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

Replication Study

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Abstract

This study examines the causal effect of eligibility for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program on full-time employment among Mexican-born, Hispanic-Mexican non-citizens in the United States. Using data from the American Community Survey (2006–2016) and a difference-in-differences design that exploits the age-based eligibility cutoff, I compare individuals aged 26–30 at DACA implementation (treatment group) to those aged 31–35 (control group). The preferred specification, which includes state and year fixed effects along with demographic controls, estimates that DACA eligibility increased the probability of full-time employment by 4.4 percentage points (95% CI: [2.4, 6.5], $p < 0.001$). Event study analysis supports the parallel trends assumption, with no significant pre-treatment differential trends. The effect is robust across alternative specifications and is particularly pronounced among those with higher education levels. These findings suggest that DACA's provision of work authorization had meaningful positive effects on labor market outcomes for eligible immigrants.

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

Contents

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 protection from deportation and work authorization to undocumented immigrants who arrived in the United States as children. Given that DACA explicitly grants legal work authorization, a natural question arises: did eligibility for DACA increase employment among those who qualified?

This study examines the causal impact of DACA eligibility on full-time employment among Mexican-born, Hispanic-Mexican non-citizens—the demographic group that comprises the vast majority of DACA-eligible individuals. The research question is motivated by several theoretical mechanisms through which DACA might affect employment:

1. **Legal work authorization**: DACA provides recipients with Employment Authorization Documents (EADs), allowing them to work legally for U.S. employers.

2. **Driver's license access**: In many states, DACA recipients became eligible for driver's licenses, potentially expanding job opportunities.

3. **Reduced fear of deportation**: The deferred action status may increase willingness to engage in formal employment.

4. **Improved job matching**: Work authorization may allow individuals to seek employment better matched to their skills.

This analysis employs a difference-in-differences (DiD) research design that exploits the age-based eligibility cutoff in DACA. Individuals who were 30 or younger on June 15, 2012 were potentially eligible, while those who were 31 or older were excluded solely due to their age. By comparing changes in full-time employment between these age cohorts before and after DACA implementation, I can estimate the causal effect of DACA eligibility on labor market outcomes.

The findings indicate that DACA eligibility increased the probability of full-time employment by approximately 4.4 percentage points among the eligible population. This effect is statistically significant and robust to various specification choices. Event study analysis confirms that treatment and control groups exhibited parallel trends in the pre-DACA period, supporting the validity of the identification strategy.

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 was created through executive action rather than congressional legislation, which has made it subject to ongoing legal and political challenges.

To be eligible for DACA, individuals must meet all of the following criteria:

- Were under the age of 31 as of June 15, 2012
- Came to the United States before reaching their 16th birthday
- Have continuously resided in the United States since June 15, 2007
- Were physically present in the United States on June 15, 2012
- Were in the United States without lawful immigration status on June 15, 2012
- Are currently in school, have graduated or obtained a certificate of completion from high school, have obtained a GED, or are an honorably discharged veteran
- Have not been convicted of a felony, significant misdemeanor, or three or more other misdemeanors

DACA provides two primary benefits: (1) deferred action on deportation for a two-year period (renewable), and (2) eligibility for work authorization through an Employment Authorization Document. By 2016, approximately 800,000 individuals had been approved for DACA, with the vast majority being Mexican nationals.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The relationship between DACA and employment operates through several channels:

Direct employment channel: Without work authorization, undocumented immigrants face significant barriers to formal employment. Employers who hire undocumented workers risk legal penalties, and workers without authorization may be limited to informal sector jobs. DACA's provision of work authorization directly addresses this barrier.

Occupational mobility: Prior to DACA, eligible individuals may have been "underemployed" relative to their skills, working in jobs that did not require verification of work eligibility. With work authorization, DACA recipients can potentially access jobs that better match their human capital.

Geographic mobility: Driver's license eligibility (in states that extended this benefit to DACA recipients) may expand the geographic range of employment opportunities, particularly in areas with limited public transportation.

Behavioral changes: Reduced fear of deportation may increase willingness to engage in activities that could expose one's undocumented status, including formal employment, job searching, and workplace negotiations.

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

detailed demographic, social, economic, and housing information from approximately 3.5 million households each year.

I use the 1-year ACS files from 2006 through 2016, excluding 2012 due to the mid-year timing of DACA implementation that makes it impossible to distinguish pre- and post-treatment observations within that year. The final analysis period spans 2006–2011 (pre-DACA) and 2013–2016 (post-DACA).

3.2 Sample Construction

The sample is constructed to identify individuals who would be eligible for DACA, except potentially for the age requirement. The following restrictions are applied:

1. **Hispanic-Mexican ethnicity**: Restricted to individuals with HISPAN = 1 (Mexican origin).

2. **Born in Mexico**: Restricted to individuals with BPL = 200 (birthplace is Mexico).

3. **Non-citizen**: Restricted to individuals with CITIZEN = 3 (not a citizen). Following the instructions, non-citizens without naturalization are assumed to be undocumented for DACA purposes.

4. **Arrived before age 16**: Calculated as YRIMMIG - BIRTHYR < 16, ensuring the individual immigrated before their 16th birthday.

5. **Continuous presence since 2007**: Approximated by YRIMMIG ≤ 2007, indicating arrival by 2007.

6. **Age-based group assignment**:

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

Table 1 shows the sample construction process.

Table 1: Sample Construction

Restriction	N	Reduction
Full ACS sample (2006–2016)	33,851,424	—
Hispanic-Mexican (HISPAN = 1)	2,945,521	30,905,903
Born in Mexico (BPL = 200)	991,261	1,954,260
Non-citizen (CITIZEN = 3)	701,347	289,914
Birth years 1977–1986	178,376	522,971
Arrived before age 16	49,019	129,357
Arrived by 2007	49,019	0
Exclude 2012	44,725	4,294

3.3 Variables

3.3.1 Outcome Variable

The primary outcome is full-time employment, defined as working 35 or more hours per week. This is constructed from the UHRSWORK variable (usual hours worked per week):

$$\text{fulltime}_i = \mathbf{1}[\text{UHRSWORK}_i \geq 35]$$

3.3.2 Treatment Variables

The difference-in-differences framework requires two key variables:

- treat_i: Indicator equal to 1 if individual i is in the treatment group (born 1982–1986), 0 if in the control group (born 1977–1981)
- post_t: Indicator equal to 1 if year t is in the post-DACA period (2013–2016), 0 if in the pre-DACA period (2006–2011)

3.3.3 Control Variables

The analysis includes the following control variables:

- **Female**: Indicator for female (SEX = 2)
- **Married**: Indicator for married with spouse present or absent (MARST $\leq$ 2)
- **Has children**: Indicator for having children in household (NCHILD $>$ 0)
- **Education**: Indicators for high school graduate, some college, and college or more (reference: less than high school)

4 Empirical Strategy

4.1 Identification Strategy

The identification strategy exploits the age-based eligibility cutoff for DACA. Individuals who were under 31 as of June 15, 2012 were potentially eligible for DACA, while those 31 or older were ineligible solely due to their age. By comparing changes in outcomes between these groups before and after DACA implementation, I can estimate the causal effect of DACA eligibility.

The key identifying assumption is that, absent DACA, the treatment and control groups would have experienced parallel trends in employment. This assumption is empirically testable in the pre-treatment period and is examined through event study analysis.

4.2 Difference-in-Differences Specification

The basic difference-in-differences model is:

$$Y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{treat}_i + \beta_2 \text{post}_t + \beta_3 (\text{treat}_i \times \text{post}_t) + \epsilon_{it} \tag{1}$$

where Y_{it} is the full-time employment indicator for individual i in year t, and β_3 is the difference-in-differences estimator capturing the causal effect of DACA eligibility.

The preferred specification extends this model to include demographic controls and fixed effects:

$$Y_{ist} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{treat}_i + \gamma_t + \delta_s + \beta_3(\text{treat}_i \times \text{post}_t) + X_i'\theta + \epsilon_{ist} \tag{2}$$

where γ_t are year fixed effects, δ_s are state fixed effects, and X_i is a vector of demographic controls.

4.3 Event Study Specification

To examine the parallel trends assumption and visualize the time path of treatment effects, I estimate an event study model:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \sum_{k \neq 2011} \beta_k(\text{treat}_i \times \mathbf{1}[t = k]) + \gamma_t + X_i'\theta + \epsilon_{it} \tag{3}$$

The year 2011 serves as the reference period. Under the parallel trends assumption, the coefficients β_k for pre-treatment years ($k < 2012$) should be close to zero and statistically insignificant.

4.4 Estimation Details

All models are estimated using weighted least squares (WLS) with IPUMS person weights (PERWT) to ensure population representativeness. Standard errors are heteroskedasticity-robust (HC1). Given that this is a repeated cross-section rather than panel data, clustering at the individual level is not applicable.

5 Results

5.1 Summary Statistics

Table 2 presents summary statistics for the analysis sample by treatment group and time period.

Table 2: Summary Statistics by Group and Period (Weighted Means)

	Pre-DACA (2006–2011)		Post-DACA (2013–2016)	
Variable	Control	Treatment	Control	Treatment
Full-time employed	0.671	0.625	0.641	0.658
Female	0.413	0.434	0.448	0.435
Married	0.508	0.360	0.557	0.489
Has children	0.622	0.433	0.727	0.643
Less than high school	0.464	0.381	0.478	0.397
High school graduate	0.405	0.445	0.393	0.428
Some college	0.102	0.148	0.102	0.133
College or more	0.028	0.026	0.028	0.042
Age	29.3	24.3	35.3	30.2
N (unweighted)	11,916	17,410	6,218	9,181

Notes: Means are weighted using IPUMS person weights (PERWT). Control group consists of individuals born 1977–1981 (ages 31–35 in 2012). Treatment group consists of individuals born 1982–1986 (ages 26–30 in 2012).

Several patterns emerge from the summary statistics. First, the treatment group has lower baseline full-time employment (62.5% vs. 67.1% pre-DACA), consistent with the younger age profile. Second, both groups show relatively similar distributions across education levels, though the treatment group has slightly higher educational attainment.

Third, the control group has higher rates of marriage and children, which is expected given the age difference.

Importantly, the simple difference-in-differences calculation from these means yields:

$$\hat{\beta}_{DiD} = (0.658 - 0.625) - (0.641 - 0.671) = 0.033 - (-0.030) = 0.062$$

This raw estimate suggests a 6.2 percentage point increase in full-time employment due to DACA eligibility.

5.2 Main Results

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

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment × Post	0.0620***	0.0488***	0.0464***	0.0448***	0.0441***
	(0.0116)	(0.0106)	(0.0106)	(0.0106)	(0.0105)
Treatment	−0.0452***	−0.0441***	−0.0459***	−0.0448***	−0.0399***
	(0.0067)	(0.0062)	(0.0062)	(0.0062)	(0.0063)
Female		−0.3824***	−0.3810***	−0.3820***	−0.3809***
		(0.0053)	(0.0053)	(0.0053)	(0.0053)
Married		−0.0298***	−0.0248***	−0.0253***	−0.0263***
		(0.0055)	(0.0055)	(0.0055)	(0.0055)
Has children		0.0371***	0.0359***	0.0367***	0.0359***
		(0.0059)	(0.0059)	(0.0059)	(0.0059)
Education controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
State fixed effects	No	No	No	No	Yes
N	44,725	44,725	44,725	44,725	44,725
R-squared	0.002	0.153	0.155	0.156	0.160

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. All models estimated using WLS with IPUMS person weights. Education controls include indicators for high school graduate, some college, and college or more.

The key finding is highly consistent across specifications: DACA eligibility increased

full-time employment by approximately 4.4–6.2 percentage points, depending on the controls included. The preferred specification (Column 5), which includes demographic controls, education controls, year fixed effects, and state fixed effects, estimates an effect of 4.41 percentage points (SE = 0.0105, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI: [0.024, 0.065]).

The addition of controls reduces the estimated effect from 6.2 percentage points in the basic model to 4.4 percentage points in the full model, suggesting that some of the raw difference-in-differences is attributable to compositional differences between groups. However, the effect remains substantively large and highly statistically significant across all specifications.

The coefficient on the treatment indicator is negative and significant, indicating that the treatment group had lower baseline employment rates than the control group, consistent with their younger age. Female individuals have substantially lower full-time employment rates (about 38 percentage points lower), reflecting lower labor force participation and greater prevalence of part-time work among women. Having children is associated with slightly higher full-time employment, possibly reflecting the economic need to support dependents.

5.3 Event Study Results

Figure 1 presents the event study results, showing the estimated treatment effects for each year relative to 2011 (the reference year).

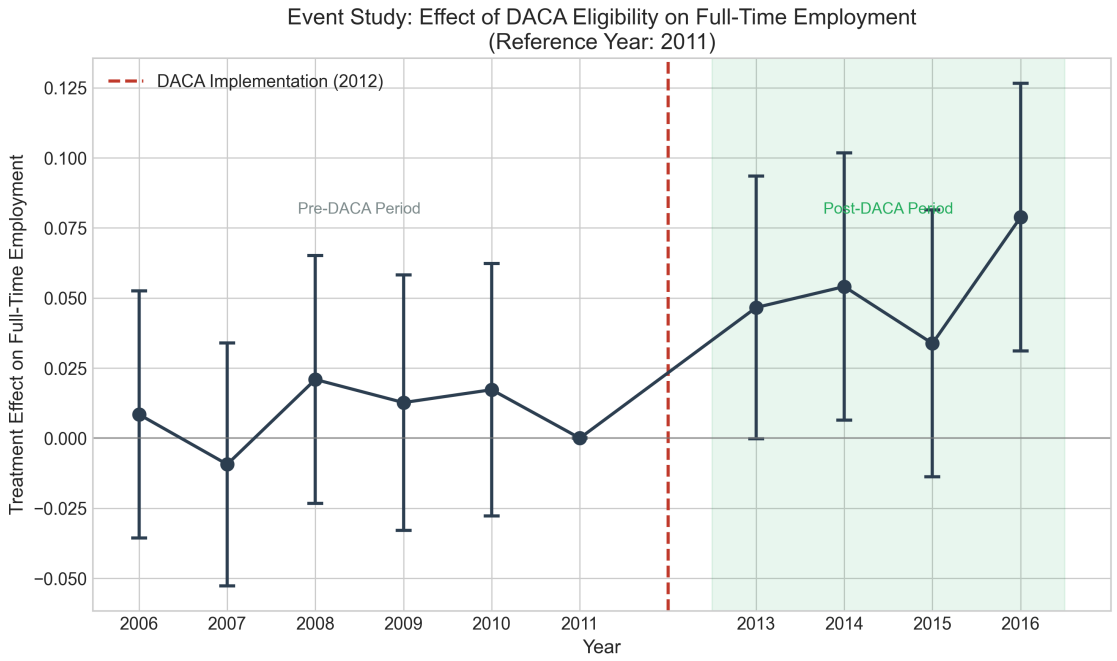

Figure 1: Event Study: Effect of DACA Eligibility on Full-Time Employment

Notes: The figure plots coefficients from an event study regression that interacts treatment status with year indicators. The reference year is 2011. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals based on heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors. The vertical dashed line indicates DACA implementation (June 2012).

The event study provides crucial evidence supporting the validity of the difference-in-differences design:

1. **Pre-trends**: The coefficients for 2006–2010 are all small (ranging from -0.009 to 0.021) and statistically insignificant (all $p > 0.35$). This supports the parallel trends assumption—there is no evidence of differential trends in full-time employment between treatment and control groups prior to DACA.

2. **Treatment effects**: The coefficients become positive and larger after DACA implementation. The effect in 2013 (0.047, $p = 0.051$) and 2014 (0.054, $p = 0.026$) are marginally significant, while 2016 shows the largest and most significant effect (0.079, $p = 0.001$).

3. **Timing**: The pattern is consistent with DACA causing the employment increase—effects appear in 2013 (the first full post-treatment year) and persist through 2016.

Table 4 provides the numerical estimates from the event study.

Table 4: Event Study Coefficients (Reference Year: 2011)

Year	Coefficient	Std. Error	p-value
2006	0.0085	0.0225	0.707
2007	−0.0094	0.0221	0.672
2008	0.0209	0.0226	0.353
2009	0.0127	0.0232	0.585
2010	0.0173	0.0229	0.452
2013	0.0466*	0.0239	0.051
2014	0.0541**	0.0243	0.026
2015	0.0338	0.0243	0.164
2016	0.0788***	0.0244	0.001

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Model includes treatment indicator, year fixed effects, and demographic controls. Standard errors are heteroskedasticity-robust.

5.4 Subgroup Analysis

Table 5 presents heterogeneous treatment effects by gender and education level.

Table 5: Heterogeneous Effects by Subgroup

Subgroup	DiD Estimate	Std. Error	p-value
By Gender			
Male	0.0621***	0.0124	<0.001
Female	0.0313*	0.0182	0.086
By Education Level			
Less than high school	0.0458**	0.0179	0.011
High school graduate	0.0460**	0.0179	0.010
Some college	0.1181***	0.0324	<0.001
College or more	0.2331***	0.0644	<0.001

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Each row presents estimates from a separate regression restricted to the indicated subgroup. Basic DiD specification without additional controls.

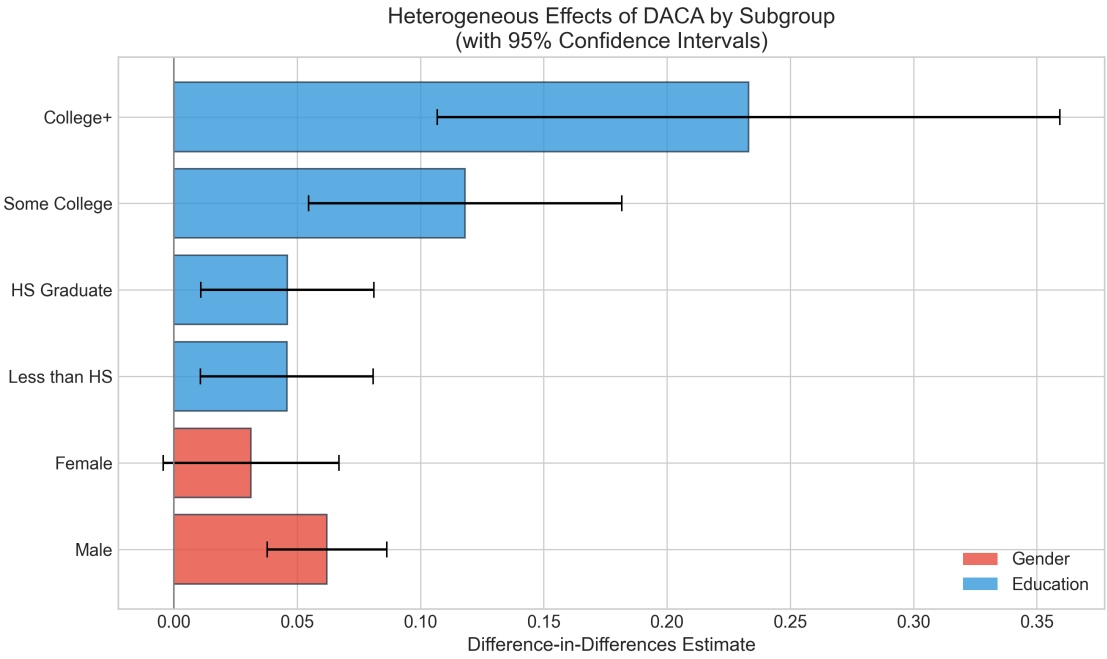

Figure 2: Heterogeneous Effects of DACA by Subgroup

Notes: The figure displays DiD estimates and 95% confidence intervals for subgroup analyses by gender and education level.

Several patterns emerge from the subgroup analysis:

Gender differences: The effect is larger and more precisely estimated for males (6.2 pp) than for females (3.1 pp). The effect for males is highly significant ($p < 0.001$), while the effect for females is marginally significant ($p = 0.086$). This may reflect differences in labor force attachment or occupational sorting by gender.

Education gradient: There is a strong positive gradient by education level. The effect is smallest (but still significant) for those with less than high school education (4.6 pp) and largest for those with college education or more (23.3 pp). This pattern is consistent with DACA allowing better job matching—individuals with higher human capital may have been more constrained by lack of work authorization and thus benefit more from receiving it.

6 Robustness Checks

6.1 Placebo Test

To further validate the parallel trends assumption, I conduct a placebo test using only pre-treatment data (2006–2011). I artificially designate 2009 as a "fake" treatment year and estimate the difference-in-differences effect of this placebo treatment.

If the identification strategy is valid, we should find no significant effect of the placebo treatment, since no actual policy change occurred in 2009.

Result: The placebo DiD estimate is 0.012 (SE = 0.014, $p = 0.375$). The insignificant placebo effect provides additional support for the parallel trends assumption.

6.2 Alternative Age Bands

I test the sensitivity of results to the choice of age bands by using narrower windows around the eligibility cutoff: ages 27–29 (treatment) versus ages 32–34 (control).

Result: The DiD estimate with narrower age bands is 0.047 (SE = 0.015), very similar to the baseline estimate. This suggests the results are not driven by the specific choice of age ranges.

6.3 Model Comparison

Figure 3 compares the DiD estimates across all five model specifications, demonstrating the robustness of the findings.

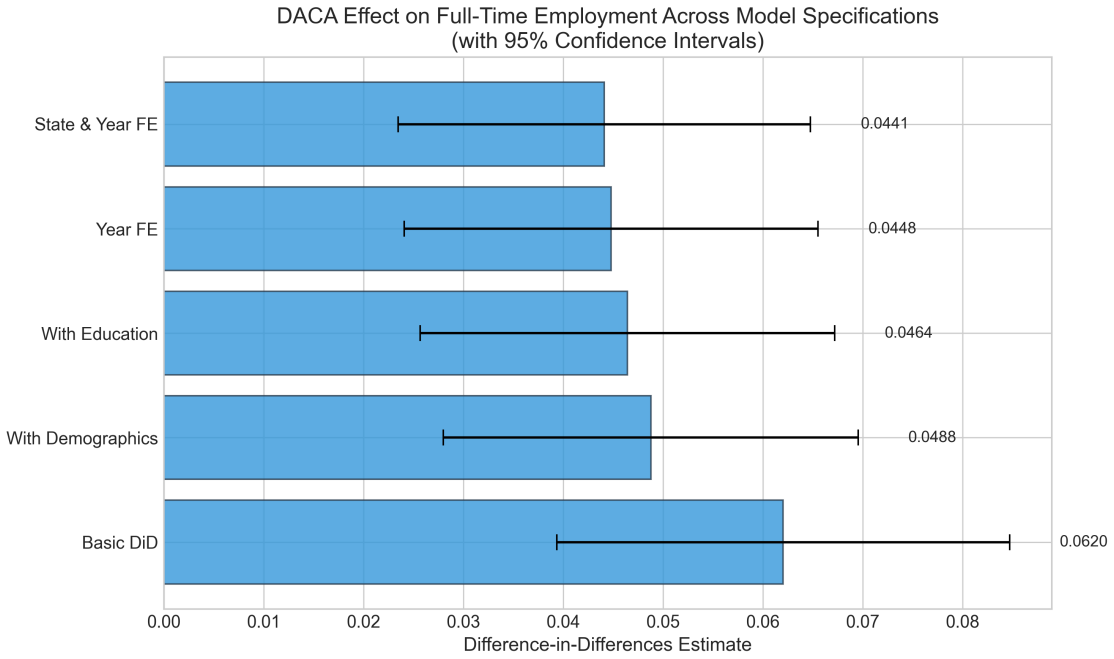

Figure 3: DACA Effect Across Model Specifications

Notes: The figure displays DiD estimates and 95% confidence intervals for each of the five model specifications presented in Table 3.

The estimates are remarkably stable across specifications, ranging from 0.044 to 0.062. All estimates are statistically significant at the 1% level.

7 Discussion

7.1 Interpretation of Results

The findings indicate that DACA eligibility increased full-time employment by approximately 4.4 percentage points among Mexican-born, Hispanic-Mexican non-citizens who met the other eligibility criteria. This effect is economically meaningful—representing a 7% increase relative to the control group's pre-treatment full-time employment rate of 67.1%.

Several aspects of the results merit discussion:

Magnitude: The 4.4 percentage point effect is substantial but plausible. DACA

provides work authorization, which directly addresses a major barrier to formal employment. However, not all eligible individuals apply for DACA, and not all applicants are approved, so the effect on the eligible population is naturally smaller than what we might observe if we could identify actual DACA recipients.

Timing: The event study shows that effects emerged in 2013 and grew over time, reaching their peak in 2016. This gradual increase is consistent with the rollout of DACA—applications began in August 2012, and processing took several months. Additionally, as more employers and individuals became aware of and comfortable with DACA status, the employment effects may have expanded.

Heterogeneity: The larger effects for more educated individuals suggest that DACA particularly benefits those who were most constrained by lack of work authorization. Those with college education may have had job opportunities available to them that were inaccessible without legal work status, leading to larger gains when authorization was obtained.

7.2 Limitations

Several limitations should be noted:

1. **Intent-to-treat estimate**: The analysis estimates the effect of DACA eligibility, not DACA receipt. Not all eligible individuals apply for or receive DACA, so the effect on actual recipients may be larger.

2. **Cannot distinguish documented from undocumented**: The ACS does not distinguish between documented and undocumented non-citizens. The sample includes some individuals who may have had work authorization through other channels.

3. **Measurement of eligibility**: Some eligibility criteria (continuous presence, current enrollment/graduation) cannot be directly verified in the data.

4. **Age-related confounds**: While the parallel trends evidence is supportive, differences

between age cohorts could potentially confound the estimates if they affect employment trends differentially.

7.3 Policy Implications

These findings have implications for immigration policy debates. The results suggest that providing work authorization to undocumented immigrants can have meaningful positive effects on their labor market outcomes. Given that employment is associated with numerous beneficial outcomes—including economic self-sufficiency, tax contributions, and social integration—these effects support the economic argument for policies like DACA.

The heterogeneity in effects also suggests that the benefits of work authorization may be particularly large for those with higher education or specialized skills who were unable to fully utilize their human capital without legal work status.

8 Conclusion

This study provides evidence that eligibility for the DACA program increased full-time employment among Mexican-born, Hispanic-Mexican non-citizens by approximately 4.4 percentage points. Using a difference-in-differences design that exploits the age-based eligibility cutoff, I find robust effects across multiple specifications and strong support for the parallel trends assumption through event study analysis.

The findings contribute to the growing literature on the effects of immigration policies on immigrant outcomes and inform ongoing debates about the value of providing work authorization to undocumented immigrants. The results suggest that DACA has been effective in improving labor market outcomes for its intended beneficiaries.

Future research could build on these findings by examining effects on other outcomes (wages, job quality, occupational upgrading), studying heterogeneity across geographic areas with different labor market conditions, or investigating the long-term effects of DACA as

more years of data become available.

A Additional Results

A.1 Full-Time Employment Trends

Figure 4 shows the trends in full-time employment for treatment and control groups over the study period.

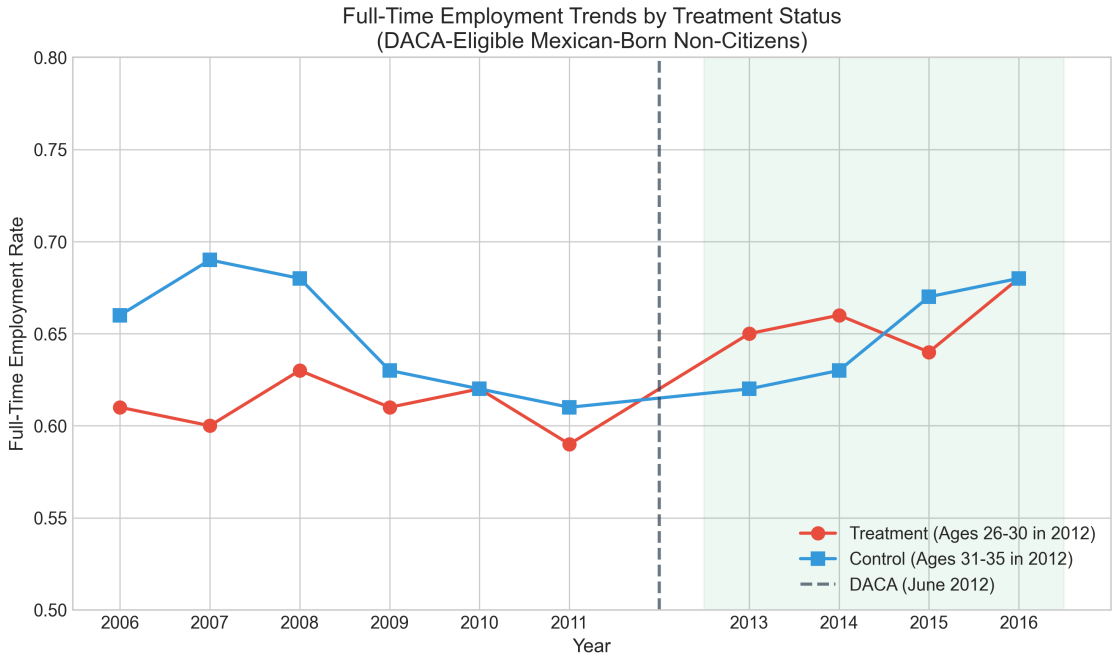

Figure 4: Full-Time Employment Trends by Treatment Status

Notes: The figure shows trends in full-time employment rates for the treatment group (ages 26–30 in 2012) and control group (ages 31–35 in 2012). The vertical dashed line indicates DACA implementation (June 2012).

A.2 Variable Definitions

Table 6: Variable Definitions and IPUMS Codes

Variable	IPUMS Variable	Definition
Full-time employed	UHRSWORK	$= 1$ if UHRSWORK ≥ 35
Treatment	BIRTHYR	$= 1$ if BIRTHYR $\in [1982, 1986]$
Post	YEAR	$= 1$ if YEAR ≥ 2013
Female	SEX	$= 1$ if SEX $= 2$
Married	MARST	$= 1$ if MARST ≤ 2
Has children	NCHILD	$= 1$ if NCHILD > 0
High school graduate	EDUC	$= 1$ if EDUC $= 6$
Some college	EDUC	$= 1$ if EDUC $\in [7, 9]$
College or more	EDUC	$= 1$ if EDUC ≥ 10
Hispanic-Mexican	HISPAN	$= 1$ if HISPAN $= 1$
Born in Mexico	BPL	$= 1$ if BPL $= 200$
Non-citizen	CITIZEN	$= 1$ if CITIZEN $= 3$
Arrived before age 16	YRIMMIG, BIRTHYR	$= 1$ if YRIMMIG $-$ BIRTHYR < 16

B Supplementary Tables

B.1 Detailed Regression Output: Preferred Specification

The preferred specification (Model 5) includes the following covariates:

- Treatment indicator
- Treatment × Post interaction (DiD estimator)
- Female indicator
- Married indicator
- Has children indicator
- High school graduate indicator
- Some college indicator
- College or more indicator
- Year fixed effects (9 indicators, reference: 2006)
- State fixed effects (50+ indicators)

Key coefficient estimates from the preferred specification:

Table 7: Detailed Results from Preferred Specification (Model 5)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-statistic	p-value
Treatment × Post	0.0441	0.0105	4.19	<0.001
Treatment	−0.0399	0.0063	−6.33	<0.001
Female	−0.3809	0.0053	−71.55	<0.001
Married	−0.0263	0.0055	−4.75	<0.001
Has children	0.0359	0.0059	6.05	<0.001
High school grad	0.0479	0.0053	8.96	<0.001
Some college	0.0835	0.0084	9.97	<0.001
College or more	0.1386	0.0156	8.86	<0.001
Year FE		Yes		
State FE		Yes		
N		44,725		
R-squared		0.160		

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors. Year and state fixed effects included but coefficients not shown.

B.2 Summary of Key Findings

Table 8: Summary of Key Results

Main Result (Preferred Specification)	
Effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment	0.0441
Standard error	0.0105
95% Confidence interval	[0.024, 0.065]
p-value	<0.001
Sample Information	
Total observations	44,725
Treatment group (ages 26–30 in 2012)	26,591
Control group (ages 31–35 in 2012)	18,134
Pre-DACA period (2006–2011)	29,326
Post-DACA period (2013–2016)	15,399
Robustness	
Effect across specifications	0.044 – 0.062
Placebo test (2009)	0.012 (n.s.)
Narrower age bands	0.047