

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**

COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND REFORM

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**MEMORANDUM**

**September 29, 2022**

**To: Members of the Committee on Oversight and Reform**

**Fr: Majority Staff**

**Re: Analysis of Republican Efforts to Restrict Abortion Access Nationwide**

On June 24, 2022, the Supreme Court issued its decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization*, upholding a Mississippi law that prohibited most abortions after 15 weeks and overturning the two foundational cases affirming the longstanding constitutional right to abortion, *Roe v. Wade* and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*. Following this decision, many Republican-led states quickly implemented existing “trigger bans” that made abortion illegal once *Roe* fell and proposed new restrictions. Recently, Republicans in Congress have made clear that they want to pass a law to criminalize abortion nationwide. This memorandum analyzes state and federal actions to ban and restrict abortion by erecting barriers to care and makes the following findings:

- From 2017 to 2021, Republican-led states enacted approximately **127 laws restricting abortion**, impacting the rights of approximately **31 million women**.
- Since 2021, Republicans in Congress have introduced **52 bills to ban or restrict abortion nationwide**, including 16 bills that call for criminal prosecution of doctors and nurses and four targeting a person’s ability to travel to obtain an abortion. At least 179 House Republicans support **banning abortion at only six weeks**—before most women even know they are pregnant—and at least 167 House Republicans—nearly 80% of the Republican conference—support legislation that would **effectively ban all abortions**.
- Republicans’ national abortion bans would take away reproductive freedom from nearly **64 million women** across the country—roughly twice the number impacted by current state restrictions.
- A national ban on abortion may **increase maternal deaths by 24%** and **increase maternal deaths of Black women by 39%**.

- States with the most severe abortion restrictions have the **worst maternal and infant outcomes, larger gender wage gaps, and higher poverty rates for women and children.**

## I. **REPUBLICAN-LED STATES ARE RESTRICTING THE RIGHTS OF MILLIONS OF WOMEN**

The Supreme Court’s decision in *Dobbs* was the culmination of a decades-long campaign by Republicans to eliminate the constitutional right to abortion.<sup>1</sup> Since *Roe* recognized a constitutional right to abortion, Republican politicians have led efforts that resulted in the passage of more than 1,336 abortion restrictions. 44% of those laws passed in the last decade alone.<sup>2</sup>

Between 2017 and 2021, Republican governors signed into law approximately 127 measures banning abortion or instituting restrictions that erect barriers to care.<sup>3</sup> Approximately 31.5 million women of reproductive age live in the states that have enacted these bans and restrictions.<sup>4</sup>

With *Roe* and *Casey* overturned, many states have moved quickly to further restrict or ban abortion.<sup>5</sup> Some states had “trigger bans” in place that made abortion illegal once *Roe* was overturned, and other states have pursued new restrictions. As of September 28, 2022, abortion has been banned in 15 states and abortion access is severely limited or threatened in an additional 11 states:

- **Abortion bans are in effect in 15 states.** Texas, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky,

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<sup>1</sup> *For Conservatives, Ending Legal Abortion Is Just a Pit Stop*, Rewire News Group (June 14, 2022) (online at <https://rewirenewsgroup.com/2022/06/14/for-conservatives-ending-legal-abortion-is-just-a-pit-stop/>); see also *How G.O.P. Support for Decriminalizing Abortion Faded Over Decades*, New York Times (June 24, 2022) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2022/06/24/us/politics/republican-abortion-voters-history.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/24/us/politics/republican-abortion-voters-history.html)); *Twin Republican Strategies Brought the Antiabortion Movement to the Cusp of Victory in the Supreme Court*, Washington Post (Dec. 4, 2021) (online at [www.washingtonpost.com/politics/abortion-opponents-republicans/2021/12/04/74abbd2-5447-11ec-8769-2f4ecdf7a2ad\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/abortion-opponents-republicans/2021/12/04/74abbd2-5447-11ec-8769-2f4ecdf7a2ad_story.html)).

<sup>2</sup> *For Conservatives, Ending Legal Abortion Is Just a Pit Stop*, Rewire News Group (June 14, 2022) (online at <https://rewirenewsgroup.com/2022/06/14/for-conservatives-ending-legal-abortion-is-just-a-pit-stop/>).

<sup>3</sup> Guttmacher Institute, *State Legislation Tracker* (online at [www.guttmacher.org/state-policy](http://www.guttmacher.org/state-policy)). Courts stopped some of these bans and restrictions from taking effect under the legal precedent of *Roe v. Wade* and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*.

<sup>4</sup> Census Bureau, *American Community Survey S0101: Age and Sex* (online at <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=S0101%3A%20AGE%20AND%20SEX&g=0400000US01,02,04,05,12,13,16,18,19,20,21,24,28,29,30,31,33,38,39,40,45,46,47,48,49,54,55,56&tid=ACSST1Y2021.S0101>).

<sup>5</sup> Brennan Center for Justice, *60 Days After Dobbs: State Legal Developments on Abortion* (Aug. 24, 2022) (online at [www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/60-days-after-dobbs-state-legal-developments-abortion/](http://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/60-days-after-dobbs-state-legal-developments-abortion/)).

Idaho, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Indiana, and Arizona have abortion bans in effect.<sup>6</sup>

- **Abortion bans are being challenged in court in three states.** Utah, Wyoming, and North Dakota have trigger bans that courts have temporarily blocked while litigation continues. These states also have other restrictive abortion laws in place.<sup>7</sup>
- **Three states have six-week bans in place.** Georgia, Ohio, and South Carolina have laws in place banning abortion after six weeks—before many women even know they are pregnant. Courts in Ohio and South Carolina have temporarily blocked these bans from taking effect while litigation continues.<sup>8</sup>
- **Abortion is at risk in five additional states.** State legislatures in Nebraska, Iowa, Michigan, and North Carolina are likely to advance measures to prohibit abortion.<sup>9</sup> Florida has imposed a 15-week abortion ban that has been temporarily blocked from taking effect while litigation continues.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Center for Reproductive Rights, *After Roe Fell: Abortion Laws by State* (online at <https://reproductiverights.org/maps/abortion-laws-by-state/>) (accessed Sept. 22, 2022). In 1994, the Supreme Court of Wisconsin held that Wisconsin’s pre-*Roe* ban would apply only to the crime of feticide and “cannot be used to charge for a consensual abortive type of procedure.” *State v. Black*, 188 Wis. 2d 639, 526 N.W.2d 132 (1994). Because of this precedent, the Wisconsin Attorney General and others are currently seeking a court judgement declaring the ban unenforceable. Faced with this legal uncertainty, clinics in Wisconsin stopped providing elective abortions after the *Dobbs* decision. Center for Reproductive Rights, *After Roe Fell: Abortion Laws by State > Wisconsin* (online at [reproductiverights.org/maps/state/wisconsin/](https://reproductiverights.org/maps/state/wisconsin/)) (accessed Sept. 22, 2022); *Here’s What to Know About Abortion Access in Post-Roe Wisconsin*, Wisconsin Public Radio (Sept. 9, 2022) (online at [www.wpr.org/heres-what-know-about-abortion-access-post-roe-wisconsin](http://www.wpr.org/heres-what-know-about-abortion-access-post-roe-wisconsin)). The West Virginia legislature passed a law on September 13, 2022, banning nearly all abortions, and West Virginia governor Jim Justice has indicated that he will sign the bill into law. West Virginia’s only abortion clinic announced on September 14, 2022, that it would no longer perform abortions. *Most Abortions Stop in West Virginia After Lawmakers Pass Near-Total Ban*, Washington Post (Sept. 14, 2022) (online at [www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2022/09/14/west-virginia-abortion-ban/](https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2022/09/14/west-virginia-abortion-ban/)).

<sup>7</sup> Center for Reproductive Rights, *After Roe Fell: Abortion Laws by State* (online at <https://reproductiverights.org/maps/abortion-laws-by-state/>) (accessed Sept. 22, 2022).

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*; Center for Reproductive Rights, *After Roe Fell: Abortion Laws by State > South Carolina* (online at <https://reproductiverights.org/maps/state/south-carolina>) (accessed Sept. 22, 2022); *Ohio Judge Temporarily Suspends Abortion Ban*, New York Times (Sept. 14, 2022) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/us/ohio-abortion-ban-suspended.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/us/ohio-abortion-ban-suspended.html)). On September 14, 2022, an Ohio court temporarily enjoined the law.

<sup>9</sup> Center for Reproductive Rights, *After Roe Fell: Abortion Laws by State* (online at <https://reproductiverights.org/maps/abortion-laws-by-state/>) (accessed Sept. 22, 2022).

<sup>10</sup> The Supreme Court of Florida has held that the right to abortion is protected by the Florida constitution. *Center for Reproductive Rights, After Roe Fell: Abortion Laws by State > Florida* (online at <https://reproductiverights.org/maps/state/florida/>) (accessed Sept. 22, 2022).

Approximately **33.1 million women** of reproductive age live in these 26 states, including approximately 19.3 million who live in the 15 states where abortion is already banned.<sup>11</sup>

Republicans have moved forward with these extreme restrictions even though a strong majority of Americans want to preserve abortion rights. Polling indicates that 60% to 80% of people in the United States support abortion being legal in all or most cases.<sup>12</sup>

## II. CONGRESSIONAL REPUBLICANS ARE DETERMINED TO FURTHER RESTRICT ABORTION RIGHTS ACROSS THE COUNTRY

Following the *Dobbs* decision, congressional Republicans have redoubled their efforts to restrict abortion rights and access. These efforts threaten the health and economic security of nearly **64 million women** of reproductive age in the United States.<sup>13</sup>

During the 117th Congress, congressional Republicans have introduced 52 measures to ban or restrict abortion nationwide by erecting barriers to care.<sup>14</sup> These measures include at least five bills that would ban or limit abortion nationwide, at least four bills targeting a person's ability to travel to obtain abortion care, at least 16 bills that would criminalize health care professionals who provide abortion services, at least nine bills that would impose medically unnecessary requirements on abortion providers or facilities where abortion care is provided, and at least 17 bills that would impose medically unnecessary burdens on patients seeking abortion care. Congressional Republicans have also introduced at least 17 bills that would block federal funding from being used in any way to support abortion services, including funding for health centers that provide abortion as one of many reproductive health care services.

Since the *Dobbs* decision, congressional Republicans have also introduced bills designed to prevent the Biden Administration from using its existing authorities to protect abortion access. This includes legislation introduced on June 23, 2022, by Sen. Marco Rubio (R-FL) that would

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<sup>11</sup> Census Bureau, *American Community Survey S0101: Age and Sex* (online at [https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=S0101%3A%20AGE%20AND%20SEX&g=0100000US\\_0400000US01,04,05,12,13,16,18,19,21,22,26,28,29,31,37,38,39,40,45,46,47,48,49,54,55,56](https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=S0101%3A%20AGE%20AND%20SEX&g=0100000US_0400000US01,04,05,12,13,16,18,19,21,22,26,28,29,31,37,38,39,40,45,46,47,48,49,54,55,56)). Reproductive age is categorized as 15-44.

<sup>12</sup> *How Americans Really Feel About Abortion: The Sometimes Surprising Poll Results as Supreme Court Overturns Roe v. Wade*, Forbes (June 24, 2022) (online at [www.forbes.com/sites/alisondurkee/2022/06/24/how-americans-really-feel-about-abortion-the-sometimes-surprising-poll-results-as-supreme-court-reportedly-set-to-overturn-roe-v-wade/?sh=61c538aa2f3a](http://www.forbes.com/sites/alisondurkee/2022/06/24/how-americans-really-feel-about-abortion-the-sometimes-surprising-poll-results-as-supreme-court-reportedly-set-to-overturn-roe-v-wade/?sh=61c538aa2f3a)).

<sup>13</sup> Census Bureau, *American Community Survey S0101: Age and Sex* (online at [data.census.gov/cedsci/table?tid=ACSST1Y2021.S0101](https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?tid=ACSST1Y2021.S0101)).

<sup>14</sup> H.R. 18; S. 92; H.R. 558; H.R. 2223; H.R. 2223; S. 109; H.R. 3900; S. 294; H.R. 243; S. 88; H.R. 2849; S. 1382; H.R. 619; S. 123; H.R. 380; S. 124; H.R. 8354; S. 4474; S. 4519; H.R. 8501; H.R. 8776; H.R. 7604; S. 4770; H.R. 648; S. 3790; H.R. 2782; S. 1325; H.R. 552; H.R. 626; H.R. 4607; S. 2408; H.R. 381; S. 83; H.R. 705; H.R. 1382; S. 446; H.R. 627; S. 16; H.R. 6471; S. 125; H.R. 2619; S. 2270; H.R. 28; S. 87; H.R. 532; S. 75; H.R. 7179; H.R. 7719; H.R. 188; S. 95; H.R. 554; S. 78; H.R. 8378; H.R. 1080; S. 61; H.R. 6465; S. 86; H.R. 5136; H.R. 7816; H.R. 620; S. 293; H.R. 541; H.R. 8263; H.R. 6031; S. 3253; H.R. 2808; H.R. 7294; S. 4277; H.R. 555; H.R. 8384; S. 4541; H.R. 500; H.R. 1531; S. 1144; S. 139; H.R. 1011; S. 99; H.R. 877; H.R. 8814; S. 4840.

prohibit the President from taking adverse action or litigating against states that ban or restrict abortion, and legislation introduced on July 13, 2022, by Rep. Buddy Carter (R-GA-01) that would prohibit federal Medicaid funds from being used for nonemergency transportation to access medical care that cannot be paid for with federal funds, including abortion.<sup>15</sup>

Republicans have made clear that they want to enact nationwide abortion restrictions, even though most Americans support abortion rights. Former Vice President Mike Pence tweeted on the day *Dobbs* was decided: “[h]aving been given this second chance for Life, we must not rest and must not relent until the sanctity of life is restored to the center of American law in every state in the land.”<sup>16</sup> The same day, House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy endorsed a nationwide 15-week abortion ban, saying, “our work is far from done.”<sup>17</sup>

- **Congressional Republicans have introduced at least five bills that would ban abortion nationwide or implement a nationwide limitation based on gestational age or abortion method:**
  - On January 28, 2021, Rep. Debbie Lesko (R-AZ-08) introduced legislation that would prohibit dilation and extraction procedures, which are used for the majority of second-trimester abortions in the United States.<sup>18</sup> 56 House Republicans cosponsor this bill.
  - On January 27, 2021, and February 15, 2021, Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC) and Rep. Christopher Smith (R-NJ-04) introduced legislation that would prohibit abortions after 20 weeks. 45 Senate Republicans and 173 House Republicans cosponsor these bills.<sup>19</sup>
  - On February 2, 2021, Rep. Mike Kelly (R-PA-16) introduced legislation that would prohibit abortion after a cardiac activity is detected, which is generally around 6 weeks. At least 179 House Republicans support this bill, including cosponsors and Members of the Republican Study Committee.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> S. 4474; H.R. 8354.

<sup>16</sup> Mike Pence (@Mike\_Pence), Twitter (June 24, 2022) (online at [https://twitter.com/Mike\\_Pence/status/1540337832505614337?s=20&t=Esk3zfSiC8y28gEEthp2yw](https://twitter.com/Mike_Pence/status/1540337832505614337?s=20&t=Esk3zfSiC8y28gEEthp2yw)).

<sup>17</sup> ‘Our Work Is Far from Done’: McCarthy Suggests GOP Will Propose Anti-Abortion Legislation if They Retake House, Spectrum News (June 24, 2022) (online at [www.ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/news/2022/06/24/republican-mccarthy-congress-abortion-roe-v-wade](http://www.ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/news/2022/06/24/republican-mccarthy-congress-abortion-roe-v-wade)).

<sup>18</sup> H.R. 558; *D&E Abortion Bans: The Implications of Banning the Most Common Second-Trimester Procedure*, Guttmacher Institute (Feb. 21, 2017) (online at [www.guttmacher.org/gpr/2017/02/de-abortion-bans-implications-banning-most-common-second-trimester-procedure](http://www.guttmacher.org/gpr/2017/02/de-abortion-bans-implications-banning-most-common-second-trimester-procedure)).

<sup>19</sup> S. 61; H.R. 1080.

<sup>20</sup> H.R. 705; Rep. Mike Kelly, *Press Release: Republican Study Committee Endorses Rep. Kelly’s ‘Heartbeat Protection Act’; Bill Reaches 100+ Co-Sponsors* (June 15, 2022) (online at

- On January 28, 2021, and February 11, 2021, Sen. Rand Paul (R-KY) and Rep. Alexander Mooney (R-WV-2) introduced legislation that would define personhood as beginning at conception, in effect banning all abortions and certain types of birth control such as IUDs. 167 House Republicans cosponsor this bill.<sup>21</sup>
- On September 13, 2022, Sen. Sen. Graham introduced legislation that he described as “a national ban on abortion at 15 weeks.”<sup>22</sup> The same day, Rep. Christopher Smith introduced the same bill in the House. It currently has 94 Republican cosponsors.<sup>23</sup>
- **Congressional Republicans have introduced at least four bills targeting a person’s ability to travel to obtain abortion care, including:**
  - On July 14, 2022, Rep. Madison Cawthorn (R-NC-11) introduced legislation that would prohibit the use of federal funds for travel expenses related to traveling across state lines for the purpose of obtaining abortion care.<sup>24</sup>
  - On September 6, 2022, Rep. Ralph Norman (R-SC-05) introduced legislation that would prohibit the use of federal funds to support individuals traveling to another state or country to receive an abortion.<sup>25</sup>
- **Congressional Republicans have introduced at least 16 bills to criminalize health care professionals who provide abortion services, including:**
  - On January 21, 2021, and January 28, 2021, Rep. Andy Biggs (R-AZ-05) and Sen. John Kennedy (R-LA) introduced legislation that would impose criminal penalties on a physician performing abortion care without

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<https://kelly.house.gov/media/press-releases/republican-study-committee-endorses-rep-kellys-heartbeat-protection-act-bill>) (noting that the Republican Study Committee endorsed the “‘Heartbeat Protection Act’ as part of the Committee's official platform,” and that the bill “now becomes the official position of the RSC, an influential conservative caucus of House Republicans with 160 members”).

<sup>21</sup> S. 99; H.R. 1011.

<sup>22</sup> S. 4840. *Graham Says He’s “Confident” Americans Would Support National Abortion Ban*, The Hill (Sept. 18, 2022) (online at <https://thehill.com/homenews/sunday-talk-shows/3648460-graham-says-hes-confident-americans-would-support-national-abortion-ban/>).

<sup>23</sup> H.R. 8814.

<sup>24</sup> H.R. 8378.

<sup>25</sup> H.R. 8776.

admitting privileges to a local hospital. Under this bill, a physician could face imprisonment for up to two years.<sup>26</sup>

- On January 28, 2021, the late Rep. Ron Wright (R-TX-06) introduced legislation that would criminalize physicians who use telehealth platforms to provide medication abortion services. Under Rep. Wright’s bill, a physician could face imprisonment for up to two years.<sup>27</sup>
- On February 2, 2021, Rep. Kelly introduced legislation that would criminalize physicians who provide abortion care after a fetus has a detectable heartbeat—this occurs at approximately six weeks into pregnancy. Under Rep. Kelly’s bill, a physician could face imprisonment for up to five years.<sup>28</sup>

- **Congressional Republicans have introduced at least 35 bills that would place other medically unnecessary restrictions on access to abortion, including:**

- Nine measures to impose medically unnecessary requirements on abortion providers or facilities where abortion care is provided:
  - On January 21, 2021, and January 28, 2021, Rep. Biggs and Sen. John Kennedy introduced legislation that would require abortion clinics to be in compliance with federal standards for ambulatory surgical centers.<sup>29</sup>
  - On January 28, 2021, Rep. Doug Lamborn (R-CO-05) introduced legislation that would require providers of medication abortion pills to provide information about “reversing” the procedure. Medical professionals have stated that abortion pill “reversal” is not based on science and is potentially dangerous to the health of people who are pregnant.<sup>30</sup>
  - On February 1, 2021, and March 10, 2022, Rep. Jeff Duncan (R-SC-03) and Sen. Roger Marshall (R-KS) introduced legislation that would require abortion providers to conduct an ultrasound and

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<sup>26</sup> H.R. 381; S. 83.

<sup>27</sup> H.R. 626.

<sup>28</sup> H.R. 705.

<sup>29</sup> H.R. 381; S. 83.

<sup>30</sup> H.R. 552; Mitchell D. Creinin et al., *Mifepristone Antagonization with Progesterone to Prevent Medical Abortion*, *Obstetrics and Gynecology* (Jan. 2020) (online at <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/31809439/>); The Alliance: State Advocates for Women’s Rights & Gender Equality, *Designed to Deceive: A Study of the Crisis Pregnancy Center Industry in Nine States* (online at <https://alliancestateadvocates.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/107/Alliance-CPC-Study-Designed-to-Deceive.pdf>) (accessed Aug. 30, 2022).

describe that ultrasound to a patient before performing an abortion.<sup>31</sup>

- 17 bills that would impose medically unnecessary burdens on patients seeking abortion care:
  - On January 28, 2021, Rep. Wright introduced legislation that would restrict patients from using telehealth for medication abortions.<sup>32</sup>
  - On February 1, 2021, and March 10, 2022, Rep. Duncan and Sen. Marshall introduced legislation that would require patients to have an ultrasound before accessing abortion care.<sup>33</sup>
  - On April 22, 2021, Rep. Vicky Hartzler (R-MO-04) and Sen. Marsha Blackburn (R-TN) introduced legislation that would require patients to wait at least 24 hours between providing informed consent authorizing a provider to perform an abortion and receiving the procedure.<sup>34</sup>
- 17 bills that would block federal funding being used to support abortion services, including funding for health centers that provide abortion care:
  - On January 11, 2021, and January 28, 2021, Rep. Virginia Foxx (R-NC) and Sen. Blackburn introduced legislation, cosponsored by 135 Senate and House Republicans, to prohibit the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) from awarding family planning grants to entities that provide abortion services or provide funding to entities that perform abortion.<sup>35</sup>
  - On June 16, 2021, and June 24, 2021, Rep. Michelle Fischbach (R-MN-07) and Sen. Blackburn introduced legislation that would require federally funded entities to certify they will not perform abortions or provide funds to any other entity that performs abortion.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> H.R. 648; S. 3790.

<sup>32</sup> H.R. 626.

<sup>33</sup> H.R. 648; S. 3790.

<sup>34</sup> H.R. 2782; S. 1325.

<sup>35</sup> H.R. 243; S. 88.

<sup>36</sup> H.R. 2619; S. 2270.

- On July 26, 2022, Rep. Lamborn introduced legislation that would prohibit abortion “sanctuary states” from receiving funds from HHS.<sup>37</sup>

### III. ABORTION BANS AND RESTRICTIONS LEAD TO SERIOUS HEALTH RISKS

Banning or restricting access to abortion has dangerous consequences. Research shows that women who are denied access to abortion care are more likely to experience life-threatening pregnancy complications and chronic health conditions after childbirth.<sup>38</sup>

Abortion restrictions also correspond with higher rates of maternal mortality, poor infant health outcomes, and worse economic outcomes for pregnant people and their families.

- A 2021 study predicted a 21% increase in pregnancy-related deaths if a total abortion ban were imposed, with Black women facing a predicted increase of 33%.<sup>39</sup>
- A recent analysis indicates the number of deaths may be even higher, predicting a 24% increase in overall maternal deaths and a 39% increase for Black people in the first year of a nationwide abortion ban. The analysis estimates that in some states, maternal mortality could increase by as much as 29%.<sup>40</sup>
- States with the most severe restrictions on abortion also have the worst maternal and infant outcomes.<sup>41</sup>
  - Eight of the 10 states with the largest number of people living in maternity care deserts, where access to maternity care is limited or non-existent, are states that have banned abortion. According to HHS, people who do not receive prenatal care are five times more likely to die of pregnancy-related causes.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> H.R. 8501.

<sup>38</sup> University of California San Francisco, *The Turnaway Study* (online at [www.ansirh.org/research/ongoing/turnaway-study](http://www.ansirh.org/research/ongoing/turnaway-study)) (accessed Sept. 20, 2021).

<sup>39</sup> Amanda Jean Stevenson, *The Pregnancy-Related Mortality Impact of a Total Abortion Ban in the United States: A Research Note on Increased Deaths Due to Remaining Pregnant*, *Demography* (2021) (online at <https://read.dukeupress.edu/demography/article/58/6/2019/265968/The-Pregnancy-Related-Mortality-Impact-of-a-Total>).

<sup>40</sup> Amanda Jean Stevenson, Leslie Root, Jane Menken, *The Maternal Mortality Consequences of Losing Abortion Access*, University of Colorado Boulder (2021) (online at <https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/7g29k>).

<sup>41</sup> *States with the Toughest Abortion Laws Have the Weakest Maternal Supports, Data Shows*, National Public Radio (Aug. 18, 2022) (online at [www.npr.org/2022/08/18/1111344810/abortion-ban-states-social-safety-net-health-outcomes](http://www.npr.org/2022/08/18/1111344810/abortion-ban-states-social-safety-net-health-outcomes)).

<sup>42</sup> *Id.*; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office on Women’s Health, *Prenatal Care* (Feb. 22, 2021) (online at [www.womenshealth.gov/a-z-topics/prenatal-care](http://www.womenshealth.gov/a-z-topics/prenatal-care)).

- The six states with the highest rates of low infant birth weight have all banned abortion.<sup>43</sup>
- More than half of the ten states with the highest infant mortality rates are states with abortion bans in place.<sup>44</sup>
- States that have banned or attempted to ban abortion have larger gender wage gaps and poverty rates for women and children.
  - 18 of the 27 states that have enacted at least one abortion ban have gender wage gaps greater than the national average.
  - 22 of those 27 states have poverty rates for women that are greater than the national average, and 17 have child poverty rates greater than the national average.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *States with the Toughest Abortion Laws Have the Weakest Maternal Supports, Data Shows*, National Public Radio (Aug. 18, 2022) (online at [www.npr.org/2022/08/18/1111344810/abortion-ban-states-social-safety-net-health-outcomes](http://www.npr.org/2022/08/18/1111344810/abortion-ban-states-social-safety-net-health-outcomes)).

<sup>44</sup> *Id.*

<sup>45</sup> Center for American Progress, *State Abortion Bans Will Harm Women and Families' Economic Security Across the US* (Aug. 25, 2022) (online at [www.americanprogress.org/article/state-abortion-bans-will-harm-women-and-families-economic-security-across-the-us/](http://www.americanprogress.org/article/state-abortion-bans-will-harm-women-and-families-economic-security-across-the-us/)).