

APPENDIX A: HISTORICAL MATERIALS

LSP's 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.

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 decline 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 LSP referred them. The actions of LSP to work with clients and connect them even to non-legal services was 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 A1. Welfare Rights Handbook Examples

A. Kentucky

[1970] \$3.00



B. Boston

**YOUR
WELFARE
RIGHTS
MANUAL**

PUBLISHED BY
MOTHERS FOR ADEQUATE WELFARE
603 MASS AVE. BOSTON

DONATION 50¢

C. Ohio

**WELFARE
RIGHTS
HANDBOOK**
for
**AID TO DEPENDENT
CHILDREN**

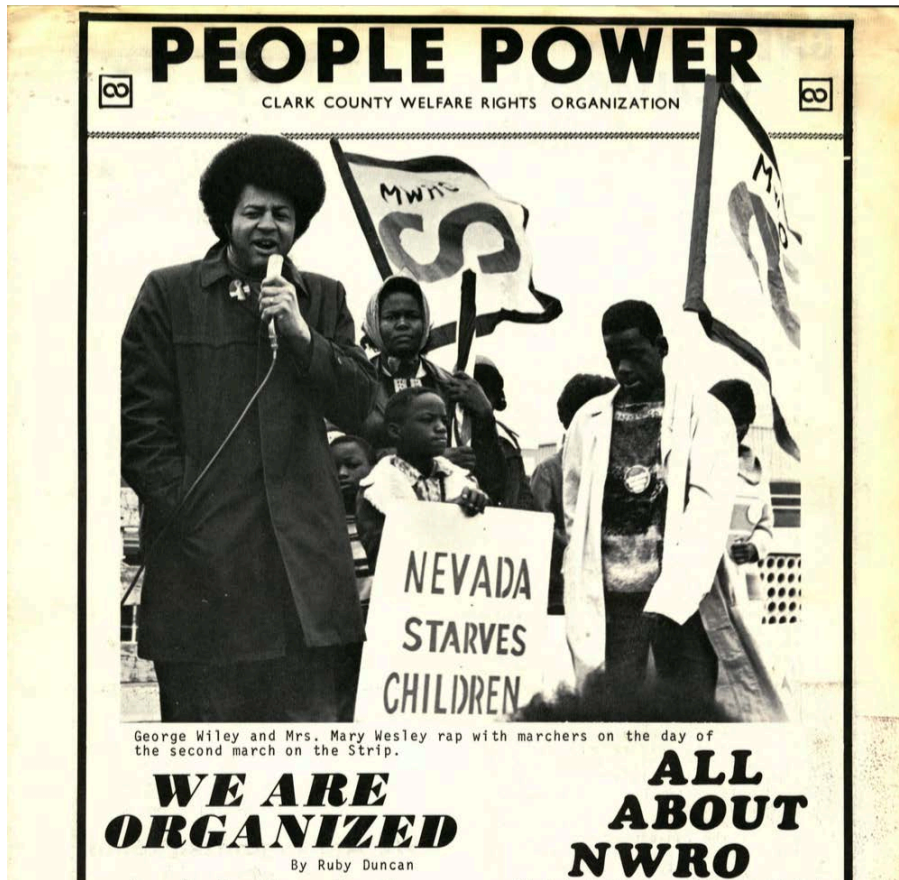


Exhibit A2. Specific Guidance in the Kentucky Welfare Rights Handbook

QUICK QUESTION TABLE								
QUESTIONS	ADC AID TO DEP. CHIL.	OAA OLD AGE ASSIST.	AD AID TO DISABLD.	AB AID TO BLIND	GENERAL RELIEF (COUNTY)	SOLD- IERS RELIEF	FOOD STAMPS	COUN- SELING
AGE--How old do I have to be?	18--or married, NOW or in PAST	At least 65	18 to 65	18 and older	Depends- local rules	Depends- local rules	Must be head of family	No age limits
RESIDENCY--Do I have to live in Ia. for a time	NO	NO	NO	NO	Likely- fight this!	Likely- fight this!	NO	NO
RELATIVES--Will they be contacted?	Probably- parents & Xhusband	YES	YES	YES	Sometimes	Sometimes	NO	Sometimes
JOB--Can I have one & get money?	YES	YES	YES	YES	Maybe	Maybe	YES	YES
LIEN--Will welfare dep. put one on my home?	NO	YES	NO	NO	Maybe- fight this!	NO	NO	NO

Exhibit A3. Clark County Nevada WRO Newsletter

A. Cover featuring WRO founder George Wiley



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

OUR LAWYER SPEAKS

George Miller, with the consent of Governor O'Callaghan, cut 3,000 people off welfare and another 4,500 had their checks reduced. Federal law and U.S. Supreme Court decisions state that checks to welfare recipients cannot be cut or reduced without letting the person know why and without giving that person a fair hearing to defend himself. Miller and O'Callaghan refused to obey Federal law and allow these recipients a chance for a fair hearing.

On October 1, 1970, a law suit was filed by the Clark County Legal Aid in Federal District Court to force the State of Nevada to obey the Fed-

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

Welfare rights protesters have won another battle with the State Welfare Department. On April 1st, lawyers for the state and NWRO signed an agreement which was presented to the Federal District Court. Now a three judge panel must sign the agreement. When they sign, the following will take place: All those recipients who suffered a reduction in their welfare grants must be reinstated to their former grant level by May 1. Now all recipients who were were cut or reduced will be back on welfare.

In the future, if Miller attempts to mess with the poor people under his welfare program, he must:

1. Explain without question to the people involved why he is cutting them off or reducing their checks.
2. Allow 15 days to welfare recipients to ask for a fair hearing, if they are cut or dropped.
3. Inform Welfare recipients of their right to (free) legal council.

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.

Exhibit A4. Role of LSP Attorneys in Hennepin County WRO

Welfare Commission.

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. When the women working on the Welfare Commission people wanted to

Board meeting. It worked. 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.

a fair hearing about Hilton Preston having to wait so long. 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 he will start a case on getting the Welfare Department to give people a hearing prior to when they are cut off welfare. Despite the fact that during the last six months

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 with Fran and this will help a lot in building a strong but small group to confront the Welfare system here.

August 1968

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

3. Worked with and 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.

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

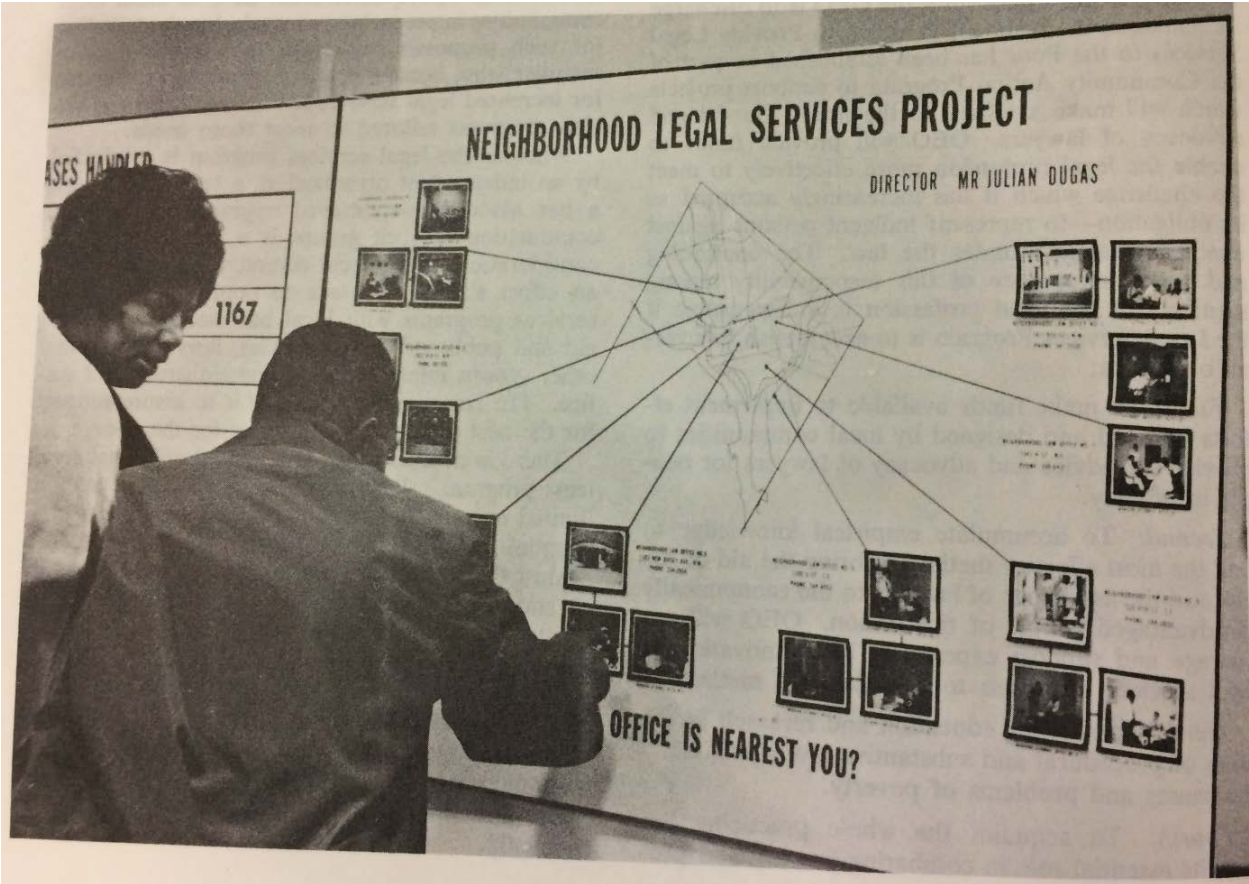
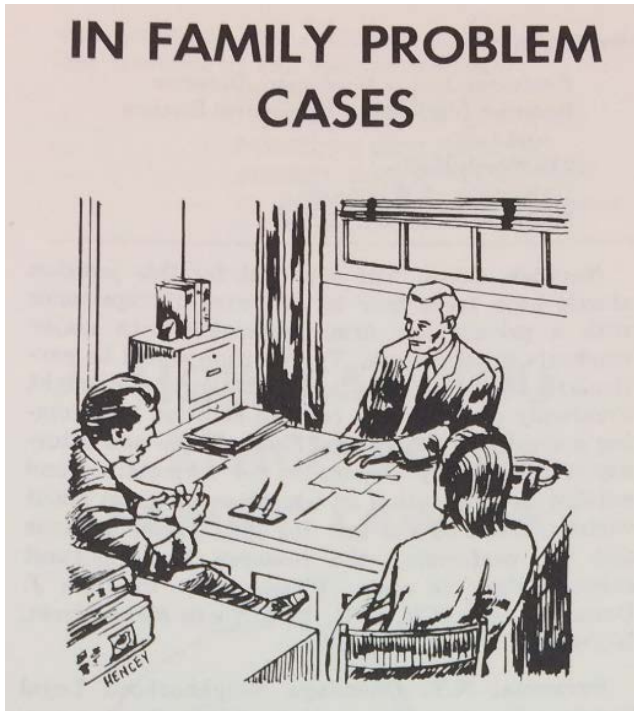


Exhibit A7. Kansas City Legal Aid Advertisement

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**

APPENDIX B: 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 here:

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-----	21,900,207	Alaska ¹ ---Con.		Arkansas---Con.	
Alabama-----	40,335	Dist. 21, Barrow-----	14	Stone-----	47
Arizona-----		Dist. 22, Kotzebue-----	24	Union-----	533
Arkansas-----		Dist. 25, Nome-----	41	Van Buren-----	65
Baldwin-----	1,559	Dist. 24, Wade Hampton-----	20	Washington-----	584
Barbour-----	188	Arizona-----	12,115	White-----	397
Bibb-----	206	Apache-----	75	Woodruff-----	140
Blount-----	245	Cochise-----	409	Yell-----	87
Bullock-----	112	Cochise-----	409	California-----	135,090
Butler-----	212	Cocconino-----	331	Alameda-----	5,484
Calhoun-----	875	Gila-----	240	Alpine-----	2
Chambers-----	365	Griffin-----	134		

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-----		King-----	114
Arizona-----		Ashley-----	142	Lake-----	57
Arkansas-----		Baxter-----	20	Lassen-----	45
Baldwin-----	59	Benton-----	95	Los Angeles-----	28,620
Barbour-----	533	Boone-----	35	Madison-----	108
Bibb-----	51	Bradley-----	21	Marin-----	705
Blount-----	26	Calhoun-----	19	Mariposa-----	5
Bullock-----	87	Carroll-----	35	Merced-----	125
Butler-----	19	Chicot-----	81	Modoc-----	250
Calhoun-----	65	Clark-----	54	Mono-----	17
Chambers-----	235	Clay-----	92		2
Cherokee-----	93				
Chilton-----	14				

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 here:

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				
			Recipient rate		Average payment		Recipient rate		Average payment			Recipient rate		Average payment		
			Rate	Quintile	Amount	Quintile	Rate	Quintile	Amount	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-204, page 1 (Revised 10/72)

State Alabama State agency Department of Pensions and Security Report for month of June 1964

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 APFD						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
	(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)	(V)	(VI)								
Total	110,275	\$7,406,290.77	1,761	\$113,205.15	14,522	\$670,363.30	235	\$59,576.41	22,373	92,124	72,764	\$6,077,363.92	80	\$1,119.22
Autauga	869	\$7,948.55	14	\$62.00	103	\$415.00	0	.00	200	830	665	\$1,706.00	1	\$2.50
Baldwin	1,321	\$4,249.05	22	\$1,800.00	150	\$4,939.00	2	\$56.71	245	1,090	852	\$1,332.00	0	.00
Barbour	1,207	\$3,061.60	19	\$1,172.00	235	\$901.00	0	.00	485	1,856	1,462	\$9,354.00	1	\$2.50
Bibb	700	\$4,375.15	11	\$13.00	130	\$195.00	0	.00	183	795	630	\$9,211.00	1	\$2.50
Blount	1,297	\$8,517.72	10	\$54.00	141	\$124.05	4	\$36.27	165	595	140	\$1,324.00	1	\$1.50
Total	869	\$4,154.88	10	\$50.00	85	\$331.00	0	.00	126	342	422	\$1,852.27	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-204, page 3 (Revised 10/62)

State Alabama State agency Dept. of Pensions and Security Report for month of June 1966 Page 1

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 APFD						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
	(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)	(V)	(VI)								
Total	112,076	\$7,966,407.31	1861	\$128,274.00	14,920	\$751,186.87	277	\$90,048.87	17,257	71,294	56,693	\$904,880.95	86	\$1,107.50
Autauga	859	\$6,250.84	16	\$1,158.00	104	\$4,820.00	2	\$21.61	150	674	556	\$7,715.00	2	\$5.00
Baldwin	1,283	\$6,087.61	25	\$1,659.00	137	\$6,631.00	6	\$1,012.16	180	750	613	\$9,397.00	0	.00
Barbour	1,302	\$4,833.42	19	\$1,340.00	226	\$1,027.00	2	\$79.95	349	1,359	1,066	\$6,102.00	5	\$6.50
Bibb	702	\$4,329.43	9	\$72.00	118	\$176.00	0	.00	129	538	430	\$6,713.00	2	\$7.50
Blount	1,323	\$10,349.73	12	\$42.00	140	\$6,886.00	2	\$41.50	101	362	272	\$4,093.35	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	\$7,190,252.00	1,085	\$133,043.50	25,720	\$705,117.70	19,748	63,137	66,475	\$1,273,753.24	68	66	\$1,664.50
Autauga	860	\$3,269.00	16	1,206.00	113	5,602.00	148	611	192	\$7,214.00	2	2	25.00
Baldwin	1,332	77,019.00	32	2,236.00	149	6,591.00	229	2,010	633	14,976.00	0	0	.00
Barbour	1,292	66,007.00	20	1,376.00	223	11,051.00	335	1,369	1,079	20,064.00	2	2	25.00
Bibb	752	\$1,210.00	7	116.00	182	5,008.00	147	607	462	6,736.00	0	0	.00
Blount	1,295	\$2,799.00	15	665.00	167	6,990.00	89	312	252	\$,719.00	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.

3,050 counties appear in every available year from 1960-1980, and 650 counties (in SMSAs) are non-missing more than once in every available year between 1960 and 1988.

C. Non-Marital 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 a subset of large counties. To protect confidentiality, the NCHS did not publish these tabulations for counties with population over 50,000 in the most recent Census, or 100,000 starting in 1980 (but at first based on the 1970 Census). We observe non-marital births in all years from 1960-1980 in 112 counties. After adding similar data from 1981-1988 we observe non-marital births in 60 counties.

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.....	163,632	3,596	64,668	6,732	11,316	14,652	16,004	15,754	49,926	23,048	13,642	7,614	2,148
White.....	55,234	816	22,276	1,885	3,480	4,978	5,912	6,100	17,618	7,024	3,903	2,539	854
Nonwhite..	108,398	2,780	42,392	4,905	7,836	9,674	10,092	9,654	31,103	16,024	9,739	5,076	1,294
ALABAMA.....	8,718	154	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	142	3,074	362	570	658	728	756	2,202	1,162	734	452	108
Urban.....	4,394	120	1,666	188	288	382	412	396	1,246	668	400	244	50
White.....	362	4	180	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	162	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	98	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:140 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	6,054	116,624	11,892	20,506	26,898	29,480	29,848	77,548	24,704	12,142	6,994	2,298	156
White-----	106,752	1,534	47,322	5,200	6,884	10,024	12,448	14,768	38,804	10,718	4,776	2,732	952	54
All other--	141,746	4,700	71,302	6,692	13,622	16,874	17,032	15,080	38,744	13,986	7,366	4,262	1,344	102
Urban places of 50,000 or more-----	122,828	3,230	58,596	6,288	10,878	13,340	14,160	14,130	37,694	12,672	6,182	3,394	1,000	70
White-----	41,780	516	17,556	1,148	2,512	3,508	4,606	5,662	15,782	4,482	1,968	1,134	344	18
All other--	81,048	2,714	41,060	5,140	8,166	9,732	9,554	8,468	21,912	8,190	4,214	2,260	656	52
Urban places of 10,000 to 50,000-----	38,382	774	16,854	1,820	2,694	3,846	4,248	4,446	11,730	3,778	1,612	1,042	360	32
White-----	19,518	190	6,246	512	1,114	1,732	2,224	2,544	7,194	2,156	944	540	204	14
All other--	18,864	584	8,608	1,108	1,580	2,094	2,024	1,902	4,536	1,622	668	502	156	18
Balance of area-----	89,288	2,050	45,174	3,964	7,134	9,712	11,072	11,272	28,134	8,254	4,148	2,558	956	54
White-----	45,454	628	21,540	1,560	3,258	4,684	5,618	6,460	18,838	4,040	1,964	1,118	404	22
All other--	43,834	1,402	21,634	2,444	3,876	5,048	5,454	4,812	12,296	4,214	2,284	1,440	532	32
Alabama-----	8,398	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	56	12	12	-
All other--	7,278	246	3,644	420	682	840	870	832	1,980	700	346	238	92	12
Urban places of 50,000 or more-----	2,554	74	1,284	144	280	282	324	274	702	262	124	88	18	2
White-----	322	8	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	84	16	2
Birmingham-----	1,000	36	494	50	90	122	128	104	298	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	268	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 (2015):

We re-combine all counties that split or merge after 1959. Using Forstall (1995), 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

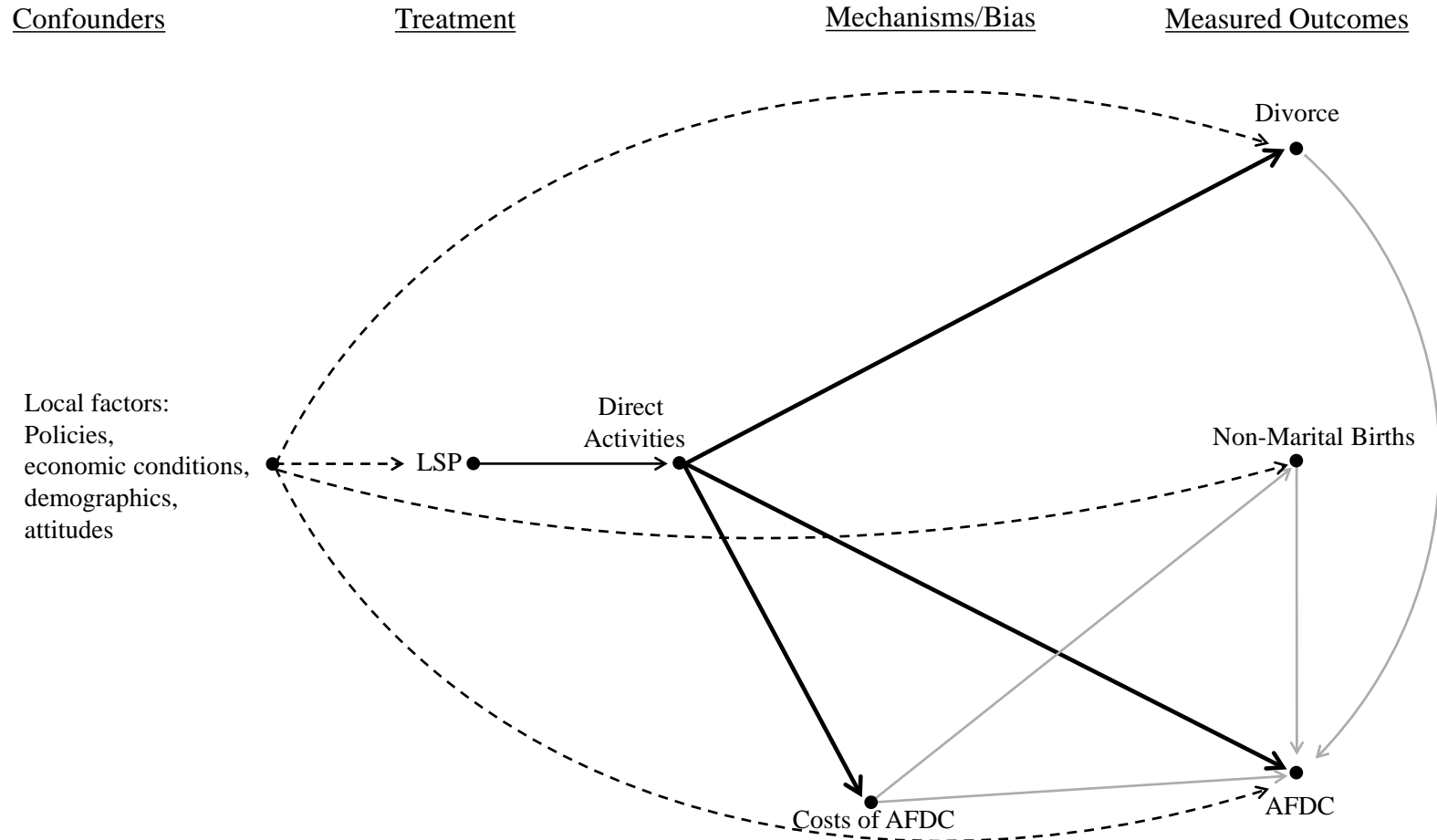
stfips	new_cofips	old_cofips	year	note
51	83	780	1995	South Boston City rejoins Halifax County.
51	510	13	-	Alexandria City//Arlington County

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>.

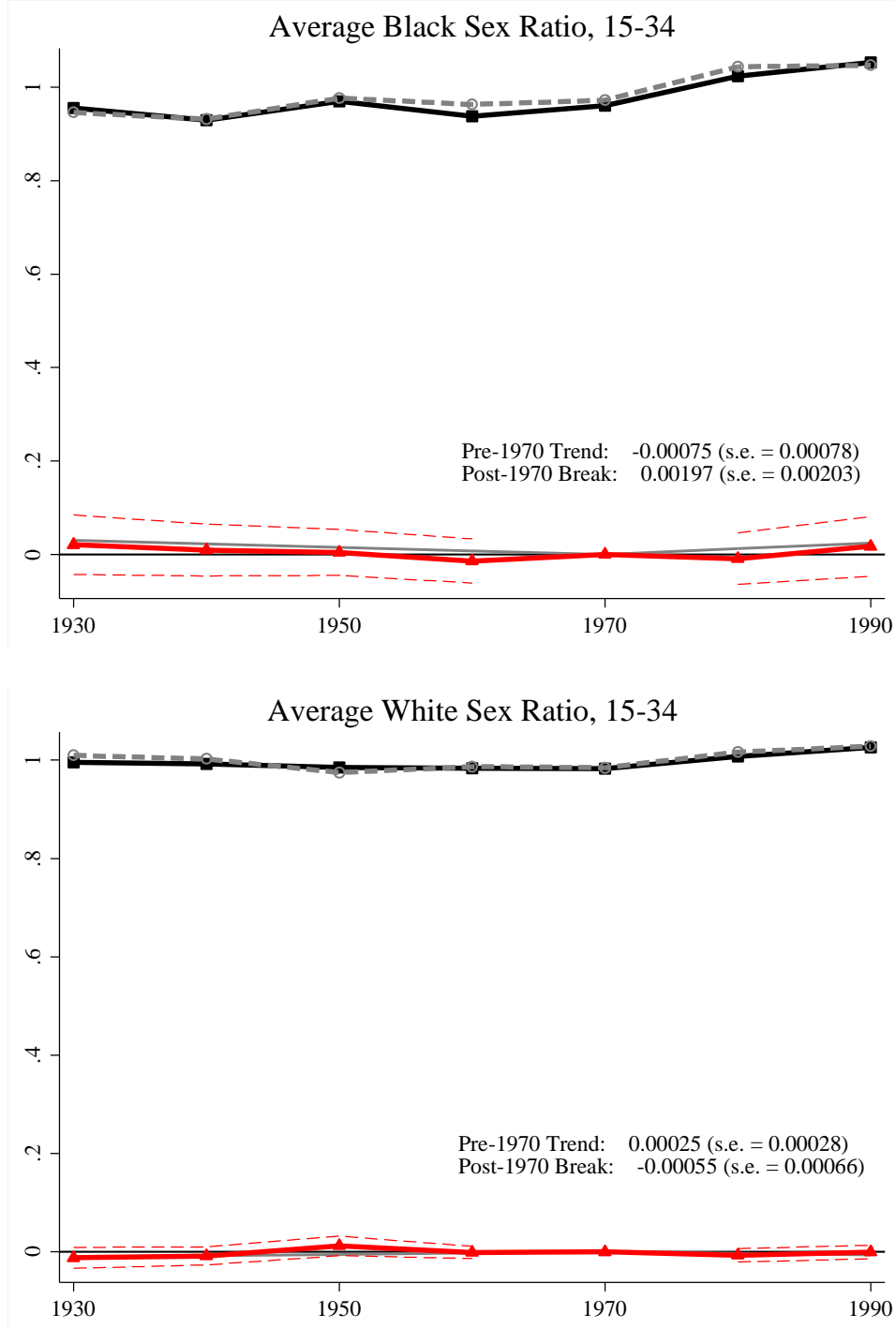
APPENDIX C: EVIDENCE ON INTERNAL VALIDITY

Figure C1. A Causal Diagram for the Effect of Legal Services on Family Structure and Welfare Participation



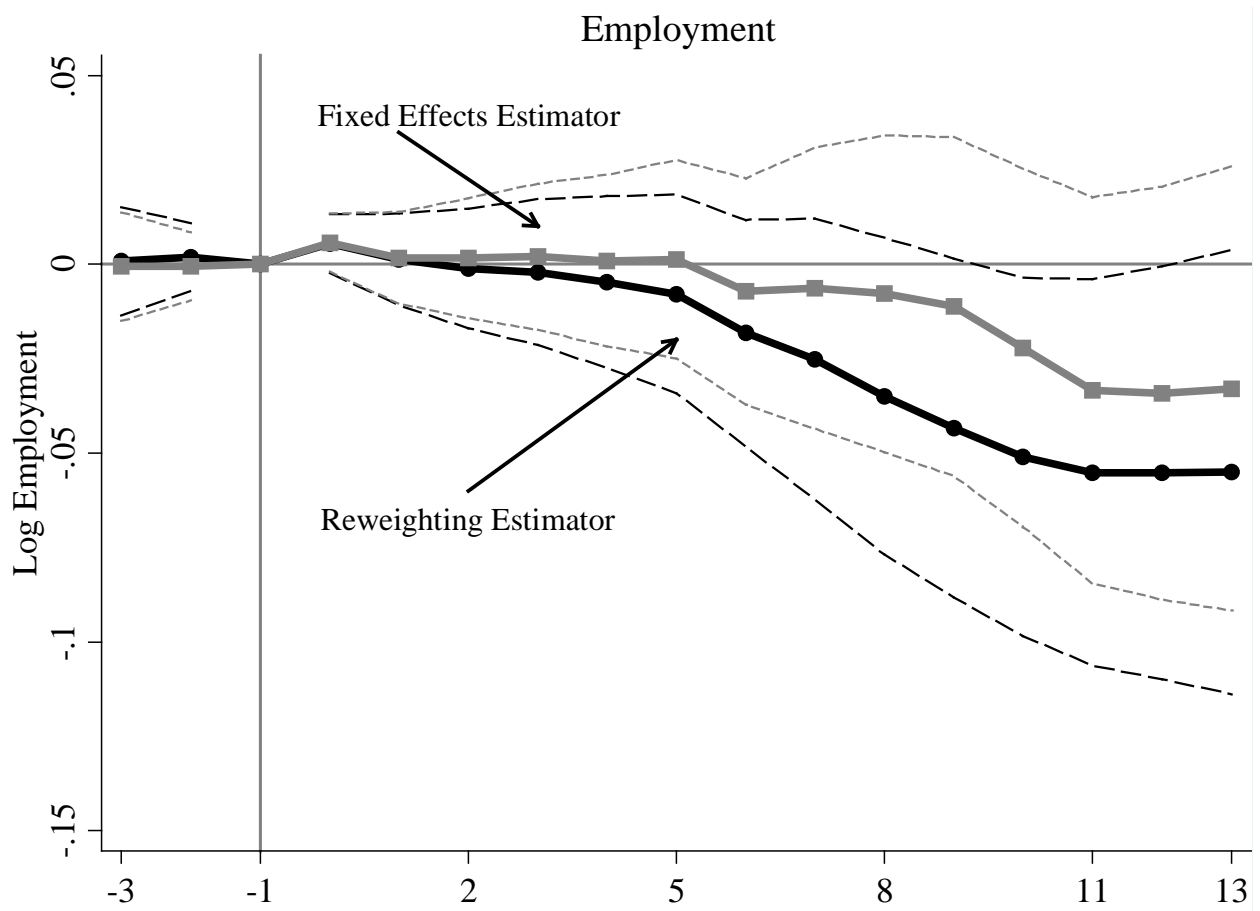
Notes: This figure is a directed acyclic graph (DAG) or causal diagram that describes the causal relationships between LSP treatment, potential confounders, causal mechanisms, and our measured outcomes. Arrows represent potential causal effects; solid arrows represent mechanisms for the intention-to-treat effect of LSP establishment; dashed arrows represent potential sources of bias. LSPs undertook several “direct activities” related to family structure, namely divorce and welfare advocacy. The effects of these actions are shown in bold arrows. The “indirect effects” of these actions are shown in thin gray arrows.

Figure C2. Trends in Sex Ratios by Race in LSP and Non-LSP Counties



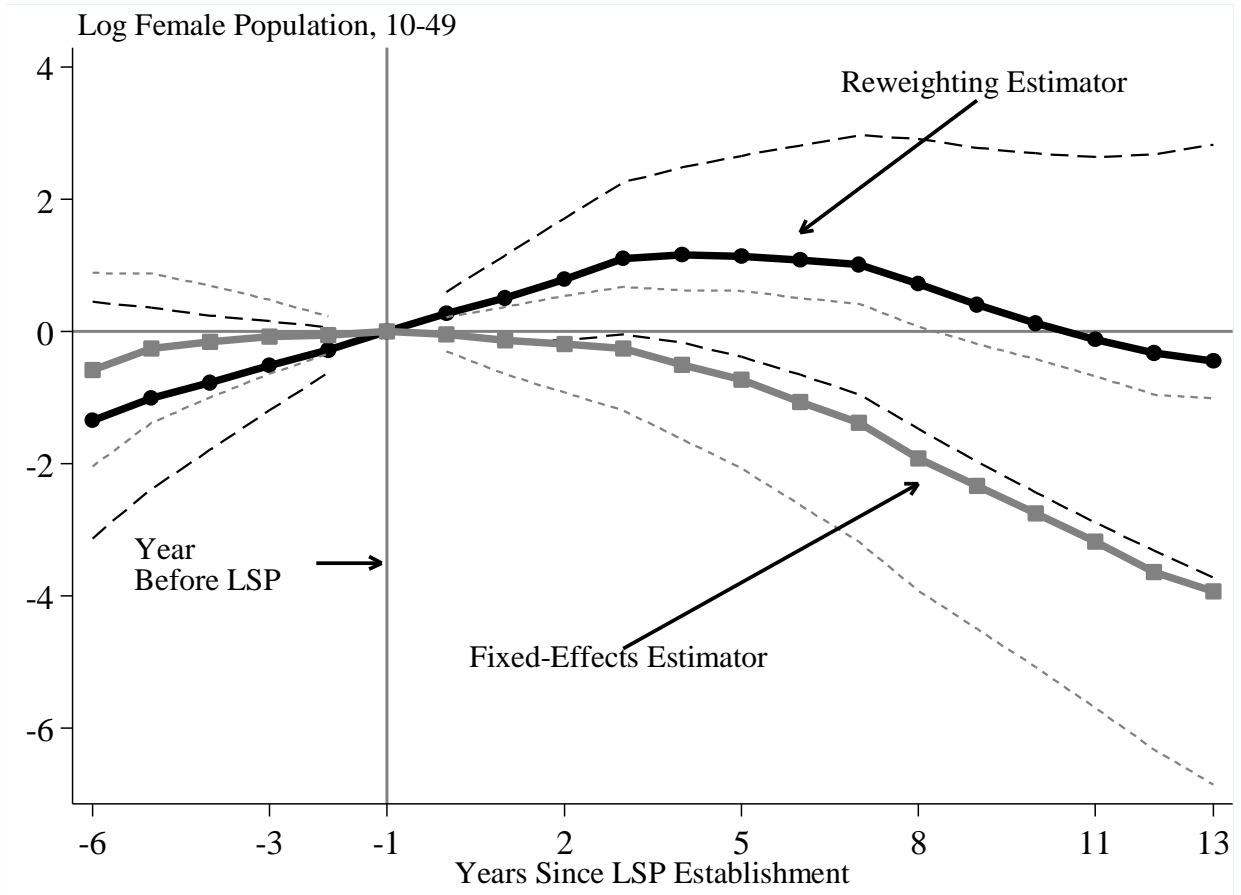
Notes: This figure plot the average county level sex ratio for 15-24 and 25-34 year olds using aggregate Census data (Haines and ICPSR 2010). Because small counties that contain prisons have extremely skewed sex ratios, the sample drops observations in which more than 20 percent of the (race-specific) 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 C3. Changes in log Employment Before and After LSP Establishment



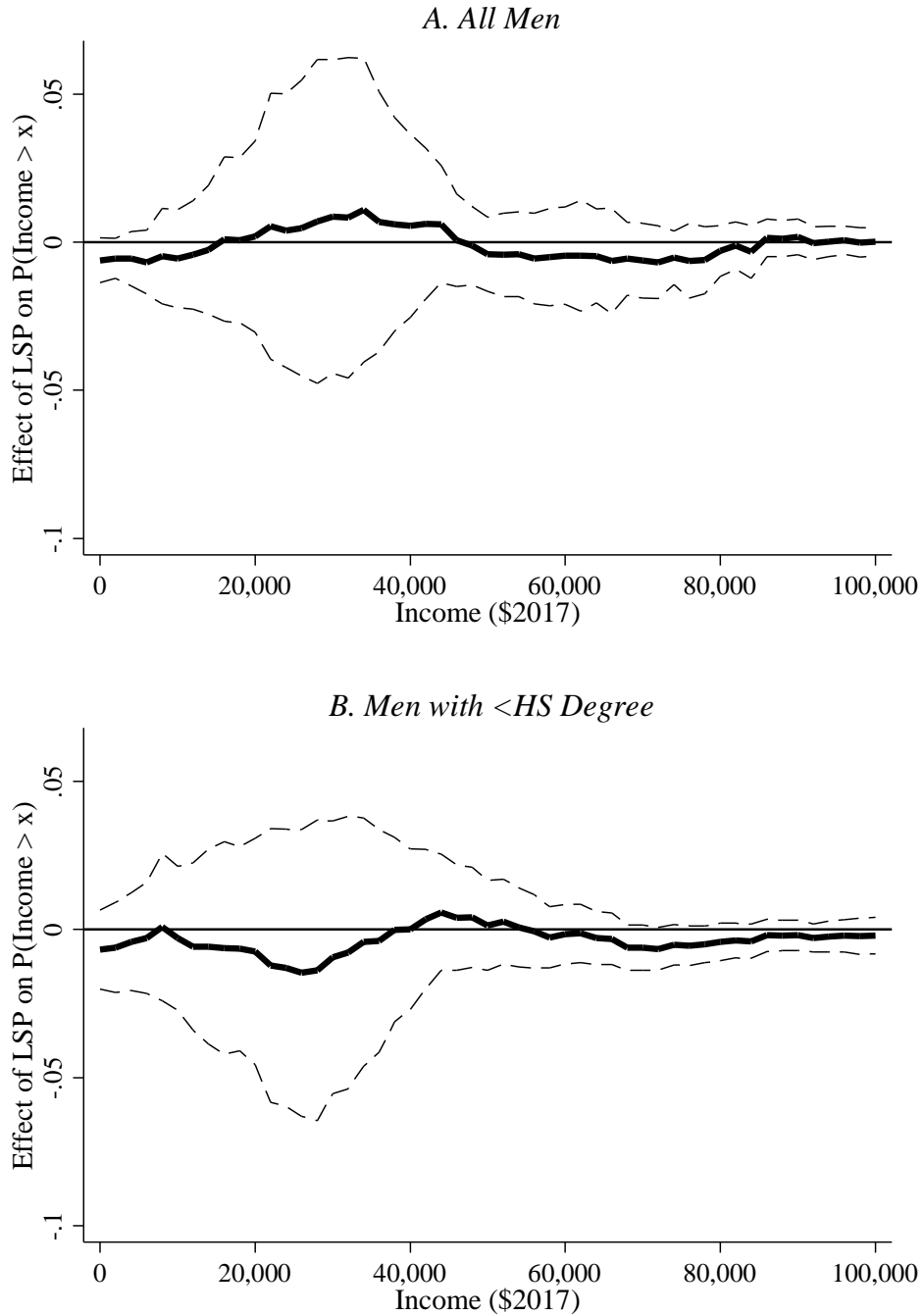
Notes: The figure is comparable to Panel B of Figure 12.

Figure C4. Changes in log Female Population Aged 10-49 Before and After LSP Establishment



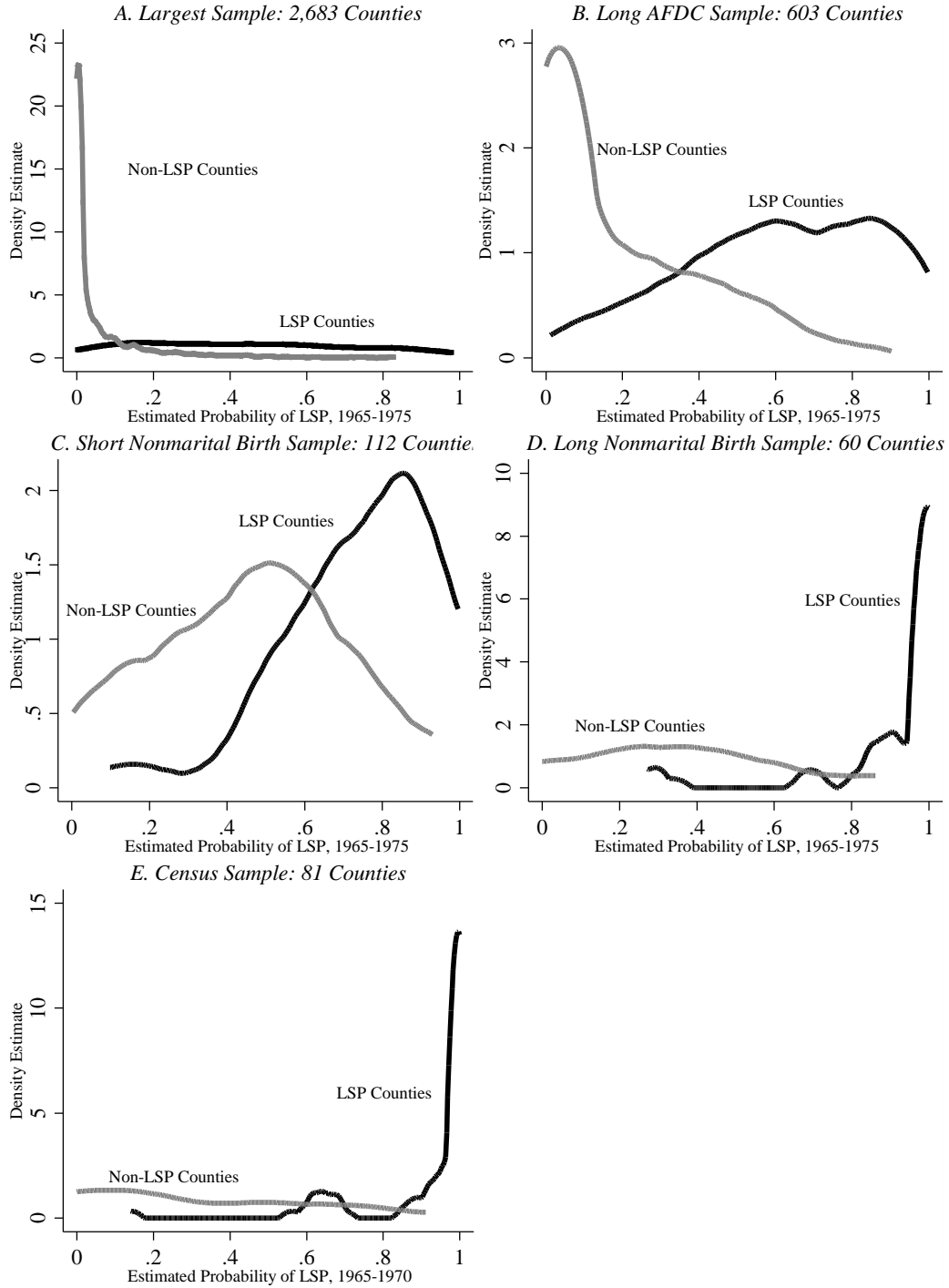
Notes: The figure is comparable to Panel B of Figure 12.

Figure C5. LSP Counties Have No Differential Changes in Men’s Earned Income Between 1960 and 1970



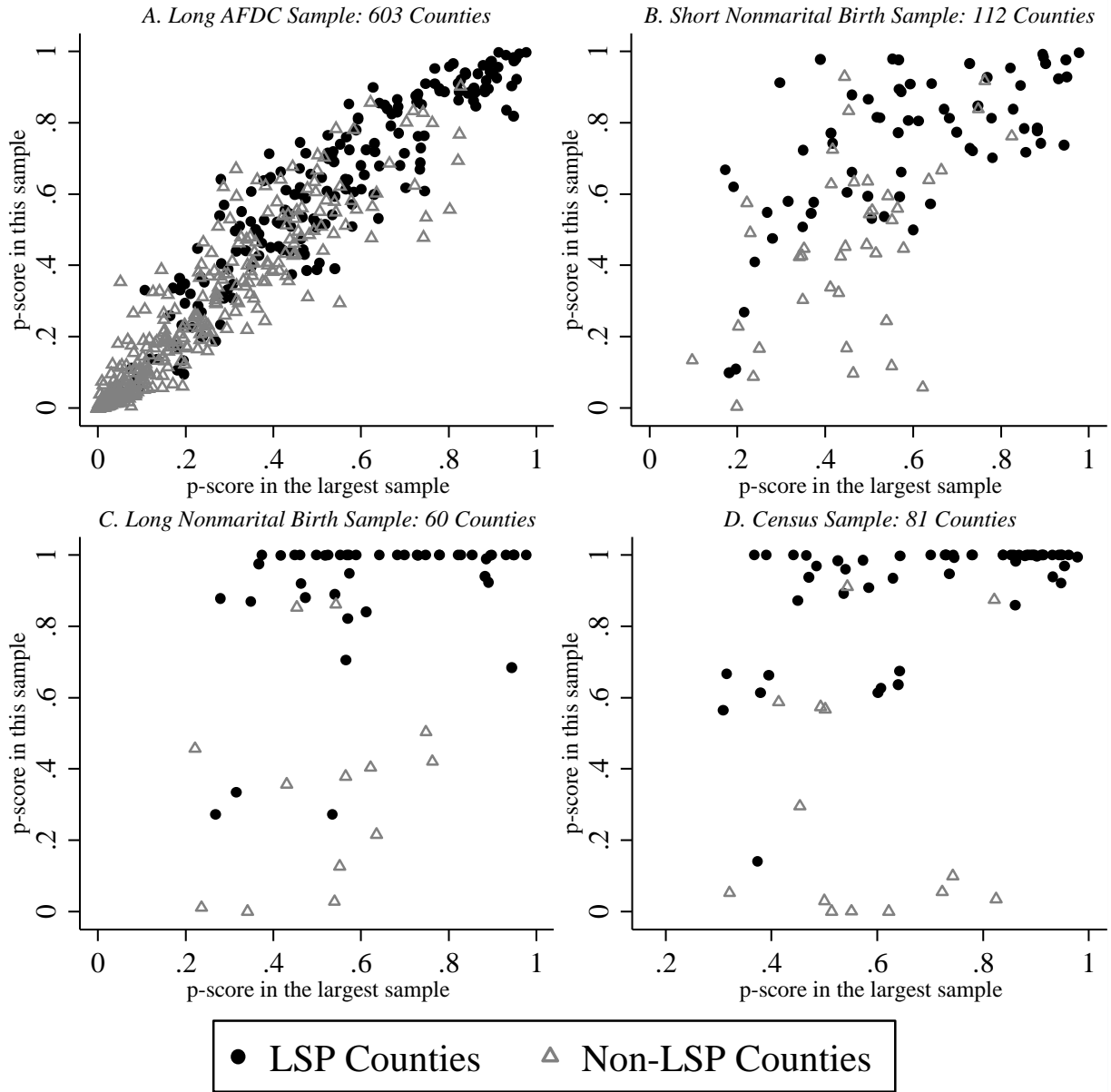
Notes: The figure shows distribution regression estimates using a sample of men from 81 identifies counties in the 1960 and 1970 Census samples. The outcome variables are dummies that equal the change in the share of men earning greater than or equal to x. Panel A uses all men ages 18-54 and panel B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

Figure C6. Propensity Score Distributions



Notes: The figure shows kernel density estimates by treatment status of the propensity score for each sample. The following figure plots propensity scores across models to show that they are similar, and the next section presents estimates using samples that trim counties with propensity scores outside [.1,.9] as suggested by (Crump et al. 2009).

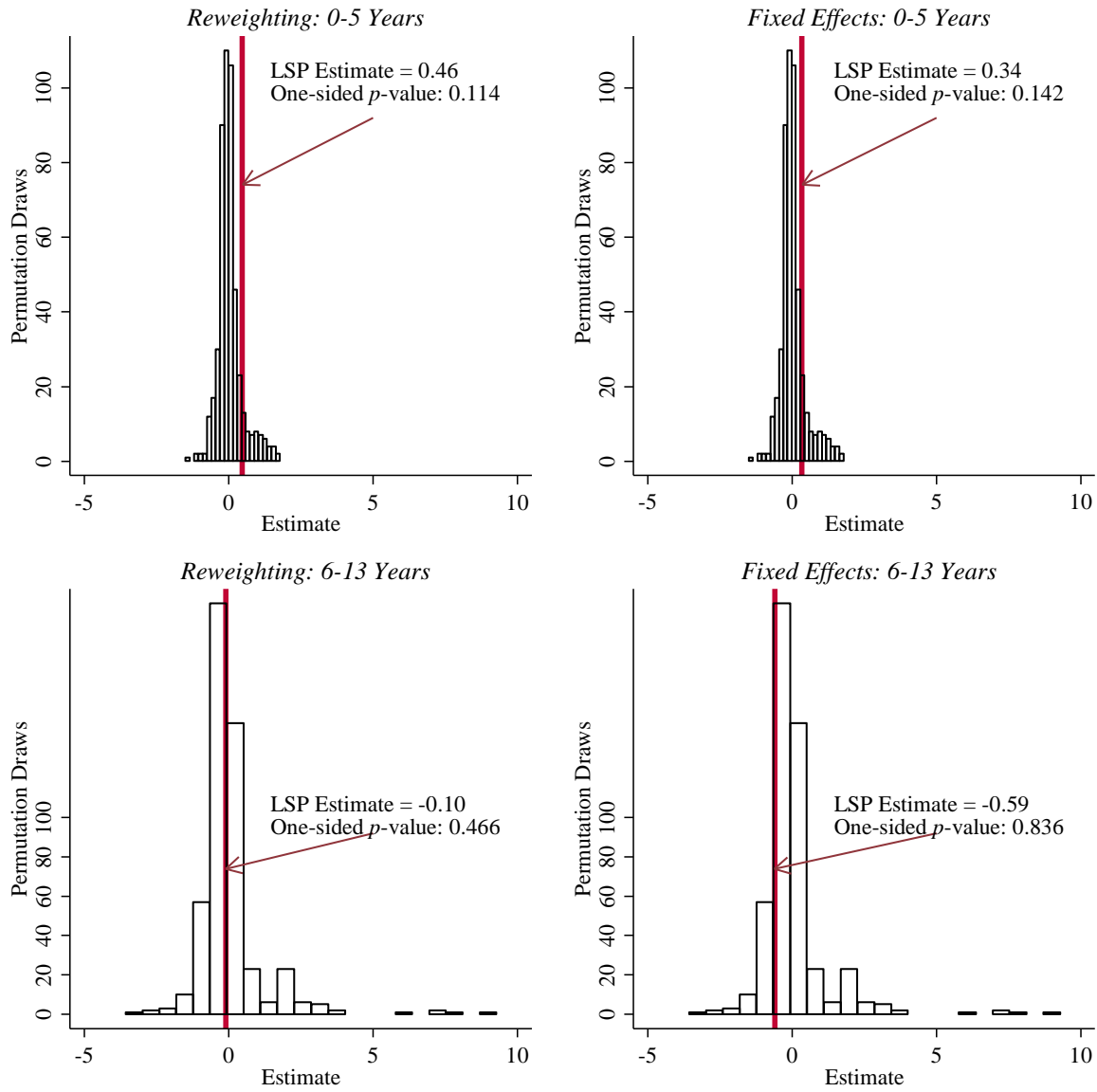
Figure C7. Propensity Scores Across Samples



Notes: The figure scatters propensity scores from each sample against propensity scores for Sample 1.

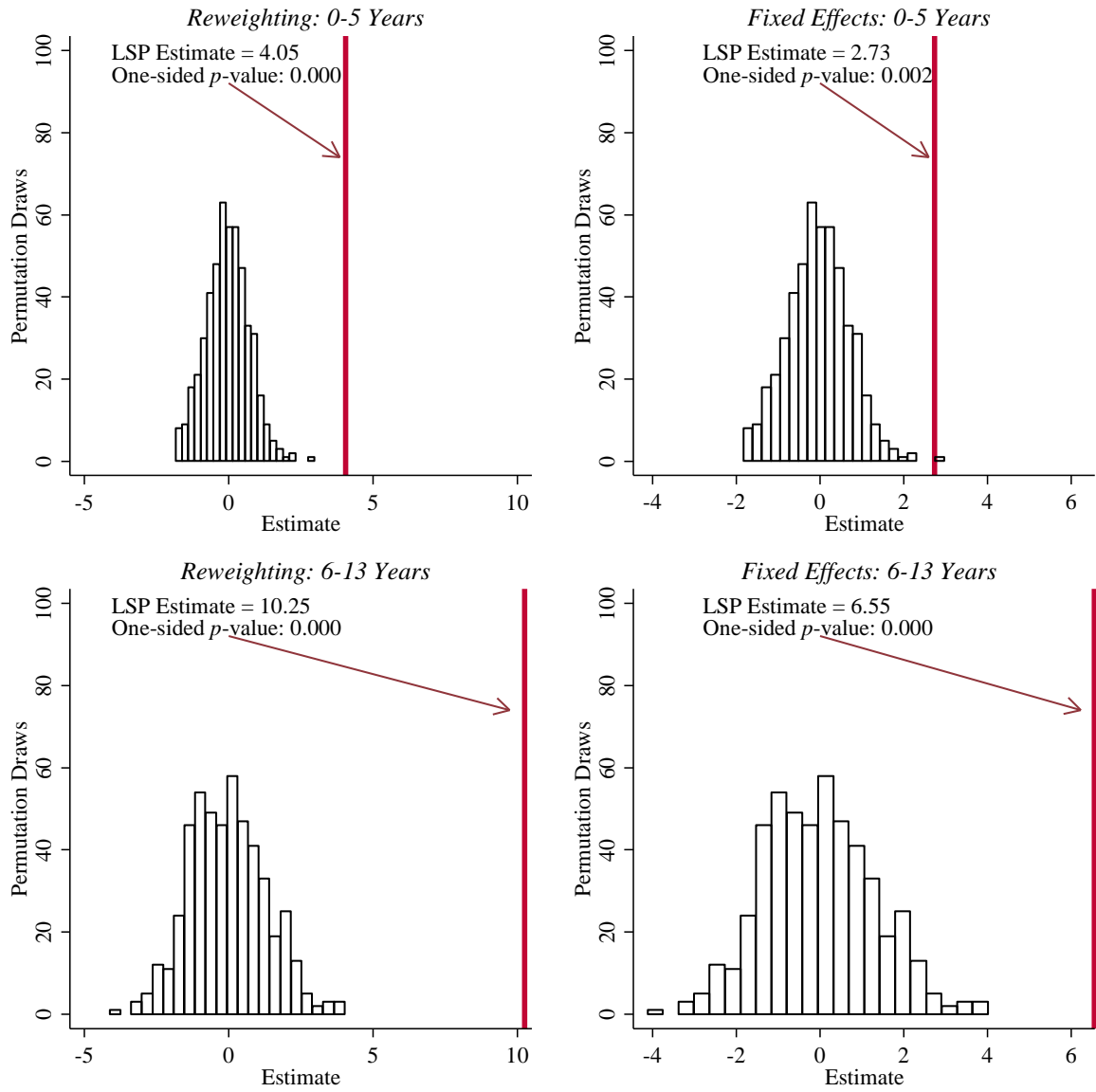
APPENDIX D: ADDITIONAL VITAL STATISTICS AND AFDC RESULTS

Figure D1. Permutation Inference: Divorce



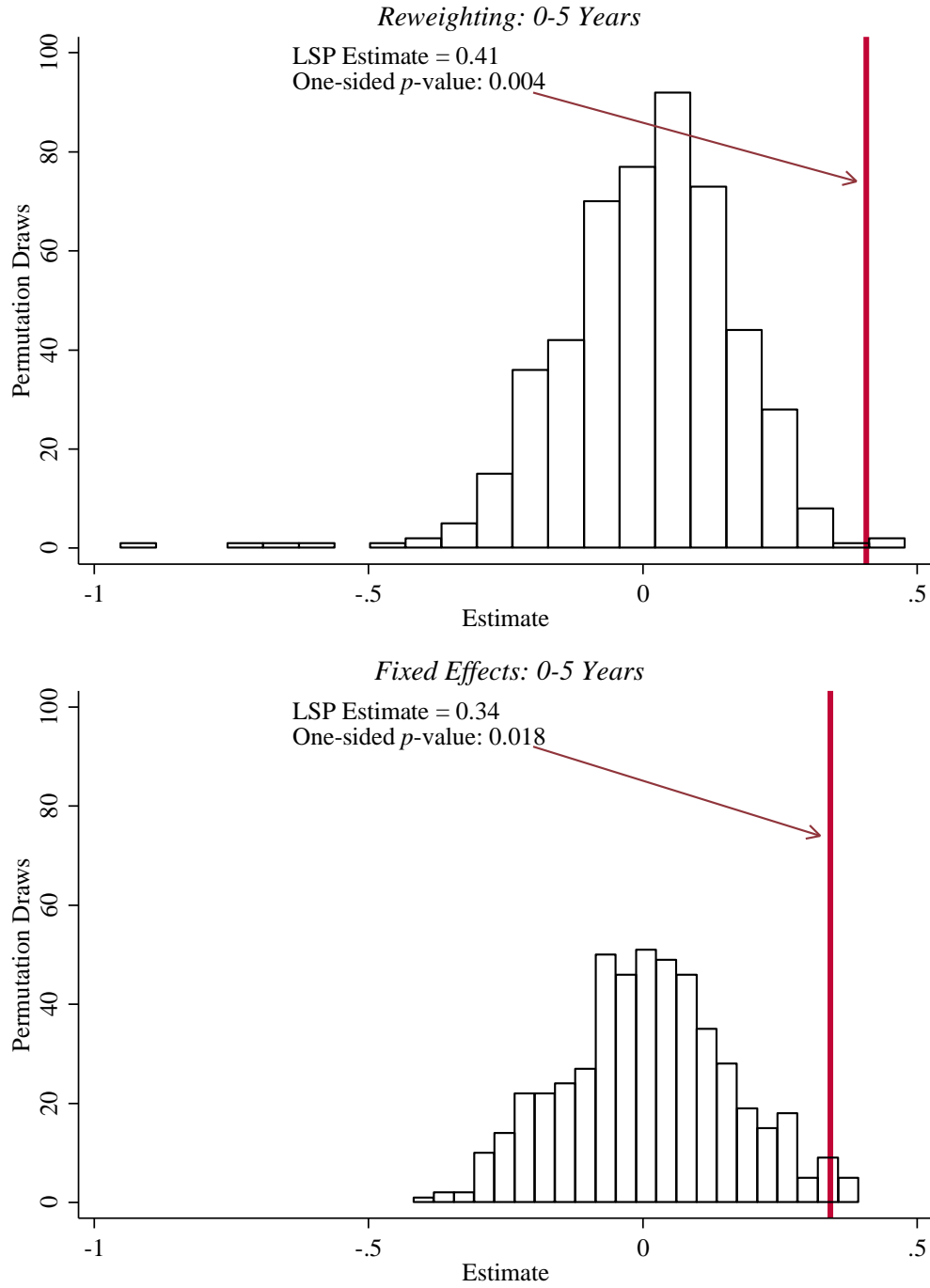
Notes: The figure presents histograms of the 500 placebo estimates for the shorter-run and longer-run estimates for divorce rates. We reassign treatment status keeping the number and years of treatment the same across permutations.

Figure D2. Permutation Inference: AFDC



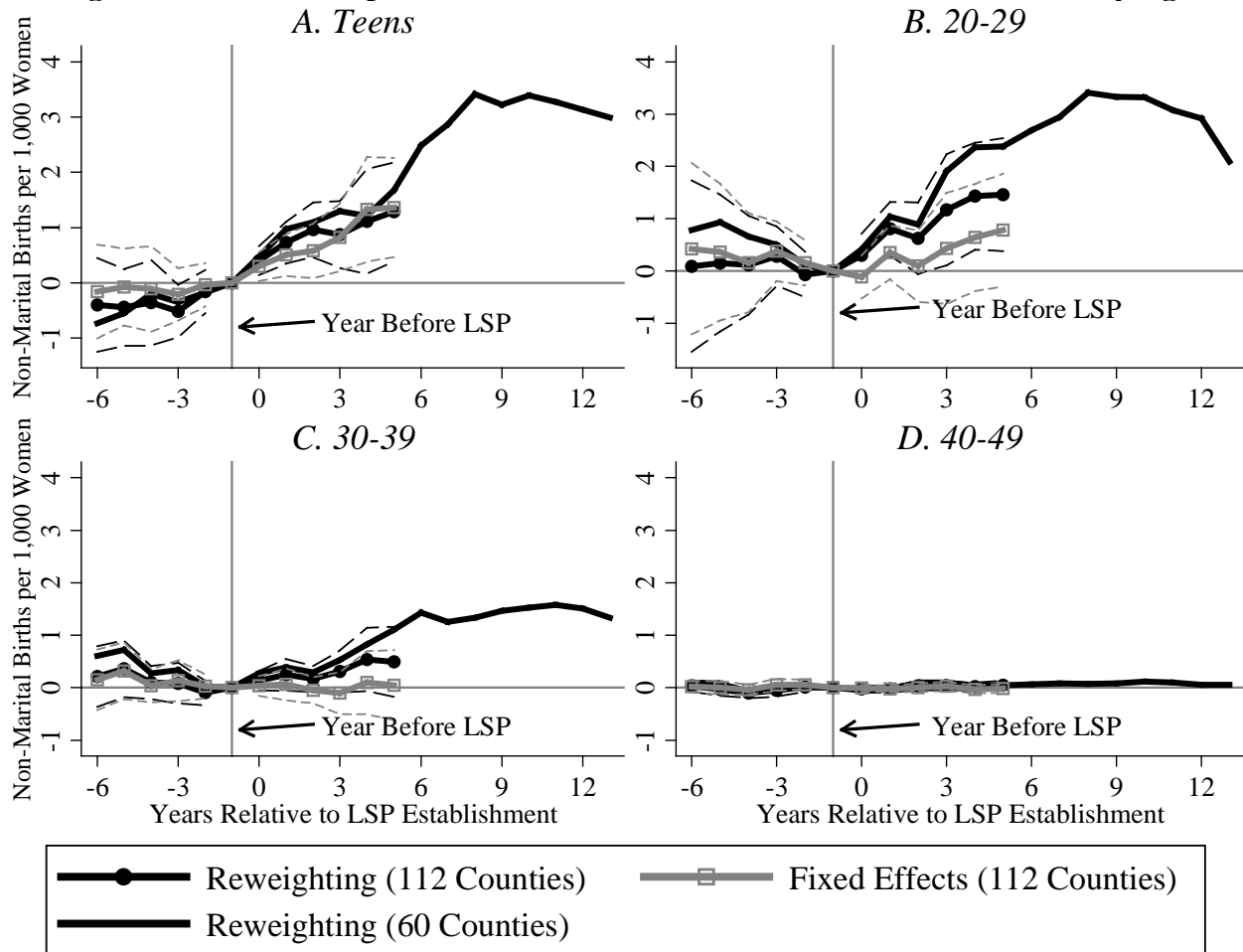
Notes: The figure presents histograms of the 500 placebo estimates for the shorter-run and longer-run estimates for AFDC rates. We reassign treatment status keeping the number and years of treatment the same across permutations.

Figure D3. Permutation Inference: Nonmarital Births



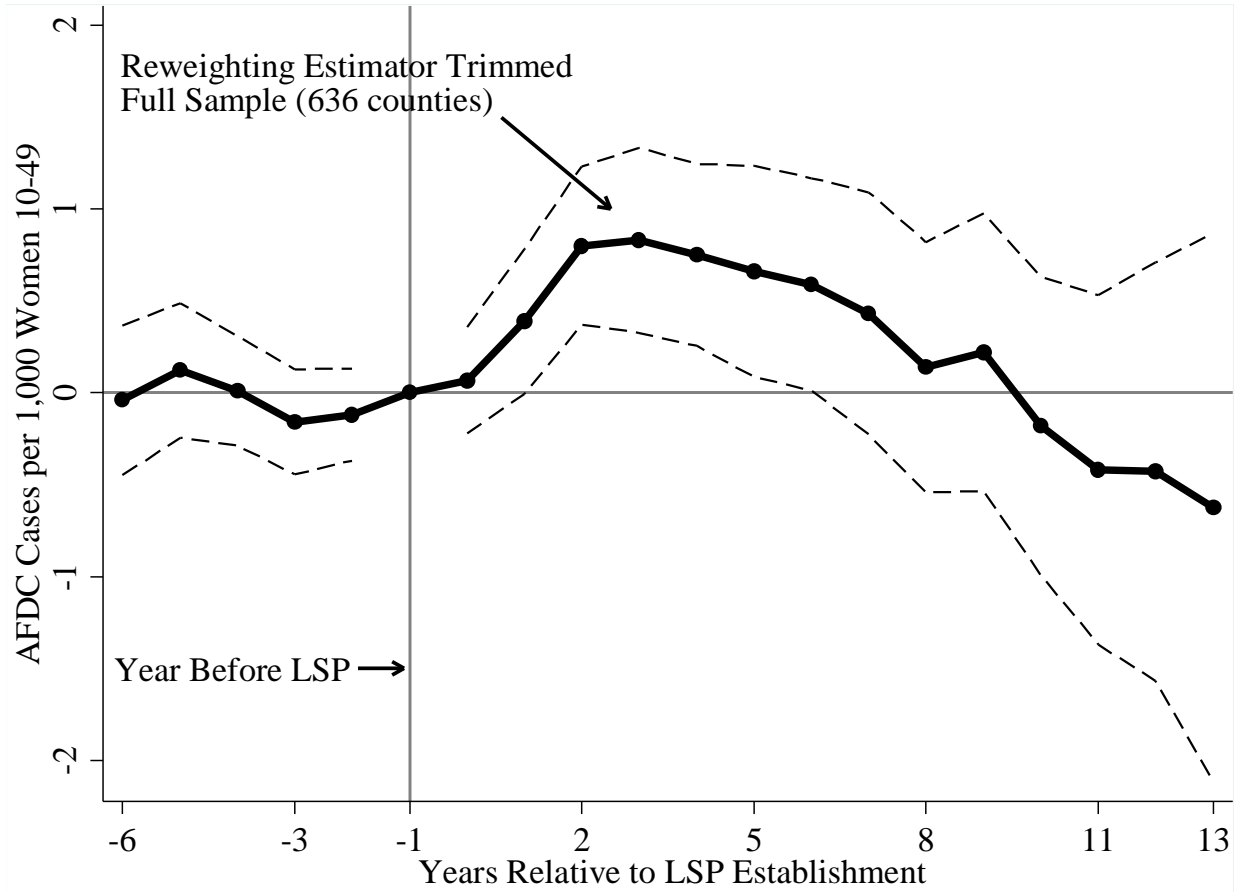
Notes: The figure presents histograms of the 500 placebo estimates for the shorter-run estimates for nonmarital birth rates. We reassign treatment status keeping the number and years of treatment the same across permutations.

Figure D4. Relationship between LSP Establishment and Nonmarital Births by Age



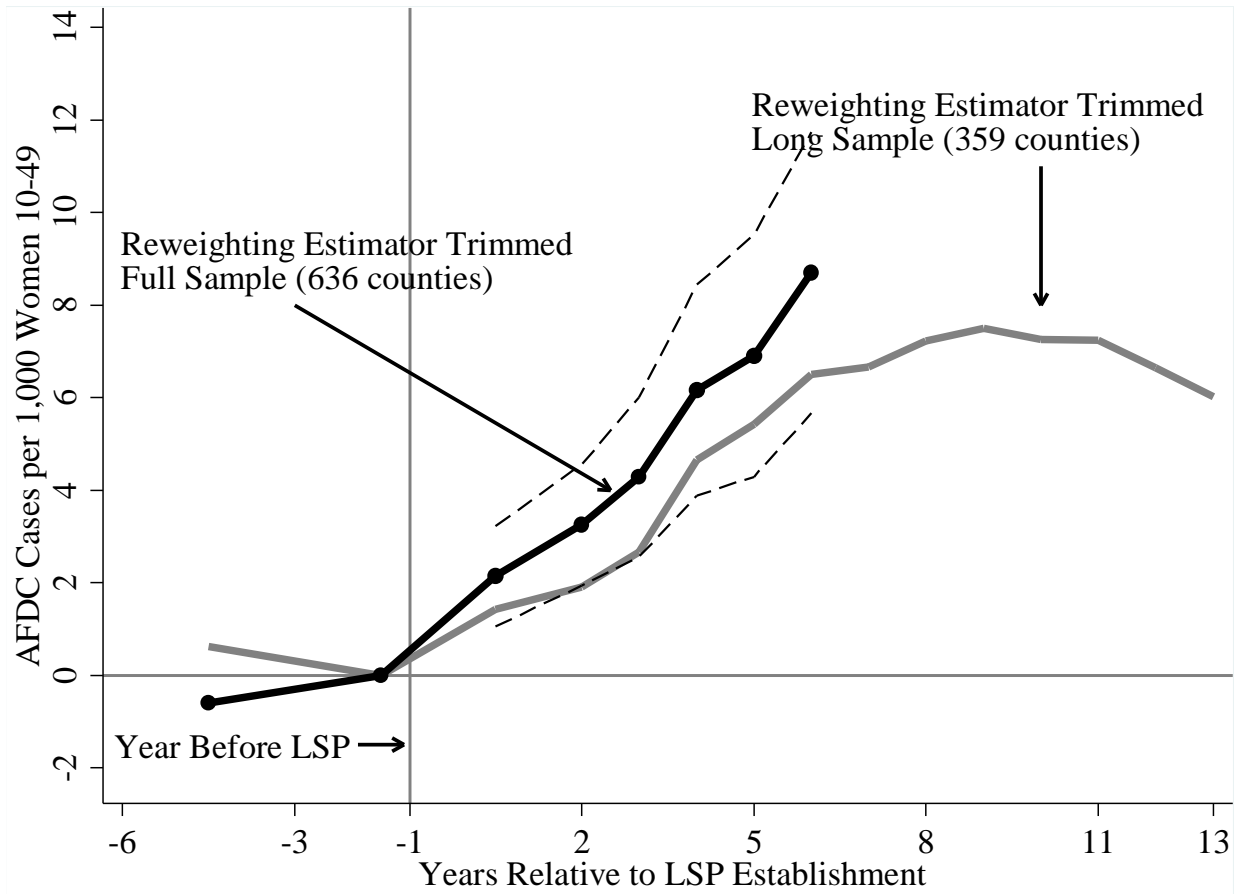
Notes: The dependent variable is the number of births to unmarried mothers in county c , year t , and age group a divided by the number of women in age group a measured in thousands. The average dependent variable in treated counties in the year their LSP starts is 7.8 births per 1,000 teens; 8 births 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 D5. Reweighted Divorce Results with Propensity Score Trimmed Sample



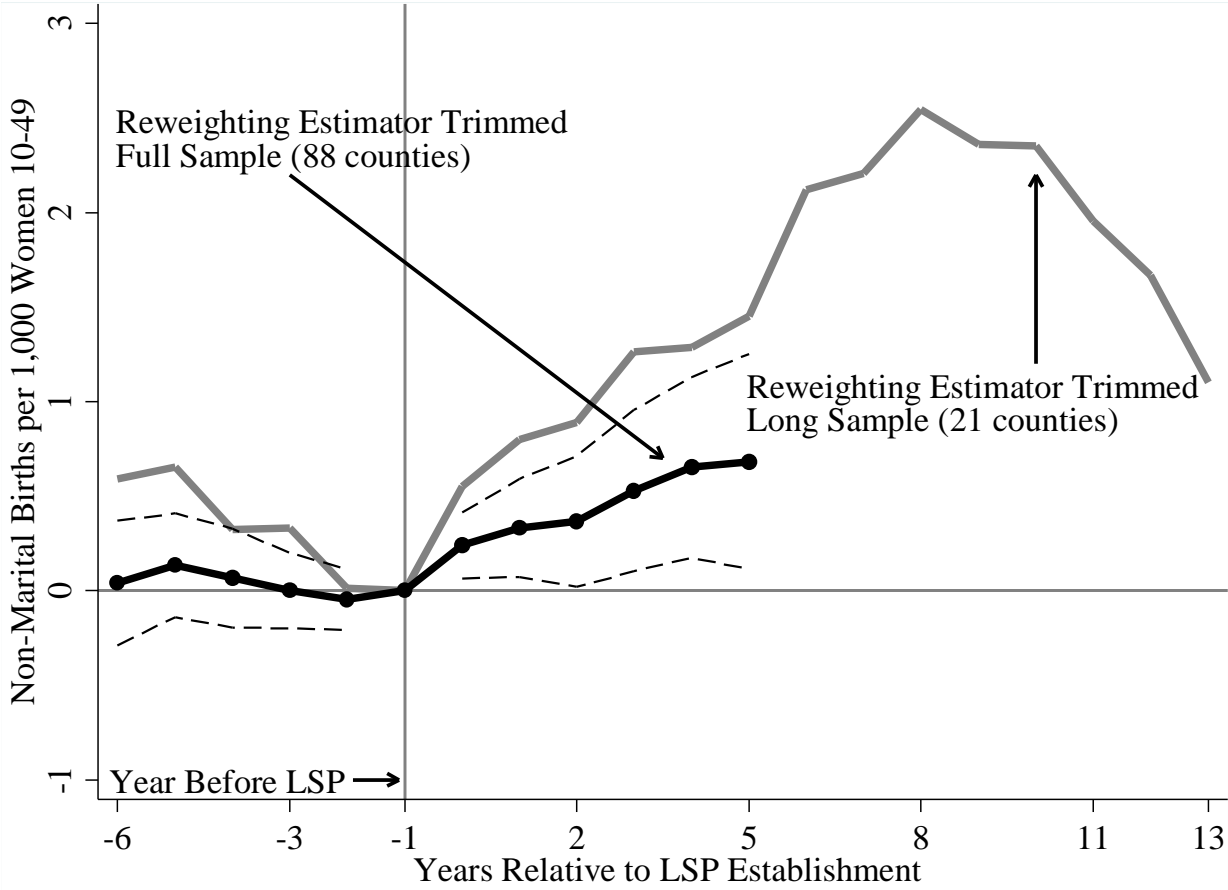
Notes: The figure plots event-study estimates from equation (1) for divorce rates. The sample includes 636 counties from Sample 1 with estimated propensity scores between 0.1 and 0.9.

Figure D6. Reweighted AFDC Results with Propensity Score Trimmed Sample



Notes: The figure plots event-study estimates from equation (1) for AFDC rates. The sample includes 636 counties from Sample 1 and 359 counties from Sample 2 with estimated propensity scores between 0.1 and 0.9.

Figure D7. Reweighted Nonmarital Birth Results with Propensity Score Trimmed Sample



Notes: The figure plots event-study estimates from equation (1) for nonmarital rates. The sample includes 88 counties from Sample 3 and 21 counties from Sample 4 with estimated propensity scores between 0.1 and 0.9.

Table D1. Estimated Intention-to-Treat Effects of LSPs on Contiguous and Non-Contiguous Counties

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Divorces per 1,000 Women	AFDC Cases per 1,000 Women	Nonmarital Birth per 1,000 Women
<i>A. LSP relative to Contiguous Counties</i>			
<i>Pre-LSP</i>			
Years -6 to -2	-0.139 [0.137]	-0.525 [0.982]	-0.169 [0.124]
<i>Shorter-Run Post-LSP</i>			
Years 0 to 5	0.533 [0.171]	4.216 [0.897]	0.553 [0.150]
<i>Longer-Run Post-LSP</i>			
Years 6 to 13	0.372 [0.280]	9.773 [1.935]	
Counties	998	603	89
<i>B. Contiguous Counties Relative to Non-Contiguous Counties</i>			
<i>Pre-LSP</i>			
Years -6 to -2	-0.873 [0.169]	1.556 [0.845]	-0.00370 [0.449]
<i>Shorter-Run Post-LSP</i>			
Years 0 to 5	1.887 [0.212]	-2.933 [0.944]	0.109 [0.218]
<i>Longer-Run Post-LSP</i>			
Years 6 to 13	6.947 [0.319]	-9.518 [2.547]	
Counties	2429	408	42

Notes: The table presents estimate from the reweighted specification. Panel A: control group consists of nearby or contiguous counties of treated counties. Panel B: the treated group are non-treated contiguous counties next to treated counties. The control group consists of non-treated counties that are not contiguous to treated counties.

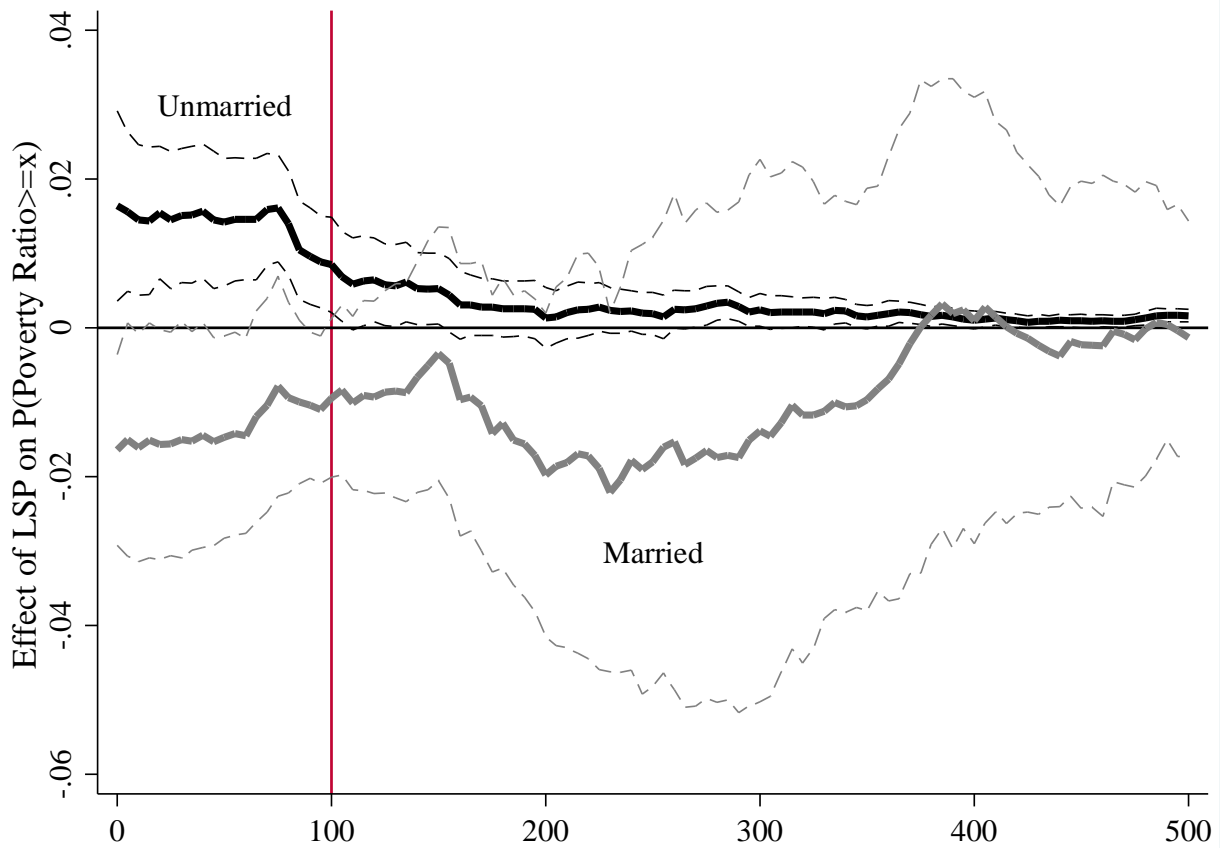
Table D2. Estimated Intention-to-Treat Effects of LSPs by Urbanicity & Black Migration

	(1) Divorces per 1,000 Women	(2) AFDC Cases per 1,000 Women	(3) Nonmarital Birth per 1,000 Women
<i>A. Drop - Highly Urbanized Counties</i>			
<i>Pre-LSP</i>			
Years -6 to -2	-0.0208 [0.198]	0.940 [1.127]	0.0420 [0.289]
<i>Shorter-Run Post-LSP</i>			
Years 0 to 5	0.796 [0.257]	4.467 [1.297]	-0.163 [0.128]
<i>Longer-Run Post LSP</i>			
Years 6 to 13	0.378 [0.480]	4.247 [2.718]	
Counties	2524	453	50
<i>B. Drop – Counties w/ Highest %Δ in Black Population</i>			
<i>Pre-LSP</i>			
Years -6 to -2	-0.0479 [0.139]	-0.822 [1.176]	-0.135 [0.282]
<i>Shorter-Run Post-LSP</i>			
Years 0 to 5	0.395 [0.170]	3.717 [1.056]	0.686 [0.135]
<i>Longer-Run Post LSP</i>			
Years 6 to 13	0.136 [0.270]	9.858 [2.269]	
Counties	2144	485	89

Notes: The table presents estimate from the reweighted specification. 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).

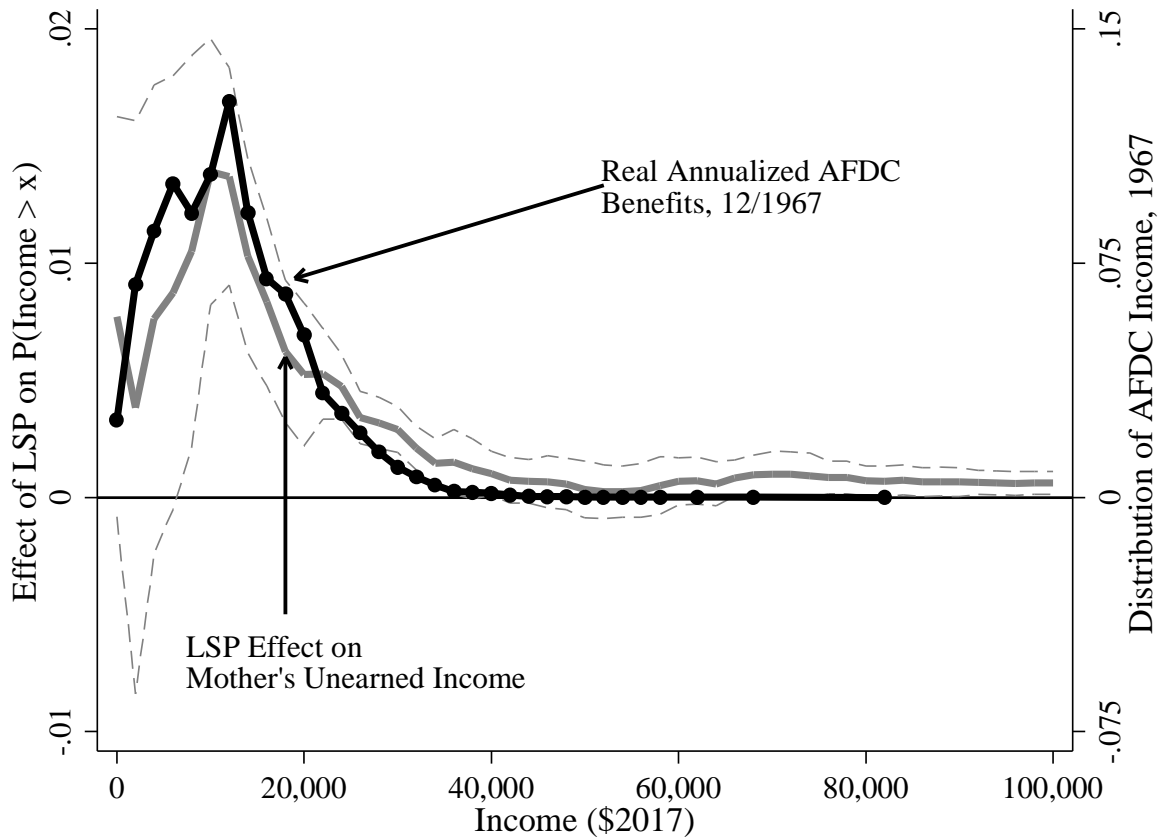
APPENDIX E: ADDITIONAL CENSUS RESULTS

Figure E1. Effects on the Joint Distribution of the Poverty Ratio and Marital Status



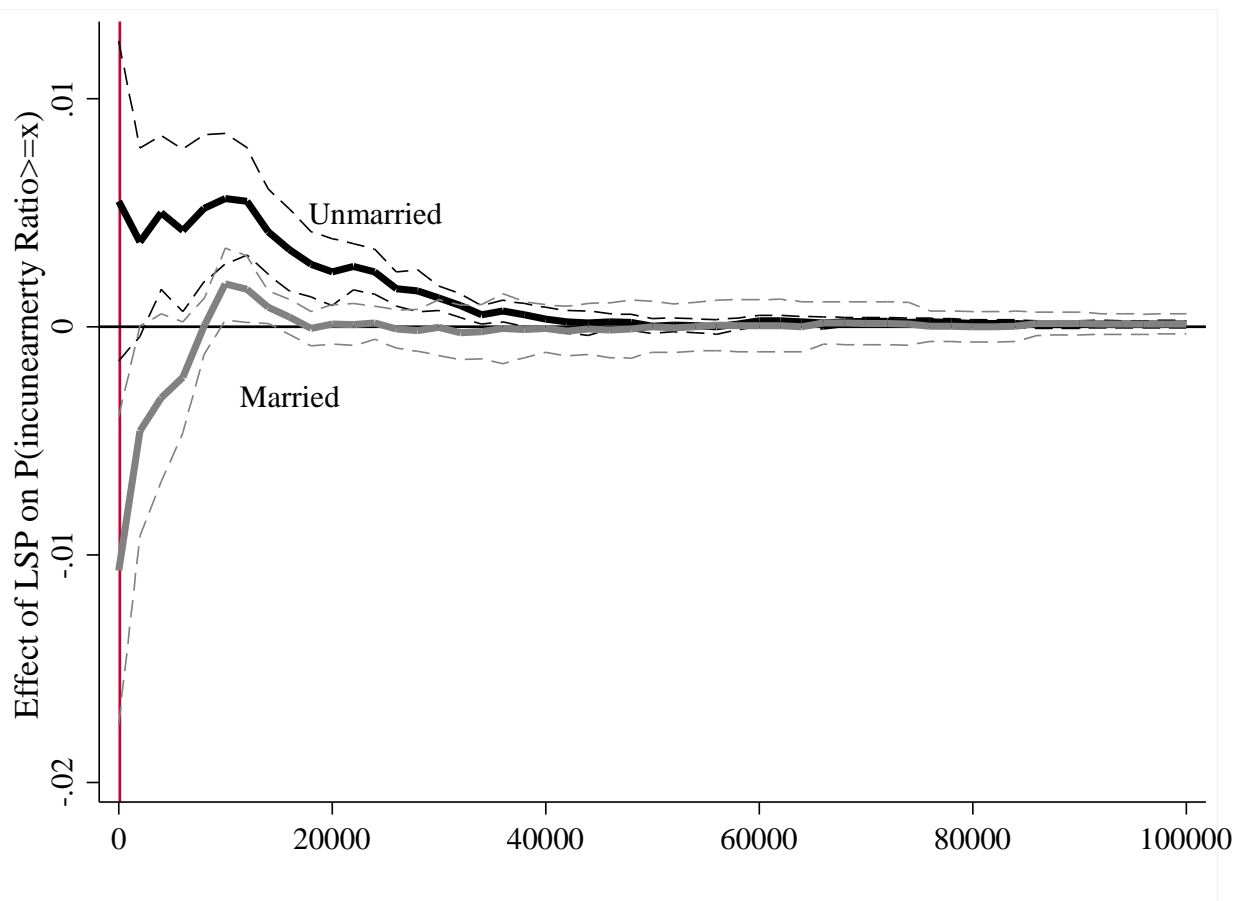
Notes: The distribution regression estimates use points in the poverty-to-income ratio distribution multiplied by dummies for married and unmarried (estimated in separate regressions) as outcomes. The sample includes mothers in the 1960 and 1970 Census. The figure shows that the null effect on poverty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

Figure E2. Distribution Regression Estimates for Unearned Income and the Distribution of Annualized AFDC Benefits in 1967



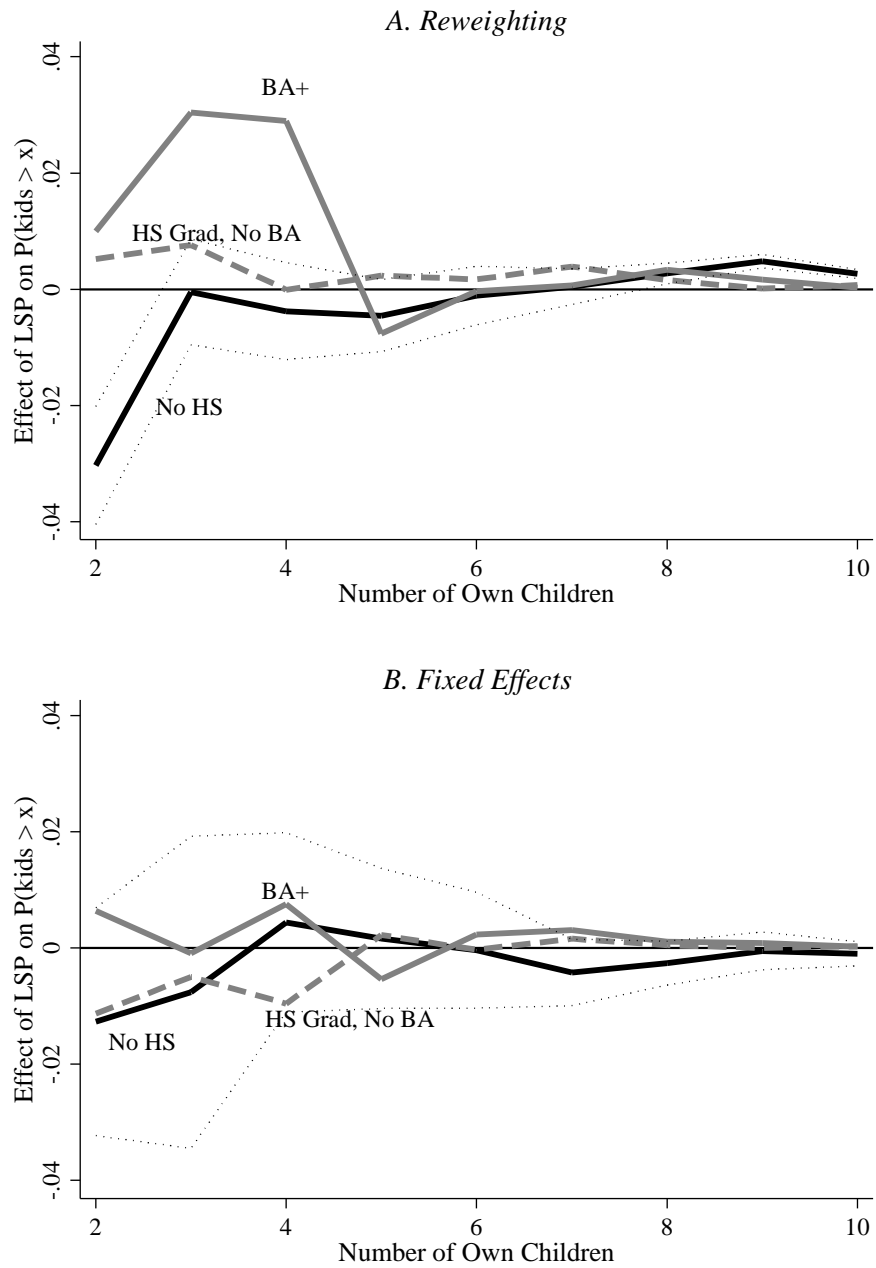
Notes: The distribution estimates are reproduced from the main text, and the AFDC benefits are household level total monthly benefits in December, 1967 (DHEW 2011) inflated to 2017 dollars using the CPI and multiplied by 12 to represent annual benefit amounts. The figure shows that the observed changes in unearned income that we attribute to AFDC take-up almost perfectly match the pattern of actual AFDC benefits.

Figure E3. 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).

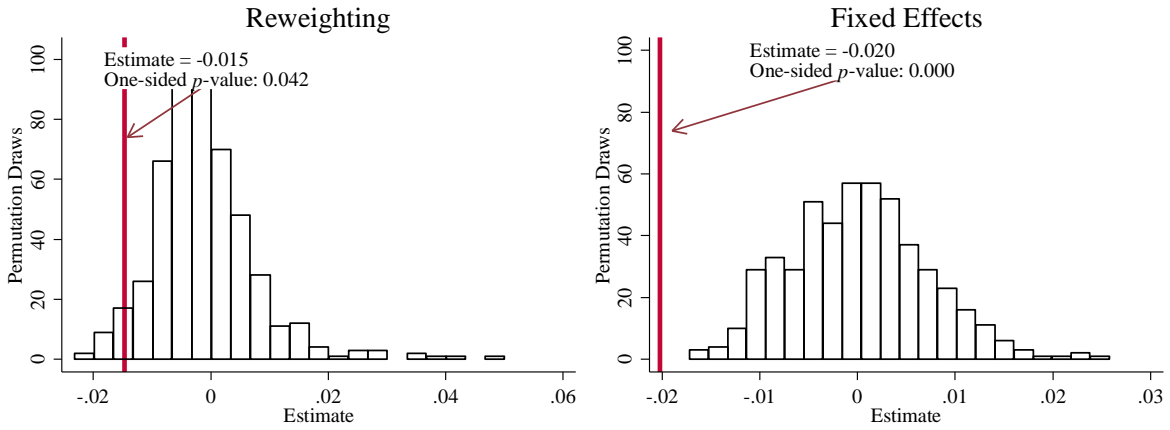
Figure E4. Distribution Regression Estimates for Number of Children by Mother's Education



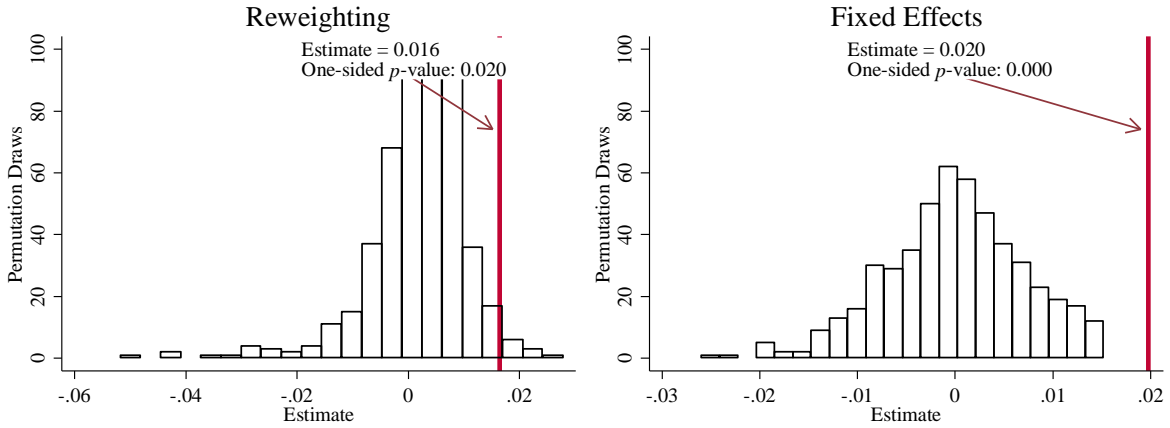
Notes: The distribution estimates split the Census samples by mother's education and use the numbers of own children to form the dependent variables.

Figure E4. Permutation Inference for Single Motherhood

A. Children Living with their Father



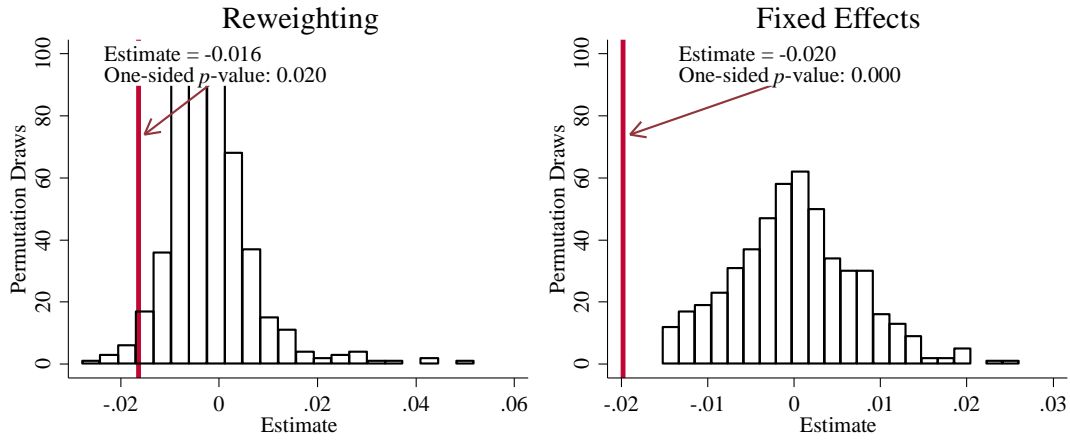
B. Singleness Among Mothers



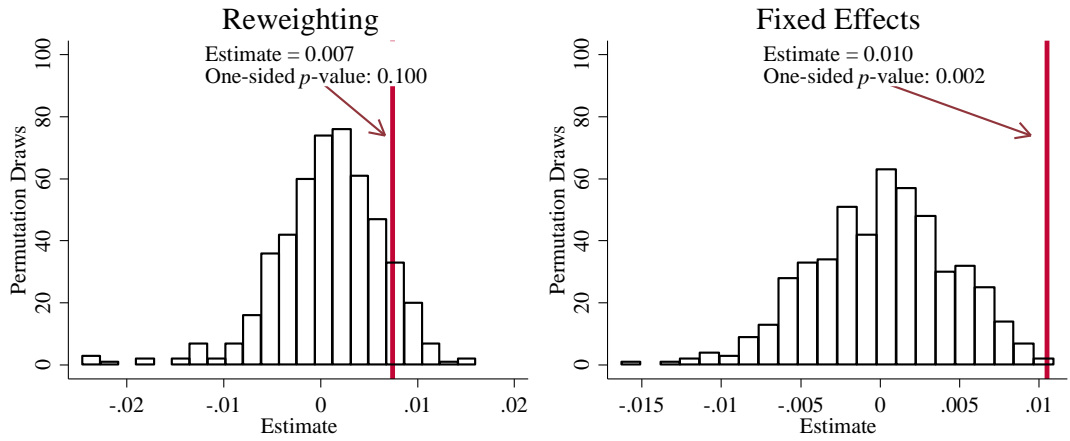
Notes: The figure presents histograms of the 500 placebo estimates for the Census estimates. We reassign treatment status across the 81 sample counties keeping the number of treated counties the same.

Figure E5. Permutation Inference for Marital Status Effects

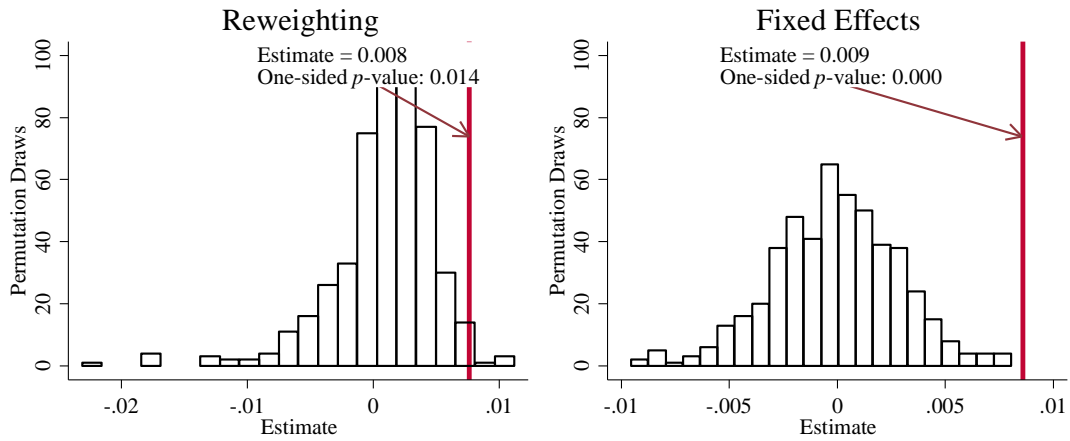
A. Married



B. Divorced/Separated

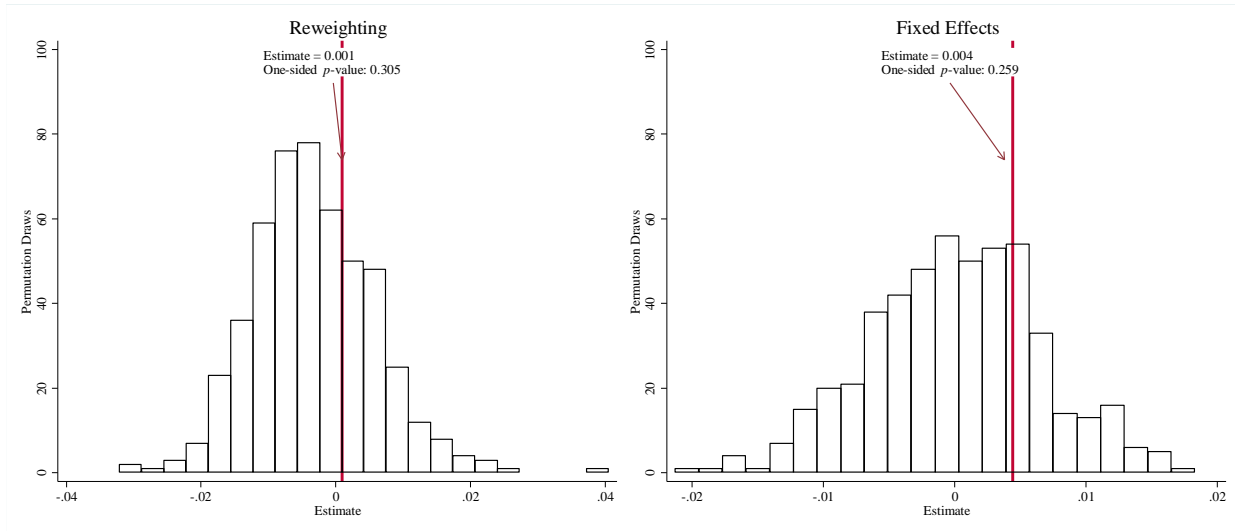


C. Never Married



Notes: The figure presents histograms of the 500 placebo estimates for the Census marital status estimates. We reassign treatment status across the 81 sample counties keeping the number of treated counties the same.

Figure E6. Permutation Inference for Poverty



Notes: The figure presents histograms of the 500 placebo estimates for the Census poverty status estimates. We reassign treatment status across the 81 sample counties keeping the number of treated counties the same.

Table E1. Balance in Demographic Changes, Census Sample

	(1) Reweighting Estimator	(2) Fixed Effects Estimator
Immigrant	0.006 [0.007]	0.005 [0.006]
Interstate Migrant	0.004 [0.024]	-0.011 [0.012]
White	-0.020 [0.008]	-0.029 [0.011]
12+ Years of Education	0.005 [0.005]	0.003 [0.012]
16+ Years of Education	0.005 [0.008]	0.001 [0.004]
Employed	-0.003 [0.019]	0.001 [0.007]
In School	0.006 [0.004]	0.002 [0.003]

Notes: The table presents evidence of balance across LSP and non-LSP counties in demographic and education trends. Standard errors (clustered by county) in brackets.

Table E2. Balance in age distribution trends

	(1)	(2)
	Reweighting Estimator	Fixed Effects Estimator
Age 20-24	0.007 [0.006]	0.001 [0.004]
Age 25-29	-0.006 [0.005]	0.000 [0.007]
Age 30-34	-0.001 [0.008]	-0.006 [0.005]
Age 35-39	-0.010 [0.005]	-0.002 [0.006]
Age 40-44	0.004 [0.003]	0.005 [0.005]
Age 45-49	0.002 [0.006]	-0.002 [0.004]

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) in brackets.

Table E3. The Effect of LSP on Marital Status

	(1) Reweighting Estimator	(2) Fixed Effects Estimator
Married	-0.016 [0.007] (.020)	-0.020 [0.007] (.000)
Divorced	0.001 [0.002] (.351)	0.004 [0.002] (.138)
Divorced or Separated	0.007 [0.005] (.100)	0.011 [0.004] (.002)
Never Married	0.008 [0.002] (.014)	0.009 [0.003] (.000)

Notes: Standard errors (clustered by county) in brackets, one-sided *p*-values from a permutation test are in parentheses.

Table E4. CHC Falsification, Census Sample

	(1) Reweighting Estimator	(2) Fixed Effects Estimator
Unmarried Head of Household	-0.012 [0.016] (.573)	0.021 [0.006] (.000)
Living with the Father of Any Children	0.011 [0.016] (.323)	-0.024 [0.006] (.000)
Poor	-0.020 [0.011] (.834)	-0.001 [0.006] (.377)

Notes: Standard errors (clustered by county) in brackets, one-sided p-values from a permutation test are in parentheses.

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