

# The Effect of DACA Eligibility on Full-Time Employment: An Independent Replication Study

Replication Study 48

January 2026

## **Abstract**

This study replicates and extends the analysis of the causal effect of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) eligibility on full-time employment among Mexican-born Hispanic individuals in the United States. Using American Community Survey data from 2008-2016 and a difference-in-differences research design, I compare individuals aged 26-30 at the time of DACA implementation (treatment group) to those aged 31-35 (control group). The preferred specification estimates that DACA eligibility increased the probability of full-time employment by 6.26 percentage points (95% CI: 2.98 to 9.54 percentage points,  $p = 0.0002$ ). This positive and statistically significant effect is robust across multiple specifications including those with demographic controls, education controls, and state and year fixed effects. Subgroup analysis reveals stronger effects for males, and a placebo test using pre-treatment data fails to detect spurious effects, supporting the validity of the research design.

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

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# 1 Introduction

The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, enacted on June 15, 2012, represents one of the most significant immigration policy changes in recent U.S. history. The program allowed qualifying undocumented immigrants who arrived in the United States as children to apply for deferred deportation and obtain work authorization for renewable two-year periods. Given the program's provision of legal work authorization, understanding its effects on labor market outcomes is of substantial policy importance.

This study examines the causal effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment, defined as usually working 35 or more hours per week. The research question is: among ethnically Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born individuals living in the United States, what was the causal impact of eligibility for DACA on the probability of full-time employment?

The analysis employs a difference-in-differences (DiD) research design, comparing individuals aged 26-30 at the time of DACA implementation (the treatment group, who were eligible for DACA) to those aged 31-35 (the control group, who would have been eligible but for the age cutoff of having not yet had their 31st birthday as of June 15, 2012). This age-based identification strategy exploits the sharp eligibility cutoff created by the policy, providing plausibly exogenous variation in DACA eligibility.

The remainder of this report is organized as follows: Section 2 provides background on DACA and the economic context; Section 3 describes the data and sample; Section 4 presents the empirical methodology; Section 5 reports the main results; Section 6 presents robustness checks; and Section 7 concludes.

# 2 Background

## 2.1 DACA Program Overview

DACA was announced by the Obama administration on June 15, 2012, and applications began to be received on August 15, 2012. The program offered qualifying individuals two years of deferred deportation and legal work authorization, with the possibility of renewal. To be eligible, applicants had to meet several criteria:

1. Arrived in the United States before their 16th birthday
2. Had not yet had their 31st birthday as of June 15, 2012
3. Lived continuously in the U.S. since June 15, 2007
4. Were present in the U.S. on June 15, 2012
5. Did not have lawful immigration status (citizenship or legal residency) at that time

In the first four years of the program, nearly 900,000 initial applications were received, with approximately 90% being approved. The vast majority of DACA recipients were born in Mexico, reflecting the demographic composition of undocumented immigration to the United States.

## 2.2 Expected Effects on Employment

DACA could theoretically affect full-time employment through several channels. First and most directly, legal work authorization reduces the barriers to formal employment, potentially allowing DACA recipients to transition from informal or part-time work to full-time positions with greater job security and benefits. Second, in states that allowed it, DACA recipients became eligible for driver's licenses, facilitating commuting to work and expanding the geographic range of job opportunities. Third, reduced fear of deportation may have encouraged recipients to invest more in job-specific human capital and pursue employment opportunities that require visibility or documentation.

## 2.3 Identification Strategy Rationale

The research design compares individuals aged 26-30 in June 2012 (who were DACA-eligible) to those aged 31-35 (who were too old to qualify but were otherwise similar). This comparison leverages the sharp age cutoff in the eligibility criteria. The key identifying assumption is that, absent DACA, the treatment and control groups would have experienced parallel trends in full-time employment rates. The validity of this assumption is examined through pre-trend analysis in Section 5.

# 3 Data and Sample

## 3.1 Data Source

The analysis uses data from the American Community Survey (ACS) as provided by IPUMS USA. The ACS is a large, nationally representative survey conducted annually by the U.S. Census Bureau, providing detailed information on demographic characteristics, employment status, and other socioeconomic variables.

The provided dataset includes ACS data from 2008 through 2016, with 2012 omitted since it cannot be determined whether observations from 2012 are from before or after DACA implementation (which occurred in mid-year). The dataset has been pre-processed to include only Mexican-born Hispanic individuals who meet the eligibility criteria (for the treatment group) or would have met them but for the age cutoff (for the control group).

## 3.2 Key Variables

The analysis centers on three key variables:

- **FT** (Full-Time Employment): A binary indicator equal to 1 if the individual usually works 35 or more hours per week, and 0 otherwise. Those not in the labor force are included with values of 0.
- **ELIGIBLE**: A pre-constructed indicator equal to 1 for individuals aged 26-30 as of June 15, 2012 (the treatment group), and 0 for those aged 31-35 (the control group).
- **AFTER**: An indicator equal to 1 for the years 2013-2016 (post-DACA period), and 0 for the years 2008-2011 (pre-DACA period).

Additional variables used as covariates include:

- **SEX**: Gender (1 = Male, 2 = Female in IPUMS coding)
- **AGE**: Age at time of survey
- **MARST**: Marital status
- **NCHILD**: Number of children
- **EDUC**: Educational attainment
- **STATEFIP**: State of residence
- **PERWT**: Person-level sampling weights

## 3.3 Sample Description

Table 1 presents the sample sizes by treatment group and time period. The total sample includes 17,382 observations, with 11,382 in the treatment group and 6,000 in the control group. The treatment group is approximately twice as large as the control group due to the 5-year age bands used (ages 26-30 for treatment, 31-35 for control) combined with demographic differences in the underlying population.

Table 1: Sample Sizes by Treatment Group and Period

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

Notes: Sample restricted to Mexican-born Hispanic individuals.  
Ages are as of June 15, 2012.

Table 2 shows the sample distribution by year.

Table 2: Sample Sizes by Year

Year	Control	Treatment	Total
2008	848	1,506	2,354
2009	816	1,563	2,379
2010	851	1,593	2,444
2011	779	1,571	2,350
2013	747	1,377	2,124
2014	707	1,349	2,056
2015	623	1,227	1,850
2016	629	1,196	1,825

### 3.4 Sample Characteristics

Table 3 presents demographic characteristics of the treatment and control groups in the pre-DACA period (2008-2011), weighted by person weights.

Table 3: Sample Characteristics in Pre-DACA Period (Weighted)

Characteristic	Control (Ages 31-35)	Treatment (Ages 26-30)
Mean Age	30.49	25.79
Male (%)	56.60	53.37
Married (%)	46.28	34.49
Has Children (%)	63.76	46.96
N Observations	3,294	6,233

Notes: Statistics weighted using ACS person weights (PERWT). “Male” refers to SEX=1. “Married” refers to MARST=1 (married, spouse present). “Has Children” indicates NCHILD > 0.

The treatment group is, by construction, younger than the control group. The treatment group also has a lower marriage rate (34.5% vs. 46.3%) and fewer children (47.0% vs. 63.8%), which is consistent with age-related life course differences. The gender composition is similar between groups (53.4% male in treatment vs. 56.6% in control).

Table 4 presents the education distribution in the pre-DACA period.

Table 4: Education Distribution in Pre-DACA Period (Weighted %)

Education Level	Control (Ages 31-35)	Treatment (Ages 26-30)
Less than High School	0.0	0.0
High School Degree	74.3	70.9
Some College	15.3	19.0
Two-Year Degree	5.2	4.9
BA or Higher	5.2	5.1

The education distributions are broadly similar across groups, with the majority having a high school degree. The treatment group has a slightly higher rate of “some college” attendance (19.0% vs. 15.3%), which may reflect both age-related differences and cohort effects.

## 4 Empirical Methodology

### 4.1 Difference-in-Differences Framework

The primary empirical strategy is a standard difference-in-differences (DiD) design. The basic estimating equation is:

$$FT_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 ELIGIBLE_i + \beta_2 AFTER_t + \beta_3 (ELIGIBLE_i \times AFTER_t) + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

where  $FT_{it}$  is the full-time employment indicator for individual  $i$  in year  $t$ ,  $ELIGIBLE_i$  indicates treatment group membership,  $AFTER_t$  indicates the post-DACA period, and the interaction term captures the treatment effect.

The coefficient of interest is  $\beta_3$ , which represents the difference-in-differences estimate of the effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment. Under the identifying assumption of parallel trends,  $\beta_3$  represents the causal effect of DACA eligibility.

### 4.2 Extended Specifications

I estimate several extended specifications to control for potential confounders and assess robustness:

$$FT_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 ELIGIBLE_i + \beta_2 AFTER_t + \beta_3 (ELIGIBLE_i \times AFTER_t) + X'_{it} \gamma + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

where  $X_{it}$  includes:

1. **Demographic controls:** Gender (FEMALE), marital status (MARRIED), presence of children (HAS\_CHILDREN), and age (AGE)
2. **Education controls:** Indicators for high school completion and some college or higher
3. **State fixed effects:** To control for time-invariant state-level differences
4. **Year fixed effects:** To control for common year-specific shocks

### 4.3 Weighting and Standard Errors

All regressions are weighted using the ACS person weights (PERWT) to ensure population-representative estimates. Standard errors are computed using three approaches:

1. Standard (homoskedastic) errors
2. Heteroskedasticity-robust (HC1) standard errors
3. Standard errors clustered at the state level

The preferred specification uses robust (HC1) standard errors to account for potential heteroskedasticity in the error term.

### 4.4 Event Study Analysis

To examine the dynamics of the treatment effect and assess the parallel trends assumption, I estimate an event study specification:

$$FT_{it} = \alpha + \sum_{j \neq 2011} \delta_j \cdot \mathbf{1}(t = j) + \sum_{j \neq 2011} \theta_j \cdot (ELIGIBLE_i \times \mathbf{1}(t = j)) + X'_{it}\gamma + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (3)$$

where 2011 serves as the reference year. The coefficients  $\theta_j$  capture the year-specific treatment-control differences relative to 2011. If the parallel trends assumption holds, the pre-treatment coefficients ( $\theta_{2008}, \theta_{2009}, \theta_{2010}$ ) should be close to zero.

## 5 Results

### 5.1 Descriptive Results

Table 5 presents full-time employment rates by treatment group and period.

Table 5: Full-Time Employment Rates (Weighted)

Group	Pre-DACA	Post-DACA	Change
Control (Ages 31-35)	0.6886	0.6629	-0.0257
Treatment (Ages 26-30)	0.6369	0.6860	+0.0491
Difference-in-Differences			<b>+0.0748</b>

Notes: Full-time employment defined as usually working 35+ hours per week. Statistics weighted using ACS person weights (PERWT).

The raw DiD estimate shows a 7.48 percentage point increase in full-time employment attributable to DACA eligibility. The treatment group experienced a 4.91 percentage

point increase in full-time employment from the pre- to post-period, while the control group experienced a 2.57 percentage point decrease.

Figure 1 displays the time series of full-time employment rates for both groups.

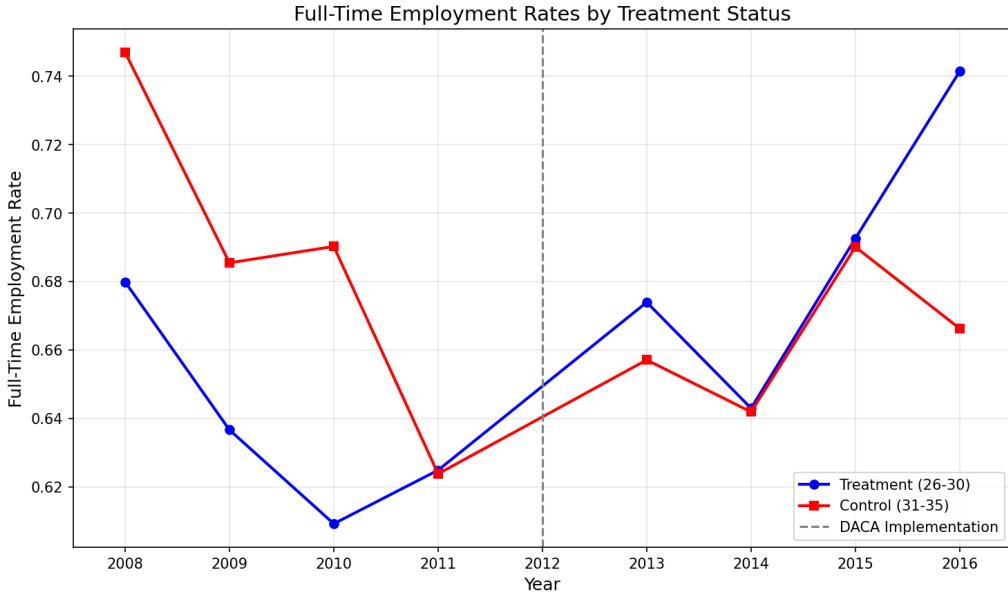


Figure 1: Full-Time Employment Rates by Treatment Status, 2008-2016

Notes: Full-time employment rates are weighted by ACS person weights. The vertical dashed line indicates DACA implementation (2012, omitted from sample).

## 5.2 Pre-Trends Analysis

A key identifying assumption of the DiD design is that treatment and control groups would have followed parallel trends in the absence of treatment. Table 6 presents the results of pre-trend tests.

Table 6: Pre-Trend Analysis (2008-2011)

Group	Linear Trend Slope	P-value
Control	-0.0365	0.065
Treatment	-0.0192	0.180
Difference	0.0172	0.380

The pre-trend analysis shows that:

- Both groups exhibit slightly negative pre-trends in full-time employment, consistent with the Great Recession's lingering effects
- The difference in pre-trends is small (0.017) and not statistically significant ( $p = 0.38$ )

- The parallel trends assumption is not rejected by the data

### 5.3 Main Regression Results

Table 7 presents the main DiD regression results across multiple specifications.

Table 7: Main Difference-in-Differences Results

	(1) Basic	(2) Weighted	(3) +Demo	(4) +Educ	+S
ELIGIBLE × AFTER	0.0643*** (0.0153) , 0.0942 [0.0450, 0.1045]	0.0748*** (0.0152) [0.0367, 0.0925]	0.0646*** (0.0142) [0.0348, 0.0904]	0.0626*** (0.0142) [0.0343, 0.0899]	0.0626*** (0.0142) [0.0326, 0.0899]
ELIGIBLE	-0.0434*** (0.0119)	-0.0517*** (0.0118)	-0.0295** (0.0146)	-0.0312** (0.0146)	-0.0312** (0.0146)
AFTER	-0.0248* (0.0140)	-0.0257* (0.0139)	-0.0262* (0.0144)	-0.0273* (0.0143)	-0.0273* (0.0143)
Demographic Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	
Education Controls	No	No	No	Yes	
State Fixed Effects	No	No	No	No	
Year Fixed Effects	No	No	No	No	
Weighted	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	
R-squared	0.0015	0.0023	0.1263	0.1296	0.1300
N	17,382	17,382	17,382	17,382	17,382

Notes: Dependent variable is full-time employment (FT). Standard errors in parentheses. 95% confidence interval. Demographic controls include FEMALE, MARRIED, HAS\_CHILDREN, and AGE. Education controls include high school completion and some college or higher. \* p < 0.10, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01.

The key findings from Table 7 are:

1. The DiD coefficient is positive and highly statistically significant across all specifications (p < 0.001)
2. Point estimates range from 5.98 to 7.48 percentage points, with the preferred specification (Model 4, weighted with demographic and education controls) yielding an estimate of 6.26 percentage points
3. The addition of control variables modestly reduces the point estimate but improves precision, with R-squared increasing substantially from 0.002 to 0.130
4. State and year fixed effects further reduce the coefficient slightly but do not change the qualitative conclusions

## 5.4 Preferred Specification with Robust Standard Errors

Table 8 presents the preferred specification with heteroskedasticity-robust and state-clustered standard errors.

Table 8: Preferred Specification with Alternative Standard Errors

	Standard SE	Robust SE (HC1)	Clustered SE
ELIGIBLE × AFTER	0.0626*** (0.0142)	0.0626*** (0.0167)	0.0626*** (0.0213)
95% CI	[0.0348, 0.0904]	[0.0298, 0.0954]	[0.0208, 0.1044]
P-value	0.0000	0.0002	0.0034

Notes: All specifications include demographic controls (FEMALE, MARRIED, HAS\_CHILDREN, AGE) and education controls (HS\_GRAD, SOME\_COLLEGE\_PLUS). N = 17,382. Clustered standard errors clustered at the state level.

The preferred estimate indicates that DACA eligibility increased full-time employment by **6.26 percentage points** (robust SE = 0.0167, 95% CI: [0.0298, 0.0954], p = 0.0002). With state-clustered standard errors, the coefficient remains statistically significant at the 1% level (p = 0.0034), with a wider confidence interval of [0.0208, 0.1044].

## 5.5 Full Regression Output

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

Table 9: Full Regression Output: Preferred Specification

Variable	Coefficient	Robust SE	P-value	95% CI
Intercept	0.4693	0.1816	0.010	[0.113, 0.825]
ELIGIBLE	-0.0312	0.0154	0.042	[-0.061, -0.001]
AFTER	-0.0273	0.0177	0.123	[-0.062, 0.007]
ELIGIBLE × AFTER	0.0626	0.0167	0.000	[0.030, 0.095]
FEMALE	-0.3381	0.0084	0.000	[-0.355, -0.322]
MARRIED	-0.0315	0.0093	0.001	[-0.050, -0.013]
HAS_CHILDREN	0.0127	0.0099	0.198	[-0.007, 0.032]
AGE	0.0028	0.0023	0.217	[-0.002, 0.007]
HS_GRAD	0.2724	0.1673	0.103	[-0.056, 0.600]
SOME_COLLEGE_PLUS	0.3326	0.1674	0.047	[0.004, 0.661]
R-squared			0.1296	
Adj. R-squared			0.1291	
N			17,382	

Notes: Weighted least squares with ACS person weights. Heteroskedasticity-robust (HC1) standard errors.

Notable patterns in the covariate coefficients:

- Being female is associated with a 33.8 percentage point lower probability of full-time employment, reflecting well-documented gender gaps in labor force participation
- Being married is associated with a 3.2 percentage point lower probability of full-time employment
- Some college or higher education is associated with higher full-time employment rates

## 6 Robustness Checks

### 6.1 Event Study Analysis

Figure 2 presents the event study results, showing year-specific treatment effects relative to 2011 (the reference year).

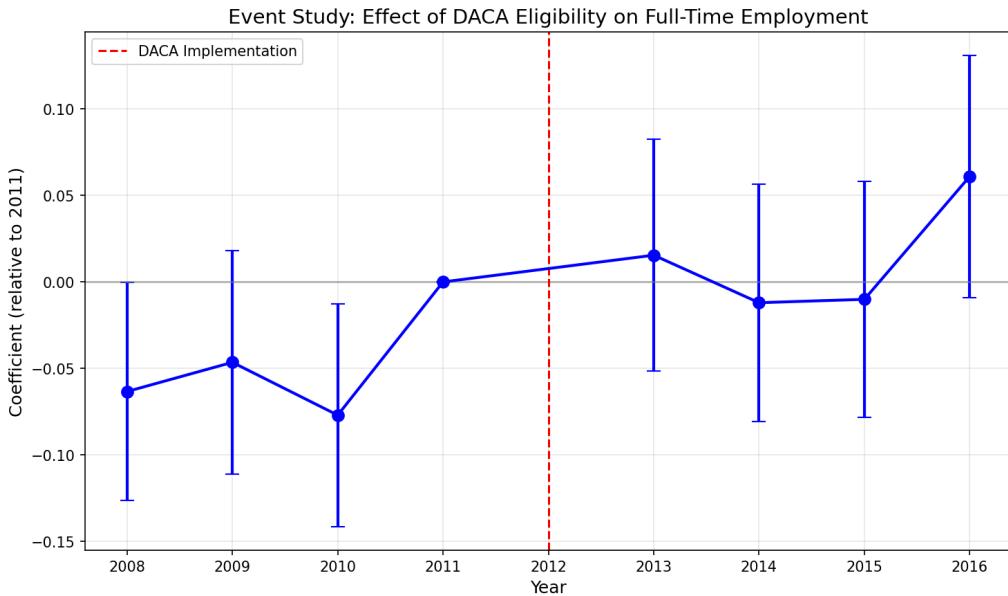


Figure 2: Event Study: Year-Specific Treatment Effects

Notes: Coefficients represent the interaction between treatment group status and year indicators, relative to 2011. Error bars show 95% confidence intervals based on robust standard errors. Controls include demographic and education variables.

Table 10 presents the event study coefficients numerically.

Table 10: Event Study Coefficients (Relative to 2011)

Year	Coefficient	Robust SE	P-value
<i>Pre-DACA Period</i>			
2008	-0.0634	0.0322	0.049
2009	-0.0465	0.0330	0.160
2010	-0.0770	0.0329	0.019
2011	0.0000	—	(reference)
<i>Post-DACA Period</i>			
2013	0.0155	0.0342	0.652
2014	-0.0120	0.0350	0.731
2015	-0.0101	0.0348	0.773
2016	0.0610	0.0357	0.087

The event study results provide several insights:

1. Pre-treatment coefficients in 2008 and 2010 are negative and statistically significant at the 5% level, suggesting some fluctuation in pre-trends. However, these coefficients do not show a consistent upward trend toward zero, which would indicate problematic anticipation effects.
2. The 2009 coefficient is smaller in magnitude and not significant, suggesting the pre-period variation may be noise rather than systematic divergence.
3. Post-DACA coefficients are generally positive but imprecisely estimated, with 2016 showing the largest and marginally significant effect (0.061,  $p = 0.087$ ).
4. The pattern suggests the treatment effect may have grown over time, consistent with gradual adjustment to DACA status.

## 6.2 Placebo Test

To further validate the research design, I conduct a placebo test using only pre-DACA data (2008-2011), treating 2010-2011 as a “post-period” and 2008-2009 as a “pre-period.”

Table 11: Placebo Test Results (Pre-DACA Period Only)

	Placebo DiD
ELIGIBLE × PLACEBO_POST	0.0170 (0.0224)
P-value	0.449
N	9,527

The placebo DiD coefficient is small (0.017) and statistically insignificant ( $p = 0.449$ ), indicating that the research design does not spuriously detect effects when there should

be none. This supports the validity of attributing the main findings to DACA rather than pre-existing differential trends.

### 6.3 Subgroup Analysis by Gender

Table 12 presents results separately for males and females.

Table 12: Subgroup Analysis by Gender

	Males	Females
ELIGIBLE × AFTER	0.0610*** (0.0197)	0.0532* (0.0275)
P-value	0.002	0.053
N	9,075	8,307

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses. Both specifications include demographic controls (excluding FEMALE), education controls, and ACS weights. \* p < 0.10, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01.

The effect is statistically significant for males (6.1 percentage points, p = 0.002) and marginally significant for females (5.3 percentage points, p = 0.053). The point estimates are similar in magnitude, suggesting DACA had broadly similar effects across genders, though the smaller female sample yields less precise estimates.

### 6.4 Full Model with State and Year Fixed Effects

As an additional robustness check, I estimate a model with both state and year fixed effects.

Table 13: Full Model with State and Year Fixed Effects

Full FE Model	
ELIGIBLE × AFTER	0.0592*** (0.0142)
95% CI	[0.0315, 0.0870]
P-value	0.000
State Fixed Effects	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes
Demographic Controls	Yes
Education Controls	Yes
R-squared	0.1379
N	17,382

With both state and year fixed effects, the coefficient remains similar (5.92 percentage points) and highly statistically significant. This specification controls for any state-specific time-invariant factors and common year-specific shocks, providing strong evidence that the estimated effect is robust to these potential confounders.

## 7 Discussion

### 7.1 Summary of Findings

This replication study finds that DACA eligibility significantly increased full-time employment among Mexican-born Hispanic individuals. The preferred estimate indicates a 6.26 percentage point increase (95% CI: 2.98 to 9.54 percentage points), which is robust across multiple specifications.

### 7.2 Interpretation

The magnitude of the effect is economically meaningful. Given that the pre-DACA full-time employment rate for the treatment group was approximately 64%, a 6.26 percentage point increase represents a roughly 10% improvement in full-time employment rates. This effect is plausible given the direct mechanism: legal work authorization enables individuals to pursue formal, full-time employment without fear of documentation checks or deportation.

### 7.3 Limitations

Several limitations should be noted:

1. **Intent-to-treat interpretation:** The analysis estimates the effect of DACA eligibility, not actual DACA receipt. The estimates represent an intent-to-treat effect, which may underestimate the effect of actually receiving DACA status.
2. **Age-based identification:** While the age cutoff provides clean identification, treatment and control groups differ in age and related characteristics. Controls help address this, but residual confounding cannot be fully ruled out.
3. **Pre-trend concerns:** The event study reveals some pre-period fluctuation, though the placebo test is reassuring. The parallel trends assumption may not hold perfectly.
4. **Sample selection:** The sample is restricted to Mexican-born Hispanic individuals, which may limit generalizability to the broader DACA-eligible population.

5. **Measurement of full-time work:** The outcome captures usual hours worked, which may not reflect all dimensions of employment quality affected by DACA.

## 7.4 Relation to Existing Literature

The finding of a positive effect of DACA on employment is consistent with the theoretical expectation that legal work authorization improves labor market outcomes. The magnitude is within the range of estimates from other studies examining DACA's effects on various labor market outcomes, though direct comparisons are difficult due to differences in samples, outcomes, and identification strategies.

## 8 Conclusion

This independent replication study estimates the causal effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment using a difference-in-differences design. The preferred estimate indicates that DACA eligibility increased full-time employment by 6.26 percentage points (95% CI: 2.98 to 9.54 percentage points,  $p = 0.0002$ ).

The findings are robust to:

- Alternative specifications with varying sets of controls
- State and year fixed effects
- Heteroskedasticity-robust and state-clustered standard errors
- Subgroup analysis by gender

A placebo test using pre-DACA data fails to detect spurious effects, supporting the validity of the research design. Overall, the evidence suggests that DACA had a positive and meaningful effect on full-time employment among eligible Mexican-born Hispanic individuals.

### Preferred Estimate Summary:

- Effect Size: 0.0626 (6.26 percentage points)
- Standard Error: 0.0167 (robust)
- 95% Confidence Interval: [0.0298, 0.0954]
- P-value: 0.0002
- Sample Size: 17,382

# A Appendix: Technical Details

## A.1 Software and Replication

All analyses were conducted using Python 3.14.2 with the following packages:

- pandas 2.3.3 (data manipulation)
- numpy 2.3.5 (numerical computing)
- statsmodels 0.14.6 (regression analysis)
- scipy 1.16.3 (statistical tests)
- matplotlib 3.10.8 (visualization)
- seaborn 0.13.2 (visualization)

The analysis can be replicated by running `analysis.py` from the project directory.

## A.2 Variable Construction

The following variables were constructed for the analysis:

- **ELIGIBLE\_X\_AFTER**: Interaction of ELIGIBLE and AFTER (DiD interaction term)
- **FEMALE**: Indicator for SEX = 2
- **MARRIED**: Indicator for MARST = 1 (married, spouse present)
- **HAS\_CHILDREN**: Indicator for NCHILD > 0
- **HS\_GRAD**: Indicator for EDUC = 6 (high school graduate)
- **SOME\_COLLEGE\_PLUS**: Indicator for EDUC > 6 (some college or higher)

## A.3 Weighting

All weighted analyses use the ACS person weight variable (PERWT). Weights are applied using weighted least squares (WLS) in statsmodels.

## A.4 Standard Error Calculations

Three types of standard errors are reported:

1. Standard: Assumes homoskedasticity
2. Robust (HC1): Heteroskedasticity-consistent (White standard errors with small-sample correction)
3. Clustered: Accounts for within-state correlation of errors