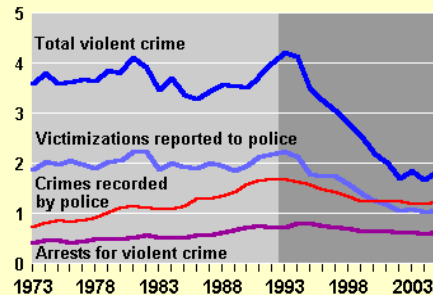


The Abortion/Crime Debate

1

Four measures of serious violent crime

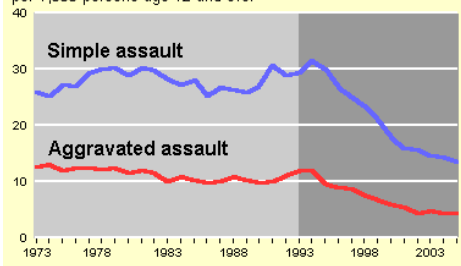
Offenses in millions



2

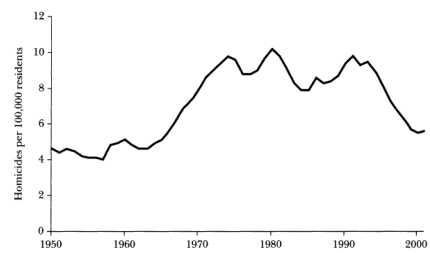
Assault rates

Adjusted victimization rate per 1,000 persons age 12 and over

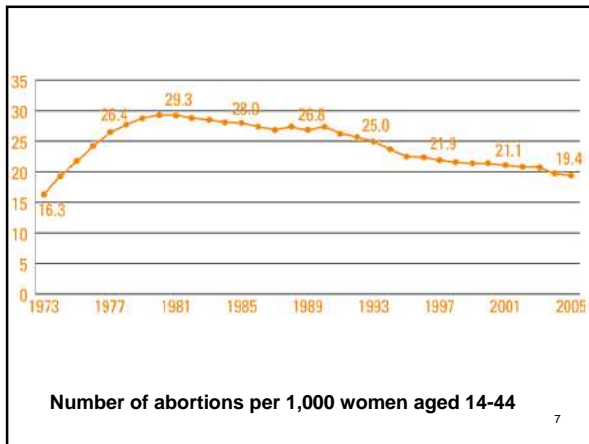
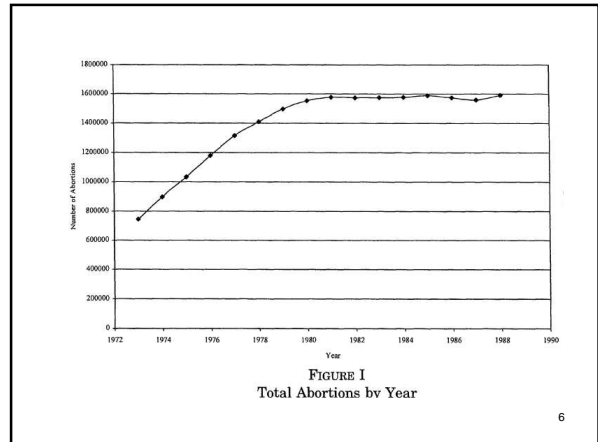
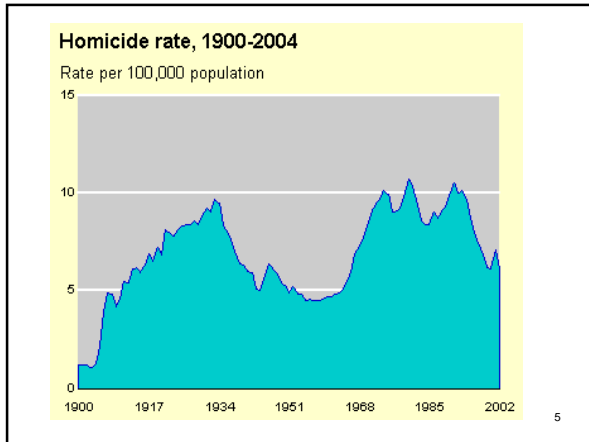


3

Figure 1
Homicide Rate, 1950-2001



4



- ### Pregnancies in 1994
- 5.4 million pregnancies
 - 26.6 percent ended in abortions
 - Of all pregnancies
 - 51% were intended births
 - 23% were unintended births
 - Half of all pregnancies were 'unintended'
- 8

In US Today

- 50% of abortions are to women <25
- 1/3 women aged 20-24
- 17% are to teenages
- Black women are 4.8 times as likely as non-Hispanic white women to have an abortion
- Hispanic women are 2.7 times as likely.
- Women who have never married obtain two-thirds of all abortions.[7]

9

- 60% of abortions for women with children
- The abortion rate among women living below the federal poverty level (\$9,570 for a single woman with no children) is more than four times that of women above 300% of the poverty level (44 vs. 10 abortions per 1,000 women)

10

Why abortion may impact crime?

- Change characteristics of moms
- Quantity/quality trade off
- Change fraction unwanted children
- Cohort size and crime

11

Impact on mothers

- Large fraction of abortions are to teen moms
- Reducing access may increase teen births
- Children born to teen moms have
 - Poorer economic conditions
 - Worse education outcomes
 - Greater involvement in crime

12

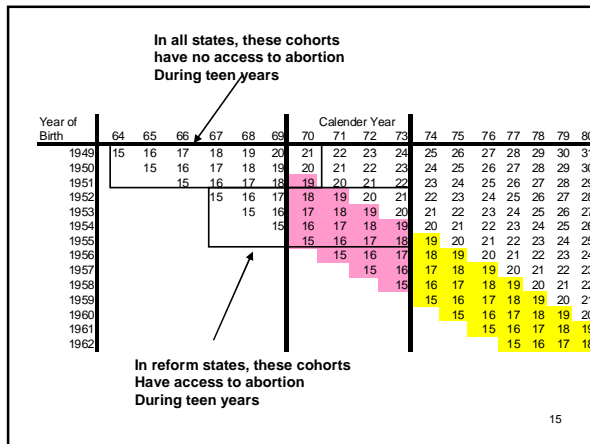
Table 1
Background Characteristics of Teenage Mothers and Women Who Delayed Childbearing until after Age 18

Characteristic	Teenage Mothers		Not Teenage Mothers	
	Mean	Standard Duration	Mean	Standard Duration
Black	0.33	0.47	0.12	0.33
White	0.58	0.49	0.82	0.39
Hispanic	0.09	0.29	0.06	0.24
Family on welfare in 1978 ^a	0.19	0.39	0.11	0.31
Family income in 1978 ^b	\$30,532	\$22,401	\$50,717	\$31,841
In female-head household at age 14	0.20	0.40	0.12	0.33
In intact household at age 14	0.69	0.46	0.84	0.37
Mother's education	9.88	2.86	11.67	2.76
Father's education	9.94	3.37	11.91	3.56
AFQT score ^a	25.81	21.39	49.58	27.49
Number of observations	603		4,323	

Pre-Roe Reform

- At least 15 states had access to abortion prior to Roe
- State (Abortions/1,000 women in 1971)
- NY (27.1), HI (23.6), CA (23.5), WA (19.7), AK (17.4), OR (15.7), CO (9.1), NM (7.1), DE (13.7), MD (11.4), VA (6.8), NC (5.5), SC (3.6), AR (2.8), KS (8.8)

14

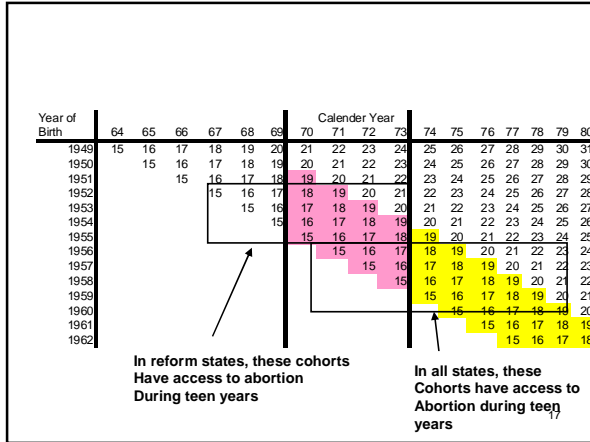


15

Difference in Difference

	1952-55 Cohorts	1949-51 Cohorts	Difference
Reform States (T)	Y_{t1}	Y_{t2}	$\Delta Y_t = Y_{t2} - Y_{t1}$
Non-reform (C)	Y_{c1}	Y_{c2}	$\Delta Y_c = Y_{c2} - Y_{c1}$
Difference			$\Delta \Delta Y = \Delta Y_t - \Delta Y_c$

16



Difference in Difference

	1952-55 Cohorts	1949-51 Cohorts	Difference
Non-Reform (T)	Y_{t1}	Y_{t2}	ΔY_t $= Y_{t2} - Y_{t1}$
Reform (C)	Y_{c1}	Y_{c2}	ΔY_c $= Y_{c2} - Y_{c1}$
Difference			$\Delta \Delta Y$ $\Delta Y_t - \Delta Y_c$

- ### Exposure to 3 years of Pre-Roe Abortion Availability
- Decreases chance of teen pregnancy by
 - 1.1 percentage points for whites
 - 5.6 percentage points for blacks
 - Estimated to have no effect on HS graduation rates for whites
 - A 3.1 percentage point increase in HS graduation rates for blacks

- ### Exposure to post-Roe
- No estimated changes in teen motherhood or high school graduation rates

Quantity/quality

- Parents have finite resources spend on children
- A larger family size may reduce the ability to invest in the 'quality' of children
 - Private schools
 - More attention

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TABLE V
EFFECT OF FAMILY SIZE ON EDUCATION OF CHILDREN USING PRESENCE OF TWIN BIRTH AS AN INSTRUMENT LOOKING AT CHILDREN BORN BEFORE POTENTIAL TWIN BIRTH

	OLS (Twins sample)	First stage	Second stage	N
Instrument: Twin at second birth (Sample: First child in families with 2 or more births)		.676* (.013)		525,952
Number of children in family	-.060* (.003)		.038 (.047)	

22

Unwantedness

- Lack of access to abortions will increase
 - Unwanted children
 - Less than optimal timing of pregnancies
- Physical effects
 - Unwanted children tend to have lower birth weights
- Psychological effects
 - Parents may be faced with greater stress

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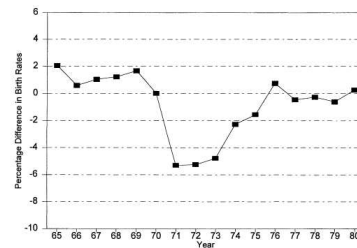


FIGURE II
Percentage Difference in Birthrates between Repeal States and Nonrepeal States
Source: Levine et al. (1996), Figure 3. (Percentage Differences Are Normalized to Equal Zero in 1970.)

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Table 2
Regression Results of Abortion on Unwanted Childbearing with State Fixed-Effects, 1993-99

Variable	Dependent Variable			
	Proportion of Unwanted Births	Proportion of Unwanted Births	Proportion of Unwanted Births	Proportion of Unwanted Births
Abortion ratio	-0.00017 (0.000046) -0.383		-0.00017 (0.000092) -0.39483	
Abortion rate		-0.00250 (0.00076) -0.366		-0.00239 (0.00154) -0.350
State controls	no	no	yes	yes
State fixed-effects	yes	yes	yes	yes
Year effects	yes	yes	yes	yes
R ²	0.896	0.895	0.902	0.901
N	81	81	81	81

Outcome: fraction unwanted. Covariate of interest is abortion rate or abortions per 1,000 women 15-44. Mean abortion rate is 16. $d(\text{Unwanted})/d\text{AR} = -0.0025$
If AR doubles, unwantedness goes down by $-0.0025 \times (16) = -0.04$, 4 percentage points

TABLE I
OLS ESTIMATES OF REDUCED-FORM EQUATIONS FOR BIRTHRATE AND BIRTH (STANDARD ERRORS IN PARENTHESES)

Dependent variable:	ln (birthrate)		Percent living with single parent in 1980 (mean = 18.6%)		Percent living in poverty in 1980 (mean = 18.7%)		Percent with welfare receipt in 1980 (mean = 10.6%)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Independent variable:								
repeal * 1971-1973	-0.056 (0.006)	-0.059 (0.005)	-0.729 (0.303)	-0.869 (0.225)	-0.302 (0.295)	-0.541 (0.219)	-0.412 (0.233)	-0.364 (0.173)
repeal * 1974-1975	-0.015 (0.009)	-0.021 (0.005)	-0.514 (0.457)	-0.776 (0.255)	0.225 (0.445)	-0.221 (0.248)	-0.576 (0.351)	-0.487 (0.196)
repeal * 1976-1979	0.010 (0.014)		0.468 (0.679)		0.799 (0.660)		-0.180 (0.521)	

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Data on unwantedness

- Some countries, mothers must petition a judge to have an abortion
- Those denied petition have by definition unwanted children
- Follow those children over time
- Unwanted children have
 - Poor health, lower school performance, higher level teen sexual activity, higher welfare participation, greater neurotic tendencies
- Shortcoming of this work?

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Table 3
Descriptive Statistics

Variable	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Infant homicides all races	1479	4.85	6.59
White infant homicides	1479	2.81	4.20
Black infant homicides	1479	1.89	2.89
Abortion ratio (abortions divided by live births)	1479	0.30	0.21
Natural log of live births	1479	10.70	1.01
State population (in 1,000s)	1479	4,633.67	5036.91
Population density	1479	315.37	1296.53
Fertility rate (live births per 1,000 population)	1479	15.91	2.74
Income maintenance per capita	1479	267.44	109.55
Medicaid payments per capita	1479	299.20	228.98
Income per capita	1479	20,275.50	4089.80
Unemployment rate	1479	0.06	0.02
Police per 1,000 population	1479	2.59	0.93
Prisoners per 1,000 population	1477	1.91	1.68

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Table 5
The Effects of Abortion and Out-of-Wedlock Births on Infant Homicide

Variable	Conditional Negative Binomial Regression			
	Period: 1970-98 All Races		Period: 1973-98 All Races	
	Coefficient	Standard Error	Coefficient	Standard Error
Abortion ratio	-0.4624	0.2854	-0.9672	0.3967
Out-of-wedlock births	0.0017	0.0008	0.0020	0.0008

Outcome of interest is $\ln(\text{Infant Homicides})$, covariate is the abortion ratio or abortions Divided by births. Mean is .254 abortions per 1000 live births. If abortion ratio increases By 10 per points, murders fall by $-0.462(0.1) = -0.046$ or almost 5%.

Assume 1 mil abortions, 4 mill births, AR of 0.25. Increase abortions by 100,000. $1.1/3.9 = 0.28$ $dAR = 0.03$. $dH/dAR = -0.462(.03) = -0.014$. 300 infant murders per year, So 1.4% is about 4. So each additional 25,000 abortions decreases murders by $\$9$

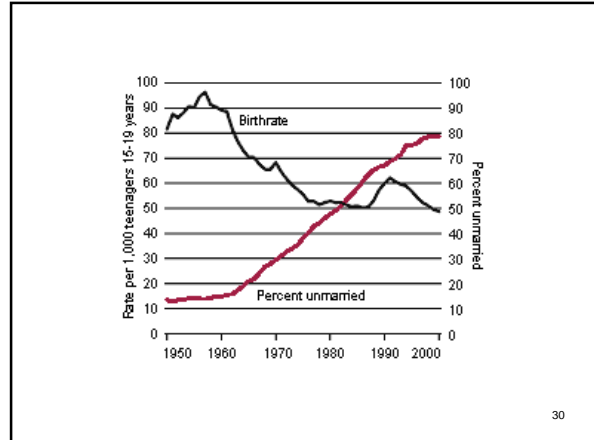
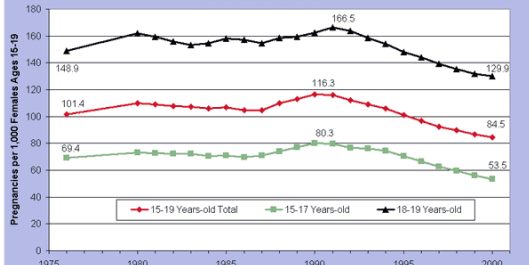


Figure 1
Pregnancy Rates for Adolescent Females by Age, Selected Years 1976-2000



Sources: Data for 1976-1989: Ventura SJ, Mosher WD, Cuthrill SC, Abma JC, Hershaw S. Trends in pregnancies and pregnancy rates by outcome: Estimates for the United States, 1976-1996. Table 3. National Center for Health Statistics. *Vital Health Stat* 21(156). 2000. Data for 1990-2000: Ventura SJ, Abma JC, Mosher WD, Hershaw S. Estimated Pregnancy Rates for the United States, 1990-2000. An update. National vital statistics reports, vol 52 no 23. Hyattsville, Maryland: National Center for Health Statistics. 2004. Table 1. http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/whr/hrv02/vol52_23.pdf

Compositional change

- Consider two types of parents: high and low socioeconomic status
- Suppose abortion is not used uniformly in the population
- Abortion ban will then disproportionately alter the demographic composition of the population

- What should be the result in the US?
- What about Romania?

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Cohort size and crime

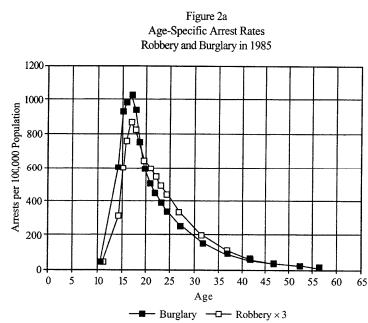
- Abortion will increase cohort size
- Most crime is committed by young men, 18-24
- Increasing cohort size will increase crime mechanically, holding all else constant
- Cohort size appears to allow some more crime to efficiently occur
- Being born in a large cohort has negative impacts on economic outcomes
 - lower wages, lower returns to school

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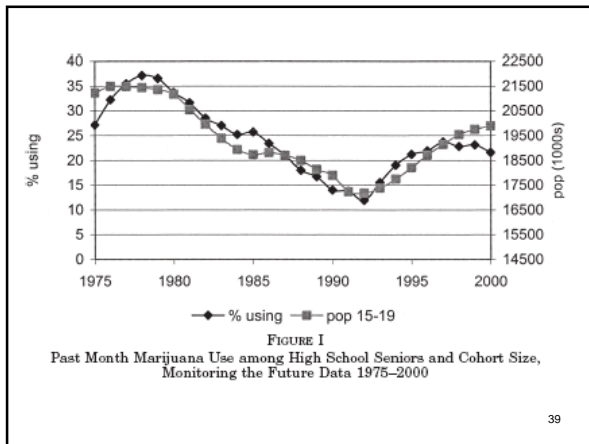
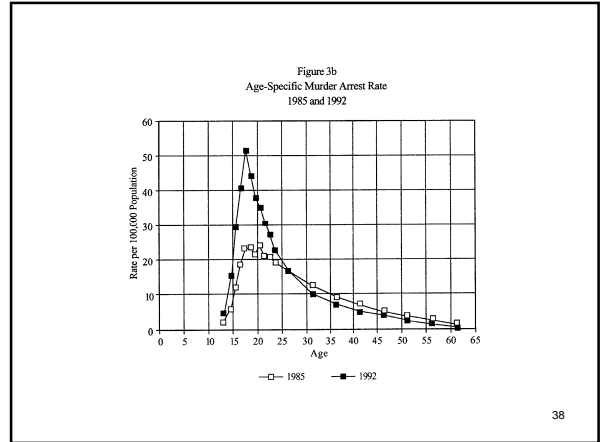
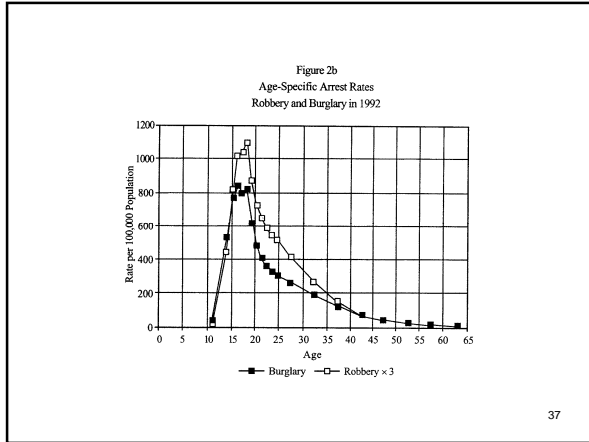
TABLE 2
SELECTION EFFECTS OF THE CHANGE IN ABORTION LEGISLATION: COMPARISON OF MEANS

	Control Group (Jan.-May 1967)	Treatment Group (June-Oct. 1967)	Difference
Place of birth of child:			
Urban	.350	.422	.071***
Observations	19,156	38,494	
Mother's highest educational level:			
Primary	.494	.446	-.048***
Secondary	.476	.521	.045***
Tertiary	.030	.033	.003
Observations	8,453	18,732	
Father's highest educational level:			
Primary	.370	.323	-.047***
Secondary	.576	.613	.038***
Tertiary	.055	.064	.009***
Observations	7,574	16,601	

35



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Abortion policy in Romania

- Prior to 1966
 - Legal in 1st trimester
 - Free via state health care system
 - 4 abortions per live birth
- Ceausescu unexpectedly declares family planning and abortion illegal in fall 1966 except
 - Women over 45, >4 kids, with health problems, or pregnancies resulting from rape/incent
- Impact was immediate

40



FIG. 1.—Total fertility rates. The total fertility rate is the average total number of children that would be born per woman in her lifetime, assuming no mortality in the childbearing ages, calculated from the age distribution and age-specific fertility rates of a specified group in a given reference period. Source: United Nations statistics: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/cdb/cdb_series_xrxx.asp?series_code=13700.

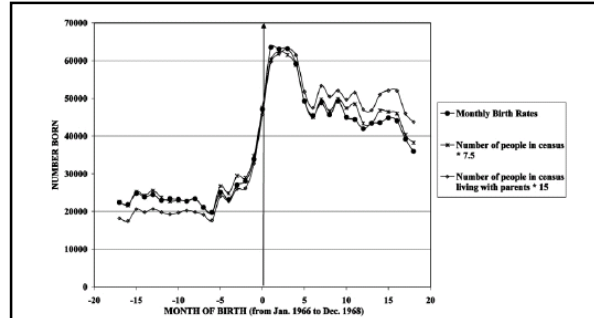


FIG. 2—Monthly birth rates: vital statistics and representation in the 1992 census sample. The graph plots the number of persons born between 1966 and 1968 by month of birth. Month 0 refers to June 1967, the first month with large fertility increases due to the restrictive abortion policy. Also plotted are the number of persons born in the same period included in the census sample (scaled 1 : 7.5) and those in the census sample who still live with their parents (scaled 1 : 15). Source: 1992 Romanian census.

Data

- 15% sample of Romania, 1992
- 50K people from a annual birth cohort
- Identifies year and month of birth
- People born Jan – Oct 1967

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Some numbers

- Birth rate doubles, 14.3 to 27.4 per 1,000 women 14-44
- Fertility rate increased from 1.9 to 3.7 per woman
- Increase in fertility occurs for 4 years, ten stabilizes
- 1990 abortion ban repealed
- 1 million abortions in a country of 20 mil
– US has 1 mil abortion, country of 300 mil

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Implications

- Law announced/goes into effect 12/1966
- People born Jan – June not impacted directly
 - in utero 2nd and 3rd trimester in 12/1966
 - Indirectly, they were subject to larger cohorts
- People born July-Oct 1967, 1st cohorts born under no abortion regime

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TABLE 3
EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS FOR COHORTS BORN BETWEEN JANUARY AND OCTOBER 1967

Dependent Variable	Full Sample (1)	Restricted Sample (2)	Restricted Sample (3)	Restricted Sample (4)
Apprentice school:				
Treatment dummy	.00643*	.00199	.01960***	.02134***
	(.00376)	(.00602)	(.00560)	(.00556)
Observed probability	.226	.232	.232	.232
High school or more:				
Treatment dummy	.03789***	.04147***	-.00565	-.01713**
	(.00449)	(.00713)	(.00795)	(.00816)
Observed probability	.46	.512	.512	.512
University or more:				
Treatment dummy	.00573**	.00611	-.01232***	-.01470***
	(.00257)	(.00479)	(.00405)	(.00392)
Observed probability	.091	.132	.132	.132
Observations	55,337	22,847	22,847	22,847
Background controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Household controls	No	No	No	Yes

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- “Ceausescu’s incentive produced the desired effect. Within one year of the abortion ban, the Romanian birth rate had doubled....But these children would turn out to have particularly miserable lives. Compared to Romanian children born just a year earlier, the cohort of children born after the abortion ban would do worse in every measurable way.” p. 118

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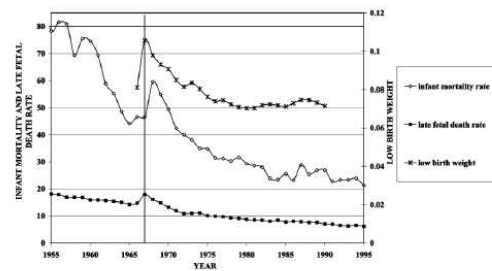


FIG. 7.—Infant mortality rate, late fetal death rate, and low-birth-weight rate in Romania, 1955–95. Source: National Commission for Statistics, *Romanian Statistical Yearbook* for 1955–95.

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Time series evidence, Donohue and Levitt

Year of Birth	Calendar Year																							
	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
1967	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1968	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1969	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1970	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1971	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1972	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1973	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1974	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1975	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1976	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

Post-Roe cohorts enter prime crime years starting in 1990



FIGURE II
 Crime Rates from the Uniform Crime Reports, 1973-1999
 Data are national aggregate per capita reported violent crime, property crime, and murder, indexed to equal 100 in the year 1973. All data are from the FBI's *Uniform Crime Reports*, published annually.

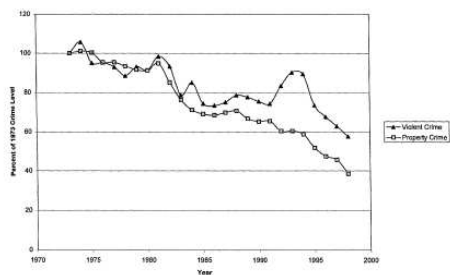


FIGURE III
 National Crime Victimization Survey, 1973-1998
 Data are national aggregate per capita violent crime and property crime victimizations, indexed to equal 100 in the year 1973. All data are based on the National Crime Survey, conducted annually. Data have been adjusted to correct for a one-time shift associated with the redesign of the survey in the early 1990s.

Peak crime years for cohorts exposed to pre-Roe reforms

Year of Birth	Calendar Year																							
	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
1967	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1968	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1969	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1970	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1971	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1972	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1973	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1974	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1975	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1976	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

Peak crime years for cohorts exposed to Roe

TABLE I
CRIME TRENDS FOR STATES LEGALIZING ABORTION EARLY VERSUS
THE REST OF THE UNITED STATES

Crime category	Percent change in crime rate over the period				Cumulative, 1982-1997
	1976-1982	1982-1985	1988-1994	1994-1997	
Violent crime					
Early legalizers	16.6	11.1	1.9	-25.8	-12.8
Rest of U. S.	20.9	13.2	15.4	-11.0	17.6
Difference	-4.3	-2.1	-13.4	-14.8	-30.4
	(5.5)	(5.4)	(4.4)	(3.3)	(8.1)
Property crime					
Early legalizers	1.7	-8.3	-14.3	-21.5	-44.1
Rest of U. S.	6.0	1.5	-5.9	-4.3	-8.8
Difference	-4.3	-9.8	-8.4	-17.2	-35.3
	(2.9)	(4.0)	(4.2)	(2.4)	(5.8)

Crime rising faster in Rest of US, when the First pre-Roe cohorts Enter peak years

Crime continues to fall in pre-Roe as cohorts exposed To abortion in the rest of US₃₃ Enter their peak years

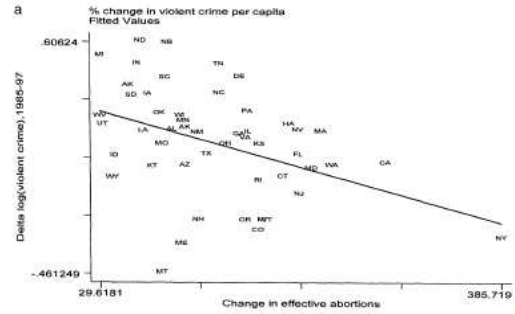


FIGURE IVa
Changes in Violent Crime and Abortion Rates, 1985-1997

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TABLE III
SUMMARY STATISTICS

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation (overall)	Standard deviation (within state)
Violent crime per 1000 residents	6.73	2.81	.88
Property crime per 1000 residents	48.04	11.46	4.60
Murder per 1000 residents	0.09	0.04	0.02
"Effective" abortion rate per 1000 live births by crime:			
Violent crime	77.11	83.18	66.13
Property crime	132.26	116.46	86.89
Murder	51.00	46.57	55.30

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TABLE IV
PANEL-DATA ESTIMATES OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
ABORTION RATES AND CRIME

Variable	ln(Violent crime per capita)		ln(Property crime per capita)		ln(Murder per capita)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
"Effective" abortion rate (x 100)	-.137	-.129	-.095	-.091	-.108	-.121
	(.023)	(.024)	(.018)	(.018)	(.036)	(.047)
ln(prisoners per capita) (t - 1)	—	-.027	—	-.159	—	-.231
		(.044)		(.036)		(.080)
ln(police per capita) (t - 1)	—	-.028	—	-.049	—	-.300
		(.045)		(.045)		(.109)
State unemployment rate (percent unemployed)	—	.069	—	1.310	—	.968
		(.505)		(.389)		(.794)
ln(state income per capita)	—	.049	—	.084	—	-.098
		(.213)		(.162)		(.465)

56

Year of Birth	Calendar Year											
	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
1961	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
1962	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
1963	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
1964	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
1965	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
1966	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
1967	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1968	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1969	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1970	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1971	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1972	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1973	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1974	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1975	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1976	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1977	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1978	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1979	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1980	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1981	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

Pre-Roe Reform States

Not exposed to abortion

Year of Birth	Calendar Year											
	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
1961	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
1962	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
1963	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
1964	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
1965	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
1966	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
1967	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1968	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1969	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1970	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1971	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1972	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1973	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1974	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1975	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1976	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1977	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1978	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1979	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1980	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1981	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

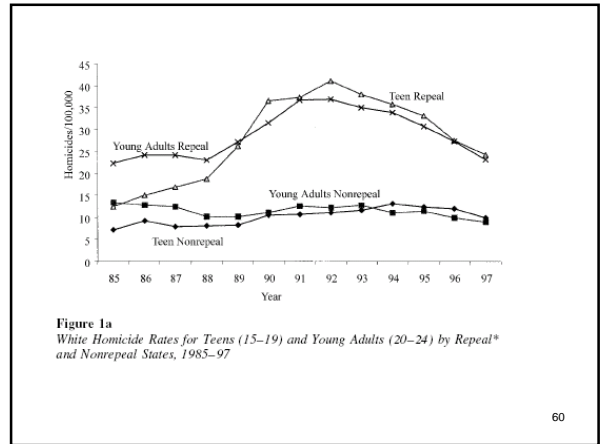
Exposed to abortion

Non-Reform States

Year of Birth	Calendar Year											
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1962	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
1963	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
1964	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
1965	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
1966	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
1967	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1968	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1969	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1970	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1971	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1972	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1973	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1974	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1975	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1976	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1977	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1978	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1979	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1980	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1981	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

Not exposed to abortion

Exposed to Abortion



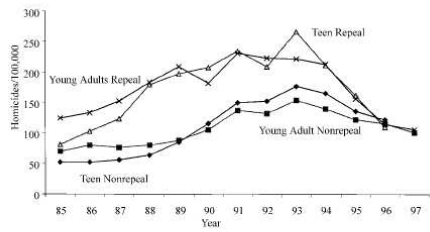
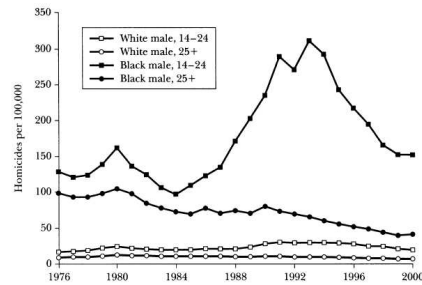


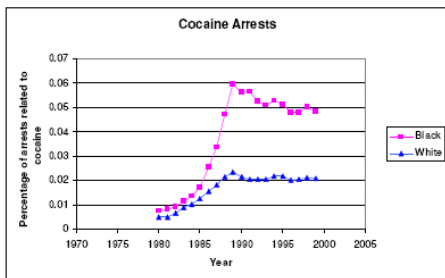
Figure 1b
 Black Homicide Rates for Teens (15-19) and Young Adults (20-24) by Repeal and Nonrepeal States, 1985-97
 *Repeal States: AK, CA, DC, HI, NY, WA
 Source: FBI's Supplemental Homicide Reports

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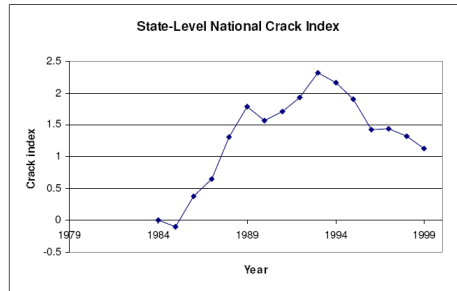
Figure 4
 Homicide Offending Rates by Race and Age



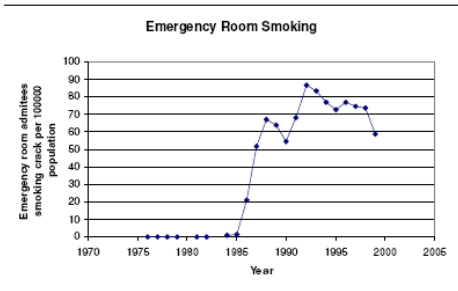
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