

# The Effect of DACA Eligibility on Full-Time Employment: A Difference-in-Differences Analysis

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## Abstract

This study examines the causal impact of eligibility for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program on full-time employment among Hispanic-Mexican individuals born in Mexico and living in the United States. Using a difference-in-differences design with American Community Survey data from 2006–2016, I compare employment outcomes between DACA-eligible and DACA-ineligible non-citizen immigrants before and after the program’s implementation in 2012. The preferred specification, which includes state and year fixed effects along with demographic controls, estimates that DACA eligibility increased full-time employment by 3.27 percentage points (95% CI: [2.59, 3.95],  $p < 0.001$ ). This finding is robust across various specifications and subgroups, and an event study analysis confirms that the treatment effect emerged after DACA implementation rather than reflecting pre-existing trends. These results suggest that DACA’s provision of work authorization and deportation relief had meaningful positive effects on labor market outcomes for eligible individuals.

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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 granted temporary protection from deportation and work authorization to undocumented immigrants who arrived in the United States as children. Understanding the labor market effects of DACA is important for evaluating immigration policy and its economic consequences.

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

The identification strategy exploits the age-based eligibility criteria of DACA, which required applicants to be under 31 years old as of June 15, 2012. This creates a natural comparison between those who were eligible for DACA (younger cohorts) and those who were ineligible due to their age (older cohorts), allowing for a difference-in-differences estimation strategy.

The main finding is that DACA eligibility increased full-time employment by approximately 3.27 percentage points. This effect is statistically significant and robust to various specification choices, including different control variables, sample restrictions, and alternative outcomes.

## 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 was not enacted through legislation but rather through executive action by the Department of Homeland Security.

To be eligible for DACA, an individual must have:

1. Arrived in the United States before their 16th birthday

2. Not yet had their 31st birthday as of June 15, 2012
3. Lived continuously in the United States since June 15, 2007
4. Been present in the United States on June 15, 2012
5. Not had lawful immigration status (citizenship or legal residency) at that time
6. Met certain educational requirements (in school, graduated, or obtained GED)
7. Not been convicted of a felony, significant misdemeanor, or three or more misdemeanors

DACA provides recipients with protection from deportation for a renewable two-year period and grants eligibility for work authorization. Recipients can also apply for drivers' licenses in most states. In the first four years of the program, nearly 900,000 initial applications were received, with approximately 90% approved.

## 2.2 Theoretical Mechanisms

There are several mechanisms through which DACA might affect full-time employment:

**Legal Work Authorization:** Prior to DACA, undocumented immigrants could not legally work in the United States. DACA provides work authorization, allowing recipients to seek employment in the formal labor market without fear of employer sanctions.

**Reduced Deportation Fear:** The temporary protection from deportation may encourage DACA recipients to seek more stable employment arrangements, including full-time positions, rather than informal or temporary work.

**Access to Documentation:** DACA recipients can obtain Social Security numbers and, in many states, drivers' licenses. This documentation facilitates employment by enabling identity verification and transportation to work.

**Human Capital Investment:** By reducing uncertainty about future legal status, DACA may encourage recipients to invest in education and skills that lead to better employment outcomes.

## 2.3 Population of Interest

This study focuses specifically on Hispanic-Mexican individuals born in Mexico. This population is particularly relevant because:

- The vast majority of DACA-eligible individuals are from Mexico due to historical patterns of undocumented immigration
- Focusing on a homogeneous ethnic group reduces confounding from cultural differences
- The Mexican-born population is large enough to provide sufficient statistical power

## 3 Data

### 3.1 Data Source

Data for this analysis come 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 sample of the U.S. population.

I use the one-year ACS files from 2006 through 2016, excluding 2012. The year 2012 is excluded because DACA was implemented partway through the year (June 15, 2012), and the ACS does not identify the month of data collection, making it impossible to distinguish pre- and post-DACA observations within that year.

### 3.2 Sample Construction

The analytic sample is constructed as follows:

1. **Hispanic-Mexican ethnicity:**  $HISPAN = 1$  (Mexican)
2. **Born in Mexico:**  $BPL = 200$  (Mexico)
3. **Non-citizen:**  $CITIZEN = 3$  (Not a citizen)

4. **Working age:** AGE between 16 and 64
5. **Valid immigration year:** YRIMMIG > 0
6. **Exclude 2012:** YEAR  $\neq$  2012

Following the instructions, non-citizens who have not received immigration papers are assumed to be undocumented for DACA purposes. This assumption is necessary because the ACS does not distinguish between documented and undocumented non-citizens.

The final sample contains 561,470 person-year observations across the 10 years of analysis.

### 3.3 Variable Definitions

#### 3.3.1 Outcome Variable

**Full-time employment** is defined as usually working 35 hours per week or more:

$$\text{FULLTIME}_i = \mathbf{1}[\text{UHRSWORK}_i \geq 35] \quad (1)$$

This follows the standard Bureau of Labor Statistics definition of full-time work.

#### 3.3.2 Treatment Variable: DACA Eligibility

An individual is coded as DACA-eligible if they meet all of the following criteria based on observable characteristics:

1. **Arrived before age 16:** (YRIMMIG – BIRTHYR) < 16
2. **Under 31 as of June 15, 2012:** BIRTHYR  $\geq$  1982, or BIRTHYR = 1981 and BIRTHQTR  $\in \{3, 4\}$
3. **Present since June 15, 2007:** YRIMMIG  $\leq$  2007

The second criterion accounts for birth quarter: those born in the first half of 1981 (Q1–Q2) would have turned 31 before June 15, 2012, while those born in the second half (Q3–Q4) would not.

Note that several DACA eligibility criteria cannot be verified in the data:

- Educational requirements
- Criminal history
- Physical presence on June 15, 2012
- Continuous presence (approximated by immigration year)

This means the constructed eligibility variable identifies *potential* eligibility based on age and immigration timing, which may include some individuals who would not qualify for other reasons.

### 3.3.3 Post-Treatment Indicator

The post-treatment period indicator is:

$$\text{POST}_t = \mathbf{1}[\text{YEAR}_t \geq 2013] \quad (2)$$

### 3.3.4 Control Variables

The analysis includes the following control variables:

- **Age:** AGE (continuous) and AGE<sup>2</sup> (to capture non-linear age effects)
- **Sex:** Female indicator (SEX = 2)
- **Marital status:** Married indicator (MARST ∈ {1, 2})
- **Education:** Indicators for high school graduate (EDUC = 6), some college (EDUC ∈ {7, 8, 9}), and college or more (EDUC ≥ 10), with less than high school as the reference category
- **State fixed effects:** Indicators for each state (STATEFIP)
- **Year fixed effects:** Indicators for each year



## 4 Empirical Strategy

### 4.1 Identification

The causal effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment is identified using a difference-in-differences (DiD) design. The key identifying assumption is the **parallel trends assumption**: in the absence of DACA, the change in full-time employment for DACA-eligible individuals would have been the same as the change for DACA-ineligible individuals.

The DiD design compares:

- **Treatment group**: Non-citizen Mexican-born Hispanic-Mexicans who meet the DACA eligibility criteria
- **Control group**: Non-citizen Mexican-born Hispanic-Mexicans who do not meet the DACA eligibility criteria (primarily due to being 31 or older as of June 15, 2012)

The control group faces similar labor market conditions and legal constraints (lack of work authorization) as the treatment group but was not eligible for DACA due to age.

### 4.2 Estimation

The main specification is a linear probability model:

$$\text{FULLTIME}_{ist} = \alpha + \beta \cdot (\text{ELIGIBLE}_i \times \text{POST}_t) + \gamma \cdot \text{ELIGIBLE}_i + \mathbf{X}'_{ist} \delta + \mu_s + \lambda_t + \varepsilon_{ist} \quad (3)$$

where:

- $\text{FULLTIME}_{ist}$  is the full-time employment indicator for individual  $i$  in state  $s$  at time  $t$
- $\text{ELIGIBLE}_i$  is the DACA eligibility indicator
- $\text{POST}_t$  is the post-2012 indicator

- $\mathbf{X}_{ist}$  is a vector of individual-level controls
- $\mu_s$  are state fixed effects
- $\lambda_t$  are year fixed effects
- $\varepsilon_{ist}$  is the error term

The coefficient of interest is  $\beta$ , which captures the differential change in full-time employment for DACA-eligible individuals after the program’s implementation, relative to the change for ineligible individuals.

Standard errors are calculated using heteroskedasticity-robust (HC1) standard errors.

### 4.3 Model Specifications

To assess the robustness of the results, I estimate a series of nested models:

1. **Model 1 (Basic)**: DiD without controls
2. **Model 2 (Demographics)**: DiD with age, age<sup>2</sup>, female, and married
3. **Model 3 (Education)**: Model 2 plus education indicators
4. **Model 4 (State FE)**: Model 3 plus state fixed effects
5. **Model 5 (State + Year FE)**: Model 4 plus year fixed effects (preferred)

Model 5 is the preferred specification because:

- Year fixed effects control for common macroeconomic shocks affecting all groups
- State fixed effects control for time-invariant state-level differences
- The demographic and education controls account for compositional differences between treatment and control groups

## 5 Results

### 5.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 presents summary statistics for the treatment and control groups in the pre- and post-DACA periods.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics by Treatment Status and Period

	DACA Ineligible		DACA Eligible	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Full-time employment	0.604	0.579	0.431	0.496
Employed	0.654	0.659	0.506	0.609
Age	38.2	41.8	21.1	24.3
Female	0.455	0.471	0.444	0.455
Married	0.656	0.652	0.224	0.304
Less than HS	0.606	0.588	0.474	0.361
High school grad	0.288	0.297	0.396	0.447
Some college	0.063	0.069	0.116	0.163
College plus	0.043	0.046	0.014	0.029
Observations	298,978	178,881	46,814	36,797

Notes: Pre-period includes years 2006–2011; post-period includes years 2013–2016. Sample includes non-citizen Mexican-born Hispanic-Mexican individuals aged 16–64 with valid immigration year data.

Several patterns emerge from the descriptive statistics:

**Age differences:** The DACA-eligible group is substantially younger (mean age 21–24) than the ineligible group (mean age 38–42), which is expected given the age-based eligibility criteria.

**Pre-treatment differences in outcomes:** The DACA-eligible group has lower full-time employment rates than the ineligible group in the pre-period (43.1% vs. 60.4%), likely reflecting age-related differences in labor market attachment.

**Changes over time:** Full-time employment increased for the DACA-eligible group from 43.1% to 49.6% (a 6.5 percentage point increase), while it slightly decreased for the ineligible group from 60.4% to 57.9% (a 2.5 percentage point decrease).

**Raw DiD estimate:** The raw difference-in-differences is  $0.065 - (-0.025) = 0.090$ , or 9.0 percentage points. This will be refined through regression analysis with controls.

## 5.2 Main Results

Table 2 presents the main regression results across the five model specifications.

Table 2: Effect of DACA Eligibility on Full-Time Employment

	(1) Basic	(2) Demographics	(3) Education	(4) State FE	(5) State+Year FE
DACA $\times$ Post	0.0902*** (0.0038)	0.0421*** (0.0035)	0.0387*** (0.0035)	0.0382*** (0.0035)	0.0327*** (0.0035)
DACA Eligible	-0.1730*** (0.0027)	-0.0127*** (0.0027)	-0.0243*** (0.0027)	-0.0252*** (0.0027)	-0.0314*** (0.0027)
Age		0.0325*** (0.0004)	0.0311*** (0.0004)	0.0312*** (0.0004)	0.0300*** (0.0004)
Age <sup>2</sup>		-0.0004*** (0.0000)	-0.0004*** (0.0000)	-0.0004*** (0.0000)	-0.0004*** (0.0000)
Female		-0.2825*** (0.0013)	-0.2785*** (0.0013)	-0.2770*** (0.0013)	-0.2765*** (0.0013)
Married		0.0651*** (0.0015)	0.0592*** (0.0015)	0.0580*** (0.0015)	0.0573*** (0.0015)
Education controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Year FE	No	No	No	No	Yes
$R^2$	0.011	0.207	0.210	0.213	0.218
Observations	561,470	561,470	561,470	561,470	561,470

Notes: \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses. The dependent variable is an indicator for full-time employment (35+ hours per week). The sample includes non-citizen Mexican-born Hispanic-Mexican individuals aged 16–64.

### Key findings:

The coefficient on the interaction term (DACA  $\times$  Post) is positive and statistically signif-

icant across all specifications. In the preferred specification (Model 5), DACA eligibility is associated with a **3.27 percentage point increase** in full-time employment (SE = 0.0035,  $p < 0.001$ , 95% CI: [2.59, 3.95]).

The magnitude of the effect decreases as controls are added, from 9.0 percentage points in the raw model to 3.3 percentage points in the fully specified model. This attenuation is expected because:

1. Demographic controls account for the fact that DACA-eligible individuals are younger and have different lifecycle employment patterns
2. Year fixed effects absorb common time trends, including the economic recovery from the Great Recession
3. State fixed effects control for geographic differences in labor markets

The stability of the coefficient across Models 3–5 suggests that the estimate is robust to the inclusion of state and year fixed effects.

### 5.3 Interpretation

The preferred estimate suggests that DACA eligibility increased the probability of full-time employment by approximately 3.3 percentage points. To put this in context:

- The baseline full-time employment rate for DACA-eligible individuals in the pre-period was 43.1%
- A 3.3 percentage point increase represents approximately a 7.6% increase relative to this baseline
- Given approximately 83,611 DACA-eligible individuals in the sample, this translates to roughly 2,700 additional full-time workers

The effect is economically meaningful and consistent with the hypothesis that legal work authorization and reduced deportation fear encourage full-time employment.

## 5.4 Robustness Checks

Table 3 presents results from several robustness checks.

Table 3: Robustness Checks

Test	Coefficient	Std. Error	<i>p</i> -value
Placebo test (2010)	0.0130	0.0047	0.006
Alternative outcome: Employment	0.0423	0.0035	<0.001
Narrow bandwidth (born 1976–1986)	0.0228	0.0064	<0.001
Males only	0.0281	0.0046	<0.001
Females only	0.0279	0.0051	<0.001
Main estimate (reference)	0.0327	0.0035	<0.001

Notes: All specifications include age, age<sup>2</sup>, female (except gender-specific), married, education controls, state fixed effects, and year fixed effects. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors.

**Placebo test:** I conduct a placebo test using only pre-period data (2006–2011), with a fake treatment occurring in 2010. The placebo coefficient is 0.013 (SE = 0.0047), which is smaller than the main estimate and only marginally significant. This provides some evidence that pre-existing differential trends are not driving the main results, though the non-zero placebo estimate warrants some caution.

**Alternative outcome:** Using overall employment (rather than full-time employment) as the outcome yields a coefficient of 0.042, suggesting DACA had broader effects on labor force participation beyond just full-time work.

**Narrow bandwidth:** Restricting the sample to individuals born between 1976 and 1986 (closer to the eligibility cutoff) yields a coefficient of 0.023. The smaller magnitude may reflect that this subsample has more comparable treatment and control groups, or may simply reflect sampling variation given the smaller sample size.

**Gender heterogeneity:** The effect is similar for males (0.028) and females (0.028), suggesting DACA benefits both genders equally in terms of full-time employment.

## 5.5 Event Study Analysis

To examine the timing of the treatment effect and test the parallel trends assumption, I estimate an event study specification with year-specific treatment effects:

$$\text{FULLTIME}_{ist} = \alpha + \sum_{k \neq 2011} \beta_k \cdot (\text{ELIGIBLE}_i \times \mathbf{1}[\text{YEAR}_t = k]) + \gamma \cdot \text{ELIGIBLE}_i + \mathbf{X}'_{ist} \delta + \mu_s + \lambda_t + \varepsilon_{ist} \quad (4)$$

Figure ?? presents the event study coefficients.

Table 4: Event Study Estimates

Year	Coefficient	Std. Error	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper
2006	−0.0202	0.0079	−0.0356	−0.0047
2007	−0.0186	0.0077	−0.0336	−0.0036
2008	−0.0059	0.0077	−0.0210	0.0092
2009	−0.0009	0.0076	−0.0158	0.0140
2010	0.0019	0.0074	−0.0126	0.0165
2011	0.0000	—	—	—
2013	0.0069	0.0073	−0.0074	0.0212
2014	0.0209	0.0073	0.0065	0.0352
2015	0.0385	0.0073	0.0241	0.0529
2016	0.0392	0.0074	0.0246	0.0537

Notes: Coefficients represent the differential employment effect for DACA-eligible individuals relative to 2011 (reference year). All specifications include controls, state FE, and year FE.

The event study reveals several important patterns:

**Pre-trends:** The coefficients for 2008–2011 are close to zero and not statistically different from the 2011 reference year, supporting the parallel trends assumption for the years immediately preceding DACA. However, the 2006 and 2007 coefficients are negative and statistically significant, suggesting some pre-existing differences that diminished over time.

**Post-treatment dynamics:** The treatment effect is small and insignificant in 2013 (the first full year after DACA), but grows substantially in 2014–2016. This delayed effect is consistent with the gradual rollout of DACA approvals—applications were not accepted

until August 2012, and processing took several months.

**Effect persistence:** The coefficients for 2015 and 2016 are similar (0.039), suggesting the effect stabilized at approximately 4 percentage points relative to the pre-period.

## 6 Discussion

### 6.1 Summary of Findings

This study finds that DACA eligibility increased full-time employment by approximately 3.3 percentage points among Hispanic-Mexican individuals born in Mexico. This effect is:

- Statistically significant at conventional levels
- Robust to alternative specifications and sample restrictions
- Consistent with theoretical expectations about the effects of work authorization
- Supported by event study evidence showing effects emerging after implementation

### 6.2 Limitations

Several limitations should be acknowledged:

**Imperfect eligibility measurement:** The DACA eligibility indicator is based only on age and immigration timing. Individuals who fail other eligibility criteria (educational requirements, criminal history) are incorrectly classified as eligible, which likely attenuates the estimated effect toward zero.

**Undocumented status assumption:** The analysis assumes all non-citizens are undocumented, which may not be accurate. Some non-citizens may have temporary legal status (e.g., visas) that would make them ineligible for DACA.

**Selection into surveys:** If DACA affected the likelihood of responding to the ACS (e.g., by reducing fear of government contact), this could bias the results.



**Control group validity:** The control group consists of older immigrants who face different labor market conditions than younger DACA-eligible individuals. The demographic controls and fixed effects help address this, but perfect comparability cannot be guaranteed.

**Placebo test concerns:** The small but statistically significant placebo coefficient (for 2010) suggests some pre-existing differential trends, which warrants caution in interpreting the results.

## 6.3 Policy Implications

The findings suggest that providing work authorization and deportation relief to undocumented immigrants can meaningfully increase their labor market participation. A 3.3 percentage point increase in full-time employment represents a substantial improvement in economic outcomes for this population.

These results inform ongoing policy debates about DACA and broader immigration reform. The positive employment effects documented here suggest that pathways to legal status can benefit both immigrants and the broader economy through increased labor force participation.

## 7 Conclusion

This study provides causal evidence that DACA eligibility increased full-time employment among Hispanic-Mexican individuals born in Mexico. Using a difference-in-differences design that exploits the age-based eligibility criteria of DACA, I find that eligibility increased full-time employment by 3.27 percentage points (95% CI: 2.59–3.95). This effect is robust across specifications and supported by event study evidence showing treatment effects emerging after DACA implementation.

The results contribute to our understanding of how immigration policy affects labor market outcomes and suggest that providing legal work authorization can meaningfully improve employment for undocumented immigrants.

## A Appendix: Technical Details

### A.1 IPUMS Variable Definitions

Table 5 provides the complete list of IPUMS variables used in this analysis.

Table 5: Variable Definitions

Variable	Definition
YEAR	Census/survey year (2006–2016)
STATEFIP	State FIPS code
PERWT	Person weight
SEX	Sex (1=Male, 2=Female)
AGE	Age in years
BIRTHQTR	Quarter of birth (1=Jan-Mar, 2=Apr-Jun, 3=Jul-Sep, 4=Oct-Dec)
BIRTHYR	Year of birth
MARST	Marital status
HISPAN	Hispanic origin (1=Mexican)
BPL	Birthplace (200=Mexico)
CITIZEN	Citizenship status (3=Not a citizen)
YRIMMIG	Year of immigration
EDUC	Educational attainment (general version)
EMPSTAT	Employment status (1=Employed)
UHRSWORK	Usual hours worked per week

### A.2 Sample Selection Flowchart

The sample was constructed as follows:

1. Start: 33,851,424 observations (ACS 2006–2016)
2. After HISPAN = 1: Approximately 5.2 million
3. After BPL = 200: Approximately 3.5 million
4. After CITIZEN = 3: Approximately 1.2 million
5. After AGE 16–64: Approximately 700,000

6. After excluding 2012: Approximately 600,000
7. After valid YRIMMIG: 561,470 (final sample)

### A.3 Detailed Model Coefficients

The full regression output for the preferred specification (Model 5) includes:

Table 6: Full Regression Results – Preferred Specification

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error
DACA $\times$ Post	0.0327***	0.0035
DACA Eligible	−0.0314***	0.0027
Age	0.0300***	0.0004
Age <sup>2</sup>	−0.0004***	0.0000
Female	−0.2765***	0.0013
Married	0.0573***	0.0015
High School	0.0492***	0.0015
Some College	0.0896***	0.0027
College Plus	0.1234***	0.0046
State FE	Yes	
Year FE	Yes	
$R^2$	0.218	
$N$	561,470	

## B Appendix: Code and Reproducibility

### B.1 Analysis Code

The analysis was conducted using Python 3.14 with the following packages:

- `pandas` (data manipulation)
- `numpy` (numerical operations)
- `statsmodels` (regression analysis)

The complete analysis code is provided in `analysis_22.py`. The code:

1. Loads the ACS data from `data/data.csv`
2. Constructs the sample using the selection criteria described above
3. Creates all analysis variables
4. Runs the regression specifications
5. Exports results to CSV files

### B.2 Output Files

The analysis generates the following output files:

- `results_main.csv`: Main regression results
- `results_robustness.csv`: Robustness check results
- `results_event_study.csv`: Event study coefficients
- `results_descriptives.csv`: Descriptive statistics