

What to Expect When You're Unexpectedly Expecting: Reproductive Rights Restrictions in Trump's America

David Slusky

32nd Annual James E. Seaver Lecture

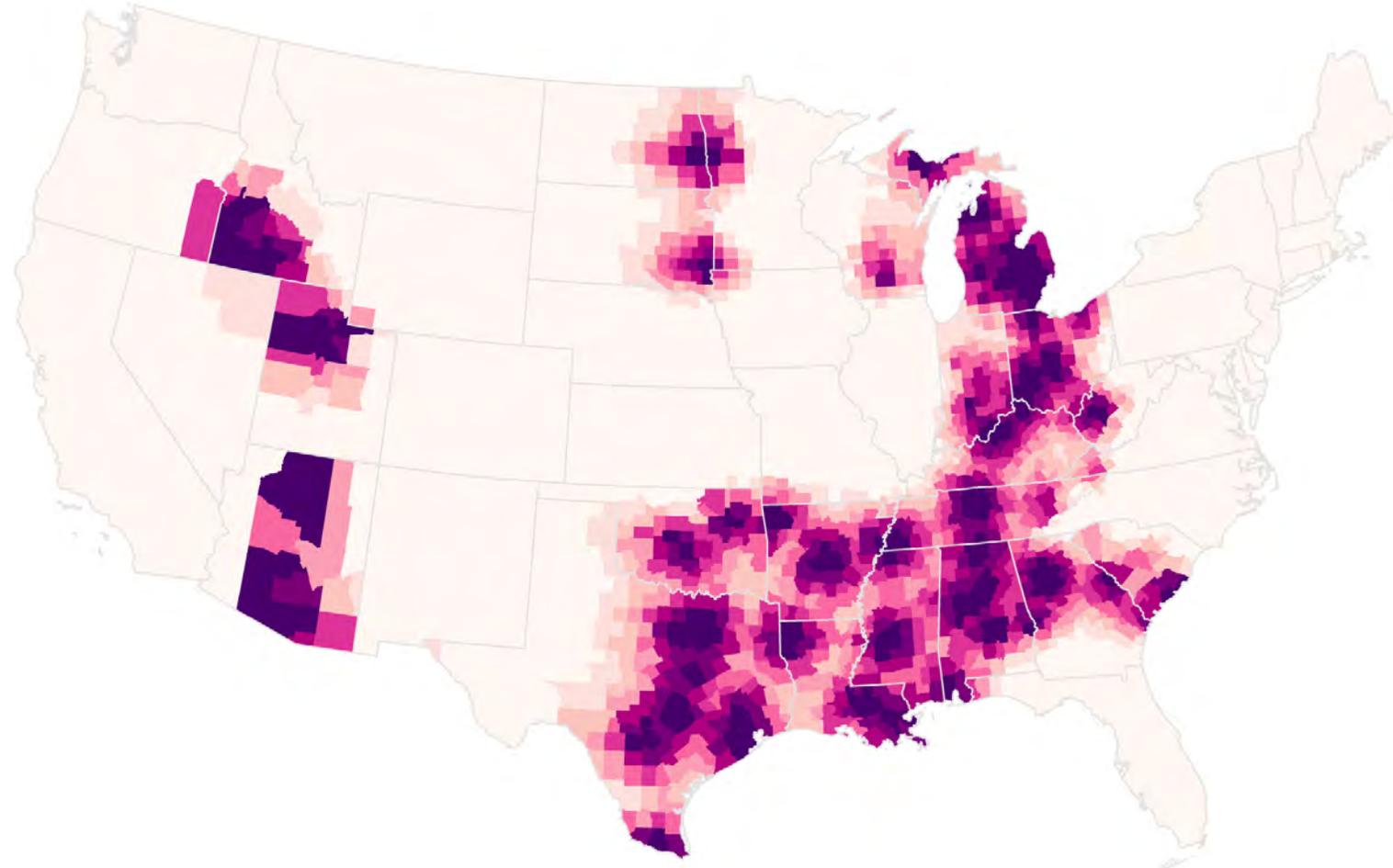
March 4, 2020



What questions am I going to focus on in this talk?

- Questions I'll address:
 - What do I do as an economist and why does it matter?
 - Are funding cuts and restrictions leading to clinic closures?
 - What are the direct effects (abortion rates, birth rates)?
 - What are the indirect effects (preventive care, finances)?
 - What would happen if Roe v. Wade is overturned?
- Not going to answer:
 - Is an embryo a person?
 - Is a fetus a person?
 - Is abortion part of a fundamental right to privacy?

What happens if Roe v. Wade were overturned?



Predicted decline in legal abortions



-37 -33 -29 -26 -23 -18 -12 -5%

Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/07/18/upshot/roe-v-wade-abortion-maps-planned-parenthood.html>

Who am I? Why am I here?



Source: CNN, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hk53qOhq40M>, <https://www.nbc.com/saturday-night-live/video/joyride-with-perot/n10313>

Isn't economics just about math and money?

$\sqrt{-1}$ ❤️
Math



I'm more of a natural experiment hunter in my research

Demography (2019) 56:2005–2031

The Impact of the Flint Water Crisis on Fertility

Daniel S. Grossman¹ • David J.G. Slusky²

Received: 25 October 2017 | Revised: 2 April 2019 | Accepted: 5 April 2019

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Did UberX reduce ambulance volume?

Leon Moskatel¹ | David Slusky² 

Journal of Health Economics 65 (2019) 48–62

Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](#)

Journal of Health Economics

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/econbase



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WILEY

Health
Economics

Reproductive health care in Catholic-owned hospitals

Elaine L. Hill^{a,*}, David J.G. Slusky^b, Donna K. Ginther^{b,c}

This is crucial because I often can't run experiments

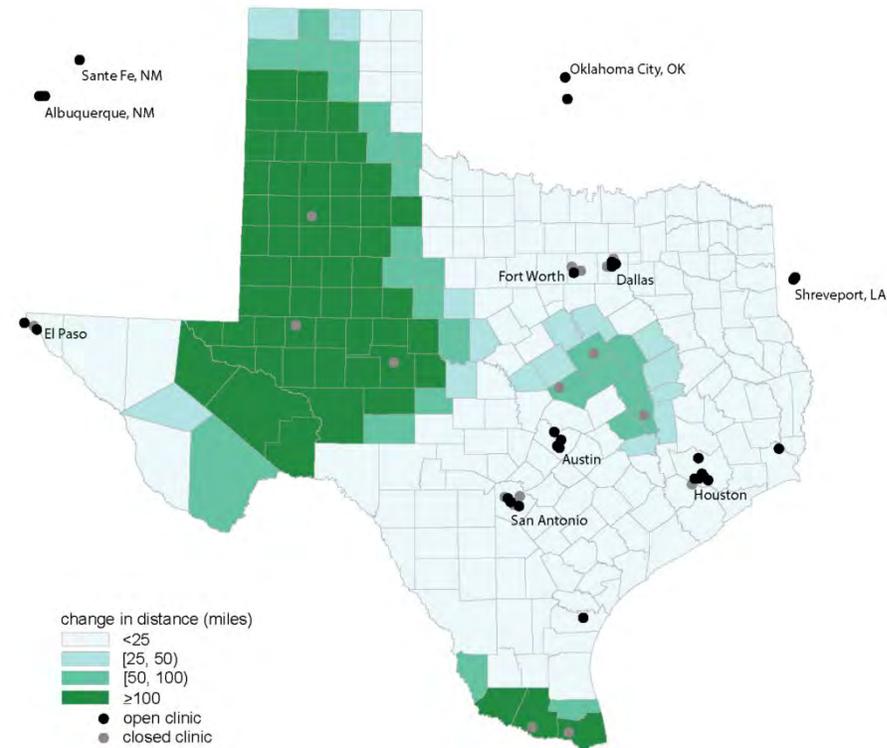
- Too expensive financially
- Too time consuming
- Logistically infeasible
- Unfair
- Unethical

For example, here are experiments I could never run

- Randomly close half the abortion clinics
- Randomly give half the honors undergraduate students an F in my course to see how it affects their job prospects
- Decide randomly which REI or GRF grants to fund
- Randomly cut half the faculty's salary by 30% to see how much more consulting they do
- Randomly raise half of faculty salaries by 30% and see how much less research they do
- But I do have enough data to work on these topics if and only if I can find a natural experiment...

The natural experiment is closures from policy changes

Figure 2: Change in distance to the nearest abortion clinic, Q2 2013 to Q4 2013

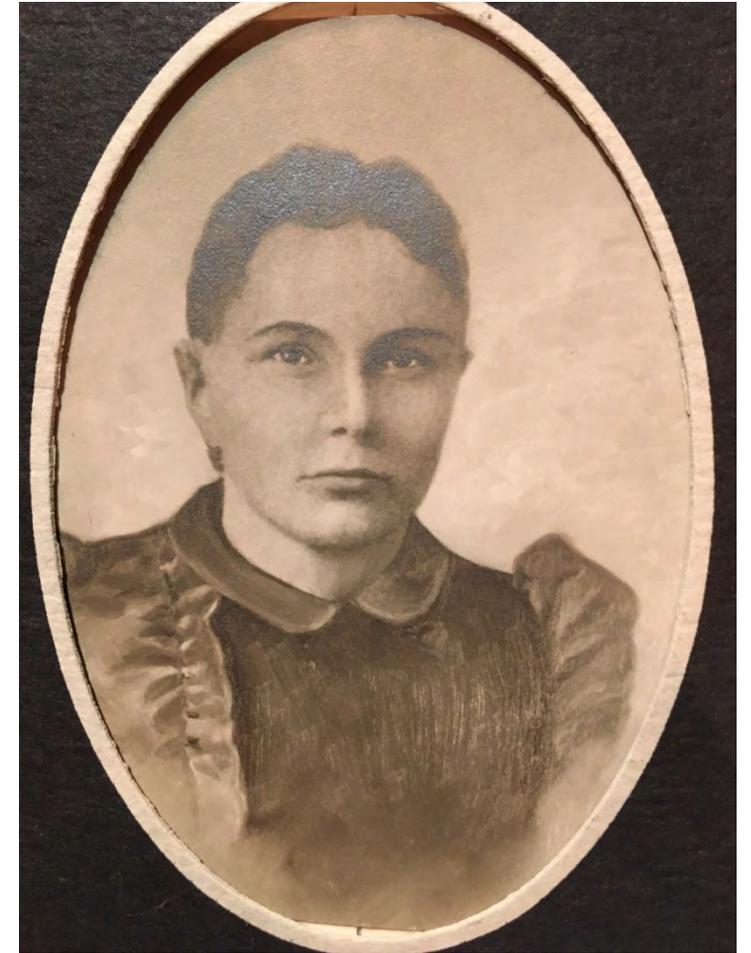
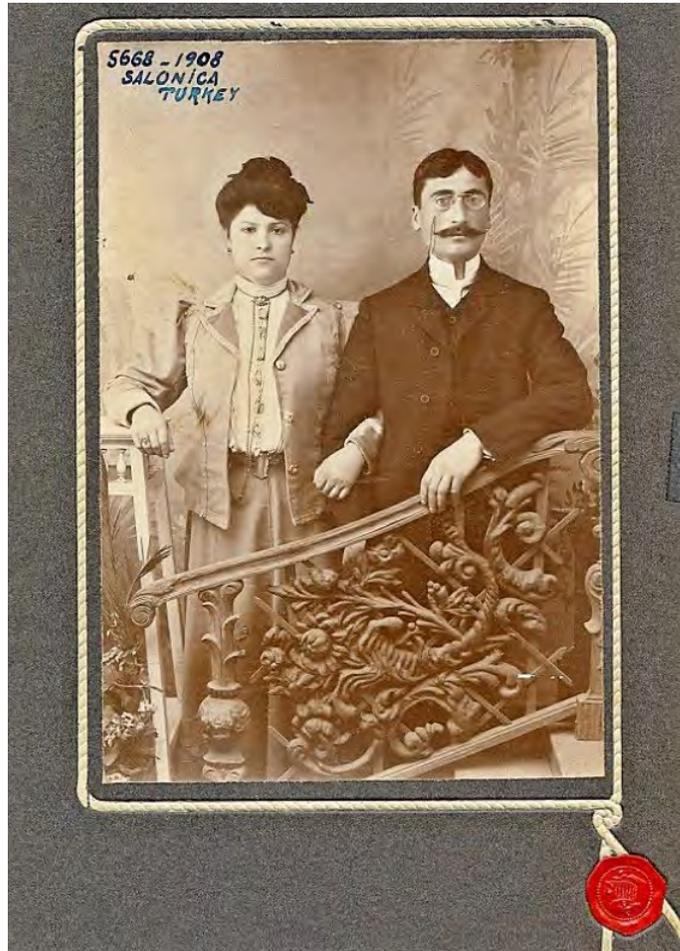


Source: Lindo, Myers, Schlosser, Cunningham (Journal of Human Resources, 2019)

This is a topic that we all care deeply about

- Reproduction and mastery of destiny are ancient parts of the human condition that have often been in conflict
- Modern technology has diminished this conflict
- Humanity currently has substantial control over its reproduction and therefore also its destiny
- But we are now facing a future where that is less the case
- Economists help quantify what this future may look like
- These results are crucial input to our decision making

Reproductive challenges are in all of our families



Where were we in the United States in the early 2010s?

- 45% of pregnancies were unintended
 - 27% of pregnancies were wanted later
 - 18% of pregnancies were unwanted
- Rates per woman 15-44 of unintended pregnancy were
 - 5x for the poor (<100% FPL) vs. not low income (>200% FPL)
 - 3x for those without a high school degree vs. college graduate
 - 2x for black women vs. white women (all non-Hispanic)
- 42% of unintended pregnancies ended in abortion
- 24% of women 15-44 will have had an abortion by age 45

Source: Finer and Zolna (New England Journal of Medicine, 2016), Jones and Jerman (American Journal of Public Health, 2017)

Characteristics of women obtaining abortions (2014)

- 12% are under age 20
- 12% are over age 34
- 45% are married or cohabitating
- 59% have had at least one prior birth
- 49% are poor (<100% FPL)
- 75% are low income (<200% FPL)
- 36% are Evangelical Protestant or Roman Catholic
- 28% are uninsured (36% w/o ACA Medicaid expansion)

Source: Guttmacher Institute (2016)

Texas cut the family planning budget by \$73.6MM (65%)

FAMILY UNPLANNED: TEXAS CUTS FUNDING FOR WOMEN'S REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH CARE

Family Unplanned: Texas Cuts Funding for Women's Reproductive Health Care

Sep 26, 2011, 6:01pm teddywilson

At a time when America is facing the greatest economic downturn since the Great Depression, when poverty rates in Texas are rising, and the uninsured rate in Texas is the highest in the nation, the Republican dominated Texas legislature cut funding for programs prove to helping working women while increasing funding for religious organizations that do nothing for women's health care.

Source: <https://rewire.news/article/2011/09/26/family-unplanned-texas-cuts-funding-women-reproductive-health-care/>

Texas also excluded abortion affiliates from funding

POLITICS 03/15/2012 05:39 pm ET | Updated Mar 16, 2012

Texas Loses Entire Women's Health Program Over Planned Parenthood Law

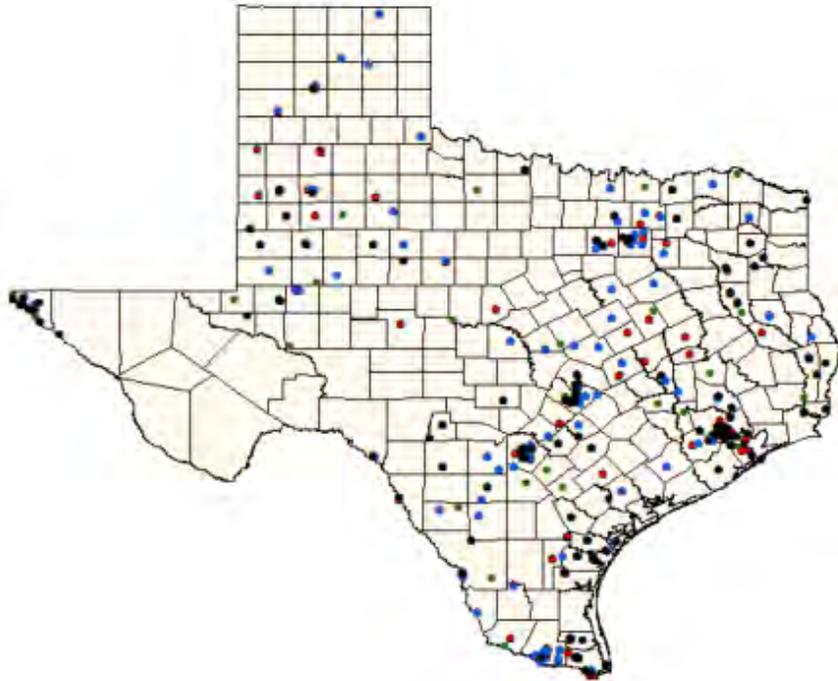


By Laura Bassett

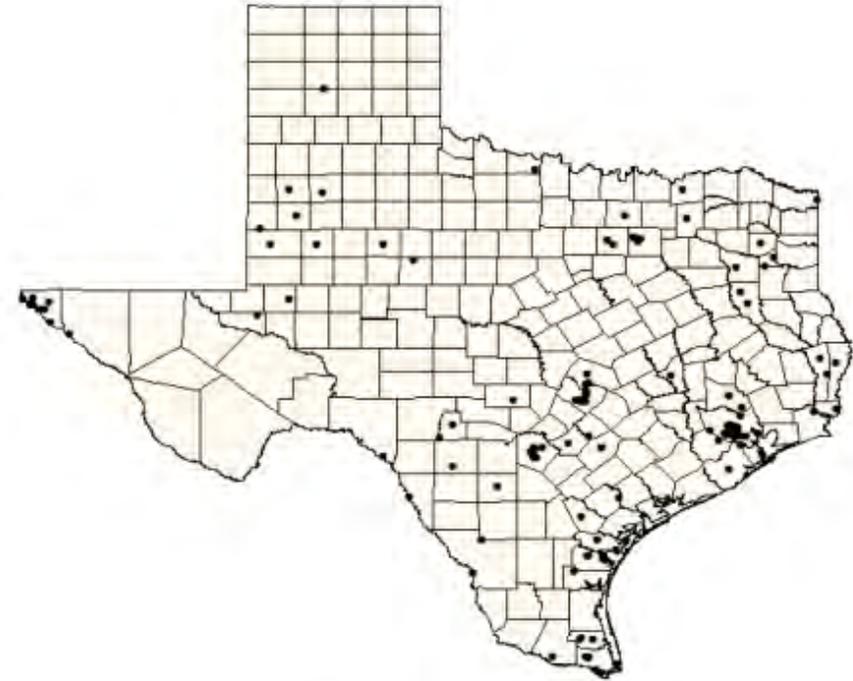
The Department of Health and Human Services announced on Thursday that it will cut off all Medicaid funding for family planning to the state of Texas, following Gov. Rick Perry's (R) decision to implement a new law that excludes Planned Parenthood from the state's Medicaid Women's Health Program.

Sources: https://www.huffpost.com/entry/texas-loses-entire-womens_n_1349431

Leading to many family planning clinic closures



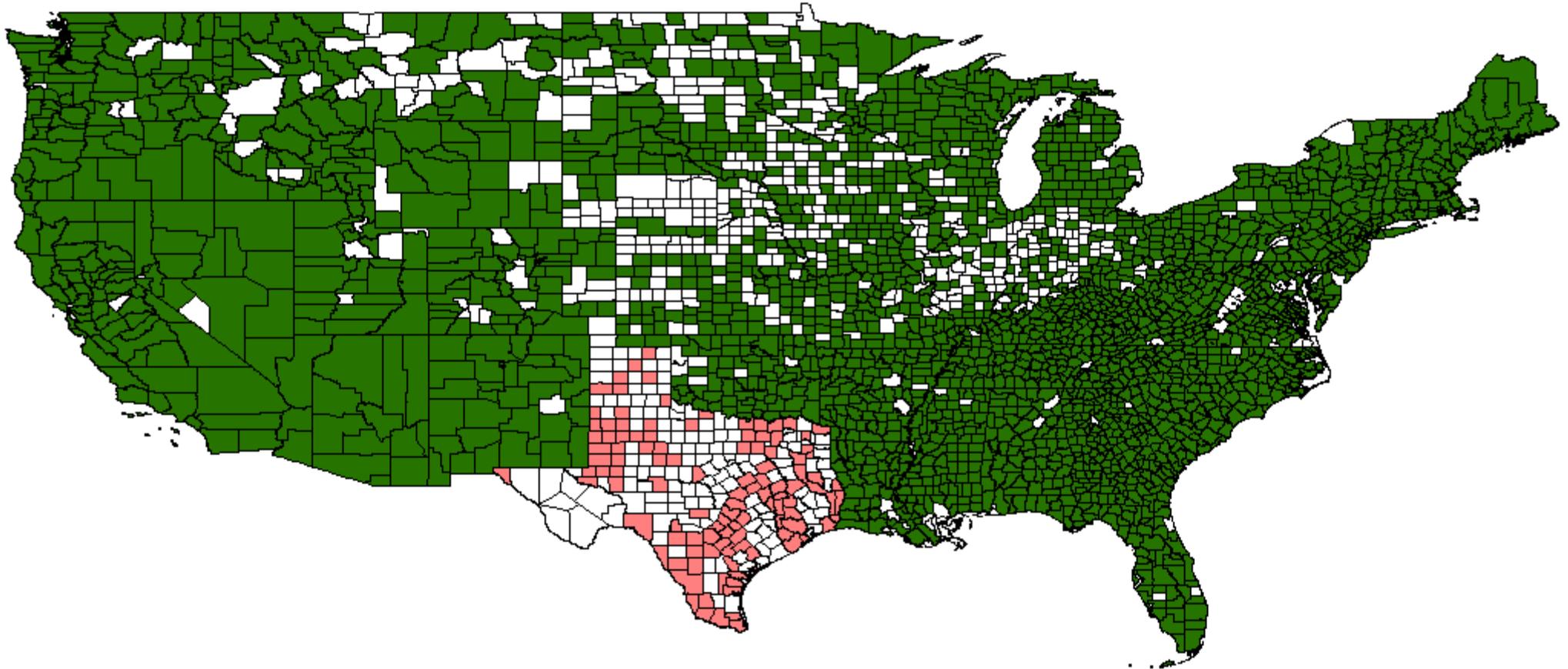
2010



2013

Source: Packham (Journal of Health Economics, 2016)

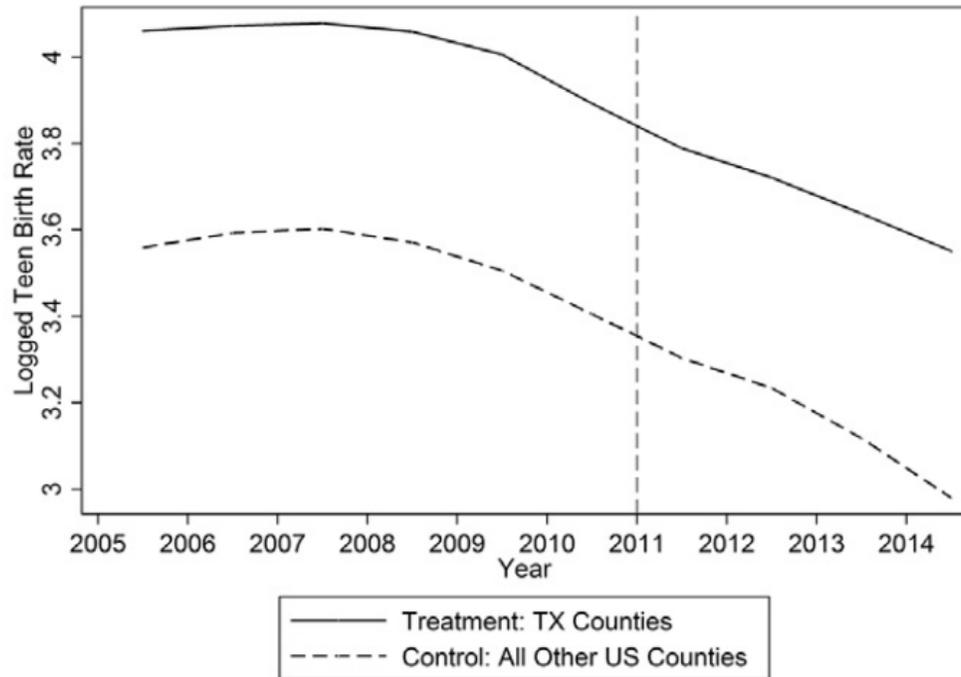
One can compare counties with clinics across the U.S.



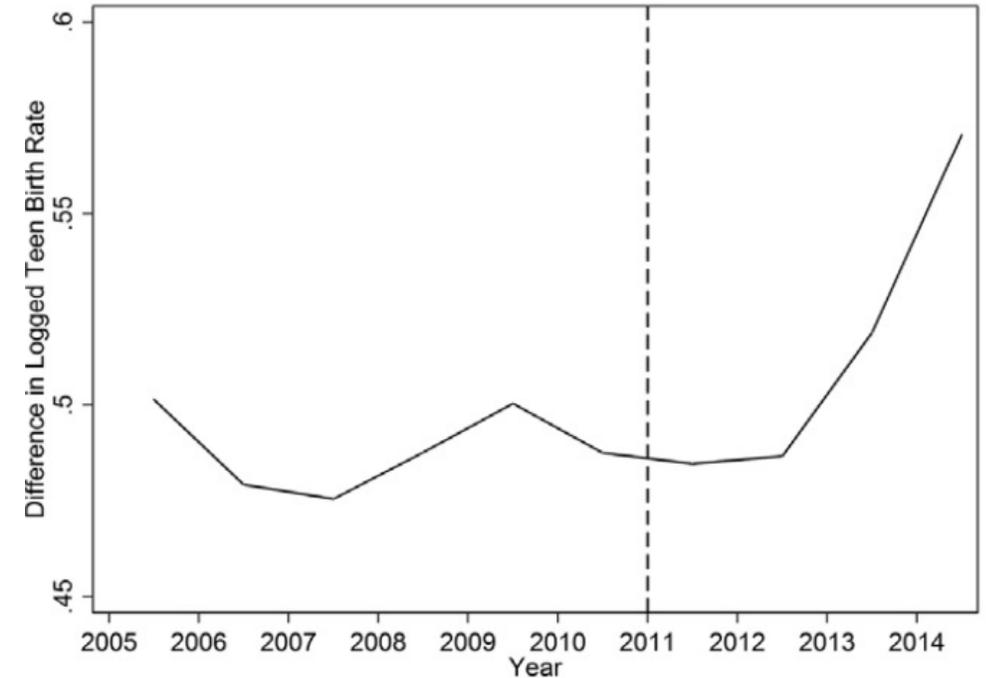
Source: Packham (Journal of Health Economics, 2016)

And find a 3.4% increase in teen birth rates

Logged Teen Birth Rates in Counties with Publicly Funded Clinics



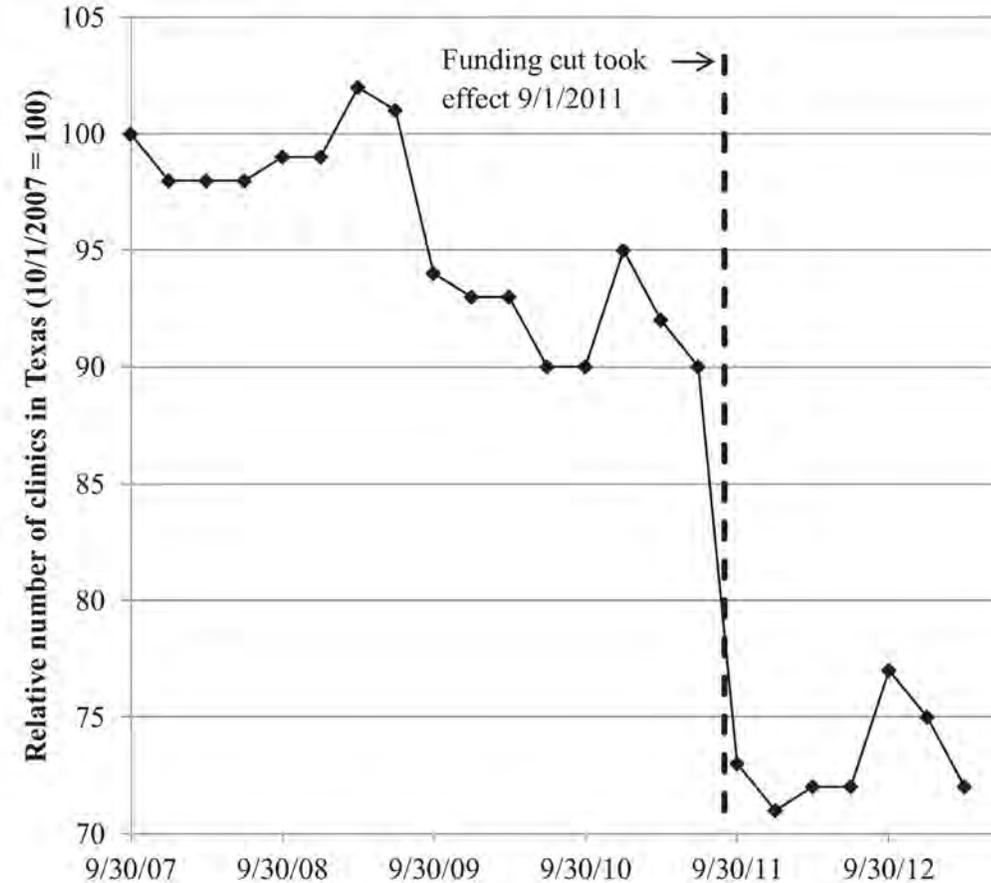
Difference in Logged Teen Birth Rates



Source: Packham (Journal of Health Economics, 2016)

I used data from a particular network of clinics

FIGURE 1. Relative number of clinics in Texas



Source: Lu and Slusky (American Journal of Health Economics, 2019)

Wisconsin also restricted women's health funding

Walker's elimination of family planning funds could jeopardize federal dollars, close clinics

JUDITH DAVIDOFF | The Capital Times | jdavidoff@madison.com **Mar 8, 2011**

POLITICS 06/21/2011 03:28 pm ET | Updated Aug 21, 2011

Wisconsin Set To Defund Planned Parenthood, Slash Family Planning

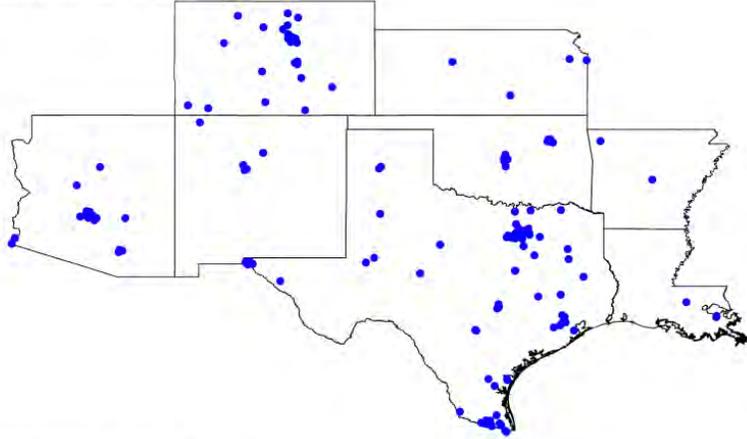


By Laura Bassett

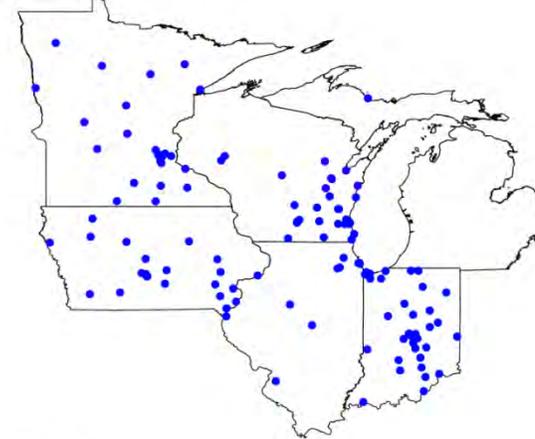
Sources: https://madison.com/ct/news/local/govt-and-politics/walker-s-elimination-of-family-planning-funds-could-jeopardize-federal/article_64a1c08e-4943-11e0-9cac-001cc4c03286.html, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/wisconsin-fourth-state-to-defund-planned-parenthood_n_881504

I wrote a paper based on this cuts and clinic closures

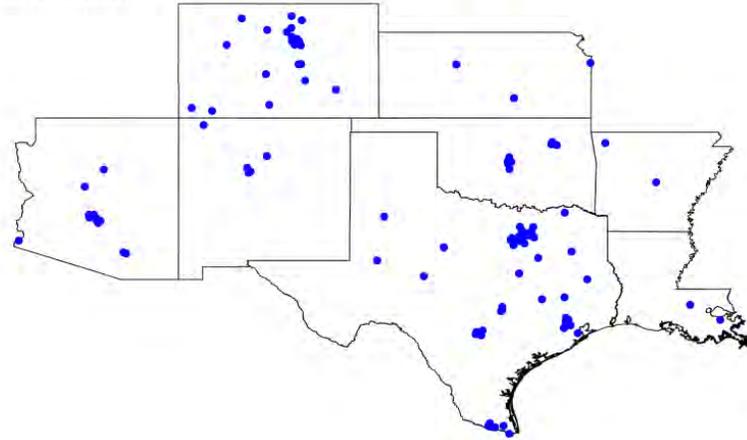
Panel A. October 1, 2007



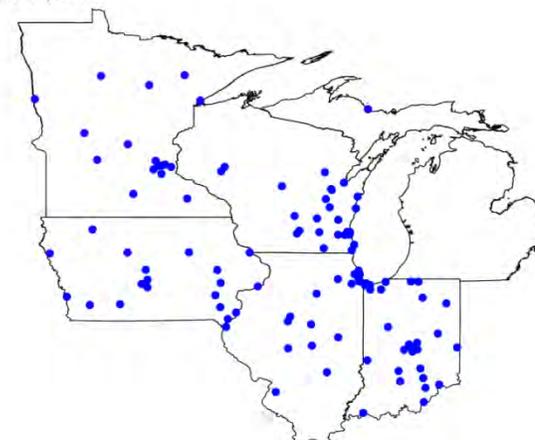
Panel A. October 1, 2007



Panel B. December 31, 2012



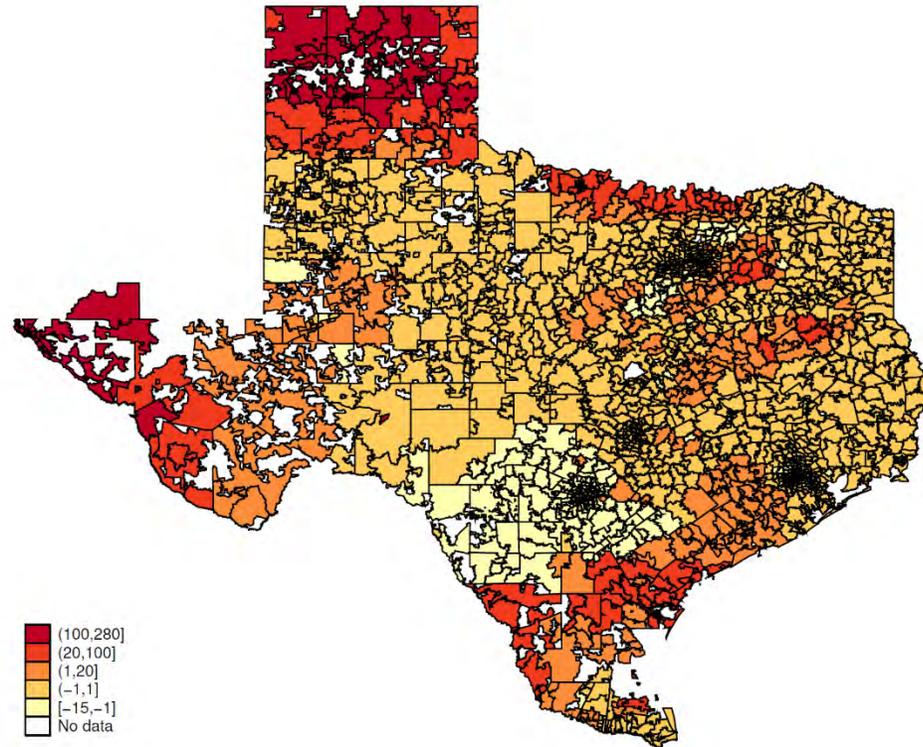
Panel B. December 31, 2012



Source: Lu and Slusky (American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 2016)

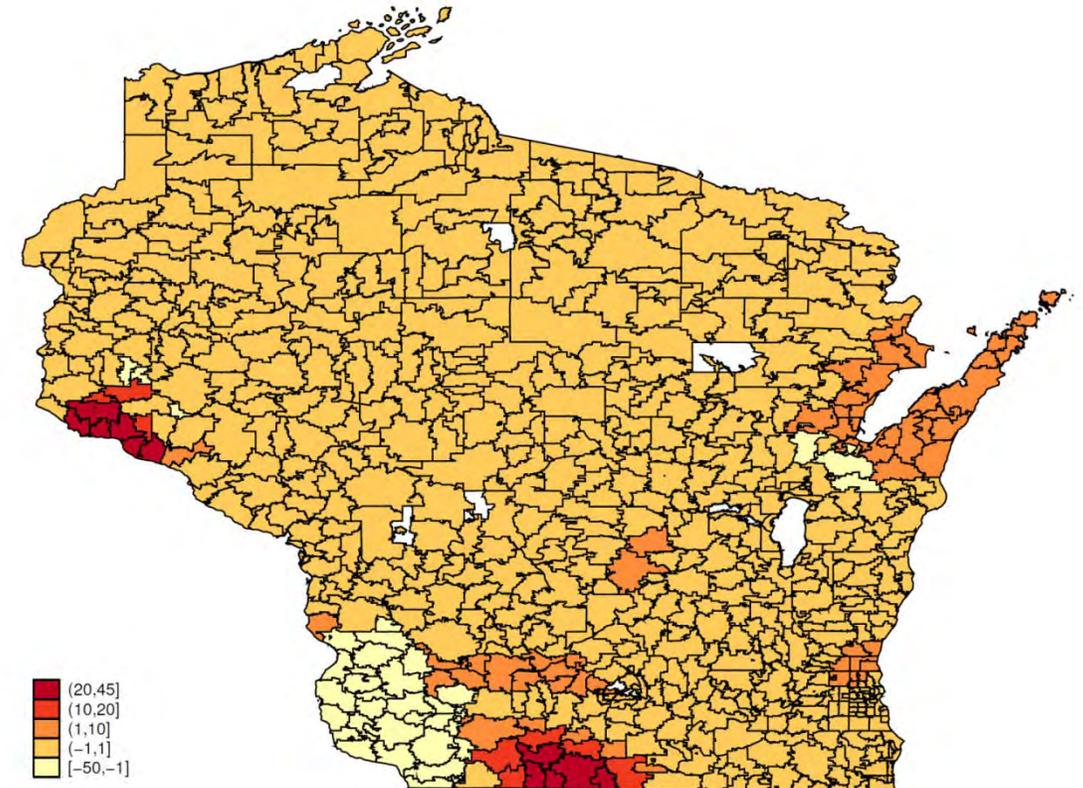
Large increase in driving distance to the nearest clinic

FIGURE 3. CHANGES IN DRIVING DISTANCE TO NEAREST CLINIC, TEXAS



Notes: This map shows the distribution of changes in driving distance (mi) to the nearest clinic, between August 16, 2008, and December 31, 2012.

FIGURE 4. CHANGES IN DRIVING DISTANCE TO NEAREST CLINIC, WISCONSIN



Source: Lu and Slusky (American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 2016)

Getting the birth data was controversial

The Washington Post

February 19, 2016

Texas health official out of job over study...

“It’s one thing for an agency to provide data upon request. It’s quite another to be listed as a ‘co-author’ on a deeply flawed and highly political report....I’ve communicated strong concerns to the agency. This should not have happened, and we need to make sure it doesn’t happen again.”

– Texas State Sen. Jane Nelson



↑100 mi → births ↑1.2%; unmarried ↑2.4%; +690 births

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF HEALTH ECONOMICS

THE IMPACT OF WOMEN'S HEALTH

CLINIC CLOSURES ON FERTILITY

YAO LU

DAVID J. G. SLUSKY

Source: Lu and Slusky (American Journal of Health Economics 2019)

Texas HB2: >20 weeks ban and healthcare restrictions

The New York Times

Filibuster in Texas Senate Tries to Halt Abortion Bill



State Senator Wendy Davis started a filibuster at 11:18 a.m. Tuesday in the hope of holding the floor by talking until the Senate's special session ended at midnight. Eric Gay/Associated Press

By Manny Fernandez

June 25, 2013

The New York Times

Abortion Restrictions Become Law in Texas, but Opponents Will Press Fight



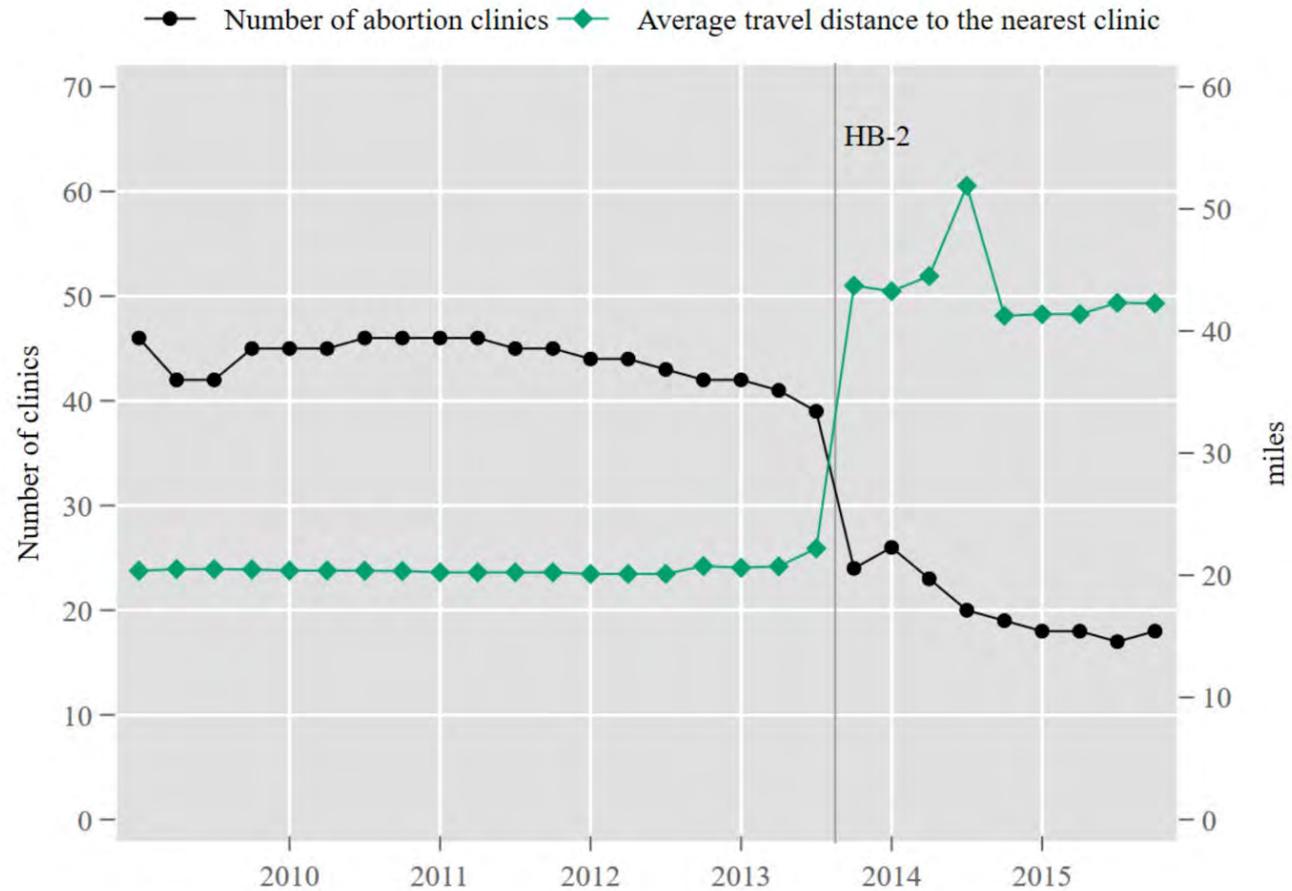
Gov. Rick Perry spoke at a signing ceremony Thursday for House Bill 2, which bans abortions after 20 weeks of pregnancy and includes other restrictions. Jay Janner/Austin American-Statesman, via Associated Press

By Manny Fernandez

July 18, 2013

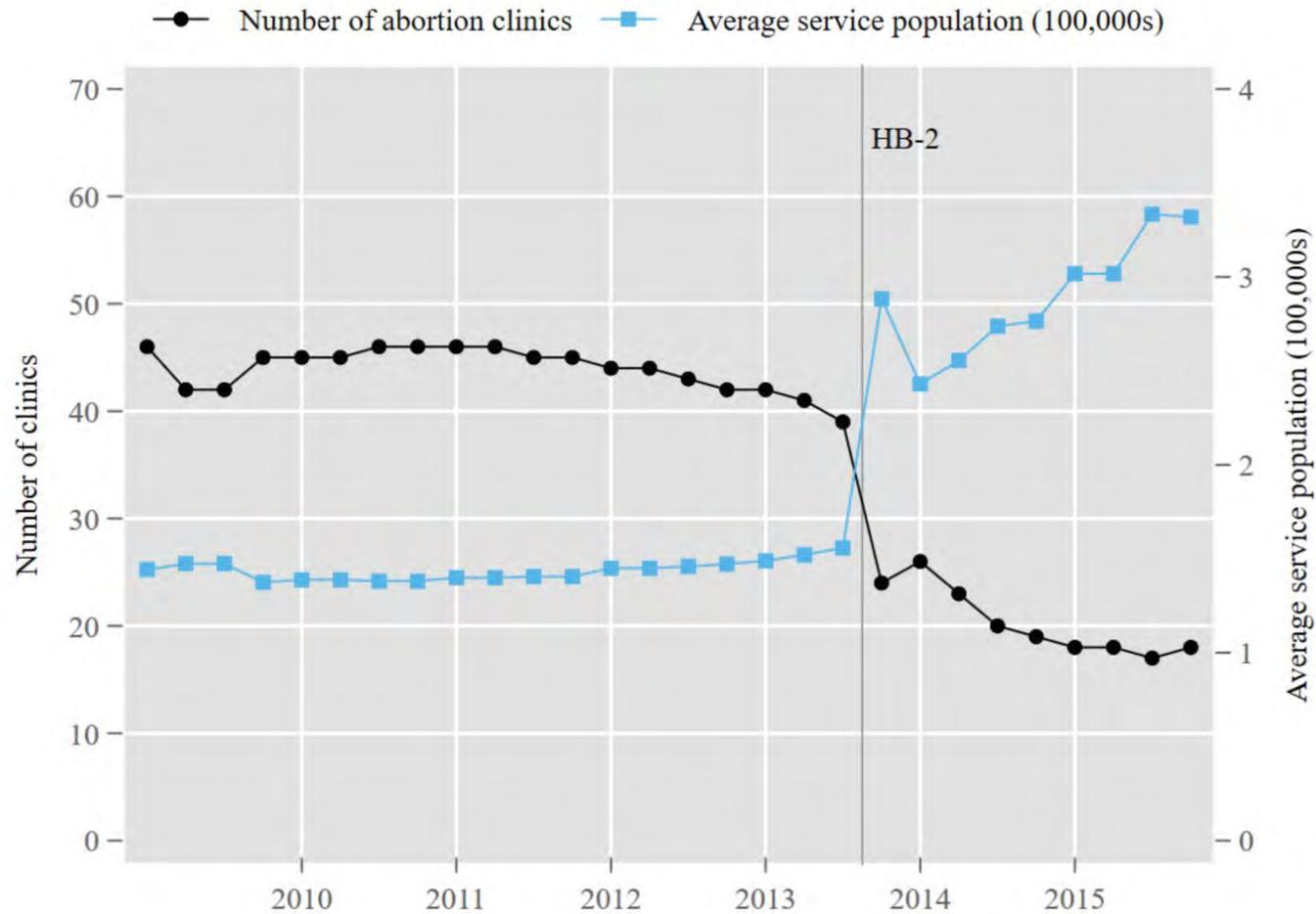
Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/26/us/politics/senate-democrats-in-texas-try-blocking-abortion-bill-with-filibuster.html>,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/19/us/perry-signs-texas-abortion-restrictions-into-law.html>

HB2 resulted in more clinic closures



Source: Lindo, Myers, Schlosser, Cunningham (Journal of Human Resources, 2019)

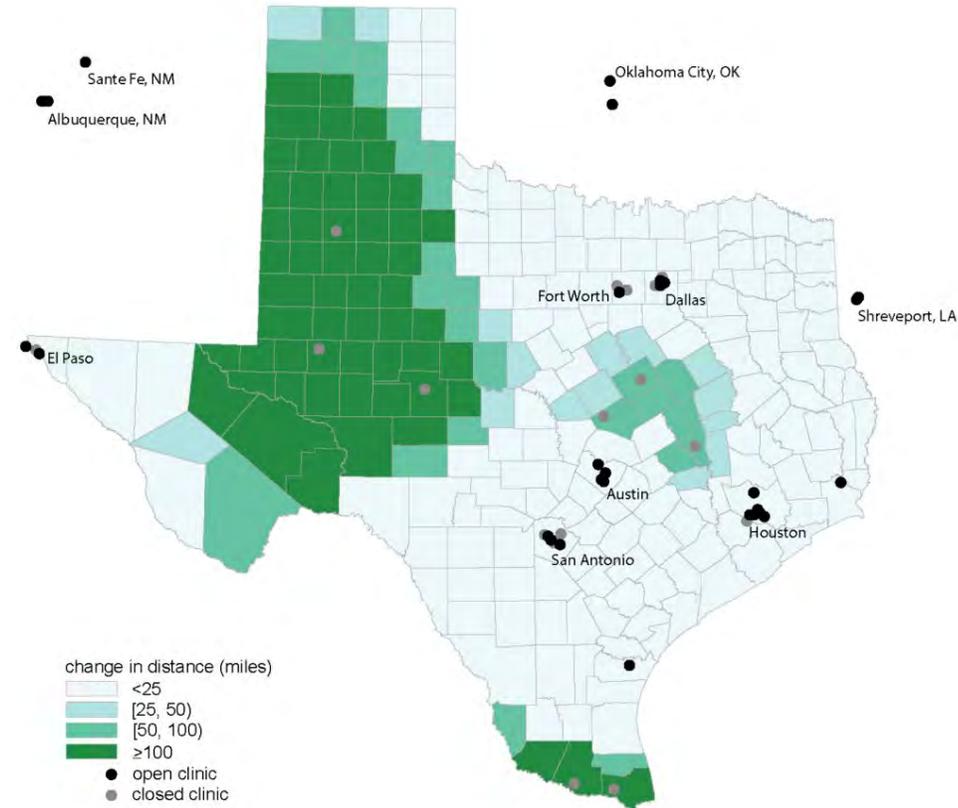
And strain on the remaining clinics



Source: Lindo, Myers, Schlosser, Cunningham (Journal of Human Resources, 2019)

This change in driving distance was felt across Texas

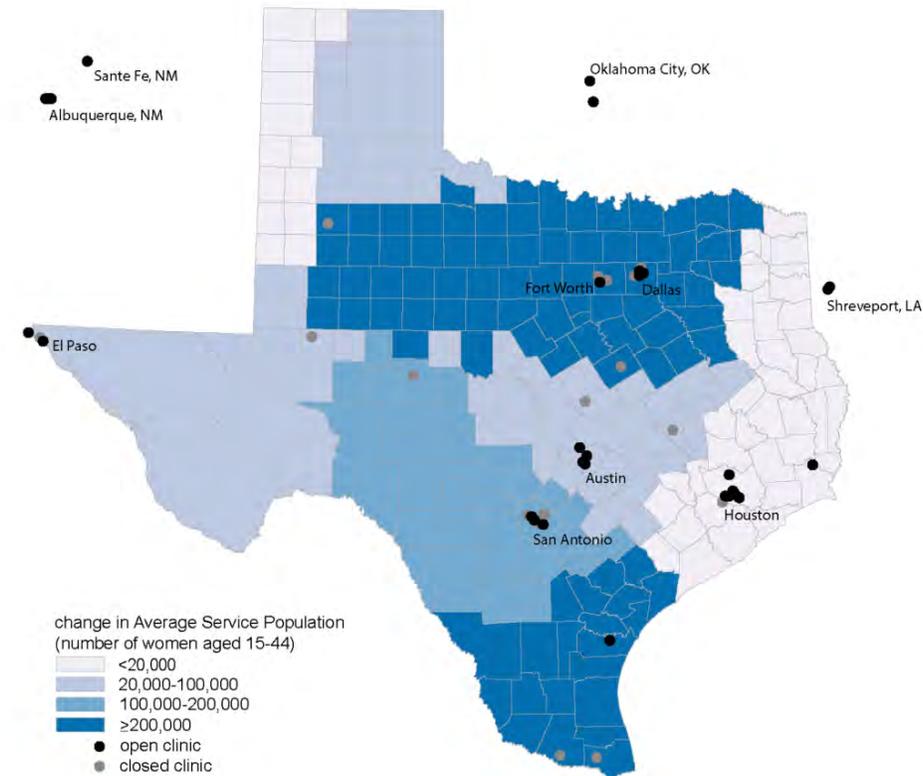
Figure 2: Change in distance to the nearest abortion clinic, Q2 2013 to Q4 2013



Source: Lindo, Myers, Schlosser, Cunningham (Journal of Human Resources, 2019)

As was the change in average service population

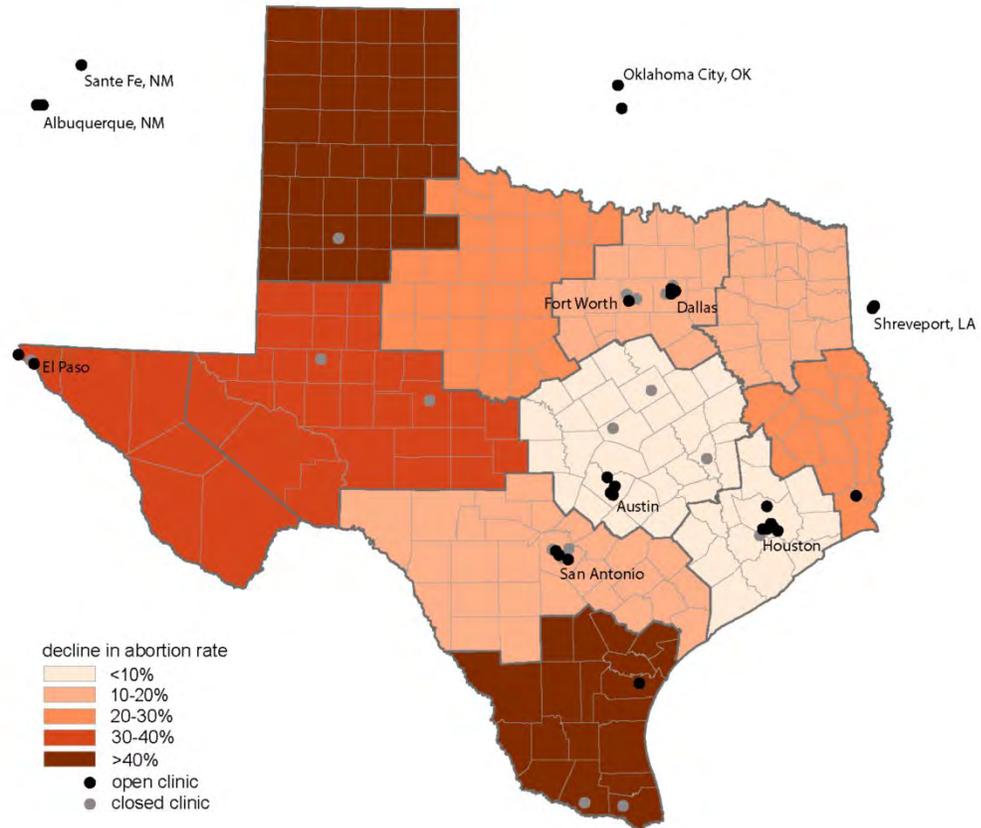
Figure 3: Change in Average Service Population, Q2 2013 to Q4 2013



Source: Lindo, Myers, Schlosser, Cunningham (Journal of Human Resources, 2019)

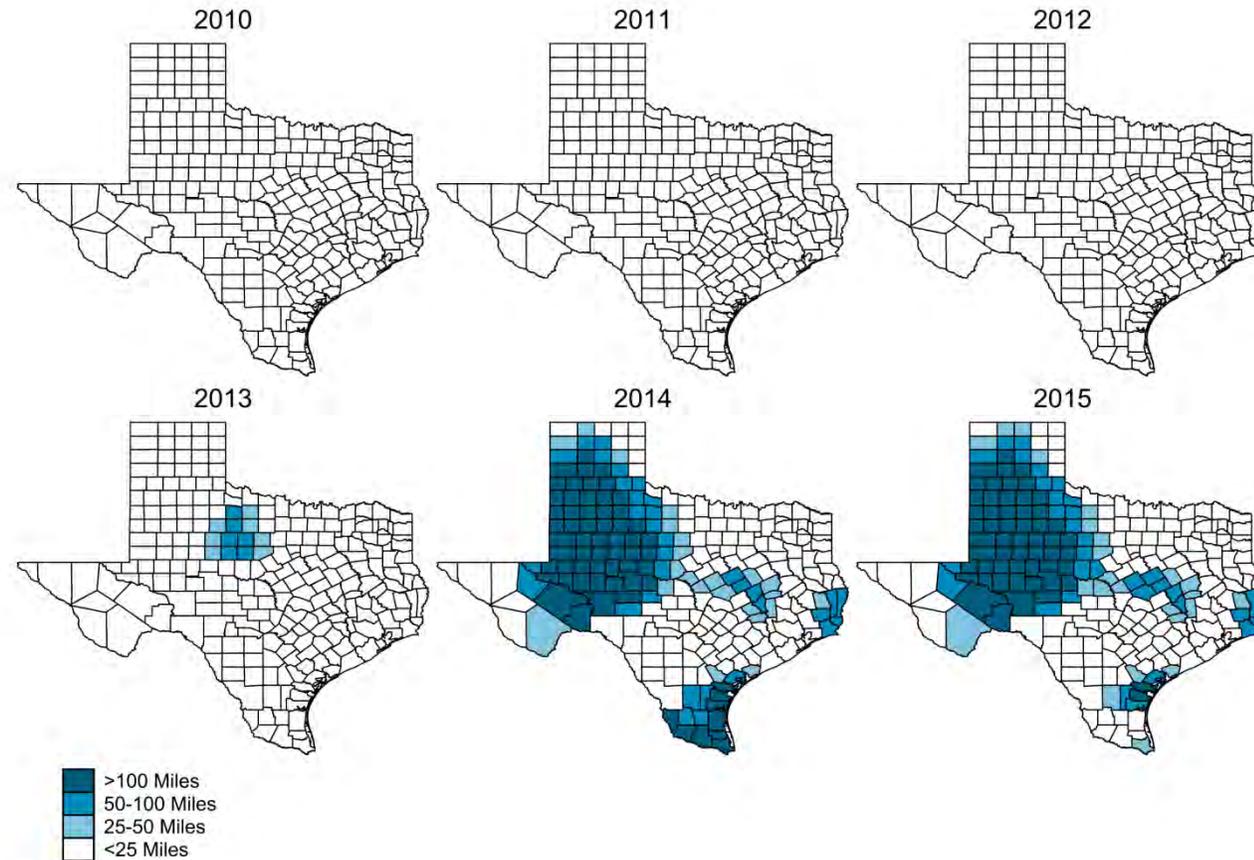
0-50 mi to 50-100 mi reduced abortion rates by 16%

Figure 4: Percent change in abortion rates by public health region, 2013 to 2014



Source: Lindo, Myers, Schlosser, Cunningham (Journal of Human Resources, 2019)

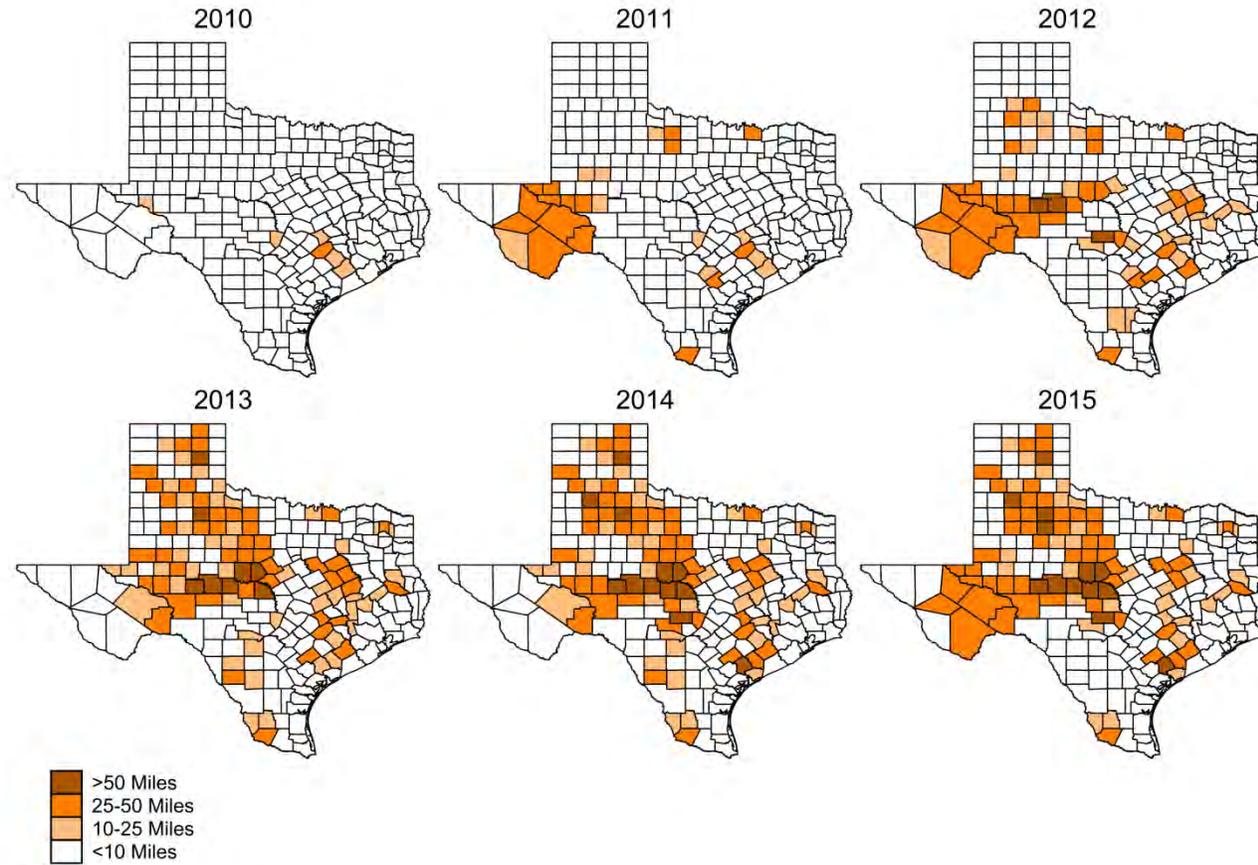
Another paper found similar results



Change in access to abortion clinics.

Source: Fischer, Royer, White (Journal of Public Economics, 2018)

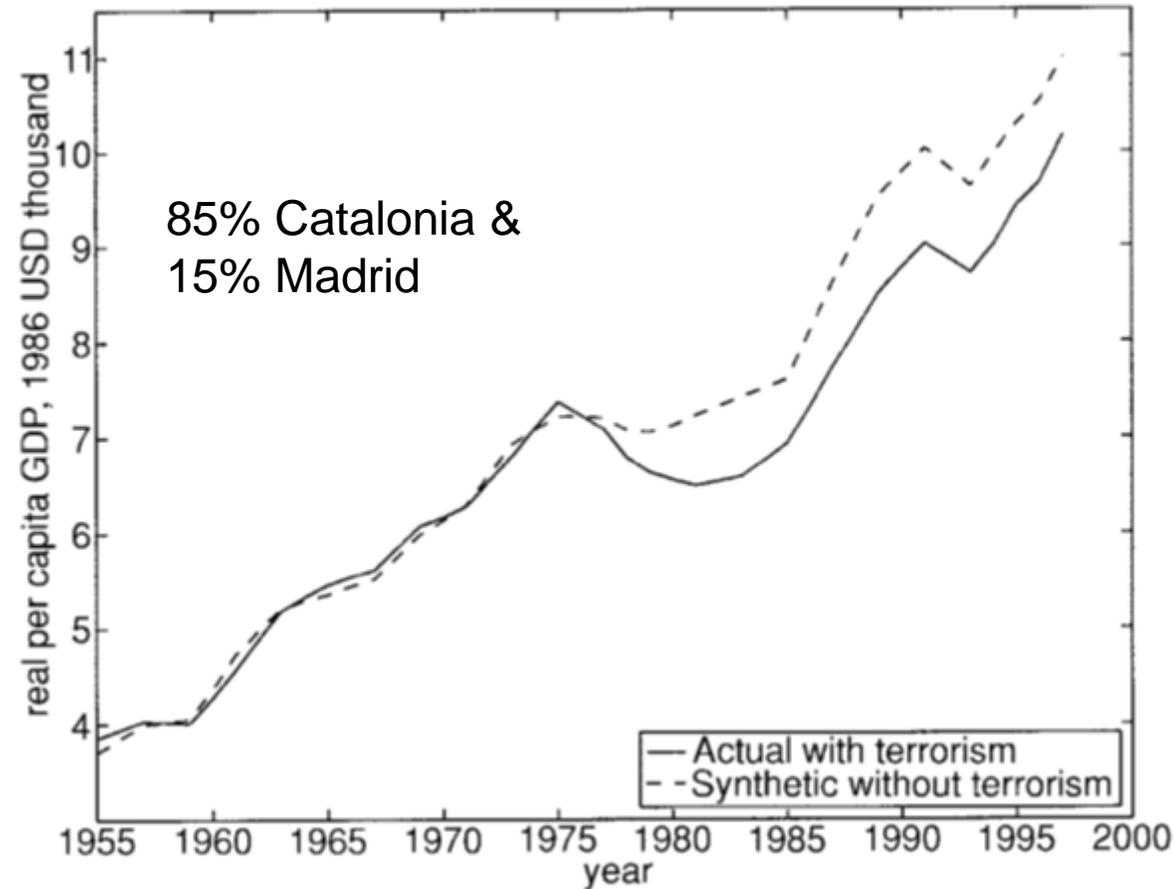
And for family planning clinics as well



Change in access to publicly funded family planning clinics.

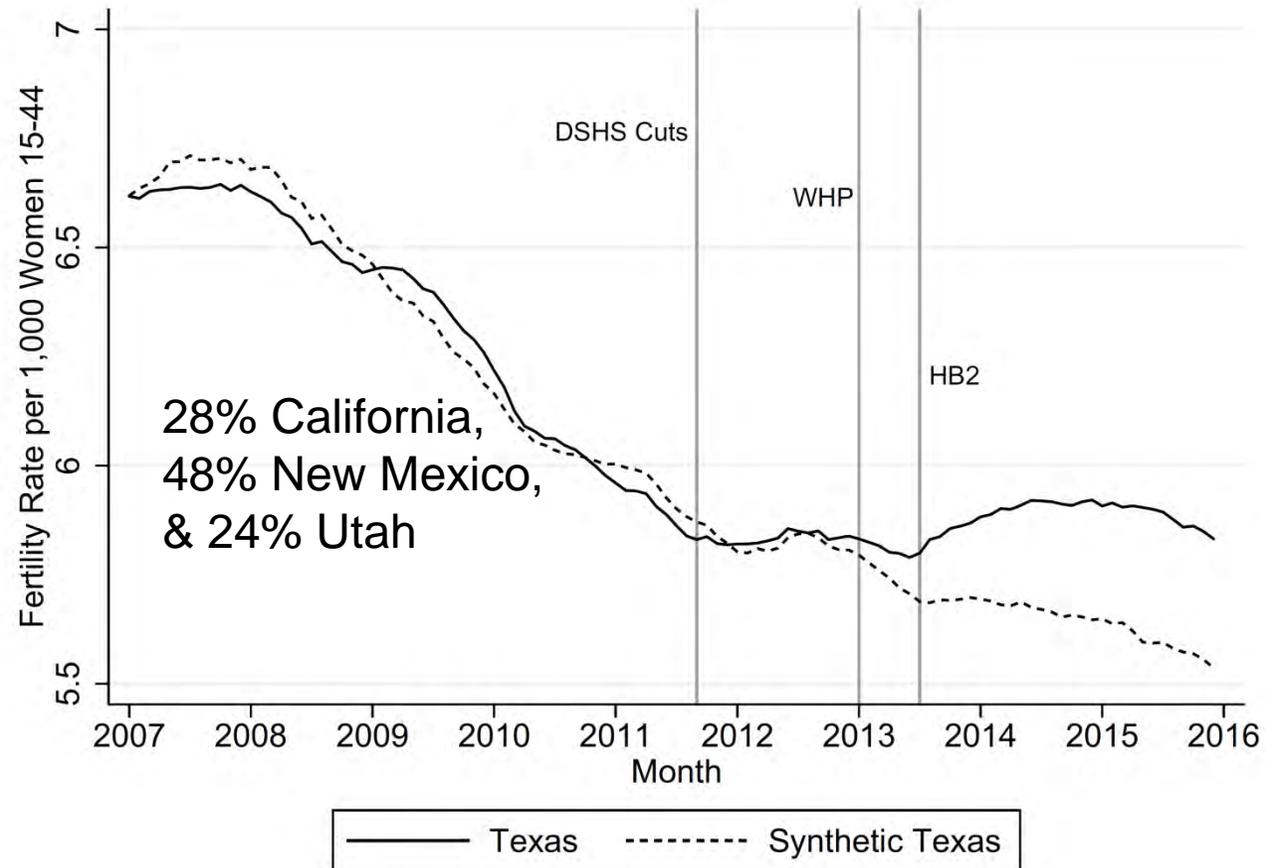
Source: Fischer, Royer, White (Journal of Public Economics, 2018)

Synthetic control: first used to study Basque terrorism



Source: Abadie and Gardeazabal (American Economic Review, 2003)

And even created a “Synthetic Texas” to see the impact



Source: Fischer, Royer, White (Journal of Public Economics, 2018)



Clinics in Wisconsin have continued to close

WISCONSIN NEWS

Planned Parenthood, citing budget cut, to close four rural Wisconsin centers

By Gitte Laasby of the Journal Sentinel

Feb. 18, 2013

Source: <http://archive.jsonline.com/news/wisconsin/planned-parenthood-citingbudget-cut-to-close-four-rural-wisconsin-centers-ns8qp79-191710011.html/#>

Aside: Economics has a strong working paper culture

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KANSAS

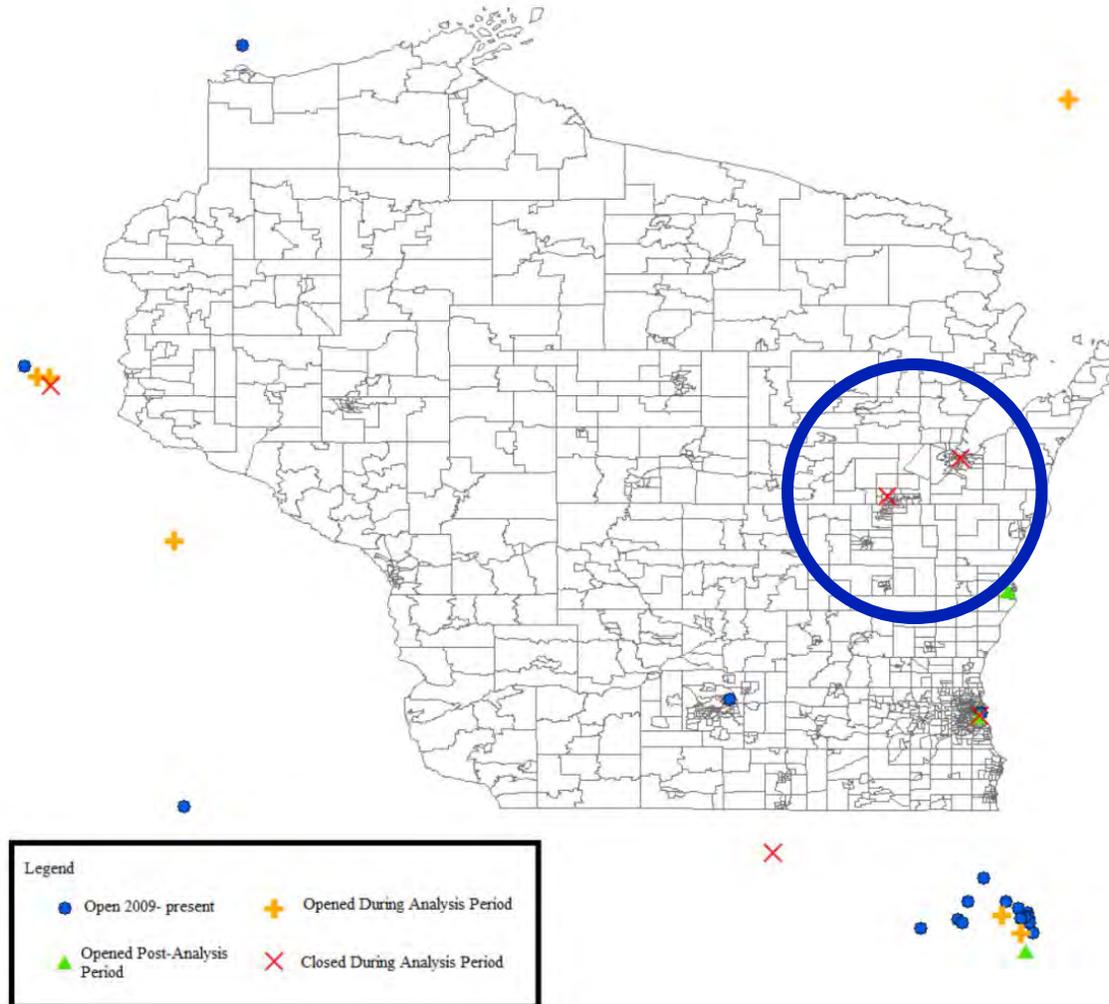


Department of Economics



**WORKING PAPERS SERIES
IN THEORETICAL AND APPLIED ECONOMICS**

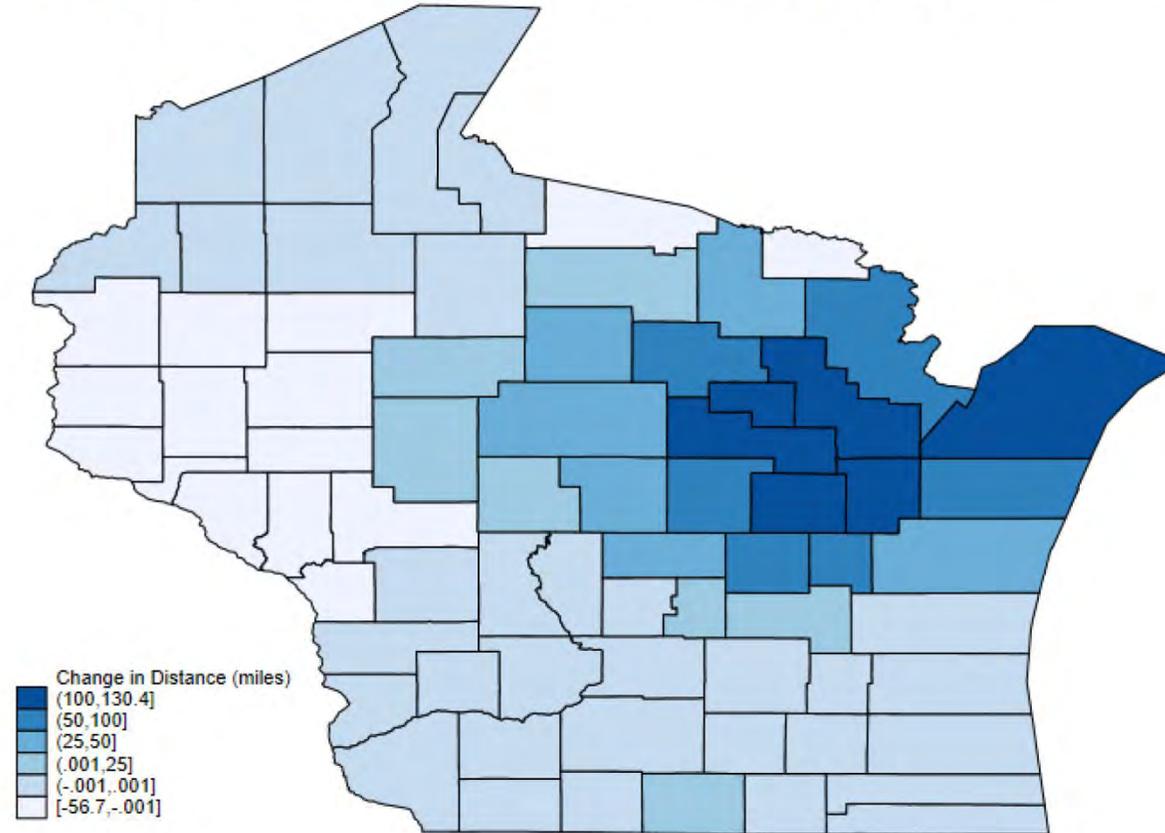
Clinics closed in Green Bay and in Appleton



Source: Venator and Fletcher (NBER Working Paper #26362, 2019)

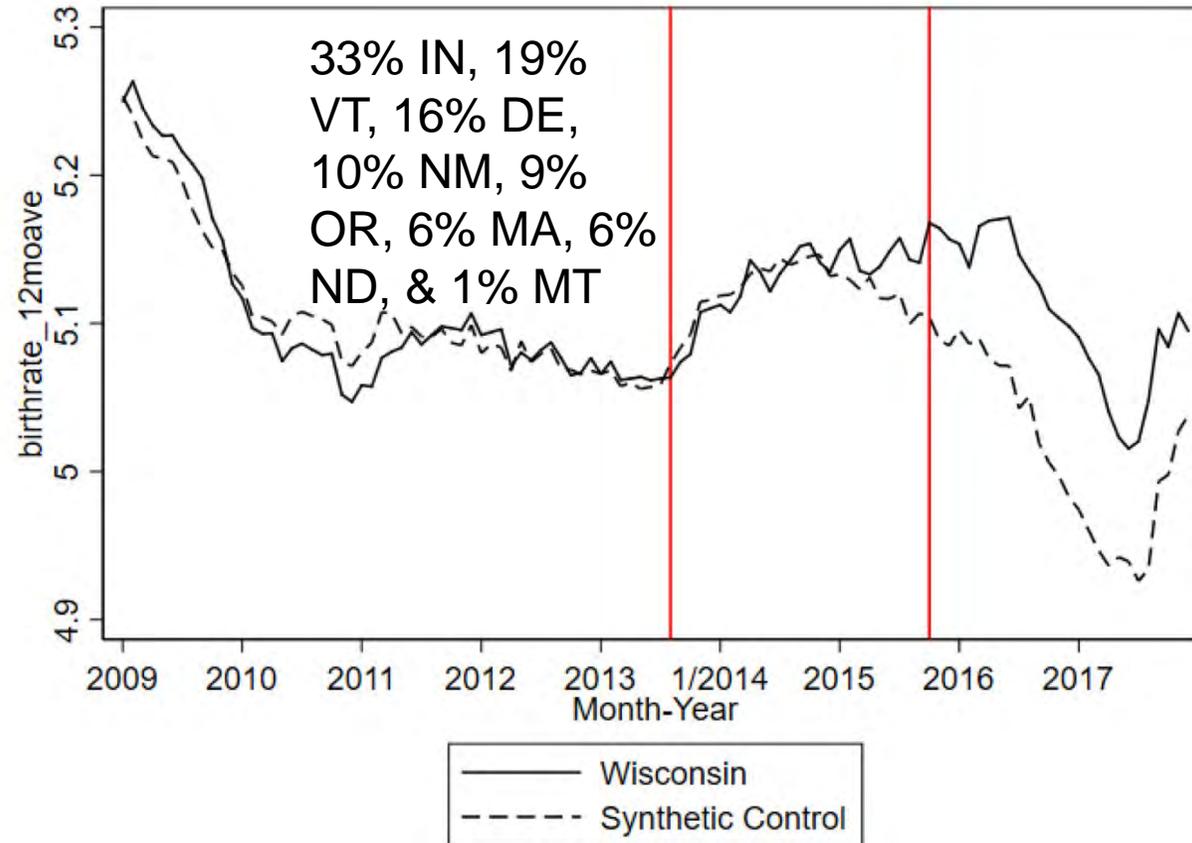
Leading to increases in driving distance

Change in Distance to Nearest Abortion Clinic, 2009 to 2017



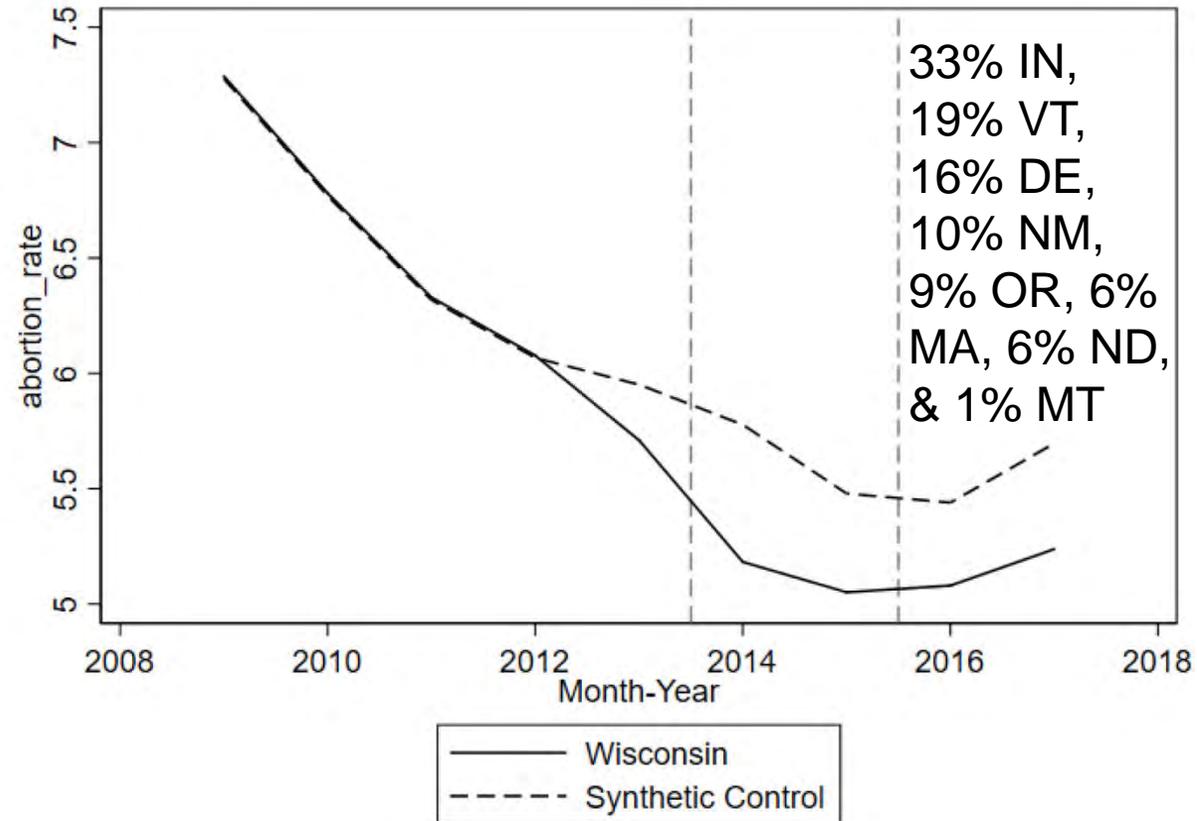
Source: Venator and Fletcher (NBER Working Paper #26362, 2019)

Wisconsin had higher birth rates (red lines = closures)



Source: Venator and Fletcher (NBER Working Paper #26362, 2019)

And decreases in the abortion rate (dotted = closures)



Source: Venator and Fletcher (NBER Working Paper #26362, 2019)

New laws mandate waiting periods before an abortion

Tennessee Senate OKs 48-hour abortion wait period

Anita Wadhvani The Tennessean

Published 6:14 p.m. ET Apr. 15, 2015 | Updated 6:15 p.m. ET Apr. 15, 2015

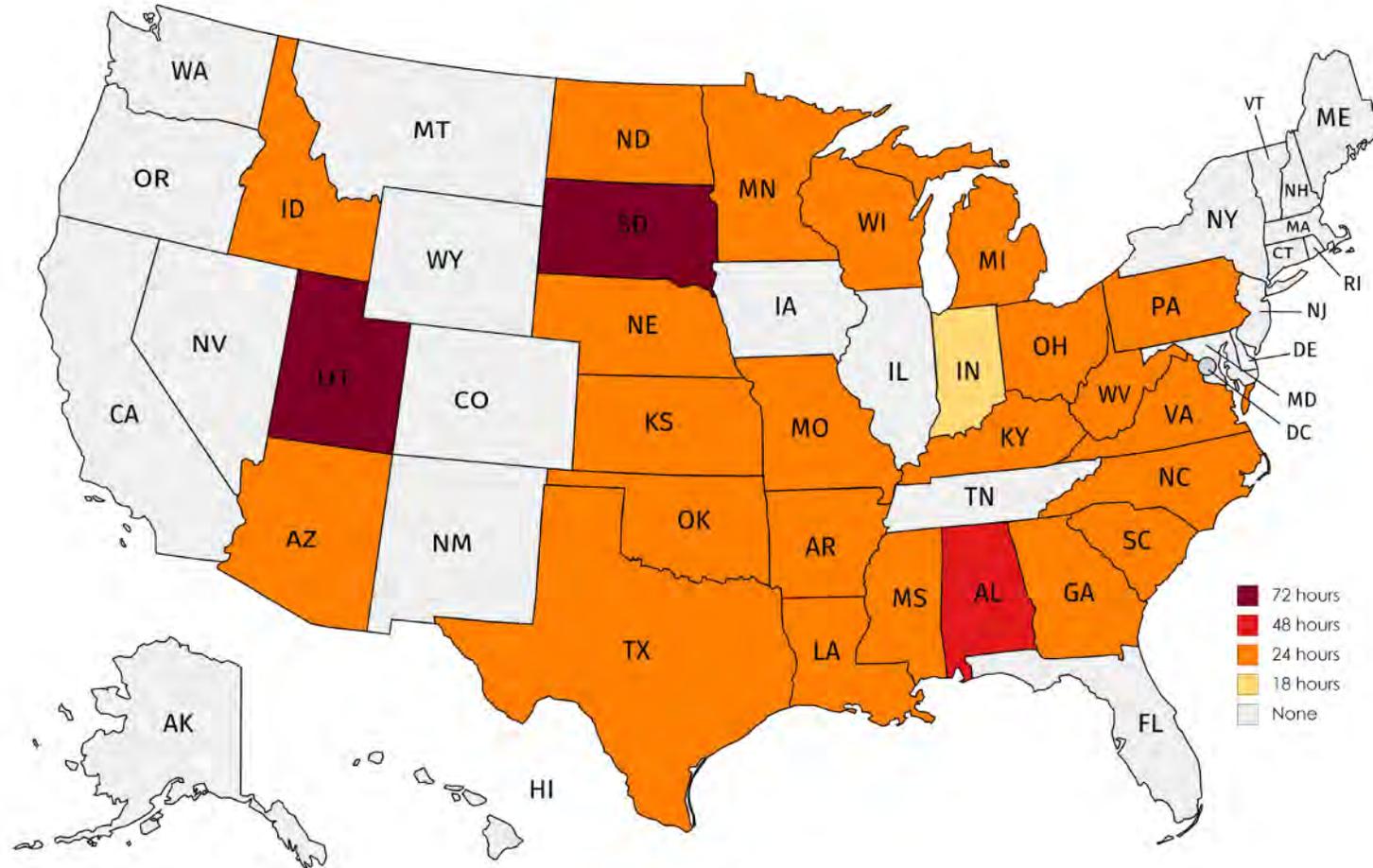
Abortion waiting period signed into law

Anita Wadhvani, awadhvani@tennessean.com

Published 3:52 p.m. CT May 18, 2015 | Updated 11:21 a.m. CT May 19, 2015

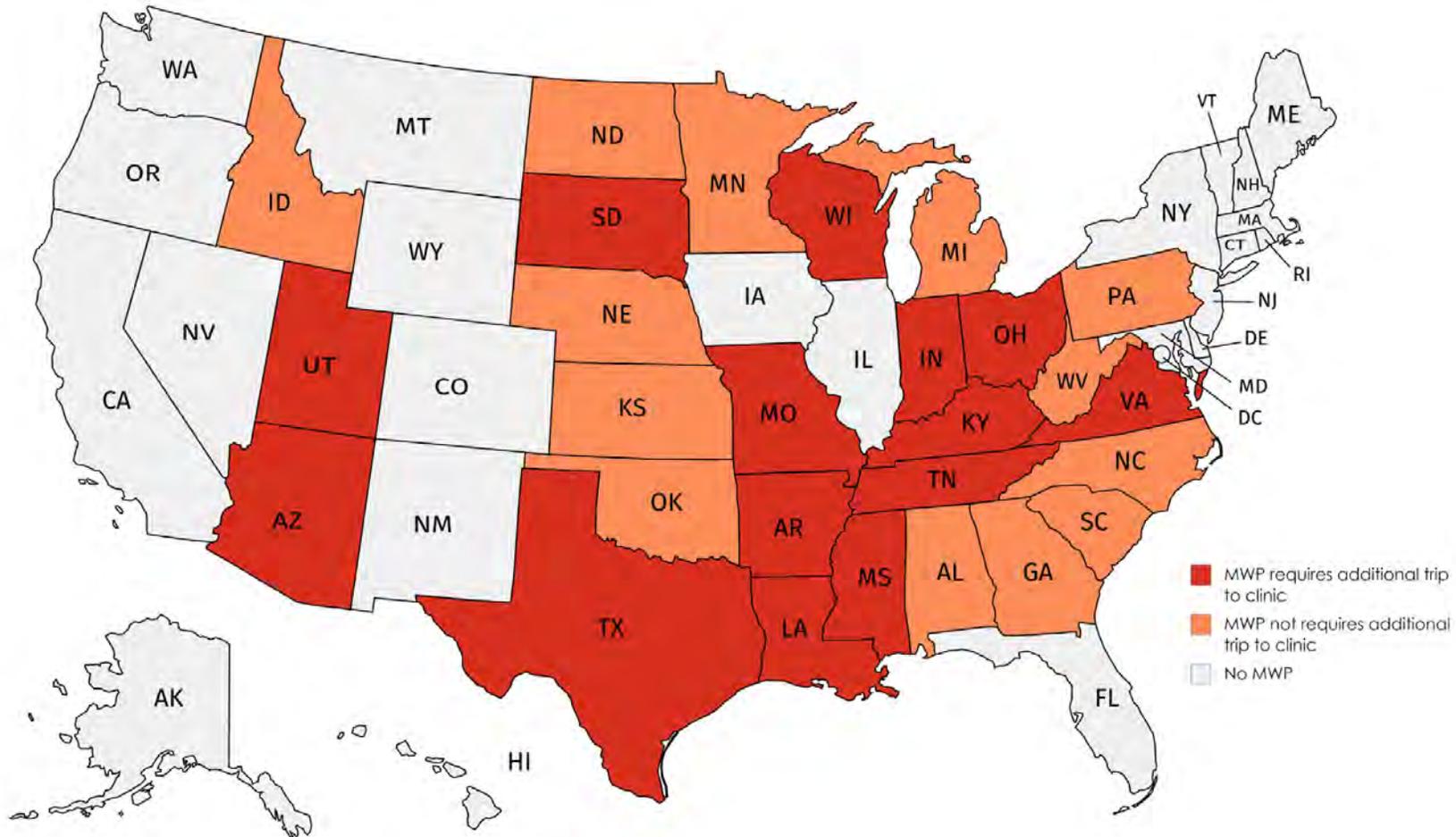
Sources: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2015/04/15/tennessee-48-hour-abortion-wait-period/25842035/>,
<https://www.tennessean.com/story/news/politics/2015/05/18/hour-abortion-waiting-period-signed-law/27546521/>

Waiting period lengths in 2014 varied from 0-72 hours



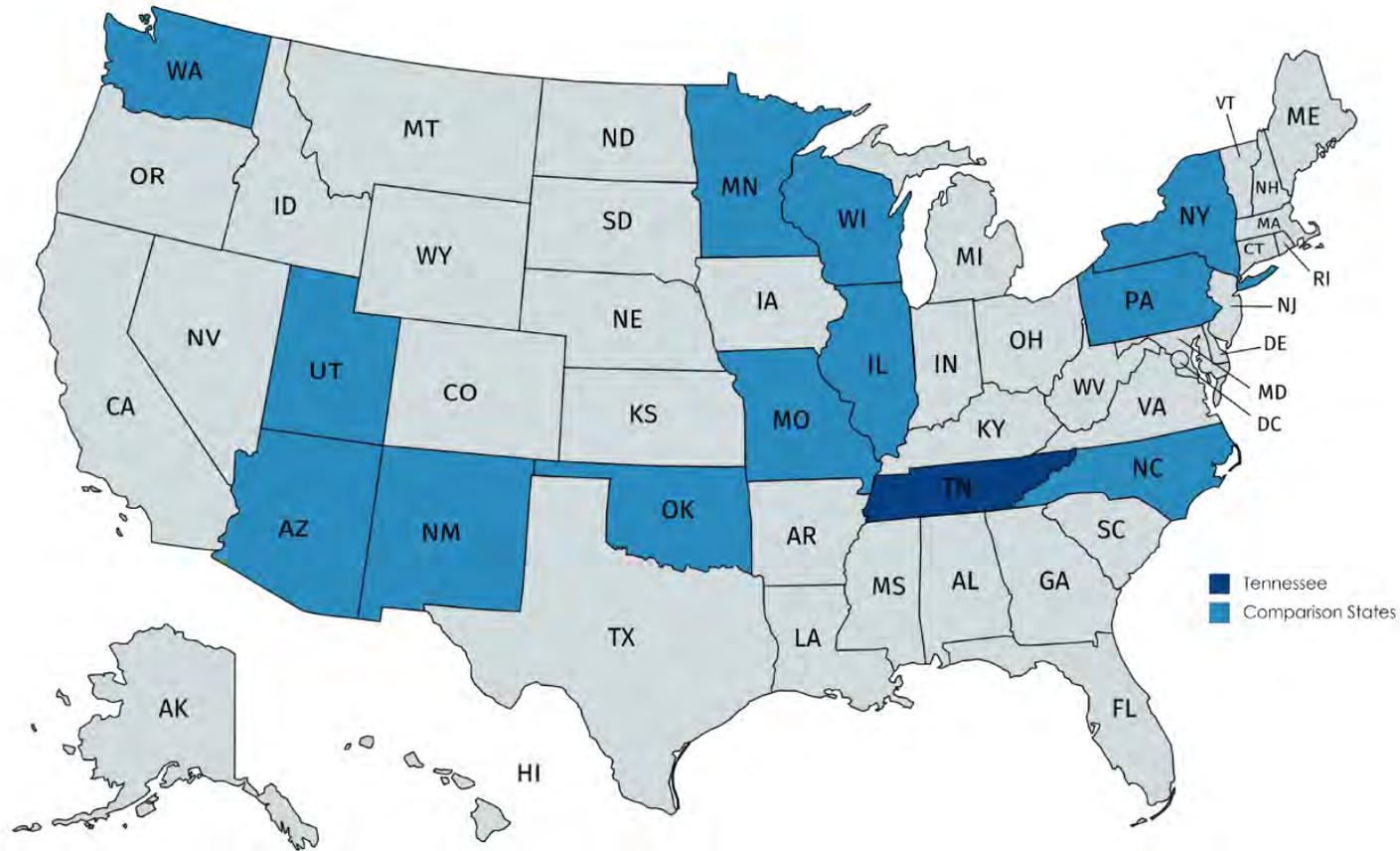
Source: Lindo and Pineda-Torres (NBER Working Paper #26228, 2019)

And in many cases required a second trip to the clinic



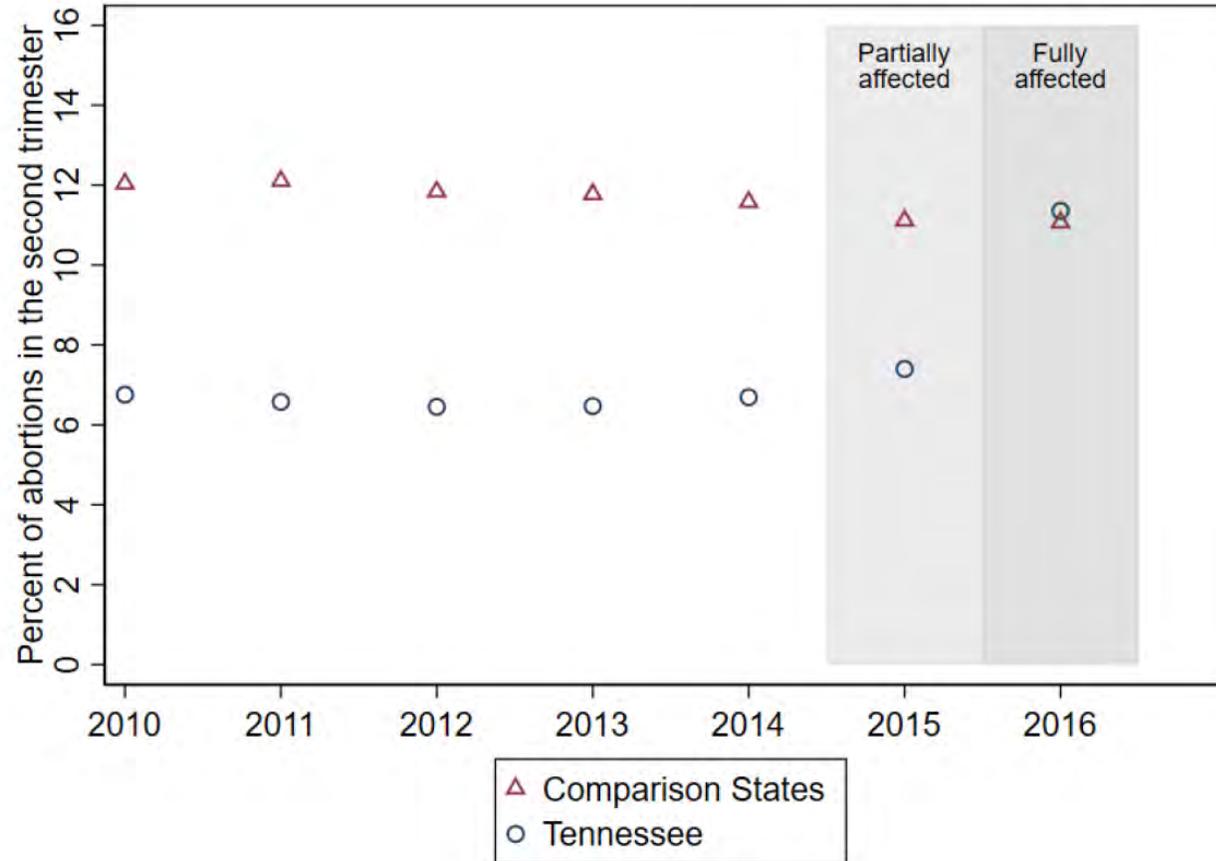
Source: Lindo and Pineda-Torres (NBER Working Paper #26228, 2019)

TN is compared to similar states with sufficient data



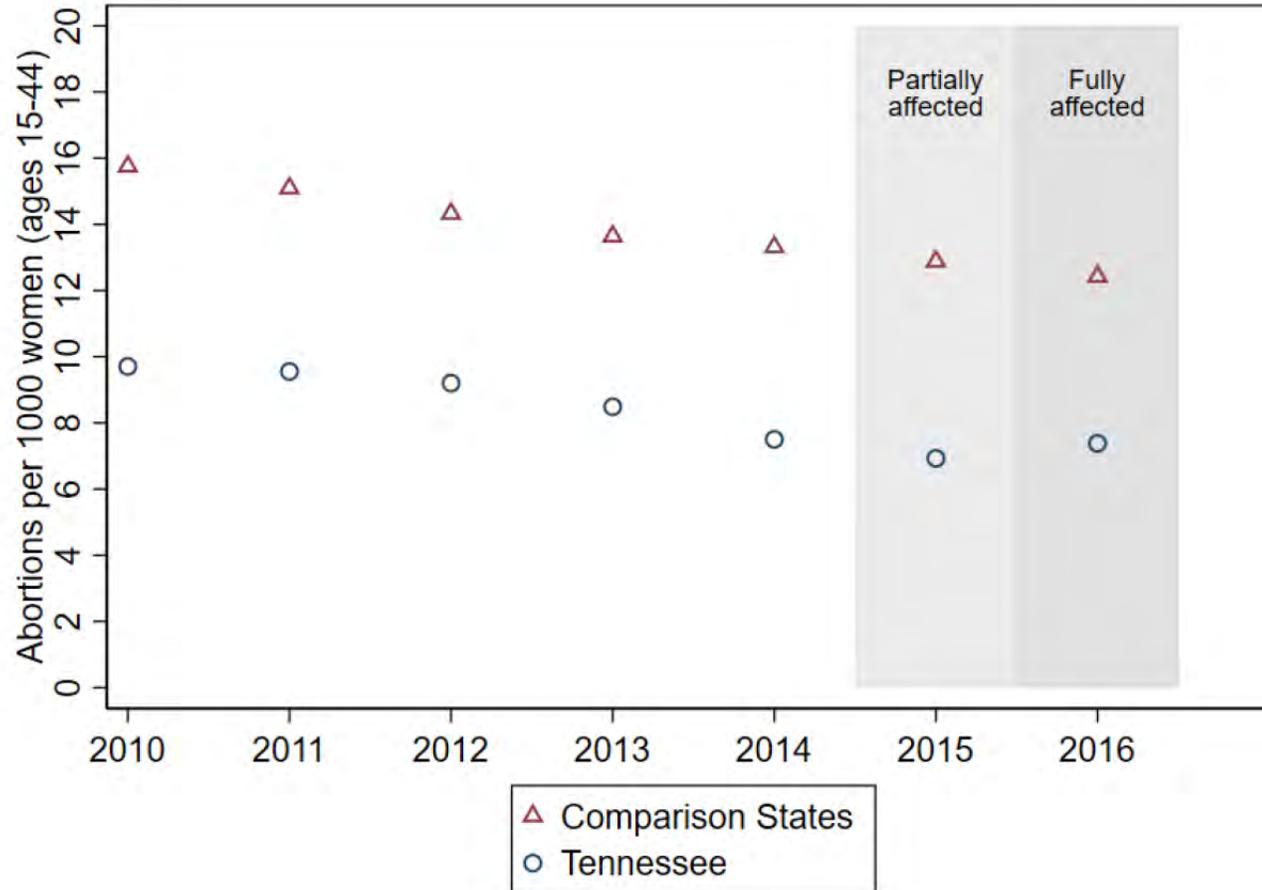
Source: Lindo and Pineda-Torres (NBER Working Paper #26228, 2019)

Waiting periods push abortions into second trimester



Source: Lindo and Pineda-Torres (NBER Working Paper #26228, 2019)

But have no effect on the overall abortion rate



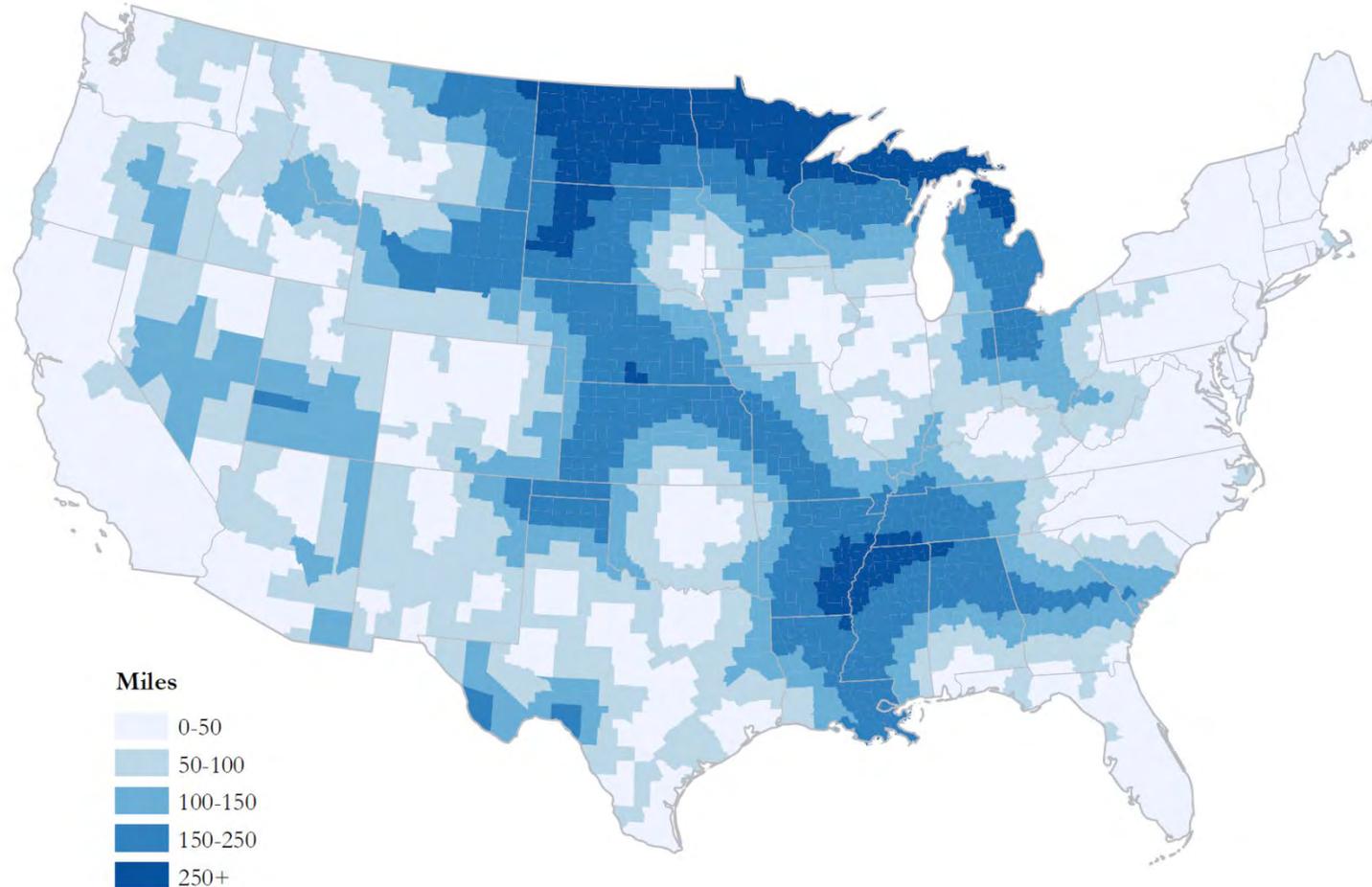
Source: Lindo and Pineda-Torres (NBER Working Paper #26228, 2019)

More and more states require parental involvement

State	Years	State	Years
Alabama	1987-present	Montana ^e	
Alaska	2010-present	Nebraska	1981-1983; 1991-present
Arizona	1982-1987; 2003-present	Nevada	
Arkansas	1989-present	New Hampshire	2012-present
California		New Jersey	
Colorado	2003-present	New Mexico	
Connecticut ^a		New York	
Delaware ^b	1995-present	North Carolina	1995-present
D.C.		North Dakota	1981-present
Florida	2005-present	Ohio	1990-present
Georgia	1991-present	Oklahoma	2001-2002; 2004-present
Hawaii		Oregon	
Idaho	2000-2004; 2007-present	Pennsylvania	1994-present
Illinois	2013-present	Rhode Island	1982-present
Indiana	1982-present	South Carolina ^f	1990-present
Iowa	1997-present	South Dakota	1997-present
Kansas	1992-present	Tennessee	1992-1996; 2000-present
Kentucky	1989-present	Texas	2000-present
Louisiana	1981-present	Utah ^g	2006-present
Maine ^c		Vermont	
Maryland ^d		Virginia	1997-present
Massachusetts	1981-present	Washington	
Michigan	1991-present	West Virginia ^h	1984-present
Minnesota	1981-1986; 1990-present	Wisconsin ⁱ	1992-present
Mississippi	1993-present	Wyoming	1989-present
Missouri	1985-present		

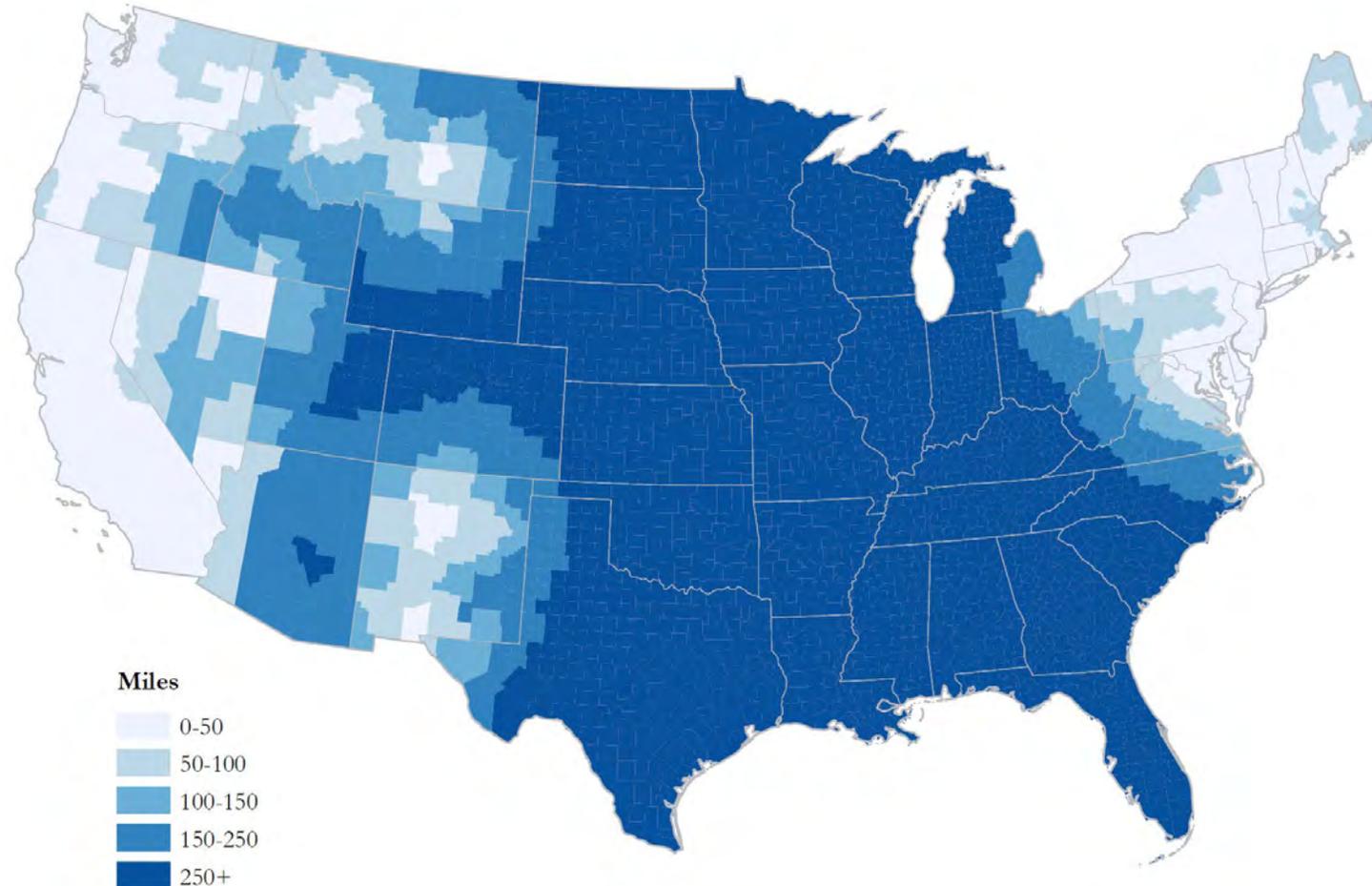
Source: Myers and Ladd (Journal of Health Economics, forthcoming)

Driving distance to get a confidential abortion (1992)



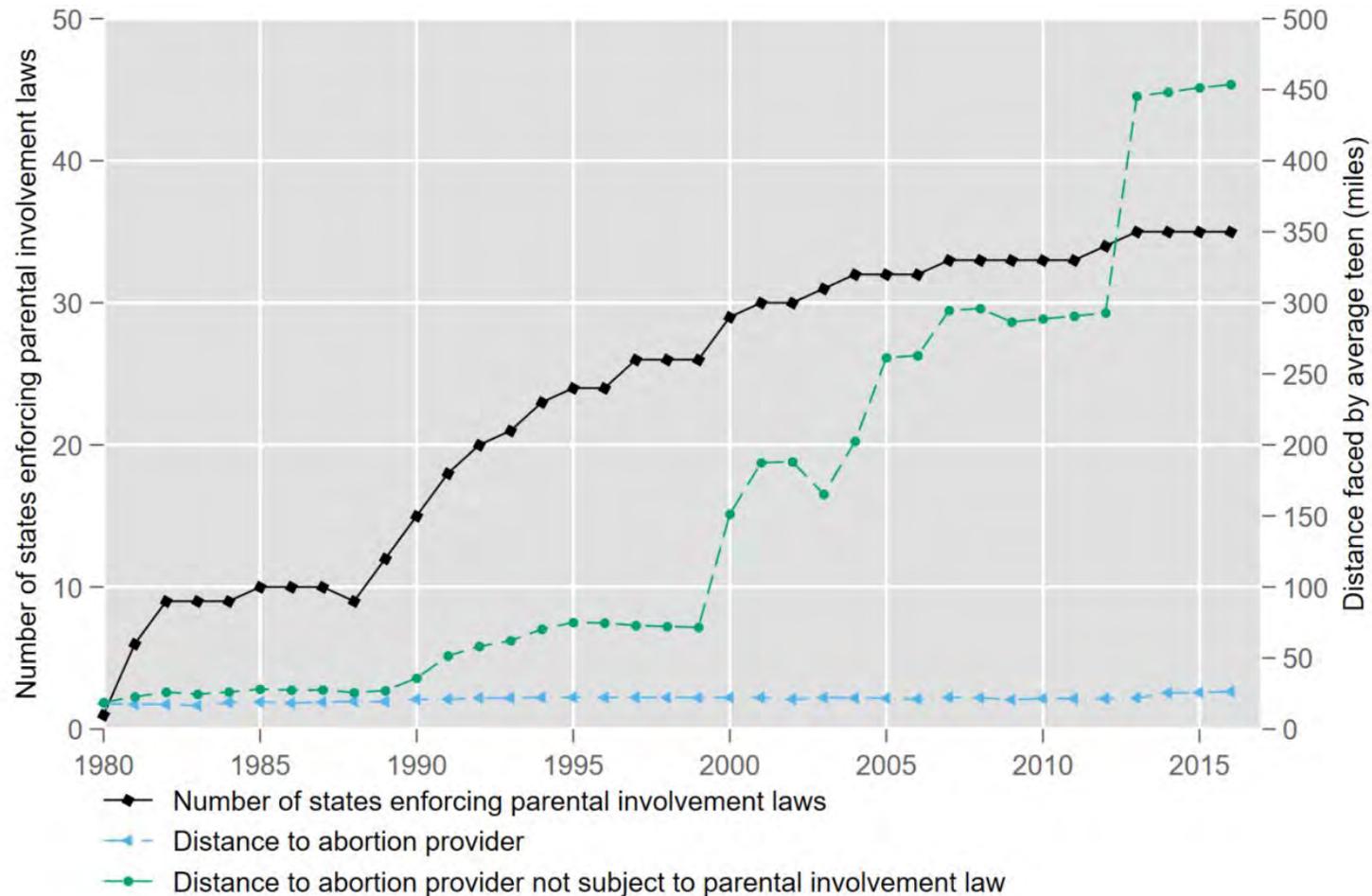
Source: Myers and Ladd (Journal of Health Economics, forthcoming)

Driving distance to get a confidential abortion (2016)



Source: Myers and Ladd (Journal of Health Economics, forthcoming)

Distance to confidential provider has been growing



Source: Myers and Ladd (Journal of Health Economics, forthcoming)

Parental involvement laws increase teen birth rates 3%



Source: Myers and Ladd (Journal of Health Economics, forthcoming)

These closures also can effect Pap tests, breast exams

“I don’t think anybody is against providing health care for women. What we’re opposed to are abortions.”

– Rep. Wayne Christian (R-East Texas), New York Times 3/7/2012

Sources: <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/08/us/texas-womens-clinics-retreat-as-finances-are-cut.html>

A 100 mile increase decreases preventive care ~15%



Donate

For Women In Rural Kansas, A Longer Drive Can Mean Less Health Care

By ESTHER HONIG • FEB 26, 2016

- Share
- Tweet
- Email



At a domestic violence shelter in Hays, Kansas, Levila, right, tells shelter director Tiffany Kershner she needs to see an ob-gyn but can't afford it.

Source: Lu and Slusky (American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 2016); <https://www.kcur.org/post/women-rural-kansas-longer-drive-can-mean-less-health-care#stream/0>

Turnaway Study: women at 30 clinics 2008-2010

Women's Health Issues 24-1 (2014) e115–e123



ELSEVIER

WOMEN'S
HEALTH ISSUES

www.whijournal.com

Original article

Implementing a Prospective Study of Women Seeking Abortion in the United States: Understanding and Overcoming Barriers to Recruitment

Loren M. Dobkin, FNP, RN, MPH^{a,b}, Heather Gould, MPH^a, Rana E. Barar, MPH^{a,*},
Michaela Ferrari, BA^a, Elisette I. Weiss, BA^a, Diana Greene Foster, PhD^a

^a *Advancing New Standards in Reproductive Health (ANSIRH), Bixby Center for Global Reproductive Health, University of California, San Francisco, Oakland, California*

^b *Division of Adolescent and Young Adult Medicine, University of California, San Francisco, San Francisco, California*

Article history: Received 13 February 2013; Received in revised form 17 October 2013; Accepted 18 October 2013

Source: Dobkin, Gould, Barar, Ferrari, Weiss, and Foster (Women's Health Issues, 2014)

Economists then matched Turnaway to Experian data

NBER WORKING PAPER SERIES

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF BEING DENIED AN ABORTION

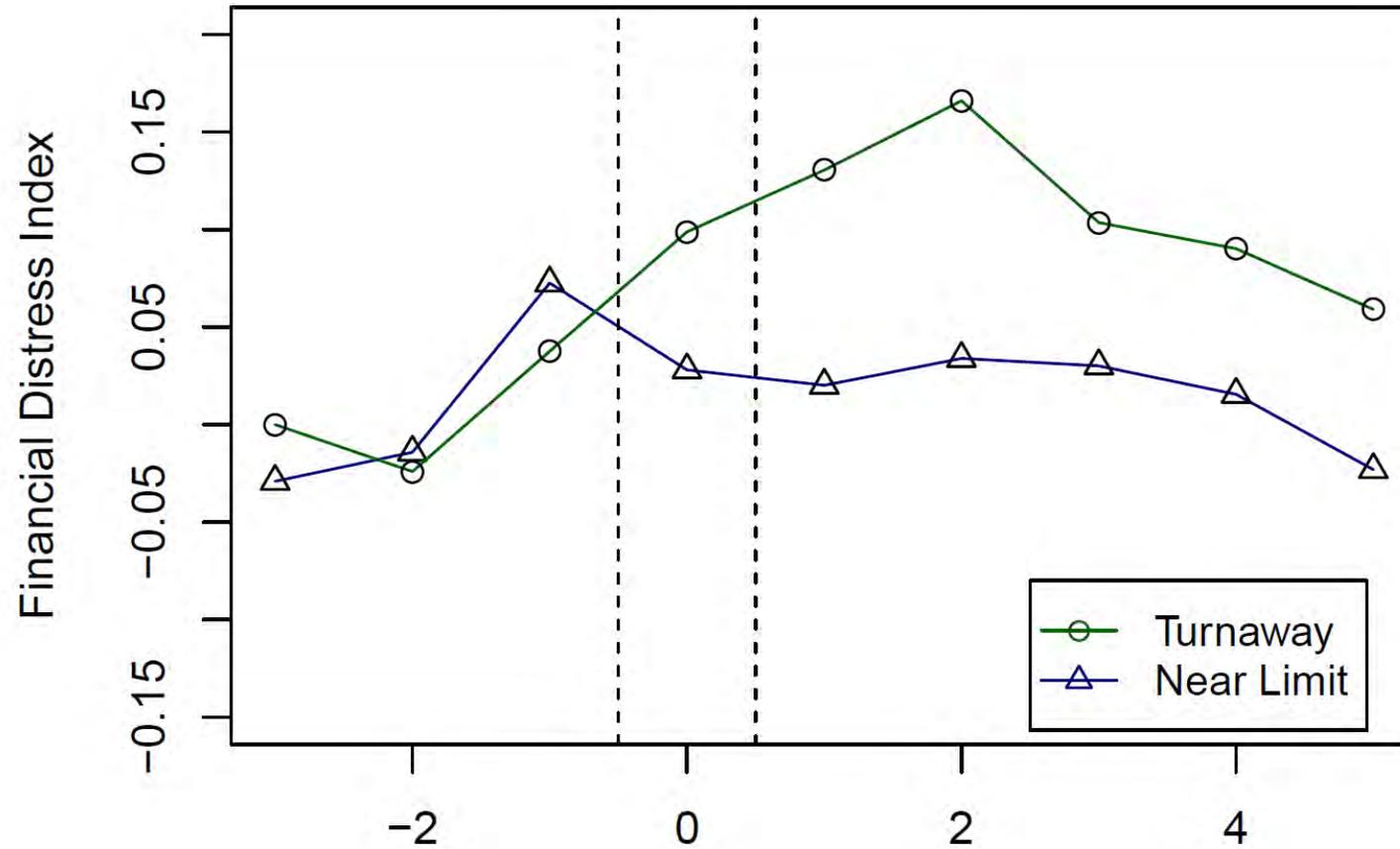
Sarah Miller
Laura R. Wherry
Diana Greene Foster

Working Paper 26662
<http://www.nber.org/papers/w26662>

NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH
1050 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138
January 2020

Source: Miller, Wherry, and Foster (NBER Working Paper #26662, 2020)

Increase in financial distress from being abortion denial



Source: Miller, Wherry, and Foster (NBER Working Paper #26662, 2020)

Finally, we can make some predictions going forward

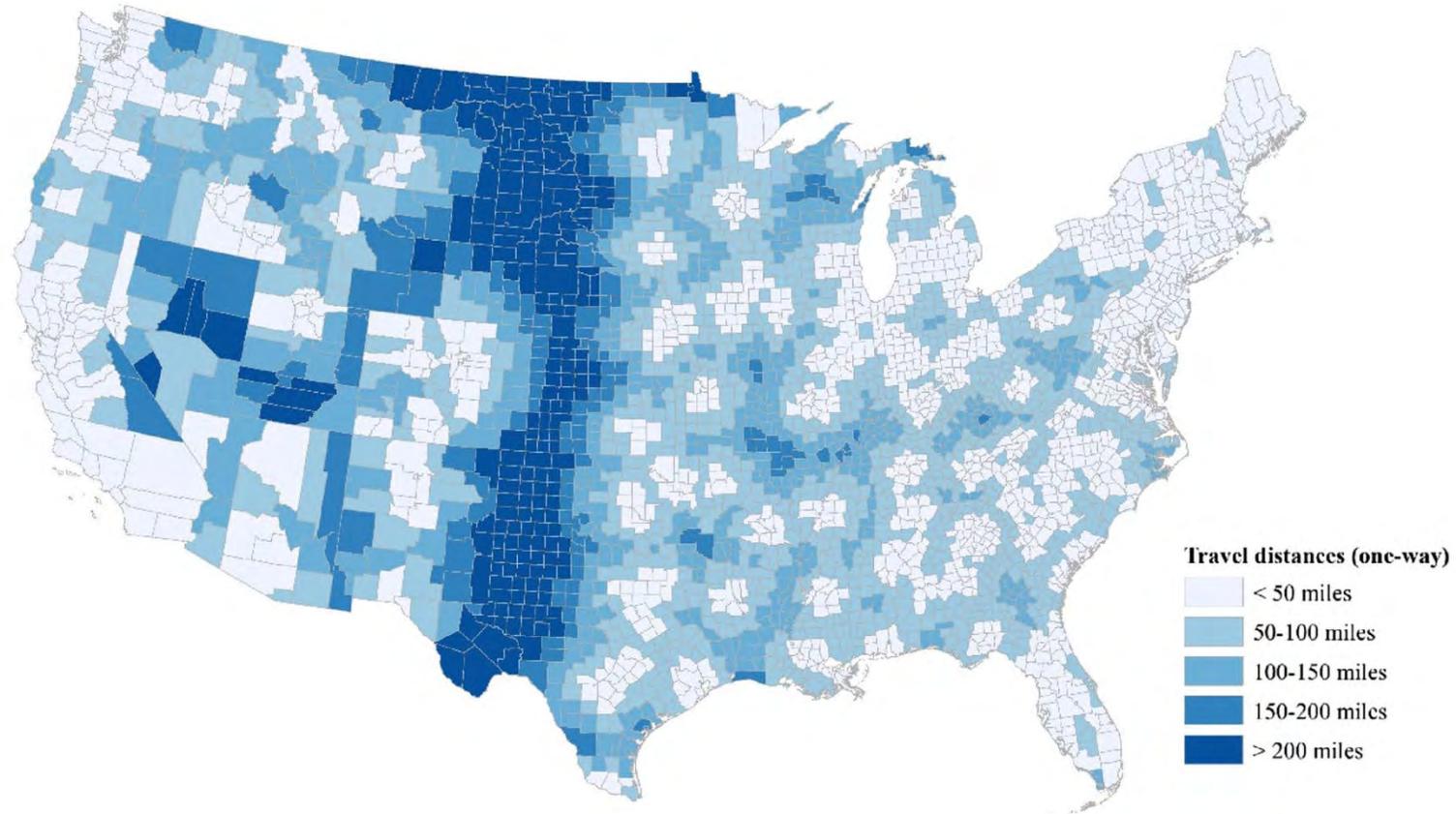
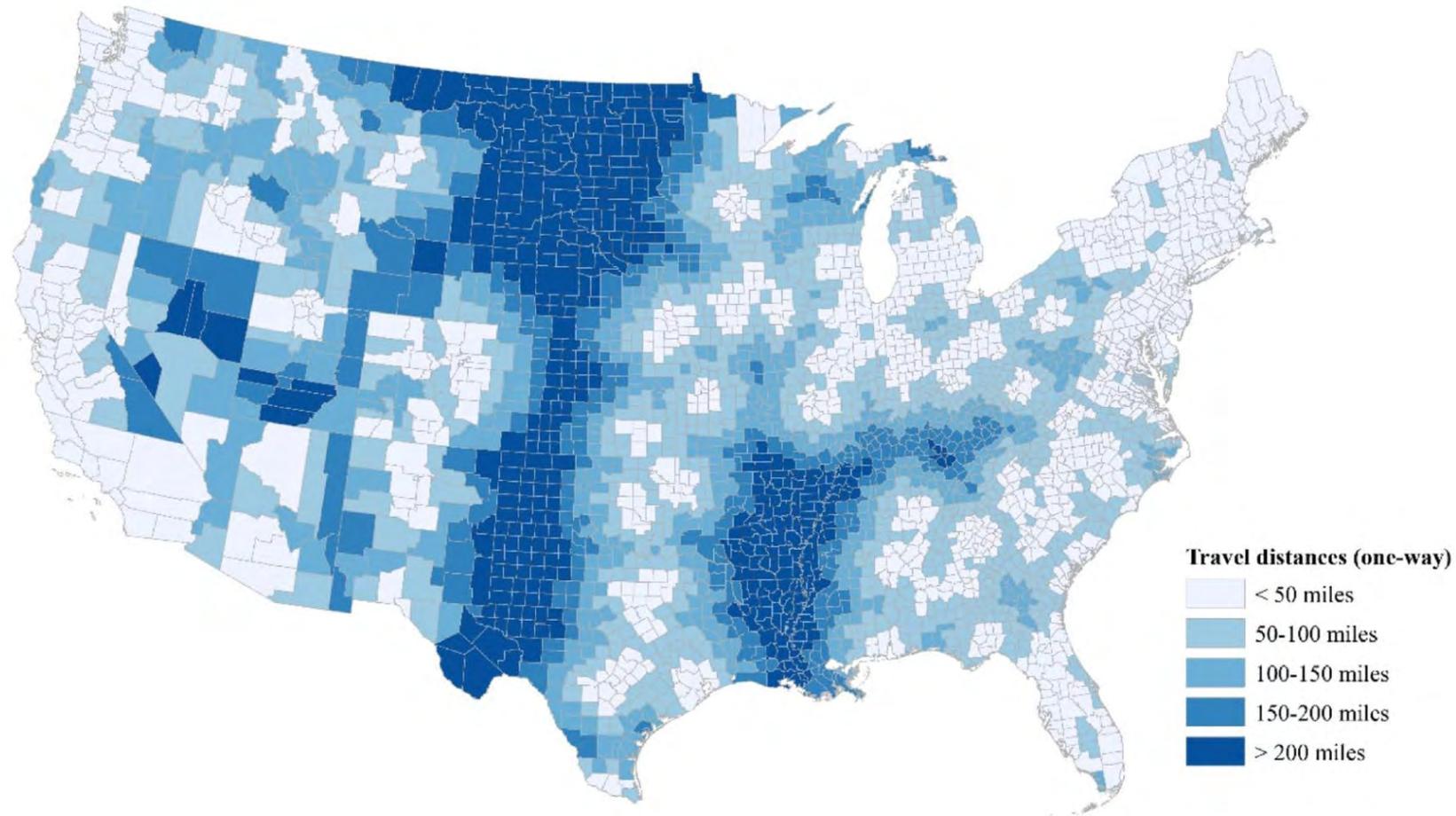


Fig. 1. Travel distances from county population centroids to the nearest publicly-identifiable abortion facility in the ANSIRH database.

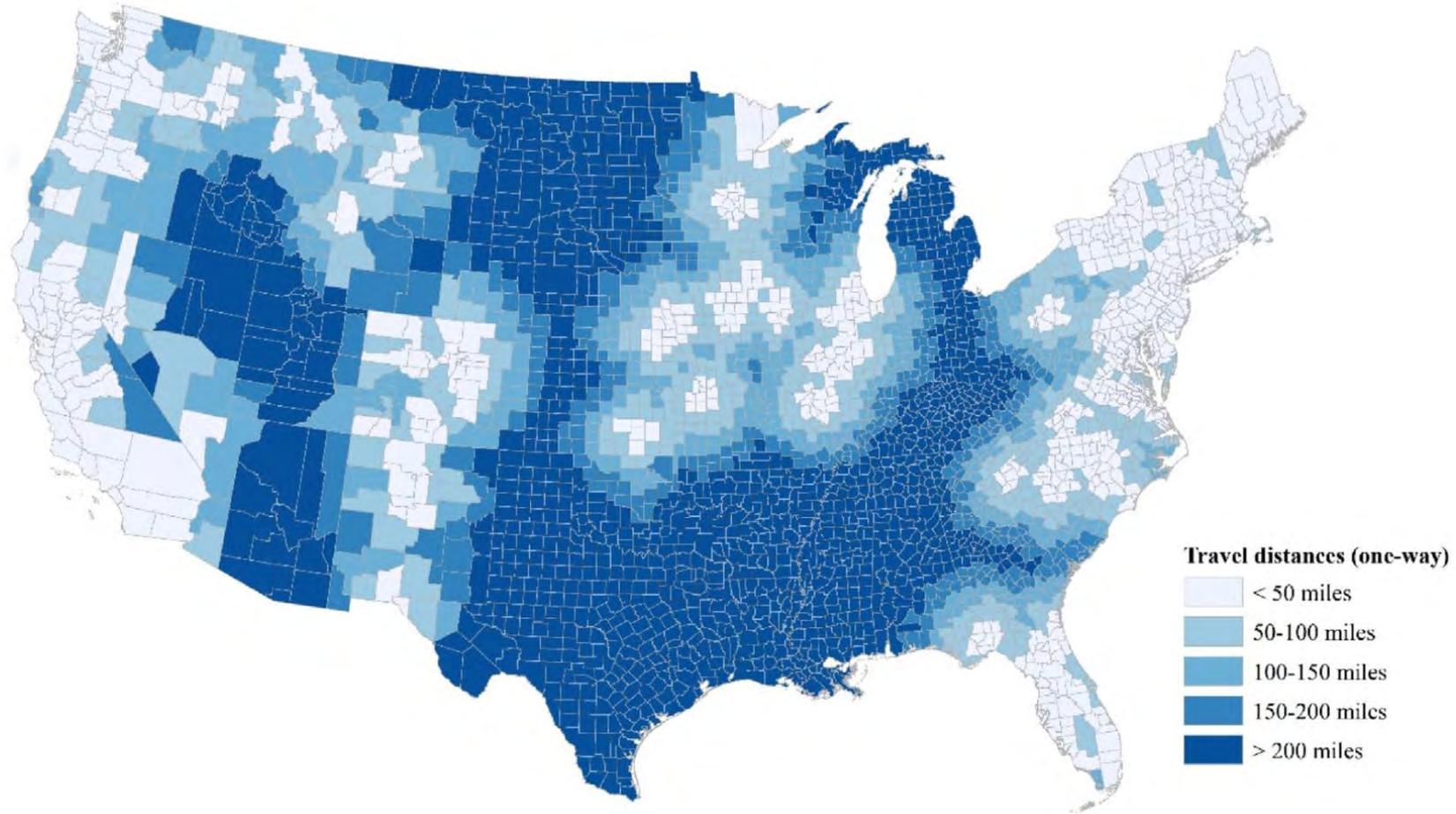
Source: Myers, Jones, and Upadhyay (Contraception, 2019)

Travel distance increases if Roe v. Wade is overturned



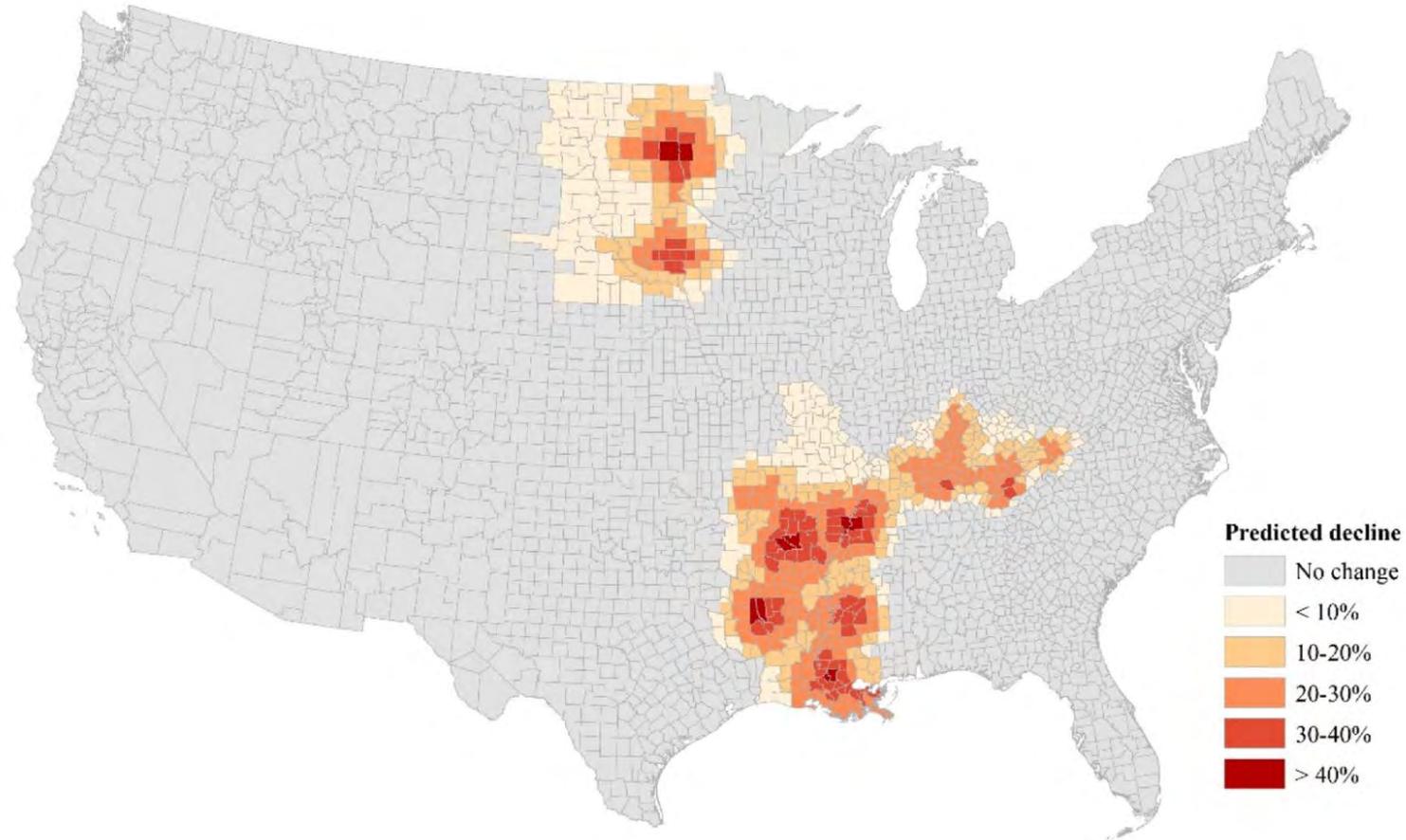
Source: Myers, Jones, and Upadhyay (Contraception, 2019)

And increases further if high-risk states ban abortion



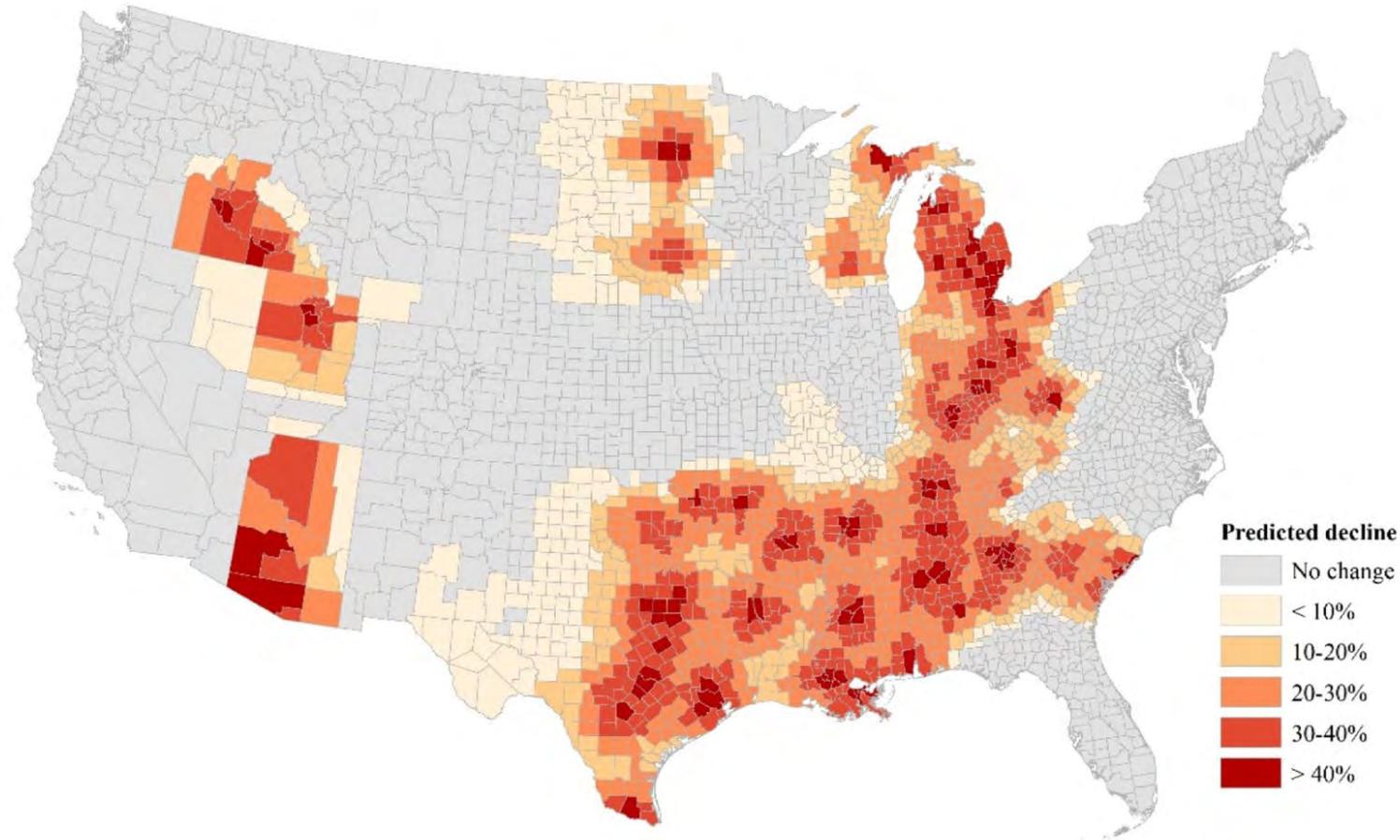
Source: Myers, Jones, and Upadhyay (Contraception, 2019)

Predictions using Lindo et al.'s estimates, just triggers



Source: Myers, Jones, and Upadhyay (Contraception, 2019)

Predictions, if high-risk states ban abortion



Source: Myers, Jones, and Upadhyay (Contraception, 2019)

So what's the role of economists going forward?

No. 15-274

IN THE
Supreme Court of the United States

WHOLE WOMAN'S HEALTH, ET AL.,
Petitioners,

v.

KIRK COLE, M.D., COMMISSIONER, TEXAS DEPARTMENT
OF STATE HEALTH SERVICES, ET AL.,
Respondents.

**On Writ of Certiorari to the
United States Court of Appeals
for the Fifth Circuit**

**BRIEF OF HEALTH ECONOMISTS
AS AMICI CURIAE
IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONERS**

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January 4, 2016

WILSON-EPES PRINTING CO., INC. - (202) 789-0096 - WASHINGTON, D. C. 20002



Source: <https://reproductiverights.org/document/whole-womans-health-v-cole-amicus-brief-from-health-economists>

Conclusion: Economists use natural experiments

Family Unplanned: Texas Cuts Funding for Women's Reproductive Health Care

Planned Parenthood, citing budget cut, to close four rural Wisconsin centers

Abortion Restrictions Become Law in Texas, but Opponents Will Press Fight

Tennessee Senate OKs 48-hour abortion wait period

Sources: <https://rewire.news/article/2011/09/26/family-unplanned-texas-cuts-funding-women-reproductive-health-care/>,
<http://archive.jsonline.com/news/wisconsin/planned-parenthood-citingbudget-cut-to-close-four-rural-wisconsin-centers-ns8qp79-191710011.html/#>,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/19/us/perry-signs-texas-abortion-restrictions-into-law.html>
<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2015/04/15/tennessee-48-hour-abortion-wait-period/25842035/>

Conclusion: To try to predict what will come next

Figure 2: Change in distance to the nearest abortion clinic, Q2 2013 to Q4 2013

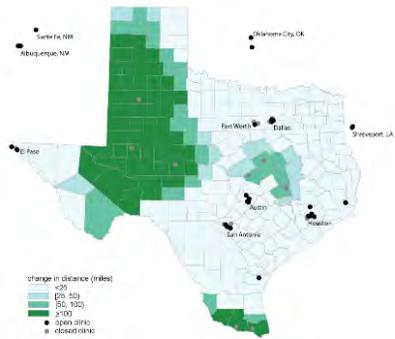
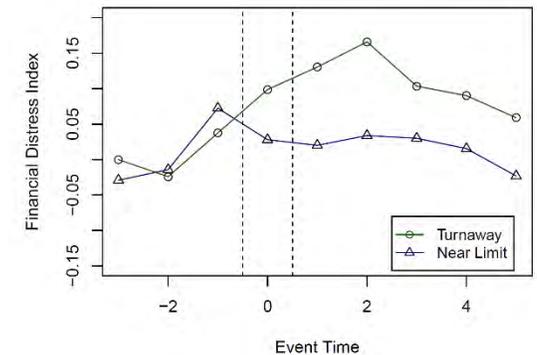
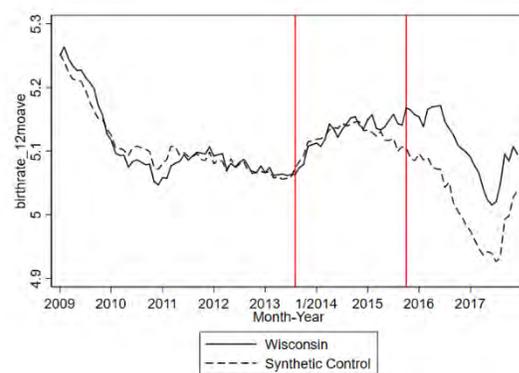
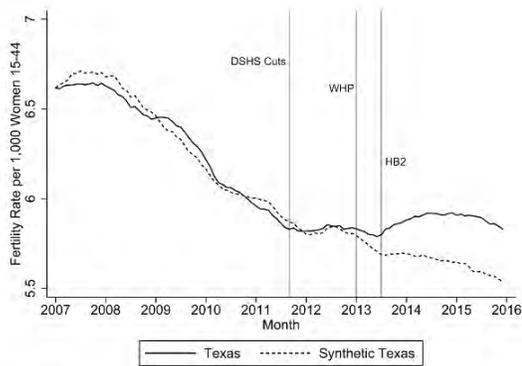
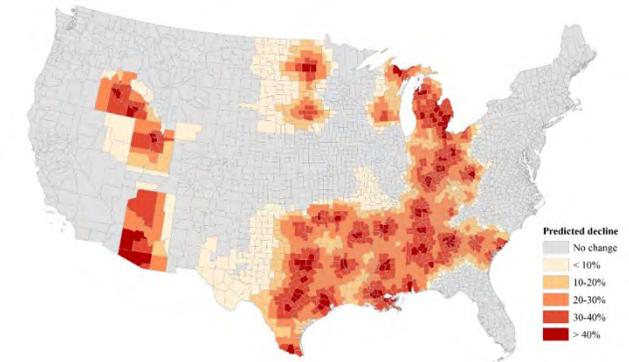
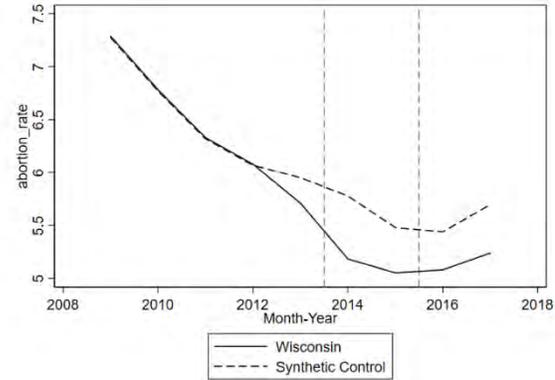
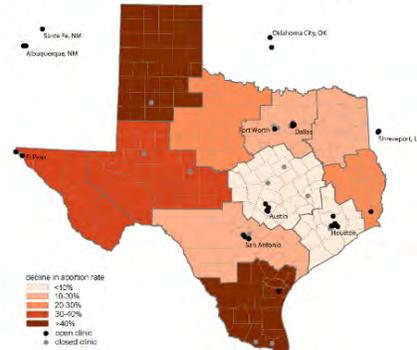


Figure 4: Percent change in abortion rates by public health region, 2013 to 2014



Sources: Lindo, Myers, Schlosser, Cunningham (Journal of Human Resources, 2019), Fischer, Royer, White (Journal of Public Economics, 2018), Venator and Fletcher (NBER Working Paper #26362, 2019), Lu and Slusky (American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 2016; <https://www.kcur.org/post/women-rural-kansas-longer-drive-can-mean-less-health-care#stream/0>, Miller, Wherry, and Foster (NBER Working Paper # #26662, 2020), Myers, Jones, and Upadhyay (Contraception, 2019)