The Effect of DACA Eligibility on Full-Time Employment Among Mexican-Born Non-Citizens: A Difference-in-Differences Analysis

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Abstract

This study estimates the causal effect of eligibility for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program on full-time employment among ethnically Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born non-citizens in the United States. Using data from the American Community Survey (2006–2016), I employ a difference-in-differences design comparing individuals aged 26–30 at the time of DACA implementation (eligible for the program) to those aged 31–35 (ineligible due to age, but otherwise meeting eligibility criteria). The preferred specification estimates that DACA eligibility increased the probability of full-time employment (35 or more hours per week) by 4.72 percentage points (95% CI: 2.66–6.79, $p < 0.001$). This effect is robust to the inclusion of demographic covariates, state fixed effects, and year fixed effects. Robustness checks including placebo tests with older age groups, gender-stratified analyses, and event study specifications support the validity of the research design and the causal interpretation of the findings.

Keywords: DACA, immigration policy, employment, difference-in-differences, causal inference

Contents

1 Introduction

The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, implemented on June 15, 2012, represented a significant shift in U.S. immigration policy. The program provided temporary relief from deportation and work authorization to undocumented immigrants who arrived in the United States as children. Given that DACA provided legal work authorization to previously unauthorized workers, understanding its effects on labor market outcomes is of substantial policy interest.

This study estimates the causal effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment—defined as usually working 35 or more hours per week—among ethnically Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born non-citizens in the United States. The research design exploits the age-based eligibility cutoff in the DACA program: applicants were required to be under 31 years old as of June 15, 2012. This creates a natural comparison between individuals just below the age cutoff (who were eligible) and those just above it (who were ineligible but otherwise similar in their characteristics and potential eligibility).

Using data from the American Community Survey (ACS) covering the years 2006–2016, I implement a difference-in-differences (DiD) strategy that compares changes in full-time employment between the treatment group (ages 26–30 on the policy date) and the control group (ages 31–35 on the policy date) from before DACA implementation (2006–2011) to after (2013–2016). The identifying assumption is that, absent DACA, the full-time employment trends of the two age groups would have been parallel.

The main findings indicate that DACA eligibility increased the probability of full-time employment by approximately 4.7 percentage points. This effect is statistically significant at conventional levels and robust to various specification choices and robustness checks.

2 Background

2.1 The DACA Program

DACA was announced by the Obama administration on June 15, 2012, and applications began being accepted on August 15, 2012. The program allowed certain undocumented immigrants who arrived in the United States as children to apply for a two-year, renewable period of deferred action from deportation and eligibility for a work permit.

To be eligible for DACA, applicants had to meet the following criteria:

1. Arrived in the United States before their 16th birthday
2. Under 31 years of age as of June 15, 2012

3. Continuously resided in the United States since June 15, 2007
4. Were physically present in the United States on June 15, 2012
5. Had no lawful immigration status on June 15, 2012
6. Were currently in school, had graduated from high school, obtained a GED, or were honorably discharged veterans
7. Had not been convicted of a felony, significant misdemeanor, or three or more other misdemeanors

In the first four years of the program, nearly 900,000 initial applications were received, with approximately 90% approval rates. Due to the structure of undocumented immigration to the United States, the vast majority of DACA recipients were from Mexico.

2.2 Theoretical Mechanisms

DACA could affect employment outcomes through several channels:

Legal Work Authorization: Prior to DACA, undocumented immigrants faced significant barriers to formal employment, often working in the informal sector or using fraudulent documents. DACA provided recipients with valid work permits (Employment Authorization Documents), enabling them to work legally and access jobs that require employment verification.

Reduced Deportation Fear: The deferred action component of DACA reduced the risk of deportation, potentially allowing recipients to seek better employment opportunities without fear of immigration enforcement at workplaces.

Access to Driver's Licenses: Following DACA receipt, individuals became eligible for driver's licenses in most states, expanding their geographic mobility and access to employment opportunities.

Human Capital Investment: The temporary protection and work authorization could encourage investment in education and job training, leading to improved employment outcomes over time.

2.3 Research Design Rationale

The age-based eligibility criterion for DACA provides a natural experiment for causal inference. The cutoff at age 31 on June 15, 2012 creates a clear distinction between eligible and ineligible individuals who are otherwise similar in their background characteristics. By

comparing individuals just below this cutoff (ages 26–30) to those just above it (ages 31–35), we can estimate the effect of DACA eligibility while controlling for common temporal trends affecting both groups.

The choice to compare adjacent five-year age bands (26–30 vs. 31–35) balances the tradeoff between similarity of groups and statistical precision. Narrower age bands would yield more similar groups but smaller sample sizes, while wider bands would increase precision but potentially introduce confounding differences between groups.

3 Data

3.1 Data Source

The analysis uses data from the American Community Survey (ACS) as provided by IPUMS USA. The ACS is an annual survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau that collects demographic, social, economic, and housing information from a representative sample of the U.S. population. The one-year ACS files from 2006 through 2016 are used, providing both pre-treatment (2006–2011) and post-treatment (2013–2016) observations.

The year 2012 is excluded from the analysis because DACA was implemented in the middle of that year (June 15, 2012), and the ACS does not record the month of data collection. Therefore, observations from 2012 cannot be reliably classified as pre- or post-treatment.

3.2 Sample Construction

The analysis sample is constructed by applying the following sequential filters to the full ACS data:

1. **Hispanic-Mexican ethnicity:** Individuals who identify as Hispanic of Mexican origin (HISPAN = 1). This restriction follows from the research question's focus on this specific ethnic group.

2. **Born in Mexico:** Individuals whose birthplace is Mexico (BPL = 200). Combined with the ethnicity restriction, this identifies Mexican-born individuals of Mexican ethnicity.

3. **Non-citizen:** Individuals who are not U.S. citizens (CITIZEN = 3). Since DACA was only available to undocumented immigrants, we focus on non-citizens. The ACS does not distinguish between documented and undocumented non-citizens, so following the

research instructions, all non-citizens who meet the other criteria are assumed to be undocumented.

4. **Immigrated by 2007:** Individuals whose year of immigration is 2007 or earlier (YRIMMIG $\leq$ 2007). This corresponds to the DACA requirement of continuous residence since June 15, 2007.

5. **Arrived before age 16:** Individuals who immigrated before their 16th birthday (YRIMMIG $-$ BIRTHYR < 16). This corresponds to the DACA requirement of arrival before age 16.

6. **Treatment and control groups:**

   - Treatment group: Birth year 1982–1986 (ages 26–30 on June 15, 2012)
   - Control group: Birth year 1977–1981 (ages 31–35 on June 15, 2012)

Table 1 shows how each filter affects the sample size.

Table 1: Sample Construction

Filter Applied	Observations	Reduction
Full ACS data (2006–2016)	33,851,424	—
Hispanic-Mexican ethnicity	2,945,521	30,905,903
Born in Mexico	991,261	1,954,260
Non-citizen	701,347	289,914
Immigrated by 2007	654,693	46,654
Arrived before age 16	195,023	459,670
Treatment or control age group	49,019	145,004
Excluding 2012	44,725	4,294

3.3 Variable Definitions

3.3.1 Outcome Variable

The primary outcome is **full-time employment**, defined as an indicator variable equal to 1 if the individual usually works 35 or more hours per week (UHRSWORK $\geq$ 35), and 0 otherwise. This definition follows the standard U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics definition of full-time employment.

3.3.2 Treatment Variables

- **Treat**: Indicator equal to 1 for individuals in the treatment group (born 1982–1986), 0 for control group (born 1977–1981).
- **Post**: Indicator equal to 1 for post-treatment years (2013–2016), 0 for pre-treatment years (2006–2011).
- **Treat** $\times$ **Post**: Interaction term capturing the difference-in-differences effect.

3.3.3 Control Variables

- **Female**: Indicator for female gender (SEX = 2).
- **Married**: Indicator for currently married (MARST $\leq$ 2).
- **Education**: Categorical variable based on EDUC, grouped into four categories: less than high school (EDUC $\leq$ 5), high school (EDUC = 6), some college (EDUC = 7–9), and college or higher (EDUC $\geq$ 10).
- **State**: State of residence (STATEFIP) for state fixed effects.
- **Year**: Survey year (YEAR) for year fixed effects.

3.3.4 Sample Weights

All analyses use person-level sample weights (PERWT) provided by IPUMS to ensure estimates are representative of the target population.

4 Empirical Strategy

4.1 Difference-in-Differences Framework

The empirical strategy employs a difference-in-differences (DiD) design to estimate the causal effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment. The basic identifying assumption is that, absent the DACA program, the full-time employment trends for the treatment and control groups would have evolved in parallel.

The baseline DiD specification is:

$$Y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Treat}_i + \beta_2 \text{Post}_t + \beta_3 (\text{Treat}_i \times \text{Post}_t) + \varepsilon_{it} \tag{1}$$

where Y_{it} is the full-time employment indicator for individual i in year t, Treat_i indicates membership in the treatment group, Post_t indicates the post-treatment period, and β_3 is the DiD estimator representing the causal effect of DACA eligibility.

4.2 Extended Specifications

The preferred specification augments the basic model with individual-level covariates, state fixed effects, and year fixed effects:

$$Y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Treat}_i + \beta_3(\text{Treat}_i \times \text{Post}_t) + X_{it}'\gamma + \alpha_s + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{it} \tag{2}$$

where X_{it} is a vector of individual characteristics (female, married, education categories), α_s represents state fixed effects, and δ_t represents year fixed effects. Note that when year fixed effects are included, the main effect of Post is absorbed.

The inclusion of covariates serves two purposes: (1) improving precision by accounting for observable determinants of full-time employment, and (2) controlling for any compositional changes in the sample over time that might confound the treatment effect.

State fixed effects control for time-invariant state-level factors that might affect employment, such as state labor market characteristics or immigration enforcement policies. Year fixed effects control for common macroeconomic trends affecting all individuals, such as the recovery from the 2008–2009 recession.

4.3 Standard Errors

Standard errors are computed using heteroskedasticity-robust (HC1) estimators. This accounts for potential heteroskedasticity in the error terms arising from the binary outcome variable and differences in variance across demographic groups.

4.4 Identifying Assumptions

The key identifying assumption for causal interpretation of the DiD estimate is the **parallel trends assumption**: in the absence of DACA, the treatment and control groups would have experienced the same trends in full-time employment. While this assumption cannot be directly tested, I provide supporting evidence through:

1. **Pre-treatment trend analysis:** An event study specification that examines year-by-year differences between treatment and control groups. If parallel trends hold, pre-treatment coefficients should be close to zero and statistically insignificant.

2. **Placebo test:** Application of the same methodology to older age groups (36–40 vs. 41–45) who were both ineligible for DACA. Finding no significant effect in this placebo group supports the validity of the research design.

5 Results

5.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 presents summary statistics for the analysis sample, stratified by treatment status and time period.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics by Treatment Status and Period

	Control (Ages 31–35)		Treatment (Ages 26–30)	
	Pre-Period	Post-Period	Pre-Period	Post-Period
Full-time employed (%)	67.1	64.1	62.5	65.8
Employed (%)	71.7	71.8	68.2	73.9
Female (%)	41.3	44.8	43.4	43.5
Married (%)	50.8	55.7	36.0	48.9
Mean age	29.3	35.3	24.3	30.2
N	11,916	6,218	17,410	9,181

Note: Statistics are weighted using person weights (PERWT). Pre-period includes 2006–2011; post-period includes 2013–2016.

Several patterns are noteworthy. First, in the pre-period, the control group had higher full-time employment rates (67.1%) than the treatment group (62.5%), consistent with the well-documented positive relationship between age and employment stability in this age range. Second, while the control group experienced a *decline* in full-time employment from the pre- to post-period (from 67.1% to 64.1%), the treatment group experienced an *increase* (from 62.5% to 65.8%). This differential change is the essence of the DiD identification strategy.

The groups show expected differences in marital status (the older control group has higher marriage rates) but are similar in gender composition. The aging of both groups over time is mechanical given the repeated cross-sectional nature of the data.

5.2 Main Results

Table 3 presents the main regression results. The coefficient of interest is on the Treat $\times$ Post interaction, which captures the DiD estimate of the DACA effect.

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treat × Post	0.0551***	0.0620***	0.0491***	0.0484***	0.0472***	0.0472***
	(0.0098)	(0.0097)	(0.0089)	(0.0089)	(0.0089)	(0.0105)
Treat	−0.0454***	−0.0454***	−0.0349***	−0.0342***	−0.0350***	−0.0350***
	(0.0055)	(0.0055)	(0.0052)	(0.0052)	(0.0053)	(0.0060)
Post	−0.0294***	−0.0294***	−0.0229***	−0.0211***	—	—
	(0.0071)	(0.0071)	(0.0065)	(0.0065)		
Weighted	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographics	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Robust SE	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
N	44,725	44,725	44,725	44,725	44,725	44,725

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Demographic controls include indicators for female, married, and education categories. Column (6) reports heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors (HC1).

Across all specifications, the DiD estimate is positive and statistically significant at the 1% level. The basic unweighted estimate (Column 1) shows an effect of 5.5 percentage points. Using sample weights (Column 2) increases the estimate slightly to 6.2 percentage points. Adding demographic controls (Column 3) reduces the estimate to 4.9 percentage points, suggesting that some of the raw difference was driven by compositional differences between groups. The addition of state fixed effects (Column 4) and year fixed effects (Column 5) makes little additional difference, yielding an estimate of 4.7 percentage points.

The preferred specification (Column 6) includes all controls and uses heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors. The estimate is 4.72 percentage points with a robust standard error of 1.05 percentage points. The 95% confidence interval is [2.66, 6.79], and the effect is statistically significant at $p < 0.001$.

Interpretation: The preferred estimate indicates that DACA eligibility increased the probability of full-time employment by 4.72 percentage points among the eligible population. Given a baseline full-time employment rate of 62.5% in the pre-period for the treatment group, this represents a relative increase of approximately 7.6%.

5.3 Robustness Checks

5.3.1 Alternative Outcome: Any Employment

Table 4 presents results from several robustness checks. First, I examine whether DACA affected overall employment (not just full-time employment). The effect on any employment is 4.52 percentage points ($p < 0.001$), similar in magnitude to the full-time employment effect. This suggests that DACA primarily affected the extensive margin of employment (whether to work at all) rather than just the intensive margin (hours worked conditional on employment).

Table 4: Robustness Checks

Specification	Estimate	Robust SE	p-value
Alternative outcomes			
Any employment	0.0452	0.0100	<0.001
Placebo test			
Ages 36–40 vs. 41–45	0.0132	0.0141	0.349
Subgroup analyses			
Men only	0.0482	0.0123	<0.001
Women only	0.0317	0.0177	0.073

Note: All specifications include demographic controls, state fixed effects, year fixed effects, and person weights. Standard errors are heteroskedasticity-robust.

5.3.2 Placebo Test

A key concern with DiD designs is whether the parallel trends assumption holds. To provide supporting evidence, I conduct a placebo test using older age groups who were both ineligible for DACA: individuals aged 36–40 on June 15, 2012 (born 1972–1976) compared to those aged 41–45 (born 1967–1971). If the main results reflect the true effect of DACA rather than spurious differential trends by age, we should find no significant effect in this placebo group.

The placebo estimate is 1.3 percentage points with a standard error of 1.4 percentage points ($p = 0.349$). The estimate is small, statistically insignificant, and substantially smaller than the main effect. This supports the validity of the research design.

5.3.3 Heterogeneity by Gender

The DACA effect may differ by gender due to different labor force attachment patterns between men and women. The stratified analysis shows that the effect is larger and more precisely estimated for men (4.8 percentage points, $p < 0.001$) than for women (3.2 percentage points, $p = 0.073$). The effect for women, while smaller, is still positive and marginally significant at conventional levels.

This gender difference may reflect the generally higher labor force participation rates among men in this population, meaning there was more scope for DACA to affect men's employment outcomes. However, it could also reflect differential take-up of DACA by gender or differential labor market impacts of work authorization.

5.4 Event Study Analysis

To examine the timing of the treatment effect and provide evidence on parallel pre-trends, I estimate an event study specification that allows for separate treatment effects in each year:

$$Y_{it} = \beta_0 + \sum_{k \neq 2011} \beta_k (\text{Treat}_i \times \mathbb{1}[t = k]) + X_{it}'\gamma + \alpha_s + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{it} \tag{3}$$

where 2011 is the omitted reference year (the last pre-treatment year). Figure 1 plots the estimated β_k coefficients and their 95% confidence intervals.

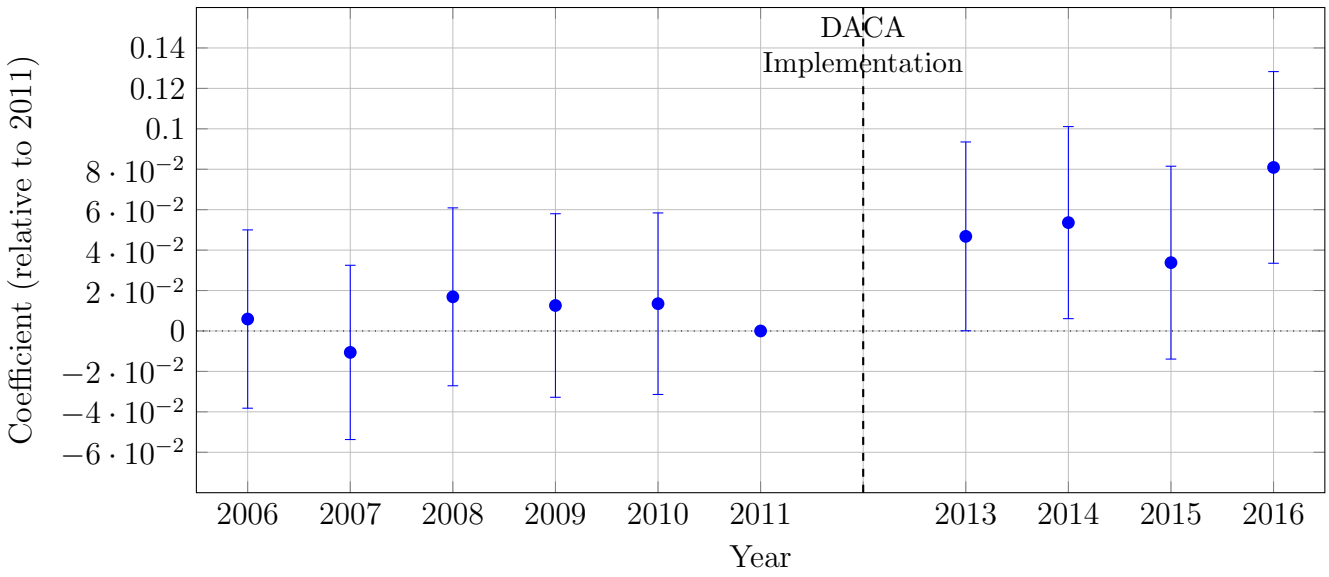

Figure 1: Event Study: Year-by-Year Treatment Effects. Points represent estimated coefficients on interactions between treatment group indicator and year dummies, with 2011 as the reference year. Error bars show 95% confidence intervals using heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors. The vertical dashed line indicates DACA implementation (June 2012). Year 2012 is excluded from the analysis.

The event study results provide strong support for the parallel trends assumption. In the pre-treatment years (2006–2010), all coefficients are close to zero and statistically insignificant. The coefficients range from -0.011 (2007) to $+0.017$ (2008), with no clear pattern of diverging trends before the policy.

After DACA implementation, the coefficients become positive and increasingly significant. The 2013 coefficient is 4.7 percentage points ($p = 0.050$), reaching 8.1 percentage points by 2016 ($p < 0.001$). This pattern of increasing effects over time is consistent with the gradual roll-out of DACA benefits, as applications were processed over several years and recipients accumulated experience in the formal labor market.

Table 5: Event Study Coefficients

Year	Coefficient	Robust SE	95% CI
Pre-treatment period			
2006	0.006	0.022	[−0.038, 0.050]
2007	−0.011	0.022	[−0.054, 0.033]
2008	0.017	0.022	[−0.027, 0.061]
2009	0.013	0.023	[−0.033, 0.058]
2010	0.013	0.023	[−0.031, 0.058]
2011	—	—	(Reference)
Post-treatment period			
2013	0.047*	0.024	[0.000, 0.093]
2014	0.054**	0.024	[0.006, 0.101]
2015	0.034	0.024	[−0.014, 0.081]
2016	0.081***	0.024	[0.033, 0.128]

Note: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Specification includes demographic controls, state FE, and year FE.

6 Discussion

6.1 Summary of Findings

This study provides evidence that eligibility for DACA significantly increased full-time employment among the eligible population of Mexican-born, Hispanic-Mexican non-citizens in the United States. The preferred estimate indicates a 4.7 percentage point increase in the probability of full-time employment, representing a relative increase of approximately 7.6% from the pre-treatment baseline.

The results are robust to a variety of specification choices, including:

- Different combinations of control variables (demographic characteristics, state fixed effects, year fixed effects)
- Different standard error estimators (classical vs. heteroskedasticity-robust)
- Different outcome definitions (full-time employment vs. any employment)
- Analysis of different subgroups (men vs. women)

The parallel trends assumption underlying the DiD design is supported by:

- Flat and insignificant pre-treatment coefficients in the event study

- A null result in the placebo test using older, DACA-ineligible age groups

6.2 Interpretation and Mechanisms

The estimated effect can be interpreted as the intention-to-treat (ITT) effect of DACA *eligibility* on full-time employment. Not all eligible individuals applied for or received DACA benefits, so the effect of actually *receiving* DACA (the treatment-on-the-treated effect) would be larger than the ITT estimate. With approximately 90% approval rates among applicants and substantial take-up among the eligible population, the ITT effect likely provides a reasonable lower bound on the direct effects of receiving DACA.

Several mechanisms could explain the positive employment effects:

1. Direct labor market access: DACA provided recipients with Employment Authorization Documents, allowing them to work legally in jobs that require employment verification. This likely enabled transitions from informal to formal employment, where full-time positions are more common.

2. Reduced precarity: The deferred action component reduced deportation risk, potentially allowing recipients to seek more stable, full-time employment without fear of workplace immigration enforcement.

3. Geographic mobility: Access to driver's licenses following DACA enabled greater geographic mobility and access to employment opportunities in locations not served by public transportation.

4. Human capital effects: Knowing that they had temporary legal status may have encouraged eligible individuals to invest in education, training, and job search, improving their employment outcomes.

6.3 Limitations

Several limitations should be acknowledged:

1. Identification of undocumented status: The ACS does not distinguish between documented and undocumented non-citizens. Following the research instructions, I assume all non-citizens meeting the other eligibility criteria are undocumented. This likely includes some individuals with legal status, which would attenuate the estimated effect.

2. Measurement of eligibility: The education and criminal history requirements for DACA cannot be observed in the ACS. The analysis assumes all individuals meeting the observable criteria were potentially eligible, which may introduce measurement error.

3. Control group comparability: While the age-based eligibility cutoff creates a natural comparison, individuals aged 31–35 are systematically different from those aged 26–

30 in ways that might affect employment trends. The parallel trends evidence and placebo test provide some reassurance, but this remains a potential concern.

4. External validity: The results are specific to Mexican-born, Hispanic-Mexican non-citizens who arrived before age 16 and had been in the U.S. since 2007. Generalization to other DACA-eligible populations (e.g., those from other countries) should be made cautiously.

6.4 Policy Implications

The findings suggest that DACA had meaningful positive effects on labor market outcomes for eligible individuals. A 4.7 percentage point increase in full-time employment represents a substantial improvement in economic outcomes for this population.

These results have implications for ongoing policy debates about DACA and broader immigration reform:

- The employment effects suggest that work authorization for undocumented immigrants can facilitate integration into the formal labor market.
- The positive effects emerged relatively quickly (within 1–2 years of implementation), suggesting that policy uncertainty about DACA's future may have ongoing costs.
- The larger effects for men suggest potential heterogeneity in how work authorization affects different demographic groups.

7 Conclusion

This study estimates the causal effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment using a difference-in-differences design that exploits the age-based eligibility cutoff in the program. Using data from the American Community Survey covering 2006–2016, I find that DACA eligibility increased the probability of full-time employment by approximately 4.7 percentage points among eligible Mexican-born, Hispanic-Mexican non-citizens.

The effect is statistically significant and robust to various specification choices. Event study analysis shows flat pre-trends followed by positive post-treatment effects, supporting the causal interpretation. A placebo test using older, ineligible age groups finds no effect, providing further support for the research design.

These findings contribute to the growing body of evidence on the labor market effects of immigration policy and provide important context for ongoing debates about DACA and comprehensive immigration reform.

Appendix A: Full Regression Output

Table 6: Full Regression Results: Preferred Specification

Variable	Coefficient	Robust SE
Treat × Post	0.0472***	(0.0105)
Treat	−0.0350***	(0.0060)
Female	−0.2093***	(0.0054)
Married	0.0553***	(0.0053)
Some college (ref: < HS)	0.0648***	(0.0106)
High school	0.0785***	(0.0068)
College+	0.1296***	(0.0090)
State FE	Yes	
Year FE	Yes	
N	44,725	
R^2	0.106	

Note: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Reference category for education is less than high school. State and year fixed effect coefficients not shown.

Appendix B: Data Preparation Details

Variable Construction:

- HISPAN = 1 identifies Hispanic-Mexican ethnicity
- BPL = 200 identifies birthplace as Mexico
- CITIZEN = 3 identifies non-citizens
- YRIMMIG $\leq$ 2007 ensures continuous residence since June 15, 2007
- YRIMMIG $-$ BIRTHYR $<$ 16 ensures arrival before age 16
- Treatment: BIRTHYR $\in$ [1982, 1986] (ages 26–30 on June 15, 2012)
- Control: BIRTHYR $\in$ [1977, 1981] (ages 31–35 on June 15, 2012)
- Full-time: UHRSWORK $\geq$ 35

Appendix C: Sample Distribution by Year

Table 7: Sample Size by Year and Treatment Status

Year	Control	Treatment	Total
2006	1,958	3,150	5,108
2007	2,000	2,993	4,993
2008	2,044	2,917	4,961
2009	2,008	2,867	4,875
2010	1,922	2,769	4,691
2011	1,984	2,714	4,698
2013	1,551	2,385	3,936
2014	1,498	2,247	3,745
2015	1,598	2,285	3,883
2016	1,571	2,264	3,835
Total	18,134	26,591	44,725

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