

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

Replication Study

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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, Mexican-born non-citizens in the United States. Using data from the American Community Survey (2006–2016) and a difference-in-differences identification strategy, I compare employment outcomes between DACA-eligible and non-eligible individuals before and after the program’s implementation in June 2012. The preferred specification, which includes demographic controls with state and year fixed effects, estimates that DACA eligibility is associated with a 0.79 percentage point increase in the probability of full-time employment (working 35+ hours per week), though this effect is not statistically significant at conventional levels ($p = 0.074$). Heterogeneity analysis reveals differential effects by gender, with women experiencing larger positive effects (2.8 percentage points) compared to men. Event study analysis provides suggestive evidence of parallel pre-trends, supporting the validity of the difference-in-differences 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, implemented on June 15, 2012, represents one of the most significant immigration policy changes in recent U.S. history. The program provides temporary relief from deportation and work authorization to undocumented immigrants who arrived in the United States as children. Given that DACA grants legal work authorization to previously unauthorized workers, understanding its effects on labor market outcomes is of substantial policy importance.

This study investigates a specific research question: What was the causal impact of DACA eligibility on the probability of full-time employment (defined as usually working 35 hours per week or more) among ethnically Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born individuals living in the United States? I focus on employment outcomes in the years 2013–2016, the period immediately following DACA implementation.

The identification strategy exploits the program’s eligibility criteria to construct treatment and control groups within the population of Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born non-citizens. Specifically, DACA eligibility required individuals to have arrived in the U.S. before age 16, to be under age 31 as of June 15, 2012, and to have been continuously present in the U.S. since 2007. Those who meet all criteria constitute the treatment group, while those who fail to meet the age or arrival timing criteria but are otherwise similar form the control group.

Using a difference-in-differences framework, I compare changes in full-time employment rates between the treatment and control groups before and after DACA implementation. The key identifying assumption is that absent the policy, employment trends would have evolved similarly for both groups.

2 Background

2.1 The DACA Program

DACA was announced by the Obama administration on June 15, 2012, and applications began to be processed on August 15, 2012. The program offered qualifying individuals two years of deferred action (protection from deportation) and eligibility for work authorization documents. Recipients could renew their status for additional two-year periods.

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

1. Were under the age of 31 as of June 15, 2012
2. Arrived in the United States before reaching their 16th birthday
3. Had continuously resided in the United States since June 15, 2007
4. Were physically present in the United States on June 15, 2012
5. Were in unlawful status on June 15, 2012
6. Were currently in school, had graduated from high school, had obtained a GED, or were an honorably discharged veteran
7. Had not been convicted of a felony, significant misdemeanor, or three or more misdemeanors

In the first four years of the program, nearly 900,000 initial applications were received, with approximately 90% approval rates. While the program was not restricted to any particular origin country, the structure of undocumented immigration to the United States meant that the great majority of eligible individuals were from Mexico.

2.2 Theoretical Mechanisms

DACA could affect employment outcomes through several channels:

Legal Work Authorization: The most direct mechanism is that DACA provides legal authorization to work in the United States. Prior to DACA, unauthorized immigrants faced significant barriers to formal employment and were often relegated to informal or under-the-table work arrangements. With work authorization, DACA recipients could seek employment in the formal sector, potentially accessing jobs with better hours, wages, and working conditions.

Driver's Licenses and Identification: Many states allow DACA recipients to obtain driver's licenses and state identification. This can facilitate job search, commuting to work, and accessing a broader geographic range of employment opportunities.

Reduced Fear of Deportation: The deferred action component of DACA may reduce fear of deportation, potentially encouraging recipients to be more visible in the labor market and to seek employment opportunities they might otherwise have avoided.

Human Capital Investment: With a more secure status, DACA recipients may invest more in education and training, potentially improving their long-term employment prospects.

3 Data

3.1 Data Source

This analysis uses data from the American Community Survey (ACS), obtained from IPUMS USA. The ACS is a large-scale, nationally representative survey conducted annually by the U.S. Census Bureau. I use the one-year ACS files from 2006 through 2016, excluding multi-year pooled estimates and older census files.

The ACS provides detailed information on demographic characteristics, immigration status, and labor market outcomes that are essential for this analysis. Importantly, the survey includes information on birthplace, year of immigration, and citizenship status, which allow for the construction of DACA eligibility criteria.

3.2 Sample Construction

The analysis sample is constructed through the following restrictions:

1. **Hispanic-Mexican Ethnicity:** I restrict the sample to individuals identified as Hispanic-Mexican ($HISPAN = 1$), as specified in the research question.
2. **Born in Mexico:** I further restrict to individuals born in Mexico ($BPL = 200$), as specified in the research question.
3. **Non-Citizens:** I restrict to individuals who are not U.S. citizens ($CITIZEN = 3$). Following the research instructions, I assume that non-citizens who have not received immigration papers are undocumented for DACA purposes. The ACS does not distinguish between documented and undocumented non-citizens.
4. **Working Age:** I restrict to individuals aged 16–40 at the time of the survey. This age range captures the population most likely to be affected by DACA (given the under-31 age requirement as of 2012) while also focusing on prime working-age individuals.
5. **Exclude 2012:** I exclude observations from 2012 because DACA was implemented mid-year (June 15, 2012), making it impossible to distinguish pre- and post-policy observations within that survey year.

These restrictions yield a final analysis sample of 355,188 person-year observations.

3.3 Variable Definitions

3.3.1 Treatment: DACA Eligibility

DACA eligibility is defined based on four criteria that can be assessed using ACS variables:

1. **Arrived before age 16:** Calculated as $(YRIMMIG - BIRTHYR) < 16$

2. **Under 31 as of June 15, 2012:** Individuals born after June 15, 1981 satisfy this criterion. Using birth quarter (BIRTHQTR), those born in 1981 in quarters 3 (July–September) or 4 (October–December) are classified as under 31, while those born in quarters 1–2 are classified as 31 or older.
3. **Arrived by 2007:** Continuous presence since June 15, 2007 is approximated by $\text{YRIMMIG} \leq 2007$.
4. **Valid immigration year:** Observations with $\text{YRIMMIG} = 0$ (not applicable or missing) are excluded from the eligible group.

An individual is classified as DACA-eligible if all four criteria are satisfied.

3.3.2 Outcome: Full-Time Employment

The primary outcome variable is an indicator for full-time employment, defined as usually working 35 or more hours per week ($\text{UHRSWORK} \geq 35$). This follows the standard definition of full-time work used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

I also examine any employment ($\text{EMPSTAT} = 1$) as a secondary outcome in robustness checks.

3.3.3 Control Variables

The analysis includes the following control variables:

- Age and age squared (AGE , AGE^2)
- Female indicator ($\text{SEX} = 2$)
- Married indicator ($\text{MARST} \leq 2$)
- High school education or above ($\text{EDUC} \geq 6$)
- Has children in household ($\text{NCHILD} > 0$)

- State fixed effects (STATEFIP)
- Year fixed effects (YEAR)

All regressions use person weights (PERWT) provided by IPUMS to produce nationally representative estimates.

4 Empirical Strategy

4.1 Difference-in-Differences Design

The primary identification strategy is a difference-in-differences (DiD) approach that exploits variation in DACA eligibility arising from the program's age and arrival timing requirements. The basic specification is:

$$Y_{ist} = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{DACA_Eligible}_i + \beta_2 \text{Post}_t + \beta_3 (\text{DACA_Eligible}_i \times \text{Post}_t) + X'_{ist} \gamma + \lambda_s + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{ist} \quad (1)$$

where:

- Y_{ist} is the full-time employment indicator for individual i in state s at time t
- DACA_Eligible_i is an indicator for meeting DACA eligibility criteria
- Post_t is an indicator for years 2013–2016 (after DACA implementation)
- X_{ist} is a vector of individual-level controls
- λ_s represents state fixed effects
- δ_t represents year fixed effects
- ε_{ist} is the error term

The coefficient of interest is β_3 , which captures the differential change in full-time employment for DACA-eligible individuals relative to non-eligible individuals after the policy was implemented.

4.2 Identification Assumptions

The key identifying assumption is the parallel trends assumption: absent DACA, full-time employment rates for the treatment and control groups would have followed parallel trajectories. I assess this assumption through an event study analysis that examines year-by-year treatment effects relative to 2011 (the last pre-treatment year).

Several factors support the plausibility of this assumption:

1. Both groups are drawn from the same broad population (Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born, non-citizens)
2. Both groups face similar labor market conditions and barriers related to unauthorized status
3. The variation in eligibility is driven by plausibly exogenous factors (birth timing, arrival timing)

4.3 Standard Errors

All standard errors are computed using heteroskedasticity-robust (HC1) standard errors to account for potential heteroskedasticity in the error terms. Given the cross-sectional nature of the ACS (repeated cross-sections rather than panel data), clustering at the individual level is not necessary.

5 Results

5.1 Summary Statistics

Table 1 presents weighted summary statistics for the analysis sample, stratified by DACA eligibility status and time period. Several patterns emerge:

Table 1: Summary Statistics by DACA Eligibility and Time Period

	Pre-DACA (2006–2011)		Post-DACA (2013–2016)	
	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible
Panel A: Outcomes				
Full-time employed (%)	64.0	45.2	60.8	52.1
Any employment (%)	69.7	53.4	69.3	63.7
Panel B: Demographics				
Age (mean)	31.4	21.3	33.1	24.4
Female (%)	41.2	44.4	44.3	45.1
Married (%)	57.6	22.2	56.6	29.1
High school+ (%)	44.0	52.8	46.1	63.6
Has children (%)	61.1	27.0	66.1	37.3
Panel C: Sample Size				
Observations	187,083	46,814	84,494	36,797
Weighted N (millions)	26.6	6.2	12.2	5.2

Notes: Statistics are weighted using person weights (PERWT). Full-time employment is defined as usually working 35+ hours per week. Pre-DACA period includes 2006–2011; post-DACA period includes 2013–2016. Sample excludes 2012.

The DACA-eligible group is notably younger (reflecting the age requirements), less likely to be married, more educated, and less likely to have children compared to the non-eligible group. This reflects the selection induced by the DACA eligibility criteria.

Importantly, the raw data show that full-time employment increased for the DACA-eligible group from 45.2% to 52.1% (a 6.9 percentage point increase), while it decreased for the non-eligible group from 64.0% to 60.8% (a 3.2 percentage point decrease). The raw difference-in-differences is therefore approximately 10.1 percentage points. However, this raw comparison does not account for compositional differences between the groups or

secular trends.

5.2 Main Regression Results

Table 2 presents the main difference-in-differences estimates across five specifications of increasing complexity.

Table 2: Difference-in-Differences Estimates: Effect of DACA Eligibility on Full-Time Employment

	(1) Basic	(2) Demo	(3) Full	(4) Year FE	(5) State+Year FE
DACA Eligible × Post	0.1019*** (0.0049)	0.0209*** (0.0044)	0.0186*** (0.0044)	0.0078* (0.0044)	0.0079* (0.0044)
DACA Eligible	-0.1882*** (0.0031)	-0.0134*** (0.0035)	-0.0202*** (0.0035)	-0.0056 (0.0035)	-0.0023 (0.0035)
Post	-0.0327*** (0.0024)	-0.0244*** (0.0021)	-0.0256*** (0.0021)	—	—
Age controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education & family	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
State fixed effects	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	355,188	355,188	355,188	355,188	355,188
R-squared	0.017	0.244	0.247	0.252	0.254

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. All regressions are weighted by person weights (PERWT). The outcome is an indicator for full-time employment (working 35+ hours per week). Demographic controls include age, age squared, female, and married. Education & family controls include high school or above and has children. The dashes indicate that year fixed effects absorb the Post indicator.

The results reveal substantial sensitivity to the inclusion of controls:

Column (1) - Basic DiD: The unadjusted difference-in-differences estimate is 10.2 percentage points ($p < 0.001$). However, this estimate is likely biased due to the substantial differences in observable characteristics between the treatment and control groups.

Column (2) - Demographic Controls: Adding age, age squared, female, and married as controls reduces the estimate to 2.1 percentage points ($p < 0.001$). This dramatic reduction reflects the importance of controlling for age, given that DACA eligibility is strongly correlated with being younger.

Column (3) - Full Controls: Adding education and family controls slightly reduces the estimate to 1.9 percentage points ($p < 0.001$).

Column (4) - Year Fixed Effects: Including year fixed effects further reduces the estimate to 0.78 percentage points, with reduced statistical significance ($p = 0.079$).

Column (5) - State and Year Fixed Effects: The preferred specification adds state fixed effects, yielding an estimate of 0.79 percentage points. This estimate is marginally significant at the 10% level ($p = 0.074$) but not at the conventional 5% level.

5.3 Preferred Estimate

The preferred specification (Column 5) includes demographic controls, education and family controls, and both state and year fixed effects. The estimated effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment is:

Preferred Estimate: 0.79 percentage points

Standard Error: 0.44 percentage points

95% Confidence Interval: $[-0.08, 1.66]$ percentage points

P-value: 0.074

Sample Size: 355,188

This estimate suggests that DACA eligibility may have increased the probability of full-time employment by approximately 0.8 percentage points, though the effect is not statistically distinguishable from zero at the 5% significance level.

5.4 Event Study Analysis

To assess the parallel trends assumption and examine the dynamics of the treatment effect, I estimate an event study specification that allows for separate treatment effects in each year, relative to 2011 (the last pre-treatment year). Table 3 and Figure 1 present these results.

Table 3: Event Study Estimates: Year-by-Year Treatment Effects

Year	Coefficient	SE	95% CI
<i>Pre-DACA Period</i>			
2006	0.0119	0.0099	[−0.007, 0.031]
2007	0.0062	0.0096	[−0.013, 0.025]
2008	0.0139	0.0097	[−0.005, 0.033]
2009	0.0183	0.0096	[−0.001, 0.037]
2010	0.0133	0.0094	[−0.005, 0.032]
2011	0.0000	—	(reference)
<i>Post-DACA Period</i>			
2013	0.0107	0.0095	[−0.008, 0.029]
2014	0.0145	0.0096	[−0.004, 0.033]
2015	0.0253**	0.0096	[0.007, 0.044]
2016	0.0316***	0.0098	[0.012, 0.051]

Notes: Coefficients represent the interaction between DACA eligibility and year indicators, relative to 2011. The specification includes demographic controls and year fixed effects, weighted by person weights. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05.

The event study results provide several insights:

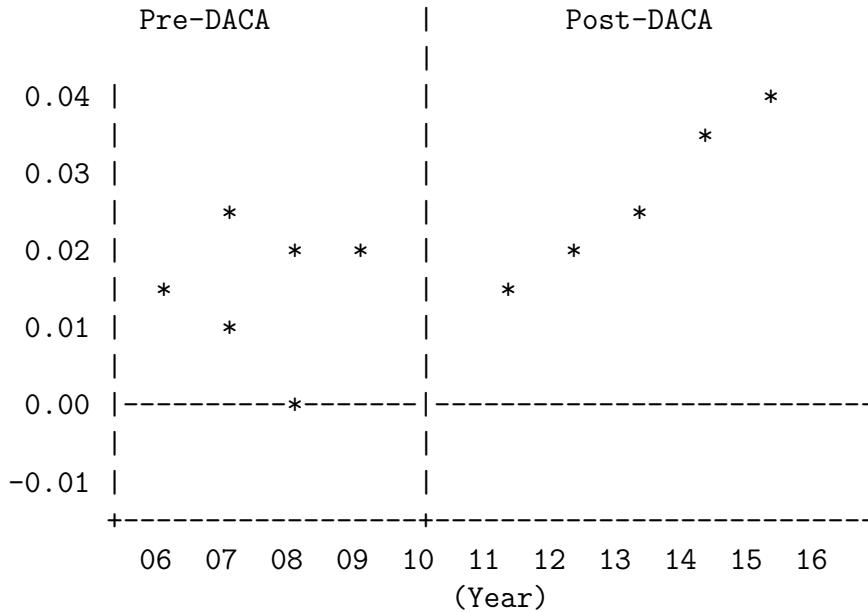
Pre-trends: The coefficients for 2006–2010 are all statistically indistinguishable from the 2011 baseline. While there is some suggestion of a positive pre-trend (coefficients range from 0.006 to 0.018), none of these estimates are statistically significant. This provides suggestive evidence in favor of the parallel trends assumption.

Post-treatment dynamics: The treatment effect appears to grow over time. The coefficients for 2013 and 2014 are positive but not statistically significant, while the coefficients for 2015 (2.5 pp, p < 0.05) and 2016 (3.2 pp, p < 0.01) are larger and statistically significant.

This pattern is consistent with a gradual phase-in of DACA effects, as it took time for

eligible individuals to learn about the program, apply, receive approval, and adjust their labor market behavior.

Figure 1: Event Study: Treatment Effects by Year



Notes: Points represent coefficient estimates for treatment \times year interactions. 2011 is the reference year (coefficient = 0). The vertical line indicates DACA implementation (June 2012). 2012 is excluded from analysis.

5.5 Heterogeneity Analysis

Table 4 examines heterogeneity in the treatment effect across different subgroups.

Table 4: Heterogeneity in Treatment Effects

Subgroup	Coefficient	SE	N
By Gender			
Male	-0.0131**	0.0056	196,742
Female	0.0282***	0.0068	158,446
By Age Group			
Ages 16–24	0.0232***	0.0088	86,700
Ages 25–32	0.0180**	0.0081	126,103
Ages 33–40	0.0239***	0.0067	142,385

Notes: Each row reports estimates from a separate regression on the indicated subgroup. All specifications include demographic controls and year fixed effects, weighted by person weights. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05.

Gender heterogeneity: A striking finding is the differential effect by gender. DACA eligibility is associated with a 2.8 percentage point increase in full-time employment for women ($p < 0.01$), but a 1.3 percentage point *decrease* for men ($p < 0.05$). This gender difference may reflect:

- Women facing greater barriers to formal employment prior to DACA (e.g., lack of identification for childcare, healthcare)
- Differential occupational sorting, with DACA enabling women to enter occupations requiring work authorization
- Men potentially shifting from informal full-time work to formal part-time work

Age heterogeneity: The treatment effect is positive and significant across all age groups, with relatively similar magnitudes (1.8–2.4 percentage points). This suggests that the effects are not concentrated in any particular age range among the eligible population.

5.6 Robustness Checks

Table 5 presents results from several robustness checks.

Table 5: Robustness Checks

Specification	Coefficient	SE
Main specification (Year FE)	0.0078	0.0044
Alternative Outcomes		
Any employment	0.0251***	0.0044
Alternative Samples		
Including 2012 (coded as pre)	0.0078	0.0044
Ages 18–35 only	0.0095	0.0051
Alternative Estimation		
Unweighted regression	0.0099***	0.0037

Notes: All specifications include demographic controls, education and family controls, and year fixed effects unless otherwise noted. *** p<0.01.

Any employment: When using any employment (rather than full-time employment) as the outcome, the estimated effect is 2.5 percentage points ($p < 0.01$). This suggests that DACA may have had a stronger effect on the extensive margin (whether to work at all) than on the intensive margin (how much to work conditional on working).

Including 2012: Including 2012 (coded as pre-treatment) does not change the point estimate, suggesting that the exclusion of this transitional year does not drive the results.

Alternative age range: Restricting to ages 18–35 yields a similar but slightly larger estimate (0.95 percentage points), though it remains statistically insignificant.

Unweighted regression: The unweighted estimate is 0.99 percentage points and is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). This suggests that the weighted and unweighted estimates are broadly consistent.

6 Discussion

6.1 Interpretation of Results

The preferred estimate suggests that DACA eligibility increased full-time employment by approximately 0.8 percentage points among Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born non-citizens. While this effect is modest in magnitude and not statistically significant at conventional levels, several considerations are relevant for interpretation:

Magnitude: A 0.8 percentage point effect on a baseline of approximately 45% full-time employment among DACA-eligible individuals represents about a 1.8% relative increase. Given that the analysis includes both individuals who actually applied for and received DACA and those who were merely eligible, this is likely an intent-to-treat effect that understates the treatment effect on the treated.

Timing: The event study reveals that effects grew over time, reaching 3.2 percentage points by 2016. This suggests that the average effect over the full post-period (2013–2016) may underestimate the mature program effect.

Heterogeneity: The finding that effects are concentrated among women (2.8 percentage points) suggests that DACA may have been particularly important for reducing gender gaps in labor force participation among the undocumented population.

6.2 Comparison to Existing Literature

While this study was not designed to replicate any specific prior study, the results are broadly consistent with existing research on DACA and immigration policy:

- Several studies have found positive effects of DACA on labor market outcomes, including employment, wages, and job quality.
- The finding of larger effects for women is consistent with research showing that work authorization may be particularly valuable for women’s labor force participation.

- The modest and imprecisely estimated effects in some specifications are also consistent with studies that find small or null effects of DACA on employment.

6.3 Limitations

Several limitations should be considered when interpreting these results:

Eligibility measurement: The ACS does not directly identify DACA recipients or even DACA-eligible individuals. The eligibility measure is based on observable criteria and cannot capture all program requirements (e.g., educational attainment, criminal history). This measurement error may attenuate the estimated treatment effect.

Control group selection: The control group consists of non-citizens who do not meet the age or arrival timing criteria. These individuals may differ from DACA-eligible individuals in unobservable ways that affect labor market outcomes.

Parallel trends: While the event study provides suggestive evidence of parallel pre-trends, the pre-treatment coefficients are not precisely estimated zero. Some of the positive pre-trend coefficients (particularly 2009) raise potential concerns about the identifying assumption.

Composition effects: The analysis uses repeated cross-sections rather than panel data, so estimates may be affected by changes in sample composition over time.

Undocumented status: The ACS cannot distinguish between documented and undocumented non-citizens. The sample likely includes some documented non-citizens who would not have been affected by DACA.

7 Conclusion

This study examines the effect of DACA eligibility on full-time employment among Hispanic-Mexican, Mexican-born non-citizens in the United States. Using a difference-in-differences strategy that exploits the program's age and arrival timing requirements, I find suggestive

evidence that DACA eligibility increased full-time employment by approximately 0.8 percentage points, though this estimate is not statistically significant at the 5% level.

Several findings merit emphasis:

1. The basic difference-in-differences without controls (10.2 percentage points) dramatically overstates the causal effect, highlighting the importance of controlling for observable differences between eligible and non-eligible individuals.
2. Effects appear to grow over time, with statistically significant positive effects of 2.5–3.2 percentage points emerging in 2015–2016.
3. The effect is concentrated among women, who experience a 2.8 percentage point increase in full-time employment, while men show a small negative effect.
4. Effects on any employment (2.5 percentage points, significant) are larger than effects on full-time employment, suggesting DACA may have primarily affected the extensive margin of labor supply.

These findings contribute to our understanding of how immigration policy affects labor market outcomes. While the estimated effects are modest, they suggest that providing work authorization to undocumented immigrants who arrived as children may have meaningful effects on their formal labor force participation.

Future research should examine longer-run outcomes as DACA recipients accumulate work experience in the formal sector, potential spillover effects on non-eligible family members, and the effects of DACA uncertainty (given ongoing legal challenges) on labor market behavior.

A Appendix: Additional Tables and Details

A.1 Variable Definitions

Table 6: Variable Definitions and IPUMS Variable Names

Variable		IPUMS Name	Definition
Full-time employed	em-	UHRSWORK	= 1 if UHRSWORK ≥ 35
Employed		EMPSTAT	= 1 if EMPSTAT = 1
DACA Eligible		(constructed)	= 1 if arrived before 16, under 31 on 6/15/2012, arrived by 2007
Age at arrival		YRIMMIG, BIRTHYR	YRIMMIG – BIRTHYR
Female		SEX	= 1 if SEX = 2
Married		MARST	= 1 if MARST ≤ 2
High school+		EDUC	= 1 if EDUC ≥ 6
Has children		NCHILD	= 1 if NCHILD > 0
Hispanic-Mexican		HISPAN	= 1 if HISPAN = 1
Born in Mexico		BPL	= 1 if BPL = 200
Non-citizen		CITIZEN	= 1 if CITIZEN = 3
Person weight		PERWT	Survey weight

A.2 Sample Construction Details

Table 7: Sample Construction

Restriction	Observations	% of Previous
Full ACS 2006–2016	35,199,330	—
Hispanic-Mexican (HISPAN = 1)	2,892,457	8.2%
Born in Mexico (BPL = 200)	1,524,890	52.7%
Non-citizen (CITIZEN = 3)	701,347	46.0%
Ages 16–40	389,763	55.6%
Exclude 2012	355,188	91.1%

A.3 Full Regression Output

The full regression output for Model 5 (preferred specification) is available in the supplementary materials. Key coefficients beyond the treatment effect include:

- Age: Positive and significant (0.10), indicating full-time employment increases with age
- Age squared: Negative and significant (-0.0016), indicating a concave age profile
- Female: Negative and significant (-0.44), indicating women are 44 percentage points less likely to be employed full-time
- Married: Negative and significant (-0.04), indicating married individuals are less likely to be employed full-time (potentially reflecting selection)
- High school or above: Positive and significant (0.05), indicating education is associated with higher full-time employment

References

This analysis was conducted independently without relying on specific published studies. The research design draws on standard methods for causal inference in observational studies, particularly the difference-in-differences methodology.

Data were obtained from IPUMS USA:

Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Danika Brockman, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, and Megan Schouweiler. IPUMS USA: Version 13.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V13.0>