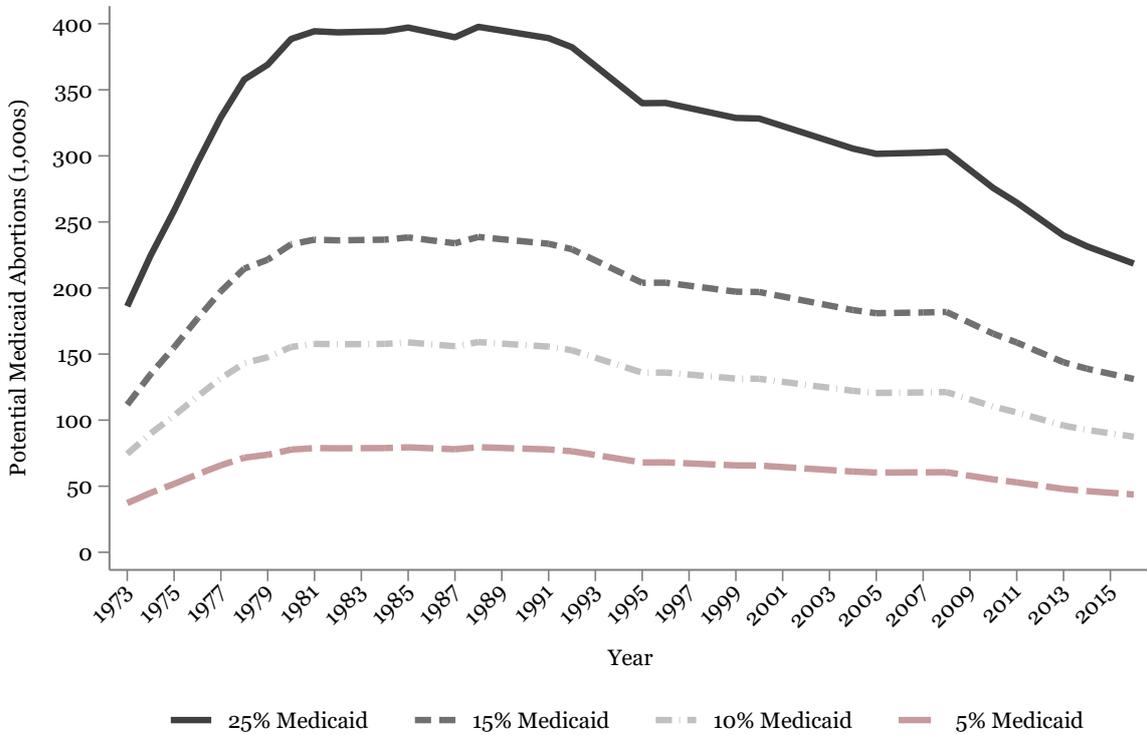
▲ State Costs ◆ Total Costs

SOURCES: Lincoln et al. (1977), Gold (1980), Gold (1982), Nestor and Gold (1984), Gold and Nestor (1985), Gold and Macias (1986).
 NOTES: Shows the Medicaid abortion funding divided by the number of abortions.

Figure A.9: Estimates of Medicaid Abortions over Time
 Panel A: Medicaid Funding Restricted States



Panel B: All Potential Medicaid Abortions in All States



NOTES: Data on abortions from Guttmacher Institute, covering the years 1973–2016. The lines represent estimates of the number of abortions that Medicaid could have funded at varying funding levels. Each line represents the percentage of total abortions by state. So 25% will represent 25% of total abortions. Panel A shows only abortions in Medicaid-funding restricted states. Panel B shows all potential Medicaid abortions. According to [Guttmacher Institute \(2025\)](#), approximately 30% of abortions are paid for by Medicaid. Similarly, [Cates \(1981\)](#) found that 25–30% of abortions were funded through Medicaid. As such, the 25% line aligns most closely with these estimates, though we also display lower levels to account for varying funding scenarios.

Table A.1: State Factors

State	(1) Percent of National AFDC Population in State (1976)	(2) Percent Population Share AFDC (1976)	(3) Percent of National Non-white Population in State (1980)	(4) Percent Population Share Non-white (1980)
CA	12.8	6.8	14.5	23.0
NY	10.9	6.8	9.4	20.1
MI	6.1	7.5	3.6	14.8
PA	5.7	5.4	3.2	10.1
MA	3.2	6.2	1.0	6.3
MD	1.9	5.3	2.8	24.9
DC	0.9	14.4	1.2	72.6
NC	1.7	3.5	3.8	24.2
NJ	4.0	6.2	3.2	16.4
IL	7.2	7.2	5.8	18.9
WA	1.3	4.3	0.9	8.3
CO	0.9	3.9	0.8	10.3
HI	0.5	6.3	1.7	65.6
OR	1.0	5.0	0.4	5.2
WI	1.7	4.2	0.7	5.5
KS	0.7	3.4	0.5	8.2
WV	0.7	4.1	0.2	3.8
AK	0.1	2.8	0.2	22.4
NM	0.5	5.2	0.8	24.0
VA	1.6	3.6	3.0	20.8
DE	0.3	5.4	0.3	17.9
AL	1.5	4.6	2.7	26.2
CT	1.2	4.3	0.8	9.5
NH	0.2	3.3	0.0	1.1
AR	1.0	5.2	1.1	17.3
SC	1.2	5.0	2.6	31.2
MN	1.2	3.4	0.4	3.3
MT	0.2	2.5	0.1	5.8
MS	1.7	7.9	2.4	35.9
NE	0.3	2.4	0.2	4.9
RI	0.5	5.9	0.1	4.9
UT	0.3	3.1	0.2	5.3
KY	1.8	5.9	0.7	7.7
NV	0.1	2.6	0.3	12.2
SD	0.2	3.7	0.1	7.4
FL	2.2	3.0	4.2	16.0
OH	5.2	5.5	3.2	11.0
ID	0.2	2.4	0.1	4.2
ME	0.6	6.2	0.0	1.0
OK	0.8	3.3	1.1	14.0
LA	2.1	6.1	3.4	30.7
IN	1.6	3.4	1.3	8.8
GA	2.7	6.1	4.0	27.7
WY	0.1	1.8	0.1	4.9
TX	3.1	2.9	7.8	20.6
TN	1.9	5.1	2.0	16.4
MO	2.4	5.8	1.5	11.6
VT	0.2	5.3	0.0	0.9
ND	0.1	2.1	0.1	4.0
AZ	0.6	3.0	1.2	16.8
IA	0.9	3.4	0.2	2.5

SOURCES: Haines (2010).

Table A.2: State Abortions and Funding by Year

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
State	Medicaid Abor- tions 1976	State Funded Abor- tions 1978	State Funded Abor- tions 1980	State Funded Abor- tions 1981	State Abor- tions 1982	State Abor- tions 1983	State Abor- tions 1985	State Funds 1976	State Funds 1978	State Funds 1980	State Funds 1981	State Funds 1982	State Funds 1983	State Funds 1985
CA	70000	100000	90108	97437	99000	100000	84000	24412	32237	33880	36636	31229	31939	31224
NY	50000	41326	37500	37500	46000	43000	43000	7875	5600	5300	5300	11900	13400	13400
MI	14800	13700	6750	19400	19470	19570	20620	2432	2568	2079	5452	5669	6031	6351
PA	10000	14535	7596	6125	14697	11925	0	1913	3566	1949	1142	9431	6243	0
MA	5100	0	6934	6695	8546	7497	1105	1680	0	1029	1135	1407	1338	0
MD	5000	6009	5179	2766	3193	2983	3484	1675	1326	1231	885	1287	1330	1780
DC	7400	5782	4921	4753	4313	4393	3464	1420	1382	935	959	345	1980	1092
NC	3100	1123	5730	5730	4295	6149	6564	1110	223	1230	1230	984	1254	1340
NJ	10000	0	421	5399	3952	8886	9891	3500	0	105	979	2521	3796	5688
IL	18300	4400	0	0	0	1	0	2667	666	0	0	0	0	0
WA	2700	0	3840	3326	3213	3049	4025	640	0	749	896	896	965	1574
CO	2800	404	2125	823	1319	1587	873	110	90	475	177	330	381	222
HI	1200	1406	2100	2100	1623	1793	1800	212	605	1	1	973	1191	928
OR	2000	1191	0	0	657	525	1602	547	481	0	0	141	101	324
WI	2500	29	997	45	3	11	0	250	3	184	12	1	3	0
KS	3700	904	0	0	0	0	0	300	242	0	0	0	0	0
WV	300	459	325	0	547	673	458	92	138	84	0	99	107	72
AK	300	312	0	0	0	261	0	18	174	0	0	0	197	0
NM	900	109	0	0	0	0	0	165	25	0	0	0	0	0
VA	5200	0	21	19	30	29	43	463	0	6	7	5	8	8
DE	400	2	0	0	0	0	0	44	0	0	0	0	0	0
AL	1300	0	0	1	0	3	0	339	0	0	0	0	0	0
CT	2000	0	0	0	951	1800	0	428	0	0	0	186	347	484
NH	200	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	0	0	0	0	0	0
AR	500	0	0	0	0	0	0	61	0	0	0	0	0	0
SC	1400	0	0	0	0	0	0	249	0	0	0	0	0	0
MN	1300	0	0	0	0	0	0	216	0	0	0	0	0	0
MT	700	0	0	0	0	0	0	210	0	0	0	0	0	0
MS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NE	300	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
RI	1000	0	0	0	0	0	0	96	0	0	0	0	0	0
UT	300	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	0	0	0	0
KY	900	0	0	0	0	0	0	197	0	0	0	0	0	0
NV	400	0	0	0	0	0	0	200	0	0	0	0	0	0
SD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FL	1600	0	0	0	0	0	0	229	0	0	0	0	0	0
OH	10000	0	0	0	0	0	0	2000	0	0	0	0	0	0
ID	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ME	500	0	0	0	0	0	0	212	0	0	0	0	0	0
OK	700	0	0	0	0	0	0	59	0	0	0	0	0	0
LA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GA	3700	0	0	0	6	0	0	949	0	0	0	2	0	0
WY	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
TX	13300	0	0	0	0	0	0	3500	0	0	0	0	0	0
TN	1200	0	0	0	0	0	0	275	0	0	0	0	0	0
MO	2400	0	0	0	0	0	0	180	0	0	0	0	0	0
VT	300	0	0	0	0	0	183	180	0	0	0	0	0	31
ND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AZ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IA	1000	0	0	0	8	16	9	297	185	0	14	3	3	3

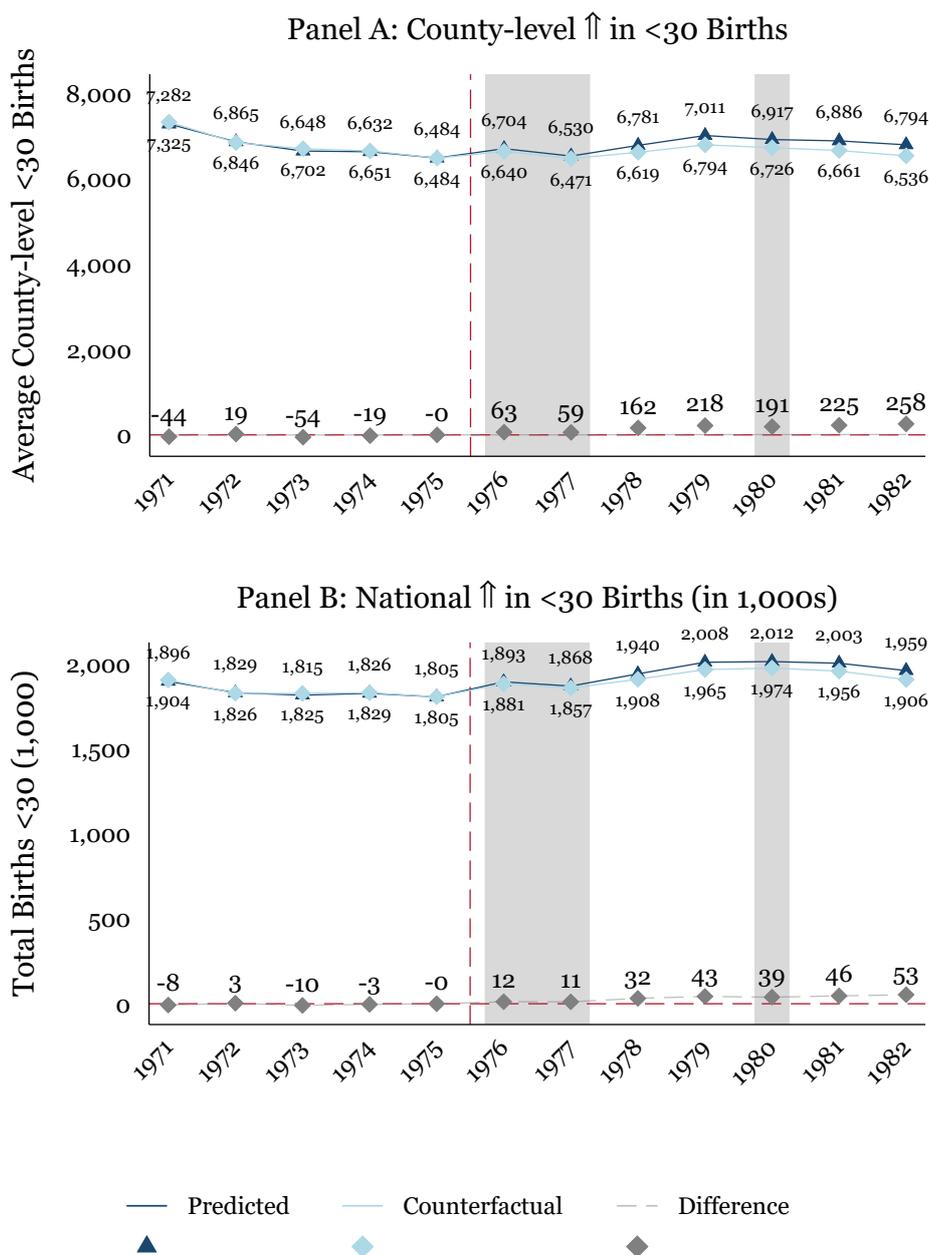
SOURCES: Lincoln et al. (1977), Gold (1980), Gold (1982), Nestor and Gold (1984), Gold and Nestor (1985), Gold and Macias (1986).

Table A.3: State Decline in Medicaid Abortions

State	(1) % Change in Medicaid Abortions	(2) Change in Medicaid Abortions per 1,000 Women	(3) Average Decline in # Abortions
DC	-33.2	-59.3	2458
KS	-90.8	-25.6	3361
IL	-91.0	-25.5	16650
NJ	-75.6	-18.3	7557
RI	-100.0	-18.2	1000
OH	-100.0	-16.2	10000
VA	-99.7	-16.0	5183
TX	-100.0	-15.7	13300
MT	-100.0	-15.6	700
GA	-100.0	-11.2	3699
NM	-97.0	-11.2	873
DE	-99.9	-11.1	400
VT	-100.0	-9.7	300
NY	-18.8	-9.4	9419
CO	-58.3	-9.2	1632
MO	-100.0	-8.7	2400
NV	-100.0	-8.5	400
WI	-89.3	-8.2	2232
ME	-100.0	-7.9	500
SC	-100.0	-7.4	1400
CT	-65.2	-7.4	1304
OR	-52.1	-7.0	1041
IA	-99.0	-6.1	990
AL	-100.0	-5.8	1300
MN	-100.0	-5.4	1300
TN	-100.0	-4.5	1200
KY	-100.0	-4.3	900
OK	-100.0	-4.1	700
AR	-100.0	-4.0	500
WY	-100.0	-3.7	100
NH	-100.0	-3.7	200
UT	-100.0	-3.5	300
NE	-100.0	-3.4	300
FL	-100.0	-3.1	1600
MD	-14.3	-2.7	713
MA	-4.1	-0.7	209
AK	-2.4	-0.3	7
AZ	0.0	0.0	0
MI	0.2	0.1	-30
PA	7.4	1.0	-738
WV	52.0	1.5	-156
NC	36.1	3.2	-1119
WA	28.4	3.2	-767
HI	50.6	10.9	-607
CA	38.1	19.0	-26636
SD	-100.0		
ID	-100.0		
ND	-100.0		
IN	-100.0		
LA	-100.0		
MS	-100.0		

Notes and Sources: Average change from 1976 to 1978-1982. States missing information replaced with 100% decline if no state abortions in post-Hyde years. Data from [Lincoln et al. \(1977\)](#), [Gold \(1980\)](#), [Gold \(1982\)](#), [Nestor and Gold \(1984\)](#), [Gold and Nestor \(1985\)](#), [Gold and Macias \(1986\)](#).

Figure A.10: The Hyde Amendment and Change in Fertility for Women <30



NOTES: In Panel A, for the counterfactual trends, the plotted series represents the average county-level increase in <30 births (states with funding declines only). Panel B illustrates the increase in <30 births at the national level, reported in 1,000s, encompassing births across all counties in the main sample. Each panel shows three series. (i) The dark blue line shows the predicted values, which are fitted values from the main event-study regression computed using *predict, xbd*. (ii) The light blue counterfactual lines remove Hyde's contribution at each event time. The counterfactual is constructed by subtracting, for each event time, the estimated coefficients on the event-time indicators. (iii) The gray lines show the difference between the predicted and counterfactual values. For the counterfactual and predicted values, all estimates are exponentiated and multiplied by the number of women to reverse the rates. The vertical line marks the year before the Hyde Amendment.

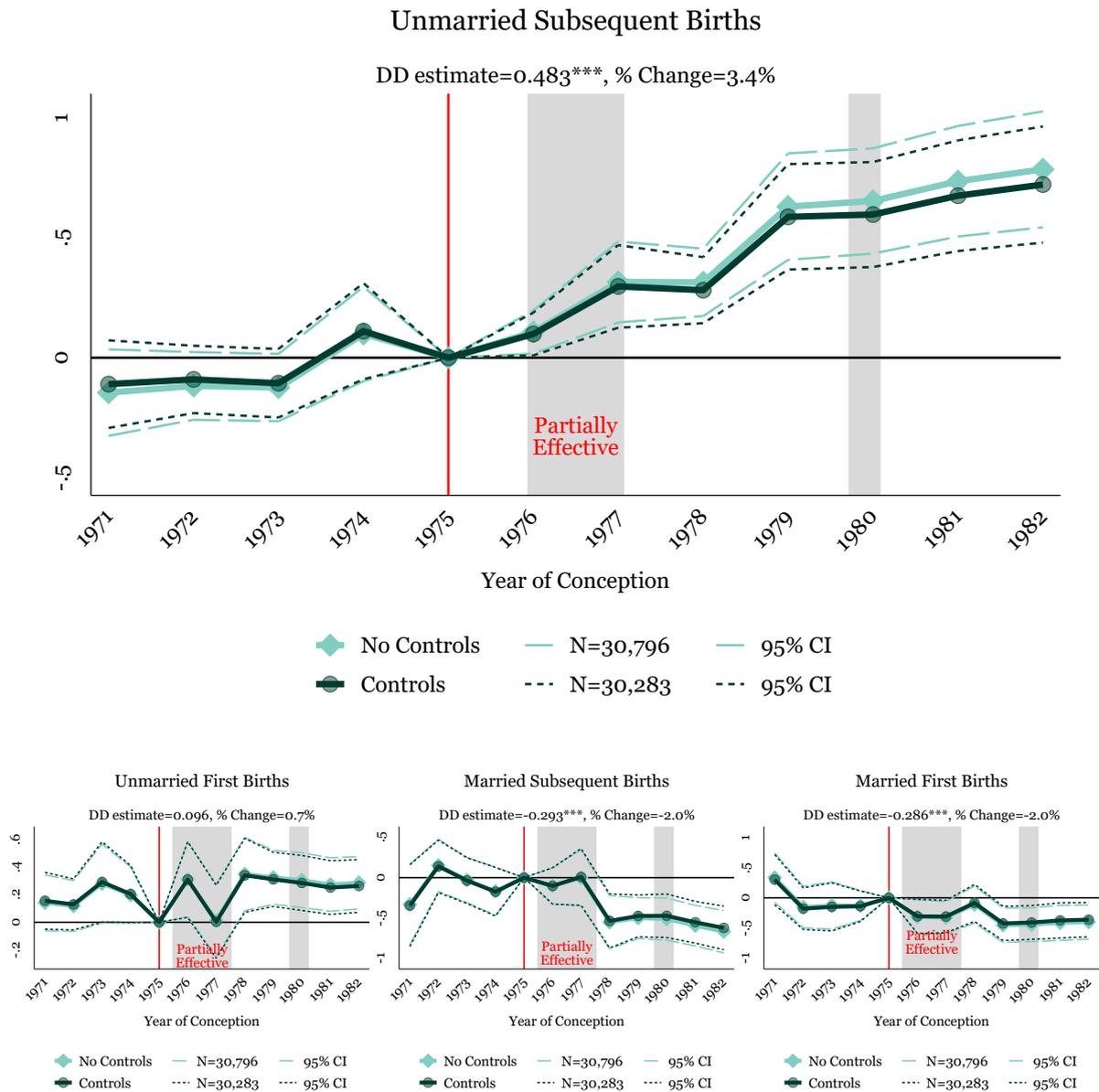
B Compositional Changes in Births

Table B.1: Heterogeneity–Difference-in-Differences, AFDC Participation x Hyde

Panel A: Log of Fertility Rate (<30)							
Outcome: Log of Fertility Rate (<30)	Fertility Rate <30			Fertility Rate <30 2+ Births		Fertility Rate <30 1st Births	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	All	White	Non-white	White	Non-white	White	Non-white
1(Hyde) x Share AFDC	0.3833*** (0.0878)	0.4877*** (0.1108)	0.4444*** (0.1064)	0.6626*** (0.1280)	0.6718*** (0.1516)	0.2765* (0.1525)	0.0581 (0.1176)
N	34,554	34,553	26,196	34,430	24,421	34,412	22,950
Adjusted R-squared	0.926	0.926	0.770	0.906	0.724	0.832	0.665
Panel B: Share of <30 Birth Characteristics							
Outcome: Share of Births	Marital	Birth Order		Unmarried		Married	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Married	1st Births	Total Birth Order	2+ Births	1st Births	2+ Births	1st Births
1(Hyde) x Share AFDC	-0.6233*** (0.0963)	-0.2166*** (0.0299)	0.4583*** (0.0754)	0.5163*** (0.0473)	0.0962 (0.0649)	-0.3258*** (0.0589)	-0.2866*** (0.0742)
N	32,983	34,482	34,482	32,966	32,966	32,966	32,966
Adjusted R-squared	0.661	0.588	0.746	0.747	0.331	0.306	0.298
Panel C: Interactions							
Outcome: Log of Fertility <30	Demand			Cost		Funding Decline	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	High State Share AFDC	High Medicaid Abortions	High Rate Medicaid Abortions	High Cost of Abortion	High Ratio Cost to AFDC	100%	90%+
1(Hyde) x Share AFDC	0.2040 (0.1437)	0.2040 (0.1437)	0.4780*** (0.0877)	0.4370** (0.1741)	0.4890*** (0.1558)	0.6192*** (0.1202)	0.9025*** (0.1352)
1(Above Median)	0.2892 (0.1784)	0.2892 (0.1784)	-0.0659 (0.1618)	-0.0316 (0.1947)	-0.0982 (0.1854)		
1(100% Decline) × 1(Hyde) x Share AFDC						-0.4891*** (0.1766)	
1(>90% Decline) × 1(Hyde) x Share AFDC							-0.6954*** (0.1545)
N	29,341	29,341	29,341	34,554	34,554	34,554	34,554
Adjusted R-squared	0.940	0.940	0.940	0.937	0.937	0.937	0.938
F-stat from Joint F-test	10.393	10.393	17.028	12.619	10.738	7.673	20.251
P-value from Joint F-test	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.006	0.000
County FE and State x Year FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Controls	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

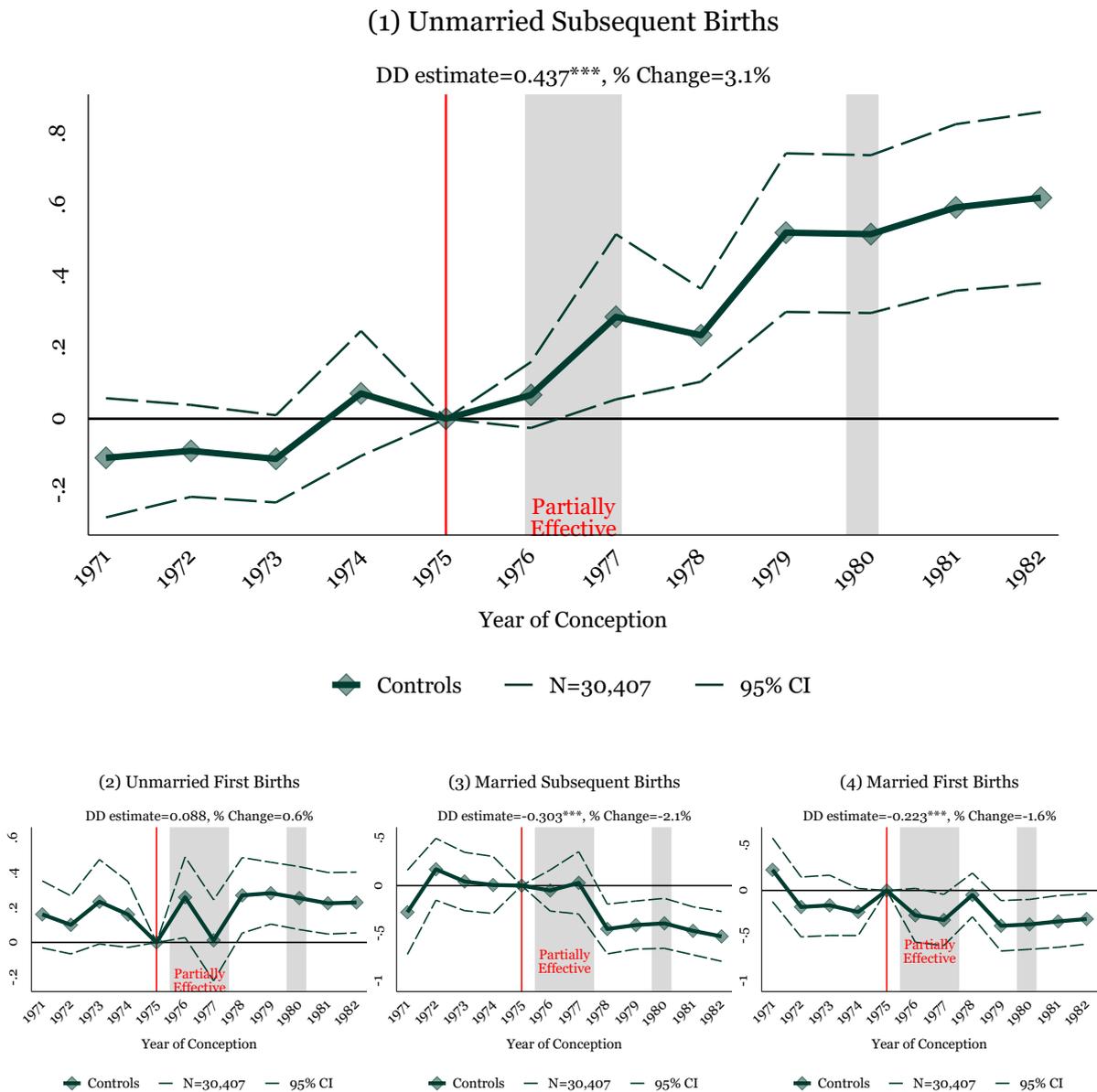
NOTES: Reflects grouped post-period from Figure VI. Panel A shows the fertility rate for women less than 30 for different groups, with the regressions weighted by the denominator. The fertility rates are per all women <30, per non-white women <30, per white women <30, respectively. Panel B shows the share of births to women younger than 30, with the regressions weighted by the number of births. Panel C shows the interactions of Medicaid eligibility with various factors, state-level demand, cost, and funding. These state-level policies are time-invariant. See also the event studies in Figures B.5 and B.6. For the specific state-level policies, see Table A.1.

Figure B.1: The Hyde Amendment and Births by Marital Status and Birth Order for Women <30 Years



NOTES: Reflects the specification in Panel B of Figure VI except considering the share of births of each type—unmarried/subsequent, unmarried first, married/subsequent, married/first. The regressions are weighted by the number of births. Sample from births to women less than 30, see Figure B.2 for all births and Figure B.3 for births by race.

Figure B.2: The Hyde Amendment and Births by Marital Status and Birth Order for All Births



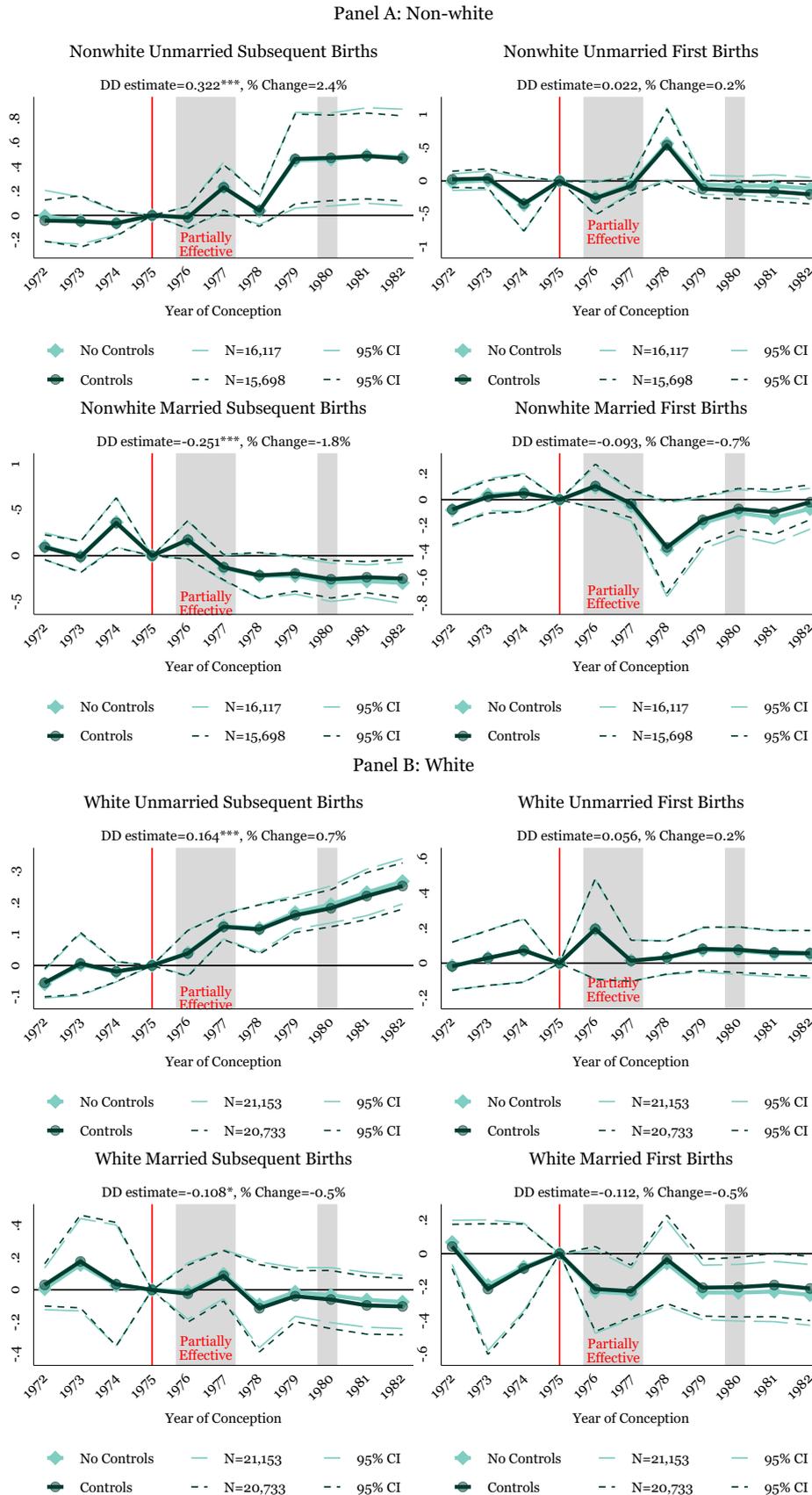
NOTES: Reflects the specification in Panel B of Figure VI except considering the share of births of each type—unmarried/subsequent, unmarried first, married/subsequent, married/first. The regressions are weighted by the number of births.

Figure B.3: The Hyde Amendment and County-level Births by Maternal Characteristics and Race



NOTES: Reflects the specification in Figure B.1 except breaking out the shares by race. The regressions are weighted by the number of births for each racial group. Sample from births to women less than 30.

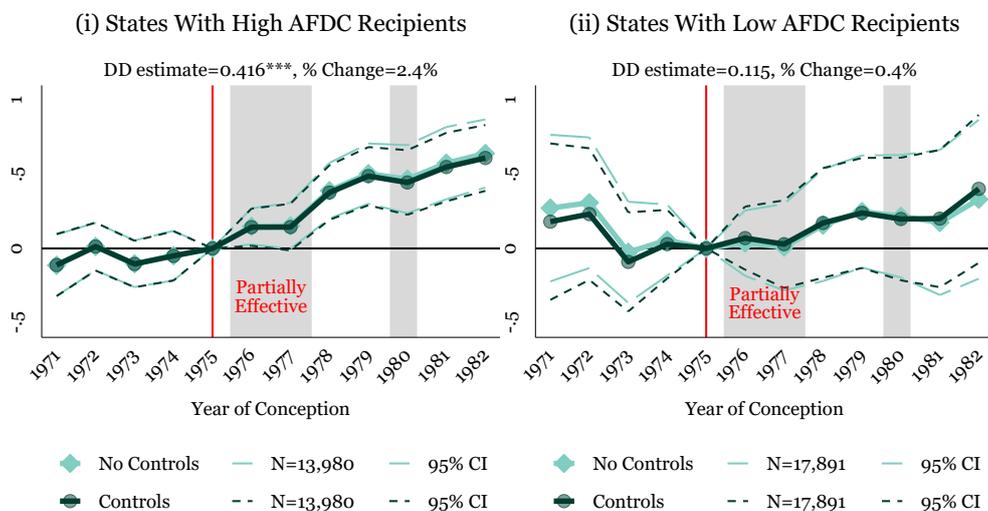
Figure B.4: The Hyde Amendment and County-level Births by Type and Race, Omitting States with Jumps in Marriage



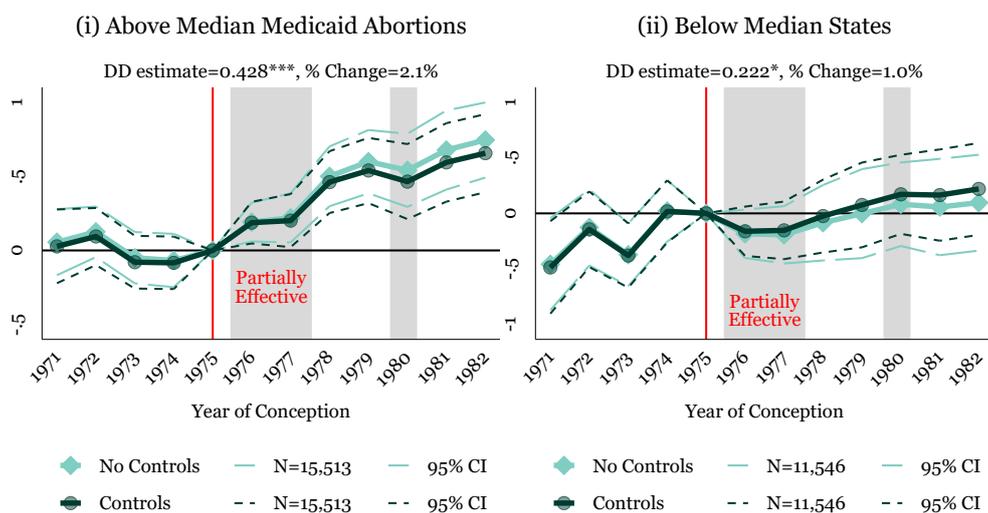
NOTES: Reflects the specification in Figure B.3 except considering states without a jump in married/unmarried births in 1978–“OH”, “NY”, “NV”, “CT”, “GA”, “TX.” And omitting counties with more than a 5% jump in any category in one year.

Figure B.5: Heterogeneity by State-level Demand

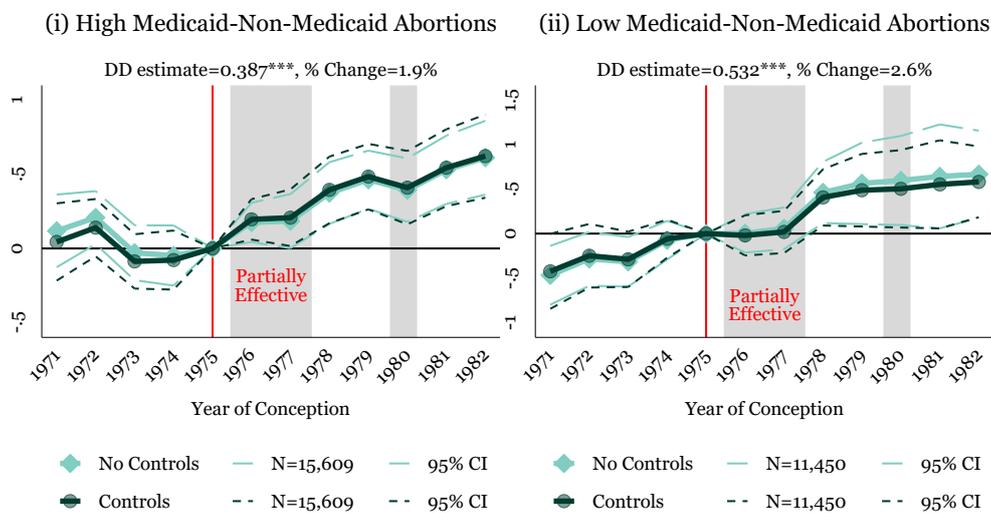
Above Median Share AFDC



Above Median Medicaid Abortions

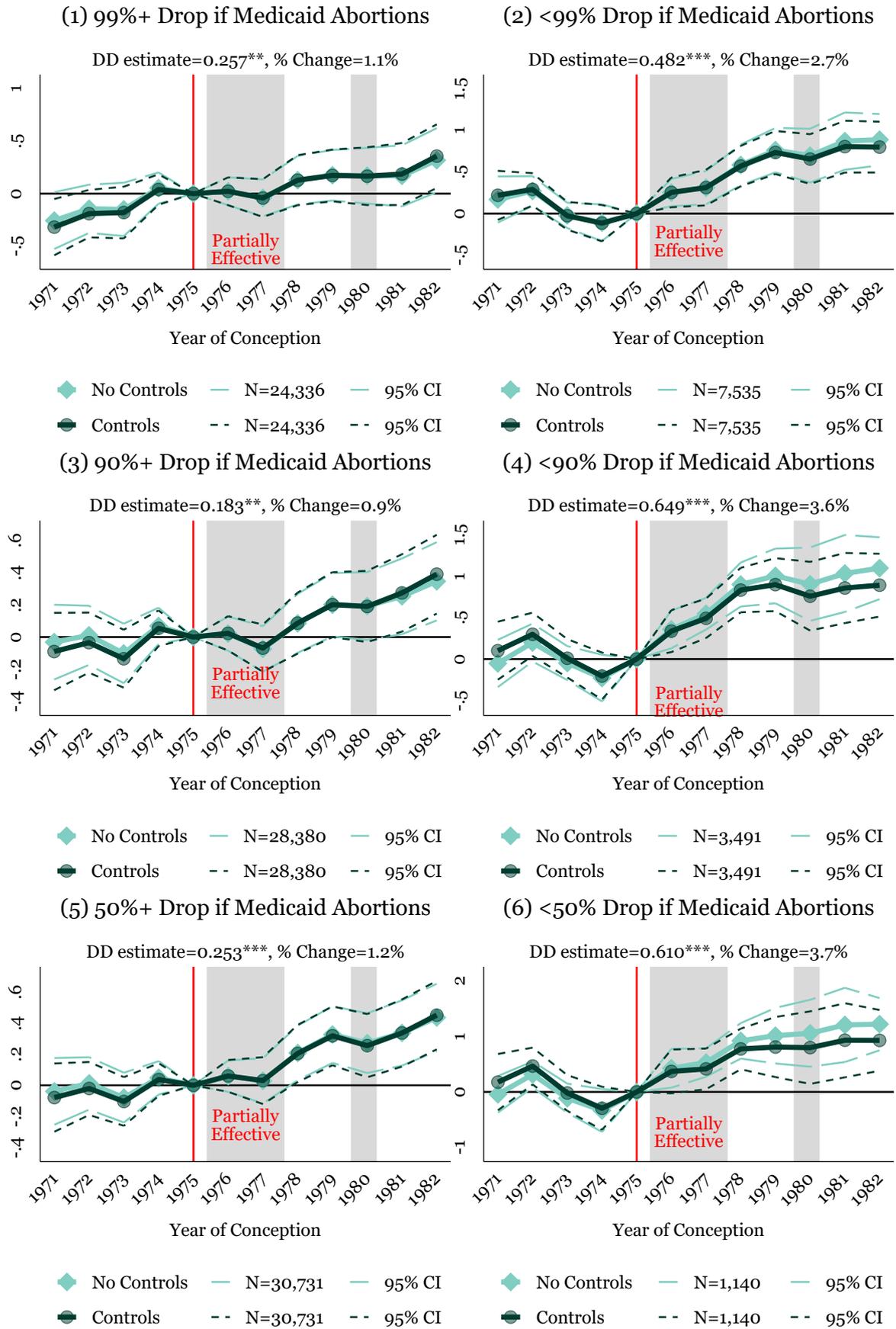


Above Median Ratio Medicaid to Non-Medicaid Abortions



NOTES: Represents county-level specification from Panel B of Figure VI, except breaking out fertility by state-level policies from Table B.1. See Table 1 and A.1 for state-level policies.

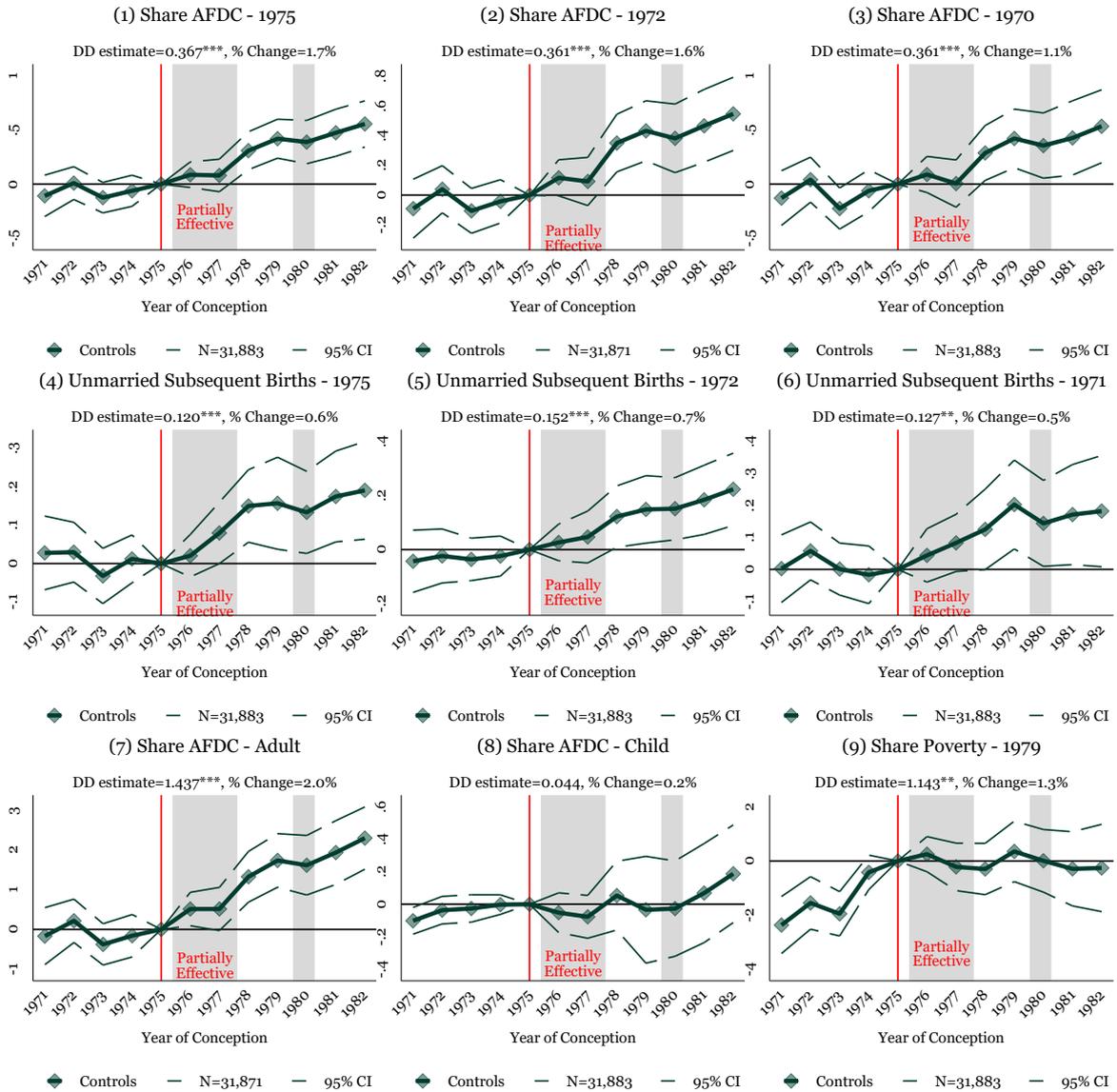
Figure B.6: Main Event Study by Grouped Decline in Medicaid Funded Abortions



NOTES: Reflects the specification in Figure VI except considering subsamples by noted sample.

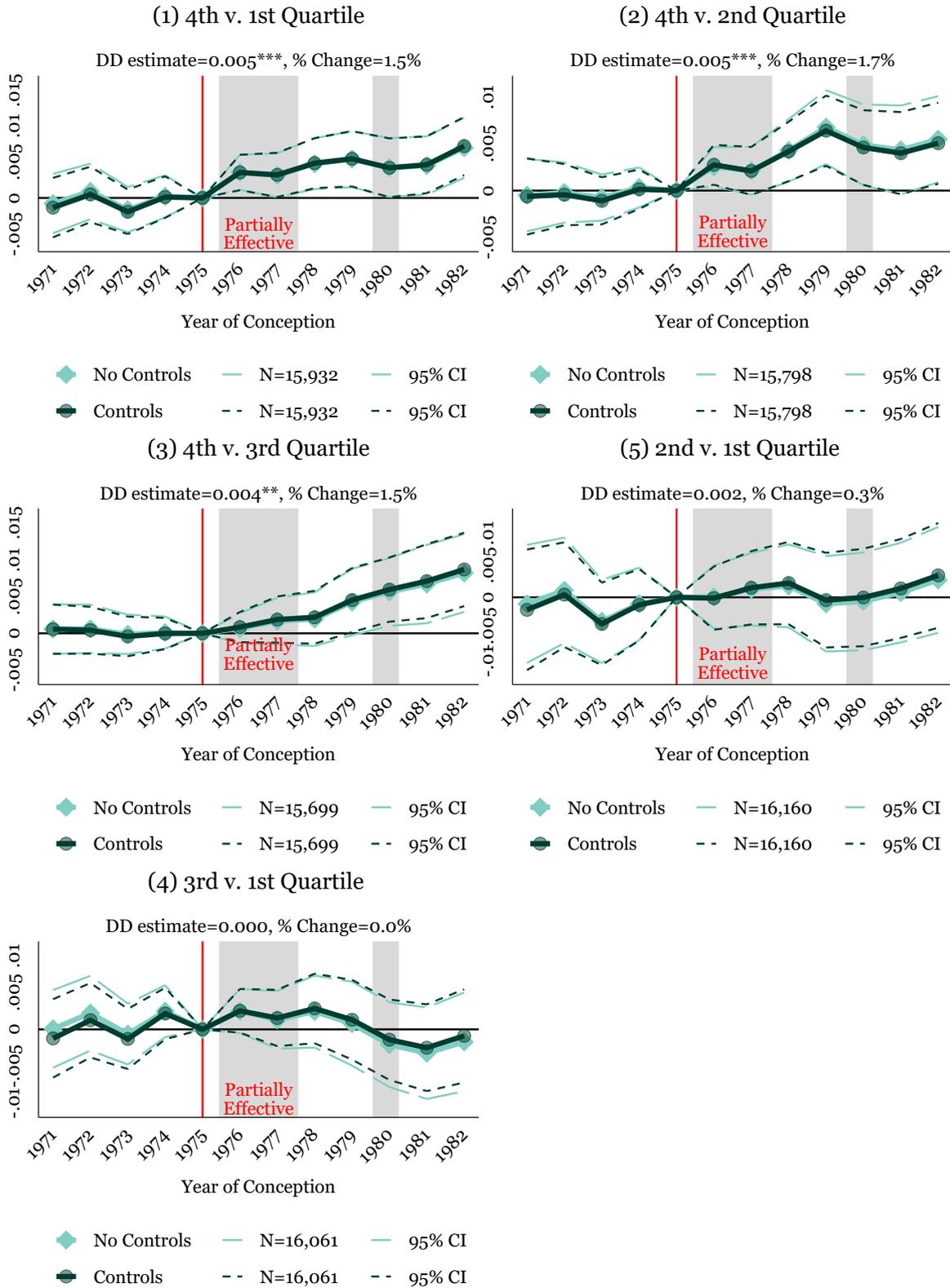
C Robustness Checks for Fertility Analyses

Figure C.1: Main Results Using Alternative Measures of Medicaid Eligibility



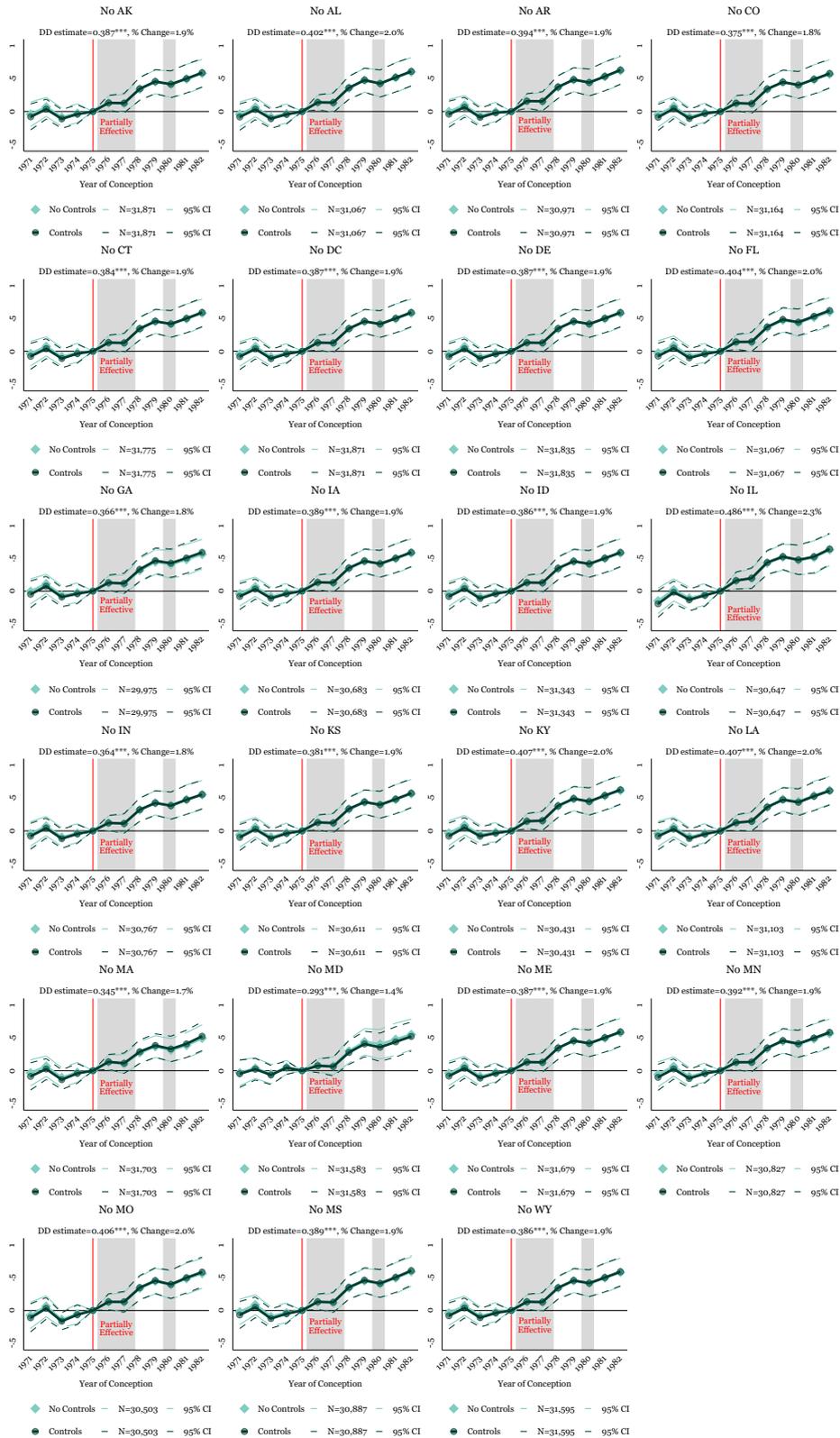
NOTES: Reflects the specification in Figure VI, except considering alternative measures of Medicaid eligibility. Certain AFDC measures from Cunningham and Goodman-Bacon (2025).

Figure C.2: Alternative Quartiles of Comparison: Fertility for Women <30



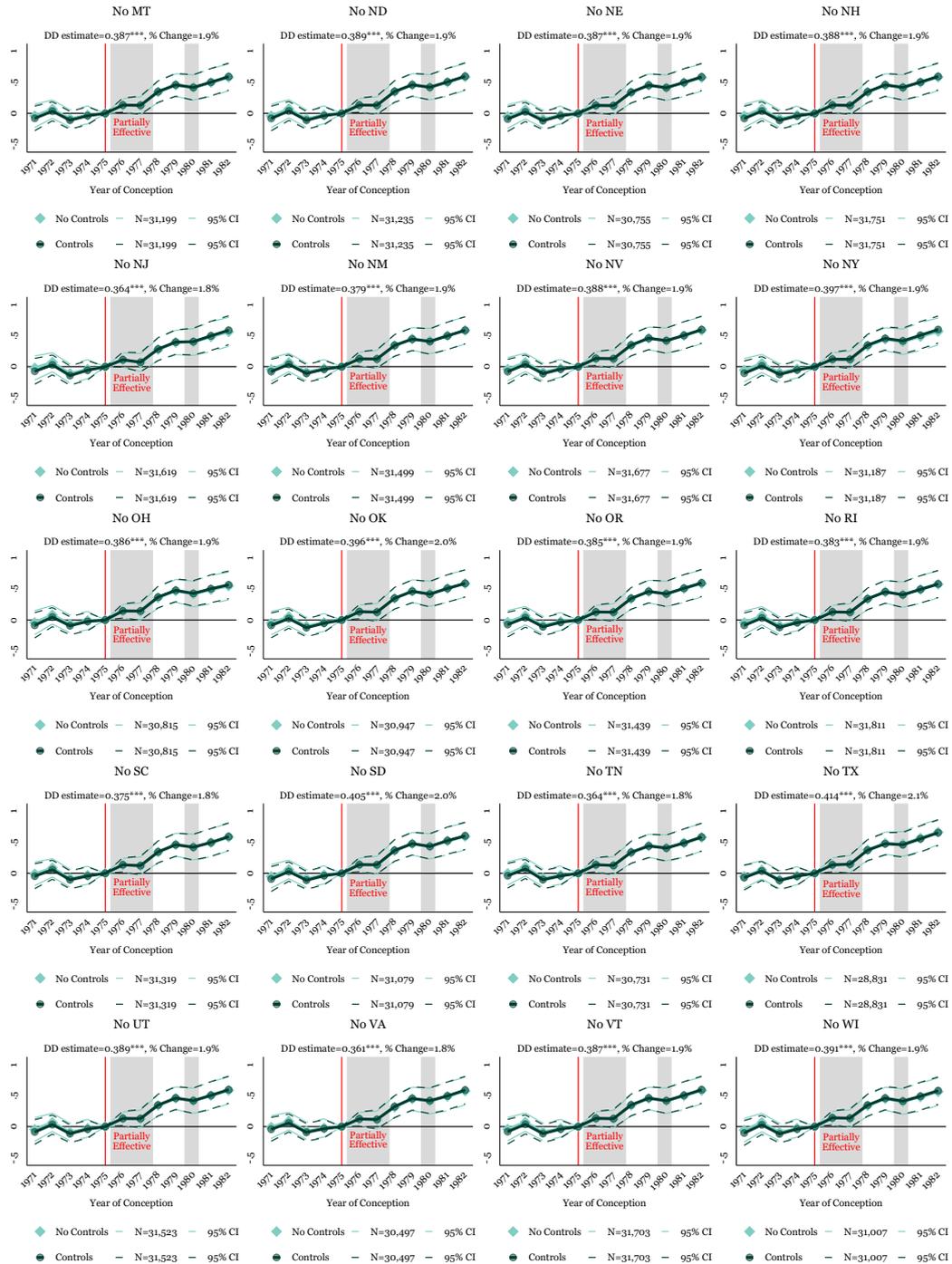
NOTES: Reflects the binary specification in Panel B.4 of Figure VIII except comparing the top quartile to the second and third quartiles of eligibility.

Figure C.3: Dropping Individual States (I): County-level Fertility for Women <30



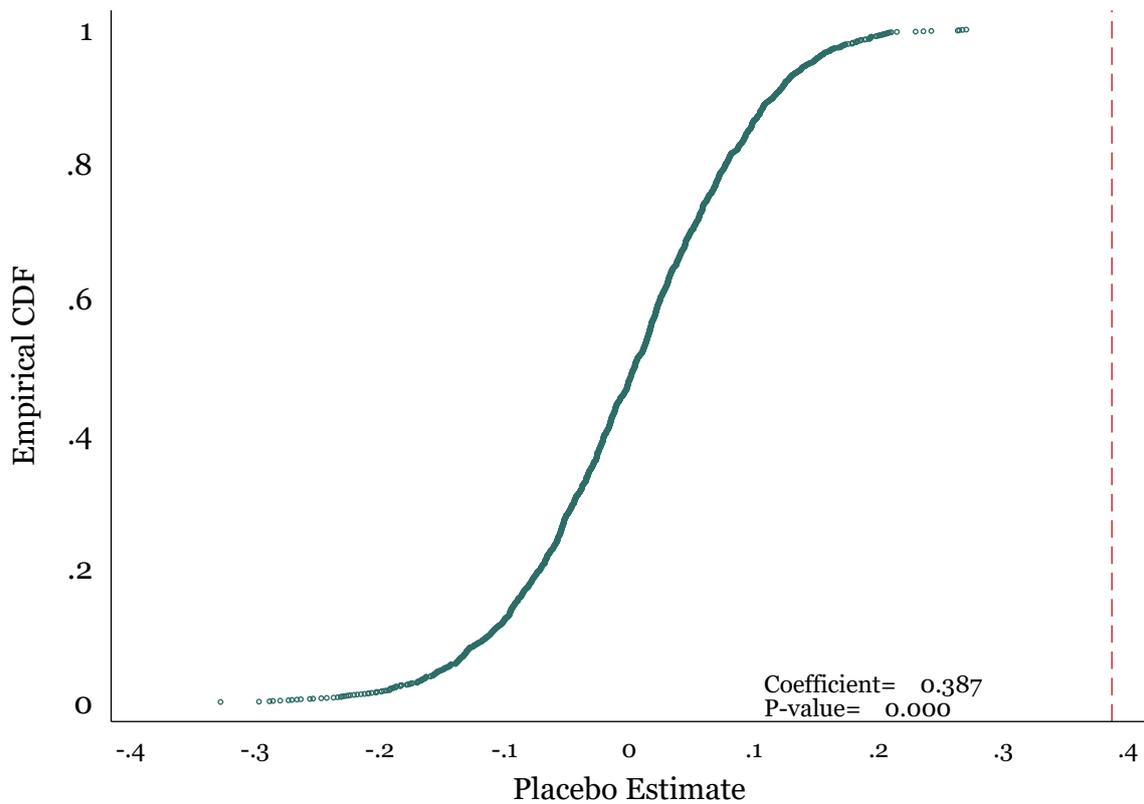
NOTES: Represents county-level specification from Figure VI, except dropping one state at a time.

Figure C.4: Dropping Individual States (II): County-level Fertility for Women <30



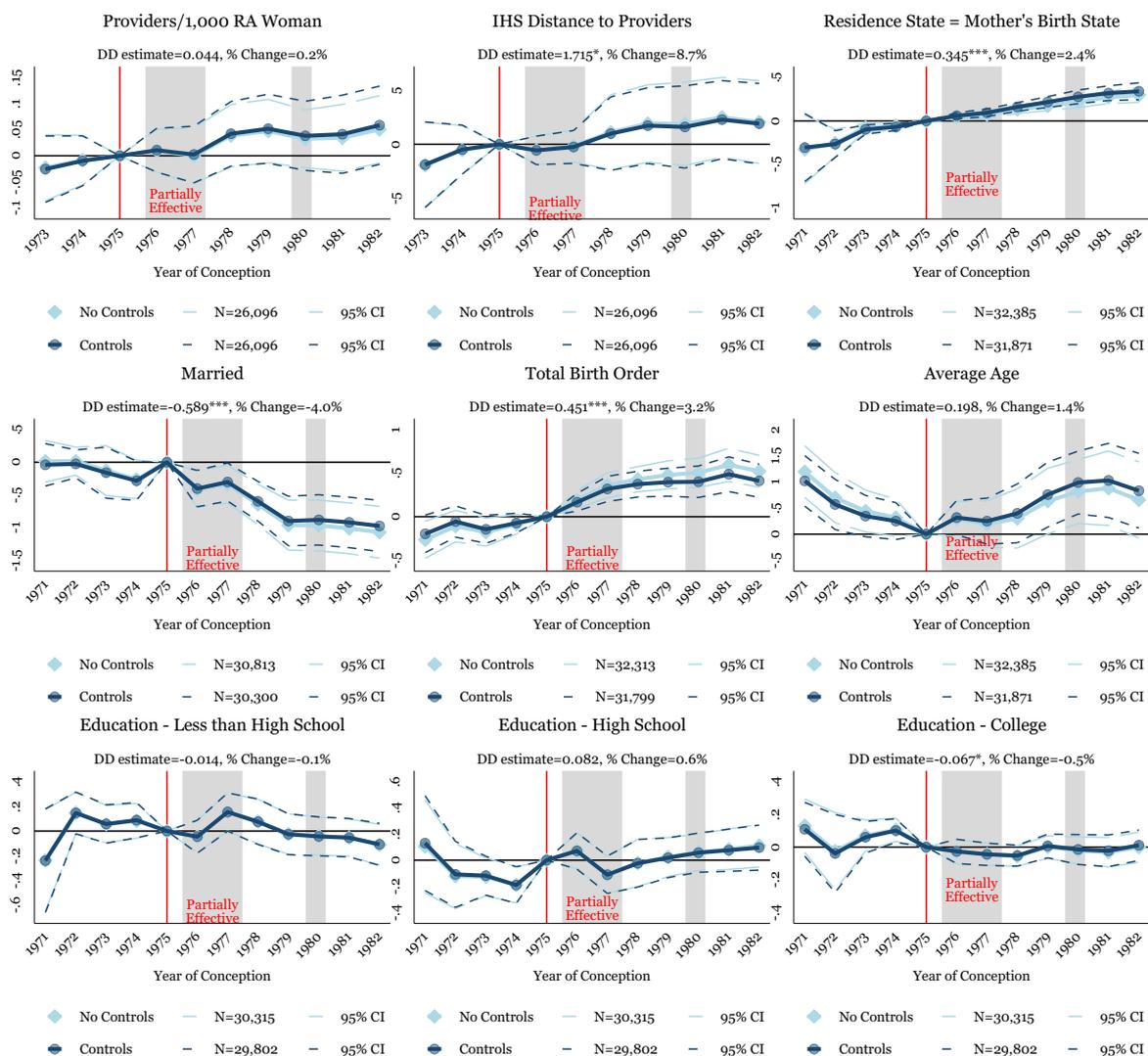
NOTES: Represents county-level specification from Figure VI, except dropping one state at a time.

Figure C.5: Permutations on High Medicaid Eligibility Counties



NOTES: Represents county-level specification from Panel B of Figure VI, except randomizing the treated counties. We randomly assign counties to AFDC eligibility (within state) and run Equation 1 with a grouped post-period coefficient. Each plotted point represents a separate regression. The randomization is performed 2,000 times. The plotted CDF represents the distribution of estimates from these placebo simulations, with the estimated coefficient for our 'actual' difference-in-differences estimate indicated by the vertical line. The non-parametric p-value is calculated as the number of placebo observations that are greater than the estimated effect, divided by the sample size of all permutation estimates.

Figure C.6: Controls as Outcomes



NOTES: Represents county-level specification from Panel B of Figure VI, except considering the share of each characteristic from the birth certificates, as well as the county-level abortion providers (the first two panels).

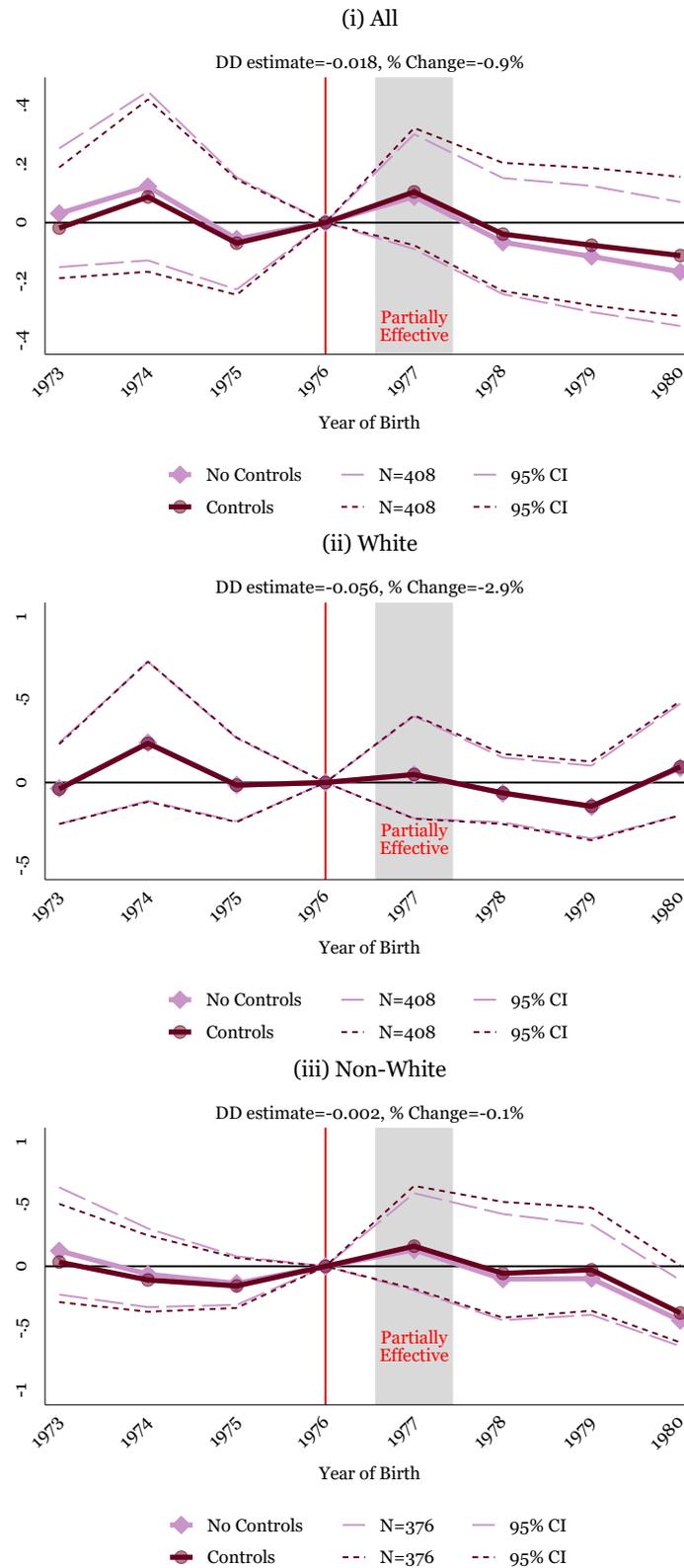
D Mortality Outcomes

Figure D.1: County-level Infant Mortality, Neonatal Mortality, 1-4 Mortality



NOTES: Represents county-level specification from Figure VI, except considering the log of the county-level infant/neonatal/child mortality. Here, the denominator is the number of births (all, white, non-white), except in Panel C, where the denominator is ages 1-4 and is derived from the SEER population data.

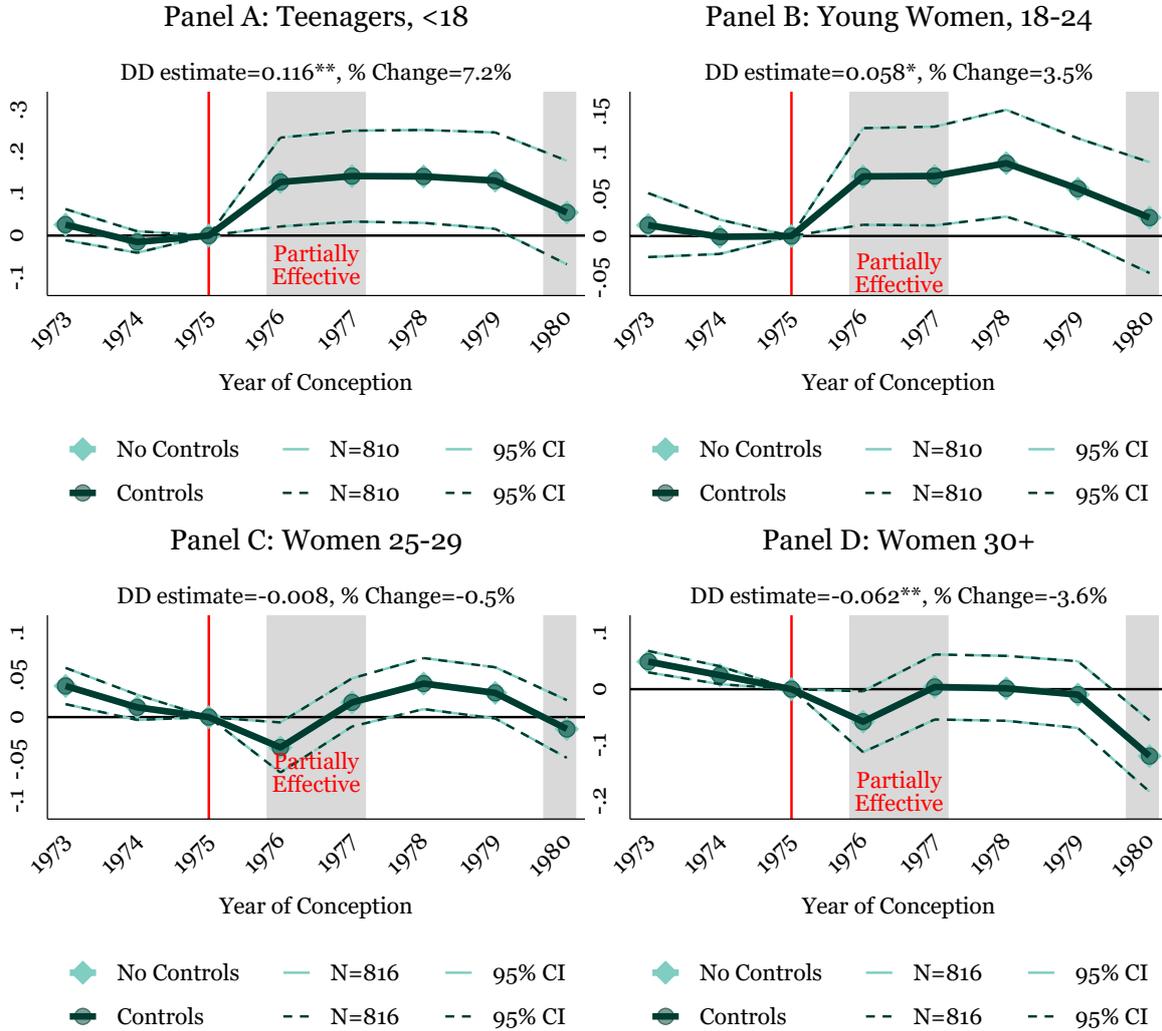
Figure D.2: State-level Maternal Mortality: Hyde Amendment x % Decline in Medicaid Abortions



NOTES: Represents specification in Figure IX, except showing maternal mortality. Here, the maternal mortality is per reproductive-age woman, but the results are similar if we consider maternal mortality per the number of births.

E State-level Analysis

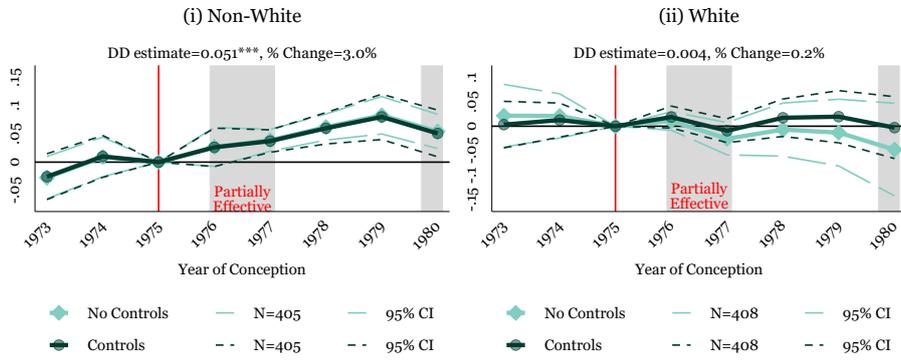
Figure E.1: Hyde Amendment x State-level Decline in Medicaid Abortions
Non-white v. White Fertility



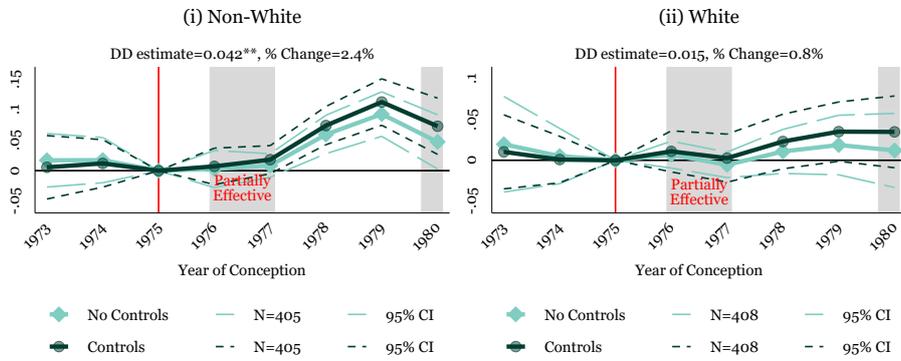
NOTES: Represents specification in Figure IX, except comparing non-white to white fertility after the Hyde Amendment. Similar to the specification in Equation 4, adds state-by-year fixed effects.

Figure E.2: Hyde Amendment x 1976 to 1978 Decline in Abortions

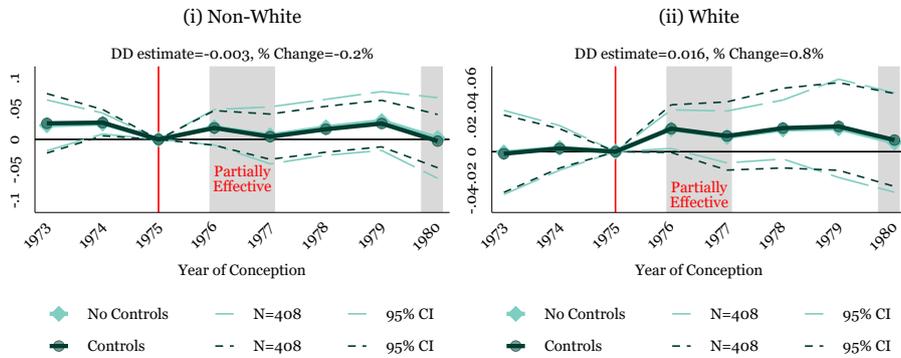
Panel A: Teenagers, <18



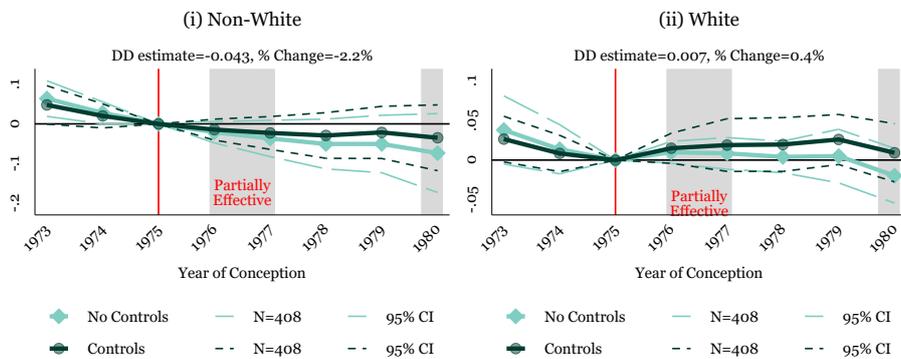
Panel B: Young Women, 18-24



Panel C: Women 25-29



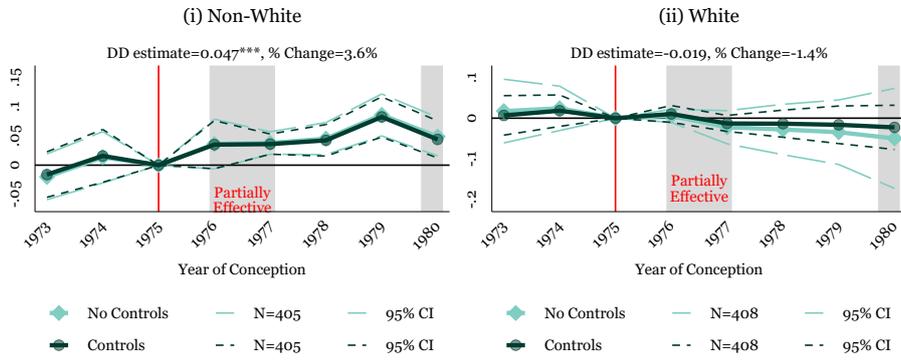
Panel D: Women 30+



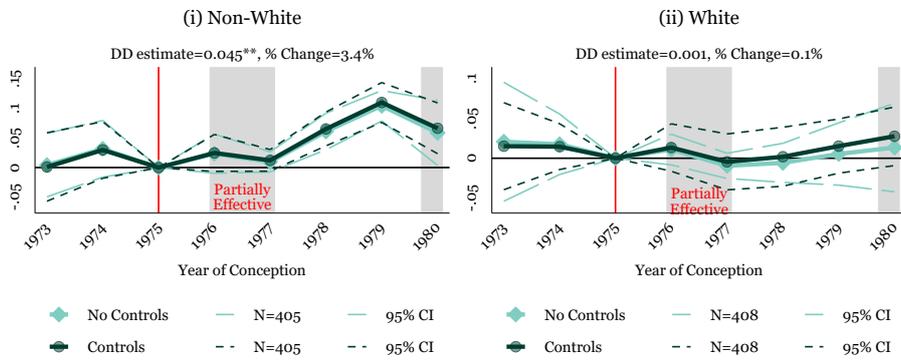
NOTES: Represents specification in Figure IX, except using the decline in funding from 1976 to 1978.

Figure E.3: Hyde Amendment x Binary Decline in Abortions

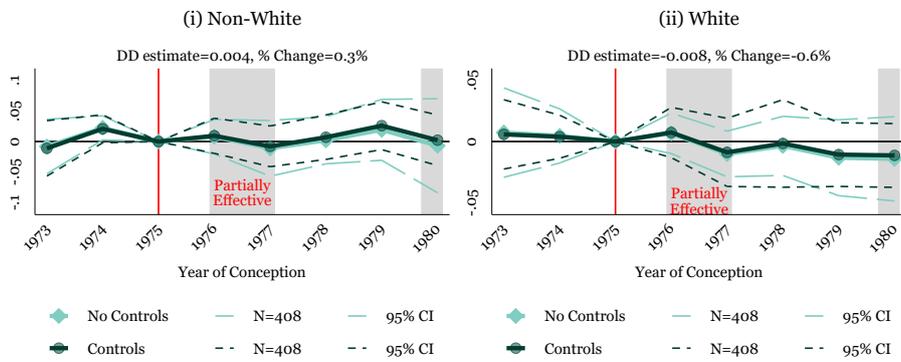
Panel A: Teenagers, <18



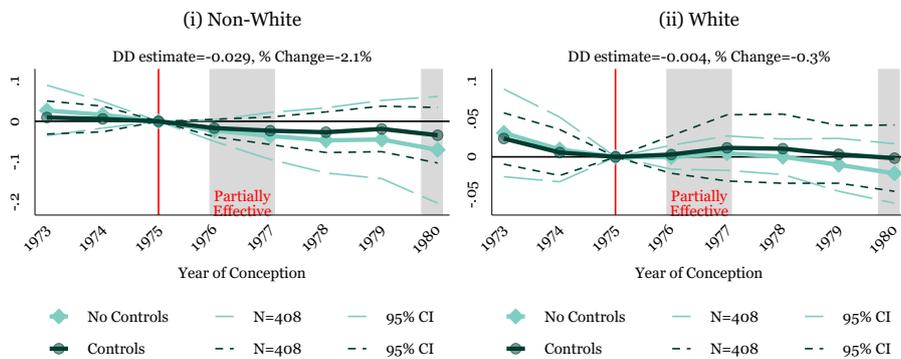
Panel B: Young Women, 18-24



Panel C: Women 25-29



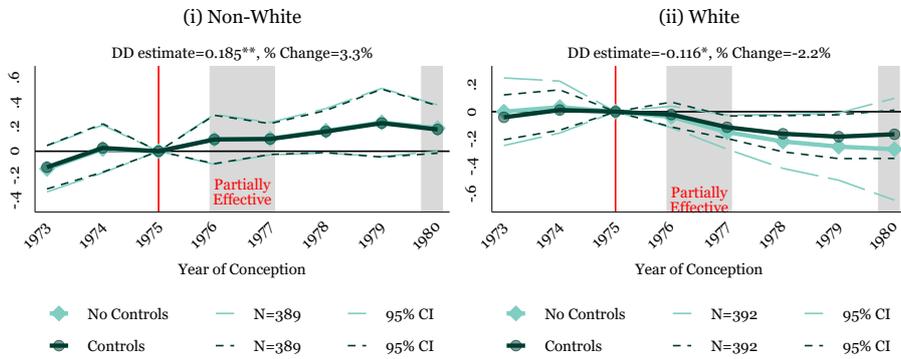
Panel D: Women 30+



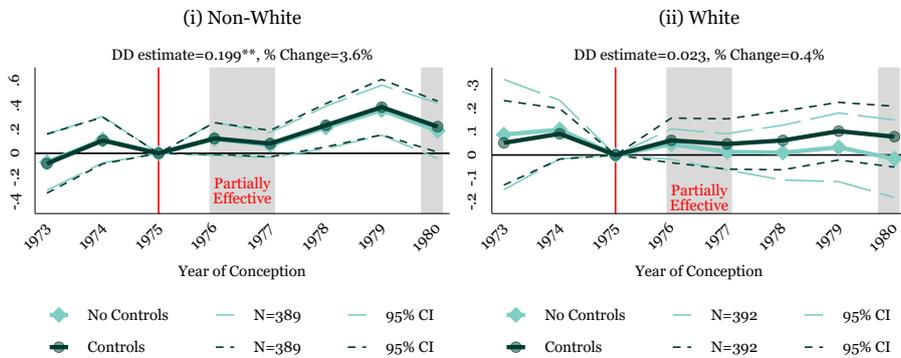
NOTES: Represents specification in Figure IX, except using a binary variable for any decline in Medicaid abortions rather than the percent decline.

Figure E.4: Hyde Amendment x Share Nonwhite Reproductive-Age Women Receiving AFDC

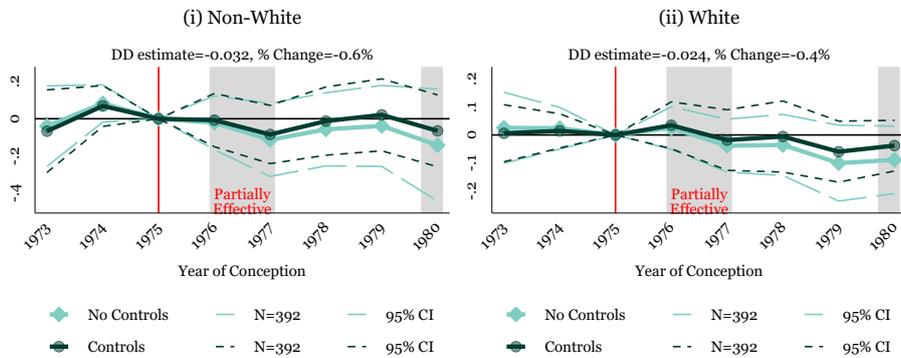
Panel A: Teenagers, <18



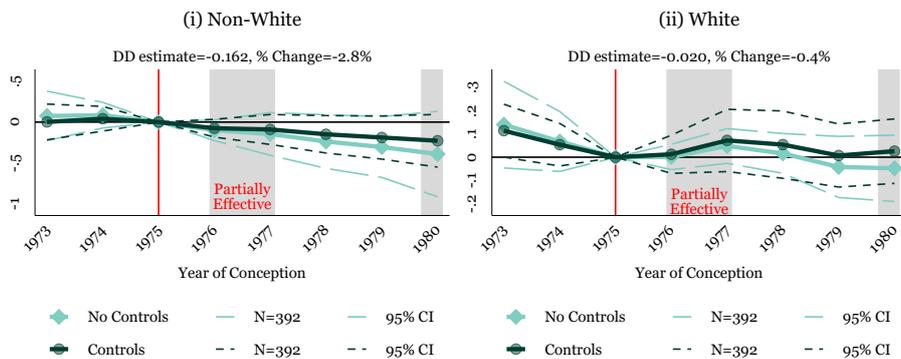
Panel B: Young Women, 18-24



Panel C: Women 25-29



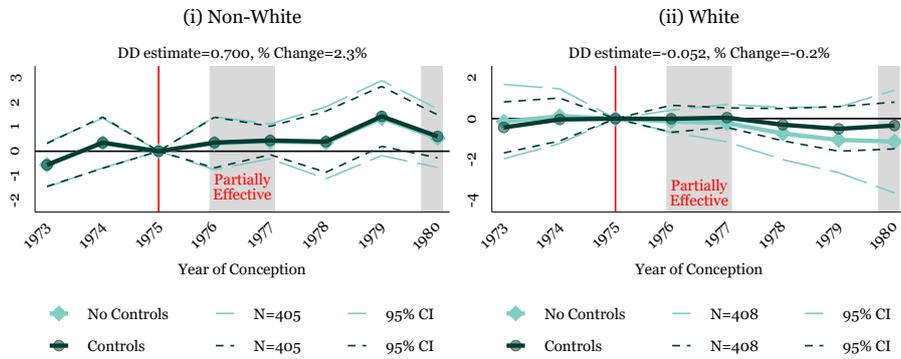
Panel D: Women 30+



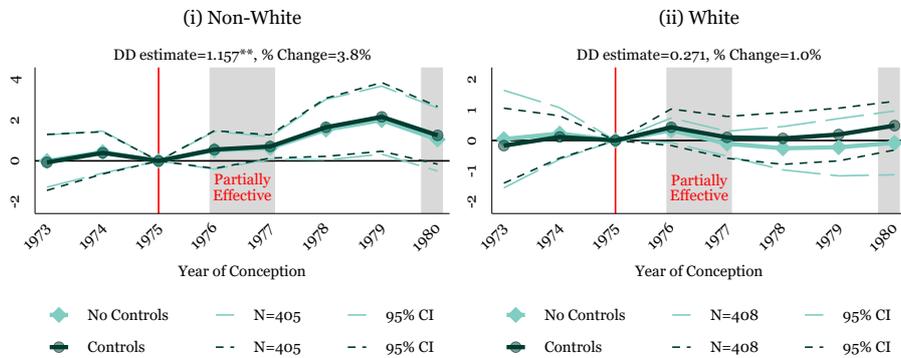
NOTES: Represents specification in Figure IX, except considering the share of nonwhite women 15-44 receiving AFDC in the 1977 CPS. We use 1977 because state identifiers are grouped before then.

Figure E.5: Hyde Amendment x Share White Reproductive-Age Women Receiving AFDC

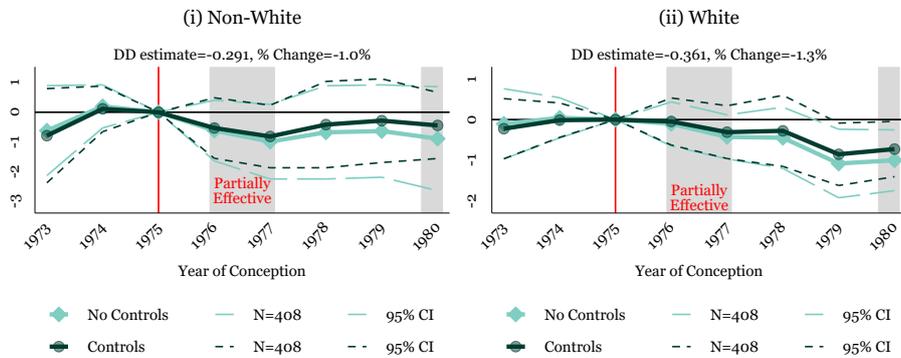
Panel A: Teenagers, <18



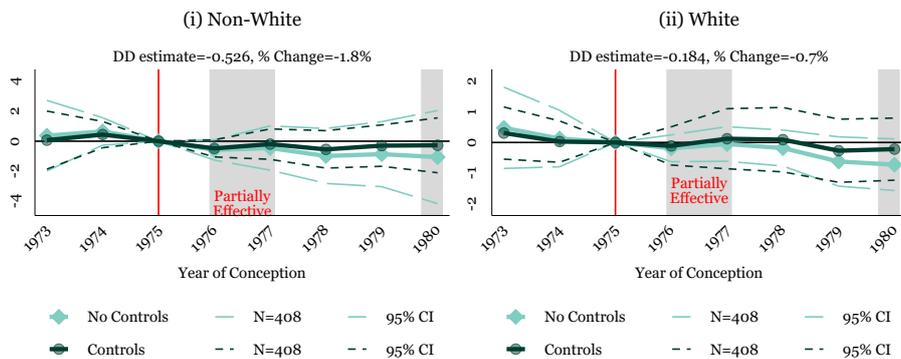
Panel B: Young Women, 18-24



Panel C: Women 25-29



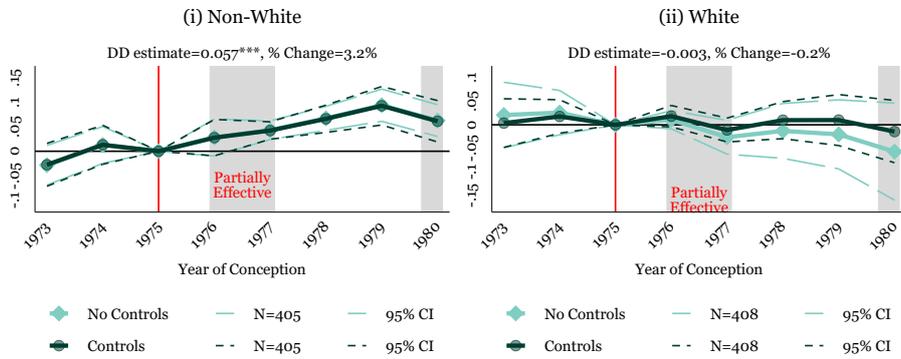
Panel D: Women 30+



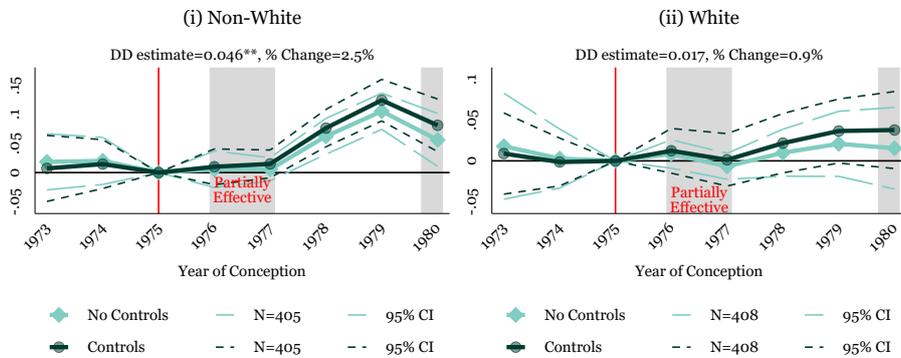
NOTES: Represents specification in Figure IX, except considering the share of white women 15-44 receiving AFDC in the 1977 CPS. We use 1977 because state identifiers are grouped before then.

Figure E.6: Hyde Amendment x % State Decline in Abortions, States with Increases in Abortions included as Negative Treatment

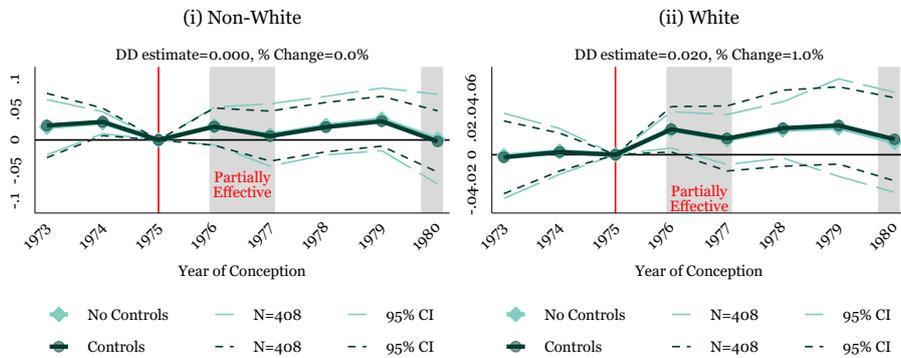
Panel A: Teenagers, <18



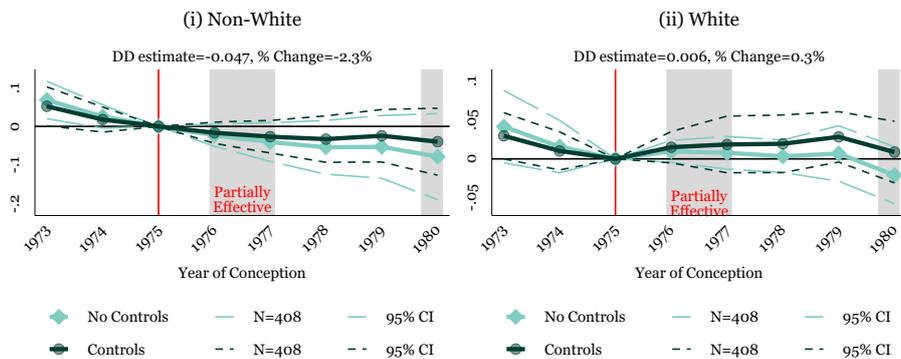
Panel B: Young Women, 18-24



Panel C: Women 25-29



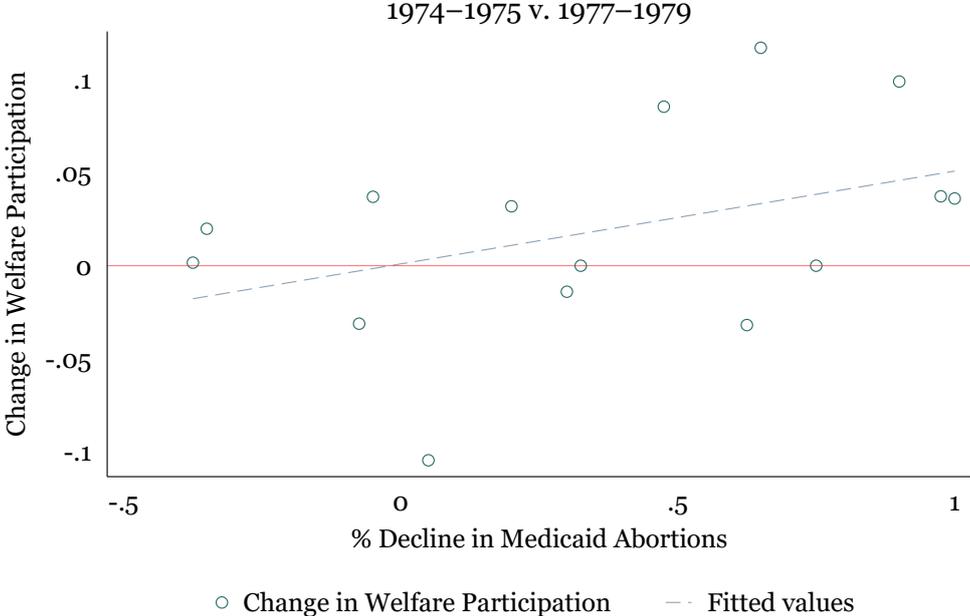
Panel D: Women 30+



NOTES: Represents specification in Figure IX, except specifying the percent decline in Medicaid abortions as negative when there is an increase in Medicaid abortions (rather than control states).

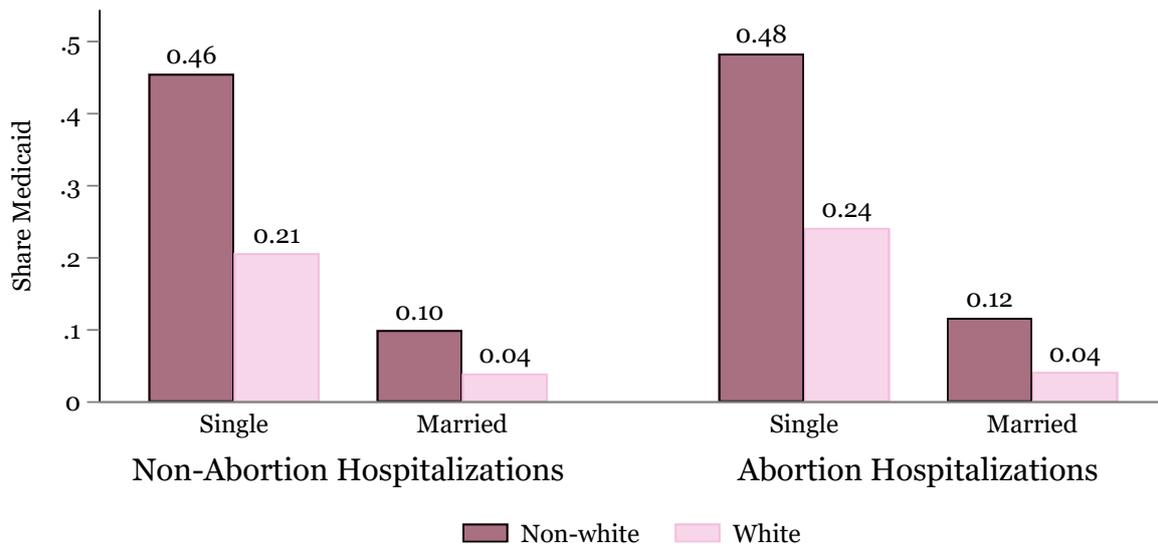
F Current Population Survey

Figure F.1: Change in AFDC Participation for Non-white Women <30
 % Decline in Medicaid Abortions and Change in Welfare Participation

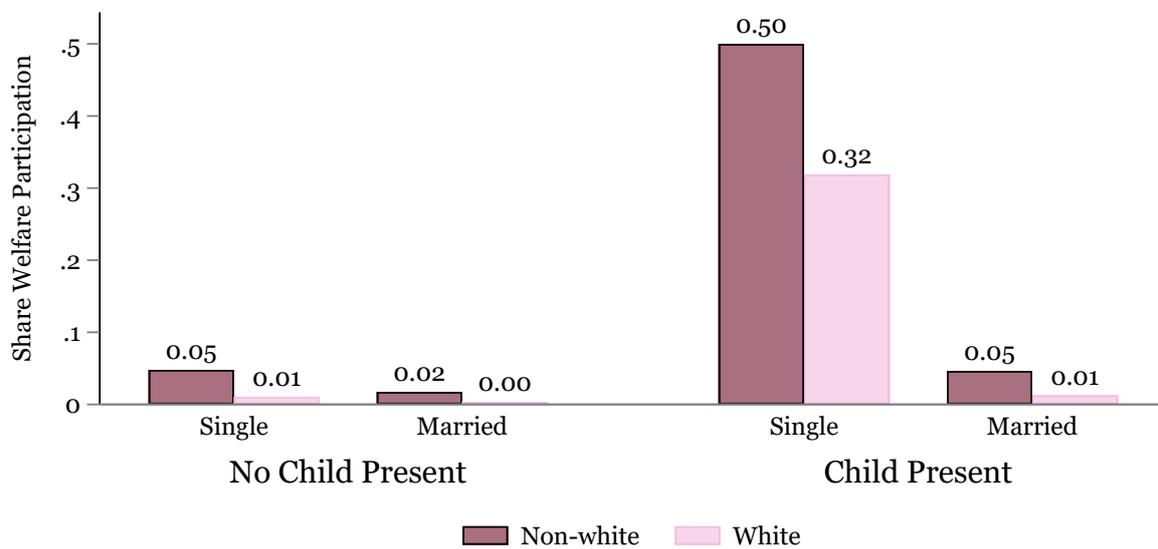


NOTES: Shows the descriptive change in AFDC participation from 1974-75 to 1977-79 by the binned percent decline in Medicaid abortions. Negative values indicate an increase in Medicaid abortions. Attempted depiction of Figure IV from Callaway et al. (2024).

Figure F.2: Who Receives Medicaid and Welfare? Women 15-44
 Panel A: Medicaid-Funded Hospitalizations



Panel B: Welfare Receipt



SOURCE: National Hospital Discharge Survey (NHDS) Files. In Panel A, the NHDS payer data are only available beginning in 1977; the data reflect 1977-1980. In Panel B, the CPS data from Flood et al. (2024) span the years 1974 to 1976.

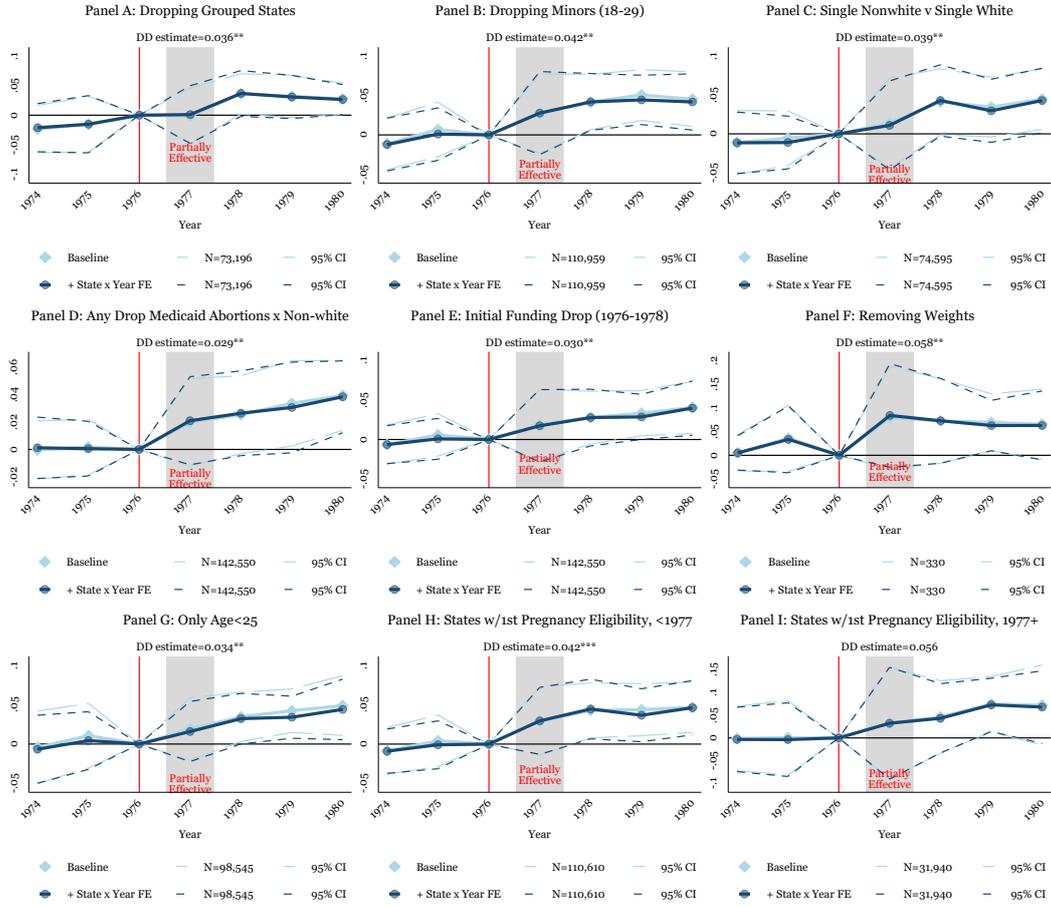
Table F.1: Descriptive Statistics for CPS Sample, Treated States

	Non-white Pre-Hyde Amendment		White Pre-Hyde Amendment		Diff. Est.	Non-white Post-Hyde Amendment		White Post-Hyde Amendment		Diff. Est.
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.		Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	
Assistance										
Receiving Welfare	0.146	0.353	0.028	0.165	0.118***	0.180	0.384	0.035	0.184	0.145***
Non-Welfare Government Assistance	0.032	0.175	0.031	0.173	0.001	0.033	0.178	0.036	0.187	-0.004*
Any Government Assistance	0.174	0.379	0.058	0.234	0.116***	0.208	0.406	0.070	0.256	0.137***
Children										
Number of Children	0.853	1.232	0.601	0.976	0.253***	0.812	1.169	0.563	0.936	0.249***
Any Child	0.442	0.497	0.343	0.475	0.099***	0.431	0.495	0.331	0.470	0.101***
Age of Own Child Under 18	2.627	2.520	2.434	2.361	0.194***	2.846	2.752	2.400	2.487	0.446***
Child 18 or Under	0.441	0.497	0.342	0.474	0.099***	0.430	0.495	0.330	0.470	0.101***
Child 10 or Under	0.411	0.492	0.328	0.469	0.083***	0.397	0.489	0.316	0.465	0.080***
No Children	0.558	0.497	0.657	0.475	-0.099***	0.569	0.495	0.669	0.470	-0.101***
One Child	0.204	0.403	0.159	0.366	0.044***	0.199	0.399	0.162	0.368	0.037***
Two Children	0.137	0.344	0.128	0.335	0.009*	0.136	0.343	0.121	0.327	0.015***
Three Children	0.058	0.234	0.041	0.199	0.017***	0.062	0.242	0.036	0.186	0.026***
4+ Children	0.043	0.203	0.014	0.118	0.029***	0.033	0.180	0.012	0.107	0.022***
Employment										
Employed	0.369	0.482	0.473	0.499	-0.104***	0.380	0.485	0.526	0.499	-0.146***
Worked Last Week	0.355	0.478	0.458	0.498	-0.103***	0.362	0.481	0.509	0.500	-0.148***
Any Wage Income	0.517	0.500	0.637	0.481	-0.120***	0.528	0.499	0.681	0.466	-0.154***
Wage Income	1,767.162	2,851.919	2,114.035	3,021.820	-346.873***	2,380.993	3,856.660	3,048.717	4,056.052	-667.724***
Total Income	2,156.026	2,895.255	2,317.414	3,124.805	-161.388***	2,947.557	3,876.546	3,407.586	4,286.681	-460.029***
Household										
Household Head	0.175	0.380	0.076	0.265	0.099***	0.198	0.398	0.106	0.308	0.092***
Married	0.295	0.456	0.453	0.498	-0.158***	0.250	0.433	0.430	0.495	-0.180***
Age	21.361	4.302	21.546	4.338	-0.185***	21.551	4.338	21.748	4.306	-0.197***
N	5,608		35,786		41,394	9,559		61,069		70,628

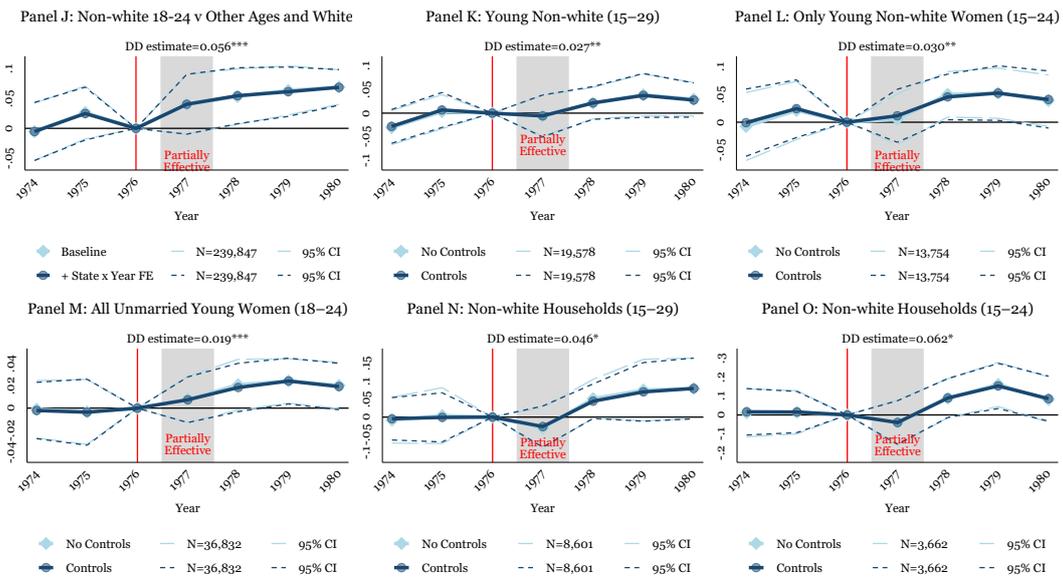
SOURCES: CPS data from Flood et al. (2024).

Figure F.3: CPS Data Robustness Checks

Alternative DDD Specifications and Subsamples

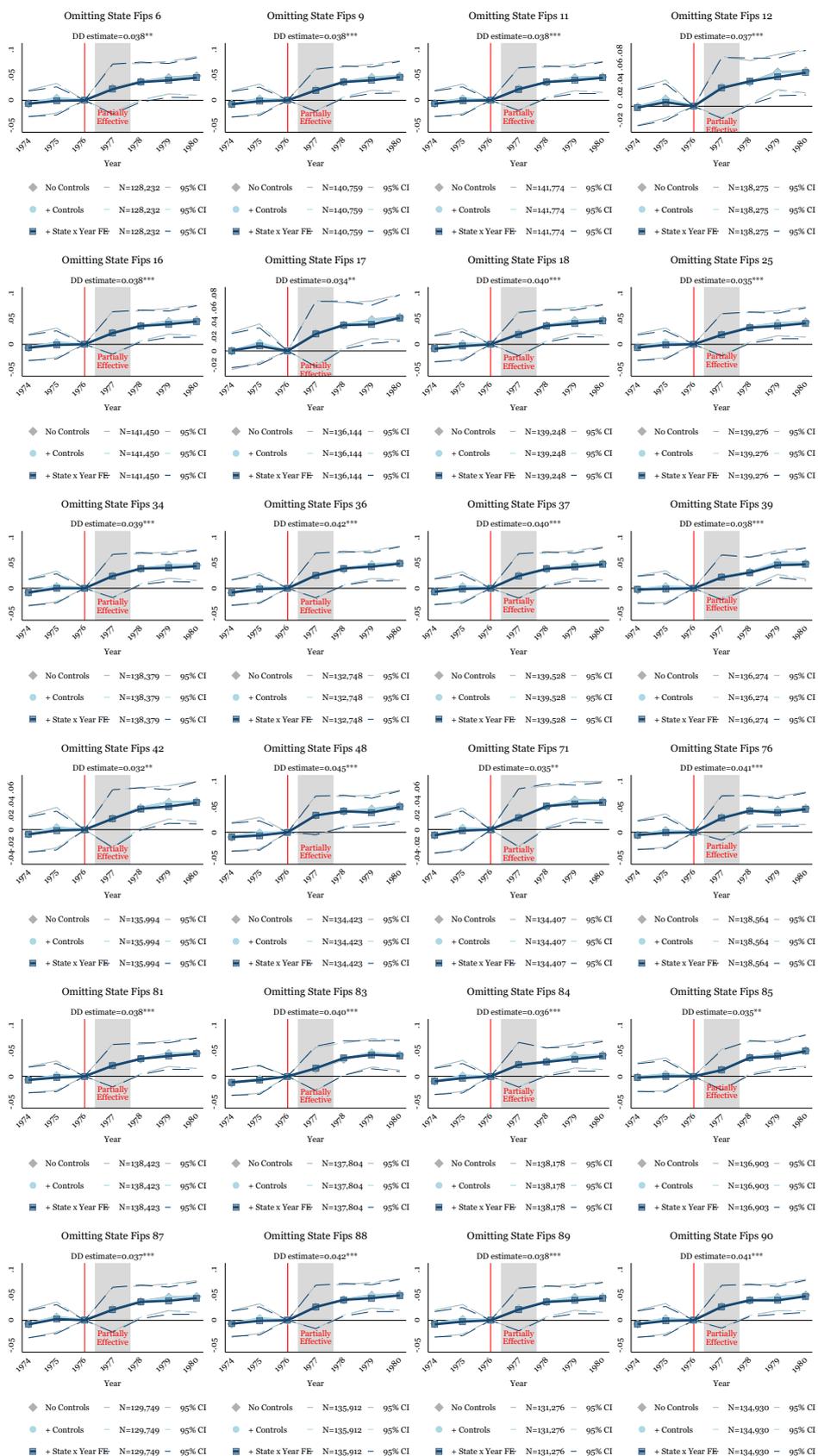


Alternative DD Specifications



NOTES: Presents robustness checks on Figure XII.

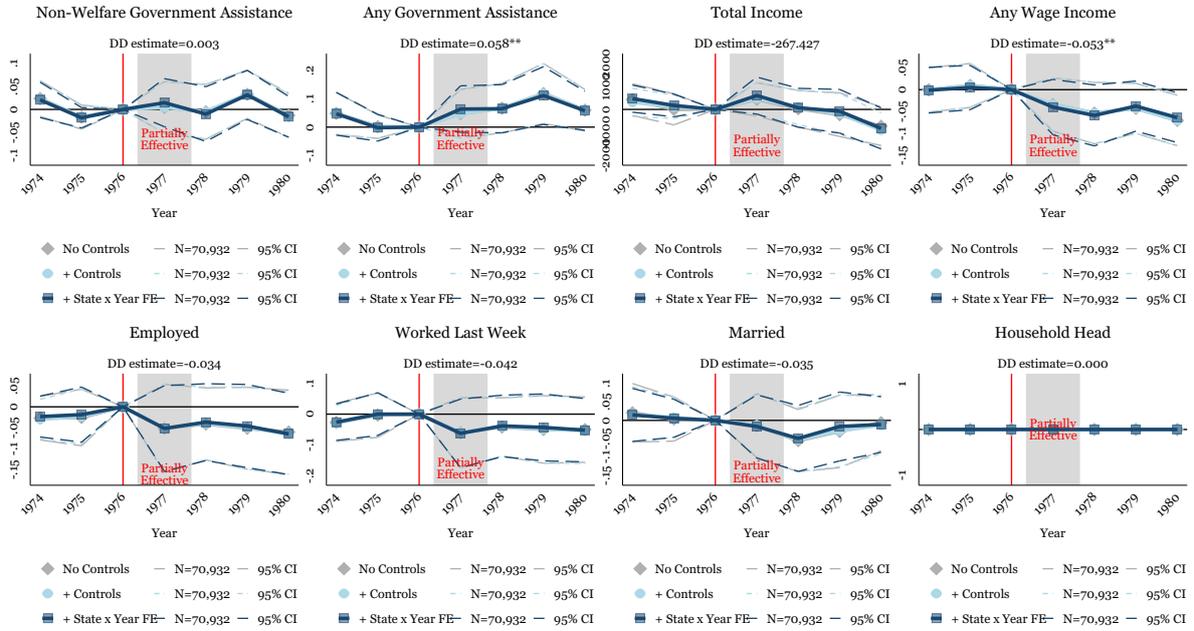
Figure F.4: CPS Data—Dropping One State at a Time



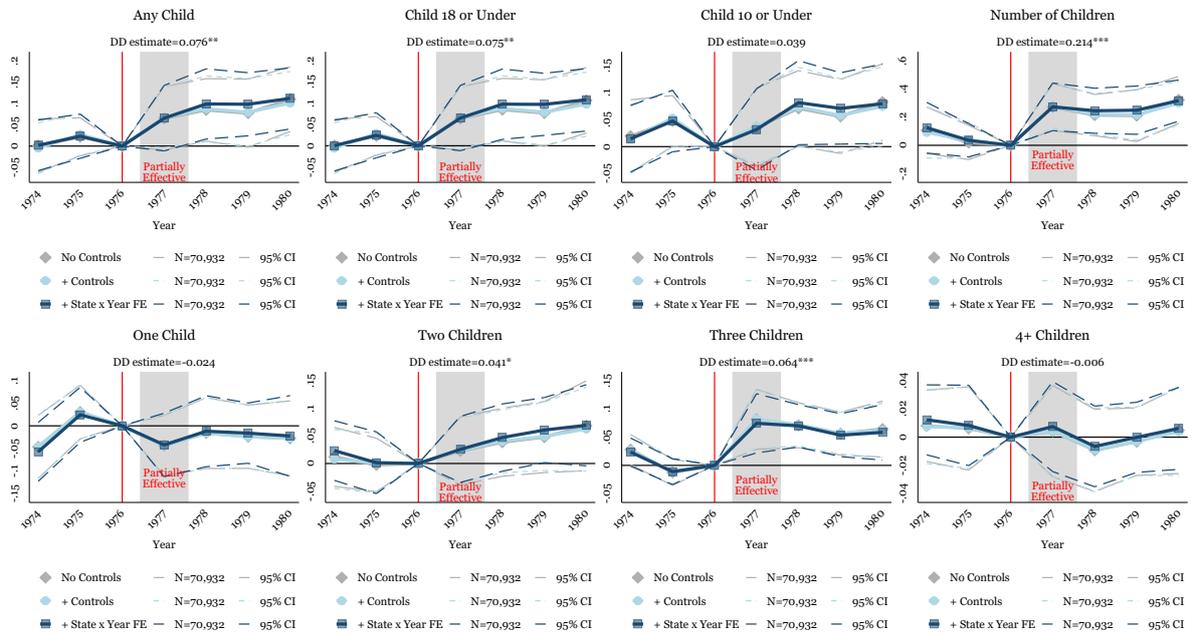
NOTES: Reflects Figure XII Panel A except dropping each state from the sample individually. State numbers correspond to CPS grouped state FIPS, https://cps.ipums.org/cps-action/variables/STATEFIP#codes_section.

Figure F.5: CPS Data—Mechanisms for the Rise in Welfare Payments at the Household Level

Panel A: Employment and Income

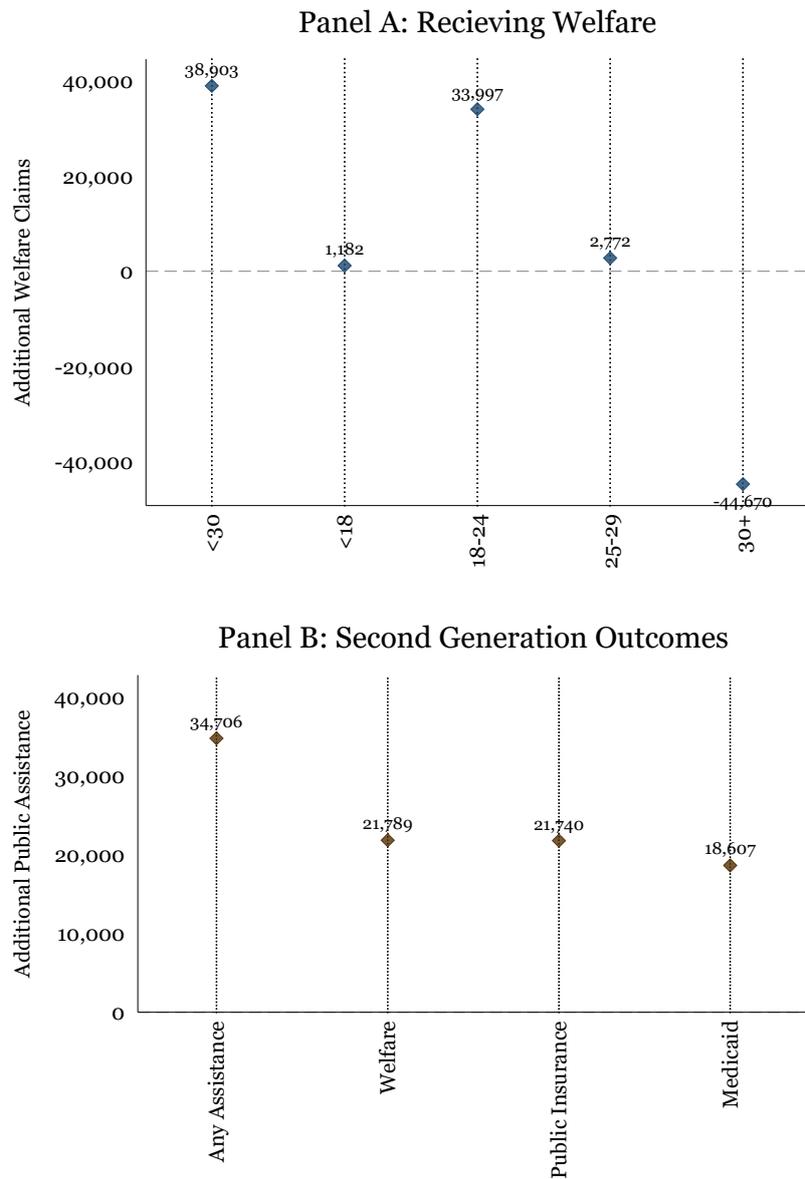


Panel B: Fertility-related Outcomes



NOTES: Reflects Panel B of Figure XII except considering other outcomes.

Figure F.6: Increase in Number of Women Claiming Welfare and Public Assistance



NOTES: Reflects estimates from Figure X Panel A except taking the difference between the predicted and counterfactual values for non-white women in the CPS. Differences calculated similarly to Figure A.10 except here we only show 1979.

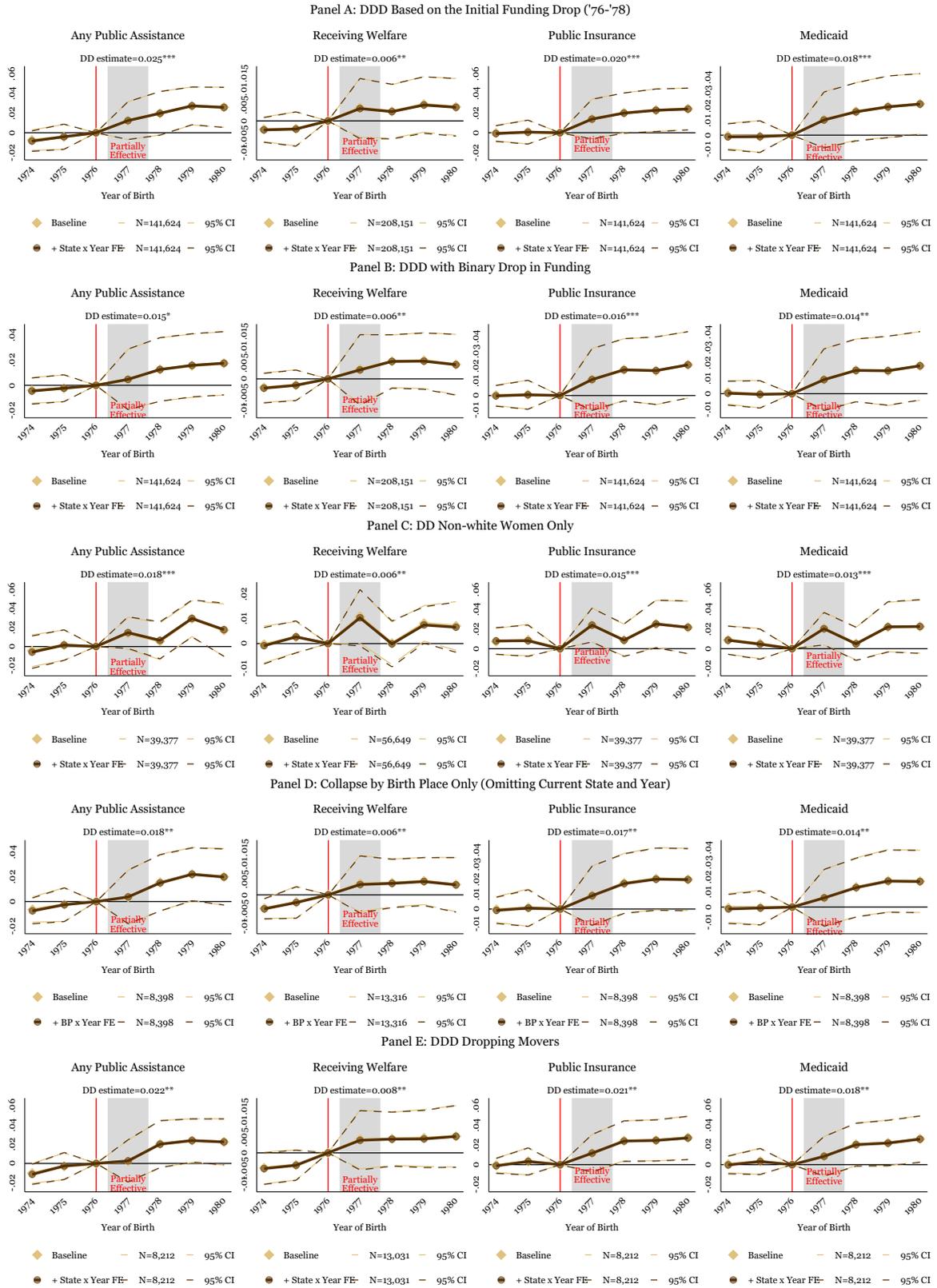
G American Community Survey

Table G.1: Descriptive Statistics for ACS Sample, Treated States

	Non-white Pre-Hyde Amendment		White Pre-Hyde Amendment		Diff. Est.	Non-white Post-Hyde Amendment		White Post-Hyde Amendment		Diff. Est.
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.		Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	
Assistance										
Any Public Assistance	0.379	0.485	0.171	0.376	0.208***	0.408	0.492	0.188	0.391	0.220***
Receiving Welfare	0.052	0.221	0.019	0.137	0.032***	0.058	0.233	0.022	0.148	0.035***
Public Insurance	0.250	0.433	0.122	0.328	0.127***	0.272	0.445	0.134	0.341	0.138***
Medicaid	0.230	0.421	0.110	0.313	0.120***	0.255	0.436	0.124	0.330	0.131***
Receiving Foodstamps	0.284	0.451	0.104	0.305	0.180***	0.313	0.464	0.119	0.324	0.194***
Children										
Number of Children	1.478	1.373	1.481	1.271	-0.003	1.384	1.382	1.317	1.289	0.067***
Any Child	0.685	0.464	0.710	0.454	-0.025***	0.640	0.480	0.636	0.481	0.004**
Children Under 5	0.274	0.561	0.374	0.648	-0.100***	0.364	0.639	0.439	0.691	-0.075***
Unmarried w/Children	0.247	0.431	0.049	0.215	0.198***	0.281	0.449	0.068	0.251	0.213***
Employment										
Employed	0.711	0.453	0.742	0.437	-0.032***	0.696	0.460	0.743	0.437	-0.047***
Unemployed	0.082	0.274	0.036	0.186	0.046***	0.092	0.289	0.041	0.198	0.051***
Hours Worked Last Week	30.832	17.948	30.507	18.013	0.325***	30.294	17.858	30.689	17.673	-0.395***
Log of Wage Income	10.030	1.094	10.167	1.100	-0.137***	9.908	1.143	10.083	1.113	-0.175***
Log of Total Income	9.928	1.153	10.082	1.198	-0.154***	9.818	1.188	10.008	1.199	-0.190***
Worked Last Week	0.801	0.399	0.812	0.391	-0.011***	0.800	0.400	0.820	0.384	-0.020***
Institution	0.010	0.101	0.004	0.067	0.006***	0.012	0.108	0.005	0.071	0.007***
Disability	0.107	0.309	0.073	0.261	0.034***	0.093	0.291	0.067	0.250	0.026***
Controls										
Age	35.868	4.893	35.910	4.972	-0.042**	32.487	5.063	32.626	5.139	-0.139***
Married	0.379	0.485	0.676	0.468	-0.297***	0.328	0.470	0.614	0.487	-0.286***
HS Degree or Higher	0.913	0.282	0.958	0.199	-0.046***	0.906	0.291	0.955	0.207	-0.049***
College Degree	0.280	0.449	0.421	0.494	-0.141***	0.274	0.446	0.422	0.494	-0.148***
Graduate Degree	0.114	0.318	0.153	0.360	-0.040***	0.104	0.305	0.146	0.353	-0.042***
N	90,142		405,955		496,097	133,228		572,228		705,456

SOURCE: ACS data from [Ruggles et al. \(2024\)](#)

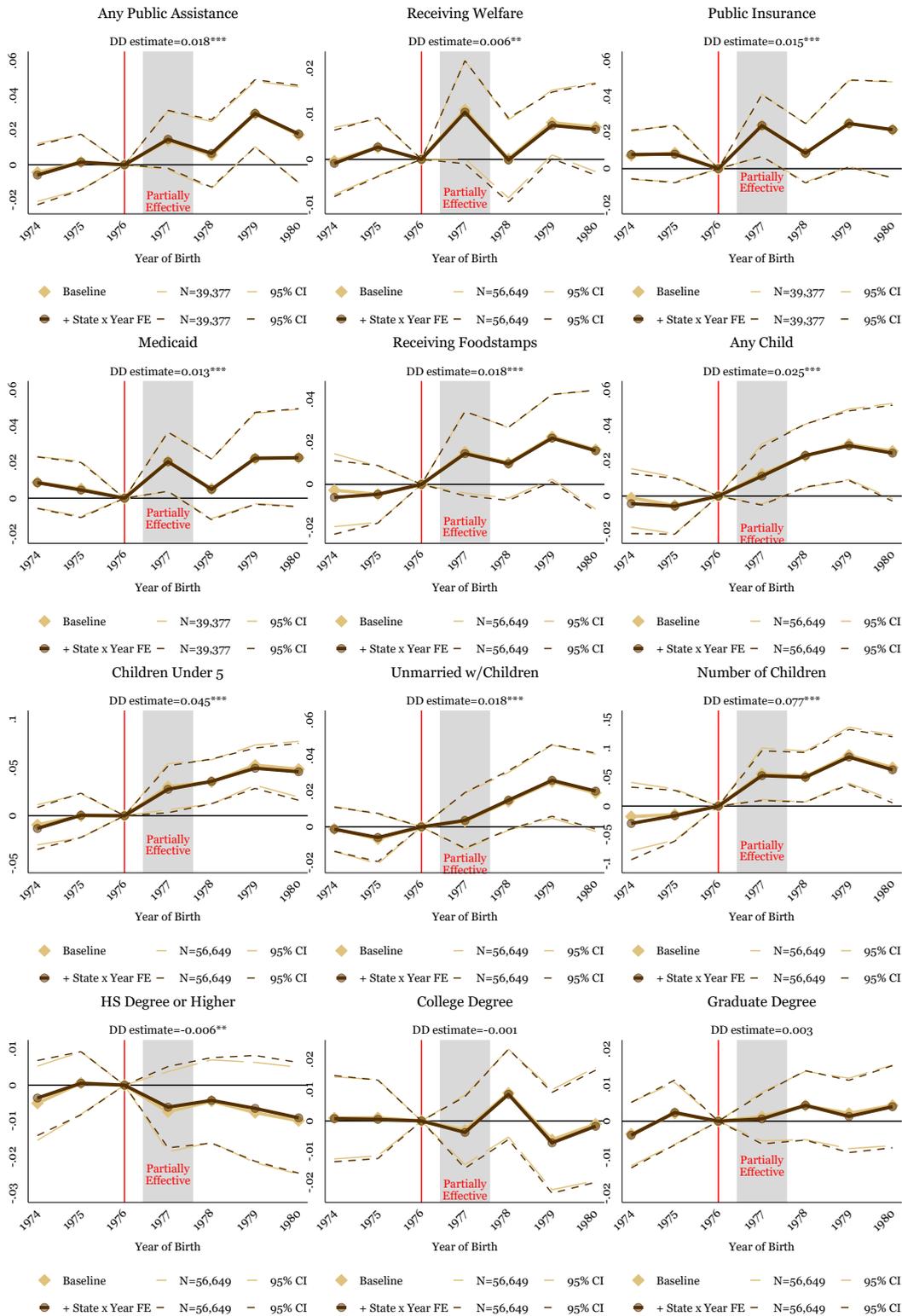
Figure G.1: ACS Data–Robustness of Public Assistance in the 2nd Generation



SOURCE: ACS data from [Ruggles et al. \(2024\)](#)

NOTES: Reflects Figure XIV except considering robustness checks. Panel A considers only the initial funding drop. Panel B considers a binary drop in funding. Panel C considers a difference-in-differences with non-white women only. Panel D considers the effect collapsed to the birthplace and year of birth only, and omits the current state-level fixed effects. Panel E drops those who move out of their birth state.

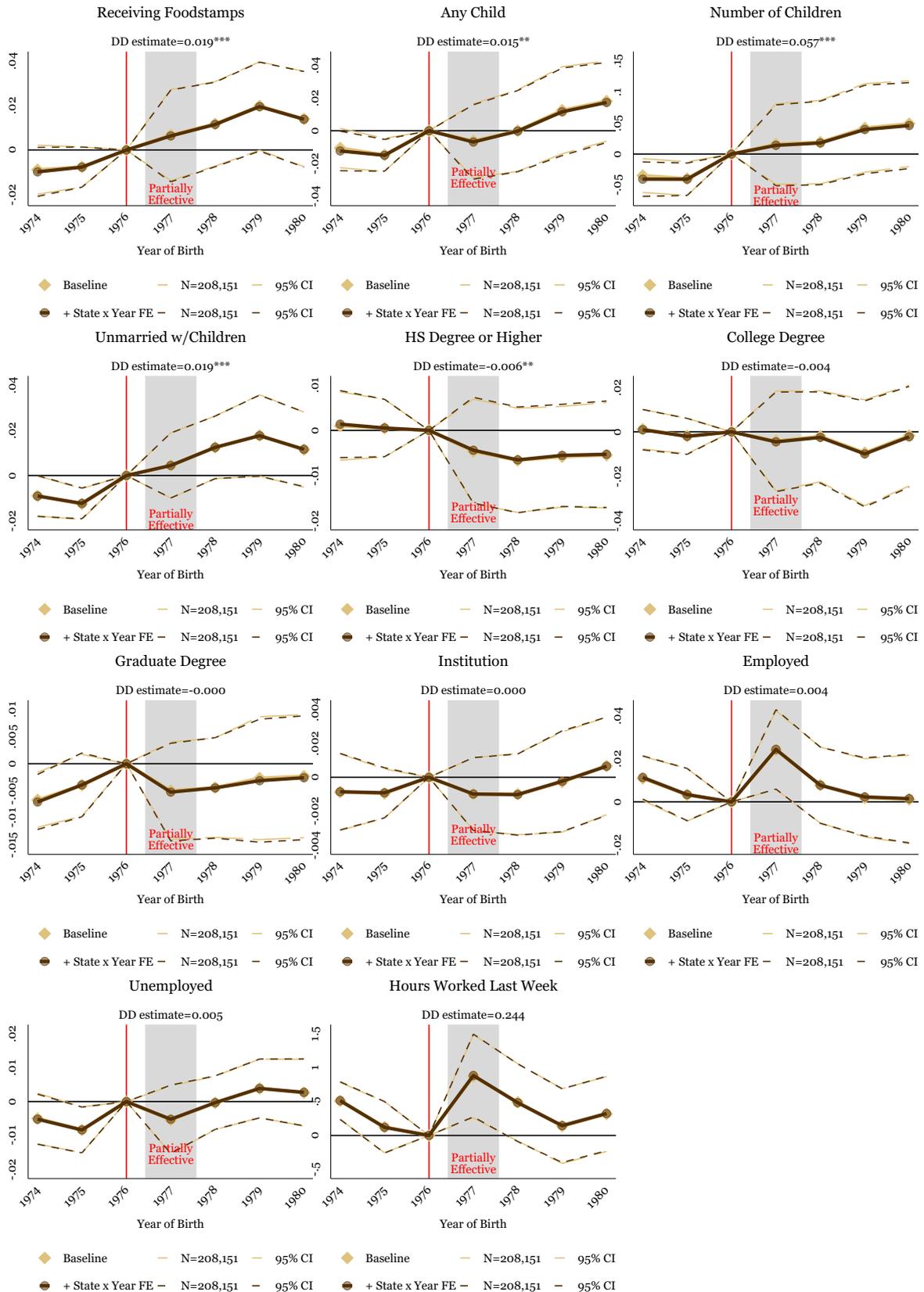
Figure G.2: ACS Data–Public Assistance of 2nd Generation, Non-white Women Only



SOURCE: ACS data from Ruggles et al. (2024)

NOTES: Reflects Figure XIV except considering subsamples of non-white women born around the Hyde Amendment in states with larger declines in abortion funding. Effectively, a difference-in-differences rather than a difference-in-differences-in-differences.

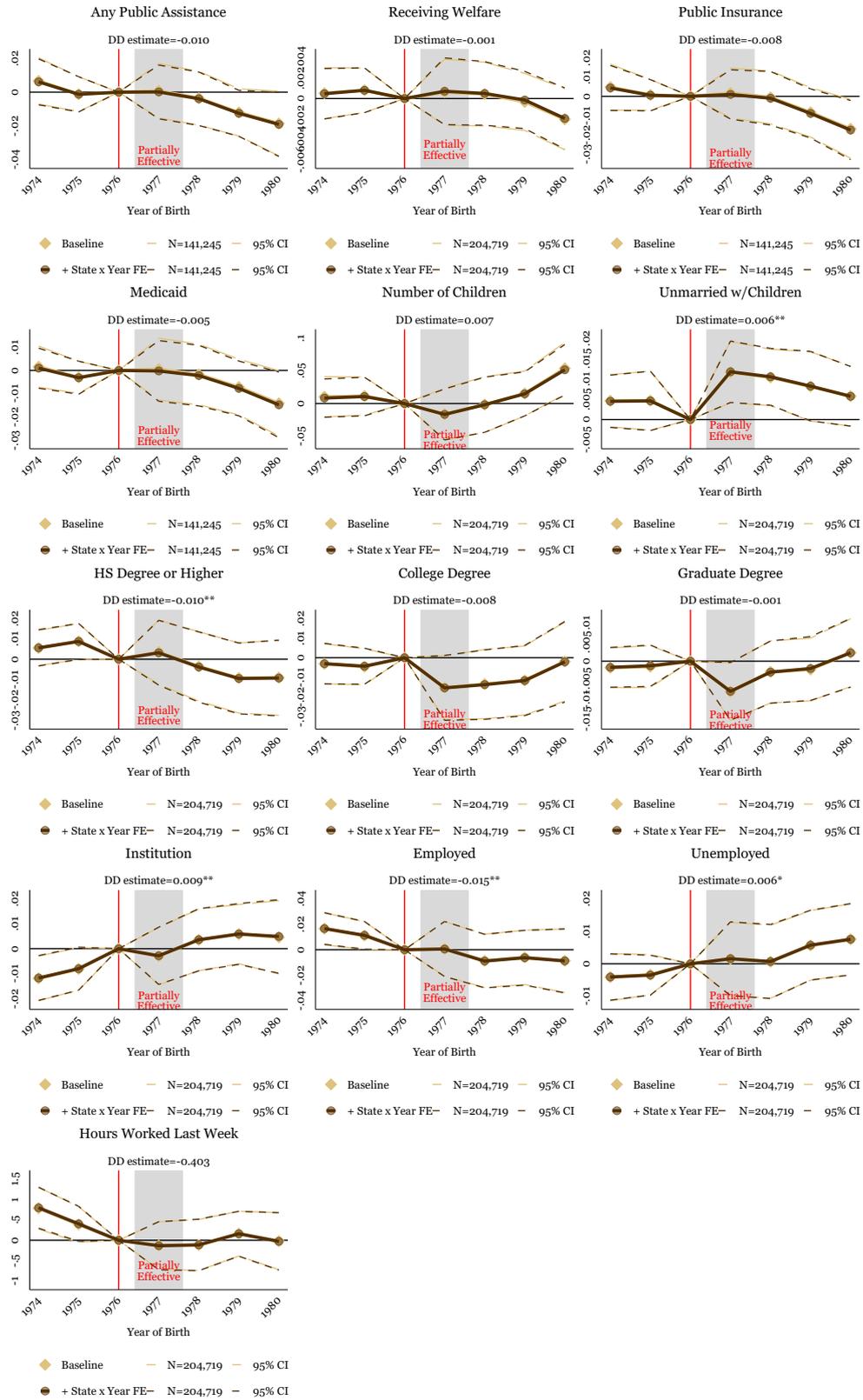
Figure G.3: ACS Data–Public Assistance of 2nd Generation, Additional Outcomes



SOURCE: ACS data from [Ruggles et al. \(2024\)](#)

NOTES: Reflects Figure XIV except considering subsamples of non-white women born around the Hyde Amendment in states with larger declines in abortion funding.

Figure G.4: ACS Data–Public Assistance of 2nd Generation, Non-white v. White Men



SOURCE: ACS data from [Ruggles et al. \(2024\)](#)
 NOTES: Reflects Figures XIV and G.3 except considering men.