

EXHIBIT 6

IN THE IOWA DISTRICT COURT FOR JOHNSON COUNTY

PLANNED PARENTHOOD OF THE
HEARTLAND, INC., and
DR. JILL MEADOWS. M.D.,

Petitioners,

v.

KIM REYNOLDS ex rel. STATE OF IOWA
and IOWA BOARD OF MEDICINE,

Respondents.

Case No.

AFFIDAVIT OF JANE COLLINS, PhD

1. I am a professor emeritus (pending) at the University of Wisconsin (UW), Madison, where I recently held the position of Frances Perkins Professor of Community & Environmental Sociology. Before joining the UW faculty in 1992, I taught for nine years as an Assistant and Associate Professor of Anthropology at the State University of New York at Binghamton. I received my PhD in Anthropology from the University of Florida in 1981. For nearly forty years, I have conducted research on low-wage labor and poverty, both in the United States and in Latin America.

2. I have authored or co-authored five books and more than fifty articles and have edited or co-edited four additional books. My most recent book on poverty, *Both Hands Tied*, co-authored with my graduate student Victoria Mayer and published by the University of Chicago Press in 2010, is based on research about women transitioning from welfare to work in Milwaukee and Racine, Wisconsin. *Both Hands Tied* received 2011 Outstanding Book awards from two subunits of the American Sociological Association: the Poverty, Inequality & Mobility section and the Labor & Labor Movements section. It also received the Sarah Whaley Book Prize from the

National Women's Studies Association. I was a faculty affiliate of the Institute for Research on Poverty at UW-Madison for many years and a member of IRP's Executive Committee from 2006 to 2020.

3. My research on poverty and low-wage labor markets in the United States and Latin America has been supported by a number of grants from the National Science Foundation, as well as from the Inter-American Foundation and the Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development.

4. My curriculum vitae, which describes my experience and qualifications in greater detail and lists my publications, is attached hereto as Exhibit A.

5. I testified in *Planned Parenthood of the Heartland, Inc. v. Reynolds ex rel. State*, 915 N.W.2d 206 (Iowa 2018), which struck as unconstitutional a statute imposing a mandatory 72-hour delay and additional trip requirement on individuals seeking to have an abortion. I was qualified in that case as an expert in the areas of poverty, gender, and low-wage work. The affidavit I submitted in that case is attached hereto as Exhibit B. A transcript of my trial testimony in that case is attached hereto as Exhibit C.

6. I submit this affidavit in support of enjoining enforcement of House File 594, to be codified at Iowa Code § 146A.1(1) (2020) (the "Amendment"), under the Iowa Constitution. I understand that the Amendment requires patients seeking an abortion to first have an ultrasound, receive certain state-mandated information, and wait at least 24 hours before returning for the procedure. In my opinion, by requiring abortion patients to make an additional trip to their clinic and then wait before returning to receive care, the Amendment will impose serious economic and logistical burdens and mental and emotional strain on low-income women who seek an abortion. Specifically, the Amendment will force some women to skimp on food and other basic necessities

for themselves and their families, to fall behind on bills and rent, and to take on debt they cannot afford, among other things. In addition, the Amendment will force some women to delay their abortions as they attempt to come up with the necessary money and make the logistical arrangements. Others will not be able to obtain an abortion at all and therefore will be forced to continue a pregnancy they would have otherwise ended.

7. This opinion does not differ materially from my opinion about the 72-hour law, which I have reviewed and reaffirm in full. Nothing has occurred to mitigate the effects of poverty in Iowa since 2017. If anything, the economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic has worsened poverty across the country,¹ including in Iowa.²

8. As I explained in my 2017 testimony and as is still the case, laws that force abortion patients to make an additional trip to the clinic before receiving care increase the cost of accessing care in a number of ways. Women must either find a car they can use and pay for gas money or pay for public transportation. They must take time off from work, which is often unpaid for low-wage jobs. They must arrange, and in many cases pay for, child care. They may need to stay away from home overnight, particularly if they live far from a clinic. And, if pushed later into their pregnancy (as is often the case), they may need to pay for a more complex, and therefore more

¹ Ctr. on Poverty & Social Policy at Columbia Univ., *Poverty in the United States Could Reach Highest Levels in Over 50 Years* (Apr. 16, 2020), <https://www.povertycenter.columbia.edu/news-internal/coronavirus-forecasting-poverty-estimates>.

² See, e.g., John Steppe, *Iowa Unemployment Rate Up to 10.2 Percent in April as Pandemic Takes Economic Toll*, *The Gazette* (May 22, 2020), <https://www.thegazette.com/subject/news/business/iowa-unemployment-rate-april-coronavirus-20200522> (unemployment rate in Iowa during the COVID-19 pandemic is higher than in the previous two economic recessions); Donnelle Eller, *From Closed Factories to Falling Corn Prices, Rural Iowa Feels Widespread Impact of the Coronavirus Pandemic*, *Des Moines Register* (Apr. 9, 2020), <https://www.desmoinesregister.com/story/money/business/2020/04/09/coronavirus-harming-rural-iowa-economy-communities-covid-19-pandemic-commodity-prices/2898017001/> (the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated existing economic issues in rural Iowa).

costly, procedure.

9. To explain the effects of these costs on women living in poverty, my 2017 opinion relied on several publicly-available data sources to assess measures of poverty in Iowa relevant to the question of how a two-trip mandatory delay law would affect Iowans: i.e., poverty guidelines issued by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, poverty rate and Iowa car ownership data collected by the U.S. Census Bureau, food costs reported by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, information about public assistance available to families with low incomes, and median rent calculations by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.³

10. I have reviewed current figures, mostly published by these same sources, and they do not reflect any major changes.⁴ Specifically, costs associated with basic necessities have risen

³ See U.S. Dep't of Health & Human Servs., *2017 Poverty Guidelines*, <https://aspe.hhs.gov/2017-poverty-guidelines>; U.S. Census Bureau, *Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates (Iowa, 2015)*, https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=poverty%20iowa&g=0400000US19&tid=ACSST5Y2015.S1701&t=Poverty&cid=S1701_C01_001E&vintage=2015; U.S. Census Bureau, *Selected Housing Characteristics (Iowa, 2015)*, <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=DP04%3A%20SELECTED%20HOUSING%20CHARACTERISTICS&table=DP04&tid=ACSDP5Y2015.DP04&g=0400000US19&hidePreview=true>; U.S. Dep't of Agric., *Official USDA Food Plans: Cost of Food at Home at Four Levels, U.S. Average, May 2016* (2016), <https://fns-prod.azureedge.net/sites/default/files/CostofFoodMay2016.pdf>; U.S. General Accounting Office, *GAO-02-290R, Earned Income Tax Credit Participation* (2001), <https://www.gao.gov/assets/100/91089.pdf>; U.S. Dep't of Health & Human Servs., *Medicaid/CHIP Participation Rates*, <https://www.insurekidsnow.gov/campaign-information/participation-rates/index.html>; U.S. Dep't of Hous. & Urban Dev., *FY2017 Hypothetical Small Area FMRs for Cedar Rapids, IA MSA*, https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/fmr/fmrs/FY2017_code/select_Geography_sa.odn.

⁴ See U.S. Census Bureau, *Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates (Iowa, 2018)*, https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=poverty%20iowa&g=0400000US19&tid=ACSST5Y2018.8.S1701&t=Poverty&cid=S1701_C01_001E&vintage=2018; U.S. Census Bureau, *Selected Housing Characteristics (Iowa, 2018)*, <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=DP04%3A%20SELECTED%20HOUSING%20CHARACTERISTICS&table=DP04&tid=ACSDP5Y2018.DP04&g=0400000US19&hidePreview=true>; U.S. Dep't of Agric., *Official USDA Food Plans: Cost of Food at Home at Four Levels, U.S. Average, April 2020* (2020), <https://fns->

slightly in the past few years. Accordingly, the federal poverty guideline for a single person was \$12,060 in 2017 and is now \$12,760 in 2020.⁵ Poverty rates in Iowa have not changed significantly over the past three years.⁶ A significant 5.7% of the population still lack consistent access to a car.⁷ I also understand that currently, as in 2017, most patients who seek abortion care at Planned Parenthood are poor or low-income. And the public assistance available to families with low incomes has risen slightly along with the cost of living, but not significantly.⁸ More recently, and too recently to be reflected in these updated figures, the economic crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic has thrown even more families into financial instability, causing massive lay-offs and loss of health insurance, and reducing child care options for working families.⁹

11. These more recent figures reflect that, as was the case in 2017, many Iowa women are living at a level of poverty, even taking public assistance into account, that does not afford

prod.azureedge.net/sites/default/files/media/file/CostofFoodApr2020.pdf; U.S. Dep't of Hous. & Urban Dev., *FY2019 Hypothetical Small Area FMRs for Cedar Rapids, IA MSA*, https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/fmr/fmrs/FY2019_code/select_Geography_sa.odn.

⁵ U.S. Dep't of Health & Human Servs., *2017 Poverty Guidelines*, *supra* note 3; U.S. Dep't of Health and Human Servs., *2020 Poverty Guidelines*, <https://aspe.hhs.gov/2020-poverty-guidelines>.

⁶ Compare U.S. Census Bureau, *Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates (Iowa, 2015)*, *supra* note 3, with U.S. Census Bureau, *Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates (Iowa, 2018)*, *supra* note 4.

⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, *Selected Housing Characteristics (Iowa, 2018)*, *supra* note 4.

⁸ U.S. Gov't Accountability Office, GAO 17-558, *Federal Low-Income Programs: Eligibility and Benefits Differ for Selected Programs Due to Complex and Varied Rules* (2017), <https://www.gao.gov/assets/690/685551.pdf>.

⁹ Graham Ambrose, *'It Will Kill Our Small Towns': COVID-19 Pandemic Amounts to Crisis for Rural Midwest*, Quad-City Times (Apr. 17, 2020), https://qctimes.com/business/it-will-kill-our-small-towns-covid-19-pandemic-amounts-to-crisis-for-rural-midwest/article_28f82b0c-b323-55ab-b0e9-88d4a0b8c5b0.html; O. Kay Henderson, *A 'Staggering' Number of Iowans File for Unemployment*, Radio Iowa (Mar. 20, 2020), <https://www.radioiowa.com/2020/03/20/a-staggering-number-of-iowans-file-for-unemployment/>; *Unemployment Insurance During COVID-19: The CARES Act and the Role of Unemployment Insurance During the Pandemic: Hearing on H.R. Before the S. Fin. Comm.*, 116th Cong. (2020) (statement of Beth Townsend, Director, Iowa Workforce Development), <https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/09JUN2020TOWNSENDSTMNT.pdf>.

them any financial cushion to absorb additional costs, such as extra travel to and from an abortion clinic or from additional medical care they might require at a later gestational age. Many lack consistent access to transportation such that they need to rely on shared or public transportation, which makes additional travel requirements particularly burdensome.¹⁰ And as I explained in 2017 and is still the case, women living in these circumstances lack access to credit cards or low-interest loans to meet these unexpected costs.

12. As a result, it is no less true today than it was in 2017 that a two-trip mandatory delay law like the Amendment will force many women and their families into a period of “critical hardship” (eviction, homelessness, hunger, failure to obtain medical care).

13. Nor is my opinion materially altered by the fact that the Amendment mandates a minimum 24-hour delay as opposed to a 72-hour delay. As reflected in my opinion, the primary economic and logistical hardships of a two-trip mandatory delay law arise not from the precise length of the minimum prescribed period of delay, but from the extra travel required by an additional medical appointment.

14. While theoretically a single overnight stay might be more feasible for some women, my understanding is that Planned Parenthood does not anticipate, logistically, being able to regularly schedule two appointments on consecutive days. Even if Planned Parenthood were able to schedule patients on consecutive days, individuals with low incomes face work and child care constraints that would limit their ability to space their appointments this way. Moreover, as I testified previously, public transportation options are extremely limited in Iowa and are likely to be even more limited during the pandemic. Individuals relying on these options often would not

¹⁰ As of 2018, 5.7% of Iowa households lacked a car. U.S. Census Bureau, *Selected Housing Characteristics (Iowa, 2018)*, *supra* note 4. This figure does not include households in which multiple adults share a single car, as is common among low-income households.

be able to travel for two medical appointments spaced at least a day apart without having to arrange for multiple overnight stays.

15. Two-trip mandatory delay laws impose additional logistical difficulties that are especially hard for low-income women to overcome, and these burdens are unrelated to the precise delay mandated by the law. Low-wage workers are often unable to miss a shift or leave work in the middle of their shifts without losing pay or even their employment. Their jobs tend to have strict shift start times, and even tardiness can have serious consequences. In addition, many employers require workers to explain why they need time off or to bring a doctor's note, particularly when workers are taking multiple days off. The extra time off that an additional day of travel requires can make it more difficult for low-income women to keep an abortion confidential from their employers.

16. For some low-income women, the additional resources required by the Amendment also will jeopardize their confidentiality and potentially, as a result, their safety. They may need to turn to partners and family networks to help amass needed resources, such as borrowing a car, borrowing money, and/or requesting child care. Tapping those networks results in a loss of confidentiality and privacy, and making two trips to a clinic increases the need to ask for such support. An additional and very serious difficulty may result when women need to request aid from sexual partners who are not supportive of their decision to obtain an abortion or who have a history of abusive or violent behavior. Such a request can be extremely dangerous and may result in the partner attempting to prevent the woman from obtaining the procedure or in episodes of violence. The impact of these logistical challenges on privacy and safety has not changed since 2017, nor are these challenges materially different for a 24-hour law as opposed to a 72-hour law.

17. Thus, while it is conceivable that the Amendment will be less burdensome than a

72-hour mandatory delay law for some women, for most women in practice, it will impose burdens similar in degree and kind, including delaying—and in some cases preventing—women from accessing care.

18. In fact, over the past three years, researchers have published a number of studies showing that increasing the *distance* women must travel to obtain an abortion can have these effects. Qualitative studies show that women self-report travel-related logistical issues as a barrier, leading them to delay abortions, experience stress, and consider self-induction.¹¹ Quantitative studies show that increased travel distance leads to reduced abortion rates.¹² Several researchers specifically investigated the impact of mandatory delay laws of varying delay lengths (from 24 to 48 hours). They found that waiting period laws in Tennessee, Alabama, and Arizona led to delays—measured as an increased proportion of abortions performed after fourteen weeks.¹³ One study found that the law increased the cost of obtaining abortion by as much as \$929.¹⁴

19. In sum, poor and low-income women living in Iowa will face extraordinary challenges meeting the additional financial, logistical, and psychological costs that result from having to make an additional trip to a clinic. Where the logistics of this trip delay an abortion past the eleventh week, they will not only lose the option of a medically induced abortion, but will need to travel to a clinic that performs procedural abortions. This not only entails having to travel longer

¹¹ Jenna Jerman et al., *Barriers to Abortion Care and Their Consequences for Patients Traveling for Services: Qualitative Findings from Two States*, 49 Persp. Sexual & Reprod. Health 95 (2017).

¹² Jason Lindo et al., *How Far Is Too Far? New Evidence on Abortion Clinic Closures, Access, and Abortions*, NBER Working Paper No. 23366 (2017).

¹³ Jason Lindo & Mayra Pineda Torres, *New Evidence on the Effects of Mandatory Waiting Periods for Abortion*, NBER Working Paper 26228 (2019); Sigrid G. Williams et al., *Effects of Legislation Regulating Abortion in Arizona*, 28 Women's Health Issues 297 (2018) (delays caused by two-trip law in combination with physician-only law); Kari White et al., *Travel for Abortion Services in Alabama and Delays Obtaining Care*, 27 Women's Health Issues 523 (2017).

¹⁴ Lindo & Pineda Torres, *supra* note 13.

distances, but will also require them to be away from home (and jobs and children) for longer periods of time.

20. For the many low-income women who need child care or who will lose income because they do not have paid sick days (or will even lose their job because they cannot take unpaid leave), as well as for those who do not have access to a car and will have to rely on public transportation, the additional cost and time required for this travel may pose an insurmountable challenge. Some will not be able to obtain an abortion. Other women may be delayed in trying to gather the resources to do so.

21. For all the foregoing reasons, as a result of the Amendment, a significant number of poor and low-income women will no longer be able to obtain the abortions they seek or will be significantly delayed in doing so.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true.

Dated: 6-22-20

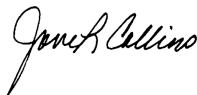

Jane Collins, PhD

EXHIBIT A

JANE L. COLLINS

Frances Perkins Professor Emeritus (emeritus status pending)
Community & Environmental Sociology
University of Wisconsin, 1450 Linden Drive, Madison, WI 53706,
(608) 262-1510 (W); jcollins@ssc.wisc.edu

EDUCATION

1981 Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Florida
Graduate certificate in Latin American Studies
“*Kinship and Seasonal Migration among the Aymara of Southern Peru*”
1978 M.A., Latin American Studies, University of Florida
1976 B.A. with distinction, University of Virginia, Anthropology.

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

2000- 2020 Professor, Community & Environmental Sociology, UW-Madison
Faculty Affiliate, Institute for Research on Poverty
Faculty Affiliate, Robert M. La Follette School of Public Affairs
1994 - 2000 Professor, Sociology and Women's Studies, UW-Madison
1992 - 1994 Associate Professor, Sociology and Women's Studies, UW- Madison
[Joint appointment with Department of Gender & Women's Studies 1992-2014,
Chair of GWS 2004-2007 and 2010-2013]
1991 - 1992 Associate Professor, Anthropology, State University of New York, Binghamton
1983 - 1991 Assistant Professor, Anthropology, SUNY-Binghamton
1981 - 1982 Visiting Assistant Professor, Social Sciences, Georgia Inst. of Technology

AWARDS AND HONORS

2017 UW WARF Named Professorship
2016 Doris Slesinger Award for Excellence in Mentoring
2015 Hilldale Award (Social Studies), University of Wisconsin-Madison
2014 Resident Fellow, Rockefeller Center at Bellagio, October-November 2014
2008 Society for the Anthropology of North America Prize for Distinguished Achievement
in the Critical Study of North America.
2006 - 11 Evjue Bascom Professorship, University of Wisconsin
2004 - 09 Kellett Mid-Career Award, UW-Madison Graduate School
1997 - 98 Department of Sociology, UW-Madison, Award for Excellence in Teaching
1995, 1999 Graduate School Research Awards, UW-Madison
1996 - 98 Vilas Associate Award, UW-Madison
1987, '88, '91 SUNY Research Foundation Awards
1978 Graduate Council Fellowship, University of Florida
1976 Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, Echols Scholar, Univ. of Virginia

RESEARCH PROJECTS

2017-19 Conducting research to produce updated version of *Threads: Gender, Labor & Power in the Global Apparel Industry* for University of Chicago Press.

- 2013-15 *Rethinking Value: Conflicts over Market Value in the Contemporary U.S.* National Science Foundation.
- 2004-07 *Farm Work, Off-Farm Employment and Family Care: How Wisconsin Farm Families Combine Work in Three Spheres.* U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Hatch Grant.
- 2003-06 *Family Networks and Livelihood in the Context of Welfare Reform.* UW Institute for Research on Poverty, Wisconsin Dept. of Workforce Development.
- 2000-03 *Technology & Apparel Service Jobs in Rural Labor Markets.* USDA Hatch Grant.
- 1999-01 *Changes in Work in the Post-Fordist Era: A Case Study of the Apparel Industry in Southern Virginia.* National Science Foundation, UW Graduate School.
- 1997-98 *Work, Gender and Social Regulation.* Vilas Associate Award, UW Graduate School.
- 1995 *A Comparative Analysis of Gendered Labor Force Participation in Commercial Agriculture: Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Colombia.* UW Graduate School.
- 1991-93 *Contract Farming and Family Labor Process in Northeastern Brazil.* National Science Foundation, SUNY Research Foundation.
- 1988-91 *The Cultural Meaning of Cultural Difference: Ethnocentrism in the United States.* National Science Foundation, SUNY Research Foundation (with Catherine Lutz).
- 1979-80 *Kinship and Seasonal Migration among the Aymara of Huancané, Puno, Peru.* Inter-American Foundation.
- 1977 *The Impact of Agrarian Reform on Peruvian Peasant Communities.* Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida.

LANGUAGES

Spanish, Portuguese, French, Aymara

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- 2017 *The Politics of Value: Three Movements to Change How We Think about the Economy,* University of Chicago Press.
- 2010 *Both Hands Tied: Gender, Welfare Reform and the Race to the Bottom in the Low-Wage Labor Market,* University of Chicago Press (w/ Victoria Mayer)
- 2011 Outstanding Book Award from Inequality, Mobility and Poverty section of the American Sociological Association
 - 2011 Outstanding Book Award from the Labor & Labor Movements section of the American Sociological Association
 - Sarah Whaley Book Prize, National Women's Studies Assoc.

- 2003 *Threads: Gender, Labor & Power in the Global Apparel Industry*, University of Chicago Press
- 1993 *Reading National Geographic*, University of Chicago Press (w/ Catherine Lutz)
- 1988 *Unseasonal Migration: The Effects of Rural Labor Scarcity in Peru*, Princeton University Press.

Edited Books

- 2008 (with Micaela di Leonardo and Brett Williams) *New Landscapes of Inequality: Neoliberalism and the Erosion of Democracy in America*, ed., Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.
- 1990 (with Martha Gimenez) *Work without Wages: Comparative Studies of Domestic Labor and Self-Employment*, ed., Albany: State Univ. of New York Press.
- 1988 (with Joan Smith, Terence Hopkins and Akbar Muhammad) *Racism and Sexism in the World Economy*, ed., Greenwood Press. Studies in the Political Economy of the World System.
- 1987 (with Eduardo Bedoya and Michael Painter) *Estrategias productivas y recursos naturales en la Amazonía*. Lima: Centro de Investigación y Promoción Amazónica.

Articles in Refereed Journals/Book Chapters

- forthcoming Preserving the Public Household: The Wisconsin Idea and the 2011 Protests, in *Renewing the Wisconsin Idea*, ed. Chad Goldberg, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- 2017 State Phobia, Then and Now: Three Waves of Conflict over Wisconsin's Public Sector, 1930-2013, *Social Science History* 41 (Winter): 1-24 (with Jake Carlson).
- 2016 The Hijacking of a New Corporate Form? Benefit Corporations and Corporate Personhood," *Economy & Society*, 45 (3-4): 325-49 (with Walker Kahn).
- 2016 Expanding the Labor Theory of Value, *Dialectical Anthropology* 40 (2): 103-123.
- 2015 Walmart, American Consumer Citizenship, and the Erasure of Class. Pp. 89-101 in *Anthropologies of Class: Power, Practice, and Inequality*, eds. James Carrier and Donald Kalb, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- 2014 Reclaiming the Local in Movements against Inequality: A View from the U.S. *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society* 38(4): 52-55.
- 2013 A Feminist Approach to Overcoming the Closed Boxes of the Commodity Chain. Pp. 27-37 in *Gendered Commodity Chains: Seeing Women's Work and Households in 21st Century Global Production*, Wilma Dunaway, ed. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press.
- 2012 Theorizing Wisconsin's 2011 Protests: Community-Based Unionism Confronts Accumulation by Dispossession. *Amer. Ethnologist* 39 (1): 1-15.

- 2011 Wal-Mart, American Consumer Citizenship, and the 2008 Recession. *Focaal: Journal of Global & Historical Anthropology* 61: 107-116.
- What Difference Does Financial Expansion Make? *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 18(1): 39-46.
- Narratives of Skill and Meaning within “Menial Work.” *Review*. Special Issue on the work of Sidney Mintz 34 (4): 435-39.
- 2009 America in the Age of Wal-Mart, pp. 97-112 in *The Insecure American*, Catherine Bestemann and Hugh Gusterson, eds. Univ. of California Press.
- One Big Labor Market: The New Imperialism and Worker Vulnerability, pp. 280-99 in *Rethinking America:: The Imperial Landscape of the 21st Century United States*, Jeff Maskovsky and Ida Susser, eds. NY: Paradigm Press.
- 2008 The Paradox of Poverty in the Transition from Welfare to Work. *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center, special issue in memory of Joan Smith) 30(4): 283-311.
- The Specter of Slavery: Workfare and the Economic Citizenship of Poor Women, Pp. 131-53 in *New Landscapes of Inequality*, Jane Collins, Micaela di Leonardo and Brett Williams, eds. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.
- 2007 The Rise of a Global Garment Industry and the Reimagination of Worker Solidarity. *Critique of Anthropology* 27(4): 395-409.
- 2006 (with Amy Quark) Globalizing Firms and Small Communities: The Apparel Industry’s Connection to Rural Labor Markets. *Rural Sociology* 71(2):281-310.
- Redefining the Boundaries of Work: Apparel Workers and Community Unionism in the Global Economy. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 13:9-31.
- 2005 New Directions in Commodity Chain Analysis of Global Development Processes. In *New Directions in the Sociology of Rural Development*, Philip McMichael, ed., Special edition of *Research in Rural Sociology and Development* 11:1-15.
- 2002 Mapping a Global Labor Market: Gender and Skill in the Globalizing Garment Industry. *Gender and Society* 16(5):921-40.
- Deterritorialization and Workplace Culture. *American Ethnologist* 29(1): 151-171.
- Reprinted in *Anthropology of Development and Globalization: From Classical Political Economy to Contemporary Neoliberalism*, Angelique Haugerud and Marc Edelman, eds. NY: Blackwell, 2004
- 2001 The Great Machine of Exotica, in *Genres in Writing: Research and Synthesis Across the Disciplines*, M. S. MacNealy and M. E. Pitts, eds. New York: Allyn & Bacon. [Excerpt from *Reading National Geographic*].

- Flexible Specialization & the Garment Industry. *Competition & Change* 5(2):165-200.
- 2000 Tracing Social Relations through Commodity Chains: The Case of Brazilian Grapes, Pp. 97-112 in *Commodities and Globalization: Anthropological Perspectives*, Angelique Haugerud, Peter Little, Priscilla Stone, eds. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- 1999 Industrial Innovation and Control of the Working Day: The 1998 General Motors Strike. *Social Politics* 6(1):76-84.
- (w/ Greta Krippner) Permanent Labor Contracts in Agriculture: Flexibility and Subordination in a New Export Crop. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41(3):510-34.
- 1997 The Color of Sex: Postwar Photographic Histories of Race and Gender in *National Geographic* Magazine, (w/ Catherine Lutz) in *Bodies/Politics: Gender, Sexuality, Culture, History*, Micaela di Leonardo and Roger Lancaster, eds. New York: Routledge. [Excerpt from *Reading National Geographic*].
- Reprinted in *The Anthropology of Media*, eds. Kelly Askew and Richard R. Wilk, London: Blackwell, 2002;
- Reprinted in *An Introduction to Women's Studies*, eds. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, NY: McGraw-Hill, 2006.
- 1996 Development Theory and the Politics of Location: An Example from Northeastern Brazil. *European Journal of Development Research* 8(2): 56-70.
- Reprinted in *Cultural Perspectives on Development*, Vincent Tucker, ed. London: Frank Cass, 1997
- 1995 Transnational Labor Process and Gender Relations: Women in Fruit and Vegetable Production in Chile, Brazil, and Mexico, *J. of Latin Amer. Anthropology* 1(1): 78- 99.
- Reprinted in *Perspectives on Las Américas: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation*, Matthew C. Guttman, Félix V. Matos Rodríguez, Lynn Stephen, Patricia Zavella, eds. London: Blackwell, 2003.
- Multiple Sources of Livelihood and Alternative Views of Work. *Anthropology of Work Review* 16 (1): 43-46.
- Reading *National Geographic*: The Making of National Identity in Popular Photography. In *Readings: Sociology Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life*, David M. Newman, ed., Pp. 183-96. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press. [Excerpt from *Reading National Geographic*].
- Farm Size and Non-Traditional Exports: Determinants of Participation in World Markets, *World Development* 23(7): 1103-1114.
- Gender and Cheap Labor in Agriculture. In *Food and Agrarian Orders in the World-Economy*, Philip McMichael, ed. Pp. 217-232. Westport, CT: Praeger.

- 1993 Gender, Contracts and Wage Work: Agricultural Restructuring in Brazil's São Francisco Valley. *Development & Change* 24: 53-82.
- Marxism Confronts the Environment: Labor, Ecology and Environmental Change. In *Understanding Economic Process*, Sutti Ortiz and Susan Lees, eds. Pp. 179-188. New York: Univ. Press of America.
- 1992 Becoming America's Lens on the World: *National Geographic* in the 20th Century. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, issue on "Writing Cultural Criticism" 91(1): 161-192, (w/ Catherine Lutz).
- Reprinted in *Eloquent Obsessions*, ed. by Marianna Torgovnick. Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1993.]
- 1991 Housework and Craftwork Within Capitalism: Marxist Analyses of Unwaged Labor. In *Marxist Approaches in Economic Anthropology*, Alice Littlefield and Hill Gates, eds. Pp. 90-105. New York: Univ. Press of America.
- Women & the Environment: Social Reproduction & Sustainable Development. *Women & Development Ann. Rev.* 2, Rita Gallin and Anne Ferguson, eds. Pp. 33-58. Boulder: Westview.
- The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes: The Example of *National Geographic*. *Visual Anthropology Rev.* 4:2-17 (w/ Catherine Lutz).
- Reprinted in *Visualizing Theory*, Lucien Taylor, ed. New York: Routledge; in *Looking for America: A Reader's Guide to the Ritual Making and Remaking of People and Nation*, Rosemary Osmond, ed. Oxford: Bradstreet Publishers;
- Reprinted in *Rhetorical Visions: Writing and Reading in a Visual Culture*, Wendy Hesford and Brenda Brueggemann, eds. Ohio State Univ. Press, 2005.
- 1990 (w/ Michael Painter) Reconstructing Ethnicity as Class: The Tawantinsuyu Uprising of Southern Peru. In *Looking Through the Kaleidoscope: Essays in Honor of Charles Wagley*, *Florida Journal of Anthropology*, special publication no. 6.
- Unwaged Labor in Comparative Perspective: Recent Theories and Unanswered Questions. In *Work Without Wages: Comparative Studies of Domestic Labor and Self-Employment*, Jane Collins and Martha Gimenez, eds. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Native Americans, Politics, and Frontiers. *Reviews in Anthropology* 15:81-89.
- 1989 Small Farmer Responses to Environmental Change: Coffee Production in the Peruvian High Selva. In *The Human Ecology of Tropical Land Settlement in Latin America*. Debra Schumann and William Partridge, eds. Boulder: Westview Press.
- 1987 Labor Scarcity and Ecological Change. In *Lands at Risk in the Third World*. Peter Little and Michael Horowitz, eds. Pp. 13-29. Boulder: Westview Press.

- 1986 Reply to Cohen's Comment on 'Smallholder Settlement.'. *Human Organization* 45(4): 360-363.
- The Household and Relations of Production in Southern Peru. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28(4): 651-71.
- Smallholder Settlement of Tropical South America: The Social Causes of Ecological Destruction. *Human Organization* 45(1): 1-10.
- Reprinted in *Developing Areas: A Book of Readings and Research*, ed by Vijayan K. Pillai and Lyle W. Shannon. Pp. 453-67. Oxford: Berg, 1993.
- 1985 Migration and the Family Life Cycle in Peru. *Urban Anthropology* 14(4):279-300.
- 1984 The Maintenance of Peasant Coffee Production. *Amer. Ethnologist* 11(3):413- 38.
- 1983 Fertility Determinants in a High Andes Community. *Population & Development Rev.* 9(1):61-75
- Seasonal Migration as a Cultural Response to Energy Scarcity at High Altitude. *Current Anthropology* 24(1): 103-4.
- Translation Traditions and the Organization of Productive Activity. In *Bilingualism: Social Issues and Policy Implications*. Andrew W. Miracle, ed. Pp. 11-22. Univ. of Georgia Press.
- Reprinted in *Gente de carne y huseo: Las tramas de parentesco en los Andes*. Denise Y. Arnold, ed. La Paz: ILCA, Hisbol, CIASE, 1998.
- 1982 Idiotia da vida rural. *Dados: Revista de Ciencias Sociais*. (São Pãolo) 25:209-28 (with Glaucio Ary Dillon Soares).
- Reprinted as: "The Idiocy of Rural Life." *Civilisations*, (Belgium), 1982.
- 1979 A Reconsideration of Phonological Play. *The Southern Anthropologist* 1: 2-9.

Other Writing and Reports

- 2017 Food Stamp Work Requirements and the Implications of Devolution. Gender Policy Report, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, February.
- 2014 Transformative Coalition in Wisconsin. Special Issue on "Austerity in the Upper Midwest," *Anthropology Now* 6(3): 29-36.
- 2013 The Urban Public Sector as Commons. A Comment. *Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 2013 (66): 125-127.
- 2014 Reclaiming the Local in Movements against Inequality: A View from the U.S. *Focaal Blog*.

- 2011 Reconfiguring the Social Contract: A Summary of *Both Hands Tied*, followed by response from Lawrence Mead and response from the authors. *Focus* (publication of UW Inst. for Research on Poverty) 28(1):1-12.
- 2011 What Democracy Looks Like. Guest editorial, *Dialectical Anthropology* 35(2): 131-33.
- 2006 Livelihood Strategies and Family Networks of Low-wage Wisconsin Mothers. *Focus* 24(2): 8-17.
- 2006 Mothers' Family Networks and Livelihood in the Context of Child Support Enforcement Policy. Ethnographic Evaluation Report, Child Support Demonstration Evaluation, UW Inst. for Research on Poverty.
- 2003 Would Including a Social Clause in Trade Treaties Help or Hinder: A Perspective. Political Economy of the World System Section (ASA) *Newsletter*, Fall.
- 1999 Sweatshop Code of Little Use without Living Wage Provision (w/ Joel Rogers). *The Capital Times*, Tuesday, February 9. P. 9A.
- 1992 Production Relations in Irrigated Agriculture: Fruits and Vegetables in the São Francisco Valley (Brazil). Working Paper Series, Inst. for Development Anthropology. [Also released (1992) as Working Paper #24, Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Globalization Network, Research on Agro-ecology and Sustainable Agriculture, UC-Santa Cruz].
- 1986 (w/ Michael Painter) Settlement and Deforestation in Central America. Report prepared for Cooperative Agreement on Human Settlement & Natural Resource Management (USAID), Inst. for Development Anthropology.
- 1984 Land Tenure, Institutional Factors and Producer Decisions on Fragile Lands. Working Paper Series, Inst. for Development Anthropology.
- 1983 Seasonal Migration among the Aymara. *Grassroots Development* 7(2): 54-55.
- 1981 Seasonal Migration in Southern Peru. *Latinamericanist* 16: 1-3.

Book Reviews

- 2013 Thomas Weaver, et al., *Neoliberalism and Commodity Production in Mexico*, in *J. of Latin American Studies*.
- 2009 Frances Rothstein, *Globalization in Rural Mexico: Three Decades of Change*, in *Amer. Ethnologist* 36(3): 599-60.
- 2008 Reforming Global Sweatshop Reform. Books reviewed: Seidman, Gay, *Beyond the Boycott: Labor Rights, Human Rights and Transnational Activism*, Ethel Brooks, *Unraveling the Garment Industry: Transnational Organizing and Women's Work*, Piya Pangsapa, *Textures of Struggle: The Emergence of Resistance among Garment Workers in Thailand*, and Sandya Hewamanne, *Stitching Identities in a Free Trade Zone: Gender and Politics in Sri Lanka*, in *New Labor Forum* 17(3): 110-115.

- 2006 Margaret K. Nelson, *The Social Economy of Single Motherhood: Raising Children in Rural America*, in *J. of Marriage and Family* 68(3).
- 2004 Leslie Salzinger, *Genders at Work: Making Workers in Mexico's Global Factories*, in *Contemporary Sociology* 33(3): 306-7.
- 2003 Lorraine Bayard de Volo, *Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs: Gender Identity Politics in Nicaragua*, and Lara Putnam, *The Company They Kept: Migrants and the Politics of Gender in Caribbean Costa Rica, 1870-1960*. *Gender & Soc.* 17(15): 792-4.
- 1999 Micaela di Leonardo, *Exotics at Home: Anthropologies, Others and American Modernity*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 101 (3): 22-3.
- 1997 Betty Friedan, *Beyond Gender: The New Politics of Work and Family*, *The Nation* 265: 29-31.
- 1993 Marianne Schmink and Charles Wood, *Contested Frontiers in Amazonia*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 95: 764-65.
- 1993 Lynne Brydon and Sylvia Chant, *Women in the Third World: Gender Issues in Rural and Urban Areas*, *Amer. Ethnologist* 20: 194-95.
- 1992 G. J. Gill, *Seasonality and Agriculture in the Developing World: A Problem of the Poor and Powerless*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 94(4):987-988.
- 1992 Ronald Chilcote, *Power and the Ruling Classes in Northeast Brazil: Petrolina and Juazeiro in Transition*, *Contemporary Sociology* 21(1): 59-60.
- 1989 Michael Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cusco*, *Amer. Ethnologist* 16(2): 399-400.
- 1988 D. Browman, ed, *Arid Land Use Strategies and Risk Management in the Andes*, *Soc. for Latin American Anthropology Newsletter* 4: 20.
- 1988 Martine Segalen, *Historical Anthropology of the Family*, *J. of Marriage & Family* 50 (4): 1075.
- 1986 Norman Long, ed., *Family and Work in Rural Societies: Perspective on Non-Wage Labor, Labour, Capital & Soc.* 19(1): 144-147
- 1985 E. Moran, ed., *The Ecosystem Concept in Anthropology*, *Human Biology* 57(2):307-10
- 1984 D. Lehmann, *Ecology & Exchange in the Andes*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 86:359-60.

PAPERS PRESENTED AT PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS

- 2015 Austerity's Animosities. Canadian Anthropology Society, Quebec City, Quebec, May.

- Economic Citizenship and the End of Wage Labor. Workshop on Political Economy: Labor, Capital, and the State, Grassroots Economics Project (GRECO) of the European Research Council, University of Barcelona, March 9-11.
- 2014 What/Where is the Working Class? Mellon Humanities without Walls Seminar: Global Work and Community in the Midwest, Northwestern University.
- “You Didn’t Build That:” The Politics of Public Sector Work in the Aftermath of Fordism. Society for Cultural Anthropology, Detroit.
- 2013 Rethinking Economic Value in an Era of Market Fundamentalism. American Anthropological Association, Chicago.
- What Has Happened to the Labor Movement in Wisconsin? Mini-conference on “Austerity, Inequality, and Resistance in the Upper Midwest.” Hull House, Chicago.
- Connecting Micro and Macro through Ethnography. American Sociological Association Preconvention Workshop, NY, New York.
- Labor Markets and Welfare. Response in “Author Meets Critic” Session on *Both Hands Tied*, American Sociological Association, NY, New York.
- 2011 Connection and Difference in Global Circuits: New Configurations of Labor and Inequality. Presidential Address, Amer. Ethnological Soc., San Juan, PR
- Budget Protests and the “Politics of Austerity,” Amer. Ethnological Soc., San Juan, PR.
- The Impacts of the Budget Repair Bill on Wisconsin Women: Social Reproduction. Univ. of Wisconsin System Women’s Studies Consortium Conference.
- 2010 Walmart’s Haunted Aisles: Crisis, Profits and the Global Race to the Bottom. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., New Orleans.
- 2010 The Construction of “Citizenship’s Others” in the Labor Market. Amer. Sociological Assoc., Atlanta.
- 2009 Economic Citizenship and Welfare Reform. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Philadelphia.
- 2008 The Solitary Wage Bargain. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco.
- Confronting Runaway Firms through Transnational Labor Activism. Amer. Ethnological Soc., Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina.
- Neoliberal and Neoconservative Assaults on Labor: Examples from Aguascalientes and Milwaukee, Amer. Sociological Assoc. Mini-conference on Race, Labor & Empire, Boston.
- 2007 One Big Labor Market: The New Imperialism and Worker Vulnerability, Amer.

- Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- Welfare Reform and Worker Vulnerability in Place-Based Sectors: The U.S. Case. Work, Employment & Soc., Aberdeen, Scotland.
- 2006 The Inversion of the American Dream: Workfare and Poor Women's Job Trajectories. Conference honoring Joan Smith: "Rethinking Political Economy: Class, Race, Gender and Nation. Burlington, Vermont.
- Wal-Mart. Massachusetts Inst. of Technology Conference: What's Wrong with America?
- 2005 The Opposite of Fordism: Wal-Mart Hijacks a New Regime of Accumulation. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, DC.
- Gender, Labor and the Fight against Sweatshops. Plenary Panel: Using Feminist Research for Social Change, UW Women's Studies Consortium Conference.
- 2004 Struggles for Public Space under Neoliberalism. Wenner Gren conference on New Forms of Sovereignty, New York.
- Commodity Chains and the Global Village: Changing Relationships in Global Agriculture. Symposium in honor of Fred Buttel, Rural Sociological Soc..
- New Directions in Commodity Chain Analysis of Global Development Processes. Invited symposium: New Directions in Rural Sociology & Development, World Congress of Rural Sociology.
- 2003 Neoliberalism and Labor's Spaces. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- Ethnographies of Corporate Power. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- Race, Class and Southern Workers. Rural Sociological Soc., Montreal.
- Neoliberalism and Labor's Spaces: Labor Organizing under NAFTA's Side Agreements. Soc. for the Anthropology of North America/Canadian Anthropological Soc., Halifax.
- 2002 Chasing Capital: Multi-sited Ethnography in the Global Apparel Industry. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., New Orleans.
- Gender and Skill in the Globalizing Garment Industry. Harrington Symposium on Gender and Globalization, Univ. of Texas at Austin.
- 2001 Globalization is in the Details: Labor Markets in the Apparel Industry. Conference: Interrogating the Globalization Project, University of Iowa, Iowa City.
- 1998 Industrial Innovation and Control of the Working Day. 14th World Congress of the International Sociological Assoc., Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
- 1997 Gender and Permanent Contracts in Agriculture. Amer. Anthropological Assoc.,

Washington, D.C.

- 1995 Producing and Consuming Grapes in World Markets: Understanding the Connections. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- National Geographic* and the Cold War. Plenary Address to Annual Meeting of the Soc. for the History of Print Culture, Madison, Wisconsin (with Catherine Lutz).
- Tracing Social Relations in Commodity Chains: The Case of Brazilian Grapes. Soc. for Economic Anthropology, Santa Fe.
- Re-reading *National Geographic*. Conference on Visual Ethnography, Committee on Ethnographic Research, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder.
- 1994 Politics of Location in Development Research. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Atlanta.
- 1992 Gender, Contracts and Wage Work: Agricultural Restructuring in Brazil's São Francisco Valley. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco.
- Commentary. Conference on Population & Environment, Social Science Research Council, International Social Science Council, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, Morelos, Mexico.
- 1991 Production Relations in Irrigated Agriculture: Fruits and Vegetables in Brazil's São Francisco Valley. Conference: Globalization of the Fresh Fruit and Vegetable System, UC, Santa Cruz.
- 1990 Power and Identity in *National Geographic*. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., New Orleans (w/ Catherine Lutz).
- Marxism Confronts the Environment: Labor, Ecology and Environmental Change. Soc. for Economic Anthropology, Tucson.
- Unseasonal Migration: From the Andes to High Amazonia. Amer. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, New Orleans.
- 1989 An Intersection of Gazes: National Geographic Images and Cultural Identity, 1950-1986. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C. (w/ Catherine Lutz).
- Housework and Craftwork Within Capitalism. Soc. for Economic Anthropology, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.
- Resistance and the Semi-proletarian Lifestyle. Conference: The Role of History in Local Expressions of Contemporary Resistance in the Andes, Toronto.
- 1988 Class Formation and Semi-Proletarianization in the Andes. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Phoenix, Arizona.
- Labor Outside Value. Conference on "The Political Economy of the Margins," Canadian Social Science Research Council, Toronto.

- Anthropologists and Statistics in Development-Related Research. Soc. for Applied Anthropology, Tampa.
- 1987 Finding Ourselves in the Field: Images of Andean Women. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- 1985 Gender, Labor Markets and Peasant Production in Southern Peru. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- 1984 Expressions of Ethnic Identity in a Changing Economy: The Tawantinsuyu Uprising of Southern Peru. Amer. Ethnological Soc., Toronto.
Family Development Cycles & Seasonal Migration. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Tucson.
- 1983 The Structure of the Domestic Unit Among the Aymara. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- 1982 Vertical Resource Use and Economic Development in Southern Peru. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- 1981 Translation Traditions and the Organization of Productive Activity: The Case of Aymara Affinal Kinship Terms. Keynote Symposium, Southern Anthropological Soc., Fort Worth.
- 1979 A Reconsideration of Phonological Play. Southern Anthropological Soc., Memphis, Tennessee (winner, Student Paper Competition).

INVITED LECTURES

- 2018 Preserving the Public Household: The Wisconsin Idea and the 2011 Protests, Wisconsin Idea Speakers Series.

The Politics of Value, Madison Literary Society.
- 2017 Degrowth and Economic Measurement. Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Earth Day Conference, University of Wisconsin, Madison,

Ethnographic Case Studies, Law & Society Fellows Program, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Feminist Methodology in the Twenty-first Century, Department of Sociology, University of Texas, Austin

The Politics of Value, Yi Fu Tuan Lecture, University of Wisconsin, Department of Geography.

Nature and Value, Department of Anthropology, Brown University.

The Politics of Value, University of Wisconsin, Center for the Humanities/Madison Book

- 2015 Festival.
Economic Citizenship in an Era of Inequality, Indiana University East, Spring Diversity Series Lecture.
- Women and the New Economy, Indiana University Women's & Gender Studies Undergraduate Conference Keynote Speaker.
- 2014 Dilemmas of Economic Value. Rockefeller Center at Bellagio.
- 2013 Labor Justice in the Food Chain. Food Week, Madison, Wisconsin.
- After Welfare: The Solitary Wage Bargain. Dept. of Anthropology, Northwestern Univ.
- Are Public Employees the New Women? Rethinking Market Value in the Context of the Wisconsin Protests. Anthropology Dept. Spring Colloquium, UW-Milwaukee.
- 2011 The Mysteries of Commodities: A Feminist Approach to Studying Commodity Chains in the World System. Keynote Address, conference on "Gender, Households and Global Commodity Chains," Fernand Braudel Center, Binghamton Univ.
- Reconfiguring the Social Contract: What Welfare Changes Mean for Low-Wage Labor. 2011 Distinguished Lecture, UW-Milwaukee Sociology Dept.
- Reconfiguring the Social Contract: What Welfare Changes Mean for Low-Wage Labor. Univ of Minnesota Sociology Dept.
- 2010 Welfare Reform and the Race to the Bottom in the Low-Wage Labor Market: Implications for Public Health, UW-Madison Dept. of Population Health.
- 2009 Does Capitalism Have a Race and Gender? Debate with David Harvey, Middlebury College.
- 2008 Comparing the Race to the Bottom in Manufacturing and Services, Dept. of Sociology, Univ of Montana.
- One Big Labor Market? Reflections from Aguascalientes and Milwaukee, Munz Center for International Studies, Univ. of Toronto.
- 2006 Do Commodity Chains Have a Theory? Depts. of Anthropology and Sociology, Univ of Kentucky.
- The Specter of Slavery: Workfare and the Economic Citizenship of Poor Women. School of Amer. Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- Gender, Labor, Activism: Ethnographic Research on the Global Apparel Industry. Dept. of Women's Studies, Emory Univ.
- 2005 Gender, Labor and Commodity Chains in the New Global Economy. Dept. of Sociology

- and Gender Studies Program, Northwestern Univ.
- Mothers' Family Networks & Livelihood. UW Inst. for Research on Poverty Seminar Series: Marriage, Poverty and Public Policy, October.
- 2004 Gender, Labor, Activism: Ethnographic Research in the Global Apparel Industry, Center for Research in Gender and Women's Studies, Univ of Florida.
- Gender and the Globalization of the Apparel Industry. Presentation to conference: "A New World of Work," Cultural Studies Program, George Mason Univ.
- Gender, Sweatshops, Activism. Department of Anthropology, Northwestern Univ.
- 2003 Untangling Commodity Chains Using Multi-sited Ethnography. Rural Sociology Department Seminar, Univ of Wisconsin.
- Rumpelstiltskin and the Maiden: Gender and Skill in History and Political Economy. Mellon Women's History Workshop, Univ of Wisconsin.
- 2002 Threads of Gender and Power: Women Workers in the Global Apparel Industry. Women's Studies Research Center Colloquium, Univ of Wisconsin.
- "What Work Is:" Gender and New Forms of Community Unionism among Apparel Workers. Gender Studies Program, Northwestern Univ.
- 1996 Figuring Out What We Have a Case of: Qualitative Methodology and Links to Theory. Conference on Ethnographic and Qualitative Methods in Population Research. Carolina Population Center & Andrew Mellon Foundation. Univ of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- 1993 Tending Vineyards for the World: Can Brazilian Small Farms Participate in the Non-traditional Export Crop Boom? Department of Anthropology, Univ of Pittsburgh.
- Luxury Fruits for World Markets: Production Relations in Northeastern Brazil. Department of Anthropology, Emory Univ.
- From Desert to Vineyard: The Social Relations of Irrigated Grape Production in Northeastern Brazil. Latin American and Iberian Studies Program, Univ of Wisconsin.
- 1991 Time, Work Discipline and Irrigated Agriculture: Gender and Labor Process in Brazil's California. Departments of Sociology and Women's Studies, Univ of Wisconsin.
- 1990 Unseasonal Migration: Labor Process and the Environment. Rural Sociology, Cornell.
- Marxism Confronts the Environment. Columbia Univ Ecology Seminar.
- 1989 Cultural Models of Cultural Difference: Images of the Third World in *National Geographic* 1950-1986. Fernand Braudel Center, SUNY-Binghamton.
- Experience, Difference and Women's Lives: Feminism and Sociocultural Anthropology. Department of Anthropology, Hunter College, CUNY.

- 1988 Family Farming in the Andes. Latin American Studies Program, Cornell Univ.
- 1987 Commentary. Conference on Racism and Sexism in the World Economy. Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Political Economy of the World System Section, American Sociological Assoc.
- 1986 Irrigation and the Outer Environment. International Agriculture Program, Cornell Univ.
- 1985 Labor Dynamics, Producer Decisions and Cycles of Environmental Decline. Paper presented to workshop: "Lands at Risk in the Third World: Local Level Perspectives." Inst. for Development Anthropology/Clark Univ.
- The Environmental Effects of Social Differentiation. Center for Human Ecology, Rutgers.
- 1984 The Impact of Wage Labor and Cash Cropping on Aymara Communities. Department of Anthropology/Latin American Studies Program, Cornell Univ.
- Land Tenure, Institutional Factors and Producer Decisions on Fragile Lands. Land Tenure Common Theme Workshop, USAID/University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center, Annapolis.
- Colonization and Smallholder Coffee Production on the Steep Slopes of the Eastern Andes. Colloquium, Center for Latin American Studies, Univ. of Florida.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Offices Held in Professional Associations:

- 2009-2011 President, American Ethnological Society
- 2007-2009 President Elect, American Ethnological Society
- 1989-91 President, Association for Feminist Anthropology
- 1986-89 Councilor, Society for Latin American Anthropology

Member: American Sociological Assoc., American Anthropological Assoc., American Ethnological Soc., Rural Sociological Soc., Sociologists for Women in Soc., Labor and Labor Movements section of ASA, Soc. for Latin American Anthropology, Assoc. for Feminist Anthropology, National Women's Studies Assoc., Soc. for Economic Anthropology

Editorial Work: Editorial Board, *American Ethnologist*, 2011-present; *North American Dialogue*, 2008-present; *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 1995-2000; *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 1999-01; editorial advisory board for series on "Economic Transformations," Agenda Publishing, UK. 2016-

Book Prize Committees: Labor and Labor Movements Section Prize (ASA); Senior Book Prize Committee (AES); Sarah Whaley Prize (NWSA).

Review committees for: Center for Engaged Scholarship, National Science Foundation, Wenner Gren Foundation, National Geographic Soc., Howard Heinz Endowment, Inter-American Foundation.

Sessions, panels and conferences organized:

- 2016 Anthropology and the Politics of the Public Sphere, American Anthropological Association, Minneapolis
- 2011 Perspectives on the Budget Crisis in Wisconsin and Puerto Rico. American Ethnological Soc., San Juan, PR
- 2009 Labor Studies for the Twenty-first Century. Speakers Series, UW Havens Center, (w/ Will Jones).
- 2008 New Landscapes of Inequality. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco.

The Prospects for Global Citizenship, Amer. Ethnological Soc., Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina.
- 2006 New Landscapes of Inequality. School of Advanced Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico. (w/ Micaela di Leonardo and Brett Williams)
- 2005 Qualitative Approaches to the Study of Poverty and Welfare Reform, Inst. for Research on Poverty, UW March 4-5.
- 2004 Trademark Licensing and Code of Conduct Compliance, co-organized for UW Labor Licensing Policy Committee, March 24-25.
- 2002 Labor in the Global Economy. Speaker Series. UW Havens Center (w/ Gay Seidman).
- 1998 Work & the Life Cycle. Invited session, 14th World Congress of Sociology, Montreal.

Work time Flexibility in International Perspective, conference sponsored by Global Studies Program/MacArthur Foundation, UW.
- 1992 Local Impacts of Agricultural Restructuring, Invited session, Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco (w/ Lois Stanford).
- 1990 Social Science Perspectives on Environmental Management, for the Amer. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, New Orleans.
- 1988 Invited session: "Conceptualizing Inequality: Class, Gender and Ethnicity in the Andes" for the Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Phoenix.

Soc. for Latin Amer. Anthropology Roundtable Luncheons, Annual Meeting, Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Phoenix.
- 1985-88 Co-organizer, Human Rights Panel, Soc. for Latin Amer. Anthropology, 84th-87th Annual Meetings of the Amer. Anthropological Assoc..
- 1985 Soc. for Latin Amer. Anthropology session: "Labor Processes and Domestic Production in Latin America," Annual Meeting of the Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington. D.C.

Courses Taught (University of Wisconsin)

CESoc 955: Seminar in Qualitative Methodology: Case Study Research
CESoc 940: Seminar in Social Change: Commodities in the Global Economy
CESoc 925: Labor in the Global Economy
CESoc 754: Qualitative Methods in Sociology
CE Soc 540: International Development, Environment and Sustainability
CE Soc 341: Labor in the Global Food System
CE Soc 340: Critical Approaches to Food Systems
CE Soc 140: Introduction to Community & Environmental Sociology
GWS 320: Feminism and Consumer Culture.
GWS 441: Contemporary Feminist Theory
GWS 640, Advanced Seminar in Women's Studies
GWS 880, Introduction to Graduate Women's Studies
GWS 900, Research in Women's Studies.

Currently chairing 13 Ph.D. committees and 1 Master's committee. In 2016, I served as a member of 33 additional Ph.D. and Master's committees. I have served on the committees of students from 20 departments and programs across the university.

Selected University of Wisconsin Service

Social Studies Divisional Committee, 1995-97 (Chair, 1997)
L&S Financial Emergency Planning Committee, 1995-97
Graduate School Research Committee (Social Studies), 1997-99
Labor Licensing Policies Committee, 1999-2013
University Academic Planning Council, 2000-04
Chair, Land Resources Program Review Committee, 2002
Selection Committee, Associate Dean of Graduate School, 2002
Advisory Committee for Evaluating the Cluster Hiring Initiative, 2002-03
Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, Social Sciences, 2002-05, 2016-present
Inst. for Research on Poverty Executive Committee, 2006-present
Development Studies Program Executive Committee 2006-2011
Provost's Committee to Evaluate the Tenure Process, 2008-10
Latin American Caribbean and Iberian Studies Nave Lectureship Committee 2010-12
World Affairs and the Global Economy (WAGE) Steering Committee, 2009-2010
Chair, Land Tenure Center Review Committee, 2010
Gaylord Nelson Professorship Selection Committee, 2013
Graduate School Research Committee (Interdisciplinary), 2013
Selection Committee for Named Professorships, 2015-
Vice Chancellor for Graduate Research and Education IRB Working Group, 2017-18
College of Agriculture and Life Sciences Academic Planning Council, 2018-

EXHIBIT B

IN THE IOWA DISTRICT COURT FOR POLK COUNTY

<p>PLANNED PARENTHOOD OF THE HEARTLAND, INC., and JILL MEADOWS. M.D.,</p> <p>Petitioners,</p> <p>v.</p> <p>TERRY BRANSTAD ex rel. STATE OF IOWA and IOWA BOARD OF MEDICINE,</p> <p>Respondents.</p>	<p>Equity Case No. _____</p> <p>AFFIDAVIT OF JANE COLLINS, PH.D.</p>
---	--

1. I am a Professor of Community & Environmental Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. My areas of expertise include poverty, gender studies, and low-wage labor markets.

2. I became a member of the faculty at UW-Madison in 1992 after working for nine years as an Assistant and Associate Professor of Anthropology at the State University of New York at Binghamton. I received my PhD in Anthropology from the University of Florida in 1981. For more than 30 years, I have conducted research on low-wage labor and poverty, both in the United States and in Latin America.

3. I have authored or co-authored five books and more than 50 articles and have edited or co-edited four additional books. My most recent book on poverty, *Both Hands Tied*, co-authored with my graduate student Victoria Mayer and published by University of Chicago Press in 2010, is based on research about women transitioning from welfare to work in Milwaukee and Racine, Wisconsin. *Both Hands Tied* received 2011 Outstanding Book awards from two sub-units of the American Sociological Association: the Poverty, Inequality & Mobility section and the Labor & Labor Movements section. It also received the Sarah Whaley Book Prize from the

National Women's Studies Association. I have been a faculty affiliate of the Institute for Research on Poverty at UW-Madison for many years and a member of IRP's Executive Committee since 2006.

4. My research on poverty and low-wage labor markets in the United States and Latin America has been supported by a number of grants from the National Science Foundation, as well as from the Inter-American Foundation and the Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development.

5. My curriculum vitae, which describes my experience and qualifications in greater detail and lists my publications, is attached as Exhibit A.

6. I submit this affidavit in support of Plaintiffs' Motion for a Temporary Injunction.

EFFECTS OF THE ACT ON LOW-INCOME WOMEN IN IOWA

7. I understand from lawyers for the Petitioners in this case that prior to the Act, Iowa law required a woman seeking an abortion to receive a state-mandated ultrasound and to be offered the opportunity to view the ultrasound. However, I understand that a new law, section 1 of Senate File 471 ("the Act"), requires women to obtain the ultrasound, to be offered the opportunity to hear the fetal heartbeat and a description of the fetus, and to receive information about alternatives to abortion, risk factors, and details of the abortion procedure at least 72 hours prior to receiving a medically induced or surgical abortion. As a result, Iowa women will now be required to make an additional trip to clinics that provide abortion services. Because most Iowa clinics are already scheduling appointments one to three weeks from the time of the initial request for services, the Act's requirements of an additional trip along with a mandatory delay will result in severe delays for women seeking an abortion. These requirements will mean that some women who wanted a medication abortion will instead have to have a surgical abortion.

Some women requiring a surgical abortion will be unable to access that procedure within the first 22 weeks of pregnancy dated from a woman's last menstrual period ("lmp"), the gestational age limit also imposed by the Act, and therefore will be prevented from having an abortion in the state altogether.

8. I have become familiar with the difficulties imposed on low-income women by laws that require women seeking to have an abortion to travel farther distances through my research and familiarity with literature in the field.

9. By requiring Iowa women to make an additional trip to the health center in order to obtain an abortion, the Act will impose serious economic and logistical burdens and mental and emotional strain on low-income women who seek an abortion. Based on my 30 years of experience studying poverty, it is my opinion that the Act will impose real hardships on some poor and low-income women, by forcing them to skimp on food and other basic necessities for themselves and their families, to fall behind on bills and rent, and to take on debt they cannot afford, among other things. In addition, the Act will force some women to delay their abortions as they attempt to come up with the necessary money and make the logistical arrangements. Others will not be able to obtain an abortion at all and therefore will be forced to continue a pregnancy they would have otherwise ended.

Poverty and Low-Income Women in Iowa

10. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Iowa's overall poverty rate, measured as the proportion of individuals living in households at or below 100% of the federal poverty threshold, was 12.5% in 2015.¹ But, as explained below, these figures dramatically underestimate the percentage of families who are financially struggling in Iowa. A more realistic

¹ U.S. Census Bureau, American Fact-Finder (Iowa), "Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates," <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045216/19>.

assessment is that more than one-quarter of Iowa residents live in households that struggle significantly to make ends meet.

11. The federal poverty threshold is set by the United States Department of Health and Human Services, using a formula originally developed in the 1960s. That formula starts with an assumption that families spend one-third of their income on food, which no longer accurately reflects reality. According to this formula, a single person who makes less than \$12,060 per year in 2017 falls below the federal poverty line, with the poverty threshold increasing \$4,180 for each additional household member.² However, this formula is seriously outdated. Poor families today spend much more, proportionally, on housing and transportation than in the past. The formula also fails to account for other necessary costs, including childcare, medical expenses, utilities, and taxes, and it does not consider regional differences in costs.³ Because of these flaws, poverty experts now generally use 200% of the federal poverty guideline as a closer approximation of what people really need to earn to survive on their own. (Many experts refer to families living at or below 100% of the federal poverty line as “poor” and those between 100 and 200% as “low-income.”)⁴ In 2013, 27% of individuals in Iowa lived in households that were poor or low-income.⁵

² U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, “Poverty Guidelines,” <https://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty-guidelines>.

³ Smeeding, T. M., Isaacs, J. B., and Thornton, K. A., *Wisconsin Poverty Report: Is the Safety Net Still Protecting Families From Poverty in 2011?*, Institute for Research on Poverty, June 2013, p. 4. <http://www.irp.wisc.edu/research/WisconsinPoverty/pdfs/WI-PovertyReport2013.pdf>.

⁴ Short, K. and Smeeding, T., *Understanding Income-to-Threshold Ratios Using the Supplemental Poverty Measure*, U.S. Census Bureau, August 21, 2012, p. 3. <https://www.census.gov/hhes/povmeas/methodology/supplemental/research/SEHSD2012-18.pdf>.

⁵ The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, “Distribution of the Total Population by Federal Poverty Level (above and below 200% FPL, 2015),” <http://kff.org/other/state-indicator/population-up-to-200-fpl/?currentTimeframe=0&sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D>.

12. Even this figure, however, underestimates the poverty rates of women impacted by the Act, since poverty rates in the U.S. are higher for women than men, and are highest for women during their childbearing years and in old age.⁶ The poverty rate for Iowa women in 2015 was 13.7%.⁷ In addition poor and low-income women have higher rates of unintended pregnancy and abortion.⁸ In fact, a survey of women having abortions in the United States in 2014 found that 49% of women reported being below the federal poverty line, with another 26% living on incomes between 100% and 199% of the federal poverty line, for a total of 75% of women getting abortions being poor or low income.⁹ It is my understanding, based on information provided by Planned Parenthood of the Heartland, that over 50% of women seeking abortion in Iowa are at or below 110% of the federal poverty level.

13. To understand the dire circumstances of people living in poverty—and what a burden an additional expense of even something as little as \$50–\$100 can impose—it is helpful to consider a household budget for such a family. To do this, we might consider a single-parent household in which the adult earner brings in a full-time, year-round salary at minimum wage. These assumptions are realistic because data indicate that most women seeking abortions have at

⁶ Cawthorne, Alexandra, “The Straight Facts on Women in Poverty,” Center for American Progress Brief, October 8, 2008.

⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, American Fact-Finder (Iowa), “Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates., <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045216/19>.

⁸ Finer, L.B. and Zolna, M., “Shifts in Intended and Unintended Pregnancies in the United States, 2001–2008,” 104 Am. J. of Pub. Health S43, S45 Table 1.

⁹ Jerman, J., Jones, R.K., Onda, T., “Characteristics of Abortion Patients in 2014 and Changes Since 2008” Guttmacher Institute, 2016, available at https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/characteristics-us-abortion-patients-2014.pdf. The Guttmacher Institute study that reports these data was based on a survey administered to a large number of patients at a carefully stratified random sample of clinics across the United States and thus these numbers can be understood to be broadly representative.

least one child¹⁰ and are unmarried.¹¹ This household's income would be \$14,500, which is more than 10% below the official poverty level for a two-person household (\$16,240). A household with a total income of \$14,500 would not pay income taxes on this amount, but would pay \$1,109 in payroll (Social Security and Medicare) taxes, leaving a net income of \$13,391.

14. Sample budgets for a one-child single-parent family with this level of income illustrate how challenging, and indeed virtually impossible, it is to cover the basic costs of living on this level of income.¹² Budget 1 represents the situation of a one-child single-parent family that receives all available forms of state and federal aid: the federal and state Earned Income Tax Credit ("EITC"), Supplemental Nutritional Assistance ("SNAP"), Medical Assistance ("Medicaid"), and child care subsidies. Budget 2 represents the case of a one-child single-parent family that does not receive such assistance, which a significant percentage of poor families do not because of barriers to obtaining these benefits.¹³ These two examples bracket the range of

¹⁰ Guttmacher Institute, Induced Abortion in the United States, 2017 Fact Sheet, <https://www.guttmacher.org/fact-sheet/induced-abortion-united-states>.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² A number of organizations have developed what are called "basic needs budgets," defined as the income a family needs in order to attain a secure yet modest living standard, by estimating community-specific costs of housing, food, child care, transportation, health care, other necessities, and taxes. The Economic Policy Institute estimates, for example, that a single parent with one child in the Des Moines/West Des Moines, Iowa metropolitan area needs \$3,854 a month, or \$46,246 a year, to live with dignity. E. Gould et al., "Family Budget Calculator," Economic Policy Institute, <http://www.epi.org/resources/budget/> (April 2017). While this is a useful exercise, it does not explain how a large percentage of the population actually lives on far less than this amount. The example provided here is based on budgets collected from poor families by the author for a research project on transitions from welfare (see Collins, J., and Mayer, V., *Both Hands Tied: Welfare Reform and the Race to the Bottom in the Low-Wage Labor Market*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

¹³ Since 1996, states have been allowed to make some benefits conditional on particular behaviors, such as working, seeking work, drug and alcohol testing, marrying, etc. These "conditionalities," as well as challenges documenting income for eligibility, difficulties traveling to program offices to make an application, not having access to a computer to apply online, and difficulty reading or understanding program eligibility requirements and rules can impede participation in benefit programs. The federal government estimates that 75% of eligible households receive the Earned Income Tax Credit. United States General Accounting Office,

budgetary possibilities for families at this income level. The income and expenditure categories included in this budget are consistent with the basic family budgets developed by the Iowa Policy Project, but the expenditure estimates provided here are significantly lower for most categories.¹⁴

15. Sample Monthly Budget 1 (1 parent and 1 child living on one minimum wage salary, receiving EITC, SNAP, Medicaid, and childcare subsidies)

- \$845 for rent¹⁵
- \$200 for car payment and related expenses, including insurance
- \$150 for utilities
- \$212 food [\$312 minus \$100 in SNAP benefits]¹⁶
- \$248 for childcare [after \$401 subsidy]¹⁷
- \$50 a month for telephone service
- \$30 medical [co-pays after Medical Assistance]

“Earned Income Tax Credit Participation.” GAO-02-290R. Washington, DC: U.S. General Accounting Office, 2001. Nationally, the Medicaid participation rate for eligible individuals has been estimated at about 90%. U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, “Medicaid/CHIP Participation Rates,” *Available at:* <http://www.insurekidsnow.gov/facts/>

¹⁴ Peter Fisher and Lily French, “The Cost of Living in Iowa—2014 Edition, Part 1: Basic Family Budgets,” The Iowa Policy Project, <http://www.iowapolicyproject.org/2014Research/140226-COL.html>

¹⁵ Median fair market value for rent for a two-bedroom apartment in the Cedar Rapids Metropolitan Area, as calculated by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. . The median fair market rent in Cedar Rapids is midway between Des Moines IA (\$935) and Ames IA (\$785). Median rents in many rural counties are higher than these urban averages due to scarcity of units. Fair Market rent is the 40th percentile of gross rents for typical, non-subsidized rental units occupied by recent movers in a local housing market. U.S. Dept. of Housing & Urban Development, FY2017 Hypothetical Small Area FMRs for Cedar Rapids, IA MSA, *available at:*

https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/fmr/fmrs/FY2017_code/select_Geography_sa.odn

¹⁶ Based on the cost of a “low-cost” food plan, as determined by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, “Official USDA Food Plan: Cost of Food at Home at Four Levels, U.S. Average,” May 2016 and the average food stamp amount per recipient in Iowa, according to the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, “Average Monthly Food Stamp Benefit per Participant, 2015,”

<http://kff.org/other/state-indicator/avg-monthly-food-stamp-benefits/?currentTimeframe=0&sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D>

¹⁷ The average cost of childcare in Iowa was \$649 a month for a toddler in 2014. Andrew Ba Tran, “The Average Cost of Child Care by State,” *Boston Globe*, July 2, 2014. The average monthly state subsidy per child in Iowa is \$401 per month. Iowa Department of Human Services, “Child Care Assistance,” 2017, http://dhs.iowa.gov/sites/default/files/18-DHS-6-3_CCA_Narrative.pdf

-\$50 personal care and household care items
+\$323 Federal and state EITC

Total Expenses: \$1,462 a month or \$17,544 annually; \$3,044 more than the annual net income from a full-time, year-round minimum wage job.

16. Sample Monthly Budget 2 (1 parent and 1 child living on one minimum wage salary, without state and federal assistance)

-\$845 for rent¹⁸
-\$200 for car payment and related expenses, including insurance
-\$150 for utilities
-\$312 for food
-\$649 for childcare
-\$50 for telephone service
-\$100 for medical services and prescriptions
-\$50 for personal care and household care items

Total Expenses: \$2,356 per month or \$28,272 per year; \$13,772 more than the income from a full-time, year-round minimum wage job.

17. As you can see, a family living with sample budget 1 brings in \$254 less per month than their expenses require and a family living with sample monthly budget 2 brings in \$1,148 less per month than their expenses require. Moreover, the examples presented above do not consider the cost of clothing, furniture, school fees, cable, or internet service. They leave out any recreation, vacations, gifts, computer equipment, books, and children's toys whatsoever, as well as repayment of existing debt or any provision for savings. And women with more than one child or another dependent family member will face additional expenses.¹⁹ Therefore, a family with only one member working full-time, year-round for minimum wage without federal and state assistance will have basic expenses that greatly exceed earnings from a minimum wage job. Clearly, a household in this situation does not bring in enough income to meet even the most

¹⁸ Same sources as previous example.

¹⁹ Jerman, J., Jones, R.K., Onda, T., "Characteristics of Abortion Patients in 2014 and Changes Since 2008" Guttmacher Institute, 2016, *available at* https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/characteristics-us-abortion-patients-2014.pdf. The Guttmacher study notes that one-third of patients had carried two or more pregnancies to term.

basic expenses for rent, food, transportation and utilities and will face dilemmas of debt, unpaid bills, eviction, and repossession of vehicles on a recurring basis. Experts have shown that families living at this level of income are especially vulnerable to “critical hardships,” such as homelessness, going without food, or going without necessary medical care.²⁰ A household that receives the full range of federal and state assistance (EITC, SNAP, Medicaid, and child care subsidies) will likely face fewer such crises. But such a household still will regularly go without basic necessities to make ends meet, because, as noted previously, the budgets outlined above do not provide sufficient income and do not account for emergencies, such as the breakdown of a car or lost wages due to illness.

18. Families at this level of income are living on the very edge of subsistence. Simply put, any additional expense, even those that involve what seem like relatively small dollar income amounts to middle-income people, can make an extraordinary difference in their lives. For these families, paying for such additional expenses can mean that there is not enough food to eat in the house, that the family cannot pay their utility bills (thus risking the shut off of essential services), or that the family falls behind on their rent payments (putting them at risk for eviction).

Burdens Associated with the Act

19. To comply with the Act, women who seek an abortion will need to make an additional trip to one of the eight cities where abortions are available. Up to the tenth week of pregnancy Imp, a woman can receive medication abortion services at clinics in Sioux City, Council Bluffs, Ames, Des Moines, Cedar Falls, Iowa City, Davenport, or Burlington. After the tenth week of pregnancy Imp, a woman can receive surgical abortion services in only two locations: Des Moines and Iowa City. In this affidavit, I use the example of a woman living in

²⁰ Boushey, H., Brocht, C., Gunderson, G., and Bernstein, J., “Hardships in America: The Real Story of Working Families,” Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute, 2001.

Ottumwa, IA, a town of 25,000 people in Wapello County, and part of a reporting area that posts a rate of induced abortion near the median for the state. For this woman, the closest location to receive abortion services is Des Moines, a distance of 168 miles round trip. Under the Act, this woman must make two trips to the clinic, at least 72 hours apart. I calculate only the additional costs that would be imposed by the Act on a woman in this situation—that is, the costs of the second trip to the clinic.

20. In this affidavit, I also use the example of a woman from Sioux City, Iowa who is nearly 8 weeks pregnant and seeking a medication abortion and for whom the first available appointment is two weeks from the date of calling the clinic. The most recent available vital statistics report for the state of Iowa reports that 54% of abortions in the state in 2014–15 were medically induced.²¹ It is my understanding, based on information provided by Planned Parenthood of the Heartland, that 63% of abortions provided at their facilities from April 1, 2016 to March 31, 2017 were medically induced. According to PPH, more than 600 women received medically induced abortions in week 9 or 10 of their pregnancy. PPH also reports that clinics throughout Iowa are currently scheduling appointments one to three weeks from the time of the initial request for services. By doubling the number of appointments required to receive services, the Act will increase this waiting period and some women will not be able to see a clinician until they are past the tenth week of their pregnancy. In the example above, if the woman's appointment is delayed by even one week, she would need to travel to one of two cities where surgical abortion is available." For women in 70 of Iowa's 99 counties, this would involve traveling a greater, and in some cases much greater, distance to receive abortion services. In this example, if we assume that the woman from Sioux City is able to schedule the preliminary

²¹ Iowa Department of Public Health, Bureau of Health Statistics, 2015 Vital Statistics of Iowa, Table 50, p. 131.

ultrasound and other services at the Sioux City clinic, she would then need to travel, after at least 72 hours, to the Des Moines clinic for a surgical abortion. This would entail an additional 400 miles of travel (round trip) beyond what she would have traveled to receive a medication abortion closer to home. Exhibit B provides data on additional travel distances that would be required from the 70 Iowa counties where this situation pertains. Again, I calculate only the additional costs imposed by the Act, that is, the cost of this additional trip.

21. Traveling long distances presents particular burdens for low-income women that will make it difficult for all and impossible for many low-income women in Iowa to make the additional out-of-town trip needed to receive an abortion under the Act. These burdens include arranging and paying for additional transportation, the ability to arrange for time off from work, lost wages, and arranging and paying for child care. I discuss each of these below.

1. Transportation/Hotel

22. The Act will require substantial additional travel, creating logistical and financial difficulties for many poor and low-income Iowa women.

23. The scenarios outlined assume that a woman is able to drive to Des Moines or Iowa City to receive abortion services. However, for a number of reasons, many low-income women in Iowa will not be able to make this trip by car. A significant number of low-income women live in a household with no car at all or do not have access to a car, especially one suitable for a long trip. Researchers have found strong income disparities in car ownership. A 2006 study found that 4% of individuals in Des Moines and 6% of individuals in Sioux City lived in households that did not have access to a car,²² and these individuals are almost

²² Berube, A., E. Deakin, and S. Raphael, "Socio-economic Differences in Household Automobile Ownership Rates," University of California Transportation Center Working Papers, Table 1, June 2006, available at: www.socrates.berkeley.edu/~raphael/BerubeDeakinRaphael.pdf. It is important to remember that 4–6% is the percentage of the overall population. If we assume

exclusively poor and low-income. Even those low-income women who live in a household with a car may not have ready access to the car such that they can take two round trips out of town within a week. In poor and low-income families there are often competing demands for the car because other family members need it to get to work or to school and therefore the car is unavailable to the woman. Moreover, those low-income women who do have access to a car may not have one that is functioning or that is suitable for a several hour drive. They may be reluctant to borrow a car because they do not want to disclose to a partner or family members that they are seeking an abortion. This unwillingness to disclose the purpose of the trip may be motivated by a desire for privacy or a wish to avoid conflict or even violence. According to the non-profit “Working Cars for Working Families Project” run by the National Consumer Law Center, “Used cars marketed to working families are often in poor repair and have mechanical defects. Frequently these cars have suffered previous undisclosed damage from traffic collisions or floods. All too often used cars are not only unreliable, but unsafe.”²³ Reasonable fears of vehicle breakdown are a significant deterrent to long-distance travel, particularly during the winter months in Iowa. Thus, for many low-income women, travel by car to a distant clinic will not be a realistic option. However, the following scenarios outline the costs (in terms of transportation and time only) that trips to Des Moines from Ottumwa and from Sioux County would entail.

that poor individuals are disproportionately unable to access automobiles, then the percentage of lack of access among the poor would be significantly higher. Data broken down by poverty status is not available however.

²³ National Consumer Law Center, Working Cars for Working Families Project, “Dangerous and Unreliable Vehicles,” available at: <http://www.workingcarsforworkingfamilies.org/promoting-improved-public-policy/dangerous-and-unreliable-vehicles>.

24. Example 1. Scenario 1. Additional trip - Ottumwa to Des Moines by car

Assuming 84 miles each way or 168 additional miles
 Assuming 20 miles per gallon²⁴ and gasoline costs of \$2.40²⁵
 Additional cost of transportation: \$20.16
 Additional travel time: 3 hours

25. Example 2. Scenario 1. Additional trip - Sioux City to Des Moines by car

Assuming 200 miles each way or 400 additional miles
 Assuming 20 miles per gallon²⁶ and gasoline costs of \$2.40²⁷
 Additional cost of transportation: \$48.00
 Additional time: 7-8 hours

26. For the significant percentage of women who cannot make this trip by car, their only option is public transportation. For the woman in Example 1, traveling from Ottumwa to Des Moines, the only regular bus is a Burlington Trailways. The only scheduled trip leaves Ottumwa at 4:05 pm and arrives in Des Moines at 5:35 pm. The return trip leaves Des Moines for Ottumwa at 8:55 am the next morning, arriving at 10:25 am. Given clinic hours, this option would require spending two nights in Des Moines (a three-day trip). The woman traveling from Sioux City to Des Moines would need to take a Jefferson Lines Bus to Council Bluffs and transfer to a Burlington Trailways connecting to Des Moines. This bus leaves at 2:30 pm, arriving in Des Moines at 10:55 pm. The return bus leaves Des Moines at 11:15 pm arriving in

²⁴ The average mileage per gallon of U.S. cars in early 2013 was 24.6. This figure includes hybrid vehicles and is weighted toward a newer stock of cars. Those available to poor individuals are likely to get fewer miles per gallon because they are older and in poor repair. (“Average Fuel Economy of U.S. Cars Reaches an All-Time High,” *Christian Science Monitor*, April 6, 2013, <http://www.csmonitor.com/Business/In-Gear/2013/0406/Average-fuel-economy-of-US-cars-reaches-an-all-time-high>); for a discussion of the lower mileage obtained by older cars in poor repair, see U.S. Dept. of Energy, “Keeping Your Vehicle In Shape,” www.fueleconomy.gov/feg/maintain.jsp.

²⁵ American Automobile Association, “Gas Prices,” April 29, 2017 *available at*: <http://gasprices.aaa.com>.

²⁶ See footnote 23.

²⁷ See footnote 24.

Sioux City at 7:50 am. This would also require a three-day trip. These are not realistic options for low-income women given the need to take time off work and find childcare. Paragraphs 29 and 30 present the scenarios for these two women.

27. While most sizeable towns in Iowa have some access to daily intercity bus service, the number of trips and options are often limited, as this example suggests. Also, as Exhibit C indicates, there are many counties that are not regularly served. In this case, a woman could only access public transportation to Des Moines or Iowa City by getting a ride to a major town.

28. An additional obstacle for a woman using public transportation who needs to stay overnight in the town where abortion services are provided is the fact that many poor and low-income individuals do not have credit cards and are thus unable to book a room.²⁸

29. Example 1. Scenario 2. Additional trip - Ottumwa to Des Moines by bus

Round-trip bus fare: \$60

Two night stay at budget motel in Des Moines: $\$74 \times 2 = 148$

Additional cost: \$208

Additional time: 3 days

30. Example 2. Scenario 2. Additional trip – Sioux City to Des Moines by bus

Round trip bus fare: $\$64 + \$61 = \$125$

Two night stay at budget motel in Des Moines: $\$74 \times 2 = \148

Additional cost: \$273

Additional time: 3 days

²⁸ Klawitter, M. and Morgan-Cross, C., “Assets, Credit Use and Debt of Low-Income Households,” unpublished paper, Evans School of Public Affairs, University of Washington, Table 4, May, 2012. Data derived from Financial Industry Regulatory Authority (FINRA), “National Financial Capability Survey,” 2009. http://depts.washington.edu/wcpc/sites/default/files/papers/Credit%20andDebt%205_23_12.pdf. This study finds that among families with less than \$25,000 in annual income, fewer than 40% have credit cards.

31. The costs listed in the scenarios above are just the additional dollar amounts associated with transportation and hotel. As detailed below, however, these dollar amounts are only the tip of the iceberg when considering the total burdens the Act imposes.

2. Time Away from Work

32. For many working poor women in Iowa, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to take additional time away from work in order to make the additional trip required by the Act, particularly if an overnight stay is entailed. For those women who are able to take time off from work, the additional travel and time away will result in lost wages and increase the risk of employer sanctions and/or job loss.

33. Low-wage workers are the least likely to have access to paid sick days or personal days and are therefore more likely than other workers to lose pay when they are sick or require health care services. Only one-third of U.S. workers whose average wage is in the lowest 25% have paid sick leave. For those whose average wage is in the lowest 10%, the figure is 1 in 5. These are national averages; according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, mid-western workers were slightly less likely than those in other regions to have paid sick days.²⁹

34. Even getting unpaid time off from work can be difficult for low-wage workers. More than a third of all individuals classified as working poor in the U.S. are employed in the service sector, and women are more heavily represented in this sector than men.³⁰ Their top occupations include: cashiers, cooks, cleaning staff, health and personal care aides, wait staff, drivers, retail workers, personal care aides, child care workers, and food preparation workers.³¹

²⁹ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Employee Benefits in the United States 2013,” Table 6, July 2013. <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/ebs.pdf>.

³⁰ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, “A Profile of the Working Poor, 2010,” Report released March 2012, p. 3. <http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpswp2010.pdf>.

³¹ Wicks-Lim, J., “The Working Poor: A Booming Demographic,” *New Labor Forum* 21(3): 17-25, 2012, p. 21.

These jobs are more likely than others to entail non-standard and irregular work hours, including non-fixed working schedules that require the worker to be on call.³² This makes it difficult for workers in these jobs to schedule appointments of any kind, particularly those requiring an extended absence or more than one absence in a week.

35. In addition, individuals employed in low-wage service sector jobs face severe consequences for taking time off work, as low-wage service sector jobs have some of the labor market's strictest work rules. Labor market analysts studying the service sector have reported that: "Parents were unable to miss a shift without losing pay or even their employment. Their jobs tended to have strict start times and even tardiness had serious consequences."³³ In addition, many employers require workers to explain why they need time off, or to bring a doctor's note, particularly when workers are taking multiple days off. The extra time off that travel requires can make it even more difficult for a low-income woman to keep her abortion confidential from her employer.

³² Presser, H. B., and Cox, A.G., "The Work Schedules of Low-Educated American Women and Welfare Reform," *Monthly Labor Review* 120(4), 1997; Dodson, L., and Bravo, E., "When There is No Time or Money: Work, Family, and Community Lives of Low-Income Families, pp. 122-54 in Beem, C., and Heymann, J., eds., *Unfinished Work: Building Democracy & Equality in an Era of Working Families*," New York: New Press, 2005; Sheely, A., "Work Characteristics and Family Routines in Low-Wage Families," *J. of Sociology and Social Welfare* 37(3):59-77, 2010; Lambert, S. J., Haley-Lock, A., & Henly, J. R. Schedule Flexibility in Hourly Jobs: Unanticipated Consequences and Promising Directions. *Community, Work & Family*, 15(3), 293-315. 2012; Lambert, S. J. Making a Difference for Hourly Employees, pp. 169-196. *Worklife Policies*, Crouter, A. C. & Booth, A., Eds., Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2009; Henly, J. R., Shaefer, H. L., and Waxman, E., Nonstandard Work Schedules: Employer- and Employee-Driven Flexibility in Retail Jobs, *Social Service Review*, Vol. 80, No. 4, pp. 609-634, December 2006.

³³ Chaudry, A., Pedroza, J., and Sandstrom, H., "How Employment Constraints Affect Low-Income Working Parents' Child Care Decisions," Urban Institute Brief No. 23, February 2012 (<http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412513-How-Employment-Constraints-Affect-Low-Income-Working-Parents-Child-Care-Decisions.pdf>); *see also* Acs, G., and Loprest, P., "Low-Skill Jobs, Work Hours, and Paid Time Off," Urban Institute Brief No. 2., November 2008, p. 3 (http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411802_work_hours_pto.pdf).

36. As demonstrated in the above scenarios, the Act will require women to miss more work than required previously. When considering missed time from work, we must consider how much work the woman must miss as a result of travel, including the complexities of bus schedules if she is using public transportation, as well as the appointment itself.

37. The 2016 minimum wage in Iowa is \$7.25 an hour.³⁴ In the first scenario of Example 1 above (Ottumwa to Des Moines by car), if we consider the travel time and the time required for the appointment, a woman is likely to lose 5 hours of work, or \$36.25. In the first scenario of Example 2 (Sioux City to Des Moines by car), she will need to forego at least 8 hours in wages or \$58. In both scenarios that entail taking a bus, the woman would lose three days of work and \$174 in income.

38. In addition, a woman seeking an additional, unscheduled day off from work, and perhaps two days off from work in a week, is at great risk of disciplinary action or job loss. If a woman were fired for missing a shift or for requesting additional time off, this would result in major economic disruption for her and her family. Losing a job can lead to missed utility bill payments and service cut-offs; it can lead to families going without enough food or necessary medical care; and it can lead to missed rent payments, hunger, and ultimately to homelessness. Once a person enters homelessness, it can become significantly harder for him or her to obtain new employment, further entrenching the cycle of poverty.

3. *Child Care*

39. The additional travel time or overnight stay required by the Act will also create childcare dilemmas for some women seeking abortion services, will increase the cost of child

³⁴ U.S. Dept. of Labor, Iowa Minimum Wage Rates, <http://www.dol.gov/whd/minwage/america.htm#Iowa>.

care for women who use paid childcare, and will prevent some women from obtaining an abortion at all.

40. Given the significant travel times associated with using public transportation to travel out of town, it may be difficult for a low-income woman to find a friend or family member who can care for her child for the entire time she will be away, because, as I explain further below, low-income women have friends and family members who are also resource poor and working in low-waged jobs and thus may not be able to care for a child for several hours, or even days. Thus it is very likely that low-income women who will be away for an extended period of time will need to resort to childcare on the marketplace.

41. Indeed, researchers report that women who must pay for childcare during the time that they are receiving abortion services pay an average of \$57.³⁵ The woman in Example 1 who has access to a car and makes an extra trip from Ottumwa to Des Moines will require at least 5 additional hours of childcare (3 hours of driving without traffic and 2 hours for her clinic visit). The woman in Example 2 who has access to a car and travels from Sioux City to Des Moines and back will require at least 10 additional hours of child care. The cost of childcare is approximately \$5.00 per hour.³⁶ The additional childcare costs for these women will therefore be, at minimum, \$25.00 and \$50.

42. In the event that a low-income woman does not have access to a car that can be used for an additional long-distance trip, and needs to use public transportation, the trip will require at least 3 days' absence. If a woman must stay overnight for one or more nights in order to obtain an abortion and does not have friends or family who are able to care for her children in

³⁵ Jones, R. K., Upadhyay, U. D., and Weitz, T., "At What Cost? Payment for Abortion Care by U.S. Women," *Women's Health Issues* 23(3): 3173-3178, May 2013, p. 10.

³⁶ IowaChildCare.net, "Iowa Child Care Rates," <http://www.iowachildcare.net/childcare-rates.php>

her absence, she will likely be unable to obtain her abortion. There are simply no market solutions for a woman in this situation. Although there are overnight daycares in some cities, they are time limited—usually to 11 PM and 7 AM—and a child cannot stay there for extended periods of time. Indeed, a daycare center is likely unwilling to (or even prohibited from) care for a child for more than eight hours.

4. *Summary of Additional Costs for Women Affected by the New Law*

43. Individual cases will vary, but the numbers and discussion presented above show the following additional costs:

Example 1, Scenario 1 (Ottumwa-Des Moines by car): \$20.16 (transportation) + \$36.25 (lost wages) + \$25.00 (child care) = \$81.41

Example 1, Scenario 2: (Ottumwa-Des Moines by bus): \$208 (transportation and hotel) + \$174 (lost wages) = \$382.00³⁷

Example 2, Scenario 1: (Sioux City-Des Moines by car): \$48 (transportation) + \$58 (lost wages) + \$50.00 (child care) = \$156.00

Example 2, Scenario 2: (Sioux City-Des Moines by bus): \$273 (transportation and hotel) + \$174 (lost wages) = \$447.00³⁸

This is not the full cost of obtaining an abortion, but the *additional* financial cost (for the additional mileage, additional lost work time, additional child care, etc.) beyond what a woman would have incurred prior to the Act. And it does not consider the cost of the abortion itself.

44. The total additional cost required for a woman to travel outside her hometown for her pre-abortion visit may not seem great to someone with a middle class income, but it is an extremely significant expense for those living in poverty. In light of the sample budgets

³⁷ Does not include cost of paid childcare, since it is not likely to be available.

³⁸ See footnote 35.

presented in paragraphs 15 and 16, adding even \$100 to the already significant cost of an abortion represents a substantial burden. As the budgets outlined above demonstrate, a family that receives all available benefits still does not have enough to meet all of its expenses. At the higher end of the range of possible costs, the added expense would represent almost an entire month of income, a sum that could not simply be absorbed, but would represent a major financial shock and setback.

45. Importantly, these additional costs apply only to those women who are even able to access abortion after the Act goes into effect. First, as explained above, a woman with children and no car, unless she has friends or family who are able to care for her children, is very unlikely to be able to make the additional trip and will therefore be prevented from obtaining an abortion. These low-income women—those with children and without family or friends with resources to support them—and their families are perhaps those who will be most adversely affected by lack of access to abortion. In addition, it may take women some time to pull together the resources they need. This delay, combined with the delays created by the Act as clinics seek to schedule additional visits per procedure for every abortion patient, may make it impossible for some poor women to arrange services before the gestational age limit imposed by the Act.

46. The financial burdens presented by the Act are not just an issue of how a low-income woman must spend her cash for a given month. Many low-income women simply do not have money on hand, such that even if they were willing to forego other necessities, they simply may not be able to pay for a bus ticket, extra gas, a hotel, or childcare. This is due to the fact that low-income women have few good options for obtaining the extra cash that they need through the mainstream banking system. According to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), 22% of low-income households (which they defined as making under

\$15,000 a year) are “unbanked” and half are “under-banked.” This means that members of these households conduct some or all of their financial transactions outside the mainstream banking system. All under-banked and 65% of unbanked families rely on what are called “alternative financial services” (non-bank money orders, non-bank check cashing services, pay-day loans, prepaid non-bank debit cards, etc.).³⁹ Few of these families have savings accounts of any kind. Among families with less than \$25,000 in annual income, fewer than 40% have credit cards.⁴⁰ What this means is that most low-income individuals do not have access to short-term loans through mainstream banking channels and do not have the option of charging expenses to a credit card.

47. Should these individuals turn to alternative financial services for short-term loans, they face extraordinary fees. A 2012 report authored by two members of the Federal Reserve Board presented the following common practice among so-called “pay day lenders”: a short-term loan service charges a fee of \$17.50 for every \$100 loaned. Because the term is so short, a \$400 loan, for example, over a four-week period with a \$70 fee generates an implicit annual interest rate of 450%. If an individual cannot pay at the end of four weeks and rolls the loan over, they can become trapped in a debt spiral from which it is difficult to extricate themselves.⁴¹

³⁹ Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), “2011 FDIC National Survey of Unbanked and Underbanked Households,” September 2012, http://www.fdic.gov/householdsurvey/2012_unbankedreport.pdf.

⁴⁰ Klawitter, M. and Morgan-Cross, C., “Assets, Credit Use and Debt of Low-Income Households,” unpublished paper, Evans School of Public Affairs, University of Washington, Table 4, May, 2012. Data derived from Financial Industry Regulatory Authority (FINRA), “National Financial Capability Survey,” 2009. http://depts.washington.edu/wcpc/sites/default/files/papers/Credit%20andDebt%205_23_12.pdf.

⁴¹ Gross, M. B., Hogarth, J. M., Manohar, A., and Gallegos, S., “Who Uses Alternative Financial Services and Why?” Consumer Interests Annual 58, 2012, available at <http://www.consumerinterests.org/assets/docs/CIA/CIA2012/2012-57%20who%20uses%20alternative%20financial%20services%20and%20why.pdf>.

48. Another option available to low-income women seeking resources to meet these expenses is to borrow from family and friends. One study reported that 50% of all women seeking abortion services relied on someone else to help them cover costs, most commonly the man involved in the pregnancy (nearly two-thirds of instances), but also friends and family.⁴² However, as one social services case worker pointed out in a recent study of women living in poverty:

These are resource-poor people . . . You know, if I have a problem, I get on the phone, I call my relatives, I call a friend, I borrow a car—whatever it is. I've got backup all over. Poor people have other poor people for friends, so their systems are resource-poor.⁴³

Partners and family networks may not always have the resources to assist with the costs involved and tapping those networks results in a loss of privacy. An additional difficulty may result when women need to request aid from sexual partners who are not supportive of their decision to obtain an abortion or who have a history of abusive or violent behavior. This strategy can be extremely dangerous, in light of the high rate of domestic violence among low-income women, and may result in the partner attempting to prevent her from obtaining the procedure and/or in episodes of violence.

49. A third strategy that low-income women may use to cover abortion-related costs is to not pay other bills. Results from a survey of women seeking abortion found that many women—one-third of the study sample—delayed paying or did not pay bills in order to have money to pay for their abortion. One third of women in this study said that they delayed paying electricity bills, insurance bills, or car payments, while close to one-sixth said that they did not

⁴² Jones, et al., “At What Cost?” op. cit., p. 9-10, 21.

⁴³ Collins and Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

buy food or pay rent.⁴⁴ The consequence of not paying a utility bill is having that service disconnected. The consequence of not paying rent may be eviction.

5. Intangible Costs

50. Monetary costs do not fully reflect the burdens of travelling farther and being away from home longer for low-income women. Intangible costs and burdens—the stress of travel to unfamiliar parts of the state, the difficulties encountered in trying to keep the reason for the travel confidential from one’s employer or an abusive partner—can just as effectively prevent low income women from exercising their right to obtain an abortion. I am familiar with these difficulties through my independent research and my review of the relevant literature.

51. Additional trips (or overnight stays) can also magnify stress and worry for women attempting to obtain an abortion. When women must organize more complex and lengthy trips, and when they need to rely on parents, spouses, or friends for assistance under those circumstances, it become more difficult to obtain an abortion without a parent, spouse, or friend finding out about the procedure. The more complex and costly the arrangements required, and the more time that a person must spend traveling to the clinic, the greater the chances that confidentiality surrounding the procedure will be sacrificed.

52. The fact that financial, logistical, and psychological burdens can delay or prevent low-income women from obtaining an abortion has been well documented by women’s health researchers. One study reported:

For women pulling together money to pay for the procedure as well as transportation and missed work, these relatively small amounts can prove impossible to procure and could prevent women from obtaining a wanted abortion.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Jones et al., “At What Cost?” op. cit., p. 10.

⁴⁵ Jones et al., “At What Cost?” op cit., p. 12–13.

A second study noted that difficulty financing an abortion was a significant factor leading women to delay seeking abortion services, resulting in more dangerous and costly second trimester abortions.⁴⁶

Conclusion

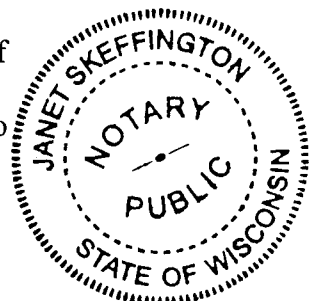
53. Poor and low-income women living in Iowa will face extraordinary challenges meeting the additional financial, logistical, and psychological costs as a result of having to make an additional trip to a clinic; where the logistics of this trip delay an abortion past the tenth week, they will not only lose the option of a medically induced abortion but will need to travel what are often much longer distances to reach a clinic that performs surgical abortions. This not only entails having to travel longer distances, but will also require them to be away from home (and jobs and children) for longer periods of time. For the many low-income women who need child care or who will lose income because they do not have paid sick days (or will even lose their job because they cannot take unpaid leave), as well as for those who do not have access to a car and will have to rely on public transportation, the additional cost and time required for this travel may pose an insurmountable challenge. Some will not be able to obtain an abortion. Other women may be delayed in trying to gather the resources to do so. In sum, as a result of the Act, a significant number of poor and low-income women will no longer be able to obtain the abortions they seek or will be delayed in doing so.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true.

Dated: May 3, 2017

Janet Skeffington

Jane Collins
Jane Collins, PhD



Janet Skeffington
my commission
expires
6/12/2020

⁴⁶ Foster, D. G., Jackson, R. A., Cosby, K., Weitz, T. A., Darney, P. D., and Drey, E. A., "Predictors of Delay in Each Step Leading to an Abortion," *Contraception* 77(4):289-93, 2008.

EXHIBIT A

JANE L. COLLINS

**Frances Perkins Professor
Community & Environmental Sociology
University of Wisconsin, 1450 Linden Drive, Madison, WI 53706,
(608) 262-1510 (W); jcollins@ssc.wisc.edu**

EDUCATION

1981 Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Florida
Graduate certificate in Latin American Studies
“*Kinship and Seasonal Migration among the Aymara of Southern Peru*”
1978 M.A., Latin American Studies, University of Florida
1976 B.A. with distinction, University of Virginia, Anthropology.

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

2000- Professor, Community & Environmental Sociology, UW-Madison
Faculty Affiliate, Institute for Research on Poverty
Faculty Affiliate, Robert M. La Follette School of Public Affairs
1994 - 2000 Professor, Sociology and Women's Studies, UW-Madison
1992 - 1994 Associate Professor, Sociology and Women's Studies, UW- Madison
[Joint appointment with Department of Gender & Women's Studies 1992-2014,
Chair of GWS 2004-2007 and 2010-2013]
1991 - 1992 Associate Professor, Anthropology, State University of New York, Binghamton
1983 - 1991 Assistant Professor, Anthropology, SUNY-Binghamton
1981 - 1982 Visiting Assistant Professor, Social Sciences, Georgia Inst. of Technology

AWARDS AND HONORS

2015 Hilldale Award (Social Studies), University of Wisconsin-Madison
2014 Resident Fellow, Rockefeller Center at Bellagio, October-November 2014
2008 Society for the Anthropology of North America Prize for Distinguished Achievement
in the Critical Study of North America.
2006 - 11 Evjue Bascom Professorship, University of Wisconsin
2004 - 09 Kellett Mid-Career Award, UW-Madison Graduate School
1997 - 98 Department of Sociology, UW-Madison, Award for Excellence in Teaching
1995, 1999 Graduate School Research Awards, UW-Madison
1996 - 98 Vilas Associate Award, UW-Madison
1987, '88, '91 SUNY Research Foundation Awards
1978 Graduate Council Fellowship, University of Florida
1976 Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, Echols Scholar, Univ. of Virginia

RESEARCH PROJECTS

2013-15 *Rethinking Value: Conflicts over Market Value in the Contemporary U.S.* National
Science Foundation.
2004-07 *Farm Work, Off-Farm Employment and Family Care: How Wisconsin Farm Families
Combine Work in Three Spheres.* U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Hatch Grant.

- 2003-06 *Family Networks and Livelihood in the Context of Welfare Reform.*
UW Institute for Research on Poverty, Wisconsin Dept. of Workforce Development.
- 2000-03 *Technology & Apparel Service Jobs in Rural Labor Markets.* USDA Hatch Grant.
- 1999-01 *Changes in Work in the Post-Fordist Era: A Case Study of the Apparel Industry in Southern Virginia.* National Science Foundation, UW Graduate School.
- 1997-98 *Work, Gender and Social Regulation.* Vilas Associate Award, UW Graduate School.
- 1995 *A Comparative Analysis of Gendered Labor Force Participation in Commercial Agriculture: Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Colombia.* UW Graduate School.
- 1991-93 *Contract Farming and Family Labor Process in Northeastern Brazil.*
National Science Foundation, SUNY Research Foundation.
- 1988-91 *The Cultural Meaning of Cultural Difference: Ethnocentrism in the United States.*
National Science Foundation, SUNY Research Foundation (with Catherine Lutz).
- 1979-80 *Kinship and Seasonal Migration among the Aymara of Huancané, Puno, Peru.*
Inter-American Foundation.
- 1977 *The Impact of Agrarian Reform on Peruvian Peasant Communities.*
Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida.

LANGUAGES

Spanish, Portuguese, French, Aymara

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- 2017 *The Politics of Value: Three Movements to Change How We Think about the Economy,*
University of Chicago Press.
- 2010 *Both Hands Tied: Gender, Welfare Reform and the Race to the Bottom in the Low-Wage Labor Market,* University of Chicago Press (w/ Victoria Mayer)
 - 2011 Outstanding Book Award from Inequality, Mobility and Poverty section of the American Sociological Association
 - 2011 Outstanding Book Award from the Labor & Labor Movements section of the American Sociological Association
 - Sarah Whaley Book Prize, National Women's Studies Assoc.
- 2003 *Threads: Gender, Labor & Power in the Global Apparel Industry,* University of Chicago Press
- 1993 *Reading National Geographic,* University of Chicago Press (w/ Catherine Lutz)

- 1988 *Unseasonal Migration: The Effects of Rural Labor Scarcity in Peru*, Princeton University Press.

Edited Books

- 2008 (with Micaela di Leonardo and Brett Williams) *New Landscapes of Inequality: Neoliberalism and the Erosion of Democracy in America*, ed., Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.
- 1990 (with Martha Gimenez) *Work without Wages: Comparative Studies of Domestic Labor and Self-Employment*, ed., Albany: State Univ. of New York Press.
- 1988 (with Joan Smith, Terence Hopkins and Akbar Muhammad) *Racism and Sexism in the World Economy*, ed., Greenwood Press. Studies in the Political Economy of the World System.
- 1987 (with Eduardo Bedoya and Michael Painter) *Estrategias productivas y recursos naturales en la Amazonía*. Lima: Centro de Investigación y Promoción Amazónica.

Articles in Refereed Journals/Book Chapters

- 2017 State Phobia, Then and Now: Three Waves of Conflict over Wisconsin's Public Sector, 1930-2013, submitted to *Social Science History* (with Jake Carlson), forthcoming
- 2016 The Hijacking of a New Corporate Form? Benefit Corporations and Corporate Personhood," *Economy & Society*, 45 (3-4): 325-49 (with Walker Kahn).
- 2016 Expanding the Labor Theory of Value, *Dialectical Anthropology* 40 (2): 103-123.
- 2015 Walmart, American Consumer Citizenship, and the Erasure of Class. Pp. 89-101 in *Anthropologies of Class: Power, Practice, and Inequality*, eds. James Carrier and Donald Kalb, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- 2014 Reclaiming the Local in Movements against Inequality: A View from the U.S. *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society* 38(4): 52-55.
- 2013 A Feminist Approach to Overcoming the Closed Boxes of the Commodity Chain. Pp. 27-37 in *Gendered Commodity Chains: Seeing Women's Work and Households in 21st Century Global Production*, Wilma Dunaway, ed. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press.
- 2012 Theorizing Wisconsin's 2011 Protests: Community-Based Unionism Confronts Accumulation by Dispossession. *Amer. Ethnologist* 39 (1): 1-15.
- 2011 Wal-Mart, American Consumer Citizenship, and the 2008 Recession. *Focaal: Journal of Global & Historical Anthropology* 61: 107-116.
- What Difference Does Financial Expansion Make? *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 18(1): 39-46.

- Narratives of Skill and Meaning within “Menial Work.” *Review*. Special Issue on the work of Sidney Mintz 34 (4): 435-39.
- 2009 America in the Age of Wal-Mart, pp. 97-112 in *The Insecure American*, Catherine Bestemann and Hugh Gusterson, eds. Univ. of California Press.
- One Big Labor Market: The New Imperialism and Worker Vulnerability, pp. 280-99 in *Rethinking America:: The Imperial Landscape of the 21st Century United States*, Jeff Maskovsky and Ida Susser, eds. NY: Paradigm Press.
- 2008 The Paradox of Poverty in the Transition from Welfare to Work. *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center, special issue in memory of Joan Smith) 30(4): 283-311.
- The Specter of Slavery: Workfare and the Economic Citizenship of Poor Women, Pp. 131-53 in *New Landscapes of Inequality*, Jane Collins, Micaela di Leonardo and Brett Williams, eds. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.
- 2007 The Rise of a Global Garment Industry and the Reimagination of Worker Solidarity. *Critique of Anthropology* 27(4): 395-409.
- 2006 (with Amy Quark) Globalizing Firms and Small Communities: The Apparel Industry’s Connection to Rural Labor Markets. *Rural Sociology* 71(2):281-310.
- Redefining the Boundaries of Work: Apparel Workers and Community Unionism in the Global Economy. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 13:9-31.
- 2005 New Directions in Commodity Chain Analysis of Global Development Processes. In *New Directions in the Sociology of Rural Development*, Philip McMichael, ed., Special edition of *Research in Rural Sociology and Development* 11:1-15.
- 2002 Mapping a Global Labor Market: Gender and Skill in the Globalizing Garment Industry. *Gender and Society* 16(5):921-40.
- Deterritorialization and Workplace Culture. *American Ethnologist* 29(1): 151-171.
- Reprinted in *Anthropology of Development and Globalization: From Classical Political Economy to Contemporary Neoliberalism*, Angelique Haugerud and Marc Edelman, eds. NY: Blackwell, 2004
- 2001 The Great Machine of Exotica, in *Genres in Writing: Research and Synthesis Across the Disciplines*, M. S. MacNealy and M. E. Pitts, eds. New York: Allyn & Bacon. [Excerpt from *Reading National Geographic*].
- Flexible Specialization & the Garment Industry. *Competition & Change* 5(2):165-200.
- 2000 Tracing Social Relations through Commodity Chains: The Case of Brazilian Grapes, Pp. 97-112 in *Commodities and Globalization: Anthropological Perspectives*, Angelique Haugerud, Peter Little, Priscilla Stone, eds. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- 1999 Industrial Innovation and Control of the Working Day: The 1998 General Motors Strike.

Social Politics 6(1):76-84.

(w/ Greta Krippner) Permanent Labor Contracts in Agriculture: Flexibility and Subordination in a New Export Crop. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41(3):510-34.

- 1997 The Color of Sex: Postwar Photographic Histories of Race and Gender in *National Geographic* Magazine, (w/ Catherine Lutz) in *Bodies/Politics: Gender, Sexuality, Culture, History*, Micaela di Leonardo and Roger Lancaster, eds. New York: Routledge. [Excerpt from *Reading National Geographic*].

Reprinted in *The Anthropology of Media*, eds. Kelly Askew and Richard R. Wilk, London: Blackwell, 2002;

Reprinted in *An Introduction to Women's Studies*, eds. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, NY: McGraw-Hill, 2006.

- 1996 Development Theory and the Politics of Location: An Example from Northeastern Brazil. *European Journal of Development Research* 8(2): 56-70.

Reprinted in *Cultural Perspectives on Development*, Vincent Tucker, ed. London: Frank Cass, 1997

- 1995 Transnational Labor Process and Gender Relations: Women in Fruit and Vegetable Production in Chile, Brazil, and Mexico, *J. of Latin Amer. Anthropology* 1(1): 78- 99.

Reprinted in *Perspectives on Las Américas: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation*, Matthew C. Guttman, Félix V. Matos Rodríguez, Lynn Stephen, Patricia Zavella, eds. London: Blackwell, 2003.

Multiple Sources of Livelihood and Alternative Views of Work. *Anthropology of Work Review* 16 (1): 43-46.

Reading *National Geographic*: The Making of National Identity in Popular Photography. In *Readings: Sociology Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life*, David M. Newman, ed., Pp. 183-96. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press. [Excerpt from *Reading National Geographic*].

Farm Size and Non-Traditional Exports: Determinants of Participation in World Markets, *World Development* 23(7): 1103-1114.

Gender and Cheap Labor in Agriculture. In *Food and Agrarian Orders in the World-Economy*, Philip McMichael, ed. Pp. 217-232. Westport, CT: Praeger.

- 1993 Gender, Contracts and Wage Work: Agricultural Restructuring in Brazil's São Francisco Valley. *Development & Change* 24: 53-82.

Marxism Confronts the Environment: Labor, Ecology and Environmental Change. In *Understanding Economic Process*, Sutti Ortiz and Susan Lees, eds. Pp. 179-188. New York: Univ. Press of America.

- 1992 Becoming America's Lens on the World: *National Geographic* in the 20th Century. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, issue on "Writing Cultural Criticism" 91(1): 161-192, (w/ Catherine Lutz).

 Reprinted in *Eloquent Obsessions*, ed. by Marianna Torgovnick. Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1993.]
- 1991 Housework and Craftwork Within Capitalism: Marxist Analyses of Unwaged Labor. In *Marxist Approaches in Economic Anthropology*, Alice Littlefield and Hill Gates, eds. Pp. 90-105. New York: Univ. Press of America.

 Women & the Environment: Social Reproduction & Sustainable Development. *Women & Development Ann. Rev.* 2, Rita Gallin and Anne Ferguson, eds. Pp. 33-58. Boulder: Westview.

 The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes: The Example of *National Geographic*. *Visual Anthropology Rev.* 4:2-17 (w/ Catherine Lutz).

 Reprinted in *Visualizing Theory*, Lucien Taylor, ed. New York: Routledge; in *Looking for America: A Reader's Guide to the Ritual Making and Remaking of People and Nation*, Rosemary Osmond, ed. Oxford: Bradstreet Publishers;

 Reprinted in *Rhetorical Visions: Writing and Reading in a Visual Culture*, Wendy Hesford and Brenda Brueggemann, eds. Ohio State Univ. Press, 2005.
- 1990 (w/ Michael Painter) Reconstructing Ethnicity as Class: The Tawantinsuyu Uprising of Southern Peru. In *Looking Through the Kaleidoscope: Essays in Honor of Charles Wagley*, *Florida Journal of Anthropology*, special publication no. 6.

 Unwaged Labor in Comparative Perspective: Recent Theories and Unanswered Questions. In *Work Without Wages: Comparative Studies of Domestic Labor and Self-Employment*, Jane Collins and Martha Gimenez, eds. Albany: SUNY Press.

 Native Americans, Politics, and Frontiers. *Reviews in Anthropology* 15:81-89.
- 1989 Small Farmer Responses to Environmental Change: Coffee Production in the Peruvian High Selva. In *The Human Ecology of Tropical Land Settlement in Latin America*. Debra Schumann and William Partridge, eds. Boulder: Westview Press.
- 1987 Labor Scarcity and Ecological Change. In *Lands at Risk in the Third World*. Peter Little and Michael Horowitz, eds. Pp. 13-29. Boulder: Westview Press.
- 1986 Reply to Cohen's Comment on 'Smallholder Settlement..'. *Human Organization* 45(4): 360-363.

 The Household and Relations of Production in Southern Peru. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28(4): 651-71.

 Smallholder Settlement of Tropical South America: The Social Causes of Ecological

Destruction. *Human Organization* 45(1): 1-10.

Reprinted in *Developing Areas: A Book of Readings and Research*, ed by Vijayan K. Pillai and Lyle W. Shannon. Pp. 453-67. Oxford: Berg, 1993.

1985 Migration and the Family Life Cycle in Peru. *Urban Anthropology* 14(4):279-300.

1984 The Maintenance of Peasant Coffee Production. *Amer. Ethnologist* 11(3):413- 38.

1983 Fertility Determinants in a High Andes Community. *Population & Development Rev.* 9(1):61-75

Seasonal Migration as a Cultural Response to Energy Scarcity at High Altitude. *Current Anthropology* 24(1): 103-4.

Translation Traditions and the Organization of Productive Activity. In *Bilingualism: Social Issues and Policy Implications*. Andrew W. Miracle, ed. Pp. 11-22. Univ. of Georgia Press.

Reprinted in *Gente de carne y huseo: Las tramas de parentesco en los Andes*. Denise Y. Arnold, ed. La Paz: ILCA, Hisbol, CIASE, 1998.

1982 Idiotia da vida rural. *Dados: Revista de Ciencias Sociais*. (São Pãolo) 25:209-28 (with Glaucio Ary Dillon Soares).

Reprinted as: "The Idiocy of Rural Life." *Civilisations*, (Belgium), 1982.

1979 A Reconsideration of Phonological Play. *The Southern Anthropologist* 1: 2-9.

Other Writing and Reports

2017 Food Stamp Work Requirements and the Implications of Devolution. Gender Policy Report, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, February.

2014 Transformative Coalition in Wisconsin. Special Issue on "Austerity in the Upper Midwest," *Anthropology Now* 6(3): 29-36.

2013 The Urban Public Sector as Commons. A Comment. *Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 2013 (66): 125-127.

2014 Reclaiming the Local in Movements against Inequality: A View from the U.S. *Focaal Blog*.

2011 Reconfiguring the Social Contract: A Summary of *Both Hands Tied*, followed by response from Lawrence Mead and response from the authors. *Focus* (publication of UW Inst. for Research on Poverty) 28(1):1-12.

2011 What Democracy Looks Like. Guest editorial, *Dialectical Anthropology* 35(2): 131-33.

- 2006 Livelihood Strategies and Family Networks of Low-wage Wisconsin Mothers. *Focus* 24(2): 8-17.
- 2006 Mothers' Family Networks and Livelihood in the Context of Child Support Enforcement Policy. Ethnographic Evaluation Report, Child Support Demonstration Evaluation, UW Inst. for Research on Poverty.
- 2003 Would Including a Social Clause in Trade Treaties Help or Hinder: A Perspective. Political Economy of the World System Section (ASA) *Newsletter*, Fall.
- 1999 Sweatshop Code of Little Use without Living Wage Provision (w/ Joel Rogers). *The Capital Times*, Tuesday, February 9. P. 9A.
- 1992 Production Relations in Irrigated Agriculture: Fruits and Vegetables in the São Francisco Valley (Brazil). Working Paper Series, Inst. for Development Anthropology. [Also released (1992) as Working Paper #24, Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Globalization Network, Research on Agro-ecology and Sustainable Agriculture, UC-Santa Cruz].
- 1986 (w/ Michael Painter) Settlement and Deforestation in Central America. Report prepared for Cooperative Agreement on Human Settlement & Natural Resource Management (USAID), Inst. for Development Anthropology.
- 1984 Land Tenure, Institutional Factors and Producer Decisions on Fragile Lands. Working Paper Series, Inst. for Development Anthropology.
- 1983 Seasonal Migration among the Aymara. *Grassroots Development* 7(2): 54-55.
- 1981 Seasonal Migration in Southern Peru. *Latinamericanist* 16: 1-3.

Book Reviews

- 2013 Thomas Weaver, et al., *Neoliberalism and Commodity Production in Mexico*, in *J. of Latin American Studies*.
- 2009 Frances Rothstein, *Globalization in Rural Mexico: Three Decades of Change*, in *Amer. Ethnologist* 36(3): 599-60.
- 2008 Reforming Global Sweatshop Reform. Books reviewed: Seidman, Gay, *Beyond the Boycott: Labor Rights, Human Rights and Transnational Activism*, Ethel Brooks, *Unraveling the Garment Industry: Transnational Organizing and Women's Work*, Piya Pangsapa, *Textures of Struggle: The Emergence of Resistance among Garment Workers in Thailand*, and Sandya Hewamanne, *Stitching Identities in a Free Trade Zone: Gender and Politics in Sri Lanka*, in *New Labor Forum* 17(3): 110-115.
- 2006 Margaret K. Nelson, *The Social Economy of Single Motherhood: Raising Children in Rural America*, in *J. of Marriage and Family* 68(3).
- 2004 Leslie Salzinger, *Genders at Work: Making Workers in Mexico's Global Factories*, in *Contemporary Sociology* 33(3): 306-7.

- 2003 Lorraine Bayard de Volo, *Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs: Gender Identity Politics in Nicaragua*, and Lara Putnam, *The Company They Kept: Migrants and the Politics of Gender in Caribbean Costa Rica, 1870-1960*. *Gender & Soc.* 17(15): 792-4.
- 1999 Micaela di Leonardo, *Exotics at Home: Anthropologies, Others and American Modernity*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 101 (3): 22-3.
- 1997 Betty Friedan, *Beyond Gender: The New Politics of Work and Family*, *The Nation* 265: 29-31.
- 1993 Marianne Schmink and Charles Wood, *Contested Frontiers in Amazonia*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 95: 764-65.
- 1993 Lynne Brydon and Sylvia Chant, *Women in the Third World: Gender Issues in Rural and Urban Areas*, *Amer. Ethnologist* 20: 194-95.
- 1992 G. J. Gill, *Seasonality and Agriculture in the Developing World: A Problem of the Poor and Powerless*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 94(4):987-988.
- 1992 Ronald Chilcote, *Power and the Ruling Classes in Northeast Brazil: Petrolina and Juazeiro in Transition*, *Contemporary Sociology* 21(1): 59-60.
- 1989 Michael Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cusco*, *Amer. Ethnologist* 16(2): 399-400.
- 1988 D. Browman, ed, *Arid Land Use Strategies and Risk Management in the Andes*, Soc. for Latin American Anthropology Newsletter 4: 20.
- 1988 Martine Segalen, *Historical Anthropology of the Family*, *J. of Marriage & Family* 50 (4): 1075.
- 1986 Norman Long, ed., *Family and Work in Rural Societies: Perspective on Non-Wage Labor, Labour, Capital & Soc.* 19(1): 144-147
- 1985 E. Moran, ed., *The Ecosystem Concept in Anthropology*, *Human Biology* 57(2):307-10
- 1984 D. Lehmann, *Ecology & Exchange in the Andes*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 86:359-60.

PAPERS PRESENTED AT PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS

- 2015 Austerity's Animosities. Canadian Anthropology Society, Quebec City, Quebec, May.
- Economic Citizenship and the End of Wage Labor. Workshop on Political Economy: Labor, Capital, and the State, Grassroots Economics Project (GRECO) of the European Research Council, University of Barcelona, March 9-11.
- 2014 What/Where is the Working Class? Mellon Humanities without Walls Seminar: Global Work and Community in the Midwest, Northwestern University.

- “You Didn’t Build That:” The Politics of Public Sector Work in the Aftermath of Fordism. Society for Cultural Anthropology, Detroit.
- 2013 Rethinking Economic Value in an Era of Market Fundamentalism. American Anthropological Association, Chicago.
- What Has Happened to the Labor Movement in Wisconsin? Mini-conference on “Austerity, Inequality, and Resistance in the Upper Midwest.” Hull House, Chicago.
- Connecting Micro and Macro through Ethnography. American Sociological Association Preconvention Workshop, NY, New York.
- Labor Markets and Welfare. Response in “Author Meets Critic” Session on *Both Hands Tied*, American Sociological Association, NY, New York.
- 2011 Connection and Difference in Global Circuits: New Configurations of Labor and Inequality. Presidential Address, Amer. Ethnological Soc., San Juan, PR
- Budget Protests and the “Politics of Austerity,” Amer. Ethnological Soc., San Juan, PR.
- The Impacts of the Budget Repair Bill on Wisconsin Women: Social Reproduction. Univ. of Wisconsin System Women’s Studies Consortium Conference.
- 2010 Walmart’s Haunted Aisles: Crisis, Profits and the Global Race to the Bottom. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., New Orleans.
- 2010 The Construction of “Citizenship’s Others” in the Labor Market. Amer. Sociological Assoc., Atlanta.
- 2009 Economic Citizenship and Welfare Reform. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Philadelphia.
- 2008 The Solitary Wage Bargain. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco.
- Confronting Runaway Firms through Transnational Labor Activism. Amer. Ethnological Soc., Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina.
- Neoliberal and Neoconservative Assaults on Labor: Examples from Aguascalientes and Milwaukee, Amer. Sociological Assoc. Mini-conference on Race, Labor & Empire, Boston.
- 2007 One Big Labor Market: The New Imperialism and Worker Vulnerability, Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- Welfare Reform and Worker Vulnerability in Place-Based Sectors: The U.S. Case. Work, Employment & Soc., Aberdeen, Scotland.
- 2006 The Inversion of the American Dream: Workfare and Poor Women’s Job Trajectories. Conference honoring Joan Smith: “Rethinking Political Economy: Class, Race, Gender

- and Nation. Burlington, Vermont.
Wal-Mart. Massachusetts Inst. of Technology Conference: What's Wrong with America?
- 2005 The Opposite of Fordism: Wal-Mart Hijacks a New Regime of Accumulation. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, DC.
- Gender, Labor and the Fight against Sweatshops. Plenary Panel: Using Feminist Research for Social Change, UW Women's Studies Consortium Conference.
- 2004 Struggles for Public Space under Neoliberalism. Wenner Gren conference on New Forms of Sovereignty, New York.
- Commodity Chains and the Global Village: Changing Relationships in Global Agriculture. Symposium in honor of Fred Buttel, Rural Sociological Soc..
- New Directions in Commodity Chain Analysis of Global Development Processes. Invited symposium: New Directions in Rural Sociology & Development, World Congress of Rural Sociology.
- 2003 Neoliberalism and Labor's Spaces. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- Ethnographies of Corporate Power. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- Race, Class and Southern Workers. Rural Sociological Soc., Montreal.
- Neoliberalism and Labor's Spaces: Labor Organizing under NAFTA's Side Agreements. Soc. for the Anthropology of North America/Canadian Anthropological Soc., Halifax.
- 2002 Chasing Capital: Multi-sited Ethnography in the Global Apparel Industry. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., New Orleans.
- Gender and Skill in the Globalizing Garment Industry. Harrington Symposium on Gender and Globalization, Univ. of Texas at Austin.
- 2001 Globalization is in the Details: Labor Markets in the Apparel Industry. Conference: Interrogating the Globalization Project, University of Iowa, Iowa City.
- 1998 Industrial Innovation and Control of the Working Day. 14th World Congress of the International Sociological Assoc., Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
- 1997 Gender and Permanent Contracts in Agriculture. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- 1995 Producing and Consuming Grapes in World Markets: Understanding the Connections. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- National Geographic* and the Cold War. Plenary Address to Annual Meeting of the Soc. for the History of Print Culture, Madison, Wisconsin (with Catherine Lutz).

- Tracing Social Relations in Commodity Chains: The Case of Brazilian Grapes. Soc. for Economic Anthropology, Santa Fe.
- Re-reading *National Geographic*. Conference on Visual Ethnography, Committee on Ethnographic Research, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder.
- 1994 Politics of Location in Development Research. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Atlanta.
- 1992 Gender, Contracts and Wage Work: Agricultural Restructuring in Brazil's São Francisco Valley. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco.
- Commentary. Conference on Population & Environment, Social Science Research Council, International Social Science Council, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, Morelos, Mexico.
- 1991 Production Relations in Irrigated Agriculture: Fruits and Vegetables in Brazil's São Francisco Valley. Conference: Globalization of the Fresh Fruit and Vegetable System, UC, Santa Cruz.
- 1990 Power and Identity in *National Geographic*. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., New Orleans (w/ Catherine Lutz).
- Marxism Confronts the Environment: Labor, Ecology and Environmental Change. Soc. for Economic Anthropology, Tucson.
- Unseasonal Migration: From the Andes to High Amazonia. Amer. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, New Orleans.
- 1989 An Intersection of Gazes: National Geographic Images and Cultural Identity, 1950-1986. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C. (w/ Catherine Lutz).
- Housework and Craftwork Within Capitalism. Soc. for Economic Anthropology, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.
- Resistance and the Semi-proletarian Lifestyle. Conference: The Role of History in Local Expressions of Contemporary Resistance in the Andes, Toronto.
- 1988 Class Formation and Semi-Proletarianization in the Andes. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Phoenix, Arizona.
- Labor Outside Value. Conference on "The Political Economy of the Margins," Canadian Social Science Research Council, Toronto.
- Anthropologists and Statistics in Development-Related Research. Soc. for Applied Anthropology, Tampa.
- 1987 Finding Ourselves in the Field: Images of Andean Women. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- 1985 Gender, Labor Markets and Peasant Production in Southern Peru. Amer.

Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.

- Expressions of Ethnic Identity in a Changing Economy: The Tawantinsuyu Uprising of Southern Peru. Amer. Ethnological Soc., Toronto.
- 1984 Family Development Cycles & Seasonal Migration. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Tucson.
- 1983 The Structure of the Domestic Unit Among the Aymara. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- 1982 Vertical Resource Use and Economic Development in Southern Peru. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- 1981 Translation Traditions and the Organization of Productive Activity: The Case of Aymara Affinal Kinship Terms. Keynote Symposium, Southern Anthropological Soc., Fort Worth.
- 1979 A Reconsideration of Phonological Play. Southern Anthropological Soc., Memphis, Tennessee (winner, Student Paper Competition).

INVITED LECTURES

- 2017 Degrowth and Economic Measurement. Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Earth Day Conference, University of Wisconsin, Madison
- Ethnographic Case Studies, Law & Society Fellows Program, University of Wisconsin, Madison
- Feminist Methodology in the Twenty-first Century, Department of Sociology, University of Texas, Austin
- 2015 Economic Citizenship in an Era of Inequality, Indiana University East, Spring Diversity Series Lecture.
- Women and the New Economy, Indiana University Women's & Gender Studies Undergraduate Conference Keynote Speaker.
- 2014 Dilemmas of Economic Value. Rockefeller Center at Bellagio.
- 2013 Labor Justice in the Food Chain. Food Week, Madison, Wisconsin.
- After Welfare: The Solitary Wage Bargain. Dept. of Anthropology, Northwestern Univ.
- Are Public Employees the New Women? Rethinking Market Value in the Context of the Wisconsin Protests. Anthropology Dept. Spring Colloquium, UW-Milwaukee.
- 2011 The Mysteries of Commodities: A Feminist Approach to Studying Commodity Chains in the World System. Keynote Address, conference on "Gender, Households and Global Commodity Chains," Fernand Braudel Center,

Binghamton Univ.

Reconfiguring the Social Contract: What Welfare Changes Mean for Low-Wage Labor. 2011 Distinguished Lecture, UW-Milwaukee Sociology Dept.

Reconfiguring the Social Contract: What Welfare Changes Mean for Low-Wage Labor. Univ of Minnesota Sociology Dept.

2010 Welfare Reform and the Race to the Bottom in the Low-Wage Labor Market: Implications for Public Health, UW-Madison Dept. of Population Health.

2009 Does Capitalism Have a Race and Gender? Debate with David Harvey, Middlebury College.

2008 Comparing the Race to the Bottom in Manufacturing and Services, Dept. of Sociology, Univ of Montana.

One Big Labor Market? Reflections from Aguascalientes and Milwaukee, Munz Center for International Studies, Univ. of Toronto.

2006 Do Commodity Chains Have a Theory? Depts. of Anthropology and Sociology, Univ of Kentucky.

The Specter of Slavery: Workfare and the Economic Citizenship of Poor Women. School of Amer. Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Gender, Labor, Activism: Ethnographic Research on the Global Apparel Industry. Dept. of Women's Studies, Emory Univ.

2005 Gender, Labor and Commodity Chains in the New Global Economy. Dept. of Sociology and Gender Studies Program, Northwestern Univ.

Mothers' Family Networks & Livelihood. UW Inst. for Research on Poverty Seminar Series: Marriage, Poverty and Public Policy, October.

2004 Gender, Labor, Activism: Ethnographic Research in the Global Apparel Industry, Center for Research in Gender and Women's Studies, Univ of Florida.

Gender and the Globalization of the Apparel Industry. Presentation to conference: "A New World of Work," Cultural Studies Program, George Mason Univ.

Gender, Sweatshops, Activism. Department of Anthropology, Northwestern Univ.

2003 Untangling Commodity Chains Using Multi-sited Ethnography. Rural Sociology Department Seminar, Univ of Wisconsin.

Rumpelstiltskin and the Maiden: Gender and Skill in History and Political Economy. Mellon Women's History Workshop, Univ of Wisconsin.

2002 Threads of Gender and Power: Women Workers in the Global Apparel Industry.

Women's Studies Research Center Colloquium, Univ of Wisconsin.

"What Work Is:" Gender and New Forms of Community Unionism among Apparel Workers. Gender Studies Program, Northwestern Univ.

1996 Figuring Out What We Have a Case of: Qualitative Methodology and Links to Theory. Conference on Ethnographic and Qualitative Methods in Population Research. Carolina Population Center & Andrew Mellon Foundation. Univ of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

1993 Tending Vineyards for the World: Can Brazilian Small Farms Participate in the Non-traditional Export Crop Boom? Department of Anthropology, Univ of Pittsburgh.

Luxury Fruits for World Markets: Production Relations in Northeastern Brazil. Department of Anthropology, Emory Univ.

From Desert to Vineyard: The Social Relations of Irrigated Grape Production in Northeastern Brazil. Latin American and Iberian Studies Program, Univ of Wisconsin.

1991 Time, Work Discipline and Irrigated Agriculture: Gender and Labor Process in Brazil's California. Departments of Sociology and Women's Studies, Univ of Wisconsin.

1990 Unseasonal Migration: Labor Process and the Environment. Rural Sociology, Cornell.

Marxism Confronts the Environment. Columbia Univ Ecology Seminar.

1989 Cultural Models of Cultural Difference: Images of the Third World in *National Geographic* 1950-1986. Fernand Braudel Center, SUNY-Binghamton.

Experience, Difference and Women's Lives: Feminism and Sociocultural Anthropology. Department of Anthropology, Hunter College, CUNY.

1988 Family Farming in the Andes. Latin American Studies Program, Cornell Univ.

1987 Commentary. Conference on Racism and Sexism in the World Economy. Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Political Economy of the World System Section, American Sociological Assoc.

1986 Irrigation and the Outer Environment. International Agriculture Program, Cornell Univ.

1985 Labor Dynamics, Producer Decisions and Cycles of Environmental Decline. Paper presented to workshop: "Lands at Risk in the Third World: Local Level Perspectives." Inst. for Development Anthropology/Clark Univ.

The Environmental Effects of Social Differentiation. Center for Human Ecology, Rutgers.

1984 The Impact of Wage Labor and Cash Cropping on Aymara Communities. Department of Anthropology/Latin American Studies Program, Cornell Univ.

Land Tenure, Institutional Factors and Producer Decisions on Fragile Lands. Land

Tenure Common Theme Workshop, USAID/University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center, Annapolis.

Colonization and Smallholder Coffee Production on the Steep Slopes of the Eastern Andes. Colloquium, Center for Latin American Studies, Univ. of Florida.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Offices Held in Professional Associations:

2009-2011	President, American Ethnological Society
2007-2009	President Elect, American Ethnological Society
1989-91	President, Association for Feminist Anthropology
1986-89	Councilor, Society for Latin American Anthropology

Member: American Sociological Assoc., American Anthropological Assoc., American Ethnological Soc., Rural Sociological Soc., Sociologists for Women in Soc., Labor and Labor Movements section of ASA, Soc. for Latin American Anthropology, Assoc. for Feminist Anthropology, National Women's Studies Assoc., Soc. for Economic Anthropology

Editorial Work: Editorial Board, *American Ethnologist*, 2011-present; *North American Dialogue*, 2008-present; *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 1995-2000; *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 1999-01; editorial advisory board for series on "Economic Transformations," Agenda Publishing, UK. 2016-

Book Prize Committees: Labor and Labor Movements Section Prize (ASA); Senior Book Prize Committee (AES); Sarah Whaley Prize (NWSA).

Review committees for: Center for Engaged Scholarship, National Science Foundation, Wenner Gren Foundation, National Geographic Soc., Howard Heinz Endowment, Inter-American Foundation.

Sessions, panels and conferences organized:

2016	Anthropology and the Politics of the Public Sphere, American Anthropological Association, Minneapolis
2011	Perspectives on the Budget Crisis in Wisconsin and Puerto Rico. American Ethnological Soc., San Juan, PR
2009	Labor Studies for the Twenty-first Century. Speakers Series, UW Havens Center, (w/ Will Jones).
2008	New Landscapes of Inequality. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco. The Prospects for Global Citizenship, Amer. Ethnological Soc., Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina.
2006	New Landscapes of Inequality. School of Advanced Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico. (w/ Micaela di Leonardo and Brett Williams)
2005	Qualitative Approaches to the Study of Poverty and Welfare Reform, Inst. for Research

- on Poverty, UW March 4-5.
- 2004 Trademark Licensing and Code of Conduct Compliance, co-organized for UW Labor Licensing Policy Committee, March 24-25.
- 2002 Labor in the Global Economy. Speaker Series. UW Havens Center (w/ Gay Seidman).
- 1998 Work & the Life Cycle. Invited session, 14th World Congress of Sociology, Montreal.
- Work time Flexibility in International Perspective, conference sponsored by Global Studies Program/MacArthur Foundation, UW.
- 1992 Local Impacts of Agricultural Restructuring, Invited session, Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco (w/ Lois Stanford).
- 1990 Social Science Perspectives on Environmental Management, for the Amer. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, New Orleans.
- 1988 Invited session: "Conceptualizing Inequality: Class, Gender and Ethnicity in the Andes" for the Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Phoenix.
- Soc. for Latin Amer. Anthropology Roundtable Luncheons, Annual Meeting, Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Phoenix.
- 1985-88 Co-organizer, Human Rights Panel, Soc. for Latin Amer. Anthropology, 84th-87th Annual Meetings of the Amer. Anthropological Assoc..
- 1985 Soc. for Latin Amer. Anthropology session: "Labor Processes and Domestic Production in Latin America," Annual Meeting of the Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington. D.C.

Courses Taught (University of Wisconsin)

CESoc 955: Seminar in Qualitative Methodology: Case Study Research
 CESoc 940: Seminar in Social Change: Commodities in the Global Economy
 CESoc 925: Labor in the Global Economy
 CESoc 754: Qualitative Methods in Sociology
 CE Soc 540: International Development, Environment and Sustainability
 CE Soc 341: Labor and Food Systems in the Global Economy
 CE Soc 340: Critical Approaches to Food Systems
 CE Soc 140: Introduction to Community & Environmental Sociology
 GWS 320: Feminism and Consumer Culture.
 GWS 441: Contemporary Feminist Theory
 GWS 640, Advanced Seminar in Women's Studies
 GWS 880, Introduction to Graduate Women's Studies
 GWS 900, Research in Women's Studies.

Currently chairing 11 Ph.D. committees and 1 Master's committee. In 2016, I served as a member of 33 additional Ph.D. and Master's committees. I have served on the committees of students from 20 departments and programs across the university.

Selected University of Wisconsin Service

Social Studies Divisional Committee, 1995-97 (Chair, 1997)
L&S Financial Emergency Planning Committee, 1995-97
Graduate School Research Committee (Social Studies), 1997-99
Labor Licensing Policies Committee, 1999-2013
University Academic Planning Council, 2000-04
Chair, Land Resources Program Review Committee, 2002
Selection Committee, Associate Dean of Graduate School, 2002
Advisory Committee for Evaluating the Cluster Hiring Initiative, 2002-03
Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, Social Sciences, 2002-05
Inst. for Research on Poverty Executive Committee, 2006-present
Development Studies Program Executive Committee 2006-2011
Provost's Committee to Evaluate the Tenure Process, 2008-10
Latin American Caribbean and Iberian Studies Nave Lectureship Committee 2010-12
World Affairs and the Global Economy (WAGE) Steering Committee, 2009-2010
Chair, Land Tenure Center Review Committee, 2010
Gaylord Nelson Professorship Selection Committee, 2013
Graduate School Research Committee (Interdisciplinary), 2013
Selection Committee for Named Professorships, 2015-
Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, Social Sciences, 2016-

EXHIBIT B

Exhibit B: Round-Trip Distance (in miles) to Nearest Clinic Providing Medication Abortion and Nearest Clinic Providing Surgical Abortion for Iowa Counties (only those 70 counties here the distance is greater are listed)

	County	Closest Clinic for MAB	Closest Clinic for SAB	Additional Miles
1.	Adams	164 CB	178 DM	14
2.	Allamakee	196 CF	262 IC	66
3.	Audubon	152 CB	174 DM	22
4.	Benton	84 CF	114 IC	20
5.	Black Hawk	18 CF	164 IC	146
6.	Boone	52 A	116 DM	64
7.	Bremer	48 CF	208 IC	160
8.	Buchanan	64 CF	134 IC	70
9.	Buena Vista	148 SC	314 DM	166
10.	Butler	170 CF	224 DM	54
11.	Calhoun	158 A	220 DM	62
12.	Carroll	132 A	180 DM	48
13.	Cass	104 CB	182 DM	78
14.	Cerro Gordo	156 CF	240 DM	84
15.	Cherokee	106 SC	374 DM	268
16.	Chickasaw	92 CF	152 IC	60
17.	Clay	186 SC	378 DM	192
18.	Clayton	180 CF	198 IC	18
19.	Clinton	54 BT	142 IC	88
20.	Crawford	144 CB	264 DM	120
21.	Davis	164 BR	228 DM	64
22.	Delaware	112 CF	132 IC	20
23.	Des Moines	18 BR	144 IC	126
24.	Dickinson	218 SC	416 DM	198
25.	Emmett	260 SC	356 DM	96
26.	Fayette	112 CF	204 IC	92
27.	Floyd	108 CF	280 DM	172
28.	Franklin	118 CF	176 DM	58
29.	Fremont	90 CB	340 DM	250
30.	Greene	108 A	152 DM	44
31.	Grundy	52 CF	166 DM	114
32.	Hamilton	60 A	63 DM	33
33.	Hancock	160 A	216 DM	56
34.	Hardin	104 CF	164 DM	60
35.	Harrison	72 CB	258 DM	186
36.	Henry	78 BR	102 IC	24
37.	Howard	142 CF	302 IC	160
38.	Humboldt	176 A	230 DM	54
39.	Ida	116 SC	310 DM	194
40.	Jackson	110 BT	198 IC	88
41.	Jefferson	106 BR	124 IC	18
42.	Lee	52 BR	144 IC	218
43.	Lyon	238 SC	536 DM	298
44.	Marshall	80 A	100 DM	20

45. Mills	56 CB	274 DM	218
46. Mitchell	150 CF	308 DM	158
47. Monona	90 SC	308 DM	218
48. Montgomery	102 CB	238 DM	136
49. O'Brien	66 SC	210 DM	144
50. Osceola	170 SC	460 DM	290
51. Page	146 CB	266 DM	120
52. Palo Alto	254 SC	326 DM	72
53. Plymouth	26 SC	225 DM	199
54. Pocahontas	200 SC	270 DM	70
55. Pottawattamie	54 CB	214 DM	160
56. Sac	146 SC	300 DM	154
57. Scott	26 BT	106 IC	80
58. Shelby	104 CB	218 DM	114
59. Sioux	92 SC	490 DM	398
60. Story	24 A	74 DM	50
61. Tama	66 CF	160 DM	94
62. Taylor	194 CB	204 DM	10
63. Van Buren	110 BR	180 IC	70
64. Wapello	158 BR	180 DM	28
65. Webster	110 A	170 DM	60
66. Winnebago	234 A	290 DM	56
67. Winneshiek	146 CF	256 IC	110
68. Woodbury	60 SC	352 DM	292
69. Worth	200 A	256 DM	56
70. Wright	114 A	170 DM	56

A = Ames

BR = Burlington

BT = Bettendorf

CB = Council Bluff

CF = Cedar Falls

DM = Des Moines

IC = Iowa City

SC = Sioux City

EXHIBIT C

PLANNED PARENTHOOD OF THE
HEARTLAND, INC. and
JILL MEADOWS, M.D.,
Petitioners,
vs.
KIMBERLY REYNOLDS ex rel.
STATE OF IOWA and IOWA
BOARD OF MEDICINE,
Respondents.

LAW NO. EQCE081503
TRANSCRIPT OF BENCH TRIAL
Volume II of II
July 18, 2017

The above-entitled matter came on for bench trial
before the Honorable Jeffrey D. Farrell, reconvening at
9:04 a.m. on Tuesday, July 18, 2017, at the Polk County
Courthouse, Des Moines, Iowa.

Josie R. Johnson, CSR, RPR
Official Court Reporter
Room 304, Polk County Courthouse
Des Moines, IA 50309
josie.johnson@iowacourts.gov

PETITIONER'S WITNESSES

PAGE

DANIEL GROSSMAN	4
Cross-Examination By Mr. Thompson	
Redirect Examination By Ms. Clapman	92
Recross Examination By Mr. Thompson	96
JANE COLLINS	
Direct Examination By Ms. Salgado	97
Voir Dire Examination By Mr. Thompson	103
Cont. Direct Examination By Ms. Salgado	104
Cross-Examination By Mr. Thompson	150
Redirect Examination By Ms. Salgado	181
SUSAN WING LIPINSKI	
Direct Examination By Ms. Clapman	182
Cross-Examination By Mr. Ogden	211

EXHIBITS

PETITIONER'S EXHIBITS		OFFERED	RECEIVED
71	Iowa OB/GYN provider data	189	189
75	Melissa Bird transcript	220	220
RESPONDENT'S EXHIBITS		OFFERED	RECEIVED
N	Dr. walker deposition	219	220
Exhibits A through H withdrawn			220

A P P E A R A N C E S

For Petitioners: ALICE CLAPMAN
DIANA SALGADO
Attorneys at Law
1110 Vermont Avenue, NW, Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20005

MAITHREYI RATAKONDA
Attorney at Law
123 William Street, Ninth Floor
New York, NY 10038

RITA BETTIS
Attorney at Law
505 Fifth Avenue, Suite 901
Des Moines, IA 50309-2316

For Respondents: JEFFREY THOMPSON
Solicitor General of Iowa
THOMAS OGDEN
Assistant Attorney General
1305 East Walnut Street
Des Moines, IA 50319

P R O C E E D I N G S

(The bench trial reconvened at 9:04 a.m. on
Tuesday, July 18, 2017.)

THE COURT: Good morning, everyone. Welcome back
to the courtroom. We're ready to proceed with day two of
the trial of Planned Parenthood of the Heartland vs, I
guess now, Kimberly Reynolds et al., and we have
Dr. Grossman back on the stand.

DANIEL GROSSMAN,

called as a witness, having been previously duly sworn by
the Court, was examined and testified as follows:

THE COURT: Good morning. You remain under oath
from yesterday, and we're ready to proceed with
cross-examination.

Was there any follow-up that you needed as far as
direct --

MS. CLAPMAN: No.

THE COURT: -- before we start cross? All right.
Very good.

Mr. Thompson.

MR. THOMPSON: Thank you, Your Honor.

CROSS-EXAMINATION

BY MR. THOMPSON:

Q. Good morning, Dr. Grossman.

A. Hi.

testimony. If someone can help you out of there, you'll be free to leave.

Next witness?

MS. SALGADO: Yes, Your Honor. Petitioner calls Dr. Collins.

THE COURT: Dr. Collins, will you raise your right hand, please.

JANE COLLINS,

called as a witness, having been first duly sworn by the Court, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MS. SALGADO:

Q. Good morning, Dr. Collins. Thank you for waiting patiently outside.

A. No problem.

Q. Can you please state and spell your name for the record?

A. Jane Collins. J-a-n-e. C-o-l-l-i-n-s.

Q. Can you please turn to Tab No. 8 in the binder in front of you?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recognize this document?

A. I do.

Q. What is it?

A. It's my curriculum vitae.

A. Yes.

Q. When was that?

A. From 1992 until 2000.

Q. What professional degrees do you hold?

A. I received a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Florida in 1981. Do you want me to continue?

Q. Yes. Go ahead.

A. I received a master's degree in Latin American studies from the University of Florida in 1978 and a bachelor's degree in anthropology from the University of Virginia in 1976.

Q. What field has been the focus of your career?

A. My research specializations are in low wage -- the study of low-wage labor, poverty, and gender.

Q. Do you teach on the topics of gender and poverty at the University of Wisconsin?

A. I do.

Q. Do you teach undergraduate and graduate courses?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you conduct any research?

A. I do.

Q. Can you tell the Court about the research that you do?

A. So I do research on these topics, and very

Q. Did you prepare it?

A. I did.

Q. Is the information on that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Dr. Collins, I don't want to spend too much time on credentials given the Court has your CV, but I would like to briefly highlight your professional history for the Court. You are currently a professor in community environmental sociology; is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Where is that?

A. University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Q. How long have you held that position?

A. I've held that position since 2000.

Q. And you're also a faculty affiliate with the institute for research on poverty; is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. And is that also at the University of Wisconsin?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you also a faculty affiliate at the Robert M. Lafollete School of Public Affairs?

A. Yes.

Q. And is that also at the University?

A. It is.

Q. Have you previously held appointments in the

frequently that research involves the study of the livelihood strategies of low-wage workers. I've done research on this topic funded by the National Science Foundation, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and state departments of Work Force Development both in the U.S. and in Latin America.

I've studied the household livelihood strategies of farm families within the U.S. and in Latin America, agricultural wage workers, garment workers, and low-wage service sector workers. In the early part of my career, it was mostly in Latin America, but for the past 20 years, most of my work has been in the Upper Midwest.

Q. You've mentioned the term "livelihood strategies." Can you explain that a little bit more?

A. It refers to the study of -- at the household level not macro level, but at the household level of how families gain income and how they allocate resources and how they make economic decisions.

Q. Have you done any research on the livelihood strategies of low-income women?

A. I have.

Q. Have you authored any publications specifically on women and poverty?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you highlight a little bit of the

1 publications you have authored?

2 **A.** So I wrote a book that was published in 2010

3 called *Both Hands Tied* published by the University of

4 Chicago Press. In that book I was -- it started because I

5 was asked by a Department of Workforce Development to look

6 at -- to look at women who were transitioning from welfare

7 to work and to look at factors that allowed some women to

8 make that transition fairly successfully and others not so

9 much. So I interviewed a scientifically selected sample of

10 women about their work histories, their family histories,

11 their histories of social service use, their economic

12 decision making, and the results of that were the book

13 *Both Hands Tied*.

14 **Q.** Other than that book, have you authored any other

15 publications on -- any other publications?

16 **A.** I would say that of the five books that I have

17 written, four of them have to do with poverty or low-wage

18 labor. Of the four books that I have edited, three, and

19 about half of the peer-reviewed journal articles and book

20 chapters that I have authored.

21 **Q.** And about how many in total articles have you

22 authored?

23 **A.** Fifty or more.

24 **Q.** Were any of those in peer-review journals?

25 **A.** Yes. I'm counting the ones that were.

2 on issues of gender and women in poverty?

3 **A.** Yes, it has.

4 **Q.** Other than the research that you conduct, the

5 teaching and mentoring at the university, do you do any

6 additional work on the issue of gender and poverty?

7 **A.** I do. I regularly present papers at professional

8 meetings. I'm often invited to give talks at other

9 universities and research institutes. I peer-review

10 manuscripts for university presses and articles for

11 journals. Sometimes I do radio or print media interviews

12 on the topic.

13 **MS. SALGADO:** Your Honor, petitioners move to

14 qualify Dr. Collins as an expert in the areas of poverty,

15 gender, and low-wage work?

16 **THE COURT:** Any objection?

17 **MR. THOMPSON:** Can I take her just briefly in

18 voir dire?

19 **THE COURT:** You may.

20 VOIR DIRE EXAMINATION

21 **BY MR. THOMPSON:**

22 **Q.** Doctor, I just want to clarify a couple of

23 things. You've talked about the Wisconsin study that you

24 did; right?

25 **A.** Yes.

1 **Q.** Have you ever received any special recognition

2 for your work?

3 **A.** I have. Just this spring the University of

4 Wisconsin, Madison, honored me with a named professorship

5 in recognition of the quality and impact of my research.

6 In 2015, I received a Hilldale Award from the university

7 which is given to one social scientist each year for the

8 quality of their research. And the book that I just

9 mentioned, *Both Hands Tied*, won a variety of awards: Two

10 from the American Sociological Association, one, I think,

11 the outstanding book on poverty and the outstanding book on

12 labor for that year. And it won the Sarah Whaley Prize of

13 the National Women's Studies Association.

14 **Q.** You mentioned that you teach graduate courses.

15 Do you do any mentoring of graduate students?

16 **A.** I do.

17 **Q.** Are those Ph.D. students?

18 **A.** Yes. I have mentored, I think, 39 Ph.D. students

19 over the course of my career.

20 **Q.** What does that involve?

21 **A.** It involves helping students figure out what

22 they're interested in, plan their coursework, develop an

23 idea for research, write a proposal for funding, plan a

24 research, conduct it, and write the results up in a

25 dissertation.

1 **Q.** Have you done any study in Iowa on Iowa women?

2 **A.** No.

3 **Q.** Have you done any research relating to Iowa women

4 seeking abortions? So the broader question was Iowa women

5 in general. This is more specific, would be, to Iowa

6 women.

7 **A.** Are you asking if I have done research for the

8 purposes of this case or published research?

9 **Q.** Well, any dealing with populations of Iowa women.

10 **A.** No.

11 **MR. THOMPSON:** No further questions.

12 **THE COURT:** Do you have any objection to the

13 request by the plaintiff?

14 **MR. THOMPSON:** No, Your Honor.

15 CONTINUED DIRECT EXAMINATION

16 **BY MS. SALGADO:**

17 **Q.** Dr. Collins, are you familiar with the law that's

18 being challenged in this case?

19 **A.** Yes.

20 **Q.** And what do you understand the law to require?

21 **A.** I understand it to require that a woman receive

22 an ultrasound according to some specific provisions that

23 are in the Act, that she receive some blood testing, that

24 she receive certain information based on her medical

25 history, that she certify to all these things, that they

1 were done, and that she wait 72 hours after that to
2 see a clinician to receive an abortion.

3 Q. Other than the ultrasound, are there any other
4 services you understand a woman to need before she can
5 provide the required certification?

6 A. I do understand that she would need blood tests
7 so that she could be given information in accordance to her
8 medical history.

9 Q. But you're not offering an opinion as to whether
10 that's necessary; correct?

11 A. No. No.

12 Q. Can you turn to Exhibit -- let's start with
13 Exhibit 13 in the binder in front of you.

14 A. Okay.

15 Q. Do you recognize this?

16 A. I do.

17 Q. What is this?

18 A. This is my expert report in the case.

19 Q. And turn to Exhibit 15. Do you recognize this?

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. What is that?

22 A. That's my rebuttal report for the case.

23 Q. And do these documents accurately reflect your
24 opinions in this case?

25 A. They do.

2 Q. What is the federal poverty threshold?

3 A. The federal poverty threshold is a measure of
4 what's needed to survive. It is a -- if you want to know
5 the exact number right now, it's at \$12,060 for an
6 individual with an additional \$4,180 for every other
7 household member. But it is a measure that was developed
8 in the 1960s and it's -- many scholars believe that that's
9 out of date.

10 Q. And so what would be the poverty threshold for a
11 family of two?

12 A. 6 -- 4,100 plus 12,060; something over \$16,000.

13 Q. And to be clear, a family of two could mean one
14 parent and one child; is that correct?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. Is there another formula that you believe
17 accurately reflects the amount of income a person or family
18 needs to survive on their own?

19 A. Well, many poverty scholars -- given the fact
20 that the poverty threshold makes assumptions that don't
21 give the proper weight to housing and medical care, in
22 fact, it doesn't include the cost of medical care at all or
23 cost of childcare, it's not regionally specific, and it
24 doesn't include things like utilities -- they have
25 suggested that a more accurate measure of what is needed

1 Q. Dr. Collins, are you offering an opinion about
2 the impact of this Act?

3 A. Yes, I am.

4 Q. What is that opinion?

5 A. Based on my 30 years of research on poverty, I
6 believe that the Act is going to cause financial,
7 logistical, and emotional stress and challenges for women
8 living at or near the poverty line. I believe that it's
9 going to cause women to skimp on food and other basic
10 necessities for themselves and their families, to leave
11 bills unpaid, to take on debt that they can't afford in
12 order to comply with the requirements of the Act.

13 Some women in the process of doing this are going
14 to be delayed in getting an abortion that they seek, and it
15 may push them past the point where a medication abortion is
16 possible and then require them to get a more costly and
17 complicated surgical abortion. Some women, having tried to
18 pull together what's needed when all is said and done will
19 not be able to, and they will not be able to get the
20 abortion that they desire and will carry to term a
21 pregnancy that they would not have otherwise done.

22 Q. Are your opinions focused on a specific
23 population of women?

24 A. Right. I'm looking at the population of women at
25 or near the poverty line. So, basically, up to 200 percent

1 would be 200 percent of the federal poverty threshold. And
2 those scholars refer to people living under 100 percent of
3 the threshold as poor and people living between 1 and
4 200 percent as low income.

5 Q. And do you know what percentage of individuals in
6 Iowa are considered poor?

7 A. Below 100 percent in the poverty threshold. In
8 my report I said it was 12.5 percent based on 2015 data,
9 but that's gone down to 12.2 percent in 2016.

10 Q. Where does that data come from?

11 A. The U.S. Census Bureau.

12 Q. So what percentage of individuals in Iowa are
13 poor or low income?

14 A. 27 percent.

15 Q. What is that figure based on?

16 A. That's -- where does it come from?

17 Q. Yes.

18 A. It comes from the Kaiser Family Foundation.

19 Q. What is the Kaiser Family Foundation?

20 A. The Kaiser Family Foundation is a nonprofit
21 research organization that's focused on healthcare. It's
22 widely known as one of the best sources of healthcare data
23 for research.

24 Q. Is that data that poverty experts regularly rely
25 upon?

1 **A.** Yes.

2 **Q.** Are poverty rates in the United States the same

3 for men and women?

4 **A.** No, they're not.

5 **Q.** Do you know what percentage of women in Iowa are

6 in poverty?

7 **A.** 13 point -- according to the U.S. Census Bureau,

8 13.7 percent of women compared to 11.3 percent of men; yes.

9 **Q.** And as I understand your previous testimony, the

10 13.7 figure applies to women who are poor, meaning at or

11 below 100 percent of poverty?

12 **A.** Yes. That's the 100 percent level.

13 **Q.** So would you expect that figure to be higher for

14 poor or -- poor or low income?

15 **A.** Low income. Right. We would, but I don't know

16 what that number is right now.

17 **Q.** So we've talked about poverty rates for women in

18 general. How do these compare to poverty rates among women

19 seeking abortion?

20 **A.** Well, we know that women -- that women at or near

21 poverty line have rates for unintended pregnancy and

22 abortion that are higher than for the population as a

23 whole. So the national level data tells us that 49 percent

24 of women seeking an abortion are below 100 percent of the

25 federal poverty line, and another 26 percent are between

2 develop an empirically verified set of inputs and outputs,

3 or income and expenditures, and then you use empirically

4 verified data on consumer prices and social service program

5 amounts and eligibility to assign values to those inputs

6 and outputs.

7 **MS. SALGADO:** Your Honor, I'm going to pull out a

8 demonstrative exhibit, Petitioner's Demonstrative Exhibit

9 No. 56.

10 **THE COURT:** That's fine. We just have a few

11 minutes before lunch. If you can get through that in four

12 minutes or so, that would be fine. But if you want to

13 wait, we can maybe consider taking that up after lunch. Up

14 to you.

15 **MS. SALGADO:** I think it would make more sense,

16 because it's going to start going through the whole budget.

17 **THE COURT:** This would probably be a good time to

18 break for lunch, then, so why don't we do that. And we'll

19 be back. Tell you what, let's go off record.

20 (A discussion was held off the record.)

21 (The bench trial recessed at 11:59 a.m.)

22 (The bench trial resumed at 1:29 p.m.)

23 **THE COURT:** When you're ready.

24 **Q.** Can you see this, Dr. Collins?

25 **A.** Not really.

Q. Not really?

1 1 and 200 percent for a total of 75 percent of women

2 seeking abortion being poor or low income.

3 **Q.** In your initial expert report you constructed

4 several households budgets; is that correct?

5 **A.** I did.

6 **Q.** Okay. And we'll take a look at those in a

7 minute. But what is the purpose of creating that household

8 budget?

9 **A.** Okay. Household budget modeling is a technique,

10 an analytical technique, that's been around since the

11 19th Century. It's really frequently used by government

12 agencies at all levels -- federal, state, and local -- for

13 a number of -- to do policy analysis in a number of ways.

14 So it's used -- it's always used to calculate the minimum

15 wage. It's often used when -- to set benefit levels,

16 eligibility levels, and benefit amounts for programs like

17 the earned income tax credit or childcare subsidies or food

18 stamps. So it's a way of giving policy makers a window

19 into conditions on the ground that are a particular income

20 level.

21 I can tell you how it's done, if you want.

22 **Q.** Sure.

23 **A.** Okay. So it's pretty simple. You choose a

24 region and you choose a time period, and then you decide

25 what income level you want to look at. And then you

1 **THE COURT:** If you need to leave the witness

2 stand, you can do that.

3 **THE WITNESS:** Do you want me to move over there

4 or --

5 **Q.** Any better?

6 **A.** I think I can see that now. Okay.

7 **Q.** All right. Dr. Collins, I put up what is

8 Petitioner's Demonstrative Exhibit 56. Do you recognize

9 this?

10 **A.** Yes.

11 **Q.** What is it?

12 **A.** This is a -- these are two sample monthly budgets

13 that I developed to give an idea of what income and

14 expenditures are like for families living at the poverty

15 line or below.

16 **MR. THOMPSON:** I was going to say that she could

17 open the book to 56 and then she could see it, if it would

18 help.

19 I was trying to read down to the bottom.

20 **Q.** So you can also, if it makes it easier, turn

21 to -- it's Exhibit 13.

22 **MR. THOMPSON:** Or Exhibit 56.

23 **MS. SALGADO:** Oh, yeah. Jeff is right. We made

24 a separate exhibit. Exhibit 56.

25 **MR. THOMPSON:** There we go.

All right. Got it.

Q. Okay. So this is a sample monthly budget. Is that what you said?

A. Yes. For families living just about at the poverty line, slightly below. And the first budget includes -- it models a family that's receiving all available social services, and the second budget models a family that's not receiving those essential services. So it kind of brackets the possibilities for a family in this situation.

Q. Okay. So let's go over the first example. And that's a one-parent, one-child household; is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Okay. And is there a reason you focused on a one-parent, one-child household?

A. Because data indicated that the majority of women seeking abortion are unmarried and have at least one child.

Q. And --

A. Do you want me -- national data show both of those things. The data for Iowa confirms the information about unmarried -- women being unmarried. The vital statistics reports show us that. The information about having at least one child, I was relying on national statistics.

A. Well, partly because I was interested in

understanding the experiences of women who are living at or near the poverty line. And a minimum wage job, full-time, year-round, yields about \$4,500 in income, which is below the federal poverty line for a two-person household. So that's why I decided to do that.

Q. Okay. And are the estimates here for the monthly expenses in this budget, are they specific to the state of Iowa?

A. Most of them are. There are a couple of places where I couldn't find Iowa data.

Q. So let's go through the budget and go through the expenses one by one. For rent, you're estimating \$845; is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. What is that based on?

A. That's based on data from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. They develop what they call fair market rent estimates or fair market rents for many metropolitan areas around the country, and they have them for the state of Iowa. Fair market rent in the 40th percentile of what's called typical unsubsidized housing, and what that means is that if you made a list of all the rents in a region from highest to lowest, when you

Q. So broadly speaking, we'll go in in detail, but this monthly budget, this includes the expenses; is that correct?

A. I'm afraid -- maybe we need to take that down, then, and I will just rely on this, because I have a hearing deficit; and I lip read, and I can't see your mouth.

Q. Oh. I'm sorry.

A. Well --

Q. That's fine. You can completely read from the exhibit that's in the binder.

A. Okay.

THE COURT: I have the exhibit up here, so I don't need to see it.

MS. SALGADO: All right.

A. All right. Could you repeat that, please.

Q. Sure. The monthly budget -- let's start with the first one. This includes expenses in a household budget; is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. And have you calculated a certain -- it looks like here it says a full-time, year-round, minimum wage job; is that right?

A. Yes. I used that as a basis for my example.

Q. You may have said this already, I apologize. Why

went up to the 40th percentile, that's the fair market rent. But that varies a lot across the state.

So Des Moines has one of the higher fair market rents for the state of Iowa. Ames has one of the lower. So I tried to take the median. I chose a city that was the midpoint, cedar Falls, which the fair market rent there was \$845 for a two-bedroom unit, which are what a woman with a child would need.

Q. So next you calculated \$200 for car payment and related expenses; is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. What is that estimate based on?

A. That's based on a used car, a pretty old car. And I base this on my own research on poverty in the Upper Midwest, data that I brothered, and in my experience, it doesn't vary a lot from place to place as a cost.

Q. So let's keep going. And what's the next expense that you're calculating in this house?

A. Utilities, and I calculated \$150. This would include some form of heat as well as electricity, as well as water and sewage. I realize that some women may not pay utilities. It may be included in their rent, but for those who do, I think this is a very conservative estimate given how cold Iowa winters are and how warm the summer can be.

Q. And then what's next on your budget?

1 **A.** Food, \$212, which is the amount that a family
 2 would pay after receiving \$100 in SNAP or food stamp
 3 benefits.
 4 **Q.** Maybe you just said that, but what are SNAP
 5 benefits?
 6 **A.** Food stamps.
 7 **Q.** So next you calculated \$248 a month for child --
 8 **A.** Do you want me to say if that's Iowa specific?
 9 **Q.** Sure. Go ahead.
 10 **A.** The food -- the amount that I calculated for food
 11 is based on the U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates,
 12 and it's national. They develop a set of four household
 13 food budgets on four different levels, and this is the
 14 lowest estimate. I think they call it, like, the thrifty
 15 food budget. So a family of this size, that's how much
 16 they imagine that they could get by spending on food. The
 17 SNAP benefit is Iowa specific. I used the Department of
 18 Children and Families.
 19 **Q.** And that's -- \$100 is what you're calculating?
 20 **A.** Yes.
 21 **Q.** Next you calculate \$248 for childcare a month; is
 22 that correct?
 23 **A.** Yes. And that's based on the average cost of
 24 childcare in the state of Iowa and the Department of
 25 Children and Families information in the state of Iowa,

2 as a monthly income, because it's usually paid in a lump
 3 sum in the spring as a tax refund. And there are very good
 4 studies that show that most families living at or near the
 5 poverty line either use that money to settle debts that
 6 they have accrued throughout the year or to buy a
 7 big-ticket item, like a used car. But in trying to come up
 8 with a monthly budget, I took the annual amount that a
 9 family at this minimum wage income level would receive, and
 10 I divided it by 12.
 11 **Q.** So what is the total that -- the sum total you
 12 calculated for expenses in the sample monthly budget?
 13 **A.** So the expenses, once you take into account the
 14 benefits, are \$1,462 a month.
 15 **Q.** And annually that's 17,544?
 16 **A.** Yes.
 17 **Q.** And how does that compare to what you calculated
 18 in earnings?
 19 **A.** That's about \$250 a month more than a family
 20 would bring in in income, or \$3,000 a year.
 21 **Q.** And so under that -- so we just discussed sample
 22 monthly budget number one. And under that on your exhibit
 23 there's another budget; is that correct?
 24 **A.** Yes.
 25 **Q.** Okay. And how does sample budget two differ from

1 their information about the average childcare subsidy.
 2 **Q.** Which you're calculating at being \$401 a month
 3 subsidy?
 4 **A.** Yes.
 5 **Q.** Next you calculated \$50 a month for telephone
 6 service; is that right?
 7 **A.** Yes.
 8 **Q.** And \$30 in medical. Can you explain that?
 9 **A.** That is -- I'm assuming a household receives
 10 medical assistance or Medicaid. So that's the copays that
 11 would be involved.
 12 **Q.** Finally, \$50 in personal care and household care
 13 items; is that right?
 14 **A.** Yes. It includes things like washing clothes at
 15 the laundromat, laundry detergent, shampoo, soap, goods.
 16 **Q.** That's per month; correct?
 17 **A.** Correct.
 18 **Q.** And so what's the last line here?
 19 **A.** This would be income to the family, the federal
 20 and state EITC or earned income tax credit, which a family
 21 of this -- the EITC is a refundable tax credit targeted to
 22 poor and middle income families with children. It is
 23 geared to your income level and the number of children that
 24 you have. It's mainly a federal program, but the state of
 25 Iowa has its own version.

1 the first sample budget?
 2 **A.** So it doesn't include any social services.
 3 **Q.** And why are you excluding benefits in this one?
 4 **A.** Because there are significant barriers to
 5 participating in all of the programs that I've mentioned.
 6 And if you can look at the uptake rates, as they call them,
 7 for EITC or SNAP or childcare subsidies that are far from
 8 100 percent. And those barriers, I would say, are
 9 especially large for rural women because there is often a
 10 need to travel to the office or the agency in a city that
 11 might be far away. It's especially a problem if you don't
 12 have a car. But increasingly, those programs are relying
 13 on online applications, and so someone would need to have a
 14 computer and some kind of internet connection.
 15 In addition, those perhaps require a lot of
 16 documentation, paperwork, and documentation of income and
 17 expenses. And they have increasingly complicated
 18 eligibility requirements. So I wanted to kind of bracket a
 19 family that got everything and a family that got nothing.
 20 And you can imagine that most families would fall somewhere
 21 in between.
 22 **Q.** So what is the total of expenses in sample budget
 23 two once public assistance is not factored in?
 24 **A.** \$2,356 a month.
 25 **Q.** And how does that compare to what you calculated

1 in earnings?

2 **A.** It's about \$1,100 more than earnings and -- per
3 month, and about \$13,700 more than earnings per year. And
4 it may beg the question here, well, what do these families
5 do if they're not bringing in as much as they're earning.
6 And the answer to that is a variety of things. They are on
7 a monthly basis making decisions about whether they can
8 afford to keep the car, whether they can find a family
9 member who would care for their child so that they wouldn't
10 have to pay for childcare, whether they can leave some
11 bills unpaid. And poverty scholars say that people living
12 in this situation are especially vulnerable to critical
13 hardships, such as homelessness, repossession, and
14 eviction.

15 **Q.** Just to clarify, do these sample budgets that you
16 created, do they include all the expenses a family would
17 normally spend money on?

18 **A.** No, they don't.

19 **Q.** What types of expenses are not factored in?

20 **A.** So -- well, you may notice, if you look at them,
21 clothes, food, gifts, computer equipment, toys, school
22 fees, and internet connection, cable, any type of
23 recreation or vacation, any -- there's no allowance made
24 for paying off debt or for savings. So a --

25 **Q.** Do families living at this income level have

1 to make completely getting an abortion.

2 **Q.** Can you turn to Exhibit 58 in the binder in front
3 of you.

4 **A.** Sure. Okay.

5 **Q.** Do you recognize this?

6 **A.** I do.

7 **Q.** What is this?

8 **A.** So in order to try to understand exactly what it
9 would mean for women to make an additional trip, I began to
10 model, first, the cost of the trip itself and then some of
11 the subsidiary costs. And to do that, I obviously couldn't
12 choose every location in the state of Iowa, so I tried,
13 again, to bracket the costs.

14 And the first example that I chose, example one
15 here, is a trip from Ottumwa to Des Moines. First of all,
16 Ottumwa has about the average, the median rate of abortions
17 in the state, so didn't seem to be an outlier, but also it
18 seemed to be a fairly simple example. It's not that far
19 from Ottumwa to Des Moines, and you can get both the
20 medication and a surgical abortion in Des Moines. So I
21 assumed this would be a simple case.

22 The example two is more complicated, and here I
23 was trying to model the case of a woman who might be eight
24 weeks pregnant. And at the time I prepared my report, I
25 learned from Planned Parenthood that there was about a one-

1 funds for emergencies or unexpected health events?

2 **A.** No. And, obviously, they don't. When they're
3 faced with those events, they're forced to take -- they --
4 we have the data that show that they don't have savings.
5 They're operating at a deficit most months, so they're
6 making hard decisions about leaving bills unpaid or taking
7 on debt.

8 **Q.** So I want to go back to your opinions about the
9 Act. Earlier you stated that the Act would impose, I
10 believe, financial and logistical challenges. Can you
11 explain why you believe that or what financial -- can you
12 explain what financial and logistical challenges you're
13 referring to?

14 **A.** So you want me to talk about the costs that the
15 Act would impose?

16 **Q.** Right.

17 **A.** Yes, I understand.

18 **Q.** You can say that.

19 **A.** Well, I'm assuming that understanding, you know,
20 the Act, that it will require women to make an additional
21 trip to a clinic to receive services that we talked about
22 earlier. And so there would be a range of costs associated
23 with that, and that include transportation, perhaps
24 lodging, but certainly lost wages, perhaps childcare. So
25 all of these things would add to the expense as well as the

1 to three-week wait for an abortion from the time of the
2 first phone call. Given the fact that the Act is requiring
3 these two trips, it seems likely that those appointments
4 are going to be even further delayed by the burden of the
5 additional visits that are -- the two visits that are going
6 to be required to the clinics.

7 And so I'm modeling the situation for a woman who
8 at eight weeks probably is delayed an additional week and
9 basically timed out of the medication abortion and needs to
10 travel to Des Moines to get a surgical abortion. So to be
11 really clear, this situation here, what I'm assuming --
12 because I'm only trying to model the additional costs of
13 the Act. But what I'm assuming is that prior to the Act
14 she would have traveled to from Sioux City to Council
15 Bluffs to get a medication abortion, but that after the
16 Act, because of the delay that she will experience in being
17 timed out, she'll travel to Council Bluffs to get her
18 pre-abortion services and then to Des Moines for her
19 surgical abortion. And so the additional cost I'm
20 calculating is that trip to get the surgical abortion.

21 **Q.** In these travel scenarios in Exhibit 58, this is
22 assuming the woman is traveling by car; is that correct?

23 **A.** Yes. Yes, it is.

24 **Q.** All right. So let's focus on the first example
25 from Ottumwa to Des Moines. Can you explain to the Court

1 what you found.

2 **A.** I found that some additional -- the trip is
3 84 miles each way, 168 additional miles. I looked at the
4 average mile per gallon of cars in the United States in
5 2015. It was 25, but that includes hybrid and new cars,
6 and so I assigned a value of 20 miles for a gallon for the
7 kind of used car that a person of this income level would
8 have. And I used the cost of gasoline, the average
9 national cost per week that I prepared the report. And the
10 total additional cost here is relatively modest, \$20, a
11 little over that, and three hours of travel time.

12 **Q.** And what about the second example. Can you go
13 through that?

14 **A.** It's 200 miles each way from Sioux City to
15 Des Moines. I used the same measures for miles per gallon
16 and gasoline. So the additional cost is \$48 and time is
17 seven to eight hours.

18 **Q.** And sorry if you just said this. This additional
19 miles is 400 additional miles round trip?

20 **A.** Yes. Sorry.

21 **Q.** All right. And let's turn to Exhibit 57. Do you
22 recognize this?

23 **A.** Yes, I do.

24 **Q.** Can you tell the Court what it is?

25 **A.** This is a model for what it would -- what would

population, although we don't have very good data for that.

2 In addition, I should say that another important
3 thing to think about is that in households where there
4 might be a car, a woman may not be able to take the car for
5 two trips, one or two trips in a two-week period, because
6 many family members are relying on that car to get to work,
7 to get to school, to take the children to school. And so
8 it would be challenging for her, perhaps, to take the car
9 and leave town.

10 In addition to that, if she's in a family
11 situation where she is sharing a car -- the car with a
12 partner or family members and she doesn't want them to know
13 about the abortion, if she wants to keep it confidential,
14 that would be extremely difficult to borrow it, because,
15 you know, she may be trying to avoid conflict. She may
16 even be trying to avoid violence.

17 So one final thing that I will just say about
18 this is that the cars that poor people drive are often
19 really not appropriate for trips out of town. They tend to
20 be in poor repair. We have some good data on that. And so
21 to make a trip from, say, Sioux City to Des Moines in the
22 middle of winter in a car that's broken down is not
23 necessarily feasible.

24 **Q.** So you stated earlier that you model these two
25 travel scenarios that are found in Exhibit 58 by bus; is

1 be entailed in making the trips that we just outlined using
2 public transportation.

3 **Q.** And in this scenario it's traveling by bus, is
4 that correct --

5 **A.** Yes.

6 **Q.** -- for these scenarios?

7 **A.** Because there were no trains that went to any of
8 the cities where abortions were provided.

9 **Q.** Why did you create a scenario where the woman
10 doesn't have a car and is using public transportation?

11 **A.** Because we know from research that many women
12 living at or near the poverty level don't have cars, access
13 to cars. When you look at the overall data, it doesn't
14 look so bad. So if you look at the case of Des Moines, the
15 numbers that we have are 4 percent of the population. If
16 you look at Sioux City, it's 6 percent of the population.
17 But we also know that there are massive income disparities
18 in car ownership.

19 So unless you live in New York City or
20 Los Angeles, the main reason that people, like here in the
21 Midwest, don't have a car is because they can't afford it.
22 So that means that all of those instances of not having a
23 car are basically in the lower income levels. So the
24 figure for the lowest quartile of income would be far, far
25 more than 6 percent. It would probably be a third of the

1 that correct?

2 **A.** Yes.

3 **Q.** Did you consult a bus map in doing that?

4 **A.** Yes. I used the Iowa Department of
5 Transportation bus map to find out what bus lines served
6 what cities.

7 **Q.** I'm going to ask you to turn to Exhibit 53.

8 **A.** Okay. And this is that map.

9 **Q.** Okay.

10 **A.** One of the things that struck me immediately upon
11 looking at the map -- and I'm sure anyone who looks at
12 it -- is that there are many, many, many cities and towns
13 in Iowa as well as rural areas that are not served by any
14 bus. And so someone trying to take public transportation
15 from these areas would have to get a ride to a town where
16 there was bus service. The two examples I chose were kind
17 of exceptional in having bus service.

18 **Q.** So let's turn back to Exhibit 57. So let's start
19 with exhibit -- or example one, Ottumwa to Des Moines. Can
20 you walk the Court through what you found?

21 **A.** Yes. Immediately upon -- after -- I should say
22 that after I looked at the bus schedule and figured out
23 what lines went where and then went to the web sites of
24 those bus companies and looked to see how much it would
25 cost and what their schedules were. And when I did that,

1 it immediately became obvious that this somewhat -- what
2 thought would be a simple example of Ottumwa to Des Moines
3 was really very complicated.

4 So the -- on most days the one bus that leaves
5 Ottumwa for Des Moines leaves at 4 in the afternoon and
6 gets in at 5:30, after the clinic is closed. So I said,
7 well, okay the woman will have to go the day before, spend
8 a night in a budget motel. And I'm very aware that
9 40 percent of people under \$25,000 in income don't have
10 credit cards, so that may be really hard to book a hotel.
11 But let's assume that she could. Then she would get her
12 appointment the next day and come home. But when I looked
13 at the return trips, I realized that the only bus leaving
14 from Des Moines for Ottumwa was leaving at 8:55 in the
15 morning.

16 So it was effectively impossible for her to be
17 seen at the clinic and have her procedure and then return
18 that day. So that involves two nights, two overnights,
19 just to make a trip from Ottumwa to Des Moines. So I
20 calculated the round trip bus fair and two nights' stay at
21 the budget motel in Des Moines. And as you can see, the
22 additional cost was \$208 and three days.

23 Q. Meaning three days -- the whole trip would
24 require three days?

25 A. Yes.

2 three workers has access to sick days or personal days. If
3 you look at the lowest 10 percent, it's one in five. And
4 the numbers for the Midwest are actually lower than that.
5 They're less likely in the Midwest to have sick days or
6 personal days. So that means that a woman would have to
7 lose pay in order to be gone.

8 But I, additionally, believe that it would
9 extremely difficult for her to get time off at all because
10 of the nature of scheduling in low-wage jobs, which are
11 usually not a set schedule but a worker may be on call.
12 They have irregular hours. They have shifting and
13 nonstandard hours. So to schedule an appointment becomes
14 very difficult. And these jobs also have the labor
15 market's absolutely strictest work rules. So unlike you or
16 I going into work, the start time is monitored. The time
17 you leave is monitored. Your breaks are monitored.
18 Tardiness is punished. And employers often ask if -- why
19 you want time off, and if it's a medical reason, they often
20 ask to see a doctor's note.

21 So it would be very challenging for a woman to
22 get time off for two trips out of town within two weeks of
23 each other. I mean, from the perspective of counting the
24 cost, I'm only counting one trip. But from the perspective
25 of the employer, this would be asking for time off twice.

1 Q. And then can you discuss the second scenario?

2 A. So a woman living in Sioux City who travels to
3 Des Moines would have to take two buses. A Jefferson Line
4 bus from Sioux City to Council Bluffs and then transferring
5 to a Burlington Trailways bus to Des Moines. She would get
6 in at 11 at night, so like the woman in the other scenario,
7 she would need to come a day earlier and spend a night.
8 She would be able to get a bus leaving Des Moines to go
9 back to Sioux City at 11:15 the next day, at night, at
10 11:15 p.m. She would get into Council Bluffs a little
11 after 1.

12 And there's a little bit of an error in this
13 typing here. I budgeted the second night stay for her in
14 Council Bluffs since the next bus doesn't leave until after
15 6 in the morning. So there are two nights involved here
16 too. The additional cost is \$273 and, again, a three-day
17 time period.

18 Q. So in both scenarios you're calculating three
19 days for this additional trip. What does that mean for a
20 low income woman?

21 A. Well, I've done -- in the research that I have
22 done on the low wage labor market, first of all, low wage
23 workers are far less likely than other workers to have paid
24 sick days or personal days. So only one in three have
25 that. If you're looking at the lowest income quartile,

1 So it would be extremely difficult to do that, and she
2 couldn't really do that without explaining where she was
3 going and again losing the ability to keep the procedure
4 confidential. I think that some women would lose their
5 jobs over trying to take two chunks of time off in two
6 weeks.

7 Q. So in the examples you created, if a woman can't
8 get paid time off, does that mean she's going to lose
9 income?

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. And did you calculate how much in lost wages a
12 woman might lose?

13 A. I did.

14 Q. Can you explain what you came up with?

15 A. Yes. I was, again, working with this minimum
16 wage level. The minimum wage in the state of Iowa is
17 \$7.50. And I calculated, I believe, five hours for the
18 woman taking a trip from Ottumwa to Des Moines, which means
19 a little over \$36 in lost wages. This is by a car. And
20 about -- and I just calculated one day or 8 hours of labor
21 for the woman from Sioux City to Des Moines. So I think
22 it's 56 or \$58. But if a woman has to take public
23 transportation and is gone three days, I think it was \$174
24 for both of them.

25 Q. So in these -- earlier when we were talking about

1 household monthly budget models, you had created.
2 one-parent one-child household; correct?

3 **A.** Yes.

4 **Q.** So how does a woman that has one child manage
5 traveling to an abortion clinic twice?

6 **A.** Depends, I guess. Part of it depends on how long
7 she's going to be gone. So it's easy to calculate for the
8 women who are making a car trip what it would cost them to
9 pay for childcare in the state of Iowa, so I did that. I
10 calculated five hours of childcare for the woman traveling
11 from Ottumwa to Des Moines. The average rate for the state
12 of Iowa is \$5.25. For the woman traveling from Sioux City
13 to Des Moines, I used a figure of 10 hours additional
14 childcare, \$5 an hour, so \$50. And this actually
15 corresponds pretty well with what we know from the national
16 data.

17 When women were asked -- when woman who said that
18 they had to pay for childcare while they received an
19 abortion were asked how much they spent, I believe the
20 figure was \$57. So this is pretty consistent with what we
21 know about women who pay for childcare.

22 But in the case of women who are using public
23 transportation, they don't have any paid options, because
24 childcare is not available for three days on end. If
25 you're in a major city, may be able to get childcare from

1 11 at night to 7 in the morning. That's sometimes
2 available for people who work that shift. But you can't
3 leave your child in daycare for three days. So for these
4 women, this is an obstacle that is not necessarily
5 economic, but it is real.

6 They would have to be able to leave their child
7 with a partner or a friend or family member in order to get
8 access to an abortion. And if they were afraid to ask a
9 friend or family member or a partner to do that, or if
10 their family members are working in low-wage jobs where
11 they cannot get off, they won't be able to make the trip.

12 **Q.** So you've talked about the totals in travel
13 costs, childcare, and lost wages; is that right?

14 **A.** Yes.

15 **Q.** Did you -- why don't we just turn to Exhibit 59.
16 Do you recognize this?

17 **A.** I do.

18 **Q.** Can you explain what it is?

19 **A.** This is where I tried to add up all of the costs
20 to come up with an overall estimate.

21 **Q.** Can you -- let's start in the scenarios by car.
22 Going left to right, can you explain what the totals were?

23 **A.** Okay. So the total when you add transportation,
24 lost wages, and childcare for Ottumwa to Des Moines was \$81
25 and some cents. Sioux City to Des Moines, \$156 by car. In

1 the scenarios where a woman is traveling by bus from
2 Ottumwa to Des Moines, \$382, and Sioux City to Des Moines,
3 \$447.

4 **Q.** And to clarify, this is -- these are the summary
5 of additional costs for an additional trip?

6 **A.** Yes. Exactly. Doesn't count the trip two that
7 would have been required before the one.

8 **Q.** In your opinion are these costs significant to
9 low-income women?

10 **A.** They may not seem very much when you look at
11 these amounts, \$81, \$156, to you or to me or to any
12 middle-income person. But these amounts are extraordinary
13 significant for people who are living on the budgets that
14 we talked about earlier. If you have no savings, if you
15 have, you know, borrowed from everybody that you know. If
16 you have taken a payday loan and not paid the bills. You
17 still may not have come up with the amount of money that
18 you need to pay for the abortion and the trip and then pay
19 the additional costs associated with the Act. All of this
20 adds up.

21 Some women will find that they are delayed
22 because it takes them a while to tap all of these sources,
23 to talk to their friends, see what money they can raise, to
24 go get a payday loan. And they may be delayed, and they
25 may time out of a medication abortion as a result, and then

1 the case will become more expensive and more a complicated
2 surgical abortion.

3 Some women may find that they basically have
4 tapped all of those resources and at the end of it they do
5 not have enough. And if you can't pay for the gas, you
6 can't take the car. And if you can't pay for the ticket,
7 you can't get on the bus. And they would be forced to
8 continue a pregnancy that they would have otherwise ended.

9 **Q.** You mentioned when you were just talking right
10 now that women -- that some women may not have savings.
11 Are there any -- is there any data on whether low-income
12 individuals have savings in the bank?

13 **A.** There -- yes, there's data from the Federal
14 Deposit Insurance Corporation, and they show that poor
15 people living -- I think their cutoff point is \$15,000 or
16 less than \$15,000 a year. A quarter of them are unbanked,
17 they have no relationship with a bank, and half of them are
18 underbanked.

19 As I said before, 40 percent of people under
20 \$25,000 in income don't have credit cards. So they're --
21 their likelihood of having a savings account or being able
22 to walk into a bank and take out some kind of loan is
23 virtually nonexistent.

24 For most families in this situation, they rely on
25 what we call alternative financial services, which is

1 basically a payday loan. Those are available for relatively small amounts. They are -- they have exorbitant extortionary rates of interest -- and I probably shouldn't say that -- and they have very short time horizons in terms of being repaid. So that would be an option, but for a small amount of the total costs here.

7 Q. So you've talked about the women making two trips to the health center to comply with the new requirements in the Act?

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. Did you consider whether a woman seeking an abortion can get an ultrasound done at a health care provider closer to where she lives so that she doesn't have to make those two trips to the abortion clinic?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. And did you consider whether this would save her money or reduce any of the other burdens that you've discussed?

19 A. I did consider that. I believe that it would be extremely difficult based on my research for a woman to obtain an ultrasound that would be done in a way that would allow her to comply with the Act from a local provider.

22 Q. Can you explain further what kind of research you did?

25 A. Okay. I also think -- let me just say that I

2 state. And so this second -- Exhibit 61 is a summary of the providers drawn from that first list who billed Medicaid for pregnancy ultrasounds in the cities of Sioux City and Ottumwa.

7 Q. Were you able to gather any information about these providers?

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. Can you explain what you did.

11 A. Okay. The first thing that I did was to eliminate duplicates on the list, because there were quite a few of those, and that narrowed it down. Then looking at the list, it became clear that there were names that were similar, so I did internet -- I got on the internet and I, you know, looked at the different practices and I found that some of them were, in fact, the same, and that allowed me to narrow it down a little further.

19 And then I also realized that there were -- there was often a situation where a clinic would be listed and, you know, or doctors from that clinic would be listed, so I consolidated those, and, again, that narrowed the list down considerably as well.

24 And then finally I eliminated certain facilities that seemed to be inappropriate for a pregnancy ultrasound,

1 think it would be more expensive if she did it locally. So --

3 Q. Is that based on research that you did?

4 A. Yes.

5 Q. Okay. So can you explain to the Court what further research you did.

7 A. Well, you gave me a list of -- that I believe was prepared by the State -- of facilities, medical facilities, that have billed Medicaid for pregnancy ultrasounds in the state of Iowa.

10 Q. Can you turn to Exhibit 60 and flip to page 1?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Is this the list you're referring to?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. Okay. Did you -- actually, let's -- can you turn to Tab 61?

17 A. Sure.

18 Q. Do you recognize this?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. Okay. What is this?

21 A. So in order to get a sense of what the ability of a pregnancy ultrasound in southern localities was, I decided to look at the two examples that I chose for the travel scenarios and to focus some research on Sioux City and Ottumwa to see what might be available there, just as

1 such as cancer centers, ERs, cardiovascular centers, pain management centers.

3 Q. So after discounting duplicates and other places that you found inappropriate, were there any other -- were there any possible providers on the list left that you looked into?

7 A. Yes. I found that there were three possible providers in Ottumwa and four in Sioux City.

9 Q. Did you do any further research into those places?

11 A. I did.

12 Q. Can you tell the Court what you found?

13 A. I called those facilities. So -- and I think here in order to correctly explain what I found, it might be useful if I could look at my rebuttal report. Is that possible?

17 Q. Of course. That was Exhibit -- one second -- 15.

18 A. Okay.

19 Q. I will refer you to page --

20 A. 60?

21 Q. Exhibit 15.

22 A. Oh, 15. I'm sorry.

23 All right.

24 Q. I will refer you to page 11 of the report.

25 A. Okay. I'm actually going to go back to page 7

1 for Ottumwa --

2 Q. Okay.

3 A. -- or 8.

4 So I called a radiology clinic in Ottumwa, and I
5 was told that they did in fact provide pregnancy
6 ultrasounds. That was one of the three that was on my
7 list.

8 Then I called another health group and was told
9 that they would provide a pregnancy ultrasound but only for
10 their own patients. And so a woman would need to become a
11 patient. She would need to have a new patient appointment,
12 and that would cost \$200, and then the ultrasound would
13 cost \$235. At that point I wasn't really aware -- I didn't
14 ask the question of whether -- who would perform that
15 ultrasound.

16 The third place in Ottumwa that I called said
17 that a referral from a physician would be needed, and I was
18 told that if it were very early in the first trimester,
19 they could perform a transvaginal for \$267. If it were
20 later in the first trimester and they needed to do an
21 abdominal ultrasound, that would go up to \$621. And they
22 told me that the technician who performs the ultrasounds
23 would not be able to read it to the woman, that the
24 ultrasound would be sent off site to be read by a
25 radiologist at a later date. And so it didn't -- does not

message for her to call me, and she didn't return my call.

2 And, finally, I called another clinic that -- or
3 maybe not finally, but I called another clinic that had
4 several facilities in Sioux City and -- an alleged number,
5 and they referred me to their imaging center, and I was
6 told that they needed a referral from a physician within
7 their network. So that would be what I was told there.
8 And I don't recall if I mentioned three or four at this
9 point.

10 Q. That was three.

11 A. Okay. And the final -- the final clinic that I
12 called basically said you have to be a preexisting patient.

13 Q. So overall, what would you say that you found
14 when doing this research into trying to find a local
15 provider?

16 A. There seemed to be -- I found -- I believe that
17 it would be extremely difficult for a woman to have an
18 abortion from a local provider in a way that complied with
19 the specific requirements of the Act. There was really a
20 trend for having ultrasounds performed by technicians and
21 not by doctors. So it would be very difficult to comply in
22 that way.

23 In addition, I found that having it performed
24 locally could end up being much more expensive than having
25 it performed at, say, a Planned Parenthood clinic, because

1 seem to me that this would allow the woman to have the
2 ultrasound performed in a way that complies with the law,
3 because no one would be able to tell her. It would not be
4 allowed for the technician to try to interpret the results
5 to her.

6 So those are the three clinics in Ottumwa.

7 Q. You mentioned there were four left in Sioux city.
8 Did you do any calls to those places?

9 A. I did. The very first place I called in
10 Sioux City, which was a radiology clinic, confirmed that
11 they could perform a pregnancy ultrasound, but that it
12 would not be performed by a physician or radiologist, that
13 it would be performed by a technician and the results would
14 be sent off site and read at a later date. So it seemed to
15 me that that was not an option for a woman trying to comply
16 with the law.

17 After that I called an OB/GYN clinic. I was told
18 that they needed a referral to be seen. And when I called
19 back the next day to make sure they could accept a referral
20 from an abortion provider, they said, no, in fact, that
21 they couldn't that. They accepted referrals for OB/GYN
22 care or somebody to become a patient, that they couldn't
23 perform a one-off service like a pregnancy ultrasound for
24 purposes of abortion. I was told that I should speak to
25 the clinic manager, but I -- she wasn't in, and I left a

1 of this requirement that seems quite common for patients --
2 for an individual to become a patient and to have a
3 new-patient appointment.

4 And there is an additional concern here that I
5 haven't mentioned, which is because of this specificity of
6 the law, when I was calling these places what I had to do
7 was to say, this is for purposes of an abortion. Would you
8 accept a referral from an abortion provider? Could you fax
9 the results to an abortion provider? Can I receive an
10 interpretation of the ultrasound so that I can comply with
11 this new law? I needed to say at every point that I was
12 seeking an abortion. And when a woman goes to a clinic in
13 her own community to be that upfront and explicit with
14 people she may know at each point seems to me to be a very
15 gross violation of her confidentiality.

16 Q. Other than -- are there any burdens associated
17 with a woman trying to find a local provider in the first
18 place?

19 A. Well, I thought about that when I was doing the
20 research, because I was doing it in a private place on my
21 own computer with my own phone. And I thought about this
22 situation of a woman who in my scenario is working
23 full-time year round at minimum wage, probably during the
24 hours -- perhaps during the hours when clinics are open and
25 how difficult it would be to have a private space and a

1 private computer and a private phone to be able to do the
2 kind of research that I did.

3 I also realize that I was starting from a list of
4 providers. And that, you know, what she would be doing is
5 basically Googling to try to come up with names of places
6 that might be able to provide these services. So there is
7 that initial research.

8 But then if the woman would need to make
9 appointments, she would need to make not -- we've just been
10 talking about ultrasound, but an appointment for an
11 ultrasound, an appointment for a blood screen, and she
12 would need to schedule an appointment with Planned
13 Parenthood to be given information that is required, so
14 that's a second step.

15 And the third step is that she has to actually go
16 to those appointments. She has to get this time off work,
17 and she has to get herself to these places using a car or
18 public transportation. And I believe that that would also
19 be very difficult. Then she needs to transmit those
20 results from the local provider to the Planned Parenthood
21 clinic. Either the clinic will -- the local clinic will do
22 that for her, or if not, she needs to take those results
23 and somehow transmit them, fax them, mail them.

24 Then she needs to certify that she has completed.
25 She needs to get her consultation. She needs to certify --

1 well, first of all, let's not clump them all together.
2 Once those results are delivered, then she needs to get the
3 consultation based on her medical results. Then she needs
4 to certify. It's not quite clear how that would happen, if
5 she would need to have a computer to do that.

6 And then finally she would wait 72 hours. So
7 it's a pretty cumbersome process as well as costly.

8 Q. Other than the tangible costs and burdens that
9 you calculated in the scenarios we have discussed today,
10 are there other factors that you considered in determining
11 the burdens of the Act?

12 A. There are several intangibles that I think our
13 research would tell us are very important here, and some of
14 them we have mentioned and some we haven't.

15 One of the intangibles is simply the anxiety
16 about traveling a long distance to a place that you don't
17 know, because it's especially -- in some of the research we
18 find rural woman who have to go to a larger city.

19 Another intangible that we have mentioned is the
20 fear and anxiety about driving a car in poor repair,
21 particularly in winter a long distance.

22 A third that we have mentioned is the intangible
23 of having -- pulling all those resources together and to
24 rely on friends and family for money, for a car, for
25 childcare, so that you are needing to let them know what's

1 going on. You also reveal that you are having an
2 abortion and perhaps open up the door to conflict.

3 And then a final one that we haven't mentioned is
4 that we know that the proportion, that over half of people
5 living at or below the poverty line have some kind of
6 disability. And when we're talking about making these kind
7 of complex arrangements, that just adds a whole additional
8 layer of challenge.

9 Q. Do you know if any research or studies have been
10 conducted on whether increases in costs related to abortion
11 have an impact on the ability of a low-income woman's
12 access to abortion services?

13 A. Yes. There's quite a bit of research that
14 confirms that what we're -- that the budget studies in this
15 scenario suggest that it would have an impact, in fact
16 does.

17 Q. Can you turn to Exhibit 48 in the binder?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. Do you recognize this?

20 A. I do.

21 Q. Can you please read for the record the lead
22 author, title, publication?

23 A. This is an article who's lead author is Lawrence
24 Finer. It's entitled "Timing of steps and reasons for
25 delays in obtaining abortions in the United States," and it

1 was published in *The Journal of Contraception* in 2006.

2 Q. Did you rely on this study -- this learned
3 treatise for your opinion?

4 A. I did.

5 Q. Can you explain what this study found?

6 A. So this is a study that is based on interviews
7 with women who are receiving abortions. It is conducted in
8 a sample of eleven large clinics around the nation and
9 interviewed a little over 1,200 women. One of the things
10 that they found is that a lot of the women said that they
11 would have liked to have had their abortion earlier. And
12 so among that subset of women, they asked them what the
13 main reasons for their delay were, and I'm -- I think it
14 was 26 percent of women said that they were delayed because
15 of the time it took to bring together the financial
16 resources that they needed for the abortion. And another
17 7 percent said that it was -- in that neighborhood -- said
18 that it was because of the complexity of arranging for
19 transportation.

20 They also said -- just a minute -- that many
21 women reported -- a woman reported having made and canceled
22 appointments several times because they thought they would
23 have the money but they didn't and then they would cancel.
24 Then they would work harder to get the money, and they
25 would make the appointment again.

1 Q. Ask you next to Exhibit 62.

2 A. Okay.

3 Q. Do you recognize this?

4 A. Yes.

5 Q. Can you state for the record the title, lead

6 author, and where it was published and when?

7 A. This is an article whose lead author is Aida

8 Torres. It's called "Why Do Women Have Abortions," and it

9 is published in *Family Planning Perspectives*.

10 Q. And did you rely on this for your opinion?

11 A. Yes, I did.

12 Q. Can you explain what this study found?

13 A. It is similar to this study we just talked about,

14 the Finer study, in relying on interviews with women having

15 abortion. But in this case they chose -- they have a

16 scientifically selected sample of 30 clinics around the

17 United States.

18 The overall goal of the research was to find out,

19 as the title suggests, why do women have abortions. But

20 they focused on a subsection of the people they were

21 interviewing who were seeking an abortion after 16 weeks of

22 pregnancy. And they asked them about delays, and they

23 found a very similar proportion of women reported that they

24 were delayed for financial reasons. I think it was about

25 30 percent. And slightly higher, probably about

2 clinics, so no, they don't.

3 Q. Right.

4 And then, secondly, neither of these studies

5 really address the question of a -- specifically the

6 question of a second visit or second trip, do they?

7 They're just -- they just generally talk about the

8 logistical difficulties and financial difficulties of

9 scheduling appointments; right?

10 A. Right. They show that cost is an issue for

11 women. And that as costs go up, that's more of an issue.

12 Q. All right. Thank you.

13 Let me go back to the beginning, ma'am, because I

14 need to try and sort through --

15 A. Could I ask you to speak up just a little bit?

16 Q. Sure. I will look up. I'm sorry. I tend to

17 look down, as I have notes. So I will try to do better.

18 At the beginning of your testimony you made clear

19 that it deals with a subset of Iowa women; right?

20 A. Yes. Women who are poor or women in poverty at

21 or below 200 percent of the federal poverty threshold.

22 That's what I studied.

23 Q. And so when you say "living in poverty, you're

24 poor," you mean that combined number of 100 percent --

25 below 100 percent or below -- at or below the 200 percent

1 12 percent -- it's higher in the Finer article -- said that

2 it was because they had trouble arranging transportation.

3 Q. What conclusions, if any, do you draw from these

4 studies?

5 A. For me, this is confirming evidence for what we

6 are seeing in the household budget and the travel scenarios

7 that I developed where by looking -- kind of taking a

8 window into the finances and economic decisions and incomes

9 and expenses for poor women, we're seeing where this can be

10 a tremendous burden. And these studies confirm based on

11 women's reported accounts that it is, in fact, a tremendous

12 burden and that it both delays and prevents abortion.

13 MS. SALGADO: I have no further questions.

14 THE COURT: Cross?

15 MR. THOMPSON: Yes, Your Honor. Thank you.

16 CROSS-EXAMINATION

17 BY MR. THOMPSON:

18 Q. Let me just finish the point that you finished --

19 or start on the point you finished on. I was looking at

20 both Exhibit 48 and Exhibit 62, and they include both talk

21 about financial circumstances can cause -- make it

22 difficult to schedule and cause delays; right?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. Neither of them says that those prevent women

25 from having abortions; right?

1 number; right?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. And then when you started talking about the

4 percentages, I was -- I wrote it down, so let me work

5 through what I wrote down and see if we got it right. I

6 think you talked mostly about national numbers?

7 A. No.

8 Q. Well, let me talk through. So you talked about

9 on a national basis that for people seeking abortions, that

10 the total percentage of people seeking an abortion that

11 were poorer, as we've just defined it, at or below the 200

12 percent number, was 75 percent?

13 A. That's the poor and low income, yes, and that's

14 national.

15 Q. That's the total. So that's the poor, low income

16 which you kind of talked generally living in poverty would

17 be both of these things; is that right?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. Okay. And so that's the 75 percent number, is

20 the national number?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Did you ever give us a number for the state of

23 Iowa?

24 A. I could.

25 Q. Okay. Why don't you tell me what you think that

1 is.

2 **A.** Based on what I understand from Planned
3 Parenthood, over 50 percent of the people that they see for
4 an abortion are at or below 110 percent of the federal
5 poverty threshold.

6 **Q.** Okay. But that's a different number, so that's
7 why I got confused. That's different than at or below the
8 200 percent?

9 **A.** It is.

10 **Q.** So is that the number that you have been asked,
11 that your opinions apply, as you and I are talking, to
12 50 percent -- the 50 percent of their patients that live at
13 or below the 110 percent number? Is that what we're
14 talking about here?

15 **A.** No.

16 **Q.** So who are we talking about? That's what I'm
17 trying to figure out.

18 **A.** As I said, I modeled -- the household budgets are
19 from women who are living -- and I modeled that based on a
20 year-round full-time minimum wage salary, and that puts a
21 woman, as I said, just a little bit below the federal
22 poverty line. But, in general, the conditions that I'm
23 describing, with variations and modifications, apply up to
24 about 200 percent of the federal poverty line. Those are
25 the women who would be constrained in the manner that I'm

2 constant headache. So --

3 **Q.** Yes. I can see. I just wanted to get it
4 straight. That's all. So I apologize if I seem confused,
5 because I am.

6 So we're going to use this 50 percent number, in
7 part because I have to try and figure out, if I can, you
8 and I, how many of the Iowa women are impacted by your
9 opinion. That's what --

10 **A.** I would invite you. And I could do this if
11 someone would give me a pencil. But perhaps to take the
12 total population of Iowa and multiply it. The total
13 population of women in Iowa, and take 13.7 percent of it,
14 and that would be the population of women that I believe
15 will be most negatively impacted by the Act.

16 **Q.** And that's the number of women in Iowa that are
17 seeking an abortion?

18 **A.** No. Living in poverty.

19 **Q.** Okay. But, again, we're here talking about a
20 percentage of people seeking to do that. So you don't need
21 to do that.

22 **A.** Okay.

23 **Q.** I think for now for purposes of our discussion,
24 let's just assume we're using this 50 percent number that
25 was provided by Planned Parenthood. Is that okay?

1 discussing and in my report.

2 **Q.** So the federal poverty line number is the at or
3 below 100 percent of the -- when you say federal poverty
4 line, that's what you mean?

5 **A.** The federal poverty threshold is at 100 percent.
6 But I'm looking both at that and also the expanded
7 definition that poverty scholars use, up to 200 percent.

8 **Q.** Got it. So on the federal -- nationwide level,
9 that's 75 percent of abortion patients according to your
10 testimony; right?

11 **A.** Yes.

12 **Q.** And we don't really have a number, a comparative
13 number for Iowa, but we're talking for purposes of this
14 discussion about the 50 percent number?

15 **A.** Of 110 percent, yeah.

16 **Q.** And in part -- and I'm not trying to be picky,
17 but, you know, we're talking about a statute that applies
18 broadly to all women seeking an abortion, and all abortion
19 providers, and your testimony focuses on some specifics;
20 right?

21 **A.** Right. The women who are most likely to be
22 impacted by the Act in a negative way.

23 **Q.** And so then what you --

24 **A.** I just might add, as somebody who works in my
25 field, the fact that different agencies and organizations

1 **A.** All right.

2 **Q.** And in part, I don't think the exact number
3 matters. I think the idea that we're talking about a
4 subset of everyone is what's important.

5 And then you explain the situation and
6 specifically you -- your opinions and the work you did was
7 based on two hypothetical people; right? And you -- we're
8 in a situation here where we're not dealing with facts in
9 the sense that something has happened to somebody and
10 they're telling you what happened and you're writing it
11 down. You're here to give predictions about what might
12 happen if the statute goes into effect; right?

13 **A.** No. I'm sorry. But I do think that it is a fact
14 that people live at or below the poverty level. It's a
15 fact that they live at or below, you know, minimum wage.
16 And I'm trying to provide a window into what a household
17 budget looks like at that level. It's not hypothetical in
18 the sense that it may or may not exist. It exists.

19 **Q.** I guess -- and I respect that view. But the
20 people that you talk about, which I think you -- I wasn't
21 trying to be cute. I mean, you picked an example of a
22 woman living in Ottumwa, Iowa, who had certain
23 characteristics who was diagnosed at a certain time. And
24 you picked the example of a woman in Sioux City who was
25 nearly 8 weeks pregnant seeking a medication -- I mean,

1 very specific things. I just want to be clear. You're not
 2 talking about specific patients or real people; right?
 3 **A.** Again, I don't agree with your characterization.
 4 I think that there are real people in these situations.
 5 **Q.** Okay. How many? I mean, I'm not trying to be
 6 tricky. I just want to understand whether you created an
 7 example, and it's fine. I think it's good. But you
 8 created an example of somebody who has certain
 9 characteristics that illustrate your point?
 10 **A.** Would you like me to come up with some numbers?
 11 **Q.** I mean, you can. I will be honest. This will go
 12 a lot easier if you will just answer my questions. And
 13 you'll get a chance to --
 14 **A.** Okay. I don't agree with your characterization.
 15 I do -- there are 4,000 women in the state of Iowa who get
 16 an abortion each year based on the Department of Vital
 17 Statistics report.
 18 **Q.** Okay.
 19 **A.** Half of them are poor, below 110 percent. That's
 20 2,000 women.
 21 **Q.** All right.
 22 **A.** We can do a similar figure. We know what
 23 proportion of those women are unmarried. We could
 24 calculate out the number of women in each of those
 25 situations. They are real women, yeah.

2 **Q.** All right. And so those options are further
 3 limited now; right?
 4 **A.** Yes.
 5 **Q.** Because Planned Parenthood closed a clinic?
 6 **A.** Right.
 7 **Q.** But my point of trying to talk about your example
 8 isn't to -- I'm not ridiculing it or questioning it. I
 9 just want to be clear that we're talking about a specific
 10 fact, specific scenario?
 11 **A.** But it was not meant to be a worst-case scenario
 12 because I chose a clinic -- a city that had a clinic.
 13 **Q.** And I don't think that I even used those words.
 14 I haven't said anything about it being a worst-case
 15 scenario. I'm just trying to figure out what we're talking
 16 about. Okay?
 17 **A.** Okay.
 18 **Q.** And there's no clinic there, and there's a lot
 19 of -- so in the situation, the example that you gave us,
 20 somebody that was 8 weeks upon deciding to embark about
 21 this. And, therefore, you assumed that the delay
 22 associated with the additional trip would then push this
 23 patient beyond the ten weeks and therefore would have to
 24 have a surgical abortion; right?
 25 **A.** Yes. That's what I was --

1 **Q.** Okay. And so my point is -- back to your model
 2 and your budget -- I know that I'm trying to just get a fix
 3 on your example for Sioux City. And so you've picked an
 4 example from Sioux City and used information related to a
 5 person who lives in Sioux City. So if there are patients
 6 living in Sioux City, that's how you did your calculation;
 7 right?
 8 **A.** Yeah. There are women in Sioux City who get
 9 abortions so --
 10 **Q.** Right. And so part of what I want to talk to you
 11 about is -- I mean, you understand that the rate of
 12 abortions in Iowa are different in different parts of the
 13 state; right?
 14 **A.** I do.
 15 **Q.** And you understand that Planned Parenthood,
 16 because you've talked about different clinics, have clinics
 17 in some parts of the state but not other parts of the
 18 state?
 19 **A.** Yes.
 20 **Q.** So in picking somebody from Sioux City as opposed
 21 to Des Moines, you picked somebody that has fewer options
 22 and that has to travel farther; right?
 23 **A.** At the time that I prepared that scenario, there
 24 was a clinic in Sioux City.
 25 **Q.** Well, right, and it's now closed; correct?

1 **Q.** Therefore, instead of being able to go to
 2 Sioux City twice like she might have been able to do before
 3 the Act was in place, if you look at now with the clinic
 4 being closed, she would have to first go to Council
 5 Bluffs -- follow me for a minute -- Council Bluffs to do
 6 the first visit, and that's because in your report, in your
 7 chart, you did that. You assumed that even if somebody was
 8 going to have a surgical abortion that they could go to the
 9 closest clinic in order to do the screening; right?
 10 **A.** I got really lost there, especially when you said
 11 she would make two trips before the Act. Can you go back
 12 and break that down a little bit?
 13 **Q.** You just told us that when you did the work that
 14 there was a clinic in Sioux City. So at that point in
 15 time --
 16 **A.** By the time that I chose the scenario, but at the
 17 time that I submitted my expert report, by that time the
 18 clinic had closed. So I used the example of Council Bluffs
 19 as where she would go to get the pre-abortion service.
 20 **Q.** So that was what I was pointing out, is that when
 21 you started before -- when you embarked on your example, as
 22 you told -- just told us, that if the example person had
 23 wanted a medication abortion they could have made two trips
 24 to Sioux City because there was a Planned Parenthood.
 25 **A.** Before or after the Act?

1 Q. Before. When you started
2 A. Why would they make two trips before the Act?
3 Q. If they had to do -- if they had to do two trips.
4 Right? See the -- I'm sorry. Maybe this is -- the Act
5 hasn't gone into effect at all; right?
6 A. Right. But if they were getting a medication
7 abortion in Council Bluffs, they would just go have a
8 medication abortion before.
9 Q. Right. That's what I just said. Okay. I'm
10 sorry. We're struggling here. Let me go the other --
11 A. One of us is.
12 Q. In your example you have somebody that's 8 weeks.
13 You assume that the delay caused by the statute, if it were
14 to go into effect, would push her past 10 weeks; right?
15 A. Uh-huh.
16 Q. And therefore has only surgical abortion as an
17 option; right?
18 A. Okay.
19 Q. And would have to go to Des Moines to do that
20 ultimately --
21 A. Yes.
22 Q. -- right? And under the Act, if it were in
23 effect, would then go to Sioux City, was the assumption
24 that you made to do the first trip, the screening?
25 A. In the report -- in the report, the expert

2 talked to you about it is because Dr. Grossman who we
3 talked to earlier today was critical of our analysis when
4 we made that assumption. And he made the assumption that
5 people would have to make two trips to the clinic where the
6 surgical abortion was performed.
7 A. I think that there is some people who might
8 choose to do that, but I did not. That's not the way I set
9 up my scenario.
10 Q. Because that's a legitimate option to go to the
11 closest Planned Parenthood clinic for the screening?
12 A. That was how I set up the scenarios that you
13 read. Yeah.
14 Q. All right.
15 A. I don't know on what grounds Dr. Grossman might
16 have said that. There might be something that I don't
17 know.
18 Q. Okay. Part of what you talked about on direct
19 examination was from the Sioux City example that one of the
20 medication abortions that was 8 weeks diagnosed
21 essentially, or confirmation, but would be pushed back by
22 the delay in part because you were told that there was
23 already a one- to three-week waiting period to even get an
24 appointment with Planned Parenthood; correct?
25 A. Yes.

1 report, by that time. Okay. When this was -- when I first
2 developed the scenario the idea was that you would get the
3 initial services in Sioux City, and that she would travel
4 to Des Moines to get the surgical abortion if she timed
5 out. But by the time I produced the final version of the
6 report, after the Sioux City clinic closed, I modified that
7 assumption to say that she would travel to Council Bluffs
8 to get those initial services --
9 Q. Exactly.
10 A. -- and then to Des Moines.
11 Q. Correct.
12 A. I think we've got it.
13 Q. I think we've got it.
14 And so what I was asking you is that that's -- in
15 your -- you also made a chart, if you remember. As part of
16 your disclosure, there was a chart where you show all the
17 different counties and kind of a pre-Act mileage chart and
18 then an additional mileage chart for additional trips?
19 A. Yes.
20 Q. And so just like you did in your example in the
21 chart, what you assumed is that if somebody -- even if they
22 had to have and wanted to have a surgical abortion, that
23 they could go to the nearest clinic to have the screening;
24 right?
25 A. Yes. Yes.

1 Q. And so if yesterday Dr. Meadows clarified that
2 and said that in fact Planned Parenthood could schedule
3 things sooner than that, within a couple of days, would
4 that change your opinion of whether or not the delay would
5 push people past, or this example, past the ability to
6 obtain a medication abortion?
7 A. No, for two reasons. One is that -- well, there
8 are two reasons for delay that are both addressed in my
9 expert report. One is the fact that there are now two
10 appointments being required to receive an abortion, which
11 is obviously going to create new burdens on Planned
12 Parenthood clinics and perhaps overtax their personnel and
13 result in greater delays.
14 But there is also another way which the Act
15 creates delay is by increasing the expense of the
16 procedures so that a woman would need to take the time to
17 pull together the resources to be able to make that second
18 trip and to bear those costs. So I really don't see that
19 that would change what I have in my report.
20 Q. Okay. So a couple of weeks' difference in the
21 ability to make the initial visit doesn't make a difference
22 in your delay analysis?
23 A. No. If I understand you correctly.
24 Q. All right. On your Sioux City -- we'll stay on
25 our Sioux City example for a second. Again, Sioux City,

1 Iowa, somebody that's 18 weeks pregnant and wants a medication abortion that is at or below 110 percent of the poverty level, which is the number we're talking about, is she the one that has or didn't have a car? I guess you did a scenario both ways; right?

2 **A.** Right.

3 **Q.** So let's just assume she has a car. How many people like that are there?

4 **A.** We could come up with an estimate; I didn't for the purposes of my report. As I said, there are probably 2,000 women in the state of Iowa who are in the situation of seeking an abortion with very few resources. How many of them are in Sioux City? We could, you know, take some data from the Vital Statistics report and calculate a number for how many of them live in this particular area based on the rate of abortions for that region.

5 **Q.** Okay. Well, I --

6 **A.** But there are a significant number of people who are being impacted in an area like Sioux City.

7 **Q.** Okay. I've done that for you. So I have those numbers. So Sioux City, the region Sioux City is in, there were -- in 2015 is this data from the -- from the state?

8 **A.** Can you speak up a bit?

9 **Q.** I'm sorry. I have to look at it. I'm going to hold it up so I'm not hiding my face from you. And I want

10 the abortions performed in Iowa, less than half a percentage point. The medication abortions were 76, which was 3 percent of the medication abortions.

11 And so what we're, I think, talking about here, to be clear, is that if you have total abortions and we've got 50 percent of people -- I think you used the 2,000 number, a good round number -- 50 percent of people seeking abortions lived in this poverty range that we're talking about, and then what we're talking about from just getting the procedure in Sioux City, is .05 percent of those people, and that's just going to the people that get the actual procedure at all. It doesn't get more specific. I know you had some other specifics about the specific number of weeks on diagnosis, obviously, statistics don't pick up.

12 But, I mean, if those are the numbers from the Sioux City region, would you agree with me that although these are serious issues, that at least to the example for the Sioux City district, that that really relates to a very small percentage of Iowa women seeking an abortion?

13 **A.** No. I think you completely misunderstand the reason for using an example from Sioux City. It was not to reflect the reality of Sioux City but to provide an example. I mean, I could have chosen any two cities in the state of what women who are at or near the poverty line and seeking an abortion will experience with the implementation

1 to make sure if you don't hear me, don't hesitate to stop me.

2 **A.** I won't.

3 **Q.** Because I tend --

4 **A.** Thank you.

5 **Q.** Because I tend -- sometimes I mumble, and sometimes I look down. And I heard you say that you need to see me, and so I'm trying to be aware of that.

6 **A.** Thank you.

7 **Q.** Please don't hesitate to stop me. I want to make sure you understand --

8 **A.** All right.

9 **Q.** -- what I'm asking.

10 So Sioux City in the year 2015, there were 10 surgical abortions in 2015. And the reason that -- I want to make sure you understand the way data -- are you familiar with the way the state tracks the data?

11 **A.** Not completely. So my immediate question is: Are these women from Sioux City or were those abortions performed there? So I'm not sure about that.

12 **Q.** That's the answer. That's what I am addressing. Is they -- regardless of where the procedure is performed, they track where the woman, the patient, was from.

13 So the people from the Sioux City region, there were 10 surgical abortions in 2015, which was .5 percent of

1 of the Act. So Sioux City is meant to be an example of women's experiences. I'm not trying to provide you with a treatise on the statistics about Sioux City.

2 **Q.** No. And I understand that. But let's talk about Ottumwa for a second. So your other example was from Ottumwa; right?

3 **A.** Right.

4 **Q.** In that region people from Ottumwa obtained 3 percent of the surgical abortions that were performed in Iowa in 2015 and 2 percent of medication abortions. So, again, you know, a very small percentage of the total population seeking abortions are exposed to this same scenario that you've described in your example; right?

5 **A.** The rate of abortion in Ottumwa is at the median for the state. Ottumwa has a fairly small population, so, yes, the actual number of people who live in Ottumwa is small, but, again, it's meant to be an example of someone living, you know, in that poverty level.

6 **Q.** Sure. I appreciate that. But again, I didn't pick the examples. You picked them. I'm trying to understand them.

7 **A.** I'm sure we can have these. No matter what two examples, I could -- I would have picked in the state, it would be possible to raise exactly the same set of questions about them. But it is also impossible to

1 investigate every location in the state. And so at some
2 point you make a decision. These are -- these are good
3 enough to be illustrative. These are not outliers in any
4 meaningful way that can illustrate the situation.

5 **THE COURT:** Mr. Thompson, would this be a good
6 time to take a break?

7 **MR. THOMPSON:** Perfect.

8 **THE COURT:** Let's do that.

9 Fifteen minutes.

10 (The bench trial recessed at 2:56 p.m.)

11 (The bench trial resumed at 3:13 p.m.)

12 **THE COURT:** Mr. Thompson?

13 **MR. THOMPSON:** Thank you, Your Honor.

14 Q. Before we broke, we had kind of -- we were
15 talking about Sioux City and Ottumwa, and I think you had
16 testified that they were just examples and you could have
17 picked any city in Des Moines -- I mean in Iowa; right?

18 A. Sort of. I said that they were meant to be
19 illustrative and illustrating the situation of women in
20 Iowa.

21 Q. Okay. But so if you had picked Des Moines, would
22 your opinions be different?

23 A. To -- the travel distances, for example, would be
24 different.

25 Q. Right.

1 A. A lot of the other logistical issues that I
2 discussed, obviously, there would be a Planned Parenthood
3 clinic there. But, you know, the issue of taking off work
4 in a low-wage job, some of those issues would still be
5 there, issues of finding childcare.

6 Q. Right. So Iowa City; same question.

7 A. Right.

8 Q. So it's not so much about the distance. It's
9 more about the financial circumstances of the particular
10 patient; is that correct?

11 A. In part. The greater the distance, the more the
12 cost and the more complicated the logistics. But, yeah,
13 it's not just about that, you're right.

14 Q. Okay. In your direct examination, as you summed
15 up, you, I think, said that your opinion was that these
16 logistics and things could have the effect of denying some
17 women access to an abortion?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. And so I guess I would like to understand when
20 you say "some women," what women? How many women?

21 A. I think that situation that I described, women
22 who are unable to pull together the resources that they
23 need from family, friends, payday loans, not paying bills,
24 women who do not have the resources.

25 Q. Okay. But can you quantify that? I mean, it's

1 obviously a subset of the subset we're talking about. So
2 we're talking about a subset of all women seeking an
3 abortion, and you're saying "some women," some subset of
4 that 50 percent may be impacted?

5 A. I can say as a social scientist that some subset
6 of that 50 percent will be impacted. But I cannot tell you
7 the exact number at this point in time.

8 Q. Okay. Or the characteristics of the particular
9 people that might be affected? In other words, what makes
10 them affected as opposed to the rest of this population?

11 A. Well, in fact, I think in my expert report I do
12 show that child -- having children is -- makes women more
13 vulnerable.

14 Q. Okay.

15 A. Obviously the lower their income, the more
16 vulnerable. Having a disability makes women more
17 vulnerable. Not having a strong network of family and
18 friends makes women, you know, who are in a position to
19 help them, makes women more vulnerable. So this kind of --
20 the kind of scenarios that I developed were meant to do
21 exactly what you're saying, which is to point to those
22 factors and variables that make women, you know, more
23 likely to experience a negative impact from the Act.

24 Q. Right. If I understand, though, your analysis
25 that you get a situation where there's kind of this

1 cumulative effect of factors that -- you just listed a
2 number of things all of which could have some impact, but
3 when you have more than one or a number of those factors,
4 it could be particularly burdensome; is that correct?

5 A. I didn't say that in my report, and I would want
6 to think about it a moment, but that sounds pretty
7 reasonable to me.

8 Q. All right. But you can't be more specific in
9 your opinion than your opinion that some women in this
10 50 percent who live at or below the 110 percent of the
11 federal poverty level who are seeking abortions will be
12 impacted and may not be able to obtain an abortion?

13 A. I think in my -- yeah. In my opinion what I --
14 and my expert report what I said is that a significant
15 number of women would be delayed and a significant number
16 of women would be prevented.

17 Q. Well, I don't think you used the word significant
18 the last time we talked. So what do you mean by
19 significant? You said some before. So now you said
20 significant number, which is --

21 A. I think -- in fact, I think I did use that. I
22 may not have. I wouldn't want to swear to it. I know I'm
23 under oath. So -- but it is an important question --

24 Q. Yeah, it is.

25 A. -- what is a significant number?

1 Q. Uh-huh. E-FILED 2020 JUN 23 12:43 PM JOHNSON - CLEAR What I believe in my heart is not what I'm
 2 A. If -- I can't give you a number, but if it were
 3 100, would we say that that was okay, that those women
 4 didn't get the abortion that would be their right under the
 5 law because they did not have the financial means to do so?
 6 I -- you know, this is a question that's beyond my
 7 expertise.
 8 Q. I've got your disclosure, which was Exhibit --
 9 what -- 14? Is that right? And so what you had said
 10 before in a signed disclosure was some women will not be
 11 able to obtain an abortion. Do you remember that?
 12 A. I -- I think I made that statement in several --
 13 would it be possible for me to see it?
 14 Q. Sure.
 15 A. Okay.
 16 In those paragraphs I said "some women."
 17 Q. "Some women"?
 18 A. Yes, I did.
 19 Q. In fact, I think in your direct examination you
 20 said "some women"; isn't that correct?
 21 A. Sure. Some is very --
 22 Q. You don't recall?
 23 A. That's fine, yes. I don't remember exactly,
 24 but --
 25 Q. Well, you've changed your words, which I find

2 testifying to in court. I'm testifying based on my
 3 research. When sociologists use the term significant, they
 4 mean that it is a proportion of the population that, you
 5 know, helps -- that is measurable and that is large enough
 6 to pay attention to.
 7 Q. Okay. So what is it? You've just now told the
 8 judge you think it's significant. So what -- how large is
 9 it? It's got to be measurable to be significant. What's
 10 the number?
 11 A. We've bracketed it to some extent.
 12 Q. Less than 100?
 13 A. No.
 14 Q. No?
 15 A. We know that the number of people who are what
 16 one might say at risk of being affected is, probably, you
 17 know, based on the number of abortions and the proportion
 18 of those people who are at or below 110 percent of the
 19 poverty line, that there are at least 2,000 people -- 2,000
 20 women in the state of Iowa who are going to be struggling
 21 to pull together the resources to have an abortion.
 22 We have identified some factors that make some
 23 women more vulnerable than others, but there is no data.
 24 You're asking me for data that can't exist because we can't
 25 survey the population at large about their abortion

1 interesting, I guess, for lack of a better word. Let's go
 2 back. You said 100. Is that the number that you think it
 3 would be?
 4 A. No.
 5 Q. Do you think it's 100?
 6 A. No.
 7 Q. Do you think it's less?
 8 A. I was using that to illustrate that we know that
 9 some proportion of women seeking an abortion who are at or
 10 below the poverty line will find themselves completely
 11 unable to pull together the resources that they need to get
 12 an abortion, and I was raising that in the form, I think,
 13 of a rhetorical question. So if we said 100, would that be
 14 significant? That was the question that I raised.
 15 Q. Well, and I know. And so, I mean, here's -- I
 16 guess what I'm just trying to get to is you've told me now
 17 repeatedly you don't know the number. You can't say a
 18 particular number?
 19 A. No one does.
 20 Q. Right. But you've also now said that you think
 21 it's a significant number. So I guess I don't know quite
 22 how to frame this. So is it your testimony that you
 23 believe, you know, in your heart, that 1 percent, that
 24 that's enough, that that's significant? Is that what you
 25 mean by your -- by your hypothetical?

1 decisions because of violations of confidentiality. This
 2 is something that cannot be done. It's a violation of
 3 ethical standards of conduct. No human subject research
 4 board -- I'm on the one at my university -- would allow you
 5 to do that.
 6 So those things -- it's not that those data are
 7 out there and I chose not to present them. They are
 8 unknowables, so we have to rely on a series of estimates
 9 to --
 10 Q. What's your estimate?
 11 A. I've told you a number of people who are at risk.
 12 And we have data from the articles that were cited that we
 13 talked about today, the Finer and the Torres, that show
 14 what proportion of women who were delayed or delayed
 15 because of cost. We know it's an issue. We didn't put an
 16 exact number on it.
 17 Q. Just to be clear, we're not just talking about
 18 delay. We've been talking about delay for a long time.
 19 I'm talking about your express opinion that there would be
 20 enough delay that the delay would then lead to somebody's
 21 inability to actually obtain an abortion at all; right? Do
 22 you understand that's what we're talking about?
 23 A. Or that the costs were simply too great, that
 24 they would not be able to obtain an abortion.
 25 Q. Right. And I don't think -- you and I have

1 already talked about it. That's the only studies you
2 just talked about even addresses that question of not being
3 able to obtain an abortion. You agreed with me that
4 neither of them answers that question.

5 **A.** Those two studies are about delay.

6 **Q.** So you don't have any studies -- and sounds like
7 you don't have any data -- nonetheless, you're telling this
8 Court that you think it's a significant number. And I'm
9 just trying to understand what you mean by that.

10 **A.** To clarify, the reason that we don't have that
11 data -- the reason that we have data on delay but not on
12 inability to obtain an abortion is because of what I just
13 mentioned, which is that you can get data on the delay by
14 interviewing women who show up in a clinic to get an
15 abortion, because they're there, and they will give
16 permission to be interviewed. But you can't go house to
17 house through, you know, with the U.S. Census or the
18 American Community Survey or any other kind of survey and
19 ask women if they desired an abortion in the past year and
20 could not get one. So that -- those data are unattainable,
21 whereas data on delay are attainable.

22 So it's not just that -- excuse me -- no one
23 thought of doing it. It's that it's impossible to measure
24 that in an ethical way.

25 **Q.** So you don't have any data that you base this

2 for *Both Hands Tied*, it was actually funded in part by a
3 child support administration evaluation project with the
4 State Department of Justice Development. So we gathered
5 really expensive data on that, and most women were not
6 receiving child support, not because their partners were
7 not paying, but because when a woman has received Medicaid
8 or her -- what they call lying in expenses for the birth
9 and the medical expenses related to the birth of a child,
10 and if she's received any cash welfare, the State takes
11 that money from the child support to reimburse the State
12 for services that the woman is receiving.

13 **THE COURT:** So that's the assignment. So you
14 say --

15 **THE WITNESS:** Benefits. The benefit is assigned
16 there.

17 **THE COURT:** I will just tell you I was an
18 administrative law judge. I did public eligibility type
19 cases for ten years, so I know the welfare system pretty
20 well, and I know that they would make referrals for certain
21 types of public assistance programs. So what you're saying
22 is you did not include that because assuming they had a
23 child support order that may be going back to pay for the
24 assignment to the State to pay back for benefits?

25 **A.** Because in the sample of women that, you know, I

1 opinion on; right? And I think that's what you just said.
2 I just want to make sure.

3 **A.** No, I don't think that's what I just said.

4 Depends on what you mean by opinion there. I think that we
5 have a lot of data that lead us to see this phenomenon
6 exists, what factors make it worse, how many people are at
7 risk. We just don't have an ethical way of going around
8 and asking people how many of them did not have an abortion
9 because of cost.

10 **Q.** So you don't know?

11 **A.** I don't know.

12 **MR. THOMPSON:** No further questions.

13 **THE COURT:** I have a couple of questions I want
14 to ask, just about one of the exhibits, and it's Exhibit --
15 it's the household budget, Exhibit No. 56.

16 **THE WITNESS:** Okay.

17 **THE COURT:** Do you have that in front of you, or
18 maybe you remember it well enough?

19 **MS. SALGADO:** I can give her the binder.

20 **THE COURT:** Yeah. That would be great.

21 Okay. There's a couple assumptions that you made
22 that I just wondered about why they weren't there. One is
23 child support. So you're assuming a household with one
24 child, but you didn't have a calculation for child support.
25 Was there a reason why you did not include that?

1 did research with, child support was not a significant
2 source of income for any of them.

3 **THE COURT:** That's based on your other research
4 in Wisconsin or the Upper Midwest?

5 **THE WITNESS:** In Wisconsin. That was Wisconsin.

6 **THE COURT:** All right. That's my first question.

7 My second question, then, your assumption, I
8 think, means that the one-parent one-child would be living
9 alone without any other person that could be providing
10 support, such as a new partner or a family member or
11 something along that line. Is that based upon data or
12 research that you've conducted?

13 **THE WITNESS:** I was -- I chose to model a woman
14 who was in a one-parent, one-child household based on the
15 data that we have about women who are seeking abortions
16 because it's a little bit unclear when people say that they
17 are not -- are unmarried and unpartnered, if they're
18 actually living with anyone else or not. But most women
19 are certainly unmarried and unpartnered who receive an
20 abortion. So I did set this sample monthly budget up with
21 the assumption that the child and the parent were living
22 alone.

23 **THE COURT:** Are you aware of any reliable data
24 that would show a number or percentage of women in the
25 situation that you set out in that exhibit that would be in

1 a household where there's some sort of shared expenses?
2 **THE WITNESS:** I know that that data exists, but I
3 don't have it at my fingertips right now.
4 **THE COURT:** All right.
5 **THE WITNESS:** Okay.
6 **THE COURT:** That's all I had.
7 Redirect?
8 REDIRECT EXAMINATION
9 **BY MS. SALGADO:**
10 Q. I just have one point I wanted to clarify.
11 Earlier when you were discussing the 2,000
12 estimate, which I believe is of the number of women seeking
13 abortions in poverty, is that a total number of women in
14 Iowa or the number in poverty per year?
15 A. That's -- so that's the number in poverty per
16 year. And I also want to emphasize that as you were
17 emphasizing yourself --
18 Q. You mean Mr. Thompson?
19 A. Yes. Thank you.
20 I couldn't see your name tag.
21 That was at the 110 percent level not at the 200
22 percent level, so it's an underestimate of people who would
23 be struggling.
24 Q. Thank you.
25 **MS. SALGADO:** No further questions.

2 mean obstetrics and gynecology?
3 A. Yes.
4 Q. Do you have any other certifications?
5 A. As part of my office's ultrasound program in
6 obstetrics, I maintain certification in reading obstetrics
7 and gynecology ultrasounds.
8 Q. How long have you practiced, including your
9 residency?
10 A. 13 years.
11 Q. Where do you currently practice?
12 A. I'm currently a physician partner at Partners in
13 OB/GYN in Waterloo, Iowa.
14 Q. Do you have any other clinical practices?
15 A. We have as our group a contract with Covenant
16 Medical Center, the hospital we practice at, to supervise
17 their midwife clinic. It's an autonomous midwife clinic
18 that provides care to low-income women.
19 Q. About how many patients have you treated over
20 your 13 years?
21 A. In each of the years in private practice, I've
22 delivered about 150 to 200 babies, which would add up to
23 about 2,000 patients across the 13 years.
24 Q. Do you see patients who are considering an
25 abortion?

1 **MR. THOMPSON:** No further questions, Your Honor.
2 **THE COURT:** Thank you for your testimony.
3 Can I have you raise your right hand, please.
4 SUSAN WING LIPINSKI,
5 called as a witness, having been first duly sworn by the
6 Court, was examined and testified as follows:
7 **THE COURT:** Thank you.
8 DIRECT EXAMINATION
9 **BY MS. CLAPMAN:**
10 Q. Good afternoon, Dr. Lipinski. Please state and
11 spell your full name for the record.
12 A. Susan Wing Lipinski. S-u-s-a-n, W-i-n-g,
13 L-i-p-i-n-s-k-i.
14 Q. What is your profession?
15 A. I'm an OB/GYN physician.
16 Q. I would like you to turn to Exhibit 9 in the
17 binder in front of you. Is that your CV?
18 A. Yes.
19 Q. Please take a moment to look at it. Did you
20 prepare this?
21 A. Yes.
22 Q. Does it appear to be accurate?
23 A. Yes.
24 Q. Are you board certified in OB/GYN?
25 A. Yes.

1 A. Yes.
2 Q. Do you provide abortions?
3 A. I do not provide elective termination procedures.
4 I will provide abortions in a setting where it's a medical
5 emergency for the life of the mother. I also provide
6 treatment of ectopic pregnancies. We do screening for
7 fetal anomalies, which would include the counseling for
8 genetic terminations, as well as counseling patients who
9 are undecided about their pregnancy.
10 Q. Are you involved in any medical professional
11 organizations?
12 A. Yes. I am actively involved in ACOG, the
13 American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology. I serve the
14 State of Iowa as the vice chair for that organization.
15 Additionally, I'm involved in the Iowa Medical Society,
16 which is the Iowa Chapter of the American Medical
17 Association, and I serve on several committees, including
18 the maternal mortality committee and the legislative
19 committee.
20 Q. As part of your work with ACOG and IMS, do you
21 regularly interact with medical providers from throughout
22 Iowa?
23 A. Yes.
24 Q. And do you regularly review data on the provision
25 of OB/GYN services in Iowa?