

Evidence and Lessons on the Health Impacts of Public Health Funding from the Fight against HIV/AIDS[†]

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HIV/AIDS has been one of the largest public health crises in recent history, and the US federal government has spent hundreds of billions of dollars fighting the disease. This study examines the impact of the large amounts of federal funding allocated to US cities to combat HIV/AIDS through the Ryan White CARE Act's first title. The findings indicate that the cost to avoid an HIV/AIDS death through the program is roughly \$334,000, that the program has saved approximately 57,000 lives through 2018, and that funding disparities are responsible for the uneven progress in combating HIV/AIDS across the United States. (JEL H51, H75, I12, I18)

A key approach that federal governments use to address public health issues is to allocate federal funds to local areas to support local efforts to improve health. In the United States, this approach has been used in public health campaigns against specific diseases, including HIV/AIDS, diabetes, opioid addiction, COVID-19, and heart disease, and in addressing broader issues related to access to care for underserved areas and people. Knowing the impacts of allocating federal funds to local areas for the purpose of improving public health is important for understanding health production and for forming optimal policy to address public health issues.

Public health funding levels and approaches are the subject of much debate, but despite federal governments regularly providing local governments with large amounts of federal money aimed at improving health, few studies exist of the impacts of these funds on health measures. A challenge in studying the impact of federal public health funding is that funding mechanisms are often set so that funding is allocated to areas with the most need. Thus, naïve ordinary least squares regressions of health outcomes on public health funding would suggest that increased funding harms health.

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This paper examines the impact of the federal government providing funding to US cities to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which has been one of the largest public health crises in recent history¹ and has claimed the lives of tens of millions of people worldwide. While the burden of HIV/AIDS in the United States has fallen hardest on gay men and intravenous drug users—two groups that make up a relatively small share of the US population—the impact of HIV/AIDS on these groups has been so devastating that HIV/AIDS has been a major factor in aggregate health statistics. For example, from 1993 to 1995 HIV/AIDS was the leading cause of death among all people ages 25 to 44 in the United States. Though treatment emerged in 1996 that could drastically lengthen the lives of people with HIV/AIDS, no cure for HIV exists, and nearly 40 million people currently live with HIV worldwide. While HIV/AIDS death rates have fallen in the United States over the past few decades, the progress in combating HIV/AIDS has been uneven across the country, with large cities that were the early epicenters of HIV/AIDS having experienced much larger reductions in AIDS death and case rates since the height of the AIDS crisis than many other parts of the country have. The slow progress in certain parts of the country, along with the emergence of major HIV/AIDS disparities by race, has contributed to concerns that the US response to HIV/AIDS is failing.²

As HIV/AIDS treatment is expensive and lifelong, many resources have been spent treating the disease. Because an untreated HIV infection can impose negative externalities by increasing the spread of HIV and because many people in the United States who have contracted HIV or are at risk of contracting HIV are socioeconomically disadvantaged, the US federal government has had a large role in funding HIV/AIDS treatment. In 2019 alone, the US federal government spent \$34.8 billion on HIV/AIDS, with most of that funding spent on treating and limiting the spread of HIV/AIDS domestically (Kaiser Family Foundation 2019a).³ HIV/AIDS funding levels have been controversial. Some observers have argued that too many resources have been spent combating HIV/AIDS (England 2007), and even though the US federal government has the ambitious goal of eliminating the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the United States by 2030 (Fauci et al. 2019), policymakers often target HIV/AIDS funding for budget cuts (Hatcher 2020).

Despite HIV/AIDS having been one of the largest public health crises in modern history and despite the federal government having spent hundreds of billions of

¹While comparing the overall impacts of various public health crises would require aggregating across different metrics, HIV/AIDS stands out both for the large number of people that it has affected and for its persistence as a public health concern. Having killed over 700,000 Americans, HIV/AIDS has resulted in the deaths of more Americans than all military conflicts since the Civil War combined. All recent presidents have emphasized the importance of fighting HIV/AIDS for their administrations, and public health leaders and policymakers often assess the importance of emerging public health crises by comparing their possible impacts to the impact of HIV/AIDS (e.g., Benjamin 2020; Joint Economic Committee 2017).

²Refer to El-Sadr, Mayer, and Hodder (2010) and El-Sadr et al. (2019). See also the comments from Tom Frieden, then director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, in “US Still in Danger of Losing War on AIDS, C.D.C. Director Says,” which was published in the *New York Times* on December 1, 2015.

³Note that this amount of annual spending is more than the federal government spends on many important safety net programs, including Head Start, the Children’s Health Insurance Program, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, and the Federal Pell Grant Program. Refer to Center for Poverty and Inequality Research (2020) for a discussion of federal spending levels for these programs.

dollars to combat the disease, little is known about the impact of federal funding to combat HIV/AIDS or about the role that the large amounts of federal funding have played in the trajectory of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the United States. More generally, little is known about the ability of allocating funds to local areas to support flexible public health responses to improve population health. The lack of research into the US government's response to HIV/AIDS stands in contrast to economics research into the health impacts of other US public health campaigns (e.g., Anderson et al. 2019; Anderson, Charles, and Rees 2022; Bailey and Goodman-Bacon 2015; Bleakley 2007, 2010) and of various federal safety net programs (e.g., Almond, Hoynes, and Schanzenbach 2011; Goodman-Bacon 2018, 2021a; Hoynes, Miller, and Simon 2015; Miller, Johnson, and Wherry 2021).

The goal of this study is to understand the impact of federal funds allocated to cities to combat HIV/AIDS and the role that this funding has had in the course of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the United States. Specifically, I examine the impact of funding from the first title of the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act. Since its passage in 1990, the Ryan White CARE Act has been the US federal government's main mechanism for combating HIV/AIDS in the United States. Unlike many other federal programs, the Ryan White program does not provide benefits directly to the targeted population. Instead, the Ryan White CARE Act provides funding directly to cities and states to support local efforts to develop, coordinate, and operate systems to provide health care and support services to low-income individuals with HIV/AIDS (Institute of Medicine 2004). Through its first title, which is the title that allocates funding to cities and is the focus of this study, the Ryan White CARE Act has allocated over \$20 billion (in 2018 dollars) to 52 US cities through 2020.

To identify the impact of Ryan White funding, this study implements a difference-in-difference research design that uses variation in eligibility for Title I funds that comes from two aspects of the Ryan White CARE Act. The first driver of the variation in Title I eligibility studied in this paper comes from the staggered timing of cities gaining Title I status that resulted from the original Ryan White legislation granting cities Title I status only after they had at least 2,000 AIDS cases. The second driver of the variation in Title I status studied in this paper comes from a 1996 rule change that stipulated that a new AIDS case would only count towards eligibility for five years rather than in perpetuity and was implemented along with a grandfather clause that allowed cities that had obtained Title I status under the original rules by March 31 of 1995 to maintain their Title I status even if they did not meet the new standard. Immediately after these changes were made, treatment was discovered that could prevent people with HIV from developing AIDS. The interaction of the simultaneous occurrence of the rule change, the grandfather clause, and the discovery of effective treatment resulted in the *de facto* criteria for receiving Title I funding in the coming years largely being that cities had to have had at least 2,000 AIDS cases by March 31 of 1995 and led to cities that originally had similar HIV/AIDS burdens and that were initially on parallel HIV/AIDS trajectories receiving dramatically different amounts of federal funding to combat HIV/AIDS.

Using variation in Title I eligibility that has arisen for these reasons, I identify the impact of Title I status by estimating how the difference in HIV/AIDS outcomes

between cities obtaining Title I status under the original rules and other cities changed after the Title I cities obtained Title I status. To keep the treatment and control groups comparable, the main sample includes the final 25 cities to clear the threshold for Title I status under the original eligibility rules as the treatment cities and the 25 cities with the most AIDS cases through 1995 not qualifying for Title I status under the original rules as the control cities. In essence, cities that were near but not quite to 2,000 AIDS cases ever reported by March 31 of 1995—such as Birmingham, Cincinnati, Providence, and Richmond—serve as the control group for cities that had just reached 2,000 cases by March 31 of 1995—such as Cleveland, Fort Worth, Hartford, and Sacramento.

The main outcome studied in this paper is cities' annual HIV/AIDS death rates from 1988 to 2018 calculated from the restricted-use Vital Statistics Multiple Cause of Death Files. Estimating difference-in-difference models indicates that obtaining Title I status under the original rules has reduced the cities' annual HIV/AIDS death rates by about 15–17 percent on average. The findings are robust to alternate specifications and approaches, including implementing a matching strategy that focuses on ensuring that the effect of Title I is identified from comparisons of cities with similar baseline AIDS characteristics and to supplementing the baseline specification with additional controls for potential confounding factors, including Medicaid characteristics and laws that punish HIV-positive people for undisclosed HIV exposures. The composition of lives saved corresponds to HIV/AIDS prevalence rates across demographic groups with disproportionately large shares of the lives saved being male, prime aged, and Black relative to these groups' shares of non-HIV/AIDS deaths. The estimates imply that one HIV/AIDS death has been avoided for every \$334,000 allocated through Title I and that Title I has saved approximately 57,000 lives through 2018. The number of HIV/AIDS deaths from 1991 to 2018 would have been approximately 13 percent higher if not for these city-level HIV/AIDS funds. In addition to estimating the impact of Title I status on HIV/AIDS deaths, I also estimate the impact of Title I status on rates of new AIDS cases and find that a city obtaining Title I status reduced the city's annual rates of new AIDS cases by approximately 25 percent on average.

To assess the impact of Title I funding on HIV transmissions, I study cities' numbers of residents living with HIV in 2008, which is the first year HIV data are available across cities. Federal HIV funding could affect the number of people living with HIV by influencing both the spread of HIV and the rate at which people with HIV die. Using a susceptible-infected-removed epidemiological model, I show that the impact of Title I on HIV/AIDS death rates documented in this study means that the only way for Title I to have reduced the number of people living with HIV by 2008 is for Title I to have decreased the spread of HIV prior to 2008. To estimate the impact of Title I on the number of people living with HIV in Title I cities in 2008, I implement a regression discontinuity design that exploits the sharp increase in Ryan White funding at 2,000 AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995. The analysis indicates that, despite reducing HIV/AIDS death rates, Title I had decreased Title I cities' numbers of people living with HIV in 2008 by 36–40 percent, which indicates that Title I has reduced the spread of HIV. Assuming these estimates are representative of the effect for all Title I cities implies that

Title I of the Ryan White CARE Act prevented 324,000 to 378,000 HIV transmissions through 2008.

The significant health impacts of this funding speak to the promise of providing targeted federal funding to local areas to improve health. Assuming a value of a statistical life of \$10 million, the estimates imply that the \$19 billion allocated to cities from 1991 to 2018 has produced over \$560 billion of value in terms of lives saved alone. This funding yielding a benefit-cost ratio of 30 is especially notable in light of studies that find negligible health gains from marginal health care spending (e.g., Doyle 2011; Doyle et al. 2015; Einav, Finkelstein, and Mahoney 2018). Even with Ryan White funds supporting holistic care, the cost of an additional life year through Ryan White is similar to the cost of an additional life year from Medicaid paying for HIV antiretroviral treatment (Duggan and Evans 2008). The Ryan White program being designed for people with HIV—who have a high marginal benefit of health care—results in Ryan White’s cost to save a life being far lower than the cost to save a life through expanded Medicaid coverage. These findings provide evidence that funding mechanisms that focus on improving access to effective health care for particularly vulnerable populations can be a cost-effective approach for increasing population health relative to less targeted alternatives. Federal funds allocated through the Ryan White CARE Act likely yield benefits that are high relative to costs because the Ryan White program provides health care to low-income, socially vulnerable people with a deadly infection that will spread for years before killing them if left untreated.

In addition to providing a better understanding of the role of federal funding in producing health, the findings from this study also help explain the disparate HIV/AIDS progress across the United States that has alarmed public health stakeholders at all levels—ranging from local health departments to multiple presidential administrations—and that has largely remained a puzzle (El-Sadr, Mayer, and Hodder 2010; El-Sadr et al. 2019; US Department of Health and Human Services 2010, 2021). Despite the large size of the Ryan White program, the funding disparities arising from the Ryan White CARE Act have been poorly understood, and surprisingly little work has assessed their implications. This paper shows how the confluence of a Ryan White rule change, a grandfather clause, and the unexpected advent and nature of the HIV treatment that emerged has led to large HIV/AIDS funding disparities across cities from the federal government’s main mechanism for combating HIV/AIDS domestically. By identifying the large funding disparities, their source, and their effects, this study shows how and why differences in federal HIV/AIDS funding across cities became a key driver of the divergent HIV/AIDS trajectories across the country seen today. The role that disparities in federal funding have had in establishing the disparities in HIV/AIDS progress highlights the importance of funding mechanisms’ allocation rules and points to issues that can arise with place-based funding.

The paper proceeds as follows. The next section provides a brief overview of HIV/AIDS in the United States and of the Ryan White CARE Act and discusses the expected effects of federal funding to combat HIV/AIDS. Section II describes the eligibility rules for Title I funding in more detail and discusses the empirical approach and data sources used in the study. Section III presents the results, assesses their robustness and implications, and considers factors that likely contribute to Ryan White funds’ effectiveness. Section IV concludes.

I. Background

This section first provides background information on the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the United States. Since the timing and nature of the HIV/AIDS treatment that emerged in the mid 1990s played a role in establishing the large disparities in federal funding studied in this paper, this discussion includes a brief summary of the search for effective HIV/AIDS treatment. The section then discusses the Ryan White CARE Act and describes the potential impact of HIV/AIDS funding.

A. HIV/AIDS in the United States and the Search for Effective Treatment

Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is a retrovirus that can be spread through unprotected sex, needle sharing, and blood transfusions and from mother to child during pregnancy, delivery, or breastfeeding. HIV harms infected people by lowering their white blood cell counts and thus weakening their immune systems. While HIV is a virus, acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is a set of symptoms that people with HIV develop after HIV has caused significant damage to their immune systems. People with AIDS are susceptible to opportunistic infections and cancers that a healthy immune system could typically combat but that aggressively take hold in someone with AIDS. Infections that lead to diseases like pneumocystis carinii pneumonia, Kaposi's sarcoma, and toxoplasmosis, which can be easily controlled by healthy immune systems, have been common killers of people with AIDS. Without treatment, HIV usually progresses to AIDS within 8 to 10 years. Life expectancy for people with untreated AIDS is 1.5 years. Though deaths from AIDS occurred earlier, AIDS was first recognized in 1981. Annual deaths from HIV/AIDS in the United States rose from 451 in 1981 to their height of over 50,000 in 1995.

Prior to 1987, the care that HIV patients received was largely palliative and aimed at treating the opportunistic infections that developed as a result of AIDS. In 1987, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved zidovudine (AZT, formerly azidothymidine) as the first medicine to treat HIV/AIDS. Originally developed in the 1960s to be a form of chemotherapy, AZT received FDA approval to treat HIV/AIDS after it was shown to temporarily increase white blood cell counts in people with HIV/AIDS. Despite early excitement about AZT, its side effects proved to be unbearable for many people, and whether the transient increase in white blood cell counts induced by AZT was meaningful remained an open question (Hamilton et al. 1992).

In the early 1990s, the outlook in the AIDS epidemic looked bleak. HIV/AIDS had become the leading cause of death for prime-aged adults in the United States, and the rapid rise in AIDS cases and deaths showed no signs of slowing. While advances had been made in treating and avoiding certain opportunistic infections (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 1994), the search for effective treatment against HIV was proving elusive. Frustrated by a lack of progress and a perceived lack of research attention, HIV/AIDS activists staged thousands of demonstrations between 1987 and 1996, including ones at the National Institutes of Health and FDA campuses. At these demonstrations, protesters staged die-ins, held signs that read "NIH—Nothing Is Happening" and "Federal Death Administration," and set up

mock graveyards with tombstone epithets stating “dead from a lack of drugs” and “poisoned from AZT.”⁴

In 1996, however, a breakthrough in HIV treatment emerged that would alter the course of the fight against HIV/AIDS. Antiretroviral treatments were introduced that could prevent HIV from replicating in the body and could reduce HIV’s damage to the immune system. While the full effects and implications of these drug cocktails were not understood immediately, studies would eventually show that within 30 days of treatment initiation, these drugs could lead to HIV being undetectable in the blood of a person with an HIV infection as long as treatment was maintained and could prevent people with HIV from developing AIDS. Research would also eventually show that these new antiretrovirals drastically reduce the likelihood that a person with an HIV infection transmits the infection to others.

The first of these new antiretrovirals was approved by the FDA in December of 1995 under an accelerated approval process that allows drugs to be used before their effectiveness has been established. After being disappointed by several drugs that initially seemed promising only to eventually turn out to be ineffective against HIV, HIV patients and physicians were at first skeptical about the likely effectiveness of these new drugs. However, reports of emaciated and demented HIV/AIDS patients whose deaths seemed imminent quickly returning to health after taking these antiretrovirals would soon become common, and HIV/AIDS communities soon realized that these new antiretrovirals marked a turning point in the search for effective HIV treatment. In *How to Survive a Plague*, David France describes the moment when many people realized that these new antiretrovirals were a momentous advance in HIV treatment as being at a 1996 event about the new treatment when a scientist interrupted his otherwise technical presentation about a study showing the dramatic effect of the antiretrovirals on HIV/AIDS survival rates to tell a room full of disoriented HIV/AIDS activists, researchers, and health care providers the following:

Maybe you are not understanding what I am saying. This is the biggest news ever in this epidemic ... This is what we’ve been working for all these years. They’re not a cure. We don’t know what they are, in effect. But this is the first major piece of good news we have had in all these years. They’re calling it the Lazarus effect. People who were in hospitals on their last breath are getting up and going back to work. We’ve never seen anything like it. (France 2016)

The use of antiretroviral treatment accelerated throughout 1996 and became the standard treatment for HIV/AIDS by the start of 1997. As a result of these new antiretrovirals, deaths from HIV/AIDS began a major decline in 1996. The number of HIV/AIDS deaths fell by over 20 percent from 1995 to 1996 and by nearly 50 percent from 1996 to 1997, which has been the largest single-year decline for a major cause of death ever recorded (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 1998). The life expectancy of a young adult who begins antiretroviral treatment immediately after contracting HIV is now near the life expectancy of a similar person without HIV (Marcus et al. 2020). While research into HIV/AIDS treatments

⁴Refer to Fernández, Parsa, and Viarengo (2019) and Mansour, Rees, and Reeves (2020) for discussions and studies about the organizational efforts of AIDS activists.

has continued, the emergence of effective treatment ushered in a new chapter in the fight against HIV/AIDS: How to ensure that people with HIV/AIDS have access to these effective but expensive treatments and how to maximize the impact of these new drugs in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

Though progress has been made in the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the United States still faces many issues related to HIV/AIDS.⁵ Despite initial speculation that antiretroviral therapy was a cure for HIV, it was soon realized that the antiretrovirals suppress HIV only for as long as they are taken. Though the antiretrovirals cause HIV to be undetectable in the blood, the virus lies dormant in a small number of cells and will take hold again if a person discontinues the antiretrovirals. In the United States, over 700,000 people have died of HIV/AIDS, and approximately 1.2 million people are currently infected. Half of all people with HIV infections in the United States do not have their infections suppressed through antiretroviral therapy and can therefore still spread the infections to others, which contributes to the number of HIV infections continuing to climb (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2017). Large disparities in HIV/AIDS burden by race and socioeconomic status exist in the United States, with low-income and Black people accounting for disproportionately large shares of HIV/AIDS cases and deaths (Rubin, Colen, and Link 2010).

B. *The Ryan White CARE Act*

The cost to treat a patient with the new antiretroviral drugs in 1996 was high at a mean annual cost of \$20,300 (in 1996 dollars) (Bozzette et al. 2001), but even before the emergence of the effective antiretroviral drugs, treating HIV/AIDS was expensive.⁶ Exacerbating access issues arising from the cost of treatment are the facts that many people with HIV/AIDS have below-average incomes and that people with AIDS are often unable to work for health reasons and have often reported employment discrimination when they try to work.⁷ These challenges have resulted in many people with HIV/AIDS having difficulties accessing and paying for health care.

In response to growing pressure to provide financial resources to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic, Congress passed the Ryan White CARE Act on August 18, 1990.⁸ The specified purpose of the Ryan White CARE Act is to “provide emergency assistance to localities that are disproportionately affected by the human immunodeficiency virus epidemic.”⁹ As the largest federally funded program in the United States for people living with HIV/AIDS, the Ryan White program is the backbone of

⁵ While this paper focuses on HIV/AIDS in the United States, HIV/AIDS is a global issue and remains a leading cause of death worldwide. Sub-Saharan Africa has been hit particularly hard. In 2017, HIV/AIDS accounted for over a quarter of all deaths in South Africa and Botswana (Roser and Ritchie 2019).

⁶ Treating HIV/AIDS remains expensive and continues to cost around \$20,000 per year on average (Gebo et al. 2010). Because the Ryan White program reimburses providers at Medicaid’s rates, it has costs below the national average.

⁷ Prior to the passage of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), people with HIV have also had difficulties accessing health insurance coverage through the individual market. By requiring insurers in the individual market to accept all who apply for coverage and by expanding Medicaid coverage for childless adults, the ACA has expanded health insurance coverage for people with HIV/AIDS.

⁸ The Ryan White CARE Act is named in honor of a hemophiliac who contracted HIV through a blood transfusion and became an advocate for HIV/AIDS awareness and research before dying in his teens from HIV/AIDS.

⁹ Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act of 1990, Pub. L. No. 101-3381, § 2 (1990).

the federal government's strategy to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the United States and has a goal of improving access to health care for low-income, uninsured, and underinsured people affected by HIV/AIDS who could not otherwise access treatment. According to the Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA), the branch of the US Department of Health and Human Services that administers the Ryan White program, over half of people with HIV/AIDS receive care through the Ryan White program, a majority of whom have incomes at or below the federal poverty level (Health Resources and Services Administration 2019). Since Ryan White funds are discretionary, the Ryan White CARE Act must be periodically reauthorized and has been reauthorized in 1996, 2000, 2006, and 2009. With each reauthorization, Congress has made changes to the Ryan White program.¹⁰ The amount appropriated to the program has grown from \$260 million in 1991 to \$2.5 billion in 2020.

Rather than establishing an entitlement program for people with HIV or having the federal government directly provide HIV/AIDS treatment, Congress structured the Ryan White CARE Act to provide financial resources to state and local governments to support local responses to HIV/AIDS. Ryan White funds are administered through five titles, though most of the funding—nearly 90 percent—is allocated through its first two titles. Title I administers funds directly to eligible cities, while Title II administers funds directly to states. The remaining Ryan White funds are allocated to community-based organizations to provide primary care to people living with HIV, to AIDS education centers, and for dental care for people with HIV.

The focus of this paper is on Title I funds. Title I funds are administered directly to mayors, who then typically immediately turn the funds over to health departments (Health Resources and Services Administration 2013). Cities receiving Title I funds are required to establish HIV health services planning councils that set local priorities for care delivery. While cities have some discretion in how they administer their programs, an initial step for most programs is to assign low-income, HIV-positive people who might face barriers in accessing health care to Ryan White case managers (López, Shacham, and Brown 2018). These case managers assess financial needs and can link people to health care that can be paid for by Ryan White funds if needed. According to HRSA, Title I serves approximately 300,000 to 350,000 people with HIV each year (Health Resources and Services Administration 2012). According to Ryan White Title I expenditure reports, a majority of Title I funds go to HIV-related outpatient care, HIV medications, and case management services, while the rest of the funds are spread over many different types of services (Health Resources and Services Administration 2020a). Online Appendix Table A.1 shows the share of spending for broad spending categories calculated from expenditure reports submitted by Title I cities to HRSA for fiscal year 2010. The rules for obtaining Title I status and for allocating Title I funds are crucial to the empirical approach of this study and are discussed in detail in Section II.

¹⁰I summarize the Ryan White CARE Act and discuss the provisions that have led to the large funding disparities analyzed in this study, as well as aspects of the Ryan White CARE Act that are relevant to interpreting the results. The Ryan White CARE Act is a complex piece of legislation with many policy parameters and formulas that have changed over time. Refer to Health Resources and Services Administration (2013), Institute of Medicine (2004), and Kaiser Family Foundation (2019b) for additional information on the Ryan White CARE Act.

Although a majority of Title I funds must go towards core medical services, an important feature of the Ryan White program is that it aims to provide holistic care to low-income people with HIV, and Title I funds can be used to pay for various health care services in addition to basic HIV medications and provider office visits. For example, Title I funds can be used to provide counseling to people newly diagnosed with HIV about how to cope with the diagnosis and on what they need to do to not spread the infection. Case managers can also arrange for Title I-funded substance abuse treatment or transportation services to health care appointments as needed. Additional services that Ryan White funds can pay for include early intervention services, like testing and contact tracing, and mental health treatment more broadly. In addition to having case managers arrange services based on the needs of specific HIV-positive people, cities can also use Title I funds to establish programs that focus on addressing systemic barriers to health care faced by their HIV-positive populations. For example, cities that have found a lack of transportation to be a widespread barrier to receiving care—including Los Angeles and Fort Lauderdale—have established routine transportation services to take people to care (Office of Inspector General 1995). In New Orleans, where Black people with HIV had reported feeling HIV treatment was geared toward White, gay males, Title I funds were used to establish services and access to medical care in Black communities. For cities with limited language skills as a systemic barrier to care for HIV-positive people, Title I funds have been used to ensure linguistic services are available and to hire bilingual case managers (Buchanan 2002).¹¹

Title II funds are allocated to states to support the planning and coordination of HIV/AIDS care and can be used for similar services as Title I funds. The Title II allocation rules are complex, but most of the Title II funds are allocated independently of Title I funds. The partial double counting of HIV/AIDS cases in Title I cities for Title I and Title II funding has led to disparities in total Ryan White funds relative to HIV/AIDS burdens across states. I briefly summarize the Title II funding rules as they relate to Title I funding. Refer to Health Resources and Services Administration (2013), Institute of Medicine (2004), Kaiser Family Foundation (2019b), and online Appendix C for additional details about Title II funding. While Title II funding initially did not take into account Title I funds, the 1996 reauthorization set aside approximately 5 percent of Title II funds to be allocated based on a state's share of national AIDS cases that occur outside of Title I cities. Since 2000, Title II also includes a separate category of funds that provides a small amount of additional funding to states with non-Title I cities with high AIDS burdens. As discussed in more detail in Section II, these city-directed Title II funds are much lower than the funding provided by Title I. Through 2020, Title II has allocated \$33 billion (in 2018 dollars) to states.

Throughout its history, the Ryan White CARE Act has been the subject of contentious disagreements. Although the initial bill received bipartisan support, politicians have expressed opposition to the Ryan White CARE Act for both moral and fiscal reasons. For instance, Congressman Jesse Helms objected to the bill based on his view that “deliberate, disgusting, revolting conduct” was responsible for

¹¹ Refer to Health Resources and Services Administration (2013) for the complete rules about how Title I funds may be used.

people contracting HIV, while then Congressman Mike Pence argued unsuccessfully for directing Ryan White funds to organizations “which provide assistance to those seeking to change their sexual behavior.” Facing the threat of a veto, President George H. Bush signed the Ryan White CARE Act into law, but the White House had initially expressed its opposition to the bill, stating that “The bill’s narrow approach, dealing with a specific disease, sets a dangerous precedent, inviting treatment of other diseases through similar arrangements.” Throughout Ryan White’s history, Title I cities have fought efforts to allocate Ryan White funds more equitably. For example, in 2005, areas struggling to address HIV/AIDS that received low Ryan White funding relative to their HIV/AIDS burdens argued for implementing rules to distribute Ryan White funds more equitably in the 2006 reauthorization. In response to these calls for changes in funding, the *New York Times*—a newspaper from a city that had received over \$1 billion in Title I funds through 2005—published an editorial arguing that the lack of relative progress in addressing HIV/AIDS in much of the country was the result of those areas not caring about the plight of people with HIV/AIDS rather than from disparities in Ryan White funds. The editorial argued that the progress that Title I cities had made in addressing HIV/AIDS relative to other cities justified future funding disparities, seemingly ignoring the possibility that wide funding disparities up to that point could have played a role in the disparities in HIV/AIDS outcomes that had emerged by the mid 2000s.¹²

C. The Expected Effects of Federal Funding to Combat HIV/AIDS

The effect of federal HIV/AIDS funding on HIV/AIDS deaths depends on the health care paid for by the funds as well as on the health care that patients would have received absent the funds. Since the Ryan White program is supposed to be the last payer for treatment, the care paid for with Ryan White funds should in principle be care that people would not have otherwise received. In practice, though, Ryan White funds have the potential to displace care paid for by other sources. If patients receiving treatment paid for by Ryan White funds could have accessed their desired health care absent the Ryan White program, the funding’s health impacts would be minimal. Similarly, if the productivity of additional health care provided by Ryan White funds is low or if health departments use the funds inefficiently, HIV/AIDS funding could have no health impacts.

On the other hand, Ryan White funds also have the potential to have large health impacts, especially since the program focuses on providing treatment to low-income people with an infectious disease that spreads much more easily if untreated. Over 60 percent of people that Ryan White programs serve have incomes under the federal poverty level, and 90 percent have incomes under 250 percent of the federal poverty level (Health Resources and Services Administration 2020b). For most of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, HIV would preclude someone from purchasing health insurance on the individual market since HIV is a preexisting condition, and childless adults under 65 would not be eligible for Medicaid or Medicare until after AIDS had left them disabled. Moreover, some of the health department services paid for

¹² See “Guarding the Fight against AIDS,” which was written by the *New York Times* editorial board and published on August 18, 2005.

by Ryan White funds, such as HIV/AIDS outreach and case management services, could have large health impacts even though they would typically not be provided by the private market. If Ryan White funds reduce HIV transmission rates, the effects of the funding on health measures would likely grow over time and persist even if the funds were discontinued.

The main outcome of interest for the study is HIV/AIDS deaths. By reducing the spread of HIV and by preventing or slowing the development of AIDS in HIV-positive people, the first-order expected impact of federal funding to combat HIV/AIDS would be to decrease AIDS cases and HIV/AIDS deaths. Because HIV takes about ten years to become deadly, changes in HIV/AIDS deaths from changes in HIV transmission rates would be slower to manifest than would changes in HIV/AIDS deaths rates for people currently living with HIV.

The impact of federal HIV/AIDS funding on HIV transmission rates and HIV prevalence rates is unclear *ex ante*. Antiretrovirals shrinking an HIV-positive person's chances of transmitting HIV to other people to essentially zero if taken properly has led to "treatment as prevention" being a public health mantra for combating HIV/AIDS. If federal HIV/AIDS funding leads to fewer people having an untreated HIV infection, it has the potential to reduce the spread of HIV. But if federal funding reduces HIV/AIDS deaths without reducing the spread of HIV, it will lead to more people living with HIV. Increases in the number of people living with HIV could then lead to additional HIV infections if the people whose deaths were avoided remain infectious from inconsistent treatment adherence. By reducing the costs of living with an HIV infection, federal HIV/AIDS funding could also increase the spread of HIV by causing HIV-negative people to take fewer precautions against contracting HIV. If these countervailing effects are great enough, they could lead to federal HIV/AIDS funding increasing HIV infections, AIDS cases, and HIV/AIDS deaths.¹³ The analysis of HIV/AIDS deaths and AIDS diagnoses presented in this paper is of the net impact of HIV/AIDS funding and thus captures the effects of any of these potentially offsetting mechanisms.

II. Empirical Approach and Data Sources

This section discusses the rules for becoming a Title I city and how these rules led to vast differences in Ryan White funds across cities. The section then discusses the empirical approach and the data sources used for the study.

A. The Rules for Becoming a Title I City and the Empirical Approach

As explained in more detail in the following paragraphs, the variation in Title I status examined in this study comes from the three following aspects of the Ryan

¹³ It should be noted that behavioral responses could occur through multiple channels and would have unclear welfare implications. Consider male-to-male sexual encounters. HIV-negative gay men's engaging in riskier sexual behavior because the Ryan White program functions as social insurance against an HIV infection would be a moral hazard and would potentially reduce net welfare. In contrast, if Ryan White funding leads to more HIV-positive men receiving treatment, HIV-negative gay men would be expected to have additional sexual encounters because Ryan White funds lowered their risk of contracting HIV. This increase in male-to-male sexual encounters would occur even if individuals fully bore the cost of an HIV infection and could increase net welfare.

White CARE Act: (i) the original rules for Title I eligibility did not prioritize recent changes in AIDS cases and used a sharp cutoff for determining eligibility that led to cities with similar AIDS burdens having different Title I statuses; (ii) once cities obtain Title I status, they do not lose it even if they no longer meet the current eligibility criteria; and (iii) the 1996 reauthorization changed the Title I eligibility rules in a way that made obtaining Title I status much more difficult. The eligibility rules being changed immediately prior to effective treatment emerging led to large differences in HIV/AIDS funding across cities that were orthogonal to cities' initial HIV/AIDS trajectories.

According to the original 1990 Ryan White legislation, cities that had reported a cumulative total of 2,000 AIDS cases to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) by March 31 of a particular year became eligible for Title I funding in the following fiscal year. Prior to reaching the 2,000-case threshold, cities received no Title I funds. Under the initial rules, a reported AIDS case would still count towards eligibility and funding levels even after the person with AIDS had died. In an April 1995 report to Congress, the General Accounting Office (GAO, later renamed the Government Accountability Office) argued that using a more current measure of AIDS severity would more effectively direct funds based on need (General Accounting Office 1995). When the Senate first passed its Ryan White reauthorization in June 1995, it incorporated the GAO's recommendation by changing the Title I funding rules so that a city had to have at least 2,000 AIDS cases reported in the last 5 years to be designated as a Title I city. This change remained in the final bill that President Bill Clinton signed into law in May 1996. At the time the eligibility rule was changed, many cities that had qualified to be Title I cities under the original rules did not have 2,000 AIDS cases reported in the last 5 years. To prevent current Title I cities from experiencing large funding drops because of the new rules, the 1996 Ryan White CARE Act reauthorization instituted provisions to maintain funding levels and allowed cities that qualified under the original Ryan White rules by March 31 of 1995 to maintain their eligibility for Title I funds even if they had fewer than 2,000 AIDS cases reported in the past 5 years.

As AIDS cases were rising sharply in 1995 when the GAO originally recommended the switch to using a more contemporaneous measure of AIDS cases, many cities would have cleared the new threshold within the next few years if the AIDS trends of the early 1990s had continued past 1995. However, treatment that could prevent AIDS but not cure HIV emerging immediately after the eligibility rules changed meant that cities that had not qualified for Title I status under the original rules would obtain Title I status only if they were experiencing HIV/AIDS outbreaks that were outliers in severity relative to other cities. Thus, immediately prior to effective but expensive treatment for HIV/AIDS finally emerging, Congress implemented funding rules that would provide some cities with billions more dollars for combating HIV/AIDS in the coming years than other cities.

Before the initial eligibility rules were changed, 44 cities became eligible for Title I funding. If Congress had not changed the rules and if effective treatment had not emerged, approximately 50 additional cities would have achieved Title I status by 2006, assuming the growth in AIDS cases in 1995 continued through 2006. Even with the new rule Congress put in place in 1996, approximately 35 cities would have obtained Title I status by the end of 2006 if effective treatment had not emerged.

Similarly, approximately 35 cities would also have still achieved Title I status by 2006 with effective treatment emerging if Congress had not changed the eligibility rules. However, with the combination of the rule change and effective treatment emerging, only two additional cities gained Title I status from 1996 to 2006.

Within a few years of the 1996 rule change, several cities that were not eligible for Title I funding had worse HIV/AIDS outcomes than Title I cities, and yet the cities without Title I status did not directly receive any Ryan White funds. In response to the slow progress in addressing HIV/AIDS in cities without Title I status, the 2000 Ryan White CARE Act reauthorization implemented a new provision that would provide additional Title II funds to states with non-Title I cities that had reported 500 to 1,999 AIDS cases in the previous 5 years. Even with these additional city-directed Title II funds, though, the large disparities in HIV/AIDS funding across cities persisted. In 2004, Title I cities received a mean funding per AIDS case through Title I of \$2,380, while states qualifying for the city-directed Title II funds from the 2000 reauthorization were allocated an extra \$414 per AIDS case in those cities on average. Throughout the early 2000s, the allocation of funds became increasingly unaligned with HIV/AIDS burdens. By 2006, some non-Title I cities had rates of new AIDS cases that were several times the rate of the Title I city with the lowest rate.

To provide the non-Title I cities that were on the worst HIV/AIDS trajectories with additional funding, Congress changed the eligibility rules in the 2006 Ryan White CARE Act reauthorization to allow cities with at least 1,000 AIDS cases reported in the previous 5 years to become eligible for Title I status.¹⁴ Five cities obtained Title I status immediately after this rule change went into effect in 2007, and one other city has obtained Title I status since 2007. Even with the 2006 reauthorization allowing some of the cities on the worst HIV/AIDS trajectories to gain Title I status, large disparities in federal funding that stem from the 1996 reauthorization rules still exist today.

In effect, the 1996 Ryan White CARE Act reauthorization resulted in cities with similar HIV/AIDS burdens and on parallel HIV/AIDS tracks receiving drastically different amounts of federal funding to combat HIV/AIDS, particularly from 1996 to 2006. This study estimates the effect of Title I funds by comparing how the difference in HIV/AIDS outcomes between Title I cities and other cities changed after Title I cities gained Title I status. Because the 1996 reauthorization led to cities needing to have substantially worse HIV/AIDS trajectories relative to other cities to obtain Title I status, I consider cities to be treated only if they achieved Title I status under the original rules, meaning that they had at least 2,000 cases by March 31, 1995. I typically refer to these cities as Title I cities, even though some other cities

¹⁴ The 2006 reauthorization created two different categories of Title I cities. Eligible metropolitan areas, which was a label previously applied to all Title I cities, are those that have reported at least 2,000 AIDS cases in the past 5 years. Transitional grant areas are cities that have reported 1,000 to 1,999 AIDS cases in the past 5 years or that qualified for Title I status under an earlier set of rules. The main difference between the two designations is that eligible metropolitan areas have hold harmless provisions that prevent sudden funding drops, while transitional grant areas do not have to set up planning councils. Transitional grant areas can also lose Title I status if they cease to have a cumulative total of 1,500 or more people living with HIV infection ever classified as AIDS. In practice, no city has come close to losing Title I status.

eventually obtained Title I status.¹⁵ To keep the control and treatment groups comparable, the main analysis sample focuses on cities that were closest to the original threshold of 2,000 AIDS cases ever reported by March 31, 1995. For the baseline analysis, I set the control cities to be the 25 cities with the most AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, that did not qualify for Title I funding under the original rules and the treatment cities to be the 25 cities with the fewest AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, that qualified for Title I status under the original rules. Online Appendix Table A.5 shows that the results are robust to using different sets of treatment and control cities. Online Appendix Table A.2 contains the full list of control cities and Title I cities.

Title I cities receive both formula-based funds and supplemental funds. The formula funds made up half of Title I funding in the original legislation and make up two-thirds of Title I funding as of 2007. While the formula for the nonsupplemental funding was initially based on a city's share of AIDS cases ever reported by Title I cities, the 1996 reauthorization changed the formula to instead use estimates of a city's share of people living with AIDS in Title I cities. The 2006 reauthorization changed the formula to include HIV cases. The supplemental funding is allocated by the secretary of Health and Human Services based on cities' reported need for additional HIV/AIDS funding. Throughout the Ryan White CARE Act's history, policymakers have included hold-harmless provisions to prevent cities from experiencing large drops in their Title I funds.

While Title I funding varies across Title I cities, the funding differences per eligible AIDS case among Title I cities tend to be small. In 2004, for instance, the fifth and ninety-fifth percentiles of Title I funding per AIDS case among Title I cities were \$2,361 and \$2,492. Rather than attempt to identify the impact of these small, endogenous funding differences among Title I cities, the approach of this study is to estimate the impact of a binary treatment variable for a city having Title I status. I then use information on Title I funding amounts to produce an estimate of the amount of Title I funding spent for each HIV/AIDS death avoided.

The basic model that I estimate is as follows:

$$(1) \quad y_{jt} = \gamma_j + \delta_t + \mathbf{X}_{jt}\alpha_t + Title1_{jt}\beta + \epsilon_{jt},$$

where j indexes the city, t indexes the year, y represents the various measures of HIV/AIDS, γ is a vector of city fixed effects, δ is a vector of fiscal year fixed effects, \mathbf{X} is a vector of control variables, and *Title1* is an indicator variable equal to 1 for the city having qualified for Title I funding through the original Ryan White rules. The baseline set of control variables is the share of the population that is male, younger than 18, older than 64, Black, and Hispanic with the coefficients on these controls being allowed to vary by year.

¹⁵Online Appendix B analyzes trends in HIV/AIDS deaths in cities gaining Title I status in 2007 and shows that, in contrast to cities gaining Title I status under the original Ryan White CARE Act rules, cities gaining Title I status in 2007 experienced rising HIV/AIDS deaths relative to other cities in the years before they obtained Title I status, which means that the parallel trends assumption required for difference-in-difference estimation is not satisfied for these cities. Online Appendix B also shows, however, that the estimated impact of Title I status from a specification that demeans HIV/AIDS death rates to account for city-specific trends indicates that Title I status reduced HIV/AIDS death rates in cities obtaining Title I status under the new eligibility rules put in place by the 2006 reauthorization, which corroborates the findings from the main analysis.

Interpreting the Title I coefficient in equation (1) as the causal impact of Title I status requires the assumption that, absent the differences in Title I funding, HIV/AIDS outcomes in the cities in the sample that qualified for Title I status under the original rules would have trended in parallel to the cities in the sample that did not qualify for Title I status under the original rules. As I have explained in this section, the institutional environment supports the plausibility of this assumption. However, given how central this assumption is for the analysis, I take additional steps to assess the validity of the assumption and to relax it. These steps include estimating event-study specifications of the effect of Title I status, varying the control and treatment groups, and incorporating additional time-varying controls.

Prior to effective HIV treatment being discovered, Title I funds could improve health through various means, such as by increasing the treatment and prevention of specific opportunistic infections, but as has been noted elsewhere, the concurrent emergence of effective treatment for HIV is a central part of why the 1996 rule change for obtaining Title I status largely locked Title I statuses in place for the next decade. The independent effects of advances in treatment are captured by the year fixed effects in equation (1), but it is important to remember that the expected impact of federal funding depends on the productivity of available treatment. In Section III, I discuss analysis that uses the reweighting methods described in Callaway and Sant'Anna (2021) to examine how the impact of Title I differs across time, including the years prior to the emergence of effective HIV treatment. However, most of the wide differences in funding between Title I cities and other cities have occurred during a period with effective treatment available, meaning the estimates presented in this paper are largely of the effect of federal funding to combat HIV when effective treatment exists.

I estimate equation (1) for two time periods. Because the 2006 reauthorization made several changes to the Ryan White program, one specification focuses only on years 1988 to 2006. However, as the 2006 reauthorization left large funding disparities in place and because large infusions of funding to combat an infectious disease likely have persistent effects, I also estimate specifications that include years 1988 to 2018.

B. Data

This study draws on several data sources. As described in the previous section, the sample is selected based on the number of AIDS cases that cities had reported by March 31, 1995. For information on reported AIDS cases, I use the AIDS Public Information Dataset (US Department of Health and Human Services 2005), which the CDC created from AIDS case reports submitted by state and local health departments. The AIDS Public Information Dataset contains annual counts of AIDS cases through 2002 for each city that had at least 500,000 people as of the 2000 census.¹⁶

¹⁶The analysis excludes cities from Puerto Rico. Because the information used to create the control variables is not available for all years of the sample for Honolulu, Honolulu is also excluded from the analysis. Online Appendix Table A.2 contains the full list of remaining cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset and indicates which cities are in the main sample. Online Appendix Figure A.1 displays a map that indicates cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset and a map that shows the treatment and control cities.

I impute AIDS cases reported as of March 31, 1995, by adding 25 percent of cities' AIDS cases reported in 1995 to their AIDS cases reported by the beginning of 1995.

Figure 1 plots the log of AIDS cases by March 31, 1995, for each city in the AIDS Public Information Dataset in rank order. Cities to the right of the solid vertical line in Figure 1 had more than 2,000 AIDS cases by March 31, 1995, and thus gained Title I status under the original Ryan White rules. Cities to the left of the line had fewer than 2,000 AIDS cases by March 31, 1995, and thus did not qualify for Title I status under the original eligibility rules. The blue diamonds in Figure 1 represent the two cities that eventually became eligible for Title I funding under the 1996 reauthorization rules. The red squares in Figure 1 represent cities that have become Title I cities under the rules that were put in place starting in fiscal year 2007. The cities between the right dashed line and the solid line are the treatment cities, while cities between the left dashed line and the solid line are the control cities.

Numbers of HIV/AIDS deaths from fiscal years 1988 to 2018 come from restricted-use Vital Statistics Multiple Cause of Death Files (US Department of Health and Human Services 2020a), which have information on the universe of civilian deaths in the United States. In addition to containing basic demographic information on decedents and the underlying Internal Classification Diagnosis Code for each death, the restricted-use files contain information on the decedent's county. To have a consistent mapping from counties to cities over time, I attribute HIV/AIDS deaths to cities based on the city definitions in place in 1990, which are the city definitions used in the AIDS Public Information Dataset. I use annual data on county-level populations from the Surveillance, Epidemiology, and End Results Program (2019) to calculate HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people and to calculate the demographic controls.

Online Appendix Table A.3 compares HIV/AIDS deaths to other deaths over the sample period. Relative to their share of non-HIV/AIDS deaths, Black people account for a disproportionately high share of HIV/AIDS deaths (44 percent compared to 12 percent). Men also account for disproportionately more HIV/AIDS deaths relative to their share of non-HIV/AIDS deaths (81 percent compared to 50 percent). The mean age at death from HIV/AIDS was approximately 30 years younger than the mean age for non-HIV/AIDS deaths from 1988 to 2018 (42 years compared to 72 years). Finally, 84 percent of HIV/AIDS deaths occurred in cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset compared to 61 percent of non-HIV/AIDS deaths.

HIV/AIDS death rates are the main outcome studied. In addition to being important, deaths from HIV/AIDS are consistently measured across cities and can be computed for each year from 1988 to 2018. In contrast, 2008 is the first year that information on city-level HIV outcomes is available, and the AIDS Public Information Dataset, which has information on AIDS cases that correspond to the city definitions used in the main analysis, does not have information past 2002. Despite these issues, understanding how Title I affects the spread and progression of the disease is important and can help in interpreting the analysis of HIV/AIDS death rates. I assess the impact of Title I status on multiple measures of AIDS diagnoses with the difference-in-difference design. Information on AIDS cases from 1988 to 2002 comes from the AIDS Public Information Dataset, which has information for all cities in the sample. To have years that correspond to the years of

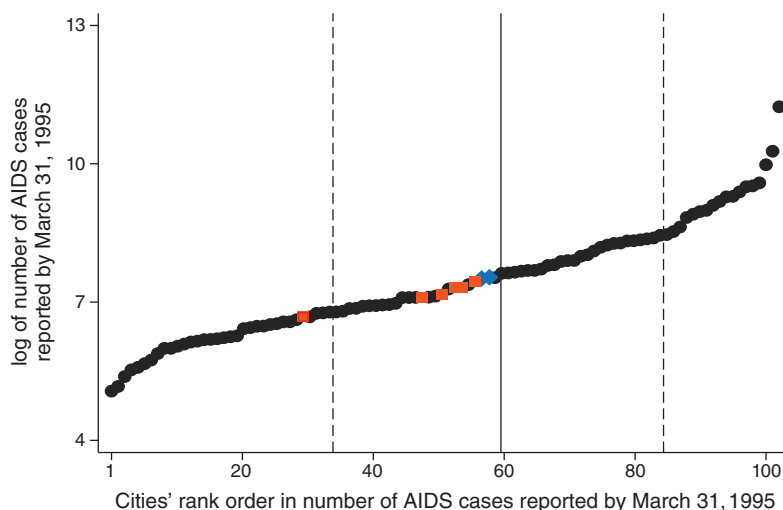


FIGURE 1. CITIES' AIDS CASES BY MARCH 31, 1995

Notes: Each marker represents a separate city. The x -axis indicates cities' rank order in AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995. The y -axis indicates the log of cities' AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995. Cities to the right of the solid vertical line qualified for Title I status under the original rules for Title I eligibility. Cities to the left of the line did not. The blue diamonds represent cities that became eligible for Title I status under the rules put in place in 1996. The red squares represent cities that became eligible for Title I status under the rules put in place in 2007. Cities between the dashed lines are included in the main sample. Data on AIDS cases come from the AIDS Public Information Dataset.

HIV/AIDS deaths, I also use data on city-level AIDS cases each year from 1988 through 2018 that were received from a special request to the CDC (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2020a). The city definitions in the data from the CDC do not perfectly correspond to the city definitions used in the main analysis,¹⁷ but these data have a major advantage in that they span 1988 to 2018. Data on 2008 numbers of new HIV diagnoses and of people living with HIV for the same set of cities also come from the CDC.

Data on Ryan White Title I allocations come from multiple sources. Information on recent years of Title I allocations come from the Tracking Accountability in Government Grants System database and the HRSA website. Information on earlier years of Title I allocations come from GAO reports, Office of Inspector General reports, HRSA budget justifications, and HRSA press releases. Through these sources, I have been able to assemble a dataset with information on 96 percent of Ryan White Title I allocations from 1991 to 2018.¹⁸ Years 1994 to 1996 of this assembled dataset have incomplete funding information, and information

¹⁷ Some cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset are not in the CDC data or are reported combined with other cities. For this reason, the main sample for the CDC analysis includes 46 rather than 50 cities.

¹⁸ I contacted HRSA to inquire about obtaining its information on Ryan White allocations through an open records request, but HRSA unfortunately does not maintain complete records on Ryan White allocations, which is why data had to be collected from these different sources. The sources for this information include Bowen et al. (1992); US Department of Health and Human Services (1994a, b, 2018, 2020b); General Accounting Office (1995, 1998, 2000); and Government Accountability Office (2006, 2009, 2012).

is sporadically missing for a few city-year combinations throughout the data. For the observations with missing or incomplete information, I impute missing values for a city in year t by using the city's funding in year $t + 1$ and assuming that the change in total Title I funding from year t to year $t + 1$ was distributed proportionally based on the city's year t Title I funding. I inflation adjust annual funding amounts to 2018 dollars using consumer price information from the World Bank (2022).

Descriptive statistics for the baseline sample are shown separately for the treatment and control cities in [Table 1](#). As would be expected based on the original rules for Title I eligibility, the mean of HIV/AIDS death rates per 100,000 people is higher for the treatment cities. However, the mean percent increase in the death rate in the year before the Ryan White CARE Act was passed was 17 percent for both the treatment and control cities. Section III shows that HIV/AIDS death rates continue to trend in parallel for the two sets of cities until the treatment cities gain Title I status. Despite similar trends in HIV/AIDS deaths in the early 1990s, the differences in Title I funding between the two sets of cities in subsequent years have been large. From 1996 to 2006, cities that did not qualify for Title I status under the original Ryan White CARE Act rules received \$3.9 million on average, while cities that qualified under the original rules received \$68.9 million on average. Through 2018, the treatment cities received approximately \$3.2 billion more in Title I funding than the control cities did.

III. The Effect of Federal Funding to Combat HIV/AIDS

This section begins by showing that obtaining Title I status under the original Ryan White CARE Act rules has resulted in cities having dramatically fewer HIV/AIDS deaths in subsequent years. I then estimate the total lives saved by Title I and discuss how the cost to save a life through Ryan White compares to the cost through other programs. Next, I test for heterogeneous effects of Title I status on HIV/AIDS deaths for different subgroups, evaluate the implications of Title I for population dynamics, estimate the impact of Title I status on AIDS cases, and assess Title I's impact on HIV cases and transmissions. Finally, I discuss likely reasons Ryan White funds have had large health impacts by providing additional details on barriers to care faced by HIV-positive people and by considering how the care and services paid for by Ryan White funds address these barriers.

The Impact of Title I Status on HIV/AIDS Death Rates.— [Figure 2](#) demonstrates Title I funding differences by 1995 AIDS cases and provides descriptive evidence that supports Title I funding being an important driver of differences in HIV/AIDS progress across cities. Panel A plots means of Title I funds received from 1996 to 2006 per AIDS case reported by March 31, 1995, for cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset grouped based on their rank order in AIDS cases reported through 1995 relative to the original Title I threshold. While cities crossing the 2,000-case threshold by March 31, 1995, received roughly \$22,500 in Title I funding per AIDS case reported through 1995, cities with fewer than 2,000 AIDS cases by March 31, 1995, received less than \$900 in Title I funding per AIDS case reported through 1995.

TABLE 1—CHARACTERISTICS OF CONTROL AND TREATMENT CITIES

| | Fewer than 2,000 AIDS cases reported through March 31, 1995 (control cities) | | More than 2,000 AIDS cases reported through March 31, 1995 (treatment cities) | |
|--|--|------------|---|------------|
| | Mean | St. dev. | Mean | St. dev. |
| <i>Panel A. City-by-year level data (n = 1,550)</i> | | | | |
| Population size | 1,229,969 | 463,227 | 1,949,754 | 826,643 |
| Fraction of population male | 0.49 | 0.01 | 0.49 | 0.01 |
| Fraction of population younger than 18 | 0.25 | 0.02 | 0.25 | 0.02 |
| Fraction of population 65 or older | 0.13 | 0.02 | 0.12 | 0.03 |
| Fraction of population White | 0.79 | 0.10 | 0.81 | 0.08 |
| Fraction of population Black | 0.18 | 0.11 | 0.12 | 0.07 |
| Fraction of population Hispanic | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.18 | 0.13 |
| <i>Panel B. City level observations (n = 50)</i> | | | | |
| HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people year before Ryan White CARE Act | 7.3 | 2.6 | 12.0 | 7.8 |
| Percent increase in HIV/AIDS death rate year before Ryan White CARE Act | 17 | 29 | 17 | 11 |
| Total Title I dollars from 1991 to 1995 | 0 | 0 | 7,284,073 | 6,876,145 |
| Total Title I dollars from 1996 to 2006 | 3,852,918 | 13,346,971 | 68,864,959 | 22,426,453 |
| Total Title I dollars from 2006 to 2018 | 17,804,023 | 30,787,974 | 71,477,627 | 23,817,116 |
| Total Title I dollars through 2018 | 21,656,941 | 39,689,725 | 147,626,659 | 48,692,931 |

Notes: The control and treatment groups include 25 cities each. The descriptive statistics in panel A are for years 1988 to 2018.

Panel B of Figure 2 plots the mean percent change in HIV/AIDS death rates from the year before Ryan White funding began through 2006 for the same grouping of cities and indicates that cities that qualified for Title I status under the original Ryan White CARE Act rules experienced dramatically greater declines in HIV/AIDS death rates between 1990 and 2006 than the cities that did not. The average decrease in HIV/AIDS death rates from 1990 to 2006 was 60 percent for cities obtaining Title I status under the original rules and 36 percent for other cities. Panel C of Figure 2 shows the change in HIV/AIDS death rates across cities along with the corresponding measures for the five leading causes of deaths and for suicides. No other cause of death follows a similar pattern, suggesting that unobserved factors associated with health more broadly are not the reason for the decrease in HIV/AIDS death rates. Panel D of Figure 2 shows differences in HIV/AIDS death rates from 1990 to 2012 and from 1990 to 2018 and indicates that differences in progress reducing HIV/AIDS death rates between cities that qualified for Title I status under the original rules and those that did not still persist through 2018, even with the broader changes in health care and health insurance occurring in recent years and even with subsequent changes to the Ryan White CARE Act that partially offset the funding disparities put in place by the 1996 reauthorization. Online Appendix Figure A.2 shows changes in other causes of death through 2012 and 2018 and indicates that patterns for changes in other causes of death across cities in more recent years do not mirror patterns for HIV/AIDS death rates.

Figure 3 shows that the timing of the changes in HIV/AIDS death rates aligns with the timing of Title I status by plotting event-study coefficients from a single regression of equation (1) where the effect of gaining Title I status under the original rules is allowed to vary flexibly with duration of Title I status using data from

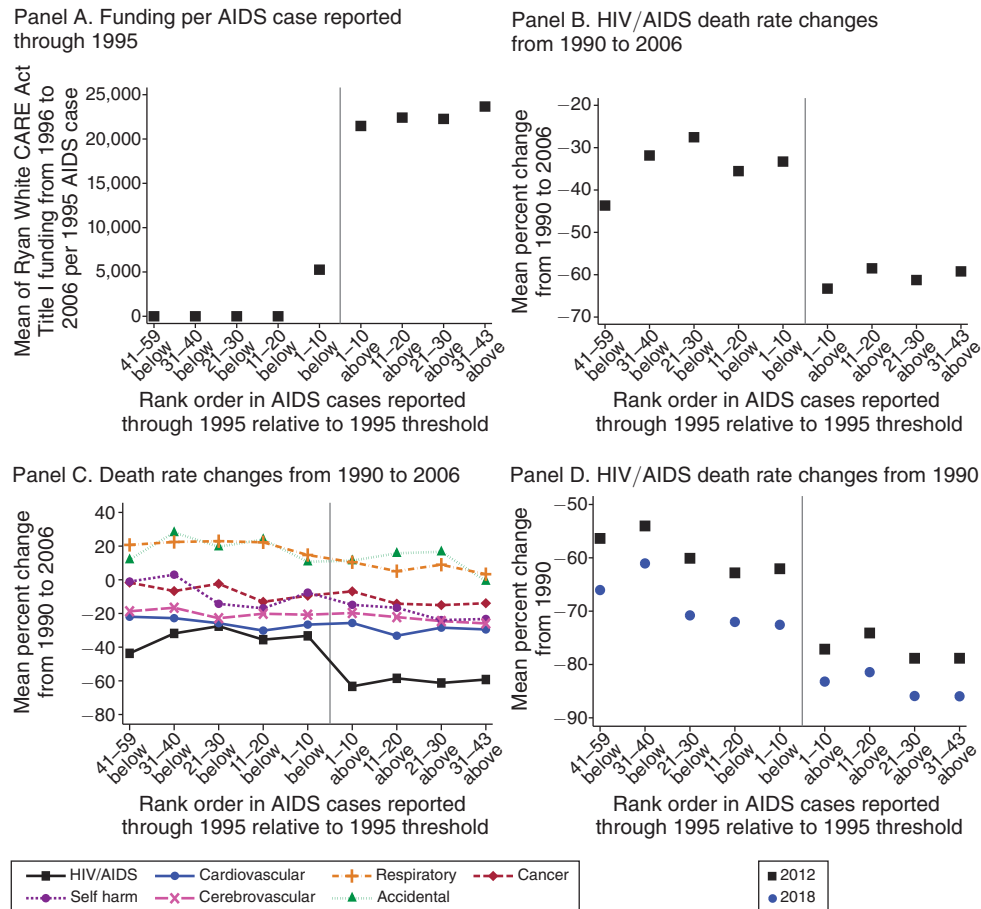


FIGURE 2. TITLE I FUNDING AND CHANGES IN DEATH RATES SINCE 1990 BY CITIES' RANK ORDER IN AIDS CASES REPORTED BY MARCH 31, 1995

Notes: Each marker represents a set of cities grouped based on rank order in AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995. The x-axes indicate cities' rank order in AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, relative to the original threshold for Title I eligibility. The y-axis in panel A indicates mean Title I funding from 1996 to 2006 per AIDS case reported by March 31, 1995. The y-axes in panels B, C, and D indicate the mean percent change in death rates for the indicated cause in the indicated year relative to 1990.

1988 to 2018. The first vertical line marks Title I eligibility. The second vertical line indicates the event time when all Title I cities under the original rules are past 2006. The estimates indicate that the log of HIV/AIDS death rates trended similarly for the treatment and control cities prior to the treatment cities obtaining Title I status. Once the treatment cities obtained Title I status, their HIV/AIDS death rates began falling relative to cities that did not achieve Title I status under the original Ryan White CARE Act rules.

Table 2 displays estimates of the average effect of Title I status on HIV/AIDS death rates. The first column of Table 2 shows estimates of the average effect of Title I using data from 1988 to 2006. The estimate indicates that Title I status lowered annual HIV/AIDS death rates by 0.185 log points on average. Because the

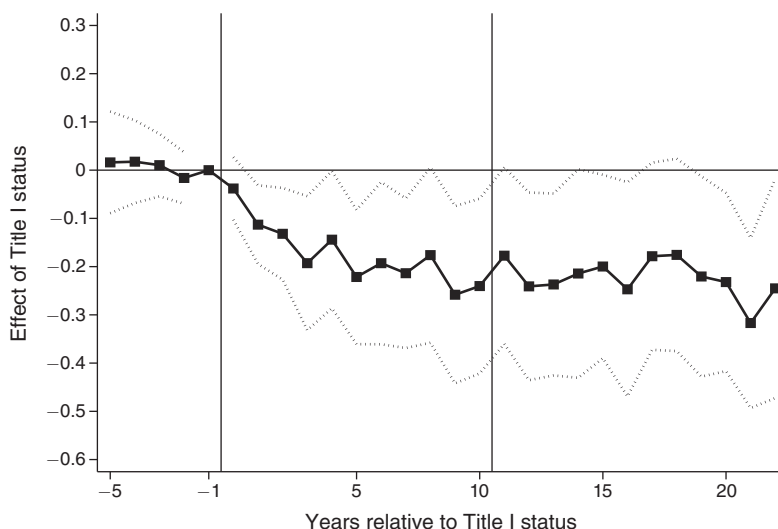


FIGURE 3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TITLE I STATUS AND HIV/AIDS DEATH RATES

Notes: Each marker is a coefficient on Title I status interacted with number of years from initial Title I status eligibility from a single regression with the log of HIV/AIDS death rates as the dependent variable. The year before cities obtained Title I status is the omitted category. The x -axis indicates the number of years from Title I status. The y -axis indicates the coefficient estimate. The sample contains 1,550 observations from 50 cities from 1988 to 2018. The regression includes city fixed effects, year fixed effects, and controls for the share of cities' residents who are Black, Hispanic, younger than 18, 65 and older, and male. The sample does not contain observations with event times of more than 5 years before or more than 22 years after initial eligibility for all treated cities in the sample. Bins for event times outside of this range are included in the regression as separate indicator variables for each year but are not reported. The dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals calculated using standard errors clustered by city. The first vertical line indicates the start of Title I status. The second vertical line indicates when in event time all treated observations are beyond 2006. Numbers of HIV/AIDS deaths come from the Vital Statistics Mortality data.

funding differences between the two sets of cities are sharpest through 2006, this specification provides the cleanest estimate of the effect of Title I status. However, large funding disparities still exist after 2006, and the effects of funding differences to halt an infectious disease are likely to persist. To consider the effect of Title I funding through more recent years, the remaining columns in Table 2 show results from specifications that include data through 2018. Column 2 shows the baseline estimated effect of Title I status using data through 2018. The estimate is similar to the estimate from column 1 at -0.163 log points. Column 3 presents an estimate of the effect of Title I status from a regression weighted by cities' populations. The estimated effect is similar to the estimate in column 2. Online Appendix Figure A.3 displays the weighted event-study graph corresponding to Figure 3 and indicates that the weighted event study is similar to the nonweighted event study. Column 4 expands the sample to include all cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset in the sample. When all cities are included, the estimated effect of Title I status is a 0.196 log point reduction in HIV/AIDS death rates.

Table 3 assesses the robustness of the estimates from specifications 1 and 2 of Table 2 to various alternative specifications. Specifications 1 and 2 of panel A of Table 3 show the baseline estimates. The remaining coefficient estimates in panel A are from specifications that supplement equation (1) with additional controls.

TABLE 2—THE EFFECT OF TITLE I STATUS ON HIV/AIDS DEATH RATES

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | −0.185 (0.069) [0.010] | −0.163 (0.075) [0.036] | −0.154 (0.063) [0.018] | −0.196 (0.056) [0.001] |
| Years | 1988–2006 | 1988–2018 | 1988–2018 | 1988–2018 |
| Number of cities | 50 | 50 | 50 | 102 |
| Observations | 950 | 1,550 | 1,550 | 3,162 |
| Mean of dep. var. in levels | 8.7 | 6.3 | 5.3 | 6.6 |
| Population weights | | | x | |

Notes: Each column displays the effect of Title I status from separate regressions of equation (1). The unit of observation is a city and year combination. The dependent variable is the log of HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people. Numbers of HIV/AIDS deaths each year come from the Vital Statistics Mortality data. All regressions include city fixed effects, year fixed effects, and controls for the share of cities' residents who are Black, Hispanic, younger than 18, 65 and older, and male. Standard errors are clustered by city and are shown in parentheses. *P*-values are shown in brackets.

Specifications 3 and 4 supplement equation (1) with controls for city-level unemployment rates (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2020) since economic conditions have been shown to be related to health and also affect health insurance access (Ruhm 2000). Specifications 5 and 6 control for same-sex marriage being legal in the state since same-sex marriage is associated with increased health insurance and health care access for gay men (Carpenter et al. 2021).¹⁹ Specifications 7 and 8 supplement equation (1) with year-by-census-region fixed effects to account for the possibility of region-specific trends in HIV/AIDS deaths that are correlated with Title I status. Specifications 9 and 10 report results from a specification that includes all cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset and supplements equation (1) with state-by-year fixed effects, which means these specifications identify the effect of Title I status by comparing how differences in HIV/AIDS death rates between Title I cities and non-Title I cities in the same state change after Title I cities obtain Title I status. Subsequent analyses further assess threats posed by specific state-level factors that could have had the potential to have led to a spurious correlation between Title I status and HIV/AIDS deaths, such as Medicaid rules or laws criminalizing HIV exposure, but specifications 9 and 10 serve as a broad test for the possibility that state-level factors not accounted for in equation (1) confound the baseline regressions. The estimates across specifications 3 through 10 are similar to the main estimates.

Specifications 11 through 14 of Table 3 control for state laws that explicitly criminalize certain types of HIV exposures. From 1986 to 2011, states passed over 65 of these types of laws (Lehman et al. 2014), the most common of which require HIV-positive people to disclose their HIV status before engaging in sex, sharing needles, or donating blood. Examples of other criminal laws that explicitly incorporate HIV status include laws that impose additional penalties on people with HIV for engaging in prostitution or for spitting on or biting others. The original Ryan White

¹⁹For specifications that incorporate state-level information as controls, I calculate the mean of state characteristics weighted by the share of the city in each state for cities that span multiple states.

TABLE 3—ALTERNATIVE SPECIFICATIONS FOR ESTIMATES OF THE EFFECT OF TITLE I STATUS

| Additional controls: | Baseline | | Unemployment rate | | Same-sex marriage | | Region-by-year effects | |
|--|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A. Dependent variable: $\log(\text{HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people})$</i> | | | | | | | | |
| | −0.185 (0.069) [0.010] | −0.163 (0.075) [0.036] | −0.185 (0.069) [0.010] | −0.161 (0.075) [0.038] | −0.183 (0.069) [0.011] | −0.163 (0.076) [0.036] | −0.192 (0.074) [0.013] | −0.180 (0.086) [0.040] |
| | State-by-year effects | | Any HIV disclosure law | | Number of HIV disclosure laws | | | |
| | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) | (14) | | |
| | −0.146 (0.062) [0.021] | −0.160 (0.065) [0.015] | −0.193 (0.066) [0.005] | −0.174 (0.071) [0.018] | −0.186 (0.069) [0.010] | −0.163 (0.075) [0.036] | | |
| Dependent variable: | Age-adjusted HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people | | HIV/AIDS deaths | | Non-HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people | | State HIV/AIDS death rate outside cities | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel B. Alternative dependent variables (in logs)</i> | | | | | | | | |
| | −0.187 (0.069) [0.009] | −0.163 (0.075) [0.036] | −0.197 (0.076) [0.012] | −0.170 (0.085) [0.052] | −0.005 (0.009) [0.613] | −0.014 (0.015) [0.363] | 0.006 (0.057) [0.914] | 0.007 (0.067) [0.923] |
| Years | 1988–2006 | 1988–2018 | 1988–2006 | 1988–2018 | 1988–2006 | 1988–2018 | 1988–2006 | 1988–2018 |

Notes: Each cell displays the effect of Title I status from separate regressions of equation (1). The unit of observation is a city and year combination. The dependent variable in panel A is the log of HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people. The dependent variables for the regressions in panel B are indicated in the table. Numbers of deaths each year come from the Vital Statistics Mortality data. Regressions include city fixed effects, year fixed effects, and controls for the share of cities' residents who are Black, Hispanic, younger than 18, 65 and older, and male. Additional controls are indicated in the table for the regressions in panel A. The controls in specifications 7 and 8 of panel B are based on state residents living outside of cities. Standard errors are clustered by city and are shown in parentheses. *P*-values are shown in brackets. The samples for specifications 9 and 10 in panel A include 1,734 observations from 1988 to 2006 and 3,162 observations from 1988 to 2018. The sample for the other regressions contains 950 observations from 1988 to 2006 and 1,550 observations from 1988 to 2018.

CARE Act legislation has the potential to have led to states passing laws criminalizing HIV exposure because the original act stipulated that states would only receive Ryan White funds after first confirming that their criminal laws would allow for prosecuting people who knowingly exposed people to HIV through sex; needle sharing; or donating blood, semen, or breast milk without first disclosing their HIV status.²⁰ However, the timing of the passage of these laws does not point to the Ryan White CARE Act as having driven their passage. Nineteen states had passed at least one law criminalizing HIV exposure before the Ryan White CARE Act was passed, and only four additional states passed their first HIV exposure law from 1991 to 1996. No state failed to receive Ryan White funds because of inadequate laws for prosecuting undisclosed HIV exposures, and the mean shares of treatment

²⁰ This requirement was included in the original Ryan White legislation as an amendment by Ted Kennedy, the act's primary sponsor, as an alternative to an amendment from Jesse Helms that would have made an undisclosed HIV exposure a federal crime. Laws criminalizing HIV are controversial. Some contend that these laws stem from homophobia and racism and argue that punishing people for failing to disclose an HIV infection disincentivizes HIV testing (Hoppe, McClelland, and Pass 2022; Lehman et al. 2014). The Ryan White CARE Act removed the requirement that states ensure their laws allow for prosecuting undisclosed HIV exposures in the 2000 Ryan White reauthorization.

and control observations exposed to at least one of these laws are similar at 63.8 percent and 63.2 percent. While the specifications that control for state-year fixed effects suggest state-level policies do not drive the relationship between Title I funding and progress in addressing HIV/AIDS, controlling for laws that criminalize HIV exposure is a direct way to assess these laws' role in the estimated effect of Title I on HIV/AIDS death rates. Specifications 11 and 12 control for cities being in states with any state law criminalizing HIV exposure, while specifications 13 and 14 control for the number of HIV criminalization laws in place. The results are similar to the baseline estimates when these additional controls are included, which provides further evidence that laws requiring HIV disclosure are not responsible for the relationship between Title I and progress reducing HIV/AIDS deaths.

Panel B of Table 3 assesses the robustness of the results to using alternative dependent variables. Specifications 1 and 2 of panel B of Table 3 show estimated effects on the log of age-adjusted HIV/AIDS mortality rates per 100,000 people calculated using the 2000 age distribution from the Surveillance, Epidemiology, and End Results (SEER) data. Specifications 3 and 4 use the log of HIV/AIDS deaths as the dependent variable instead of the log of HIV/AIDS death rates per 100,000 people. As long as major population changes correlated with Title I status have not occurred, the estimates should be similar regardless of whether the dependent variable is based on rates or counts. The estimates in specifications 1 through 4 of Table 3 panel B are similar to the baseline estimates.

Specifications 5 and 6 of Table 3 panel B show estimates of the impact of Title I status on non-HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people. While Figure 2 did not indicate that changes in other major causes of death over time vary systematically by AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, Title I status has the potential to increase or decrease non-HIV/AIDS deaths. By reducing HIV/AIDS deaths, Title I status could increase non-HIV/AIDS deaths since people not dying from HIV/AIDS will eventually die from other causes, but large amounts of funding to fight HIV/AIDS could also allow cities to spend money they would have spent on HIV/AIDS on other types of health initiatives. Similarly, Title I funds have the potential to build public health infrastructure that can be used more broadly. Despite these potential mechanisms for how Title I status could affect non-HIV/AIDS deaths, finding similarly sized effects on non-HIV/AIDS deaths would raise concerns about the validity of the empirical approach for identifying the impact of Title I status on HIV/AIDS outcomes. Figure 4 further considers the relationship between Title I status and non-HIV/AIDS death rates by displaying the estimated effects of Title I status on HIV/AIDS death rates along with the estimated effects of Title I status on rates of each of the five leading causes of death in the United States, as well as on suicide rates. The estimates displayed in columns 5 and 6 of Table 3 panel B and in Figure 4 do not indicate that Title I status is associated with large changes in non-HIV/AIDS death rates.

As an additional way to verify that the relationship between Title I funding and progress reducing HIV/AIDS deaths is not driven by state-level factors not accounted for in equation (1), specifications 7 and 8 of Table 3 panel B display estimated effects of Title I status on the log of state rates of HIV/AIDS deaths occurring outside of cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset. Excluding cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset means that the dependent variable is the rate of HIV/AIDS deaths occurring outside of all Title I cities and also outside of

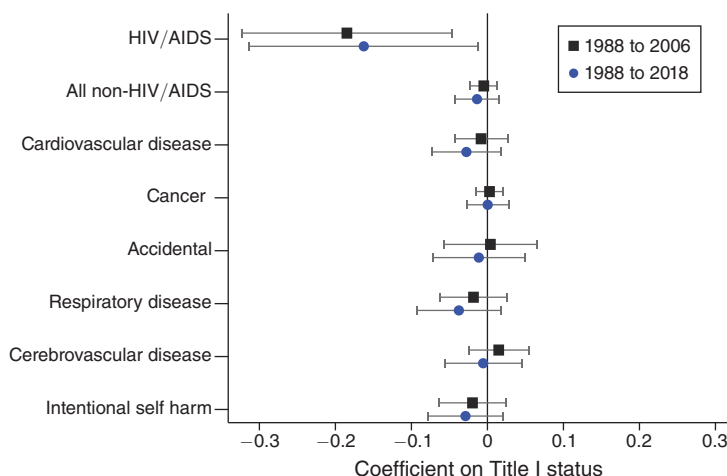


FIGURE 4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TITLE I STATUS AND DEATH RATES

Notes: Each marker represents an estimate of the coefficient on Title I status from separate regressions of equation (1) with the dependent variable being the log of deaths per 100,000 people for the indicated cause. All regressions include city fixed effects, year fixed effects, and controls for the share of cities' residents who are Black, Hispanic, younger than 18, 65 and older, and male. The sample includes 50 cities and contains 950 observations from 1988 to 2006 and 1,550 observations from 1988 to 2018. The graph displays 95 percent confidence intervals calculated using standard errors clustered by city. Numbers of deaths come from the Vital Statistics Mortality data.

all other cities with at least 500,000 people. Though Title I funding could potentially have within-state spillover impacts, estimating equally large effects of Title I on HIV/AIDS death rates outside of Title I cities would raise concerns about the possibility of state-level confounding factors. The point estimates in specifications 7 and 8 are statistically indistinguishable from zero and provide further support that unobserved state-level factors do not confound the analysis.

Prior to 2014, one of the few options for people with HIV/AIDS to obtain non-employer-based health insurance was through the disability insurance system after AIDS had resulted in them being unable to work. The city fixed effects in equation (1) account for baseline differences in Medicaid generosity across states, while the year fixed effects account for national changes in Medicaid generosity over time. However, though I am not aware of changes in Medicaid rules over time that are correlated with Title I status, such changes could confound this study's empirical approach if they affect HIV/AIDS outcomes. Even fixed preexisting differences in Medicaid generosity across states would have the potential to confound the empirical strategy if they resulted in differential access across cities to the antiretroviral treatments that emerged in the mid 1990s. I next assess the robustness of the results to including various controls to account for differences in Medicaid and health insurance coverage across states. [Figure 5](#) compares Medicaid rules and health insurance coverage across treatment and control cities and does not point to differences in Medicaid rules having led to large differences in Medicaid coverage or uninsured rates across treatment and control cities in the mid 1990s.²¹ To further

²¹ Refer to online Appendix Table A.4 for the means for each variable in Figure 5, along with *p*-values for the differences in the means between treatment and control cities.

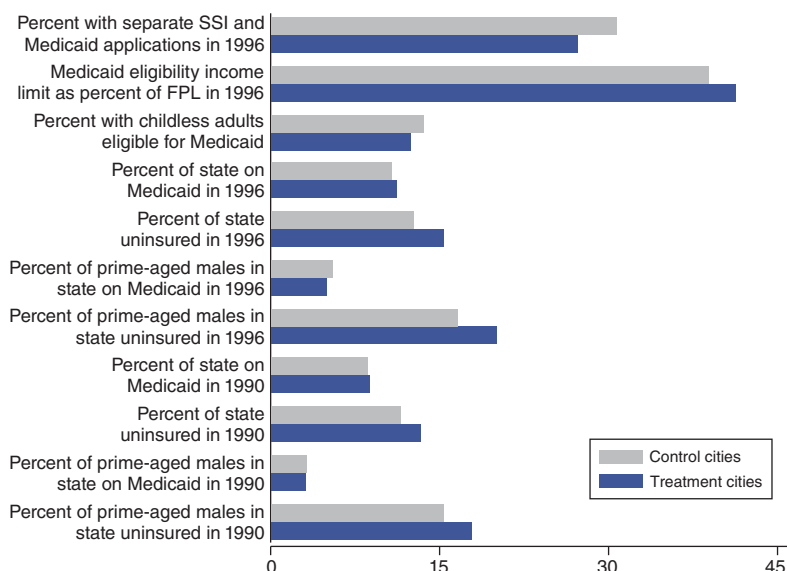


FIGURE 5. INSURANCE CHARACTERISTICS FOR TREATMENT AND CONTROL CITIES

Notes: The data on health insurance coverage come from the Current Population Survey's Annual Social and Economic Supplement. For cities that span multiple states, the values shown are means weighted by the share of cities' population in each state.

assess threats posed by differences in Medicaid rules and health insurance coverage, [Table 4](#) displays estimates of the impact of Title I status on logged HIV/AIDS death rates from supplementing equation (1) with additional controls for Medicaid rules and health insurance coverage with coefficients that are allowed to vary by year. Overall, the analysis shown in Table 4 provides further evidence that differences in health insurance coverage do not confound the approach to estimating the impact of Title I. Specific health insurance characteristics assessed in Figure 5 and Table 4 are discussed in more detail below.

In most states, people who qualify for Supplemental Security Income (SSI) automatically become eligible for Medicaid. Approximately 15 states, however, require people to fill out separate applications for Medicaid and SSI, which has the potential to lead to differential Medicaid access across states for people disabled because of AIDS. Though there is little variation in these rules over time, these rules could still be a threat to this study's empirical approach if they are correlated with Title I status and have an effect on HIV/AIDS death rates that varies over time. The share of control and treatment cities' populations with separate applications is similar in 1996 at 30.7 percent and 27.2 percent, but row 2 of Table 4 assesses the relevance of differences in Medicaid application rules across cities for the analysis by reporting Title I coefficients from supplementing equation (1) with controls for states having separate SSI and Medicaid applications interacted with year indicator variables. The estimated effects of Title I from this alternative specification are similar to the baseline estimates.

The generosity of income thresholds for eligibility is another way that state Medicaid programs differ. The mean maximum income for Medicaid eligibility

TABLE 4—ESTIMATES OF THE EFFECT OF TITLE I STATUS WITH CONTROLS FOR MEDICAID AND INSURANCE CHARACTERISTICS

| Additional controls: | | | |
|----------------------|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | Baseline | −0.185 (0.069) [0.010] | −0.163 (0.075) [0.036] |
| 2. | Separate SSI Medicaid applications in 1996 | −0.176 (0.070) [0.016] | −0.163 (0.078) [0.042] |
| 3. | Medicaid eligibility income limit as percent of FPL in 1996 | −0.178 (0.070) [0.014] | −0.164 (0.077) [0.038] |
| 4. | Medicaid coverage for childless adults | −0.187 (0.069) [0.009] | −0.166 (0.075) [0.032] |
| 5. | Percent of state on Medicaid in 1996 | −0.193 (0.071) [0.009] | −0.170 (0.076) [0.031] |
| 6. | Percent of state uninsured in 1996 | −0.207 (0.075) [0.009] | −0.172 (0.079) [0.033] |
| 7. | Percent of prime-aged males in state on Medicaid in 1996 | −0.174 (0.071) [0.018] | −0.151 (0.076) [0.052] |
| 8. | Percent of prime-aged males in state uninsured in 1996 | −0.206 (0.075) [0.009] | −0.176 (0.078) [0.029] |
| 9. | Percent of state on Medicaid in 1990 | −0.184 (0.072) [0.013] | −0.161 (0.077) [0.042] |
| 10. | Percent of state uninsured in 1990 | −0.202 (0.078) [0.012] | −0.183 (0.082) [0.029] |
| 11. | Percent of prime-aged males in state on Medicaid in 1990 | −0.188 (0.067) [0.007] | −0.167 (0.073) [0.027] |
| 12. | Percent of prime-aged males in state uninsured in 1990 | −0.204 (0.076) [0.010] | −0.185 (0.080) [0.025] |
| 13. | Percent of state on Medicaid in observation year | −0.174 (0.068) [0.014] | −0.155 (0.076) [0.047] |
| 14. | Percent of state uninsured in observation year | −0.203 (0.073) [0.007] | −0.181 (0.077) [0.022] |
| 15. | Percent of prime-aged males in state on Medicaid in observation year | −0.178 (0.066) [0.010] | −0.160 (0.074) [0.036] |
| 16. | Percent of prime-aged males in state uninsured in observation year | −0.205 (0.072) [0.007] | −0.182 (0.076) [0.021] |
| Years | | 1988–2006 | 1988–2018 |

Notes: Each cell displays the effect of Title I status from separate regressions of equation (1). The unit of observation is a city and year combination. The dependent variable is the log of HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people. Numbers of HIV/AIDS deaths each year come from the Vital Statistics Mortality data. All regressions include city fixed effects, year fixed effects, and controls for the share of cities' residents who are Black, Hispanic, younger than 18, 65 and older, and male. Additional controls are indicated in the table. The controls in rows 5 through 16 are calculated using the Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the Current Population Survey. Standard errors are clustered by city and are shown in parentheses. *P*-values are shown in brackets. The sample for each regression contains 950 observations from 1988 to 2006 and 1,550 observations from 1988 to 2018.

when effective HIV treatment emerged is similar across treatment and control cities, with a mean of 38.8 percent of the federal poverty level (FPL) for the control cities and 41.2 percent for the treatment cities. For single people, these thresholds translate to people needing 1996 annual incomes of less than \$3,003 and \$3,189 to be eligible for Medicaid. The specifications in row 3 of Table 4 supplement equation (1) with controls for the maximum income thresholds in 1996 interacted with year. Again, the results with these additional controls are similar to the baseline results. While childless adults have typically been excluded from Medicaid eligibility, many states have begun to allow childless adults to enroll in Medicaid through the ACA's Medicaid expansion. Row 4 of Table 4 supplements the baseline specification with controls for states allowing low-income, nondisabled childless adults to be on Medicaid. Most of the variation in this measure starts in 2014 after the ACA expanded Medicaid, but the measure also incorporates the few states that expanded Medicaid eligibility prior to the ACA.²² The estimated effects of Title I status in row 4 do not change dramatically when this control is included.

The remaining specifications in Table 4 supplement the estimation with state-level controls for Medicaid coverage and uninsured rates that are interacted with year and calculated using the Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2022).²³ The estimates change dramatically when these additional controls are included might suggest that city-level differences in HIV/AIDS progress are driven by unobserved differences in state policy environments rather than Title I status. Row 5 of Table 4 reports estimates from a specification with controls for Medicaid coverage in 1996, while row 6 reports estimates from a specification with controls for the share uninsured in 1996. Rows 7 and 8 are from specifications that control for 1996 shares of males ages 18 to 64 with Medicaid (row 7) and without insurance (row 8) since prime-aged males have been disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS. Rows 9 through 12 control for the equivalent measures from 1990, the year before the Ryan White CARE Act went into effect. Rows 13 through 16 of Table 4 control for measures calculated separately for each year. The estimates of the impact of Title I status are robust across all specifications.

Online Appendix Table A.5 further assesses the robustness of the estimated effect of Title I status by showing estimates from broadening and narrowing the set of cities included in the sample. Specifically, online Appendix Table A.5 considers the robustness of the results to including the 20 and 30 cities on either side of the original threshold of AIDS cases for Title I eligibility through 1995 that were closest to the threshold. Online Appendix Table A.5 also assesses robustness to excluding the

²² Information on the timing of state adoption of the ACA's Medicaid expansion comes from the Kaiser Family Foundation (2022). The list of states with pre-ACA Medicaid eligibility for childless, nondisabled adults comes from McMorroo et al. (2017). The mean shares of city populations from 1988 to 2018 with nondisabled childless adults being eligible for Medicaid are similar for treatment and control cities at 12.4 percent and 13.6 percent, respectively.

²³ The specifications in Table 4 control for state-level shares of people with Medicaid or without insurance coverage because city identifiers are suppressed in the publicly released Current Population Survey data. The rationale for controlling for state-level coverage is that state-level policies that would affect city-level coverage would likely affect coverage in the rest of the state as well, which would lead to state-level coverage being correlated with city-level coverage. To verify that state-level health insurance coverage is a meaningful correlate of city-level health insurance coverage, I draw on the 2018 American Community Survey (Ruggles et al. 2022). For the cities in the sample with at least one county identified in the American Community Survey, the correlation coefficient between the city and state measures is 0.89 for uninsured rates and 0.83 for Medicaid coverage.

five cities that were closest to the original threshold on either side of the threshold, which removes from the sample the two cities that eventually qualified for Title I status under the new rules put in place in 1996. As an alternative for assessing the relevance of the two cities gaining Title I status in 1999, online Appendix Table A.5 also reports estimates from a specification that excludes these two cities from the pool of eligible control cities. In addition, online Appendix Table A.5 shows estimates from a specification that limits the set of treated cities to those that obtained Title I status from 1994 to 1996 and excludes observations from 1994 to 1996, which ensures that none of the identifying variation for the Title I coefficient comes from comparisons between cities changing Title I status and already-treated cities. While the standard errors rise as fewer cities are included in the regressions, the point estimates of the effect of Title I status shown in online Appendix Table A.5 do not vary dramatically.

As explained in Callaway and Sant'Anna (2021); de Chaisemartin and D'Haultfœuille (2020); Goodman-Bacon (2021b); and Sun and Abraham (2020), models with two-way fixed effects can produce estimates of treatment effects that are biased toward zero when treatment timing varies across groups and when treatment effects evolve with treatment duration. Because the sample includes no always-treated cities and because most of the treated cities in the sample obtained Title I status within a few years of each other, differential treatment timing is arguably unlikely to lead to major bias in this setting. The results in online Appendix Table A.5 further support differential treatment timing not leading to meaningful bias by showing that the estimated effects of Title I status are similar when the sample excludes cities and years that lead to comparisons of not-yet-treated cities and already-treated cities. To further assess the role of differential treatment timing in the baseline estimates, I implement the decomposition procedure described in Goodman-Bacon (2021b). This procedure indicates that the share of the identifying variation coming from variation in treatment timing among the treated units is 13.9 percent for the estimate using 1988 to 2006 data and 12.5 percent for the estimate using 1988 to 2018 data. Excluding the identifying variation from treatment timing yields estimated effects of Title I status that are similar to the baseline estimates at -0.182 for the 1988 to 2006 period and -0.173 for the 1988 to 2018 period, which provides additional evidence that within-treatment group comparisons do not drive the results.

Online Appendix Figure A.4 and Table A.6 report results from analysis of the impact of Title I status from using the reweighting methods described in Callaway and Sant'Anna (2021). Online Appendix Figure A.4 shows that Callaway and Sant'Anna event-study coefficients are similar to the baseline coefficients reported in Figure 3. Online Appendix Table A.6 reports the overall average treatment effect estimated using the Callaway and Sant'Anna methods, as well as effects estimated separately for before 1996, 1996 to 2006, and 2007 and later. In addition to AZT, other care that could potentially delay AIDS diagnoses and deaths before 1996 included prophylaxis and treatment for certain AIDS-defining opportunistic infections, like pneumocystis, cryptococcosis, and candidiasis (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 1994). Potential impacts prior to 1996 likely would have been short-lived and only delayed HIV/AIDS deaths for a few years if not for the emergence of effective treatment, but the discovery of effective antiretrovirals in

1996 meant that delaying the onset of AIDS and HIV/AIDS deaths in the early 1990s could have had lasting impacts by allowing people to survive until effective HIV treatment became available. The point estimate of the average effect across all years from using the Callaway and Sant'Anna methods indicates that Title I status reduced annual HIV/AIDS deaths by 20.6 percent, which is larger in magnitude but not statistically different than the baseline estimated effect. When separate effects are estimated for before 1996, 1996 to 2006, and 2007 and later, the point estimate of the effect of Title I status prior to 1996 is negative but statistically indistinguishable from zero. The point estimate of the effect from 2007 onward is larger in magnitude than the estimated effect from 1996 to 2006, which is consistent with the effects growing over time, though the difference in the estimated effects for 1996 to 2006 and 2007 to 2018 is not statistically significant.

The difference-in-difference approach assumes the log of HIV/AIDS deaths would have trended in parallel for treatment and control cities if not for treatment cities obtaining Title I status. The event-study coefficients in Figure 3 suggest that treatment and control cities were trending in parallel prior to treatment cities gaining access to Title I funds, but a potential violation of the parallel trends assumption could occur if the natural progression of HIV/AIDS would have meant that areas with more severe AIDS outbreaks in the early and mid 1990s would have experienced larger declines in HIV/AIDS deaths relative to areas with less severe AIDS outbreaks regardless of differences in Title I funding. Similarly, a potential violation could arise if the emergence of effective HIV treatment in 1996 had differential effects in percent terms based on the severity of AIDS outbreaks since Title I cities were experiencing more severe AIDS outbreaks on average as the treatment emerged. I next assess the robustness of the baseline findings to implementing a strategy that estimates the impact of Title I status using a separate control group for each treatment city that is chosen to ensure comparability of local epidemics between a treatment city and its controls.

A city's number of AIDS cases reported by 1995 can be expressed as a combination of its 1995 population size and its rate of AIDS cases reported by 1995 as follows:

$$cases_reported_{1995} = \frac{cases_reported_{1995}}{population_{1995}} \times population_{1995}.$$

Since the 2,000-case threshold did not take into account city populations, large cities needed lower rates of AIDS cases reported by 1995 to qualify for Title I funds under the original rules than smaller cities did. Figure 6 illustrates this relationship by plotting the logs of 1995 populations and of rates of AIDS cases reported by March 31 of 1995 per 100,000 people for each city in the sample. The black line indicates the rate of AIDS cases cities would have needed by 1995 to qualify for Title I status given their 1995 populations. If HIV/AIDS dynamics or the impact of effective treatment emerging differ by the intensity of AIDS outbreaks (i.e., per capita AIDS cases), comparisons of cities with similar rates of AIDS cases reported may be preferable to comparisons of cities with similar numbers of AIDS cases reported.

To create the matched samples, I first sort cities based on either their rate of AIDS cases reported by 1995 or their 1995 population. I then assign each treatment city the control city immediately above it and the control city immediately below it in

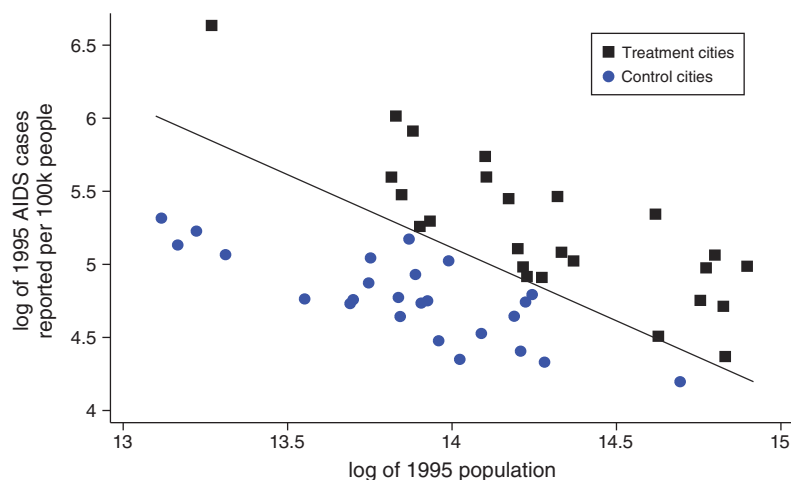


FIGURE 6. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POPULATION AND RATES OF AIDS CASES IN DETERMINING TITLE I STATUS

Notes: Each marker represents a separate city. The x -axis indicates the log of cities' populations in 1995. The y -axis indicates the log of cities' rates of AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, per 100,000 people. The black line indicates the rate of AIDS cases cities would need to have reported by March 31, 1995, given their 1995 population to have 2,000 AIDS cases ever reported and thus to qualify for Title I status under the original Ryan White CARE Act rules. Data on AIDS cases come from the AIDS Public Information Dataset. Data on city populations come from the SEER data.

each distribution to serve as its control group. For each matched sample, I estimate the following model:

$$(2) \quad y_{gjt} = \gamma_j + \delta_{gt} + \mathbf{X}_{jt}\alpha_t + Title1_{jt}\beta + \epsilon_{gjt},$$

where g indexes each group, δ is a vector of group-by-year fixed effects, and the other variables are defined as before. Because equation (2) includes group-by-year fixed effects, identification of the effect of Title I comes from how HIV/AIDS deaths in Title I cities changed after these cities gained Title I status relative to how HIV/AIDS deaths changed in their individual control groups. When constructing the matched samples, I allow control cities to be in the control group for multiple treatment cities and exclude Title I cities without two comparison cities. As an example of a Title I city's control group, Providence and Memphis, which had 131 and 138 AIDS cases per 100,000 people in 1995 and were not Title I cities by 1995, serve as control cities for Fort Worth, which achieved Title I status under the original Ryan White rules with 137 AIDS cases per 100,000 people in 1995. In addition to implementing this process separately for 1995 AIDS case rates and for population size, I also implement it for the change in HIV/AIDS death rates from 1990 to 1991 and for the change in new AIDS cases reported from 1990 to 1991 to focus on comparisons of cities with similar AIDS trends in the year the Ryan White CARE Act was originally passed.²⁴

²⁴To continue with the Fort Worth example, when basing the control group on population size, Fort Worth is compared to Indianapolis and Norfolk, which have 1995 populations of 1,503,775 and 1,534,236. For the change

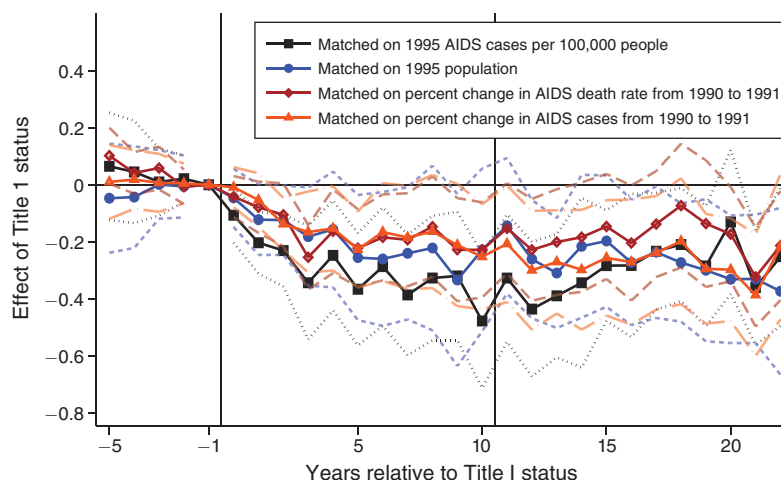


FIGURE 7. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TITLE I STATUS AND HIV/AIDS DEATH RATES: MATCHED COMPARISONS

Notes: Each marker is a coefficient on Title I status interacted with number of years from initial Title I status eligibility with the log of HIV/AIDS death rates as the dependent variable. The year before cities obtained Title I status is the omitted category. The x-axis indicates the number of years from Title I status. The y-axis indicates the coefficient estimate. Each series comes from a single regression using data from 1988 to 2018 for the sample created by matching treatment and control cities based on the indicated information. The black squares are from a sample matched on 1995 AIDS cases per 100,000 people. The blue circles are from a sample matched on 1995 population. The maroon diamonds are from a sample matched on the percent change in HIV/AIDS death rates from 1990 to 1991. The orange triangles are from a sample matched on the percent change in reported AIDS cases from 1990 to 1991. Each regression includes city fixed effects, group-by-year fixed effects, and controls for the share of cities' residents who are Black, Hispanic, younger than 18, 65 and older, and male. The sample does not contain observations with event times of more than 5 years before or more than 22 years after initial eligibility for all treated cities in the sample. Bins for event times outside of this range are included in the regression as separate indicator variables for each year but are not reported. The dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals calculated using standard errors clustered by city. The first vertical line indicates the start of Title I status. The second vertical line indicates when in event time all treated observations are beyond 2006. Numbers of deaths come from the Vital Statistics Mortality data.

Figure 7 shows event-study estimates for the matched samples. Table 5 reports estimates of the average effect of Title I status. Overall, the results from the matching approach support the main findings. The point estimates of the impact of Title I status for the sample matched on 1995 AIDS rates are larger in magnitude than the baseline estimates, which indicates that the estimated effect of Title I status is, if anything, larger in magnitude when focusing on cities with similar AIDS outbreak intensities, though the 95 percent confidence intervals for this sample include the baseline estimates. This analysis supports that the relationship between Title I status and reductions in HIV/AIDS deaths does not spuriously arise from comparisons of cities at different stages of the progression of AIDS epidemics. The estimates of the impact of Title I status for the sample matched on 1995 populations are less precise than the baseline estimates, but the point estimates are similar in magnitude

in HIV/AIDS death rates, Fort Worth is compared to Greensboro and Charlotte, which had changes in logged HIV/AIDS death rates from 1990 to 1991 of 0.242 and 0.258. For the change in new AIDS cases reported, Fort Worth is compared to Oklahoma City and Milwaukee, which had changes in logged AIDS cases reported from 1990 to 1991 of -0.137 and -0.103 . As discussed earlier, the city definitions for population counts include all counties that are at least partially in a city.

TABLE 5—THE EFFECT OF TITLE I STATUS ON HIV/AIDS DEATH RATES FROM MATCHING APPROACH

| | Number of treatment cities | Number of control cities | (1) | (2) |
|---|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Baseline | 25 | 25 | −0.185 (0.069) [0.010] | −0.163 (0.075) [0.036] |
| Observations | | | 950 | 1,550 |
| Matched on 1995 AIDS cases per 100,000 people | 15 | 16 | −0.279 (0.082) [0.002] | −0.283 (0.094) [0.005] |
| Observations | | | 855 | 1,395 |
| Matched on 1995 population | 19 | 17 | −0.164 (0.095) [0.094] | −0.152 (0.099) [0.134] |
| Observations | | | 1,083 | 1,767 |
| Matched on percent change in AIDS death rate from 1990 to 1991 | 25 | 17 | −0.211 (0.059) [0.001] | −0.188 (0.070) [0.010] |
| Observations | | | 1,425 | 2,325 |
| Matched on percent change in reported AIDS cases from 1990 to 1991 | 22 | 19 | −0.202 (0.076) [0.011] | −0.193 (0.082) [0.023] |
| Observations | | | 1,254 | 2,046 |
| Years | | | 1988–2006 | 1988–2018 |

Notes: Each cell displays the effect of Title I status from separate regressions. The unit of observation is a city and year combination. The dependent variable is the log of HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people. Numbers of HIV/AIDS deaths each year come from the Vital Statistics Mortality data. The coefficients for the matched samples are from regressions of equation (2) that include city fixed effects, year fixed effects, group-by-year fixed effects, and controls for the share of cities' residents who are Black, Hispanic, younger than 18, 65 and older, and male. Standard errors are clustered by city and are shown in parentheses. *P*-values are shown in brackets.

to the baseline estimates. The estimates from the samples matched based on changes in HIV/AIDS death rates and in AIDS cases reported from 1990 to 1991 are also similar to the baseline estimates and provide additional support that preexisting differential trends in HIV/AIDS outcomes do not drive the findings.

Online Appendix Figure A.5 shows placebo analyses that further assess the possibility that having higher numbers of AIDS cases reported by 1995 resulted in cities experiencing larger percent decreases in HIV/AIDS deaths for reasons apart from differences in Title I funding. The black squares in online Appendix Figure A.5 are event-study coefficients from a regression that estimates changes over time in the difference in logged HIV/AIDS death rates between the 12 cities in the control group with the most AIDS cases by March 31, 1995, and the other 13 control cities. The blue circles are event-study coefficients from a regression that estimates changes over time in the difference in logged HIV/AIDS death rates between the control cities and the 25 cities with the most AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, that were not included in the main sample. The analysis indicates that the cities compared in these regressions had parallel trends in logged HIV/AIDS death rates in the early 1990s and continued to trend in parallel even after effective HIV

treatment was discovered. Thus, at least in nearby parts of the distribution of 1995 AIDS cases, higher numbers of AIDS cases reported are not associated with larger percent decreases in HIV/AIDS deaths for cities without Title I funding.

Finally, an alternative approach for estimating the impact of Title I status is to exploit the sharp and discontinuous increase in Title I funding at 2,000 AIDS cases ever reported by March 31, 1995, to implement a regression discontinuity design. This approach is later discussed in detail when analyzing the impact of Title I status on HIV outcomes since HIV data not being widely tracked prior to the 2000s precludes examining the impact of Title I on HIV outcomes with the difference-in-difference design. While the difference-in-difference approach has advantages over the regression discontinuity design,²⁵ an advantage of the regression discontinuity design is that, instead of requiring the assumption that HIV/AIDS outcomes for the treatment and control cities would have trended in parallel if not for Title I, the regression discontinuity design can estimate the impact of Title I after 1995 under the weaker assumption that the relationship between AIDS cases reported by 1995 and HIV/AIDS deaths in subsequent years would not have changed discontinuously at 2,000 AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, if not for Title I. Online Appendix Figures A.6–A.8 and online Appendix Table A.7 display regression discontinuity analysis of the effect of Title I status on HIV/AIDS deaths and AIDS diagnoses from 1996 to 2006. The regression discontinuity estimates vary across modeling choices more than the difference-in-difference estimates do, but the point estimates from the regression discontinuity analysis generally align with the findings from the difference-in-difference analysis.

Spending per Life Saved, Total Lives Saved, and Cost-Benefit Analysis.—This section calculates the implied cost to avoid an HIV/AIDS death and the implied number of lives saved by Title I. Table 6 summarizes the calculations. Using the coefficient estimate from column 2 of Table 2, I first estimate the number of lives saved for each treated city in the sample from 1991 to 2018. I then sum those annual city-level estimates across years and cities to get an estimate of total lives saved across time for the treated cities in the sample of 9,421. An alternative approach to estimating the number of lives saved for the treated cities in the sample is to allow the effect of Title I in equation (1) to vary with the duration that each city received Title I funds as in Figure 3 and then to use these duration-specific estimates to calculate the number of lives saved. Calculating lives saved with duration-specific estimates implies that Title I status saved 9,132 lives in the treated cities. Because the analysis with the duration-specific estimates is similar to the baseline analysis, I focus the remaining discussion on the estimate calculated using the average effect, but column 2 of panel B of Table 6 displays calculations that use the duration-specific estimates.

Relative to control cities, cities in the sample that qualified for Title I status under the original eligibility rules received an additional \$3.15 billion in Title I funding through 2018. This difference in funding along with the estimated number of lives

²⁵ When the difference-in-difference approach can be used, it is preferred over the regression discontinuity design because of the staggered treatment timing of cities gaining Title I status and because cities just under the original threshold were more likely to eventually receive some Title I funding than other non-original-Title-I cities were. Moreover, as is often the case, estimates from the regression discontinuity design are less precise and vary across modeling choices more than the difference-in-difference estimates.

TABLE 6—COMPARING THE COSTS OF TITLE I TO BENEFITS FROM LIVES SAVED

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Panel A. Title I funding information</i> | | |
| Total Title I funding received by treated cities through 2018: \$3.69 billion | | |
| Total Title I funding received by comparison cities through 2018: \$0.54 billion | | |
| Additional Title I funding received by treated cities through 2018: \$3.15 billion | | |
| Total Title I funding through 2018: \$18.96 billion | | |
| | Single Title I estimate (1) | Duration-specific Title I estimates (2) |
| <i>Panel B. Cost-benefit calculation</i> | | |
| Estimated lives saved for treated cities in sample | 9,421 | 9,132 |
| Title I funding per life saved | \$334,290 | \$344,847 |
| Implied total lives saved by all Title I funding through 2018 | 56,728 | 54,991 |
| Benefits from Title I for a value of statistical life of \$10 million | \$567 billion | \$550 billion |
| Benefit-cost ratio | 30 | 29 |

Notes: Panel A summarizes basic Title I funding information. Column 1 of panel B assesses the implications of the estimated impact of Title I from the baseline specification for years 1988 to 2018, while column 2 of panel B assesses the implications of estimates from a specification that allows the effect of Title I status to vary with the number of years that a city has had Title I status for years 1988 to 2018.

saved implies that Title I reduced one HIV/AIDS death for every \$334,000 spent. This estimated spending per life saved applies to cities in the sample that received Title I funds and is not necessarily the same amount of Title I spending that would be required to avoid an HIV/AIDS death in non-Title I cities. However, given the arbitrariness of Title I status for cities in the baseline sample, the assumption that the impact of Title I funding on control cities would have been similar to the impact on the treatment cities is plausible. The plausibility of this assumption is further supported by the graphical analysis in Figure 2, the regression discontinuity estimates shown in online Appendix Table A.7, and the analysis in online Appendix B that suggests that the effect of Title I status on cities gaining Title I status in 2007 is similar to the effect estimated in the baseline analysis after accounting for the differential pre-Title-I trends for the 2007 Title I cities. Assuming that the marginal effect of Title I funding is the same as the average effect on the treatment cities allows for making two equivalent statements about Title I funding decisions that are relevant given debates about levels of HIV/AIDS funding. First, if the federal government valued the lives that could be saved by Title I at least \$334,000, it should have allocated more money through Title I than it did. Second, Title I funding levels from 1991 to 2018 implicitly valued the lives that could be saved through Title I of the Ryan White CARE Act at \$334,000 per life.

The estimated impact of Title I status on HIV/AIDS death rates from the specification in Table 2 that includes data from all Title I cities is similar to the baseline estimate from the main analysis sample, which suggests that the treatment effect of Title I status does not vary widely for Title I cities in the baseline sample and for Title I cities not included in the baseline sample. Under the assumption that the effect of Title I is the same across Title I cities, the estimate of spending per life saved implies that the \$19 billion allocated through Title I saved 56,728 lives through the end of 2018. This estimate implies that total HIV/AIDS deaths in the United States from 1991 to 2018 would have been 13 percent higher if not for Title I of the Ryan White CARE Act.

As noted above, the estimates from this study can be used to calculate the government's implied valuation of the lives that could be saved by Title I funding. However, to the extent that Title I funding levels have been set for idiosyncratic reasons, the estimates also allow for calculating the implied value of Title I spending under different assumptions about the value of a statistical life. Under the assumption that the value of a statistical life is \$10 million, the estimates from this study imply that the \$19 billion allocated through Title I of the Ryan White CARE Act through 2018 resulted in a value of \$567 billion and had a benefit-cost ratio of 30.²⁶ Note that the only benefit from Title I included in this calculation is its reduction in HIV/AIDS deaths. As Title I has reduced HIV/AIDS morbidity and likely improves the lives of people with HIV/AIDS in other ways, such as by reducing out-of-pocket costs, meaningful benefits are not reflected in this benefit-cost ratio.

As was previously discussed, the Title II funding rules include provisions that partially offset the Title I funding disparities from 1996 onward. Specifically, the formula used to allocate part of Title II funds beginning in 1996 excludes HIV/AIDS cases from Title I cities, and the 2000 Ryan White reauthorization provides additional Title II funds to states with non-Title I cities that have high numbers of AIDS cases. Thus, while states receive additional Title II funds from an AIDS case in a Title I city, the additional Title II funding they have received since 1996 has likely been less than the amount they would have received if the AIDS case had occurred outside of a Title I city. If states fully account for the effect of Title I funds on additional Title II funds through directing less Title II funding to Title I cities, then the amount of federal spending required to avoid an HIV/AIDS death would be less than \$334,000. Online Appendix C discusses the rules for Title II funding in more detail and produces rough estimates of the impact of a city receiving an additional dollar of Title I funding on state Title II funding by assessing the relationship between Title I funding and Title II funding while controlling for determinants of Title II funding. Under the assumption that states direct all Title II funding proportionally to where the Title II funds were generated, the analysis described in online Appendix C would imply that Title I avoided an HIV/AIDS death for approximately every \$295,000 spent in federal funding, which is less than the baseline calculation for Title I funds alone but not dramatically so.

The estimate of lives saved can be converted to life years saved. For this calculation, I use Social Security's actuarial life table for 2005 (Social Security Administration 2021). For each HIV/AIDS death from 1991 to 2018, I calculate the life years lost from an AIDS death as the life expectancy for people with the decedent's sex and age at death. I then multiply the average life years lost from an HIV/AIDS death each year by the estimate of HIV/AIDS deaths avoided by Title I each year. Assuming that people would have lived the full number of expected years in Social Security's life table if not for HIV/AIDS implies that an additional year through Title I funding cost \$20,000 per life year through 2018. This calculation likely understates the cost per life year saved because people with HIV have shorter lives on average than people without HIV and because the Ryan White CARE Act targets people with low socioeconomic statuses, who also have below-average life

²⁶Estimates of the value of a statistical life vary widely. The value of a statistical life of \$10 million is in line with recent evidence and with values of a statistical life used by federal agencies (Lee and Taylor 2019).

expectancy. Assuming instead that each decedent would have lived an additional ten years at most would imply that Title I of the Ryan White CARE Act has saved a life year for every \$37,000 and has saved over half a million life years in total.²⁷

This estimate can be compared to the cost of an additional life year through other programs. One relevant comparison is the cost of a life year through Medicaid providing antiretroviral therapy to a person with AIDS. Using Medicaid claims data from California, Duggan and Evans (2008) estimated that the cost to the California Medicaid program in 2001 of an additional life year from covering antiretroviral therapy for someone with AIDS was approximately \$31,000 (in 2018 dollars). Thus, even with Ryan White funds also going toward services in addition to antiretrovirals, the cost of Title I funding per additional life year through Ryan White is similar to the cost through Medicaid paying for antiretrovirals.²⁸

Moreover, while understanding the cost per life year from a pharmaceutical intervention is useful for knowing whether Medicaid should cover the intervention, it does not necessarily speak to the costs of combating HIV/AIDS by scaling up Medicaid since Medicaid does not target specific health issues. Miller, Johnson, and Wherry (2021) find that the ACA's Medicaid expansion saved 4,800 lives per year among a vulnerable population of adults in the first four years after the expansion, which is an important finding, particularly given the contentiousness of the ACA's Medicaid expansion and because such a large share of the US population has health insurance through Medicaid. However, comparing the number of lives saved to the total cost of expanded Medicaid coverage in 2018 of \$74.2 billion (Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services 2021) implies a cost per life saved through Medicaid that is over 40 times the cost per life from Ryan White. Other studies examining the impact of expanding Medicaid coverage produce a wide range of estimates of the impact of Medicaid coverage on mortality, spanning from no effect to effects larger in magnitude than those found in Miller, Johnson, and Wherry (Borgschulte and Vogler 2020; Chen 2019; Finkelstein et al. 2012; Sommers, Baicker, and Epstein 2012; Sommers, Long, and Baicker 2014; Sommers 2017). One study that estimates a large impact of Medicaid eligibility, Sommers (2017), examines New York, Arizona, and Maine expanding their Medicaid programs to childless adults in the early 2000s. Sommers

²⁷ The additional life expectancy from an HIV/AIDS death avoided varies over time, by consistency of treatment, and when in the course of the disease people begin treatment. Using 2000–2003 data, Marcus et al. (2020) estimate an increase in life expectancy of roughly 25 years for a 21-year-old beginning treatment immediately after contracting HIV, while Duggan and Evans (2008) estimate an increased life expectancy of approximately 5 years using slightly earlier data on people who received treatment after developing AIDS. Given that the Ryan White program supported people at various stages of HIV and across different time periods, the number of additional years of life gained from an HIV/AIDS death avoided from Ryan White is likely between the estimates of these two studies. Assuming ten additional years at most is arguably conservative since the empirical approach used in this study would not count an HIV/AIDS death that was delayed until later in the sample period as an HIV/AIDS death avoided, which indicates that the people whose deaths were avoided either died of something other than HIV/AIDS or were still alive through 2018.

²⁸ Making an apples-to-apples comparison with Duggan and Evans (2008) is difficult because the estimates differ in meaningful ways. One difference is that the estimated impact of Ryan White funds presented in this paper captures the net effect of treating a person with HIV/AIDS on city-level HIV/AIDS outcomes, including any spillovers through altered HIV spread. In contrast, Duggan and Evans calculate the net increase in Medicaid's expenditures for the treated individual from paying for the individual's antiretroviral therapy. Another difference is that, unlike the estimates presented in this paper, the estimates of Duggan and Evans consider treatment for people with HIV who had already developed AIDS. Additionally, the cost for an additional life year that I calculate assumes that all lives saved by the Ryan White program would have ended immediately in 2019 if Ryan White funding were taken away. For reasons discussed in this paper, the effects of HIV/AIDS funding are likely to persist after funding differences are eliminated.

finds that these Medicaid expansions led to a 6 percent decrease in states' all-cause mortality, with approximately 20 percent of this reduction coming from avoided HIV/AIDS deaths, which Medicaid reduced by 13.6 percent, and approximately 80 percent coming from reductions in other causes of deaths. The 6 percent decrease in all-cause mortality implies an estimated cost per life saved in 2018 dollars of \$400,000 to \$1.1 million, which is closer to but still larger than the estimated impact of Title I from this study. Ryan White funds are productive when compared to other health care programs as well. The cost per life year through Ryan White is near to but lower than the cost per life year through Community Health Centers of \$59,000, while the cost of a life year through Medicare is 5 to 14 times the cost through Ryan White (Bailey and Goodman-Bacon 2015; Chay, Kim, and Swaminathan 2011).

Impacts of Title I by Sex, Age, and Race.—The HIV/AIDS epidemic has had heterogeneous impacts across demographic groups. As online Appendix Table A.3 indicates, males, prime-aged people, and Black people have accounted for disproportionate shares of HIV/AIDS deaths in the United States relative to their shares of deaths more broadly. Table 7 evaluates the implications of Title I by sex, age, and race.²⁹

Table 7 displays estimated effects of Title I status separately for males and females, different age groupings, and Black people, White people, and people of other races. For these regressions, I compute HIV/AIDS death rates and controls separately for each demographic group. Because some groups have no HIV/AIDS deaths in some city-year combinations, I use the inverse hyperbolic sine transformation rather than the log transformation. Column 1 displays estimated effects using data from 1988 to 2006, while column 2 displays estimated effects using data from 1988 to 2018.

Panel A of Table 7 estimates separate effects for males and females, while panel B estimates separate effects for people younger than 18, people 18 to 64, and people 65 or older. The estimates in columns 1 and 2 of these panels are statistically significantly different from 0 for males and for people ages 18 to 64. Likely in part because of the lower baseline HIV/AIDS death rates for non-prime-aged adults and for females, the estimates of the effects for females, people younger than 18, and people 65 and older are less precise than the estimates for males and people ages 18 to 64.

Panel C of Table 7 estimates separate effects for Black people, White people, and people of other races. Since Black people are less likely to have health insurance coverage and more likely to lack financial resources than White people, Title I status has the potential to have had disproportionately large effects on Black HIV/AIDS death rates. However, given other hurdles that Black people often face in accessing care, such as lower levels of trust for doctors (Alsan and Wanamaker 2018), Title I also has the potential to have had smaller impacts on Black people than people of

²⁹ The analysis in this section does not focus on sexual orientation for data availability reasons. However, note that HIV/AIDS disparities are much sharper still when sexual orientation is considered. For example, in 2016 the CDC estimated the lifetime risk of HIV infection for different sexual orientation, race, and sex groupings and found that, among the groups considered, White heterosexual men have the lowest lifetime risk of contracting HIV at less than 0.04 percent while Black gay men have the highest lifetime risk of contracting HIV at approximately 50 percent. Refer to "CDC: 1 in 2 Black Gay Men in US Will Be Diagnosed with HIV," which was written by Mary Bowerman and published by the *Associated Press* on February 23, 2016.

TABLE 7—THE EFFECT OF TITLE I STATUS ON HIV/AIDS DEATH RATES FOR DIFFERENT DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS

| | Mean HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people | (1) | (2) | Estimated share of deaths avoided out of all deaths avoided (3) |
|------------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| <i>Panel A. Sex</i> | | | | |
| <i>Male</i> | 10.5 | −0.189 (0.067) [0.007] | −0.170 (0.072) [0.023] | 94% |
| <i>Female</i> | 2.4 | −0.083 (0.071) [0.251] | −0.036 (0.081) [0.660] | 6% |
| <i>Panel B. Age</i> | | | | |
| <i>Younger than 18</i> | 0.3 | −0.061 (0.080) [0.447] | −0.086 (0.093) [0.358] | 2% |
| <i>Ages 18 to 64</i> | 9.7 | −0.180 (0.064) [0.007] | −0.147 (0.072) [0.045] | 95% |
| <i>65 or older</i> | 1.7 | −0.150 (0.111) [0.183] | −0.110 (0.100) [0.277] | 3% |
| <i>Panel C. Race</i> | | | | |
| <i>Black</i> | 18.6 | −0.234 (0.073) [0.002] | −0.204 (0.073) [0.008] | 50% |
| <i>White</i> | 4.3 | −0.155 (0.066) [0.023] | −0.180 (0.073) [0.017] | 48% |
| <i>Other</i> | 1.0 | −0.236 (0.171) [0.174] | −0.245 (0.163) [0.141] | 2% |
| Years | 1988–2018 | 1988–2006 | 1988–2018 | 1988–2018 |

Notes: Each cell in columns 1 and 2 displays the effect of Title I status from separate regressions of equation (1). The unit of observation is a city and year combination. The dependent variable is the inverse hyperbolic sine of HIV/AIDS deaths per 100,000 people for each group. Numbers of HIV/AIDS deaths each year come from the Vital Statistics Mortality data. All regressions include city fixed effects, year fixed effects, and controls for the share of cities' residents of each group who are Black, Hispanic, younger than 18, 65 and older, and male. Standard errors are clustered by city and are shown in parentheses. *P*-values are shown in brackets. The sample for each regression contains 950 observations from 1988 to 2006 and 1,550 observations from 1988 to 2018.

other races. The point estimates shown in Table 7 are larger in magnitude for Black HIV/AIDS death rates than for White HIV/AIDS death rates, but the estimates indicate that Title I has decreased HIV/AIDS death rates for both groups.

To assess statistical significance of the differences in estimates between groups, I draw 1,000 bootstrap samples with replacement and then replicate the analysis in Table 7 with the bootstrap samples. A *t*-test based on these bootstrap estimates does not allow for rejecting the null hypothesis that the effect of Title I status on HIV/AIDS death rates for people ages 18 to 64 is the same in percent terms as the effect for people ages 65 and older (*t*-statistics of 0.1 for the column 1 estimates and 0.2 for the column 2 estimates). The evidence is stronger for a larger effect for people ages 18 to 64 than for people younger than 18 (*t*-statistics of 2.2 and 1.1) and

for Black people than for White people (t -statistics of 1.8 and 0.6) and stronger still for a larger impact for men than for women (t -statistics of 2.0 and 2.4).

To assess the demographics of the HIV/AIDS deaths avoided by Title I, I calculate the implied number of HIV/AIDS deaths avoided by Title I for each demographic group through 2018 assuming that the estimate in column 2 of Table 7 represents the effect of Title I status on the group's HIV/AIDS death rates in all Title I cities and then calculate each group's share of deaths avoided out of the total implied number of deaths avoided for the panel. This calculation is an estimate of each group's share of HIV/AIDS deaths avoided by Title I through 2018. Column 3 of Table 7 displays these estimates and indicates that the majority of the HIV/AIDS deaths averted by Title I are male, ages 18 to 64, and Black, though the shares of avoided HIV/AIDS deaths for Black and White people are not statistically significantly distinguishable from each other.

Figure 8 plots how each group's estimated share of total HIV/AIDS deaths avoided by Title I compares to the group's 2018 population share and to the group's share of all deaths occurring in the study period. The x -axis of panel A of Figure 8 indicates each group's share of the 2018 US population. The x -axis of panel B indicates each group's share of all 1988 to 2018 US deaths. The y -axes in both panels indicate each group's estimated share of the total HIV/AIDS deaths avoided by Title I from column 3 of Table 7. Each marker represents a different demographic group. If the HIV/AIDS deaths avoided from Title I were proportional to the US population or to all US deaths, markers would lie along each graph's 45-degree line. Figure 8 highlights that, relative to both the 2018 US population and all US deaths occurring during the study period, the lives saved from Title I are disproportionately male, prime aged, and Black. Figure 9 displays means of percent changes in HIV/AIDS deaths from 1990 through 2006, 2012, and 2018 for the groups that account for the majority of HIV/AIDS deaths in each category—males, people aged 18 to 64, and Black people—for cities grouped by rank order in AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995. As with the changes in HIV/AIDS deaths for the full sample, HIV/AIDS death rates for these groups have fallen by much larger amounts for cities qualifying for Title I status under the original rules.³⁰

Population Dynamics.—It is possible to assess the impact of Title I on city populations. For the overall population and for the broad demographic categories available in the Vital Statistics, the magnitude of Title I's impact is small relative to the size of the populations. The estimate of total lives saved of approximately 57,000 implies that Ryan White's Title I funding has led to Title I cities having 0.03 percent more people in 2018 than they would have had if not for Title I. The estimates from Table 7 indicate that Title I increased Title I cities' numbers of males by 0.05 percent and of Black people by 0.08 percent through 2018.

For more narrowly defined groups—specifically men who have sex with men and intravenous drug users—Title I has the potential to have had meaningful effects on population sizes. Data limitations present a challenge for assessing the impact of Title I on these groups. Information on sexual orientation and injection drug use

³⁰ Online Appendix Figure A.9 shows the equivalent graphs for all demographic subgroups. For groups that make up small shares of overall HIV/AIDS deaths, the percent changes at single points in time can vary considerably.

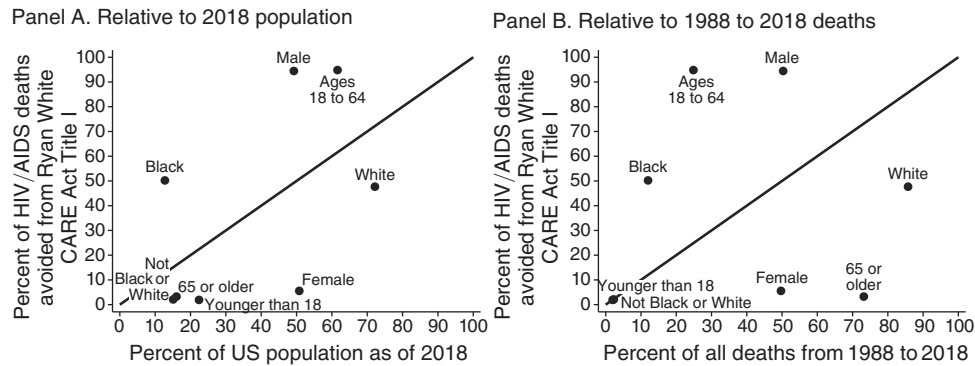


FIGURE 8. DEMOGRAPHICS OF HIV/AIDS DEATHS AVOIDED FROM RYAN WHITE TITLE I FUNDING RELATIVE TO DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE 2018 US POPULATION AND OF ALL 1988 TO 2018 US DEATHS

Notes: Each marker represents a demographic group. The x-axis in panel A indicates each group's share of the population in the 2018 American Community Survey. The x-axis in panel B indicates each group's share of all 1988 to 2018 deaths calculated using Vital Statistics Mortality data. The y-axes indicate the estimated share of HIV/AIDS deaths avoided from Ryan White Title I for each group through 2018. The 45-degree lines represent where each marker would be if the demographics of the HIV/AIDS deaths avoided from Ryan White Title I mirrored the demographics of the 2018 US population or of all US deaths from 1988 to 2018.

is not available in the mortality data. Even national population estimates of men who have sex with men and people who use intravenous drugs vary widely, and estimating city-level numbers can be particularly challenging. However, because benchmarking the estimated impacts relative to the size of the groups most impacted by AIDS is useful for interpreting the estimated effect of Title I, I next conduct back-of-the-envelope calculations to assess the impact of Title I on cities' numbers of injection drug users and gay men. For these calculations, I first estimate the numbers of people who have ever used injection drugs and of gay men in Title I cities in 2018 and then use the estimated impacts of Title I to assess how much larger these populations are in percent terms because of Title I.

I estimate the number of people in Title I cities who have ever used injection drugs by using the 2018 General Social Survey (Smith et al. 2019) to estimate the share of the US population that has ever used injection drugs and then assuming the national share holds for Title I cities. I estimate the number of gay men in Title I cities using information from a Gallup poll (Newport and Gates 2015) that asked people in large US cities if they identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT). Because these data are not disaggregated by demographic characteristics, I assume cities' LGBT population shares are constant across sex and race.³¹

To estimate the number of additional people in each group alive in 2018 because of Title I, I use national data from the CDC (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2021a) on the transmission category (i.e., injection drug use or male-male sex) of people with HIV and assume that Title I saved lives proportionally to this

³¹ The survey took place in 2012–2014. Estimates of the size of the US LGBT population vary widely. For discussions of some of the estimates of the size of the LGBT community and some of the challenges with estimating the size, refer to Gates (2011). For Title I cities with missing LGBT information in the Gallup data, I impute their share LGBT as equal to the mean for all Title I cities of 4.2 percent.

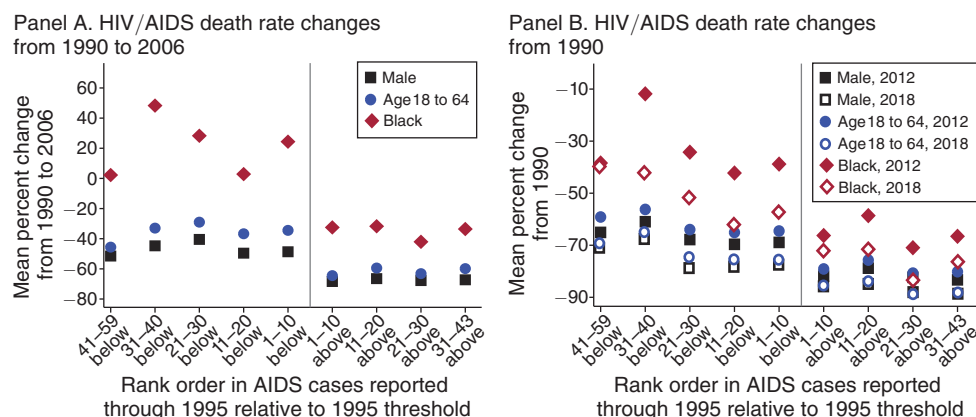


FIGURE 9. CHANGES IN HIV/AIDS DEATH RATES SINCE 1990 BY CITIES' RANK ORDER IN AIDS CASES REPORTED BY MARCH 31, 1995: FOR DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS WITH MAJORITIES OF HIV/AIDS DEATHS

Notes: Each marker represents a demographic group for a set of cities grouped based on rank order in AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995. The x-axes indicate cities' rank order in AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, relative to the original threshold for Title I eligibility. The y-axes indicate the mean percent change in HIV/AIDS death rates for the indicated demographic group in the indicated year relative to 1990.

distribution.³² These calculations, along with the estimated sizes of the respective underlying populations, indicate that Title I has led to Title I cities having 0.2 percent more people who have ever injected drugs, 1.4 percent more gay men, and 4.3 percent more gay Black men in 2018 than they would have had if not for Title I.

The Impact of Title I Status on Rates of New AIDS Cases.—Figure 10 shows changes in AIDS outcomes since the year before the Ryan White CARE Act for cities grouped by rank order in AIDS cases reported through the end of 1995 relative to the original threshold for Title I eligibility using AIDS data from the CDC. Panels A and B show mean percent changes in AIDS diagnosis rates and indicate that progress reducing AIDS diagnosis rates follows similar patterns as progress reducing HIV/AIDS death rates. From 1990 to 2006, AIDS diagnosis rates fell by 46 percent in cities that qualified for Title I status under the original Ryan White CARE Act rules and by 16 percent in cities that had fewer than 2,000 AIDS cases reported by the end of the eligibility window for the original rules. As with the analysis of HIV/AIDS death rates, this basic descriptive analysis suggests that having achieved Title I status under the original rules is an important determinant of a city's progress in reducing new AIDS cases.

Figure 11 shows duration-specific estimates of the effect of Title I status from estimating equation (1) for three annual measures of rates of new AIDS cases as dependent variables: (i) AIDS cases by year reported to the CDC, (ii) AIDS cases by diagnosis year in the AIDS Public Information Dataset, and (iii) AIDS cases by

³² Gay men and men who have sex with men are different populations, though they have a lot of overlap. I compare HIV/AIDS deaths of men who have sex with men to the size of the gay male populations here for data availability reasons.

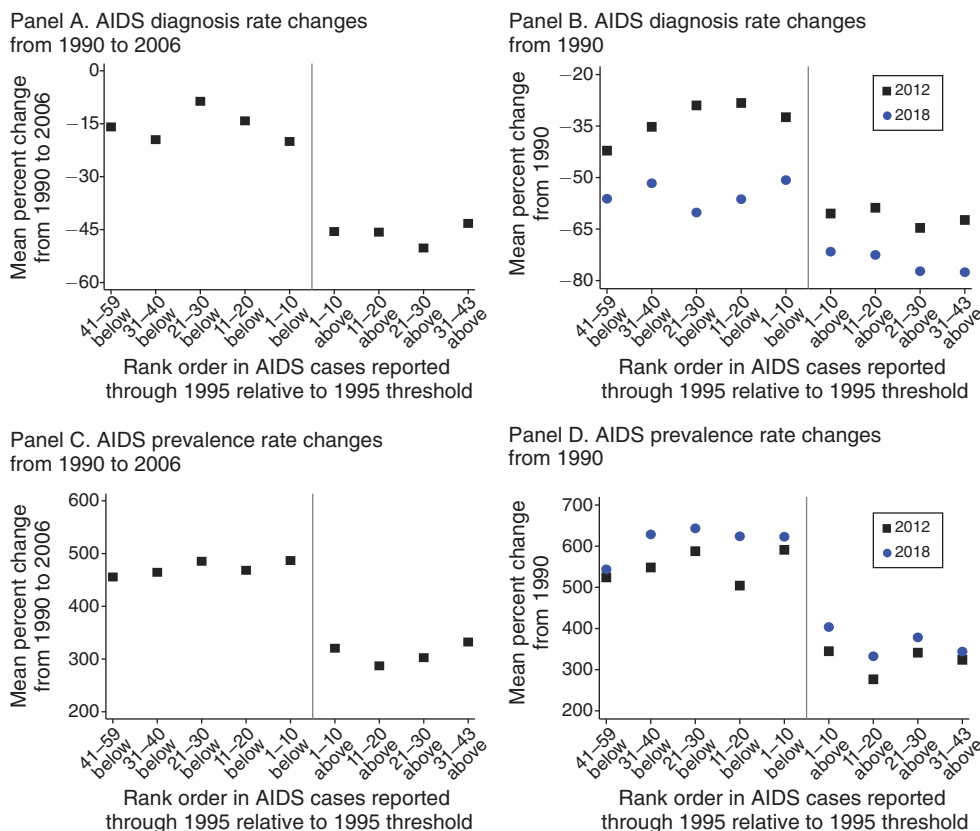


FIGURE 10. CHANGES IN AIDS DIAGNOSIS AND PREVALENCE RATES SINCE 1990 BY CITIES' RANK ORDER IN AIDS CASES REPORTED BY MARCH 31, 1995

Notes: Each marker represents a set of cities grouped based on rank order in AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995. The x-axes indicate cities' rank order in AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, relative to the original threshold for Title I eligibility. The y-axes indicate the mean percent change in the indicated measure and year relative to 1990.

diagnosis year in the data received directly from the CDC. AIDS cases reported to the CDC is the measure of AIDS cases used to administer the Ryan White program in the 1990s. Year reported and year diagnosed could differ if cities vary in their reporting efficiency, but the two measures are highly correlated in practice. As explained earlier, the first two measures match the original city definitions more closely than the third measure but are only available through 2002. [Figure 11](#) and the subsequent analysis indicate that results are similar across all three measures for estimates that can be computed for each. As with the HIV/AIDS death rates, [Figure 11](#) indicates that rates of new AIDS cases trend similarly for both the treated and untreated cities until the treated cities obtain Title I status. Once cities obtain Title I status, their rates of new AIDS cases fall relative to other cities. [Online Appendix Figure A.10](#) shows that event-study coefficients are similar when regressions are weighted by city populations.

[Table 8](#) shows estimates of the average effect of Title I status on rates of new AIDS cases. Columns 1 and 2 show the estimated effect of Title I status using data

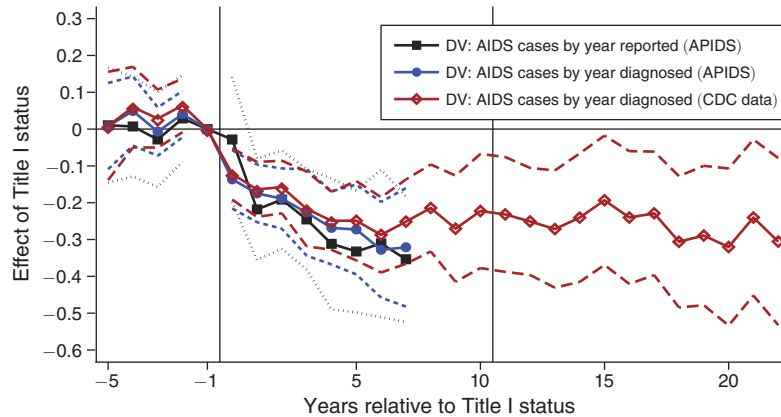


FIGURE 11. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TITLE I STATUS AND RATES OF NEW AIDS CASES

Notes: Each marker is a coefficient on Title I status interacted with number of years from initial Title I status eligibility. The year before cities obtained Title I status is the omitted category. The x-axis indicates the number of years from Title I status. The y-axis indicates the coefficient estimate. The black squares are from a single regression with the log of rates of new AIDS cases by year reported from the AIDS Public Information Dataset as the dependent variable. The blue circles are from a single regression with the log of rates of annual AIDS cases by year diagnosed from the AIDS Public Information Dataset as the dependent variable. The sample for these regressions contains 750 observations from 50 cities from 1988 to 2002. The maroon diamonds are from a single regression with the log of annual AIDS diagnosis rates from the CDC as the dependent variable. The sample contains 1,426 observations from 46 cities from 1988 to 2018. Each regression includes city fixed effects, year fixed effects, and controls for the share of cities' residents who are Black, Hispanic, younger than 18, 65 and older, and male. The sample does not contain observations with event times outside of the ranges shown for all treatment cities. Bins for event times outside of those shown are included in the regression as separate indicator variables for each year but are not reported. The dashed blue lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals calculated using standard errors clustered by city. The first vertical line indicates the start of Title I status. The second vertical line indicates when in event time all treated observations are beyond 2006.

on new AIDS cases diagnosed and reported from the AIDS Public Information Dataset. These specifications include data from years 1988 to 2002 for the 50 cities in the baseline sample. The next three columns show the estimated effect using the data on annual AIDS diagnoses received directly from the CDC. Column 3 displays an estimate from a specification that uses data from years 1988 to 2002 to assess how the estimates for the different measures compare when the analysis period is the same. The estimate in column 4 is from a specification that uses data from 1988 to 2006. The estimate in column 5 is from a specification that uses data from 1988 to 2018. The estimates in columns 1 through 5 of Table 8 are similar across specifications and indicate that Title I status reduced annual rates of new AIDS cases by an average of 0.227 to 0.271 log points.

Online Appendix Table A.6 reports estimates of the effect of Title I status using the reweighting methods of Callaway and Sant'Anna (2021). The average effect of Title I status estimated with these methods indicates Title I reduced annual rates of new AIDS cases by 26.8 percent. Calculating separate estimates for before 1996, 1996 to 2006, and 2007 to 2018 indicates that Title I reduced AIDS diagnosis rates in all three periods. The magnitudes of the point estimates grow over time and are roughly twice the size from 1996 onward as from before 1996, though the estimated effects in the three time periods are not statistically distinguishable from each other.

TABLE 8—THE EFFECT OF TITLE I STATUS ON RATES OF NEW AIDS CASES

| | DV: AIDS cases reported | DV: AIDS cases diagnosed | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| | −0.227 (0.063) [0.001] | −0.233 (0.055) [0.000] | −0.271 (0.053) [0.000] | −0.254 (0.051) [0.000] | −0.248 (0.055) [0.000] |
| Source | AIDS Public Information Dataset | AIDS Public Information Dataset | CDC | CDC | CDC |
| Years | 1988–2002 | 1988–2002 | 1988–2002 | 1988–2006 | 1988–2018 |
| Number of cities | 50 | 50 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| Mean of DV in levels | 19.9 | 19.6 | 18.2 | 16.9 | 13.4 |
| Observations | 750 | 750 | 690 | 874 | 1,426 |

Notes: Each column displays the effect of Title I status from separate regressions of equation (1). The unit of observation is a city and year combination. The dependent variable (DV) is the log of new AIDS cases reported or diagnosed per 100,000 people. Numbers of new AIDS cases come from the AIDS Public Information Dataset and from the CDC. All regressions include city fixed effects, year fixed effects, and controls for the share of cities' residents who are Black, Hispanic, younger than 18, 65 and older, and male. Standard errors are clustered by city and are shown in parentheses. *P*-values are shown in brackets.

Panels C and D of Figure 10 show how progress in reducing the prevalence of AIDS varies based on AIDS cases by March 31, 1995. Even with effective treatment lowering the likelihood that HIV leads to AIDS over time, the number of people alive who have ever been diagnosed as having AIDS (indicated as AIDS prevalence in Figure 10) has risen over time. In 2018, the United States had its highest number of people alive who have had ever had AIDS up to that point. From 1990 to 2006, the share of the US population that had ever been diagnosed as having AIDS increased more than fourfold. As shown in panel C of Figure 10, however, the growth in AIDS prevalence was much lower for cities that qualified for Title I status under the original Ryan White rules. In contrast to Title I cities, which experienced a 310 percent increase in AIDS prevalence on average through 2006, non-Title I cities experienced a 470 percent increase in AIDS prevalence through 2006. The differential changes in AIDS prevalence continue through 2012 and 2018 as well.

Spillovers and HIV Transmission.—Federal HIV/AIDS funding has the potential to have spillover impacts on people without HIV by affecting the spread of HIV. The HIV National Strategic Plan advocates “treatment as prevention” as a key tool for halting the spread of HIV (US Department of Health and Human Services 2021), arguing that ensuring that HIV-positive people receive treatment can reduce the spread of HIV since antiretrovirals lower HIV’s transmissibility. Some evidence supports there being positive spillovers of treating HIV-positive people. For example, Chan, Hamilton, and Papageorge (2016) develop a framework to measure the value of medical innovations to combat infectious diseases and apply the framework to HIV treatment. They find that providing antiretrovirals to people with HIV reduces the spread of HIV. At the same time, increasing access to health care for HIV-positive people also has the potential to harm people without HIV by increasing HIV’s spread. As Lakdawalla, Sood, and Goldman (2006) argue, a potential downside of providing lifesaving treatment to people with HIV is that, by leading

to more people with HIV being alive, providing treatment to people with HIV has the potential to have large negative impacts on people without HIV by increasing their likelihood of contracting HIV. The empirical and normative analysis of Lakdawalla, Sood, and Goldman suggest that providing treatment to people with AIDS increases the prevalence of AIDS and reduces overall welfare. These findings are at odds with HIV treatment preventing the spread of HIV in practice and indicate that a social planner might not even provide treatment to people with HIV at all, let alone view treating people with HIV as a prevention strategy.

The difference-in-difference analysis presented in this paper does not directly assess the impact of Title I status on the spread of HIV because the CDC only began systematically collecting HIV data from across the nation in 2008, which precludes estimating the impact of Title I on the spread of HIV using data on HIV transmissions from when cities originally obtained Title I status. I now outline and implement an approach for examining the impact of Title I status on HIV transmissions using CDC data on the number of people living with HIV in 2008.

HIV dynamics in a city can be represented with a susceptible-infected-removed (SIR) model of disease dynamics, where S indicates the number of people susceptible to contracting HIV, I indicates the number of people currently living with an HIV infection, and R indicates the number of people who have died from HIV/AIDS (or who are “removed” from the system). Absent Ryan White funds, people infected with HIV die at a rate of $death > 0$ each year and transmit HIV to the susceptible population at a rate of $trans > 0$. For ease of exposition, HIV transmission rates ($trans$) and death rates ($death$) absent Title I are modeled as being constant over time. In practice, these baseline rates have varied over time. Title I status can affect both HIV transmission rates and HIV/AIDS death rates. Let p be the impact of Title I funds on HIV transmission rates and q be the impact of Title I on the share of people with HIV who die each year. The following system of equations summarizes HIV dynamics from year t to year $t + 1$:

$$\begin{aligned} S_{t+1} &= S_t - (1 + p) \times trans \times I_t \times S_t, \\ I_{t+1} &= I_t + (1 + p) \times trans \times I_t \times S_t - (1 + q) \times death \times I_t, \\ R_{t+1} &= (1 + q) \times death \times I_t. \end{aligned}$$

The p parameter includes Ryan White’s effect on the transmissibility of HIV through increasing treatment as well as the effects of any behavioral responses to the Ryan White program and could be positive or negative. The earlier analysis of the impact of Title I on HIV/AIDS death rates indicates that Title I reduces cities’ numbers of HIV/AIDS deaths, or that $q < 0$.

Let period 0 be the period before a city becomes eligible for Ryan White Title I funds. The number of people with an HIV infection after t periods of Title I status can be written as a function of exogenous parameters as follows:

$$(3) \quad I_t = I_0 \times \prod_{j=1}^t \left[1 + (1 + p) \times trans \times S(t; I_0; S_0; trans; p; death; q) - (1 + q) \times death \right],$$

where the susceptible population without a t subscript, $S(\cdot)$, in period $t > 0$ is a function of the exogenous parameters.

Title I's leading to additional HIV transmissions would indicate that it has negative spillovers on people without HIV and could occur through two channels. First, Title I could lead to behavioral responses that increase HIV transmission rates conditional on the stock of people living with HIV being held constant (i.e., by $p > 0$). Second, even if Title I reduces the share of HIV-positive people transmitting the infection to others, it could still lead to additional HIV transmissions if people with HIV whose deaths were avoided by Title I infect enough additional people with HIV to offset Ryan White's reduction in the transmissibility of HIV through treatment. Because of this second channel, $p < 0$ is not enough for Title I to have beneficial net spillovers. Instead, Title I must reduce HIV transmission rates by enough to offset any increased HIV transmissions from the HIV/AIDS deaths it avoids.

Determining the effect of Title I on the number of people with HIV can help assess spillovers from Title I. Title I's reduction in HIV/AIDS death rates means that Title I will have reduced the number of people living with HIV only if it has led to fewer HIV transmissions. Taking the natural log of equation (3) allows for deriving the following formula for the effect of Title I status on the log of the number of people living with HIV:

$$\begin{aligned}
 (4) \quad \gamma_t &= \log(I_t^{Title1}) - \log(I_t^{NoTitle1}) \\
 &= \sum_{j=1}^t \log \left\{ \left[1 + (1 + p) \times trans \times S(t; I_0; S_0; trans; p; death; q) \right. \right. \\
 &\quad \left. \left. - (1 + q) \times death \right] / \left[1 + trans \times S(t; I_0; S_0; trans; death) \right. \right. \\
 &\quad \left. \left. - death \right] \right\},
 \end{aligned}$$

where I_t^{Title1} is a Title I city's number of people living with HIV after t years of Title I status and $I_t^{NoTitle1}$ is the number of people living with HIV the city would have had in year t if the city had not obtained Title I status. As equation (4) indicates, the percent impact of Title I status on a city's number of people living with HIV in period t is equal to the compounded net effect of Title I on HIV transmission rates and HIV/AIDS death rates, where the magnitude of the net effect is partially offset by a countervailing effect from Title I changing the size of the susceptible population, since Title I's decreasing (increasing) the number of people who have contracted HIV by period t means more (fewer) people are at risk of contracting HIV in the period.

To examine empirically the impact of Title I status on the number of people living with HIV, I implement a regression discontinuity research design that exploits the sharp increase in Title I funding at 2,000 AIDS cases by March 31 of 1995. Panel A of [Figure 12](#) plots for each city the log of people living with HIV in 2008 by the log of AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995. The vertical line in panel A indicates the log of 2,000 AIDS cases. The solid black lines on either side of the threshold in panel A are fitted separately using data from all cities with nonmissing HIV information. The dashed blue lines use data from the cities in the main sample with nonmissing HIV information. Since 1995 AIDS cases would have been

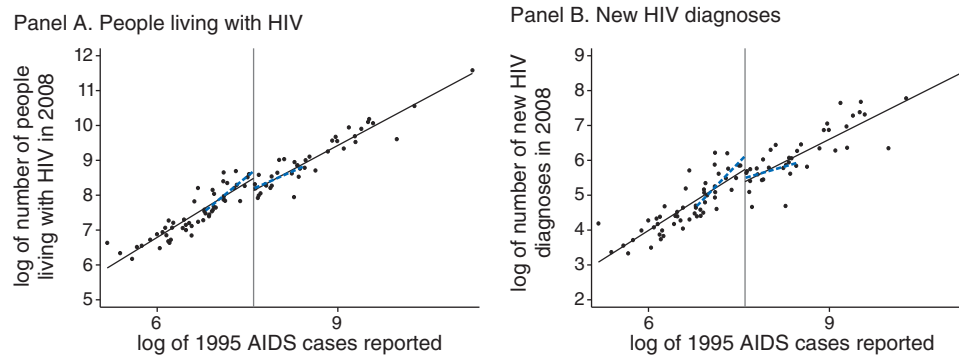


FIGURE 12. 2008 HIV MEASURES BY AIDS CASES REPORTED BY MARCH 31, 1995

Notes: Each marker represents a separate city. The x-axes indicate the log of cities' AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995. The y-axis of panel A indicates the log of cities' numbers of people living with HIV in 2008. The y-axis of panel B indicates the log of cities' numbers of new HIV diagnoses in 2008. The vertical lines indicate the log of 2,000 AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995. The solid black lines are fitted separately on either side of the threshold using data from all cities with nonmissing HIV information, while the dashed blue lines are fitted separately on either side of the threshold using data from the cities in the main sample with nonmissing HIV information. The HIV data come from the CDC and are nonmissing for 93 of the cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset.

positively correlated with 1995 HIV cases, 2008 HIV cases would be expected to be positively correlated with 1995 AIDS cases reported, which panel A indicates is the case. The log of people living with HIV in 2008 appears to increase linearly with the log of AIDS cases ever reported by 1995 until reaching the log of 2,000 AIDS cases ever reported by March 31 of 1995, at which point the log of 2008 HIV cases gaps down before continuing to increase linearly again. The two cities just under 2,000 AIDS cases ever reported by 1995 gaining Title I status in 1999 have the potential to bias the estimated effect of Title I status toward zero, but the discontinuity provides an estimate of the local effect of having obtained Title I status by 1995 on cities' 2008 HIV cases under the assumption that 2008 HIV cases would have trended smoothly with 1995 AIDS cases if not for the discontinuous increase in cities' HIV/AIDS funding at 2,000 AIDS cases reported by 1995. I am aware of no other change occurring at the log of 2,000 AIDS cases reported by 1995. Given that the log of 2008 HIV cases trends smoothly elsewhere in the distribution, the assumption of no discontinuity at the log of 2,000 AIDS cases reported by 1995 if not for Ryan White is plausible.

This approach to estimating the impact of obtaining Title I status under the original rules assumes that cities did not manipulate their reporting of AIDS cases to ensure they obtained Title I eligibility under the original Ryan White rules. The institutional history of the cutoff supports the validity of the assumption since the significance of reaching the 2,000-case cutoff by March 31 of 1995 only became clear *ex post*, after the 1996 reauthorization established it as the final date for eligibility under the original rules and after treatment emerged that prevented people with HIV from developing AIDS. Examining the density of the running variable around the threshold is a common test for manipulation of the running variable in regression discontinuity designs (McCrary 2008). If cities had little scope for manipulation as assumed here, then the density in the distribution of AIDS cases reported by March 31 of 1995

would trend smoothly at 2,000 cases. If, however, cities anticipated the changes that were about to take place and thus expedited reporting of AIDS cases to gain Title I status under the original rules, then the density in the distribution of AIDS cases reported by March 31 of 1995 would increase discontinuously at 2,000 cases since cities that otherwise would have had just under 2,000 cases would presumably have increased their reporting to instead have just over 2,000 cases. Figure 1 supports that the distribution of AIDS cases reported by 1995 is smooth near the 2,000-case threshold. As a formal test for evidence of manipulation, I estimate the discontinuity in the density of 1995 AIDS cases at 2,000 cases nonparametrically as in McCrary (2008). The p -value of the McCrary estimate is 0.37, which indicates that the McCrary test fails to find evidence that cities manipulated their reporting of AIDS cases to ensure that they qualified for Title I status under the original rules. Online Appendix Figure A.11 displays the graph of the density constructed using the density estimator described in Cattaneo, Jansson, and Ma (forthcoming) and also supports the assumption of no manipulation in reporting.

To estimate the impact of obtaining Title I status under the original rules on 2008 HIV cases, the baseline specification focuses on the 46 cities from the main sample with nonmissing HIV information in 2008 and estimates the following equation:

$$(5) \quad \log(\text{Num_HIV}_{j,2008}) = \lambda + f(\text{AIDS_Cases}_{j,1995}) + \text{Title1}_j\gamma + \eta_j.$$

The baseline specification models f as a linear polynomial of the log of AIDS cases reported by 1995 on either side of the cutoff. I define *Title1* as an indicator variable equal to 1 for cities having qualified for Title I status under the original Ryan White rules.

Panel A of Table 9 displays estimates of the effect of having obtained Title I status under the original rules on the log of cities' numbers of people living with HIV in 2008 from equation (5). The coefficient in column 1 from estimating equation (5) parametrically is -0.510 , which translates to Title I having reduced the number of people living with HIV in cities at the threshold by 40.0 percent by 2008. Column 2 of Table 9 displays the estimated effect of Title I from using local linear regression with a triangular kernel to estimate the discontinuity. This regression uses the mean squared error optimal bandwidth calculated as in Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014), which results in 15 cities on either side of the threshold being included in the regression. With this approach, the estimated discontinuity becomes -0.444 , which corresponds to a 35.9 percent decrease in HIV prevalence. Column 3 shows the estimated impact of Title I from estimating the parametric specification using the mean squared error optimal bandwidth from column 2. The coefficient in column 3 implies that Title I reduced cities' numbers of HIV cases in 2008 by 38.3 percent.

The estimates in Table 9 indicate that a city's having obtained Title I status by 1996 reduced the city's number of people living with HIV in 2008, which means that Ryan White has positive spillovers on people without HIV by reducing HIV transmissions. The estimates in Table 9 are of the effect of Title I status on the marginal cities, which may differ from the average effect of Title I, but assuming the estimates of the reduction in HIV cases in Panel A of Table 9 apply to all Title I cities indicates that Title I of the Ryan White CARE Act prevented 324,000 to 378,000

TABLE 9—THE EFFECT OF TITLE I STATUS ON HIV OUTCOMES

| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Panel A. log(number of people living with HIV in 2008)</i> | | | |
| | −0.510 (0.152) [0.002] | −0.444 (0.235) [0.059] | −0.483 (0.185) [0.015] |
| Observations | 46 | 30 | 30 |
| <i>Panel B. log(number of new HIV diagnoses in 2008)</i> | | | |
| | −0.628 (0.219) [0.006] | −0.521 (0.283) [0.066] | −0.561 (0.245) [0.031] |
| Observations | 46 | 30 | 30 |
| Polynomial specification | Global linear | Local linear | Global linear |
| Sample bandwidth | Baseline | Optimal | Optimal |

Notes: Each cell displays the effect of Title I status on the indicated dependent variable from separate regressions. The unit of observation is a city. The regressions in columns 1 and 3 control for the log of AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, and the log of AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, interacted with an indicator variable for having reported at least 2,000 AIDS cases by March 31, 1995. Column 2 displays estimates of the effect of Title I status from using local linear regression with a triangular kernel. The sample for column 1 is the cities in the main sample with nonmissing HIV information. The samples for columns 2 and 3 are the cities within the mean squared error optimal bandwidth. The HIV data come from the CDC and are nonmissing for 93 of the cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset. Robust standard errors are shown in parentheses. *P*-values are shown in brackets.

transmissions of HIV through 2008 after accounting for the additional people living with HIV in Title I cities from Title I reducing HIV/AIDS deaths.

To assess the impact of Title I status on HIV transmission rates, I study new HIV diagnoses, which are a lagged measure of new infections. A city's number of new HIV infections in 2008 is a product of its number of people living with HIV at the start of 2008, its 2008 susceptible population, and the HIV transmission rate:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Num_Trans}_{2008} &= (1 + p) \times \text{trans} \times I_{2008} \\ &\quad \times S(t = 2008; I_0; S_0; \text{trans}; p; \text{death}; q), \end{aligned}$$

where I_{2008} is the function defined in equation (3). Title I's effect on the log of new HIV infections in 2008 can be decomposed into the following three components:

$$\begin{aligned} (6) \quad \tau &= \log(\text{Num_Trans}_{2008}^{\text{Title1}}) - \log(\text{Num_Trans}_{2008}^{\text{NoTitle1}}) \\ &= \underbrace{\log(1 + p)}_1 + \underbrace{\frac{\gamma}{2}}_2 + \underbrace{\log\left[\frac{S(t = 2008; I_0; S_0; \text{trans}; p; \text{death}; q)}{S(t = 2008; I_0; S_0; \text{trans}; \text{death})}\right]}_3. \end{aligned}$$

Term 1 is Title I's effect on 2008 transmissions that comes from Title I reducing the likelihood that people with HIV transmit the infection to the susceptible population, conditional on the sizes of the infected and susceptible populations. As was

discussed earlier, Title I's reducing the number of people living with HIV in Title I cities in 2008 while also decreasing HIV/AIDS death rates indicates that term 1 is negative. Term 2 is Title I's impact on a city's 2008 HIV transmissions from Title I having led to the city having fewer HIV-positive people in 2008 who could spread HIV to the susceptible population. The estimates for this term in panel A of Table 9 range from -0.510 to -0.444 . Term 3 in equation (6) reflects that by leading to fewer people having contracted HIV by 2008, Title I has led to cities having larger susceptible populations at risk of contracting HIV in 2008, which partially offsets the reduction in new HIV infections in 2008 from the other channels. Panel B of Figure 12 plots the log of cities' new HIV diagnoses in 2008 by the log of 1995 AIDS cases ever reported. The pattern is similar to the pattern in panel A. New HIV diagnoses rise with 1995 AIDS cases ever reported but gap down at 2,000 cases. Estimates of the effect of Title I status on the log of cities' new HIV diagnoses are shown in panel B of Table 9 and range from -0.628 to -0.521 , which correspond to decreases in new HIV diagnoses in 2008 from Title I of 40.6 percent to 46.7 percent for the marginal cities. The estimated effects of Title I on HIV stocks ($\hat{\gamma}$) and HIV transmissions ($\hat{\tau}$), together with equation (6), indicate that as much as 81 percent to 85 percent of Title I's reduction in new HIV diagnoses in 2008 can be accounted for by Title I having led to cities having fewer people living with HIV at the start of 2008.

In principle, Title I's impact on new HIV transmissions that comes from changes to the susceptible population—term 3 in equation (6)—can be calculated empirically using the total susceptible population in Title I cities in 2008, the total number of people living with HIV in Title I cities in 2008, and the estimate of HIV cases avoided through 2008 because of Title I. With term 3 calculated, it would then be possible to calculate the impact of Title I on HIV transmission rates, p , from equation (6). In practice, though, accurately calculating term 3 would require incorporating differential HIV risk across people into equation (6) and knowing the HIV risk of the marginal people not contracting HIV because of Title I. To see why the underlying HIV risk of the marginal HIV cases matters, consider a naïve approach to calculating term 3 that treats every noninfected person in the United States as being equally susceptible to contracting HIV. In this case, a γ of -0.510 and τ of -0.628 translate to a term 3 of 0.0025 and a p of -0.11 , which suggests that Title I's impact on HIV transmissions through its effect on the susceptible population has been minimal. Instead, next consider taking only gay men as the susceptible population and assuming constant HIV risk across gay men. Using the population of gay men in Title I cities and assuming the share of HIV cases avoided from Title I is proportional to gay men's share of HIV cases nationally, a γ of -0.510 and τ of -0.628 correspond to a term 3 of 0.13 and a p of -0.22 .³³

Figure 13 assesses the sensitivity of the estimated impacts of Title I on 2008 HIV outcomes to different bandwidths, while Figure 14 summarizes results from placebo analyses that verify that discontinuities similar in size to those documented at 2,000

³³ The estimates of gay men in Title I cities and HIV-positive gay men in Title I cities for this calculation come from combining Gallup's estimates of the LGBT population (Newport and Gates 2015) with the SEER data and using the CDC data on categories of HIV transmissions that were described when assessing the implications of Title I for population dynamics.

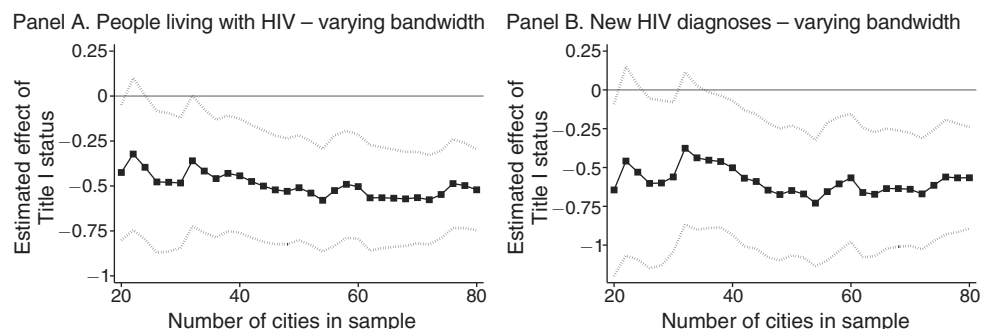


FIGURE 13. SENSITIVITY TO BANDWIDTH OF ESTIMATES OF IMPACT OF TITLE I ON 2008 HIV OUTCOMES

Notes: Each marker represents a separate estimate of the impact of Title I status on 2008 HIV outcomes from a single regression of equation (5). The x-axes indicate the number of cities included in the regression from a symmetric bandwidth on either side of the threshold. Each regression controls for the log of AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, and the log of AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, interacted with an indicator variable for having reported at least 2,000 AIDS cases by March 31, 1995. The dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals calculated using robust standard errors. The HIV data come from the CDC and are nonmissing for 93 of the cities in the AIDS Public Information Dataset.

AIDS cases are not observed throughout the distribution of AIDS cases reported by 1995. For Figure 13, I estimate equation (5) using 10 to 40 cities on either side of the threshold. The point estimates and their 95 percent confidence intervals are shown in panel A for HIV cases and in panel B for HIV diagnoses. While the Title I coefficients are less precisely estimated for smaller bandwidths, the estimates do not vary dramatically across bandwidths.

For the placebo analysis in Figure 14, I first order cities based on 1995 AIDS cases ever reported. Next, for each city with at least 10 cities to the left and 10 to the right that do not cross the 2,000-case threshold, I treat its number of AIDS cases reported by 1995 as a placebo cutoff for Title I status. I then estimate discontinuities in HIV outcomes at each placebo cutoff by estimating equation (5) using a sample of up to 25 cities on either side of each cutoff. For each dependent variable, this approach yields 55 placebo estimates—1 for each number of 1995 AIDS cases reported by cities 11 through 44 in this distribution and 1 for each number of 1995 AIDS cases reported by cities 64 through 84 in this distribution. Panel A of Figure 14 plots the placebo coefficients along with their confidence intervals for the log of the number of people living with HIV as the dependent variable. Panel B plots a histogram of the coefficients and indicates the coefficient obtained at the true Title I status cutoff with a red line. Panels C and D plot the equivalent analysis for the log of new HIV diagnoses. Of the 110 placebo coefficients, only 5 are statistically significantly different from 0 at the 5 percent level, and none are statistically significantly different from 0 at the 1 percent level. For both outcomes, the estimated discontinuity at the true cutoff for Title I eligibility is larger in magnitude than all placebo coefficients. This placebo analysis indicates that discontinuities in HIV outcomes of the sizes documented in Table 9 do not occur at other points in the distribution of 1995 AIDS cases reported.

In summary, despite having clear benefits for people with HIV, Title I still could have had net negative spillovers on people without HIV by providing HIV-positive people more opportunities to spread HIV by leading to them living longer. Similarly,

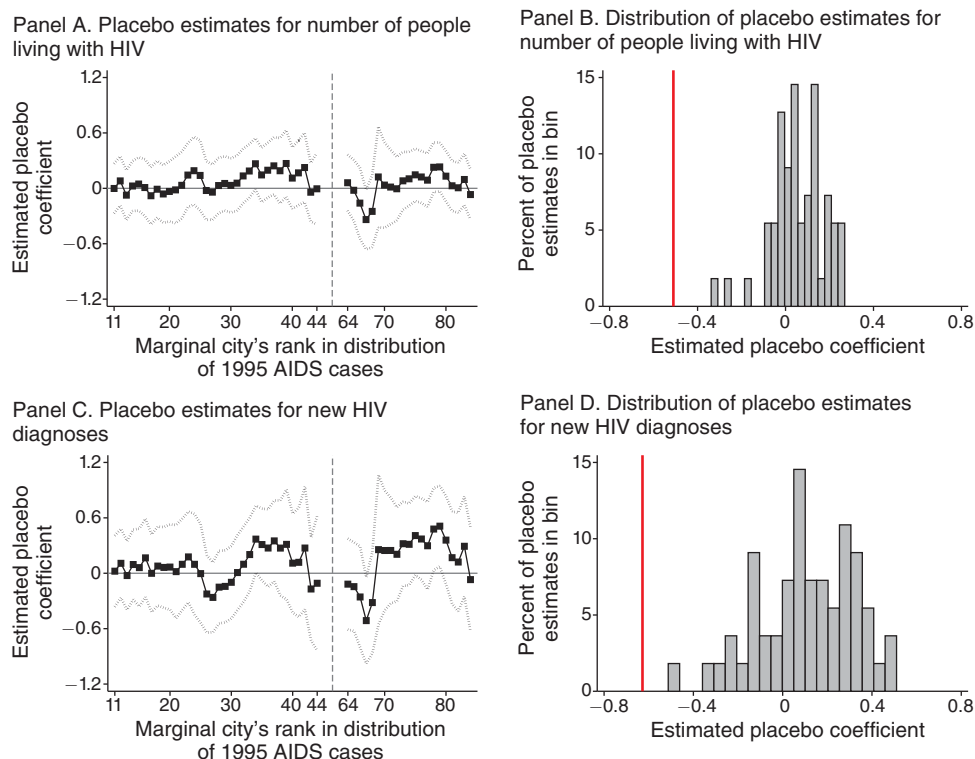


FIGURE 14. PLACEBO ESTIMATES OF IMPACT OF TITLE I ON 2008 HIV OUTCOMES

Notes: Each marker in panels A and C represents a separate estimate of a placebo effect on 2008 HIV outcomes from a single regression of equation (5). The x -axes indicate the rank order of the first city to the right of the placebo cutoff within the distribution of the 93 cities with nonmissing HIV information. The y -axes indicate the placebo estimates for the indicated dependent variable. Regressions include up to 25 observations on either side of the cutoff. For placebo cutoffs with fewer than 25 cities on one side of the cutoff, panels A and C show estimates with an asymmetric bandwidth as long as the placebo cutoff has at least 10 observations on either side of the bandwidth. Each regression controls for the log of AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, and the log of AIDS cases reported by March 31, 1995, interacted with an indicator variable for cities being above the placebo cutoff. The dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals calculated using robust standard errors. Panels B and D plot histograms of the placebo estimates. The red vertical lines indicate the baseline estimates of the effect of Title I status displayed in column 1 of Table 9.

Ryan White funding reducing hardships from HIV could have led to behavioral responses from the uninfected that would have led to increases in HIV transmissions. These adverse effects of treating people with HIV would suggest that “treatment as prevention” is a misguided approach to reducing the spread of HIV and might even support policies that purposefully limit access to HIV treatment. The analysis presented here, however, is not consistent with Title I status having harmful spillovers on HIV-negative people by increasing the spread of HIV. Instead, Title I of the Ryan White CARE Act appears to have had positive spillovers on HIV-negative people by reducing HIV transmissions.

Discussion of Likely Reasons Ryan White Funds Are Effective.—The results from this study show that Ryan White’s Title I funds have had large health impacts, which indicates that the funding has increased access to beneficial care that HIV-positive

people in Title I cities would not have received absent Title I funds. This section discusses additional context about barriers to care faced by HIV-positive people, how Ryan White funds address those barriers, and likely reasons other sources of funding do not fully compensate for the lack of funding in other cities.

Many HIV stakeholders argue that HIV requires holistic care and cite Ryan White's holistic nature as a key strength of the program (Conviser and Pounds 2002; Messeri et al. 2002; Sood et al. 2014; Yehia et al. 2015), and studies of health care barriers faced by low-income HIV-positive people support Ryan White funds' being able to improve HIV outcomes through a variety of channels. When asked about barriers to accessing health care, low-income HIV-positive people commonly report they lack financial resources to pay for health care (Dombrowski et al. 2015), which is a barrier that Ryan White funds can address by paying for treatment. Studies also point to HIV-positive people struggling with mental health or substance abuse as reasons they do not maintain access to HIV care (Dombrowski et al. 2015; Reif, Golin, and Smith 2005; Yehia et al. 2015). Here, too, Ryan White funds can be helpful. As online Appendix Table A.1 indicates, approximately 11 percent of Title I funds went to mental health care services in 2010. People whose HIV is not virally suppressed also commonly cite reasons unrelated to the cost of care as explanations. For example, many say they forget appointments, lack motivation, or have trouble finding a doctor or scheduling appointments. Other HIV-positive people not receiving treatment state that they do not receive care because they do not feel sick (Dombrowski et al. 2015; Park et al. 2008). These explanations point to how Title I case management services, which accounted for 18 percent of Title I spending in 2010, may play a role in the effects of Title I status. Case managers scheduling appointments, arranging transportation, and checking in about health care can be useful resources for helping to retain people from vulnerable communities in care. Case management may be especially valuable for low-income people with a chronic disease like HIV that requires people to maintain a consistent treatment regimen even after years without symptoms. Studies have found case management services are associated with increased HIV treatment adherence (Brennan-Ing et al. 2016; Katz et al. 2001; Kushel et al. 2006), and a variety of stakeholders—including providers, program administrators, and HIV-positive clients—report that they view Ryan White's case management services as being an essential part of the program (Buchanan and Chakravorty 1999; Gallant et al. 2011; Sood et al. 2014).

Studies that examine the health care provided by Ryan White funds and the health care received by people engaged with Ryan White programs are also informative for understanding how Ryan White funds improve health outcomes. While limited data exist on the care paid for by Ryan White funds for much of the program's history, HRSA produced an assessment in 2010 of care paid for by all Ryan White programs in 2008 (Health Resources and Services Administration 2010). HRSA estimates that in 2008 Ryan White funds paid for antiretroviral treatment for over 175,000 people and facilitated 2.2 million outpatient office visits for services like medical exams and preventive care. In addition, HRSA estimates that Ryan White paid for approximately 560,000 mental health care visits, 390,000 outpatient substance abuse services, and 2.7 million case management services in 2008. Studies that attempt to understand the impact of Ryan White on health care use tend to find that people receiving assistance from Ryan White programs receive more care than similar people not receiving

assistance from Ryan White programs. For example, one study finds that uninsured HIV-positive people who receive Ryan White assistance are 42 percentage points, or 78 percent, more likely to be prescribed antiretrovirals than uninsured people not receiving Ryan White assistance (Bradley et al. 2016). The study also finds that Ryan White assistance is associated with increased use of antiretrovirals even among the insured. Other studies also find that low-income people receiving Ryan White assistance are more likely to be retained in care than similar low-income people not connected to Ryan White (Marx et al. 1998; Weiser et al. 2015). While these studies are not able to account for selection into the Ryan White program, they provide corroborating suggestive evidence that Ryan White leads to HIV-positive people receiving additional health care.

Research that has modeled and simulated the impact of Ryan White's health care spending provides validation that the amount of care paid for by Ryan White funds would have the potential to generate meaningful health impacts in line with the effects documented in this study. Using national data on 2015 Ryan White expenditures and 2016 US HIV characteristics, Goyal, Hu, et al. (2021) and Goyal, Luca, et al. (2021) calibrate a stochastic epidemiological model of the national impact of the Ryan White CARE Act as a whole under the assumptions that the Ryan White CARE Act increases health care utilization for only uninsured people and that uninsured people's insurance status does not change over time. Simulating HIV outcomes over the next 50 years with and without continued Ryan White funding, they predict new HIV infections will be 18 percent lower and HIV/AIDS deaths 31 percent lower over the next 50 years with Ryan White funding than without it. Comparing the effects estimated in this paper to those estimated in Goyal, Hu, et al. (2021) and Goyal, Luca, et al. (2021) is difficult given the differences in our approaches, but it is reassuring that simulations of epidemiological models are consistent with Ryan White funds having the potential to have meaningful health impacts, which this paper documents has occurred.

HIV treatment's having positive externalities and Ryan White's targeting a socio-economically vulnerable population are likely factors in explaining why the private market leaves a role for government funding to be able to improve HIV/AIDS outcomes. Considering alternative means of accessing care can help further understand why Ryan White funds have had large health impacts despite the existence of other ways of accessing health care. People in the United States traditionally access health care through health insurance. As discussed earlier, though, the high cost of health care is not the only hurdle HIV-positive people face in maintaining a consistent treatment regimen, and many of the services provided by Title I funds are not provided by health insurance. Furthermore, despite having a high marginal benefit of health care, people with HIV have typically been less likely to have health insurance than people without HIV (Kass et al. 1991; Yehia et al. 2014). Multiple factors have likely contributed to HIV-positive people lacking private health insurance, including that AIDS can limit people's ability to work and that private insurers have typically been unwilling to insure people with HIV (Padgug, Oppenheimer, and Eisenhandler 1993). Public health insurance programs have tended to have shortcomings for addressing HIV. For much of the epidemic, low-income people with HIV would become eligible for Medicaid only after they had become disabled. By the time HIV-positive people develop AIDS and become disabled, permanent damage to their immune system will have already been done and they will have been at risk of

spreading HIV for several years. Moreover, prior to 2006, HIV-positive people with Medicare would not have had prescription drug coverage.

Private charities are another potential source of health care that could have led to Title I funds having no effect. In practice, though, the amount of HIV funding that private charities allocate to combating HIV in the United States is small relative to the amount allocated through Ryan White. For example, in 1997, philanthropic funding for HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment, and research in the United States totaled \$47 million, according to Funders Concerned about AIDS (2003). While private HIV donations have risen to roughly \$154 million worldwide for HIV treatment in 2018 (Funders Concerned about AIDS 2018), the majority of private funding for HIV treatment is targeted outside of the United States.³⁴

IV. Conclusion

HIV/AIDS has claimed over 700,000 lives in the United States and tens of millions of lives worldwide, and the US federal government spends billions of dollars each year to treat HIV/AIDS. This paper examined the impact of federal funding to combat HIV/AIDS provided to cities through the largest federal program aimed at addressing HIV/AIDS in the United States. The results indicate that the federal funding allocated to cities has had large impacts on the cities receiving the funds. The estimates imply that Title I of the Ryan White CARE Act has saved approximately 57,000 lives as of 2018 and avoided 1 HIV/AIDS death for every \$334,000 spent. This amount of spending to save a life is far less than typical estimates of the value of a statistical life. Assuming a value of a statistical life of \$10 million, these estimates imply a benefit-cost ratio of 30. Given that the benefits in this calculation do not take into account the reduced morbidity from Title I or the fact that Title I funds have likely displaced other governmental payments and private payments for treatment, this estimate of the benefit-cost ratio is likely conservative. Analysis of 2008 HIV data indicates that Title I has led to cities having fewer people living with HIV. This finding indicates that the Ryan White program has had positive spillovers on people without HIV and supports the US strategy for preventing the spread of HIV by increasing HIV-positive people's access to treatment.

The benefits from the Ryan White CARE Act are high relative to the program's cost, which likely stems from three related factors. First, Ryan White beneficiaries have a deadly infection for which effective treatment is available. Unlike many other health care programs, the Ryan White program is a mechanism for targeting treatment to people with a high marginal benefit of additional health care on beneficiary's own health. Second, the nature of HIV and of HIV treatment leads to HIV treatment having large positive spillovers on people without HIV by preventing HIV

³⁴ Obtaining meaningful numbers on private donations for HIV treatment is challenging for multiple reasons. Some charitable giving for HIV-related health care might not be captured by the estimate from Funders Concerned about AIDS, while some HIV charities may use a significant share of their grant dollars for non-HIV-related objectives, which could lead to the amount of charity funding going towards HIV being overestimated. Moreover, much of the charitable giving that Funders Concerned about AIDS documents comes from pharmaceutical companies, which often use charitable giving as a way to lobby legislators and to circumvent patient cost sharing to increase demand for expensive branded products. For discussions of pharmaceutical companies' charitable giving, see Kopp, Lupkin, and Lucas (2018) and the August 15, 2019, the *Economist* article, "Why America's Biggest Charities Are Owned by Pharmaceutical Companies."

transmissions. Third, the Ryan White CARE Act provides health care to people with low incomes who would otherwise have struggled to access care, since for most of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the majority of HIV-positive people in the United States would not have been able to purchase insurance directly from an insurer and would not have been eligible for Medicaid or Medicare until they had become disabled.

In opting to address HIV/AIDS by allocating federal funds to support local responses rather than by establishing a federal entitlement program, Congress set up the Ryan White CARE Act as a place-based funding mechanism. Place-based funding has advantages over other ways of structuring funding, including that the federal government can allocate funding to places most in need and that flexible funding can allow local officials to tailor the use of funds to their specific communities and to engage in proactive strategies. In part for these reasons, people often advocate for increasing the use of place-based funding and policies in a number of domains, including in health, education, economic development, and infrastructure (Shambaugh and Nunn 2018). This study provides evidence that allocating federal funding to local areas can have large health impacts. However, the results from this study also highlight the importance of funding rules and indicate that place-based funding can lead to disparities across places, especially if funding is allocated using sharp, arbitrary cutoffs. In the case of HIV/AIDS, many years of large funding disparities have resulted in divergent progress in combating HIV/AIDS across US cities.

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