

**ONLINE APPENDIX FOR:**

Changes in Family Structure and Welfare Participation since the 1960s: The Role of Legal  
Services

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## **APPENDIX A: HISTORICAL MATERIALS AND DATA SOURCES**

LSPs' local effects on welfare participation came largely from their collaboration with Welfare Rights Organizations (WROs). This section presents primary source materials on this joint welfare advocacy collected from the "George Wiley Papers, 1949–1975," held at the Wisconsin Public Library: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-mss00324>. We thank Morgan Connolly for scanning the welfare rights materials, and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation for funding.

[Images omitted due to copyright.]

Exhibit 1. The following are examples of "handbooks" distributed by WROs and created by or with the help of LSPs. They described welfare eligibility requirements, regulations, and procedures in a clear organized way, and encouraged women to challenge decisions. Notice the table entries in exhibit 2 that tell applicants rejected because of residency requirements or lien provisions to "fight this!"

Exhibit 2. This table provides an example of how welfare handbooks or manuals provided information and spurred applications and administrative challenges. They were typically created from internal state- or county-level regulatory documents by LSP lawyers. Welfare departments often declined to provide these regulations, stating that they were not for "public use."

Exhibit 3. These materials come from a Clark County, Nevada (Las Vegas) WRO newsletter. The first two images document LSP's role in supporting protest activity. The third image describes an LSP lawsuit that challenged state of Nevada welfare practice and outlines changes in procedure following from that suit.

Exhibit 4. These excerpts are from an M-CUP (Minneapolis Community Union Project) newsletter called Bread and Justice (Vol II., August 1968). A section called "History of M-CUP Welfare Organizing, Fall 1966–Summer 1968" describes the importance of working with LSP lawyer Bernie Becker. Becker was appointed "litigation director" of Mid-Minnesota Legal Aid in 1967, one year after that organization received its first federal LSP grant.

Exhibit 5. This item comes from a request for funding made by the Essex County WRO. It describes how they represented clients separately from the local LSP, but only because the LSP referred them. The actions of the LSP to work with clients and connect them even to non-legal services were also important in spurring local take-up.

Exhibit 6. This image comes from the OEO's second annual report and shows how LSPs located in cities specifically to be accessible to the poor people they targeted.

Exhibit 7. This image comes from the OEO's LSP publication "Law in Action" and shows how LSP lawyers specifically worked on family cases and advertised themselves as doing so.

**Exhibit A1. Welfare Rights Handbook Examples**

*A. Kentucky*

“KENTUCKY WELFARE RIGHTS HANDBOOK”

*B. Boston*

“YOUR WELFARE RIGHTS MANUAL”, PURCHASED BY MOTHERS FOR  
ADEQUATE WELFARE

*C. Ohio*

“WELFARE RIGHTS HANDBOOK FOR AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN”

*Source:* “George Wiley Papers, 1949–1975,” held at the Wisconsin Public Library:  
<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-mss00324>.

## **Exhibit A2. Specific Guidance in the Kentucky Welfare Rights Handbook**

### **“QUICK QUESTION TABLE”**

[A GRID WITH ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA AS THE ROWS AND DIFFERENT TRANSFER PROGRAMS AS THE COLUMNS. EACH ENTRY DESCRIBES WHETHER A GIVEN CRITERIA DETERMINES ELIGIBILITY FOR A GIVEN PROGRAM. SOME ENTRIES READ “LIKELY-FIGHT THIS!”]

*Source:* “George Wiley Papers, 1949–1975,” held at the Wisconsin Public Library:  
<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-mss00324>.

### **Exhibit A3. Clark County Nevada WRO Newsletter**

#### *A. Cover featuring WRO founder George Wiley*

“PEOPLE POWER; CLARK COUNTY WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION”

[IMAGE OF GEORGE WILEY SPEAKING AT A WELFARE RIGHTS PROTEST]

#### *B. Example of LSP attorneys representing protestors and facilitating WRO actions*

“OUR LAWYER SPEAKS”

[AN ARTICLE ABOUT CUTS TO NEVADA WELFARE BENEFITS. “BRUCE THOMAS, NWRO ORGANIZER, IS ARRESTED IN CONFRONTATION WITH VINCE FALLON AT STATE WELFARE OFFICE. NWRO LAWYER WAYNE WILLIAMS LOOKS ON IN DISGUST.”]

#### *C. Example of LSP attorneys changing local welfare procedures*

“STATE ADMITS DEFEAT”

[AN ARTICLE ABOUT LAWYERS WINNING AN INJUNCTION AGAINST NEVADA’S WELFARE CUTS. “STATE DIRECTOR MILLER HAS VOWED TO THROW THE ‘CHEATERS’ OFF AGAIN BY FOLLOWING LEGAL PROCEDURES, SO OUR FIGHT IS NOT OVER YET. WE KNOW WHO THE CHEATERS ARE, AND WE WILL PRESS ON TO VICTORY OVER NEVADA’S OPPRESSIVE WELFARE SYSTEM.”]

Source: Clark County Welfare Rights Organization (1970), *People Power*. From the “George Wiley Papers, 1949–1975” held at the Wisconsin Public Library: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-mss00324>.

#### **Exhibit A4. Role of LSP Attorneys in Hennepin County WRO**

“People wanted to write a welfare rights manual. We had gotten the State Manual in the fall of 1966, but we did not have a county manual to help us in writing the rights manual...

We got invited to the next meeting and some of the County Commissioners were sympathetic: the Welfare Department director said the County manual was not for public use and that the Welfare Department would write a county welfare rights manual. We tried to get a lawyer to take it to court, but were unable to, so a brief manual was written up from the State Regulations...

At this time (February 1968) we began working closely with Bernie Becker, an attorney, in regard to fair hearings. Now for the first time in Minneapolis there is a lawyer working almost full-time with welfare cases. He is challenging the residency law. And the end of this month will start a case on getting the Welfare Department to give people a hearing prior to when they are cut off welfare...

Many small things have been happening concerning welfare organizing in the last few months. For example having a lawyer in the city who is working with welfare is a great step forward for us. It seems there may be some other ADC mothers who will start to work a lot of Fran and this will help a lot in building a strong but small group to confront the Welfare system hear. August 1968”

Source: Minneapolis Community Union Project (1968), from the “George Wiley Papers, 1949–1975” held at the Wisconsin Public Library: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-mss00324>.



### **Exhibit A5. Referral of Welfare Clients from LSP to NWRO, Essex County, New Jersey**

“Worked with an represented individual recipients not getting proper attention from the Welfare Board. (Many of these cases were referred to WRO by Legal Services when they felt that ‘advocacy’ rather than legal pressure was called for.)”

Notes: This comes from a request for funding made by the Essex County WRO to the national organization in 1967 or 1968. From the “George Wiley Papers, 1949–1975” held at the Wisconsin Public Library:

<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-mss00324>.

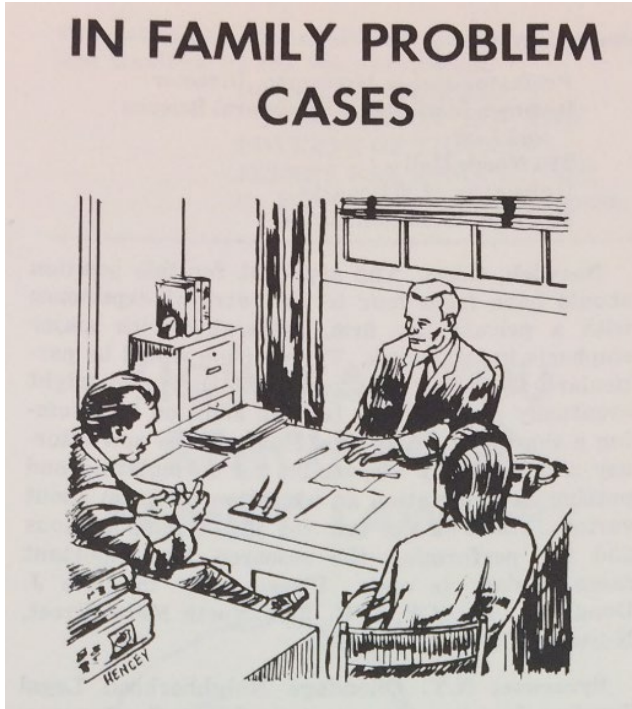
**Exhibit A6. OEO Annual Report Shows Local Placement of LSPs to Ensure Accessibility**



Source: Office of Economic Opportunity (1967).

**Exhibit A7. Kansas City Legal Aid Advertisement**

## **IN FAMILY PROBLEM CASES**



1. This lawyer will advise you concerning your child support problems.
2. He will help you get assistance concerning marriage problems.
3. He will help you in court if your marriage problems cannot be solved.
4. He will arrange for adoptions and guardianships.
5. He will advise you concerning the disposition of your property in the event of your death.

**THE LEGAL AID AND DEFENDER  
SOCIETY OF GREATER KANSAS CITY**

Source: Office of Economic Opportunity (1968).

## DATA SOURCES

### A. Divorces and Marriages

We digitized tables from the 1960–1988 volumes of the Vital Statistics of the United States (DHEW various years) detailing the number of marriages and divorces/annulments that *occurred* in each county. Examples of the source tables from 1965 are below.

#### Marriage Data

1-64

#### SECTION 1 - MARRIAGES

Table 1-41. Marriages: United States, Each State and County, 1965

[Data are counts of marriages performed supplied by States except as noted]

Area	Marriages	Area	Marriages	Area	Marriages
United States-----	21,800,207	Alaska <sup>a</sup> —Con.		Arkansas—Con.	
Alabama-----	40,365	Dist. 21, Barrow-----	14	Stone-----	47
Autauga-----	232	Dist. 22, Kotuk-----	24	Union-----	538
Baldwin-----	1,568	Dist. 23, Nome-----	41	Van Buren-----	66
Barbour-----	188	Dist. 24, Wad. Hampton-----	20	Washington-----	584
Bibb-----	206	Arizona-----	12,113	White-----	397
Blount-----	245	Apache-----	75	Woodruff-----	140
Bullock-----	112	Cochise-----	408	Yell-----	87
Butler-----	212	Cococino-----	331	California-----	136,090
Calhoun-----	875	Gila-----	240	Alameda-----	6,484
Chambers-----	365	Graham-----	124	Alpine-----	2

#### Divorce Data

2-22

#### SECTION 2 - DIVORCES

Table 2-25. Divorces and Annulments: United States, Each State and County, 1965

[Data are counts of decrees granted supplied by States except as noted]

Area	Divorces and annulments	Area	Divorces and annulments	Area	Divorces and annulments
United States-----	2,479,000	Arkansas-----	6,622	California—Con.	
Alabama-----	11,006	Arkansas-----	79	Kings-----	114
Autauga-----	39	Ashtley-----	145	Lake-----	57
Baldwin-----	51	Baxter-----	20	Lassen-----	46
Barbour-----	585	Benton-----	95	Los Angeles-----	28,620
Bibb-----	26	Boone-----	35	Madern-----	108
Blount-----	87	Bradley-----	21	Marin-----	705
Bullock-----	19	Calhoun-----	19	Mariposa-----	5
Butler-----	62	Carroll-----	56	Mendocino-----	195
Calhoun-----	295	Catoct-----	81	Merced-----	230
Chambers-----	95	Clark-----	54	Modoc-----	17
Cherokee-----	12	Clay-----	92	Mono-----	2

After creating consistent county definitions, 3,064 counties appear at some point in the marriage and divorce data, but only 2,720 appear in every year of our sample. Not all counties reported to the NCHS. The Technical Appendix in each year gives the number of non-reported counties for each state (but not which counties). Call this number  $x_s$ . When this number matches the number of counties that have no entry in the table, we set these cells to missing. Often, though, the table lists “---“ instead of a number, and this can create more missing values than there are non-reporting counties. In these cases, we assign missing to the largest  $x_s$  counties in each state by population, assuming that they are least likely to have true zeros. All other counties without number entries in the table are assigned zeros.

We drop Alaska, Hawaii, and Nevada, leaving 2,704 counties observed in all years in the divorce and marriage data.

## B. AFDC Cases

We digitized county-level caseloads and spending on AFDC from a series of federal reports published in 1960, 1964, 1966, and annually from 1968–1988 by either the DHEW or (after 1978) the Department of Health and Human Services. The reports include all counties until 1980, and counties in SMSAs thereafter. Sources and examples of the tables are below.

1960: “Public Assistance in the Counties of the United States, June 1960” (United States Bureau of Family Services 1963)

ALABAMA

Recipient rate, average assistance payment, and national quintile rank for selected public assistance programs, by county, June 1960

(Quintile \*1\* represents the highest fifth and \*5\* the lowest fifth. A \*0\* was used to indicate either that the State had no program or that there were no recipients in the county.)

State code	County		OAA				AFDC				APTD					
	Code	Name	Recipient rate		Average payment		Recipient rate		Average payment		Recipient rate		Average payment			
			Rate	Quintile	Amount	Quintile	Rate	Quintile	Amount	Quintile	Rate	Quintile	Amount	Quintile		
01	1	Autauga	507	1	52	4	95	1	9	5	36	5	107	2	35	5
01	2	Baldwin	302	2	53	4	46	2	9	5	38	5	46	3	35	5
01	3	Barbour	507	1	54	4	127	1	8	5	34	5	206	1	35	5

1964: “Recipients of public assistance money payments and amounts of such payments, by program, state, and county, February 1964” (National Center for Social Statistics 1964)

Form FD-304, page 1  
(Revised 10/62)

State Alabama State agency Department of Pensions and Security Report for month of June 19 64

P. Cases Receiving Assistance and Total Payments, by County  
(To be completed only for months of June and December; all programs except general assistance are to include vendor payments for medical care and cases receiving only such payments.)

County (List alphabetically and number consecutively)	PROGRAM OF AID TO THE AGED, BLIND, OR DISABLED, OR SEPARATE PROGRAMS OF OAA, AB, AND APTD						Medical assistance for the aged		Aid to families with dependent children				General assistance	
	Aged		Blind		Disabled		Cases	Total payments	Cases	Total recipients	Children	Total payments	Cases	Total payments
	Cases	Total payments	Cases	Total payments	Cases	Total payments								
(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)	(V)	(VI)	(VII)	(VIII)	(IX)	(X)	(XI)	(XII)	(XIII)	(XIV)	(XV)
Total	110,275	\$7,406,290.77	1,761	\$113,205.15	14,520	\$670,363.30	235	\$59,576.41	22,373	92,124	72,764	\$6,077,363.92	80	\$1,119.28
Autauga	869	\$7,948.55	14	\$52.00	103	\$415.00	0	.00	200	839	665	\$1,706.00	1	\$2.50
Baldwin	1,221	\$9,249.03	28	\$74.00	150	\$6,939.00	2	\$56.71	245	1,020	852	\$1,132.00	0	.00
Barbour	1,207	\$3,061.60	19	\$172.00	235	\$9,901.00	0	.00	485	1,856	1,462	\$9,354.00	1	\$2.50
Bibb	700	\$4,275.15	11	\$13.00	130	\$1,195.00	0	.00	183	795	630	\$9,211.00	1	\$2.50
Blount	1,297	\$8,517.72	10	\$54.00	141	\$6,124.05	4	\$36.27	165	595	440	\$7,314.00	1	\$7.50
Blount	869	\$4,154.88	10	\$50.00	85	\$3,331.00	0	.00	120	345	422	\$7,852.27	0	.00

1966: “Recipients of public assistance money payments and amounts of such payments, by program, state, and county, February 1966” (National Center for Social Statistics 1966)

Form FD-304, page 3  
(Revised 10/62)

State Alabama State agency Dept. of Pensions and Security Report for month of June 1966

P. Cases Receiving Assistance and Total Payments, by County  
(To be completed only for months of June and December; all programs except general assistance are to include vendor payments for medical care and cases receiving only such payments.)

County (List alphabetically and number consecutively)	PROGRAM OF AID TO THE AGED, BLIND, OR DISABLED, OR SEPARATE PROGRAMS OF OAA, AB, AND APTD						Medical assistance for the aged		Aid to families with dependent children				General assistance	
	Aged		Blind		Disabled		Cases	Total payments	Cases	Total recipients	Children	Total payments	Cases	Total payments
	Cases	Total payments	Cases	Total payments	Cases	Total payments								
(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)	(V)	(VI)	(VII)	(VIII)	(IX)	(X)	(XI)	(XII)	(XIII)	(XIV)	(XV)
Total	112,076	\$7,966,407.31	1,861	\$126,274.00	14,920	\$753,186.87	277	\$90,048.87	17,257	71,254	56,693	\$904,880.55	86	\$1,107.50
Autauga	859	\$6,250.84	16	\$198.00	104	\$4,820.00	2	\$21.61	150	674	546	\$7,715.00	2	\$25.00
Baldwin	1,283	\$9,087.61	25	\$1,659.00	137	\$6,631.00	6	\$1,012.16	180	750	613	\$9,397.00	0	.00
Barbour	1,308	\$1,423.12	19	\$1,340.00	228	\$1,027.00	2	\$79.95	349	1,352	1,066	\$6,102.00	5	\$62.50
Bibb	702	\$4,929.43	9	\$75.00	118	\$1,176.00	0	.00	129	538	450	\$9,712.00	2	\$7.50
Blount	1,283	\$10,342.73	12	\$42.00	140	\$6,886.00	2	\$41.50	101	362	272	\$5,093.35	1	\$2.50

1968-1976: "Recipients of public assistance money payments and amounts of such payments, by program, state, and county, February" (National Center for Social Statistics 1968-1976)

State	Alabama		Report for month of February 19 68										
County (List alphabetically number consecutively)	Program of aid to the aged, blind, or disabled, or separate programs of OAA, AB, and AFID						Aid to families with dependent children				General assistance		
	Aged		Blind		Disabled		Cases	Total recipients	Children	Payments	Cases	Recipients	Payments
	Recipients	Payments	Recipients	Payments	Recipients	Payments							
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Total.....	114,310	\$7,190,268.00	1,083	\$133,003.50	15,720	\$705,117.70	19,746	63,137	66,475	\$1,273,753.24	68	66	\$1,684.50
Autauga.....	860	\$3,769.00	16	\$1,206.00	113	\$5,608.00	146	616	192	\$7,214.00	2	2	\$25.00
Baldwin.....	1,332	\$77,019.00	32	\$2,236.00	149	\$5,993.00	229	2,010	833	\$14,976.00	0	0	.00
Barbour.....	2,892	\$6,807.00	20	\$1,376.00	223	\$11,051.00	335	1,369	1,079	\$0,064.00	2	2	\$25.00
Bibb.....	752	\$7,210.00	7	\$15.00	122	\$5,008.00	147	607	462	\$6,736.00	0	0	.00
Blount.....	1,292	\$2,999.00	15	\$65.00	167	\$6,990.00	89	312	252	\$7,149.00	0	0	.00

1977-1980: "Public Assistance Recipients and Cash Payments, by Program, State, and County, February" (United States Social Security Administration Office of Research and Statistics 1977-1980)

STATISTICAL REPORT ON NUMBERS OF RECIPIENTS AND AMOUNTS OF MONEY AND/OR  
NONMEDICAL VENDOR PAYMENTS UNDER AFDC AND GA, BY COUNTY

State Alabama Report for month of February 19 77

County (list alphabetically)	Aid to families with dependent children				General assistance		
	Families	Total recipients	Children	Payments	Cases	Recipients	Payments
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Total .....	54,231	166,899	122,746	\$6,156,562	37	37	\$ 462.50
Autauga.....	534	1,719	1,277	60,841	1	1	12.50
Baldwin.....	567	1,685	1,258	61,038			
Barbour.....	592	1,897	1,424	69,269			
Bibb.....	162	545	417	18,418			
Blount.....	207	600	436	22,535			

1981-1985: "Public Assistance Recipients in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, February" (United States Social Security Administration Office of Research and Statistics 1981-1985)

Table 2--Public Assistance Recipients by State and counties in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, February 1981

Area	FIPS SMSA Code	Aid to Families with Dependent Children			General Assistance	
		Cases	Recipients	Children	Cases	Recipients
Alabama.....	----	63,567	178,521	127,714		
Counties in SMSA's...	----	37,348	103,224	72,862		
Autauga.....	5240	492	1,337	964		
Baldwin.....	5160	688	1,892	1,390		
Calhoun.....	0450	1,800	4,714	3,359		
Colbert.....	2650	562	1,470	1,048		

1986-1988: "Quarterly Public Assistance Statistics, Fiscal Year " (United States Social Security Administration Office of Research and Statistics 1986-1988)

Table 121--Public Assistance Recipients by State, and Counties in Metropolitan Statistical Areas, February 1986

Area	FIPS MSA Code	Aid to families with dependent children			General assistance	
		Cases	Recipients	Children	Cases	Recipients
Alabama.....	----	50,402	147,062	103,021		
Counties in MSA's.....	----	30,321	88,089	61,473		
Autauga.....	5240	411	1,135	783		
Baldwin.....	5160	538	1,637	1,170		
Blount.....	1000	149	415	281		
Calhoun.....	0450	1,194	3,221	2,242		
Colbert.....	2650	379	1,042	715		

We drop entries not attached to specific counties, which include “IV-D Cases” (families for whom the welfare office is seeking child support), “Foster Care,” or “Retroactive Payments.”

Several counties in Oregon are combined in 1973 and 1974: Crook and Jefferson; Gilliam, Grant, and Wheeler; Hood River, Sherman, and Wasco; Klamath and Lake; Morrow and Umatilla; Union and Wallowa. Several counties in Minnesota are combined after 1974: Lincoln, Lyon, and Murray; Martin, Faribault, and Watonwan. We drop these counties in all years.

In every available year from 1960 to 1980, 3,044 counties appear, and 631 counties (in SMSAs) are non-missing more than once in every available year between 1960 and 1988.

### C. Nonmarital Births

We also digitized tables from the 1960–1980 volumes of the Vital Statistics of the United States (DHEW various years) detailing the number of births to unmarried *residents* of large cities. To protect confidentiality, the NCHS did not publish these tabulations for cities with population under 50,000 in the most recent Census, or 100,000 starting in 1980 (but at first based on the 1970 Census). We clean the city-level data and then aggregate observed cities to the county level. We observe nonmarital births in all years from 1960 to 1980 in 118 counties. After adding similar data from 1981 to 1988, we observe nonmarital births in 61 counties.

We have to interpolate data for 212 cities in 1967 because the reporting threshold changed for one year only. We do this by interpolating the share of nonmarital births that occur in cities within state-specific population bins: 0–50k, 50–100k, and 100k+ residents. When then multiply these shares by the observed number of nonmarital births in each state-by-population-size group.

Examples of the source data are below.

1960:

Table 2-22. Illegitimate Live Births by Age of Mother and Color, for Urban and Rural Areas and Specified Urban Places: 35 Reporting States, 1960

(By place of residence. Data refer only to illegitimate births occurring within the reporting area. Based on a 50-percent sample. Specified urban places are those with populations of 50,000 or more in 1960. Figures for white and nonwhite are shown separately for each State and urban-rural total and for specified urban places in which the 1960 populations for nonwhite formed 10 percent of the total or numbered 10,000 or more. Figures for age of mother not stated are distributed. For definitions of urban-rural areas, see Technical Appendix)

AREA AND COLOR	Total	Under 15 years	15-19 YEARS						20-24 years	25-29 years	30-34 years	35-39 years	40 years and over
			Total	15 years	16 years	17 years	18 years	19 years					
TOTAL	165,632	3,596	64,658	6,732	11,516	14,652	16,004	15,754	49,966	23,048	13,642	7,614	2,148
White	55,234	816	22,276	1,828	3,460	4,978	5,812	6,100	17,618	7,024	3,908	2,539	854
Nonwhite	108,398	2,780	42,382	4,906	7,856	9,674	10,092	9,654	31,103	16,024	9,734	5,076	1,294
ALABAMA	8,718	194	3,464	392	644	756	810	862	2,446	1,240	768	494	112
White	804	12	390	30	74	98	82	106	244	78	34	42	4
Nonwhite	7,914	182	3,074	362	570	658	728	756	2,202	1,162	734	452	108
Urban	4,394	120	1,666	168	288	382	412	396	1,246	668	400	244	50
White	362	4	150	12	26	38	34	40	124	42	14	26	2
Nonwhite	4,032	116	1,516	176	262	344	378	356	1,122	626	386	218	48
Birmingham	1,044	34	378	56	44	102	104	72	310	156	98	56	14
White	70	-	26	-	2	10	10	4	28	10	-	6	-
Nonwhite	974	34	352	56	42	92	94	68	282	146	88	50	14

1968:

Table 1-56. Illegitimate Live Births by Age of Mother and Color, for Population-Size Groups and Specified Urban Places of 50,000 or More: 40 Reporting States and the District of Columbia, 1968

[Refers only to illegitimate births occurring within the reporting area to residents of area. Based on a 50-percent sample of births. Urban places are those with populations of 10,000 or more in 1960. Specified urban places are those with populations of 50,000 or more in 1960 and are incorporated unless otherwise noted. Figures for "White" and "All other" are shown separately where the 1960 population for the latter group formed 10 percent of the total population of the area or numbered 10,000 or more.]

Area and color	Total	Under 15 years	15-19 years						20-24 years	25-29 years	30-34 years	35-39 years	40-44 years	45-49 years
			Total	15 years	16 years	17 years	18 years	19 years						
41 reporting areas	248,498	6,034	118,624	11,892	20,506	26,898	29,480	29,848	77,548	24,704	12,142	6,994	2,296	156
White	106,752	1,354	47,322	5,200	6,694	10,024	12,448	14,766	38,804	10,718	4,776	2,792	952	54
All other	141,746	4,700	71,302	6,692	13,812	16,874	17,032	15,082	38,744	13,986	7,366	4,202	1,344	102
Urban places of 50,000 or more	122,828	3,250	58,596	6,288	10,678	13,340	14,160	14,130	37,684	12,672	6,182	3,394	1,000	70
White	41,780	518	17,556	1,148	2,512	3,608	4,606	5,682	15,762	4,462	1,968	1,134	344	18
All other	81,048	2,732	41,040	5,140	8,166	9,732	9,554	8,448	21,922	8,190	4,214	2,260	656	52
Urban places of 10,000 to 50,000	36,582	774	16,854	1,620	2,694	3,846	4,248	4,446	11,730	3,778	1,612	1,042	360	32
White	19,518	190	8,246	512	1,114	1,752	2,224	2,644	7,104	2,196	944	540	204	14
All other	16,864	584	8,608	1,108	1,580	2,094	2,024	1,802	4,626	1,582	668	502	156	18
Balance of area	89,888	2,050	43,174	5,984	7,134	9,712	11,072	11,278	28,134	8,254	4,146	2,658	936	54
White	45,454	628	21,540	2,548	3,258	4,664	5,618	6,460	15,838	4,040	1,884	1,118	404	22
All other	45,834	1,402	21,534	3,436	3,876	5,048	5,454	4,818	12,296	4,214	2,262	1,440	532	32
Alabama	8,596	266	4,260	462	798	954	1,040	1,006	2,326	776	402	250	104	12
White	1,118	20	616	42	116	114	170	174	346	76	36	12	12	-
All other	7,278	246	3,644	420	682	840	870	832	1,980	700	366	238	92	12
Urban places of 50,000 or more	8,534	74	1,284	144	260	282	324	274	702	262	124	68	18	2
White	222	6	170	12	42	24	50	42	106	30	4	4	2	-
All other	2,212	68	1,114	132	218	258	274	232	596	232	120	64	16	2
Birmingham	1,000	36	494	50	90	122	128	104	258	114	56	34	8	-
White	108	2	54	2	10	6	14	22	30	14	4	2	2	-
All other	892	34	440	48	80	116	114	82	228	100	52	32	6	-

#### D. Population Denominators

Population denominators come from interpolating between the 1960 Census (Haines and ICPSR 2010) and the Surveillance, Epidemiology, and End Results (SEER 2013) annual data, which begin in 1968. We linearly interpolate population counts between 1960 and 1968.

#### E. Geographic Coding

The following description of our county geographic coding is taken from Appendix A in Bailey and Goodman-Bacon (2015b). We re-combine all counties that split or merge after 1959. We make the changes noted below (not all county changes are assigned a year, and these instances contain a “-“ below).



**Table A4. Non-Virginia County Code Changes**

stfips	new_cofips	old_cofips	year	note
4	12	27	1983	La Paz County, AZ split off from Yuma county in 1983.
13	510	215	1971	The city of Columbus, GA became a consolidated city-county in 1971. Previously part of Muscogee (stfips==215).
29	186	193	-	Ste. Genevieve county, MO changed codes. Always changed to 186.
32	510	25	1969	Ormsby County (25) became Carson City (510) in 1969.
35	6	61	1981	Cibola County, NM split off from Valencia County in 1981.
46	71	131	1979	Washabaugh County was annexed to Jackson County in 1979.
55	78	83, 115	1961	Menominee split off from Shawano and Oconto Counties.

**Table A5. Virginia County Code Changes**

stfips	new_cofips	old_cofips	year	note
51	83	780	1995	South Boston City rejoins Halifax County.
51	510	13	-	Alexandria City//Arlington County
51	515	19	1968	Bedford City splits from Bedford County.
51	520	191	-	Bristol City//Washington County
51	530	163	-	Buena Vista City//Rockbridge County
51	540	3	-	Charlottesville City//Albemarle County.
51	550	129	1963	Norfolk County merges (w/ South Norfolk City) to form Chesapeake City.
51	550	785	1963	South Norfolk City merges (w/ Norfolk County) to form Chesapeake City.
51	560	75	-	Clifton Forge City//Alleghany County.
51	590	143	-	Danville City//Pittsylvania County.
51	595	81	1967	Emporia City splits from Greenville County.
51	600	59	1961	Fairfax City splits from Fairfax County.
51	620	175	1961	Franklin City splits from Southampton County.
51	630	177	-	Fredericksburg City//Spotsylvania County.
51	660	165	-	Harrisonburg City//Rockingham County.
51	670	149	-	Hopewell City//Prince George County.
51	678	163	1966	Lexington City splits from Rockbridge County.
51	680	31	-	Lynchburg City//Campbell County.
51	683	153	1975	Manassas City splits from Prince William County.
51	685	153	1975	Manassas Park City splits from Prince William County.
51	690	89	-	Martinsville City//Henry County.
51	710		-	Norfolk City came from Norfolk County, which was ultimately combined into Chesapeake City. Census notes that Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Chesapeake cities (and including Norfolk and South Norfolk Counties before 1963) are often combined into one group.
51	730	53	-	Petersburg City//Dinwiddie County.
51	735	199	1975	Poquoson City splits from York County.

51	740		-	Portsmouth City came from Norfolk County before it was Chesapeake City.
51	750	121	-	Radford City//Montgomery County.
51	770	161	-	Roanoke City//Roanoke County.
51	775	161	1968	Salem City splits from Roanoke County.
51	780	83	1960	South Boston City splits from Halifax County.
51	790	15	-	Staunton City//Augusta County.
51	800	123	1974	Nansemond County merges into Suffolk City.
51	810	151	1963	The rest of Princess Anne County merges into Virginia Beach City.
51	840	69	-	Winchester City//Frederick County.

We further make county changes necessary to use the SEER population data. These changes can be found here: <http://seer.cancer.gov/popdata/methods.html>.

## **APPENDIX B. MAIN ROBUSTNESS CHECKS**

### *A. Different Ways to Use LSP Timing*

Since so many counties received LSP funding in 1966 or 1967, determinants of family structure that changed sharply in these years, such as cultural shifts that affected cities, could bias our estimates. Row 3 of figures B1–B3 shows doubly robust estimates that drop the 1966 and 1967 LSP counties and are identified by the 68 counties that introduced the LSP in other years. Standard errors increase substantially but the point estimates do not change, except for AFDC, for which they remain positive.

Both of our specifications would be biased if the OEO allocated LSP funding to places that experienced the upheaval of the 1960s differently than untreated counties. Row 4 addresses this concern by using a comparison group of LSP counties treated in the future. Reassuringly, restricting comparisons to counties chosen by the OEO does not change our short-run *ATT* estimates.<sup>1</sup>

### *B. Racial Uprisings*

Racial uprisings that led to widespread violence and property damage, spikes in deaths due to law enforcement (Cunningham and Gillezeau 2018), a permanent depression of property values (Collins and Margo 2007), worse labor market conditions for black Americans (Collins and Margo 2004), white flight, and a shrinking tax base (Boustan 2010). To test whether the aftermath of these uprisings explains our results, row 5 of figures B1–B3 re-estimates our models on a sample of counties that never experienced a riot. We find the same pattern of results in these areas as in the full sample.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Online Appendix Table C1 shows that using a control group of “contiguous” untreated counties produces similar results. We also compare non-treated contiguous counties to non-treated counties further away from treated counties and find no statistical difference in family structure and AFDC take-up. This suggests limited spillovers.

<sup>2</sup> Out of 118 counties in the short-run nonmarital birth sample, 76 experienced a riot, so we add a riot indicator variable to the controls instead of dropping observations. Panel A of Online Appendix Table C2 shows that dropping the counties in the highest quintile of growth in their black share, a consequence of riots, does not alter our estimates.

### *C. Urban Decay and Marriage Markets*

Figure B4 provides more evidence on the possibility of bias from changing marriage markets or eroding economic conditions. Panel A uses local-level sex ratios calculated from the 1930–1990 Censuses (Haines and ICPSR 2010) as outcomes, and finds no change in sex ratios after the 1960s either in the decadal point estimates or in linear trends fit to the pre- and post-1960 data points. At least on the county level, the supply of men to marriage markets appears not to bias our results.<sup>3</sup> To test for differential changes in “marriageability,” Panel B uses data on payroll per worker from the Bureau of Economic Analysis (available since 1962). We find no evidence that earnings diverged after LSPs began.<sup>4</sup> Falling male earnings therefore cannot explain the changing family structure and welfare participation we document.

### *D. Other War on Poverty Initiatives*

The OEO set up many local programs besides the LSP. If LSP counties also systematically received grants for other programs that encouraged welfare take-up, for example, we would overstate the effect of LSP alone. Figure B5 uses data on annual grants for Community Action Programs (CAP), Head Start, Community Health Centers (CHCs), and Family Planning clinics to test how often these new social programs rolled out together (Bailey and Goodman-Bacon 2015a, Community Services Administration 1981a, b). Like Bailey and Goodman-Bacon (2015), we find little evidence of bundling. Compared with LSP grants, which undergo a (mechanically) large and sustained increase in, no other program increases very much.

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<sup>3</sup> Online Appendix Figure C1 shows no relative changes in race-specific sex ratios either.

<sup>4</sup> Online Appendix Figure C2 shows a reduction in log employment (only for the doubly robust estimator) that does not begin until six years after LSP establishment. Online Appendix Figure C3 shows no sharp changes in female population around LSP establishment. The female population aged 10–49 (the denominator in the Vital Statistics analyses) falls in LSP counties in the fixed effects specification but only after about five years. Online Appendix Figure C4 uses the Census sample to estimate reweighted distributional effects on men’s earnings (see Figure C8). Neither all men ages 18–54 nor men without a high school diploma show evidence of differential changes in the distribution of earnings between 1960 and 1970, further suggesting that marriageability cannot explain our findings.

The largest change is in CAP grants, which precede LSP funding by a few years. CAPs had oversight over many experimental programs and development projects funded by the OEO, but they also served a community organizing function that could conceivably influence public assistance. Row 6 in Figures B1–B3 adds dummies for each county’s CAP year to the covariates in the doubly robust specification and our main estimates do not change.<sup>5</sup>

#### *E. The National Welfare Rights Organization*

Our results may also confound the effect of LSPs with the independent effects of local chapters of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO; West 1981). As we discussed, LSPs often served as the legal wing for welfare rights groups (Davis 1993), but the two did not always coincide. We gathered information on the spread of WROs from membership reports and national conference attendance sheets from the archives of NWRO founder George Wiley (George Wiley Papers). Row 7 in Figures B1–B3 shows that our results are robust to adding dummies for the year of NWRO establishment to the covariates. LSPs’ work with WROs is a likely mechanism, but the welfare activism occurring more broadly cannot explain our results.<sup>6</sup>

#### *F. Placebo Treatment: Community Health Centers*

Lastly, Row 8 uses a similar War on Poverty program, CHCs, as a placebo test. CHCs share important characteristics and probably unobservables with LSPs. They received local funding from the OEO in similar patterns over time and space. They required high-skilled labor (doctors instead of lawyers) and hired young, idealistic professional school graduates. We have no reason to expect

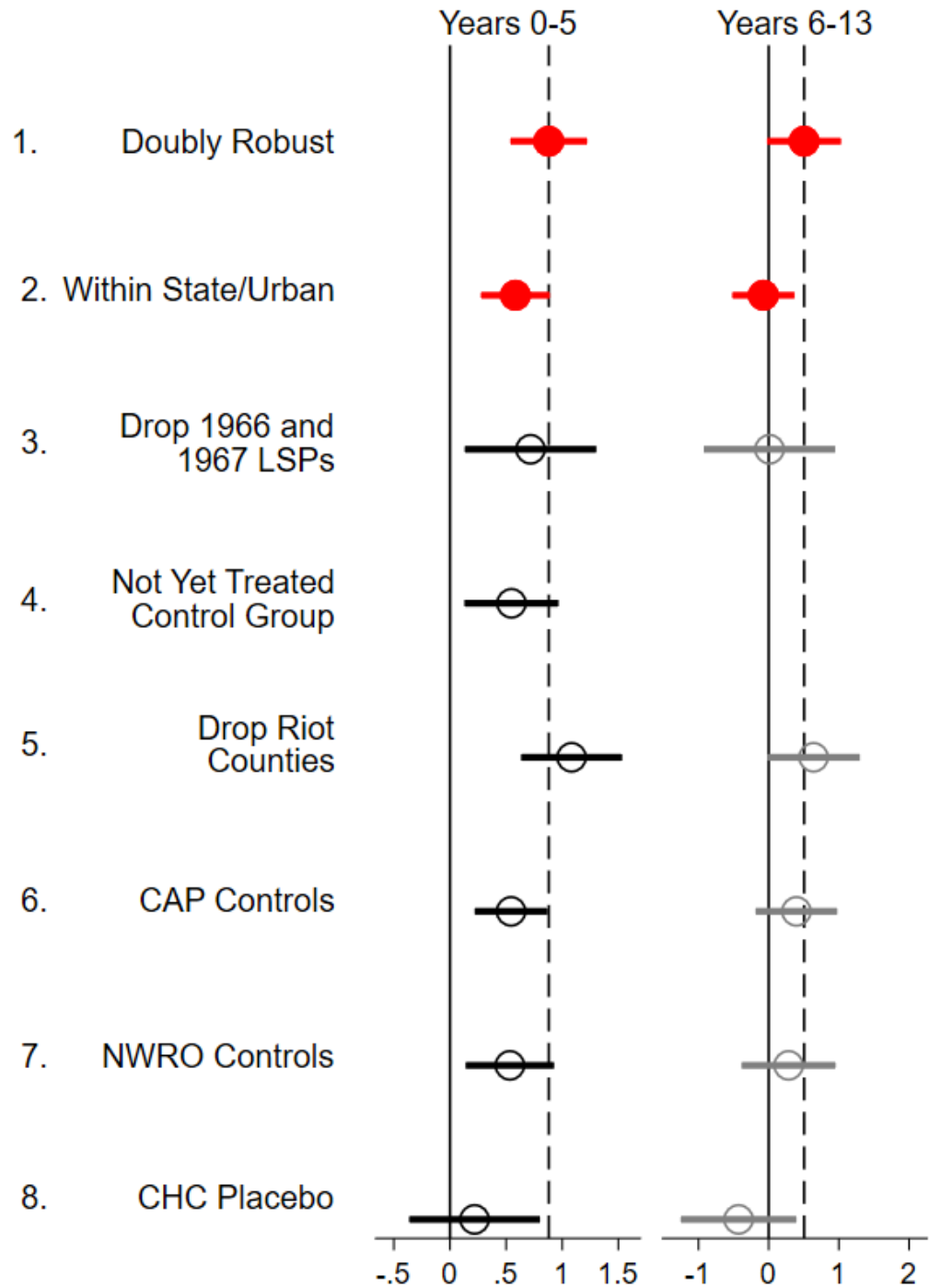
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<sup>5</sup> We also estimated models on a sample of counties that ever received a CAP. This limits the controls to counties selected by the OEO for *some* bundle of programs. If our main estimates are biased by comparing counties that did or did not apply/receive funds, this sample restriction should eliminate our effects. In fact, they do not change.

<sup>6</sup> These are not admissible controls if LSPs causally affect WRO establishment. If, on the other hand, WROs spring up independently, but LSPs make them more effective, these estimates net out the effect of a WRO alone. Online Appendix A provides archival evidence on how LSPs and WROs worked together that is consistent with the second explanation.

that CHCs should affect family structure or welfare participation, however, as they focused almost exclusively on providing health services. We take CHC treatment dates from Bailey and Goodman-Bacon (2015b) and present reweighted ATT estimates for this placebo program. We find no strong evidence of changes in divorce, AFDC participation, or nonmarital birth rates after CHC establishment, even though the program arose from a nearly identical process to that of LSPs.

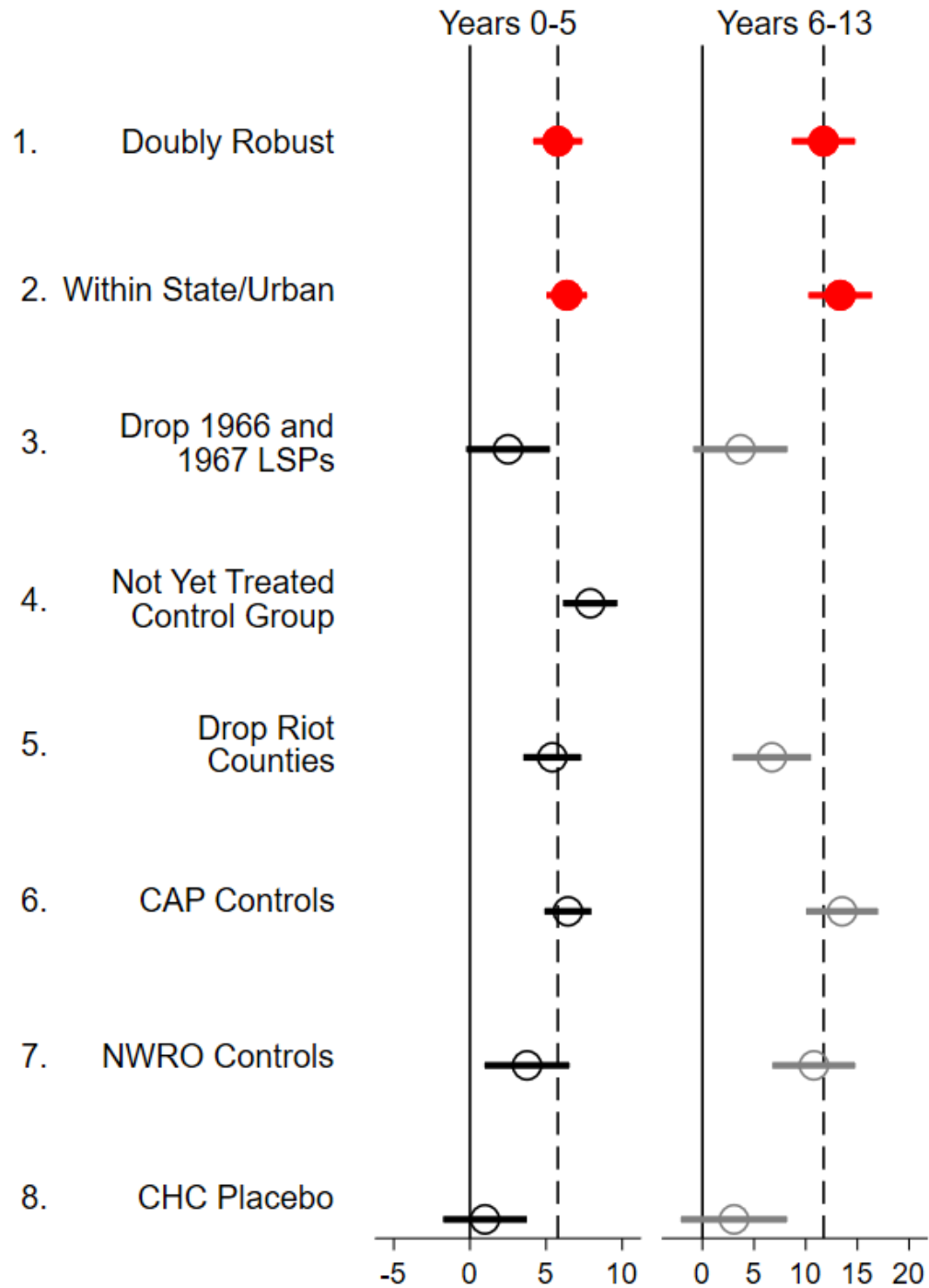
**Figure B1. Robustness of Intention-to-Treat Effects for Divorce Rates**



*Notes:* The figure plots shorter-run (years 0–5) and longer-run (years 6–13) estimates for alternative specifications discussed in section V. Estimates the control for CAP (Community Action Program) or NWRO (National Welfare Rights Organization) presence add dummies use an outcome modelling estimator that compares treated counties to comparison counties that first introduced those programs in the same year. The CHC (Community Health Center) placebo estimates come from a doubly robust estimator based on the timing of CHC establishment between 1965 and 1974. Confidence intervals are based on a multiplier bootstrap procedure clustered by county.

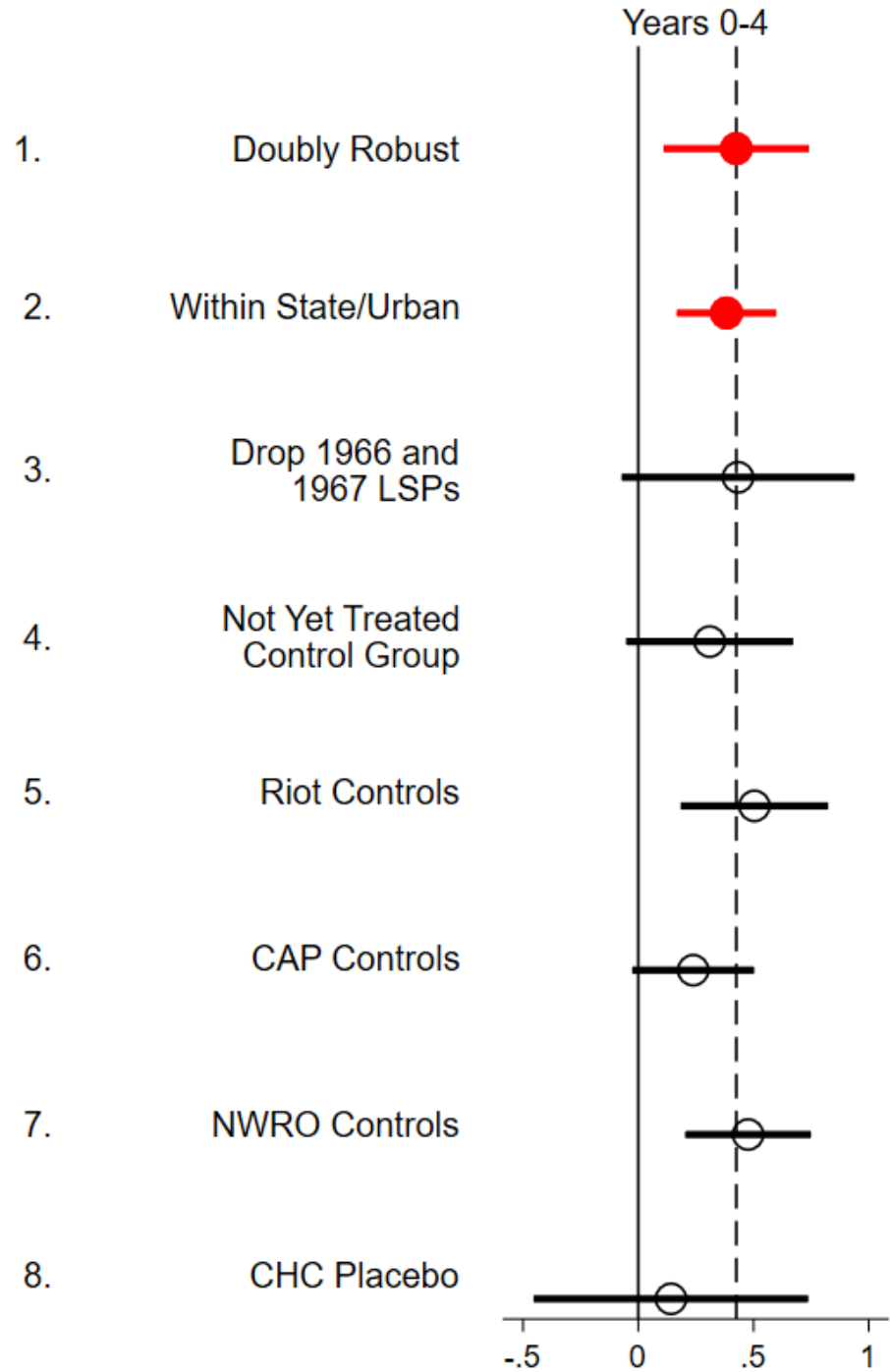


**Figure B2. Robustness of Intention-to-Treat Effects for AFDC Participation Rates**



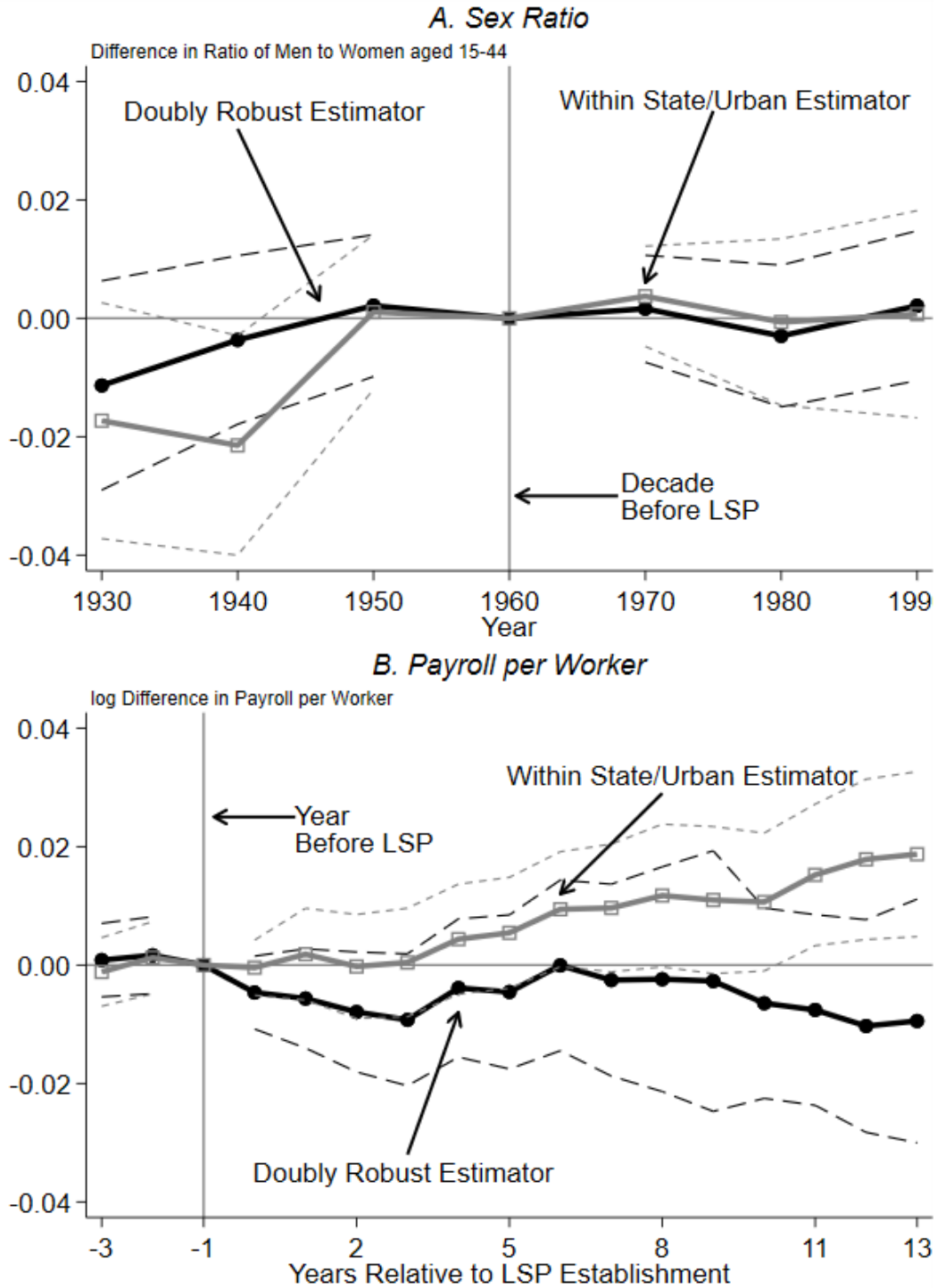
*Notes:* The figure plots shorter-run (years 0–5) and longer-run (years 6–13) estimates for alternative specifications discussed in section V. Estimates the control for CAP (Community Action Program) or NWRO (National Welfare Rights Organization) presence add dummies use an outcome modelling estimator that compares treated counties to comparison counties that first introduced those programs in the same year. The CHC (Community Health Center) placebo estimates come from a doubly robust estimator based on the timing of CHC establishment between 1965 and 1974. Confidence intervals are based on a multiplier bootstrap procedure clustered by county.

**Figure B3. Robustness of Intention-to-Treat Effects for Nonmarital Birth Rates**



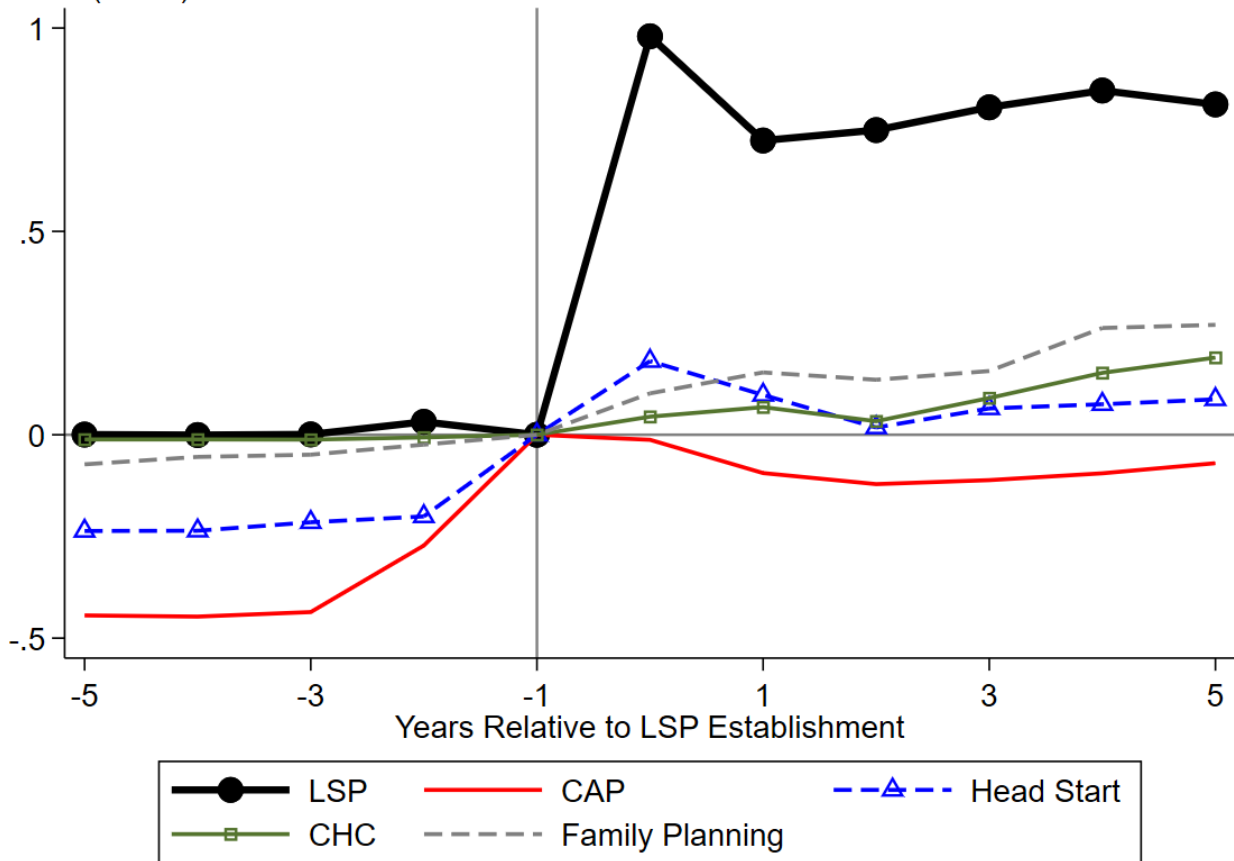
*Notes:* The figure plots shorter-run (years 0–5) and longer-run (years 6–13) estimates for alternative specifications discussed in section V. Estimates the control for CAP (Community Action Program) or NWRO (National Welfare Rights Organization) presence add dummies use an outcome modelling estimator that compares treated counties to comparison counties that first introduced those programs in the same year. The CHC (Community Health Center) placebo estimates come from a doubly robust estimator based on the timing of CHC establishment between 1965 and 1974. Confidence intervals are based on a multiplier bootstrap procedure clustered by county.

**Figure B4. Relationship between LSP Establishment, Payroll per Worker, and Sex Ratios**



Notes: The dependent variable in Panel A is the ratio of men to women ages 15–34 in county  $c$  and year  $t$  from Census population tabulations (Haines and ICPSR 2010). The dependent variable in Panel B is the log of payroll per worker in county  $c$  and year  $t$  from County Business Patterns data. Panel A plots event-study estimates from a version of equation (1) that interacts a dummy for receiving any LSP grant with Census year dummies. Panel B plots event-study estimates from equation (1).

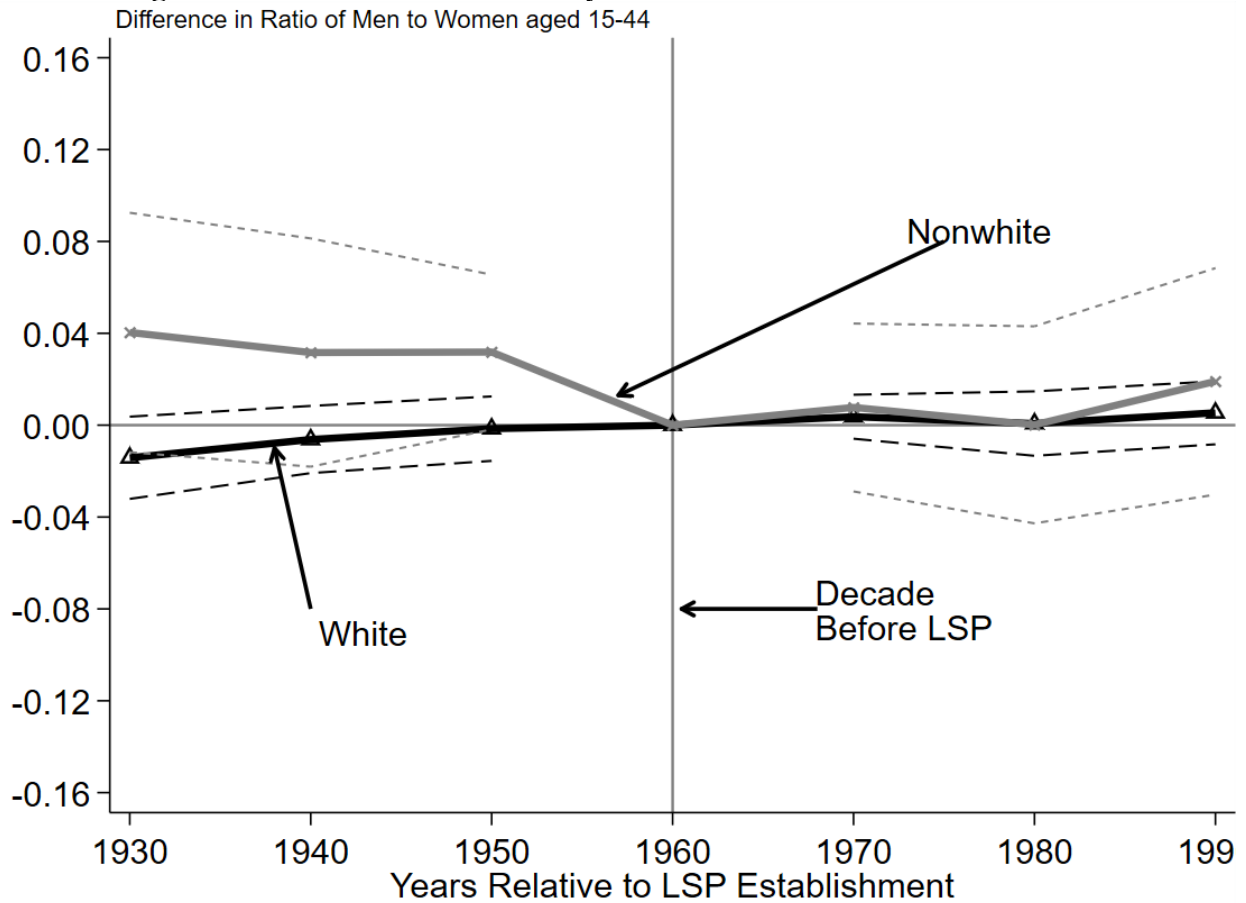
**Figure B5. Relationship between LSP Establishment and Other War on Poverty Grants**  
P(Grant)



*Notes:* The dependent variables are annual grant probabilities for the listed programs taken from Bailey and Goodman-Bacon (2015a). The figure plots event-study estimates from the doubly robust specification. CAP = Community Action Program; CHC = Community Health Center.

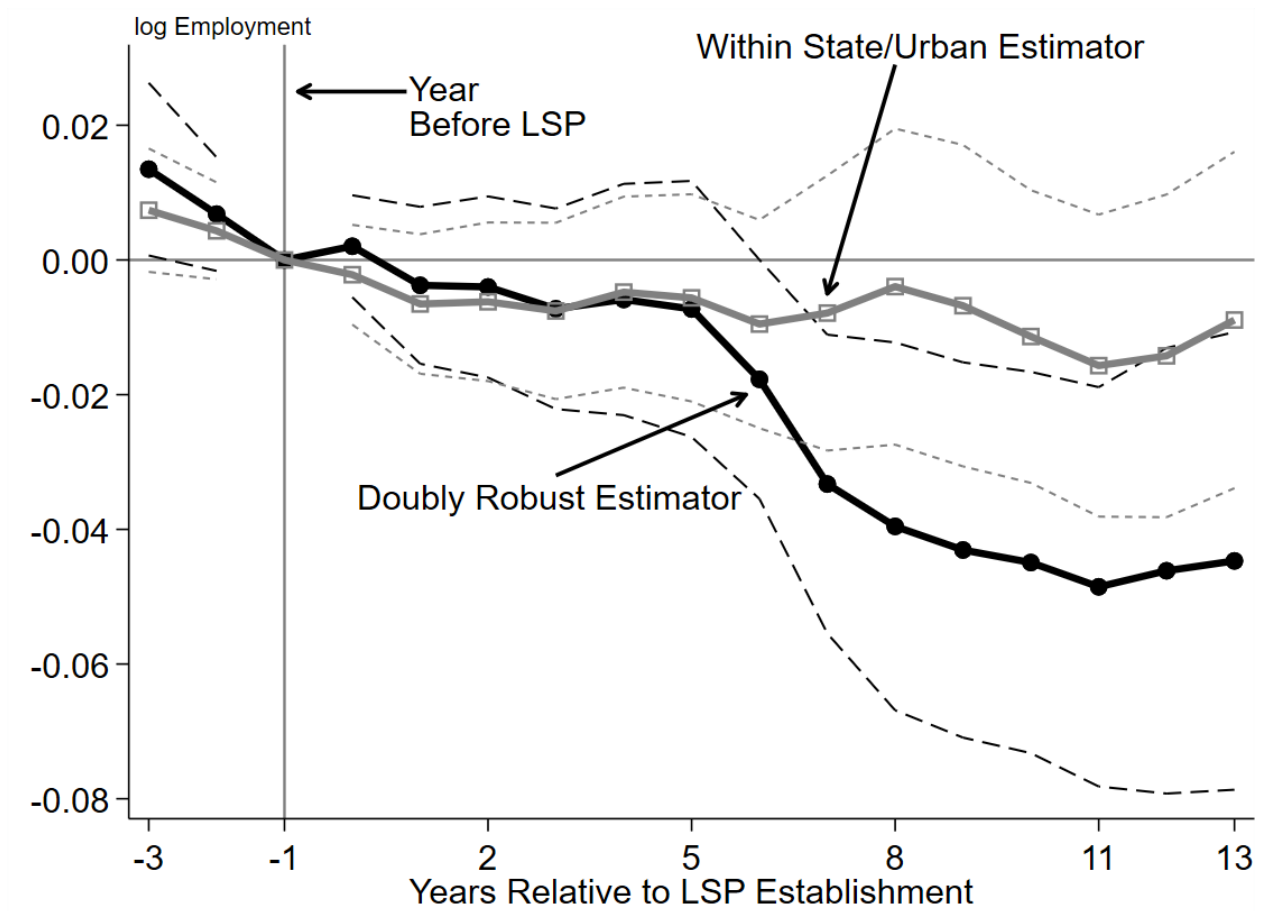
## **APPENDIX C: ADDITIONAL RESULTS**

**Figure C1. Trends in Sex Ratios by Race in LSP and Non-LSP Counties**



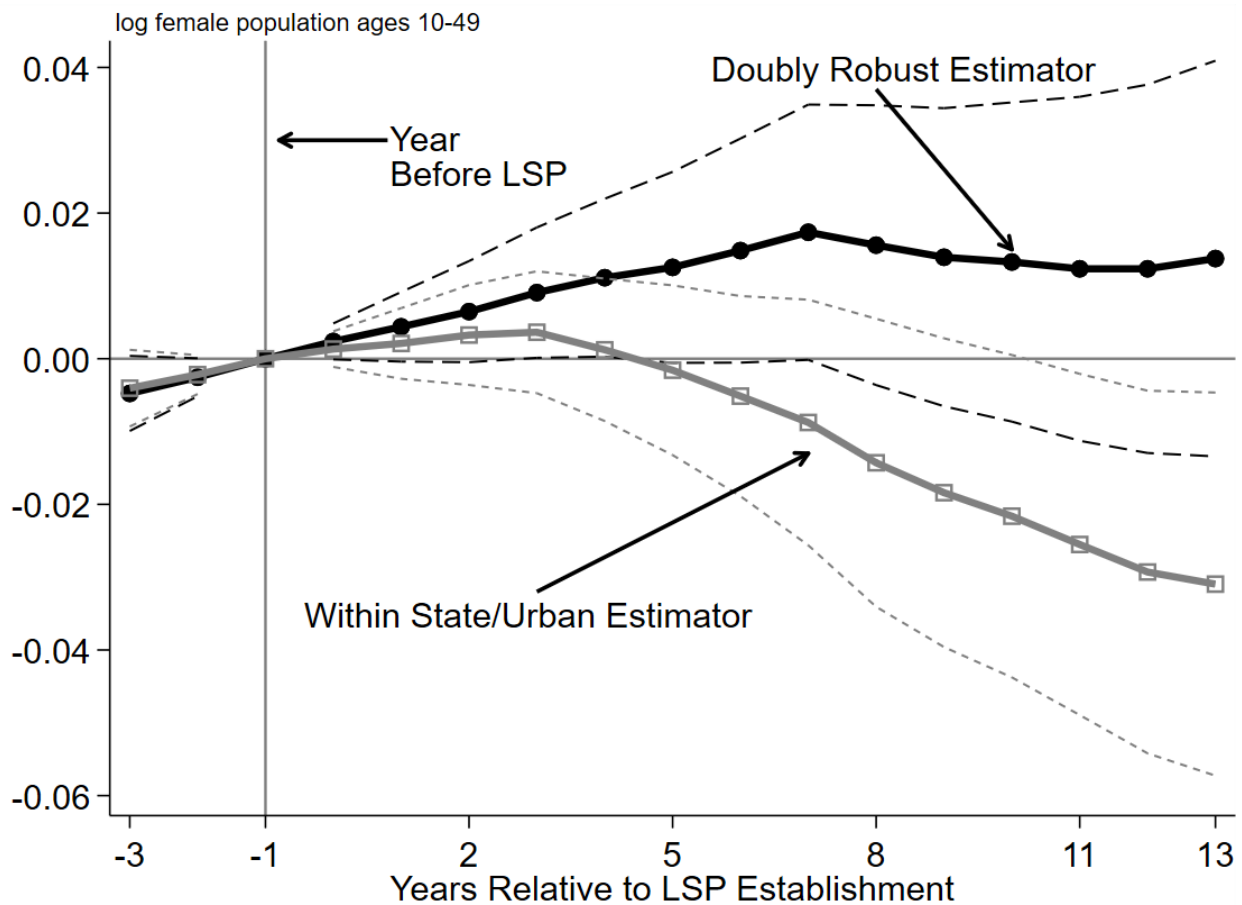
*Notes:* This figure plot the average county level sex ratio for 15–24 and 25–34 year olds using aggregate Census data (Haines and ICPSR 2010). Because small counties that contain prisons have extremely skewed sex ratios, the sample drops observations in which more than 20 percent of the (race-specific) population were inmates in 1970 or in which the male/female sex ratio exceeds 2. We weight non-LSP counties using the propensity score weights described in the text. We did not include sex ratios in the propensity score equation, so the method does not impose balance on this variable.

**Figure C2. Changes in log Employment before and after LSP Establishment**



*Notes:* The figure is comparable to Panel B of Figure 12.

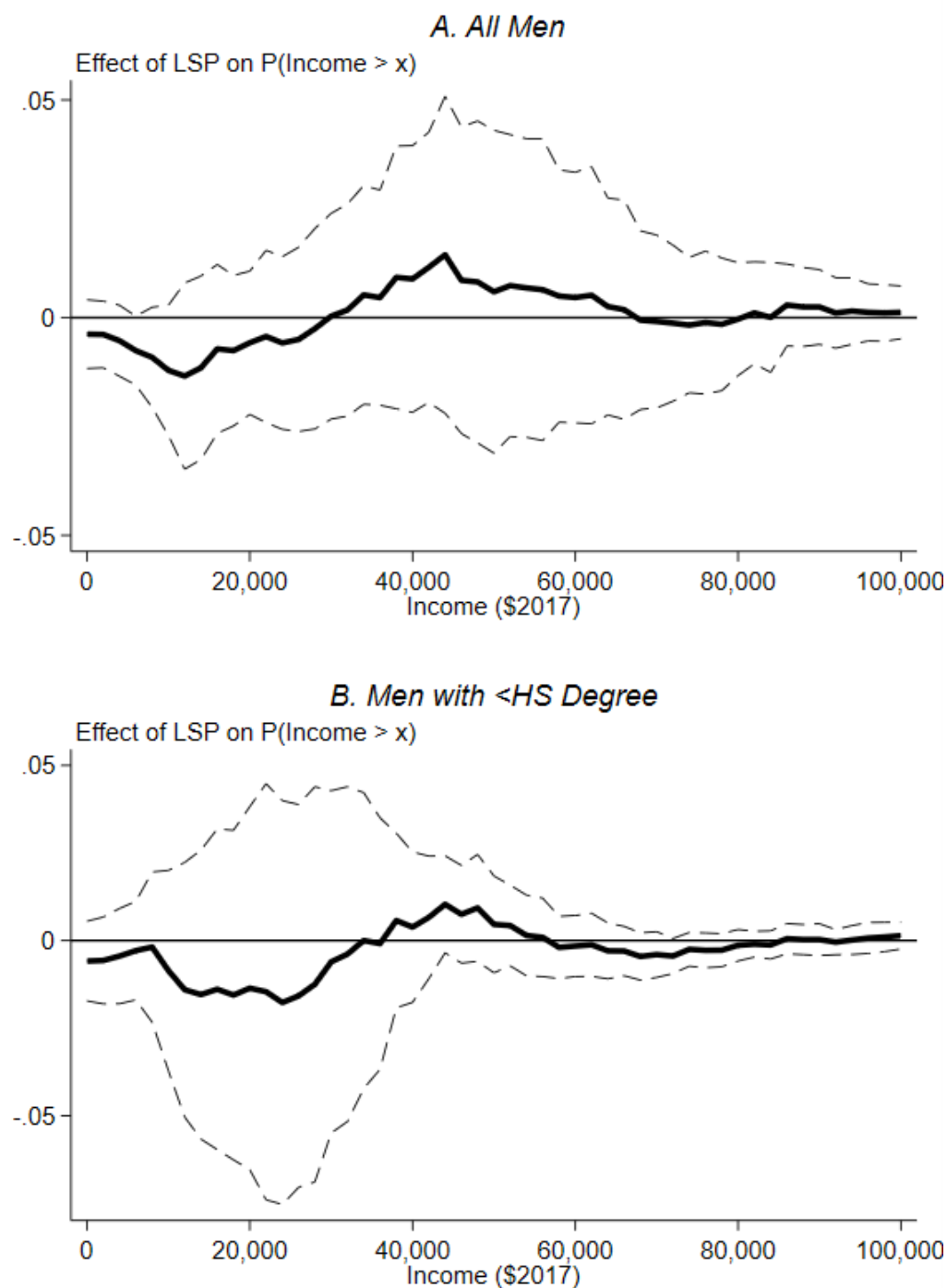
**Figure C3. Changes in log Female Population Aged 10-49 before and after LSP Establishment**



Notes: The figure is comparable to Panel B of Figure 12.

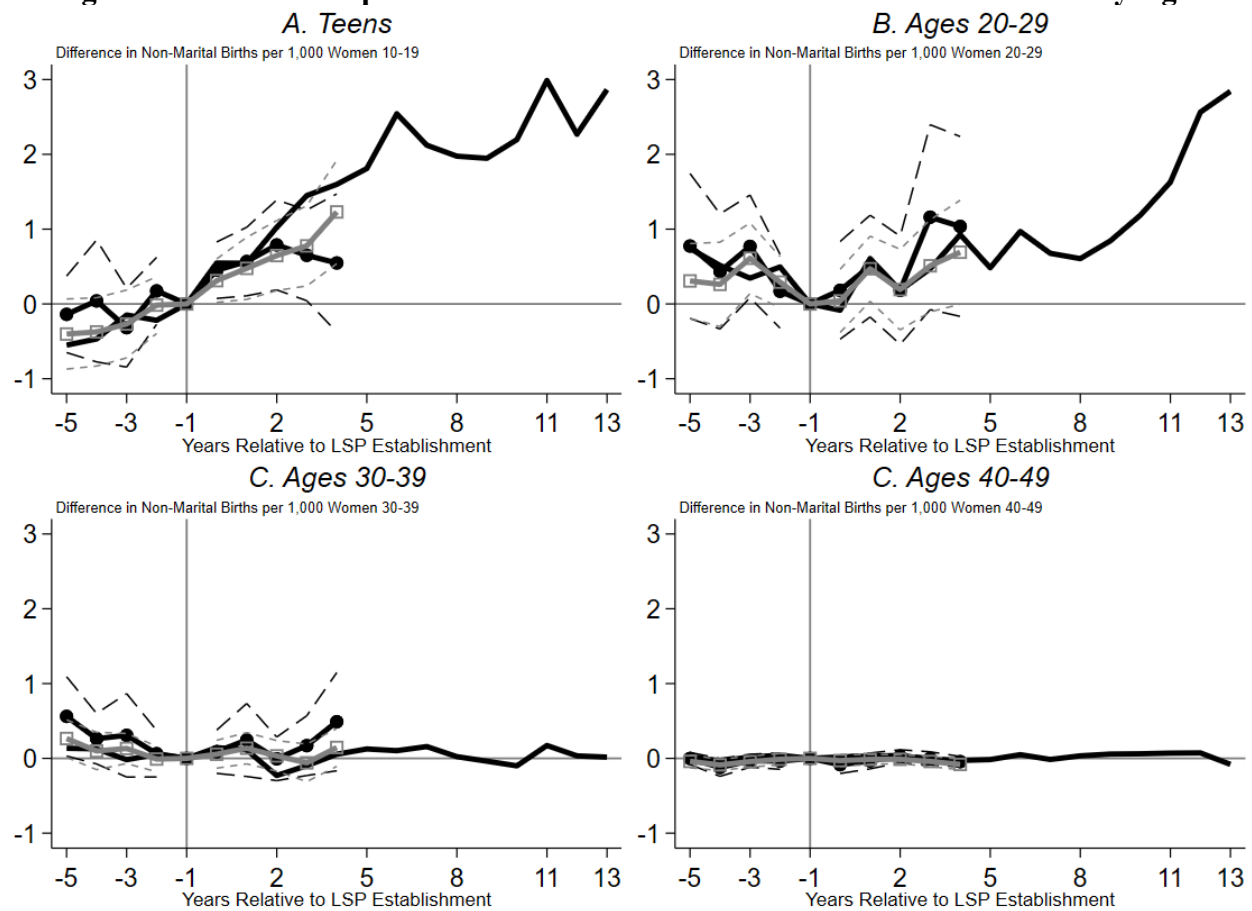


**Figure C4. LSP Counties Have No Differential Changes in Men's Earned Income between 1960 and 1970**



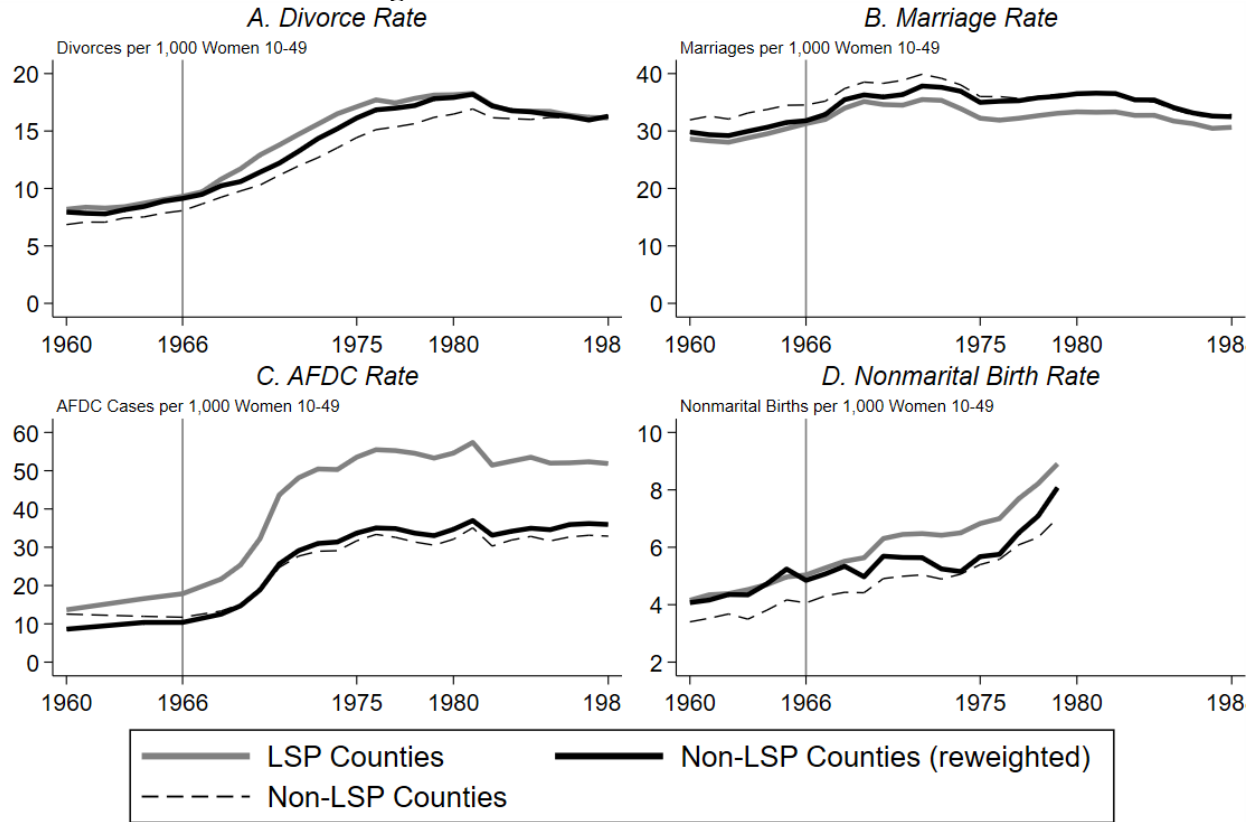
*Notes:* The figure shows distribution regression estimates using a sample of men from 81 identifies counties in the 1960 and 1970 Census samples. The outcome variables are dummies that equal the change in the share of men earning greater than or equal to  $x$ . Panel A uses all men ages 18–54, and panel B uses men without a high school degree. The figure shows no differential changes in the earned income distribution, and thus “marriageability,” of men.

**Figure C5. Relationship between LSP Establishment and Nonmarital Births by Age**



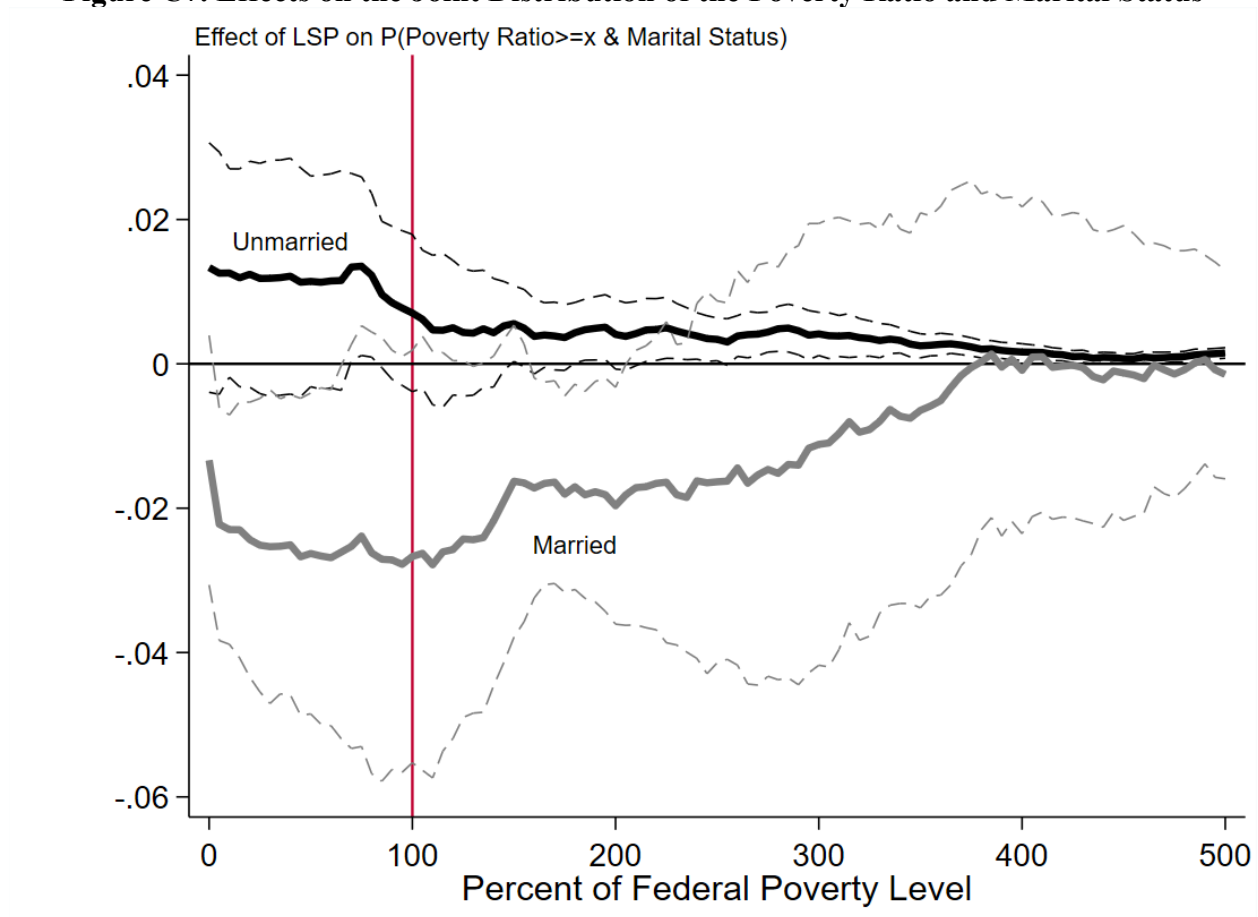
*Notes:* The dependent variable is the number of births to unmarried mothers in county  $c$ , year  $t$ , and age group  $a$  divided by the number of women in age group  $a$  measured in thousands. The average dependent variable in treated counties in the year their LSP starts is 7.8 births per 1,000 teens; 8 births per 1,000 women 20–29; 2.1 births per 1,000 women 30–39; and 0.2 births per 1,000 women 40–49. See notes to Figure 6 for details on the specification. The full sample includes 112 counties (65 treated), and the long sample contains 60 counties (28 treated).

**Figure C6. Time Series Outcome Plots**



Notes: The figure shows the average outcomes by year for LSP counties and non-LSP counties. Means for non-LSP counties are weighted using the inverse propensity score weights described in section III.

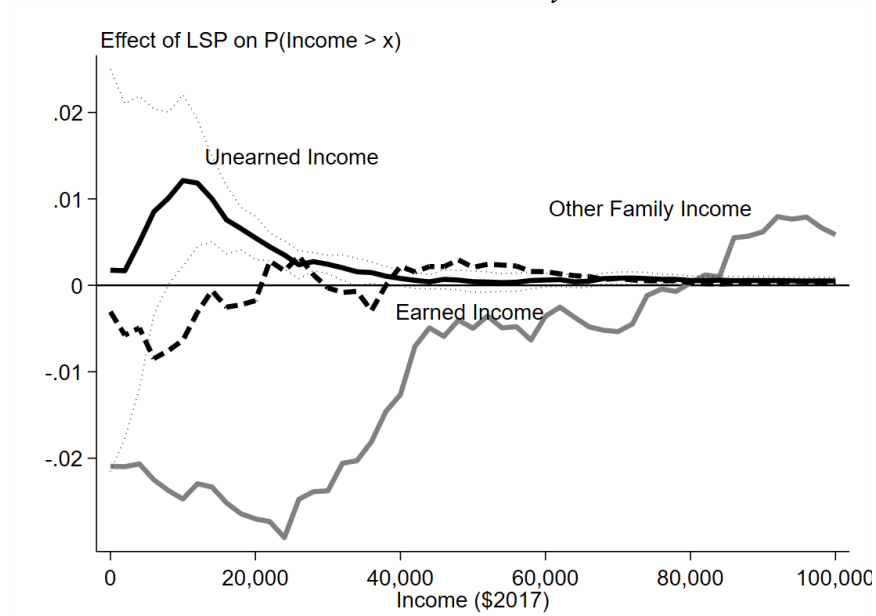
**Figure C7. Effects on the Joint Distribution of the Poverty Ratio and Marital Status**



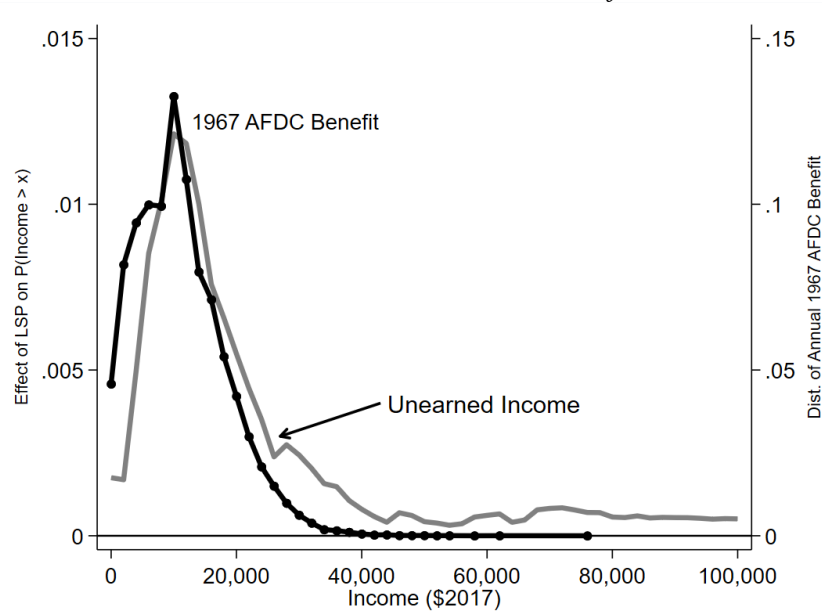
*Notes:* The distribution regression estimates use points in the poverty-to-income ratio distribution multiplied by dummies for married and unmarried (estimated in separate regressions) as outcomes. The sample includes mothers in the 1960 and 1970 Census. The figure shows that the null effect on poverty comes from an increase in being poor and unmarried and an offsetting decrease in being poor and married.

**Figure C8. Relationship between LSP Establishment and the Distribution of Mother's Income by Source, 1960–1970**

*A. Mother's Income by Source*

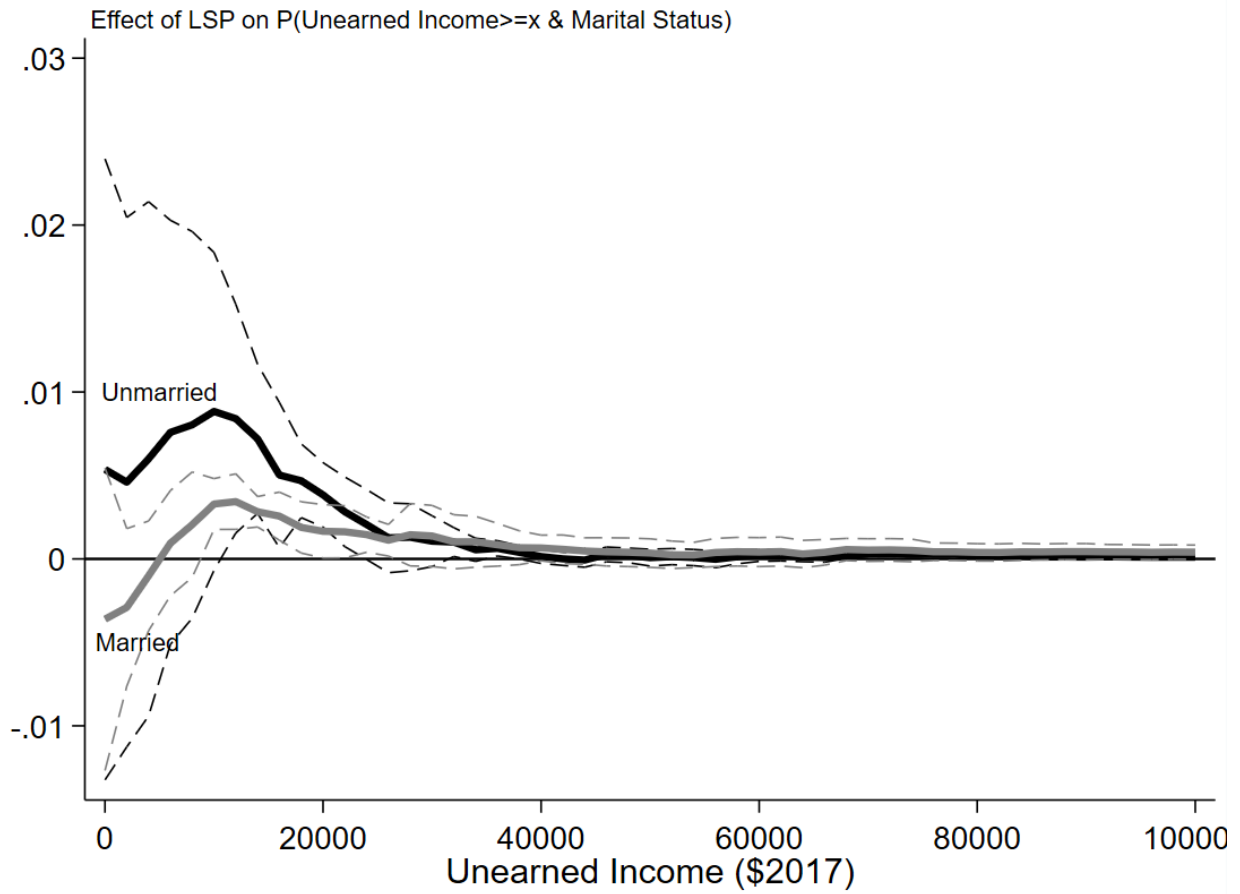


*B. Unearned Income versus AFDC Benefit Distribution*



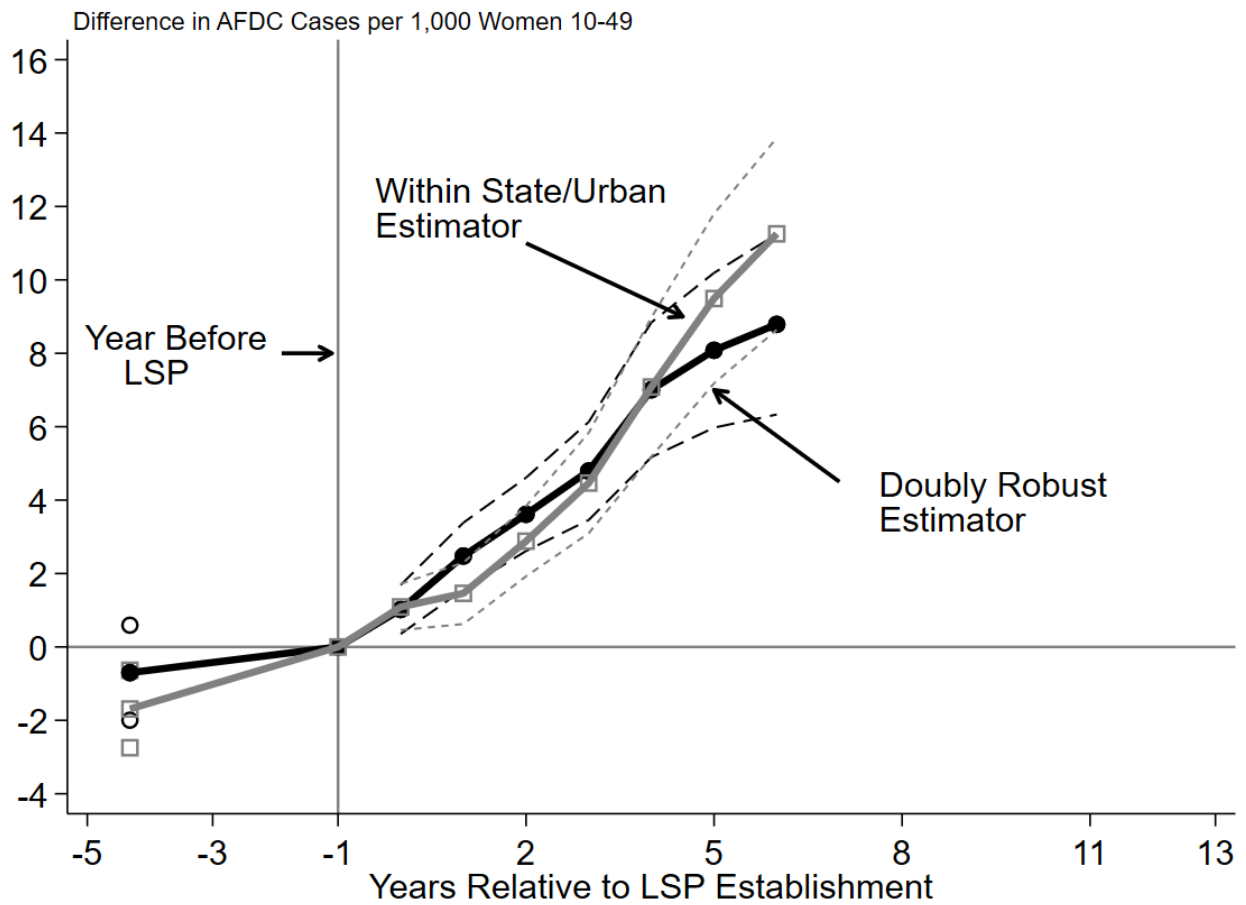
*Notes:* The figure plots DD coefficients from the reweighting estimator with the outcome variable defined as the change from 1960–1970 in the county-level probability of having income greater than or equal to the amount on the  $x$ -axis (measured in \$2,000 bins in 2017 dollars). This reflects changes in the cumulative distribution of income by source. The sample includes 390,599 mothers living with their children in 1960 and 170,941 in 1970. 81 counties are identified in both years. Unearned income equals total individual income minus earned income (wage, business, and farm income). Other family income equals total family income minus the mother's own income. The AFDC benefits are household level total monthly benefits in December, 1967 (DHEW 2011) inflated to 2017 dollars using the CPI and multiplied by 12 to represent annual benefit amounts. The dotted lines are 95-percent pointwise confidence intervals for the unearned income results. None of the individual coefficients for other sources of income are statistically significant.

**Figure C9. Effects on the Joint Distribution of the Unearned Income and Marital Status**



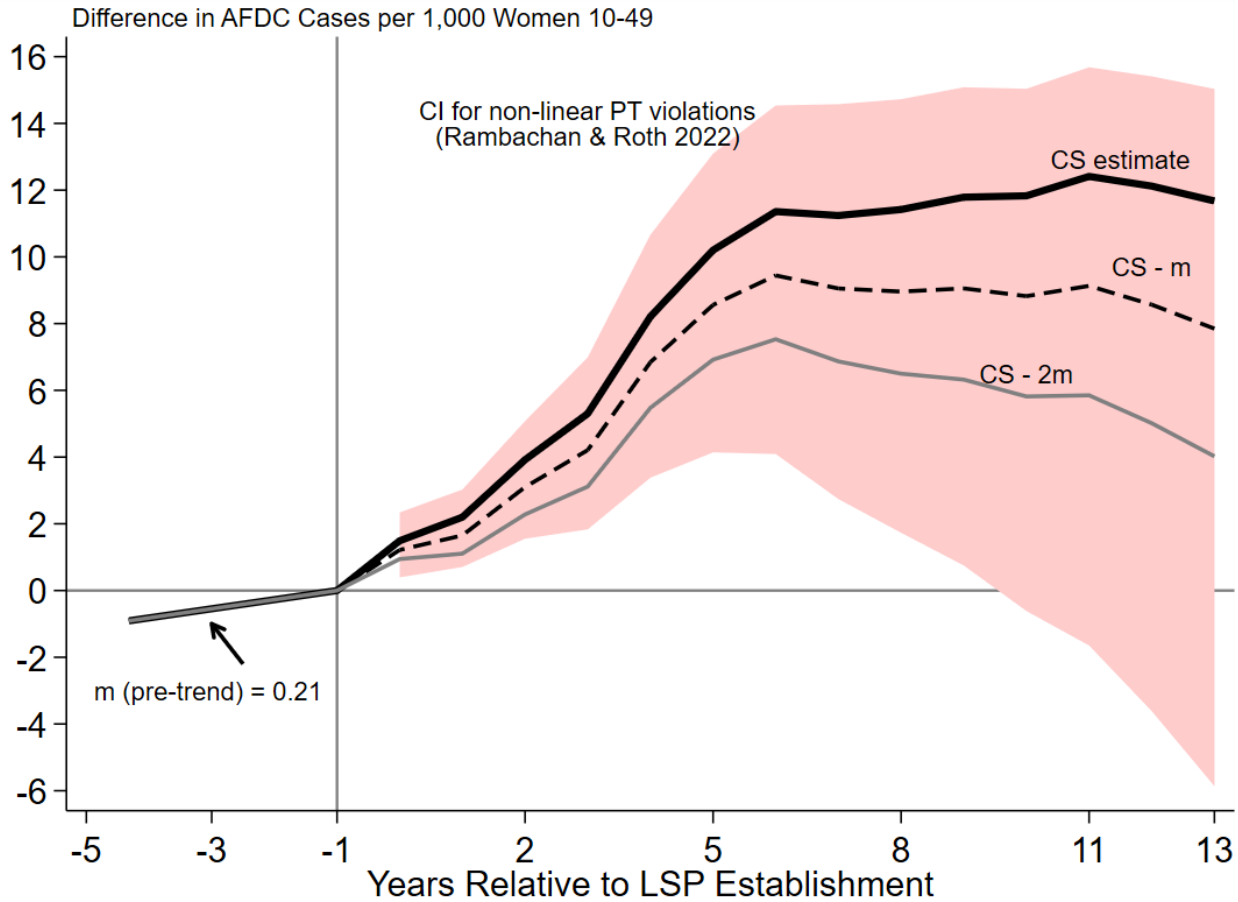
*Notes:* The distribution regression estimates use points in the unearned income distribution multiplied by dummies for married and unmarried (estimated in separate regressions) as outcomes. The sample includes mothers in the 1960 and 1970 Census. The figure shows that the probability of having unearned income and being an unmarried mother rises (consistent with interpreting our results as AFDC).

**Figure C10. Short-Run AFDC Estimates, Full Sample of Counties**



Notes: These results are comparable to those in figure 5, but they use the 2,887 counties with AFDC rates available through 1980.

**Figure C11. Robustness of AFDC Results to Violations of Parallel Trends.**



Notes: This figure demonstrates the robustness of our AFDC results to violations of parallel trends. The estimated pre-trend for the doubly robust specification is a differential change in cases of 0.21 per year, which we denote by  $m$ . The thick black line is the original CS estimate of the event-study parameters,  $ATT(e)$ . The thinner lines net out different multiples of  $m$ . Each line equals  $ATT(e) - \gamma \cdot m \cdot e$ , where  $\gamma$  is either 1 (assume the pre-trend continues through the post-period), or 2 (assume the pre-trend doubles in the post-period). The shaded area is a confidence set constructed according to the procedure in (Rambachan and Roth 2022). We allow violations of parallel trends to increase by up to +0.1 cases in each year. We choose this value because over five pre-periods, it would reproduce our estimated pre-treatment coefficient. Even with non-linearly evolving bias—i.e., if the counterfactual change in AFDC rates in treated counties was growing increasingly faster than the observed changes in untreated counties—we would still conclude that LSP causally increased AFDC participation rates for up to 11 years.



**Table C1. Estimated ATT of LSPs Using a Contiguous County Comparison Group and a Comparison Between Contiguous Counties and Non-contiguous Counties**

	(1) Divorces per 1,000 Women	(2) AFDC Cases per 1,000 Women	(3) Non-Marital Births per 1,000 Women
<i>A. LSP Counties versus Contiguous Control Counties</i>			
Pre-LSP			
Years -5 to -2	-0.02 (0.14)	-1.51 (0.61)	-0.19 (0.10)
Shorter-Run Post-LSP			
Years 0-5	0.55 (0.17)	6.43 (0.80)	0.35 (0.15)
Longer-Run Post-LSP			
Years 6-13	0.36 (0.27)	16.07 (1.60)	
<i>B. Contiguous Non-LSP Counties versus Non-Contiguous Control Counties</i>			
Pre-LSP			
Years -5 to -2	-0.23 (0.15)	1.32 (0.48)	0.13 (0.20)
Shorter-Run Post-LSP			
Years 0-5	-0.13 (0.16)	-1.48 (0.62)	0.18 (0.25)
Longer-Run Post-LSP			
Years 6-13	-0.06 (0.25)	-4.12 (1.25)	

*Notes:* The table presents estimates from outcome regression specifications that restrict comparison counties based on proximity to treated counties. In panel A, the comparison group consists of untreated counties that border treated counties. In panel B, the treated group are untreated counties that border LSP counties, and the comparison group consists of other untreated counties that are not contiguous to treated counties.

**Table C2. Estimated ATT of LSPs by Urbanicity & Black Migration**

	(1) Divorces per 1,000 Women	(2) AFDC Cases per 1,000 Women	(3) Non-Marital Births per 1,000 Women
<i>A. Drop Highly Urbanized Counties</i>			
Pre-LSP			
Years -5 to -2	-0.10 (0.20)	0.84 (1.25)	
Shorter-Run Post-LSP			
Years 0-5	0.68 (0.22)	3.42 (1.59)	
Longer-Run Post-LSP			
Years 6-13	0.40 (0.30)	7.14 (2.45)	
<i>B. Dropping High Nonwhite Migration Counties</i>			
Pre-LSP			
Years -5 to -2	-0.07 (0.20)	-1.63 (0.73)	-0.03 (0.15)
Shorter-Run Post-LSP			
Years 0-5	0.74 (0.21)	7.30 (1.22)	0.46 (0.21)
Longer-Run Post-LSP			
Years 6-13	0.68 (0.30)	16.70 (2.62)	

*Notes:* The table presents estimate from the doubly robust specification in columns (1) and (2) and a reweighted specification in column (3). The samples match those in Table 4 except they drop counties that are between 69 and 100 percent urban in 1960 or in the top quintile of the percent change in the black population share between 1960 and 1970 (+74 percent or greater; counties with no black residents in 1960 are kept in the sample).

**Table C3. Balance in Demographic Changes, Census Sample**

	(1) Inverse Propensity Score Reweighted Estimator	(2) Within Region Estimator
Immigrant	0.007 (0.006)	0.009 (0.005)
Interstate Migrant	-0.008 (0.017)	-0.017 (0.009)
White	-0.010 (0.013)	-0.031 (0.007)
12+ Years of Education	0.000 (0.019)	0.006 (0.008)
16+ Years of Education	0.002 (0.005)	0.000 (0.004)
Employed	-0.003 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.006)
In School	0.005 (0.005)	0.004 (0.005)
Has Kids (all women)	0.005 (0.005)	0.004 (0.005)

*Notes:* The table presents evidence of balance across LSP and non-LSP counties in demographic and education trends. Standard errors (clustered by county) from a multiplier bootstrap procedure are in brackets.

**Table C4. Balance in Age Distribution Trends**

	(1)	(2)
	Inverse Propensity Score Reweighted Estimator	Within Region Estimator
20-24	0.001 (0.007)	0.003 (0.003)
25-29	0.000 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.005)
30-34	0.004 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.005)
35-39	-0.008 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.005)
40-44	0.002 (0.003)	0.007 (0.004)
45-49	-0.002 (0.007)	0.000 (0.003)

*Notes:* The table presents evidence of balance across LSP and non-LSP counties in changes in the age distribution of mothers. Standard errors (clustered by county) from a multiplier bootstrap procedure are in brackets.

**Table C5. The Effect of LSP on Marital Status**

	(1) Inverse Propensity Score Reweighted Estimator	(2) Within Region Estimator
Married	-0.013 (0.009)	-0.024 (0.004)
Divorced	0.005 (0.004)	0.005 (0.001)
Divorced or Separated	0.008 (0.005)	0.015 (0.003)
Never Married	0.005 (0.004)	0.010 (0.002)

*Notes:* Standard errors (clustered by county) from a multiplier bootstrap procedure are in brackets.

**Table C6. Falsification Test Using Changes in Family Structure Between 1940 and 1960**

	(1) All	(2) <HS	(3) ≥HS
<i>A. Within-Region Specification</i>			
Unmarried Head of Household	0.006 (0.004)	0.011 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.008)
Living with the Father of Any Children	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.012 (0.006)	0.010 (0.008)
Has Kids (all women)	0.012 (0.007)	0.018 (0.008)	0.000 (0.012)
<i>B. Reweighted Specification</i>			
Unmarried Head of Household	-0.001 (0.004)	0.003 (0.006)	-0.011 (0.008)
Living with the Father of Any Children	0.001 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.007)	0.011 (0.009)
Has Kids (all women)	-0.004 (0.008)	0.008 (0.01)	0.002 (0.013)

Notes: This table uses data from 293 counties identified in both the 1940 and 1960 public use Census samples (CITE). We estimate the same specifications used in Table 7. Because the 1940 Census did not include “separated” as a marital status, we code only women who report being “married, spouse present” as actually married.

## **APPENDIX D. EXTRAPOLATING NONMARITAL BIRTH ESTIMATES TO ALL COUNTIES**

Let  $\Delta y_j(D_j)$  be the change in a given outcome for county  $j$  from 1964 to 1979 as a function of treatment  $D_j = \{1,0\}$ . We are interested in the share of the growth in  $y$  that the ATT of LSPs can explain, denoted  $\%LSP$ . This statistic is a function of the share of women exposed to treatment, the difference in average outcome changes in treated counties versus the average county, and the proportional effect of LSPs in treated counties:

$$\begin{aligned} \%LSP &\equiv \frac{\frac{1}{N} \sum_j (\Delta y_j(D_j) - \Delta y_j(0))}{\frac{1}{N} \sum_j \Delta y_j(D_j)} = \frac{\frac{\sum_j D_j}{N} \frac{\overbrace{\sum_j D_j [\Delta y_j(1) - \Delta y_j(0)]}^{ATT(1979)}}{\sum_j D_j}}{\Delta \bar{y}} \\ &= \underbrace{\frac{\tau}{\tau}}_{(a) \text{ share treated}} \underbrace{\left[ \frac{\overline{\Delta y^T}}{\Delta \bar{y}} \right]}_{(b) \text{ ratio of } \Delta \bar{y} \text{ in treated counties vs average}} \underbrace{\left[ \frac{ATT(1979)}{\Delta \bar{y}^T} \right]}_{(c) \text{ share of } \Delta \bar{y} \text{ explained in treated counties}} \end{aligned}$$

To calculate this national quantity using estimates and data from our smaller nonmarital birth sample, we make two assumptions:

1. The proportional ATT,  $\frac{ATT(1979)}{\Delta \bar{y}^T}$ , in our estimation sample (72 treated counties) is the same as it is in all treated counties (273). This is supported by the fact that most unobserved counties are in non-reporting states (rather than under the population reporting threshold) and so include large cities that resemble the places we observe.
2. The ratio of treated-to-average outcome changes,  $\frac{\Delta \bar{y}^T}{\Delta \bar{y}}$ , in the 26 states that contribute to our estimation sample is the same as it nationwide. For our estimation sample we have data on the change in nonmarital birth rates in treated counties (4.8 births per 1,000 women; Table 5) and data on the change in state-level nonmarital birth rates that aggregate over all counties (3.5 births per 1,000 women). The ratio of these changes is 1.36.

If these assumptions hold, then to calculate  $\%LSP$ , we scale the proportional ATT in treated counties (27–30 percent) by the treated share ( $\tau = 0.57$ ) times the ratio of outcome changes ( $\frac{\Delta \bar{y}^T}{\Delta \bar{y}} = 1.36$ ), which is 0.77. This implies that LSPs account for between 21 ( $27 \times 0.77$ ) and 23 ( $30 \times 0.77$ ) percent of the national change in nonmarital birth rates.



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