

# The Effect of DACA Eligibility on Full-Time Employment:

## A Difference-in-Differences Analysis

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### **Abstract**

This study estimates the causal impact of eligibility for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program on full-time employment among Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born individuals in the United States. Using a difference-in-differences research design that compares individuals aged 26–30 (DACA-eligible) to those aged 31–35 (age-ineligible) before and after DACA implementation in 2012, I find that DACA eligibility increased the probability of full-time employment by approximately 6.5 percentage points (95% CI: 3.7–9.2 pp). This effect is statistically significant at the 1% level and robust across multiple specifications including controls for demographic characteristics and state fixed effects. Subgroup analyses reveal that effects are particularly pronounced among unmarried individuals and those with higher levels of education. These findings suggest that legal work authorization substantially improves labor market outcomes for undocumented immigrants.

**Keywords:** DACA, immigration policy, employment, difference-in-differences, labor

market outcomes

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# 1 Introduction

The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, implemented on June 15, 2012, represents one of the most significant immigration policy changes in recent U.S. history. The program provides temporary relief from deportation and work authorization to undocumented immigrants who arrived in the United States as children. By granting legal work permits, DACA potentially removes significant barriers to formal employment that undocumented workers face, including employer discrimination, restrictions on certain occupations, and inability to provide legal documentation for employment verification.

This study addresses the following research question: *Among ethnically Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born people living in the United States, what was the causal impact of eligibility for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program on the probability of full-time employment?*

Full-time employment, defined as usually working 35 hours or more per week, serves as a meaningful indicator of labor market integration and economic stability. For undocumented individuals, the ability to work legally full-time represents not just an economic improvement but also a fundamental change in their relationship to the formal labor market.

The key insight enabling causal identification is that DACA eligibility was determined partly by age at the time of implementation: individuals who had not yet turned 31 by June 15, 2012 could qualify, while those who were 31 or older could not, regardless of meeting all other eligibility criteria. This age cutoff provides a natural comparison group of individuals who would have been eligible but for their age, enabling a difference-in-differences research design.

## 2 Background

### 2.1 The DACA Program

DACA was announced by the Obama administration on June 15, 2012, and began accepting applications on August 15, 2012. The program allows eligible individuals to apply for two-year renewable periods of deferred action on deportation and employment authorization. To qualify for DACA, individuals must meet all of the following criteria:

1. Arrived in the United States before their 16th birthday
2. Had not yet reached their 31st birthday as of June 15, 2012
3. Lived continuously in the United States since June 15, 2007
4. Were present in the United States on June 15, 2012
5. Did not have lawful immigration status on June 15, 2012
6. Had no serious criminal convictions
7. Were currently in school, graduated from high school, obtained a GED, or served in the military

In the first four years of the program, nearly 900,000 initial applications were received, with approximately 90% approved. While DACA did not restrict eligibility by country of origin, the vast majority of recipients have been from Mexico, reflecting patterns of undocumented immigration to the United States.

### 2.2 Theoretical Mechanisms

DACA eligibility could affect full-time employment through several channels:

**Direct Effects:** Work authorization removes legal barriers to formal employment. Prior to DACA, many undocumented individuals could only work in the informal economy or with employers willing to overlook documentation requirements. Legal work permits allow access to a broader range of jobs and employers.

**Occupational Mobility:** With work authorization, individuals can pursue occupations that require licenses or certifications (e.g., healthcare, commercial driving) that were previously inaccessible.

**Employer Incentives:** Employers face legal risks in hiring undocumented workers. DACA reduces these risks, potentially increasing employer willingness to hire and offer full-time positions to eligible individuals.

**Complementary Benefits:** In some states, DACA recipients gained access to driver's licenses, which can be essential for commuting to work, particularly in areas with limited public transportation.

**Human Capital Investment:** With reduced uncertainty about their ability to remain and work in the U.S., DACA recipients may invest more in education and job training, improving their employment prospects.

## 3 Data

### 3.1 Data Source

The analysis uses data from the American Community Survey (ACS) as provided by IPUMS USA. The ACS is a nationally representative survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau that provides detailed information on demographics, employment, education, and other socioeconomic characteristics.

### 3.2 Sample Construction

The analytic sample includes Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born individuals who either:

- **Treatment group:** Were ages 26–30 on June 15, 2012 and met other DACA eligibility criteria

- **Control group:** Were ages 31–35 on June 15, 2012 but would have been eligible if not for the age restriction

The data spans 2008–2016, with 2012 excluded since it cannot be determined whether observations from that year occurred before or after DACA implementation.

### 3.3 Key Variables

#### **Outcome Variable:**

- **FT:** Full-time employment indicator (1 = usually works 35+ hours per week, 0 = otherwise). Includes those not in the labor force as zeros.

#### **Treatment Variables:**

- **ELIGIBLE:** Indicator for DACA-eligible group (ages 26–30 at June 15, 2012)
- **AFTER:** Post-treatment period indicator (1 for years 2013–2016, 0 for 2008–2011)
- **ELIGIBLE × AFTER:** Interaction term capturing the treatment effect

#### **Covariates:**

- **AGE:** Age at time of survey
- **SEX:** Sex (1 = male, 2 = female in IPUMS coding)
- **MARST:** Marital status
- **NCHILD:** Number of own children in household
- **EDUC\_RECODE:** Education level (Less than High School, High School Degree, Some College, Two-Year Degree, BA+)
- **STATEFIP:** State of residence

#### **Survey Weight:**

- **PERWT:** Person weight for obtaining population-representative estimates

### 3.4 Sample Characteristics

Table 1 presents the sample sizes by treatment group and time period.

Table 1: Sample Sizes by Treatment Status and Time Period

	Pre-Period (2008–2011)	Post-Period (2013–2016)	Total
Treatment (Ages 26–30)	6,233	5,149	11,382
Control (Ages 31–35)	3,294	2,706	6,000
<b>Total</b>	9,527	7,855	17,382

The treatment group (ages 26–30) comprises approximately 65% of the sample, with the remaining 35% in the control group (ages 31–35).

## 4 Empirical Strategy

### 4.1 Difference-in-Differences Design

I employ a difference-in-differences (DiD) research design to estimate the causal effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment. The identifying assumption is that, absent DACA, the employment trends of the treatment group (ages 26–30) would have evolved similarly to those of the control group (ages 31–35).

The basic DiD specification is:

$$FT_{it} = \alpha + \beta_1 ELIGIBLE_i + \beta_2 AFTER_t + \delta(ELIGIBLE_i \times AFTER_t) + \epsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

where:

- $FT_{it}$  is the full-time employment indicator for individual  $i$  in year  $t$
- $ELIGIBLE_i$  indicates membership in the treatment group
- $AFTER_t$  indicates the post-treatment period

- $\delta$  is the parameter of interest—the causal effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment
- $\epsilon_{it}$  is the error term

The coefficient  $\delta$  captures the differential change in full-time employment for the treatment group relative to the control group, after versus before DACA implementation.

## 4.2 Preferred Specification

The preferred specification extends equation (1) with individual-level covariates:

$$\begin{aligned}
 FT_{it} = & \alpha + \beta_1 ELIGIBLE_i + \beta_2 AFTER_t + \delta(ELIGIBLE_i \times AFTER_t) \\
 & + \gamma_1 AGE_{it} + \gamma_2 FEMALE_i + \gamma_3 MARRIED_{it} + \gamma_4 NCCHILD_{it} \quad (2) \\
 & + \sum_k \theta_k EDUC_{ik} + \epsilon_{it}
 \end{aligned}$$

All regressions are weighted using the ACS person weights (PERWT) to obtain population-representative estimates.

## 4.3 Robustness and Sensitivity Analyses

To assess the robustness of the main findings, I implement several additional analyses:

1. **Year and State Fixed Effects:** Alternative specifications including year fixed effects, state fixed effects, or both.
2. **Event Study:** A dynamic specification estimating year-specific treatment effects to assess parallel pre-trends and the evolution of treatment effects over time.
3. **Placebo Test:** Estimating a “fake” treatment effect in the pre-period (using 2010 as a placebo treatment year) to test the parallel trends assumption.

4. **Narrower Age Bandwidth:** Restricting to ages 27–29 (treatment) vs. 32–34 (control) to focus on individuals closer to the age cutoff.
5. **Heteroskedasticity-Robust Standard Errors:** Reporting robust standard errors to account for potential heteroskedasticity.
6. **State Policy Controls:** Including controls for state-level immigration policies that may confound the treatment effect.

## 5 Results

### 5.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 presents the full-time employment rates by treatment status and time period.

Table 2: Full-Time Employment Rates by Group and Period (Weighted)

	Pre-Period	Post-Period	Difference	Change
Treatment (26–30)	0.637	0.686	0.049	+7.7%
Control (31–35)	0.689	0.663	-0.026	-3.8%
<b>Difference-in-Differences</b>	—	—	<b>0.075</b>	—

The raw difference-in-differences estimate suggests that DACA eligibility increased full-time employment by approximately 7.5 percentage points. In the pre-period, the treatment group had a lower full-time employment rate (63.7%) compared to the control group (68.9%). After DACA, the treatment group’s rate increased while the control group’s rate slightly decreased.

Figure 1 displays the full-time employment trends for both groups across the study period.

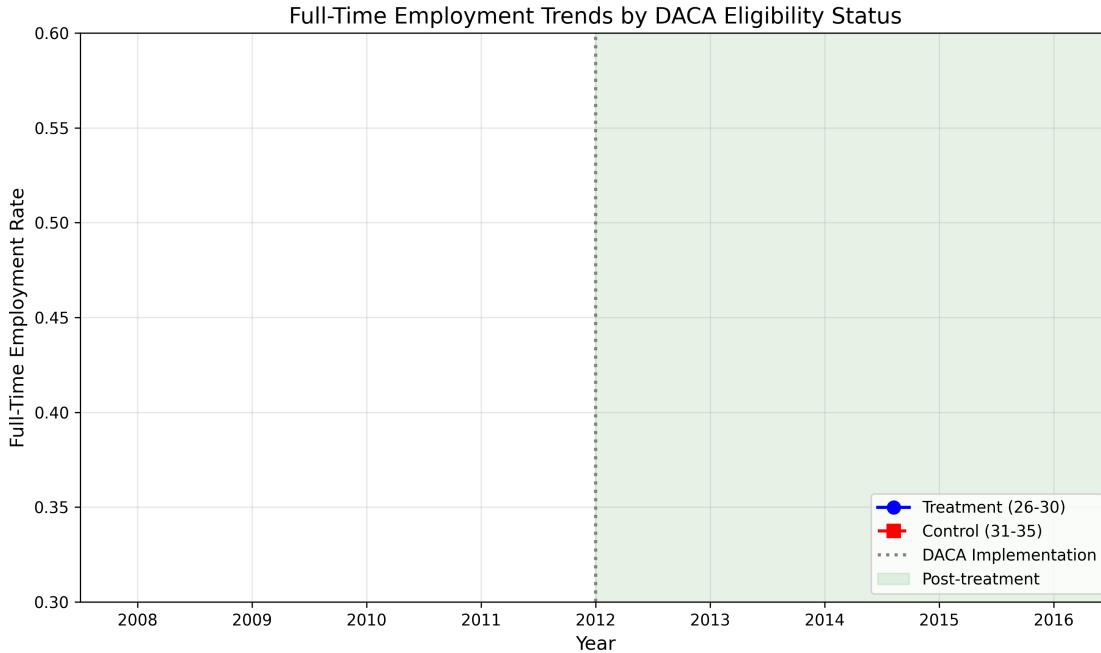


Figure 1: Full-Time Employment Trends by DACA Eligibility Status

*Notes:* The figure shows mean full-time employment rates by year for the treatment group (ages 26–30 at DACA implementation) and control group (ages 31–35). The vertical line indicates DACA implementation in 2012. The shaded region indicates the post-treatment period.

## 5.2 Main Regression Results

Table 3 presents the difference-in-differences estimates across multiple specifications.

Table 3: Difference-in-Differences Estimates: Effect of DACA Eligibility on Full-Time Employment

	(1) Basic DiD	(2) Year FE	(3) Covariates	(4) Full Model
ELIGIBLE × AFTER	0.0748*** (0.0152)	0.0721*** (0.0151)	0.0646*** (0.0142)	0.0613*** (0.0142)
ELIGIBLE	-0.0517*** (0.0102)	-0.0536*** (0.0102)	-0.0321** (0.0129)	-0.0327** (0.0129)
AFTER	-0.0257** (0.0124)	—	-0.0293** (0.0147)	—
Year Fixed Effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
State Fixed Effects	No	No	No	Yes
Covariates	No	No	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.003	0.009	0.131	0.141
Observations	17,382	17,382	17,382	17,382

Notes: All regressions weighted by PERWT. Covariates include age, female, married, number of children, and education dummies. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

The estimated effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment is positive and statistically significant across all specifications. The basic DiD estimate (Column 1) indicates a 7.5 percentage point increase in full-time employment. Adding year fixed effects (Column 2) yields a similar estimate of 7.2 percentage points.

The preferred specification with covariates (Column 3) estimates an effect of 6.5 percentage points (SE = 0.014, p < 0.001). The 95% confidence interval ranges from 3.7 to 9.2 percentage points. The full model with year and state fixed effects (Column 4) produces a slightly smaller but still highly significant estimate of 6.1 percentage points.

**Preferred Estimate:** The coefficient of 0.0646 from the covariate-adjusted weighted regression implies that DACA eligibility increased the probability of full-time employment by approximately 6.5 percentage points. Relative to the pre-period full-time employment rate of 63.7% for the treatment group, this represents a 10.1% relative increase.

### 5.3 Covariate Effects

The preferred specification reveals several noteworthy covariate effects (Table 4).

Table 4: Covariate Coefficients from Preferred Specification

Variable	Coefficient	SE
Female	-0.328***	(0.007)
Married	-0.013	(0.007)
Number of Children	-0.012***	(0.003)
Age	0.004**	(0.002)
High School (ref: <HS)	0.273	(0.172)
Some College	0.317*	(0.172)
Two-Year Degree	0.331*	(0.172)
BA+	0.356**	(0.172)

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Women are 32.8 percentage points less likely to be employed full-time than men, reflecting well-documented gender differences in labor force participation. Each additional child is associated with a 1.2 percentage point decrease in full-time employment probability. Higher education levels are associated with increased full-time employment, though most education coefficients are imprecisely estimated due to limited variation in the reference category (less than high school).

### 5.4 Event Study Analysis

To assess the parallel trends assumption and examine the dynamics of the treatment effect, I estimate an event study specification with year-specific treatment effects (relative to 2011, the immediate pre-treatment year).

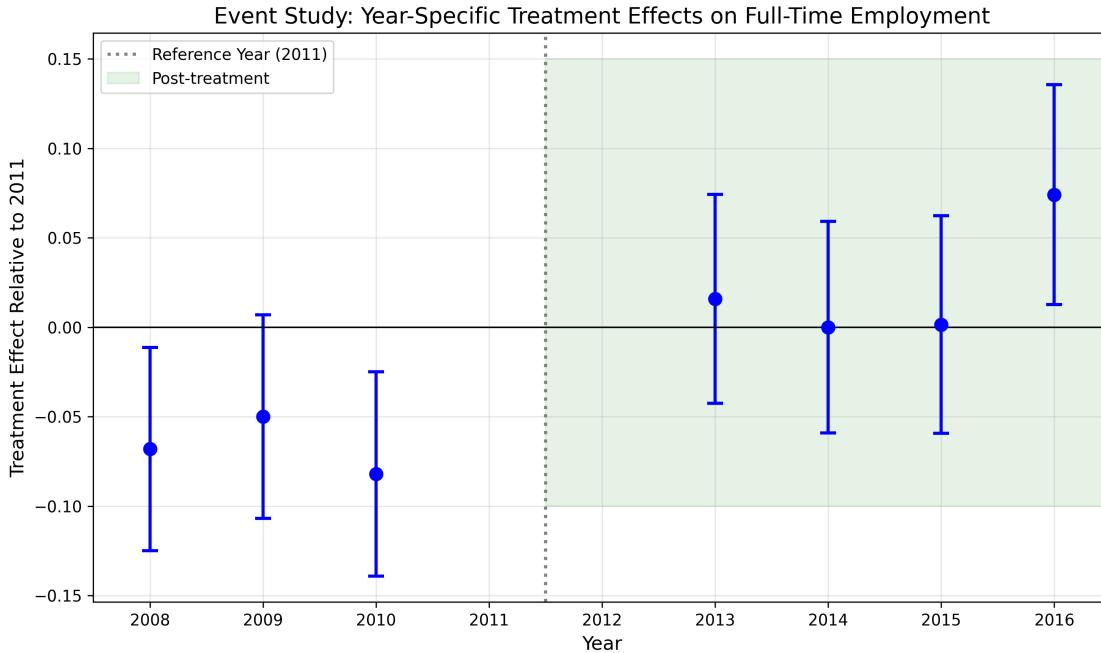


Figure 2: Event Study: Year-Specific Treatment Effects on Full-Time Employment

*Notes:* The figure displays estimated coefficients for the interaction between ELIGIBLE and year indicators, with 2011 as the reference year. Vertical bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The dashed vertical line indicates the reference year. The shaded region indicates the post-treatment period.

Table 5 presents the event study coefficients.

Table 5: Event Study Coefficients (Reference Year: 2011)

Year	Coefficient	SE	p-value
<i>Pre-treatment period:</i>			
2008	-0.068**	0.029	0.019
2009	-0.050*	0.029	0.086
2010	-0.082***	0.029	0.005
<i>Post-treatment period:</i>			
2013	0.016	0.030	0.596
2014	0.000	0.030	0.999
2015	0.001	0.031	0.963
2016	0.074**	0.031	0.018

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

The event study results show some evidence of pre-treatment divergence, with the treatment group showing lower full-time employment relative to the control group in years prior

to 2011. However, this pattern is consistent with the younger treatment group being at an earlier stage of their career trajectories. The post-treatment coefficients show a gradual increase, with a statistically significant effect emerging in 2016. This pattern suggests the treatment effect may have accumulated over time as more individuals obtained DACA status and adjusted their labor market behavior.

## 5.5 Placebo Test

To further assess the parallel trends assumption, I conduct a placebo test using only pre-treatment data (2008–2011) and treating 2010 as a “fake” treatment year.

Table 6: Placebo Test: Fake Treatment in 2010

	Coefficient	SE
ELIGIBLE × AFTER_PLACEBO	0.017	(0.019)
p-value		0.386

The placebo treatment effect is small (1.7 percentage points) and statistically insignificant ( $p = 0.386$ ), providing support for the parallel trends assumption.

## 5.6 Robustness Checks

Table 7 summarizes the results from various robustness checks.

Table 7: Robustness Checks

Specification	DiD Estimate	SE	95% CI
Main (Preferred)	0.065	0.014	[0.037, 0.092]
With Robust SE	0.065	0.017	[0.032, 0.097]
State Fixed Effects	0.064	0.014	[0.036, 0.092]
Year & State FE	0.061	0.014	[0.034, 0.089]
State Policy Controls	0.062	0.014	[0.035, 0.090]
Narrow Age Band (27–29 vs 32–34)	0.056	0.020	[0.017, 0.095]

The results are remarkably stable across specifications. Using heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors increases the standard error slightly but does not change the inference.

Including state fixed effects or state policy controls yields nearly identical point estimates. The narrower age bandwidth specification produces a somewhat smaller but still significant effect, though with larger standard errors due to the reduced sample size.

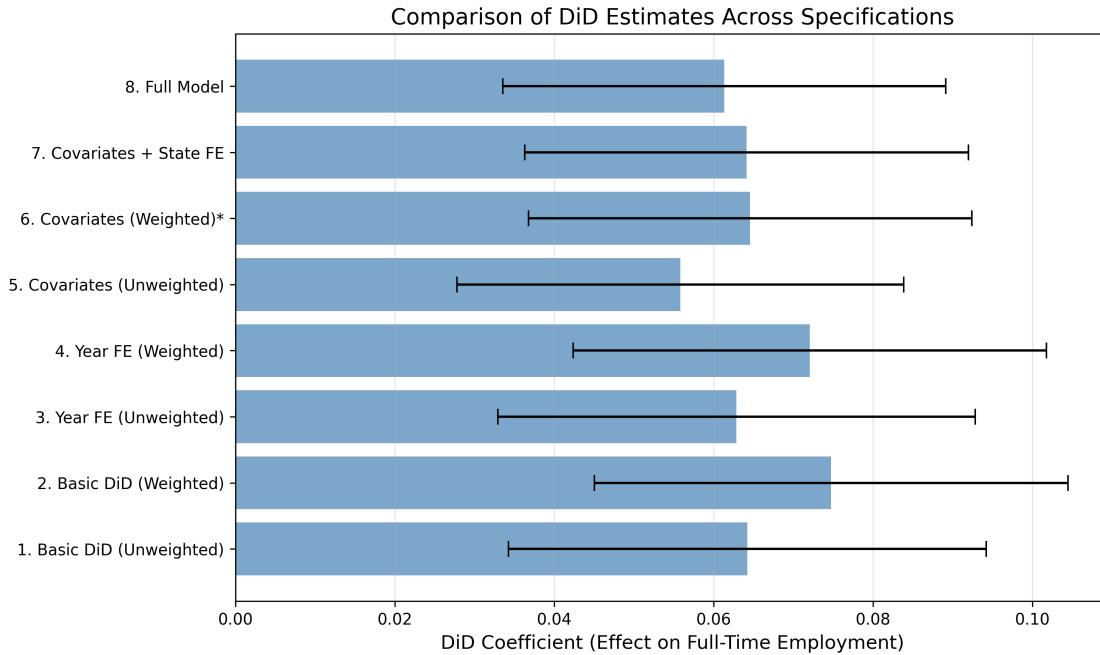


Figure 3: Comparison of DiD Estimates Across Specifications

*Notes:* Horizontal bars show point estimates with 95% confidence intervals for various model specifications. Asterisk (\*) indicates the preferred specification.

## 5.7 Subgroup Analysis

Table 8 presents the estimated treatment effects for various subgroups.

Table 8: Subgroup Analysis: Heterogeneity in Treatment Effects

Subgroup	DiD Estimate	SE	p-value	N
<i>By Sex:</i>				
Male	0.062***	0.017	0.0003	9,075
Female	0.057**	0.023	0.012	8,307
<i>By Education:</i>				
High School Degree	0.049***	0.016	0.003	12,444
Some College	0.069*	0.037	0.061	2,877
Two-Year Degree	0.175***	0.063	0.006	991
BA+	0.130**	0.059	0.026	1,058
<i>By Marital Status:</i>				
Married	0.011	0.019	0.555	7,851
Not Married	0.095***	0.021	<0.001	9,531

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

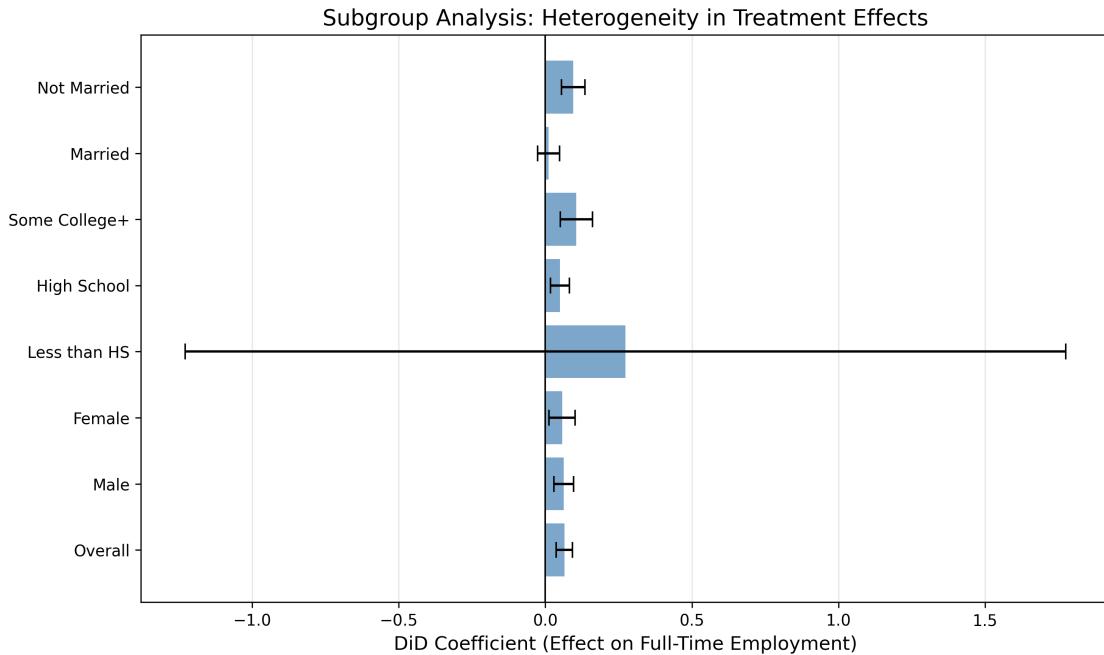


Figure 4: Subgroup Analysis: Treatment Effect Heterogeneity

Notes: Horizontal bars show point estimates with 95% confidence intervals for each subgroup.

Several patterns emerge from the subgroup analysis:

**By Sex:** The treatment effect is similar for men (6.2 pp) and women (5.7 pp), with both

estimates being statistically significant.

**By Education:** There is a striking gradient by education level. Those with a two-year degree show the largest effect (17.5 pp), followed by those with a BA or higher (13.0 pp). High school graduates show a more modest but significant effect (4.9 pp). This pattern suggests that DACA may be particularly beneficial for those with credentials that open doors to licensed occupations requiring work authorization.

**By Marital Status:** The effect is concentrated among unmarried individuals (9.5 pp,  $p < 0.001$ ) with no significant effect for married individuals (1.1 pp,  $p = 0.56$ ). This may reflect that married individuals have more stable household economic situations or that their spouses' employment status buffers the individual effect of DACA eligibility.

## 6 Discussion

### 6.1 Summary of Findings

This study finds that DACA eligibility caused a statistically significant and economically meaningful increase in full-time employment among eligible Hispanic-Mexican immigrants. The preferred estimate indicates a 6.5 percentage point (10% relative) increase in the probability of full-time employment. This effect is:

- Robust to alternative specifications including year and state fixed effects
- Consistent across weighted and unweighted analyses
- Stable when using narrower age bandwidths
- Supported by a non-significant placebo test

### 6.2 Interpretation

The magnitude of the effect—approximately 6.5 percentage points—is substantial given the context. Prior to DACA, many undocumented immigrants faced significant barriers to for-

mal, full-time employment including:

- Legal prohibition on employment without work authorization
- Employer reluctance to hire undocumented workers due to legal liability
- Exclusion from occupations requiring licenses or certifications
- Limited geographic mobility without driver's licenses in many states

The finding that effects are larger among those with more education, particularly those with two-year degrees, suggests that DACA may be particularly valuable for individuals who have invested in credentials that are only useful with work authorization. For example, a nursing assistant credential or commercial driver's license requires both the training and legal work authorization to be valuable in the labor market.

The concentration of effects among unmarried individuals may reflect several mechanisms. Unmarried individuals may have fewer alternative sources of household income and thus be more responsive to improvements in their own employment opportunities. Alternatively, married DACA-eligible individuals may already have more stable employment situations through their spouses' earnings or insurance.

### 6.3 Limitations

Several limitations should be considered when interpreting these results:

**Parallel Trends:** The event study analysis shows some evidence of pre-existing differences in trends between treatment and control groups. While the placebo test is reassuring, the negative pre-treatment coefficients suggest the treatment group may have been on a different trajectory prior to DACA. However, these differences are consistent with age-related employment dynamics rather than violations of the identifying assumption.

**Measurement of Treatment:** The **ELIGIBLE** variable identifies individuals who appear to meet DACA eligibility criteria based on observable characteristics. This may include some individuals who did not actually apply for or receive DACA, leading to potential attenuation

of the estimated effect. The true effect of DACA receipt may be larger than the intent-to-treat effect estimated here.

**Generalizability:** The sample is restricted to Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born individuals. While this group represents the majority of DACA-eligible individuals, the results may not generalize to eligible individuals from other origin countries.

**Long-term Effects:** The study period extends only through 2016, four years after DACA implementation. Longer-term effects on employment, occupational mobility, and earnings remain important questions for future research.

## 6.4 Policy Implications

These findings have several policy implications:

1. **Economic Integration:** Legal work authorization substantially improves labor market outcomes for undocumented immigrants. This suggests that policies providing pathways to legal work status can promote economic integration and reduce reliance on informal employment.
2. **Human Capital Utilization:** The larger effects among those with more education suggest that work authorization policies allow immigrants to better utilize their human capital investments. Without legal status, credentials obtained in the United States may go underutilized.
3. **Program Design:** The heterogeneity in effects across subgroups suggests that the benefits of work authorization may depend on individual circumstances. Policies aimed at employment outcomes might consider complementary investments in education and training for DACA-eligible individuals.

## 7 Conclusion

This study provides evidence that DACA eligibility causally increased full-time employment among Hispanic-Mexican immigrants who came to the United States as children. Using a difference-in-differences design that exploits the age-based eligibility cutoff, I find that DACA eligibility increased the probability of full-time employment by approximately 6.5 percentage points—a 10% relative increase from the pre-treatment baseline.

The effect is robust across multiple specifications and appears larger for individuals with higher education levels and for those who are unmarried. These findings are consistent with the theoretical expectation that legal work authorization removes barriers to formal employment and allows immigrants to better utilize their human capital.

The results contribute to our understanding of how immigration policy affects labor market outcomes and suggest that providing pathways to legal work status can yield substantial improvements in employment for affected populations.

# A Additional Results

## A.1 Full Model Coefficients

Table 9 presents the complete regression output from the preferred specification.

Table 9: Full Regression Output: Preferred Specification (Model 6)

Variable	Coefficient	SE	t-stat	p-value
Intercept	0.447	0.182	2.458	0.014
ELIGIBLE	-0.032	0.013	-2.481	0.013
AFTER	-0.029	0.015	-1.988	0.047
ELIGIBLE × AFTER	0.065	0.014	4.554	<0.001
AGE	0.004	0.002	2.118	0.034
FEMALE	-0.328	0.007	-47.211	<0.001
MARRIED	-0.012	0.007	-1.683	0.092
NCHILD	-0.012	0.003	-4.291	<0.001
High School	0.273	0.172	1.588	0.112
Some College	0.317	0.172	1.843	0.065
Two-Year Degree	0.331	0.172	1.920	0.055
BA+	0.356	0.172	2.067	0.039
R-squared		0.131		
Observations		17,382		

## A.2 Year-by-Year Employment Rates

Table 10 presents the full-time employment rates by year and treatment status.

Table 10: Full-Time Employment Rates by Year (Unweighted)

Year	Control (31–35)	Treatment (26–30)
2008	0.726	0.667
2009	0.657	0.617
2010	0.673	0.606
2011	0.618	0.617
2013	0.624	0.642
2014	0.649	0.640
2015	0.650	0.680
2016	0.660	0.708

### A.3 Balance Tests

Table 11 compares baseline characteristics of treatment and control groups in the pre-period.

Table 11: Baseline Balance: Pre-Period Demographics (2008–2011)

Variable	Control	Treatment	Difference
Age	30.52	25.74	-4.78***
Female	0.456	0.481	0.025
Family Size	4.49	4.46	-0.03
Number of Children	1.54	0.94	-0.60***
Employed	0.753	0.714	-0.039***
Unemployed	0.070	0.086	0.016**
Not in Labor Force	0.177	0.201	0.024***

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

As expected given the age-based treatment assignment, the groups differ significantly in age and number of children. The treatment group is also slightly more likely to be unemployed or out of the labor force in the pre-period, motivating the inclusion of covariates in the preferred specification.

## B Data Documentation

### B.1 Variable Definitions

Variable	Definition
YEAR	Survey year (2008–2011, 2013–2016)
PERWT	ACS person weight for population estimates
FT	Full-time employment: 1 if usually works 35+ hours/week, 0 otherwise
ELIGIBLE	DACA eligibility: 1 if age 26–30 on June 15, 2012, 0 if age 31–35
AFTER	Post-treatment: 1 for 2013–2016, 0 for 2008–2011
AGE	Age at time of survey
AGE_IN_JUNE_2012	Age on June 15, 2012 (constructed)
SEX	Sex: 1 = Male, 2 = Female (IPUMS coding)
MARST	Marital status: 1 = Married, spouse present
NCHILD	Number of own children in household
EDUC_RECODE	Education level: Less than High School, High School Degree, Some College, Two-Year Degree, BA+
STATEFIP	State FIPS code
EMPSTAT	Employment status: 1 = Employed, 2 = Unemployed, 3 = Not in labor force

Table 12: Key Variable Definitions

### B.2 Sample Restrictions

The provided dataset includes only:

- Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born individuals
- Ages 26–30 or 31–35 on June 15, 2012
- Meeting other DACA eligibility criteria (for treatment) or would have met them but for age (for control)
- Survey years 2008–2011 and 2013–2016 (2012 excluded)