NBER WORKING PAPER SERIES

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Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes
Monica Deza
Genti Kostandini
Tianyuan Luo

Working Paper 32723
http://www.nber.org/papers/w32723

NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH
1050 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138
July 2024

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Driving Towards Integration: Early Childhood Education Implications of Extending Driving Privileges to Undocumented Immigrants

Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes, Monica Deza, Genti Kostandini, and Tianyuan Luo

NBER Working Paper No. 32723
July 2024
JEL No. I24,J15,J6,J68,K37

ABSTRACT

We estimate the effect of granting access to driver licenses to undocumented immigrants on their offspring's access to early childhood education (ECE). Using individual-level data from the ACS, we find that granting driving privileges to undocumented immigrants leads to a 6% increase in ECE attendance among Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents. We explore potential mechanisms and find that these laws enhance mobility, driving autonomy, and English proficiency among likely undocumented immigrants. These laws also increase hourly wages among likely undocumented mothers, which may increase their bargaining power and financial resources. The findings highlight the positive externalities of extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants.

Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes
Department of Economics
University of California at Merced
5200 North Lake Road
Merced, CA 95343
camuedo-dorantes@ucmerced.edu

Monica Deza
Department of Economics
Syracuse University
Maxwell School of Citizenship
and Public Affairs
426 Eggers Hall
Syracuse, NY 13244
and NBER
mdeza@syr.edu

Genti Kostandini
University of Georgia
gentik@uga.edu

Tianyuan Luo
Xi'an Jiaotong University
mucluotianyuan@hotmail.com

1. Introduction

The expansion of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants (DL laws) continues to be the subject of heated debate. Opponents voice concerns about national security, identity fraud, and express reservations about the broader implications of not punishing the violation of immigration laws. On the other hand, proponents argue that it enhances public safety by ensuring that drivers undergo testing and are properly insured. Previous literature has documented the benefits of reducing the number of uninsured motorists among undocumented immigrants, which is reflected in fewer hit-and-run accidents (Lueders *et al*., 2022; Amuedo-Dorantes and Dziadula, 2023), lower car insurance costs (Caceres and Jameson, 2015; Johnson, 2004; Odegaard, 2008), and enhanced immigrants' mobility (Barajas *et al*., 2021). This heightened driving autonomy boosts their labor supply (Amuedo-Dorantes *et al*., 2020; Cho, 2022), even if car ownership and the number of drivers remain unchanged (Churchill *et al*., 2021; Cho, 2022), and is more broadly reflected in societal outcomes, such as increased state tax revenues due to a larger number of insured and regulated motorists. While the preceding literature has paid close attention to the immediate effect of extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants, less attention has been paid to the effect these policies may have on undocumented immigrants' children –a new generation of Americans.

This study evaluates the impact of issuing driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants on a societal outcome affecting their offspring –namely, early childhood education (ECE) as measured by pre-primary school attendance between the ages of 3 and 6 years old.[1] Given the limited access to early educational opportunities among children of immigrants (Karoly and Gonzalez, 2011), and the salient role of ECE on children's cognitive development (Magnuson,

[1] For the analysis, ECE includes pre-primary education programs such as nursery schools and kindergartens, designed for young children before they enter primary school.

Lahaie, and Waldfogel, 2006), gaining a better understanding of the determinants of ECE among children of likely undocumented migrants is important for policy-making.

The benefits of ECE have been well-documented. Pre-primary education is linked to improved cognitive development and may contribute to closing some of the existing educational gaps between children of immigrants and natives (Szabó-Morvai *et al.*, 2023). Despite most likely being U.S.-born citizens (Capps, Fix, and Zong, 2016), children of immigrants are less likely to participate in early educational programs (Capps and Zong, 2016) relative to children of U.S.-born parents. Unsurprisingly, in the 2009 through 2013 period, an estimated 37% of children ages 3 and 4 with undocumented parents were enrolled in preschool relative to 45% of similarly aged children with immigrant parents or 48% of all 3- to 4-years-old children in the United States (Capps and Zong, 2016). Approximately 18 million children in the United States have immigrant parents, and over 5 million of them have at least one undocumented parent (Batalova, Hanna, and Levesque, 2021).[2] Given the high prevalence of children with immigrant parents and the well-documented benefits of pre-primary education, it is imperative to explore ways to increase children's participation in pre-primary education.

There are several mechanisms through which providing access to driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants may increase pre-primary education among their children. A commonly cited barrier to accessing pre-primary education is the lack of school-provided transportation (Ansari *et al.,* 2020).[3] While parents are responsible for providing transportation to take their children to pre-elementary school (McDonald and Aalborg, 2009), taking their children to school can prove particularly challenging for undocumented immigrants. If undocumented

[2] https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states-2020

[3] See: https://www.mlive.com/education/2012/10/one_of_the_leading_reasons_mor.html

immigrants drive their children to school without a driver's license or insurance, being stopped by the police may result in a criminal conviction and deportation. As a result, undocumented immigrants may have to resort to public transportation, which imposes serious constraints and may not always be reliable. Undocumented immigrants may also rely on carpooling, which also constrains their transportation autonomy, as they need to adjust to the driver's schedule. Access to a driver's license lowers commuting costs and increases mobility and transportation autonomy, enabling migrants to get to their desired destinations on their own. Access to a driver's license may not only facilitate taking the children to school, but it may also make their pre-primary education more affordable if undocumented parents gain access to job opportunities that increase their earnings (Blundell *et al*., 2005; Attanasio *et al*., 2012; Tommasi, 2019). Finally, access to driver's licenses may also facilitate social interactions for immigrant parents, their English proficiency, and overall integration and awareness about educational opportunities for their children, including ECE options.

Using data from the 2005 through 2019 *American Community Survey* –a period encompassing the enactment of 90 percent of DL laws– and a quasi-experimental approach that exploits the staggered implementation of DL laws, we evaluate the effect of expanding driving privileges to undocumented immigrants on their children's pre-primary education attendance. Our findings can be summarized as follows. *First*, extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants increases ECE attendance among Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents by 3 percentage points –approximately 6%. *Second*, the impact of access to driver's licenses is greater among households with likely undocumented mothers compared to those with likely undocumented fathers. Specifically, households with likely undocumented mothers experienced an average increase of 4 percentage points (a 7% to 9% increase), whereas households with likely

undocumented fathers saw an average increase of 2 percentage points (a 5% to 6% increase). This finding suggests that children's pre-primary education is more responsive to mothers' ability to drive, which may not be surprising if they are the ones primarily responsible for childrearing and household duties. *Third*, we find no evidence of alike impacts among Hispanic children with likely-documented parents, signaling the effects are not driven by general trends in pre-primary education among all Hispanics. *Fourth*, the event study suggests that, before implementation, states that eventually extended driving privileges to undocumented immigrants did not exhibit different trends in ECE of Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents relative to states that never granted such benefits –a finding that helps validate our identification strategy. Furthermore, the policy impacts appear long-lasting, persisting up to 4 years after its implementation. *Finally*, our findings are robust to alternative model specifications and definitions of likely undocumented immigrants.

We also explore the mechanisms likely responsible for our findings. *First*, we examine the extent to which extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants impacts their mobility and driving autonomy. Consistent with prior findings in the literature, we find that extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants increases car ownership, the number of vehicles owned, and the use of cars for work commuting among households with at least one Hispanic likely undocumented member. Among those commuting to work by car, there is a decrease in the probability of carpooling, implying an increase in the number of likely undocumented workers driving their car to work. *Next*, we verify that the extension of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants was accompanied by increased awareness about the policy, particularly in states with higher shares of Hispanics. *Finally*, we also explore the extent to which granting driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants may facilitate their employment, leading to higher earnings and

financial resources that could be potentially allocated toward their children's ECE. Additionally, their increased mobility and employment may facilitate social interactions, which may improve their English proficiency, integration, and awareness about early childhood education opportunities for their children.

Overall, the findings underscore the positive externalities of extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants by lifting their mobility constraints, broadening their employment opportunities, enhancing their integration, and, ultimately, increasing their children's ECE attendance.

2. Background

2.1 Driver's Licenses for Undocumented Immigrants

In the United States, states hold the authority to issue driver's licenses. Consequently, they have the discretion to determine the qualifications for a license within their jurisdiction. The documentation required to obtain a driver's license varied across states, as some required only some form of identification and proof of residency (*e.g.* bills, rent contracts), while other states required documents that support legal presence in the United States (*e.g.* birth certificate, social security number). As a result, access to driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants has historically varied by state.

Following the terrorist attacks of 9/11, President Bush signed into law the REAL ID Act bill on May 11, 2005. The act aimed to bolster identification standards for "federal purposes," which include boarding commercial flights, renting cars, entering nuclear plants, and accessing federal facilities,[4] which also resulted in strengthening U.S. borders against the entry of undocumented immigrants and terrorists. In response to the pressure to ensure driver's licenses

[4] https://www.naco.org/sites/default/files/documents/REAL%20ID%20Act%20of%202005.pdf

met federal criteria, most states began to require a social security number or proof of legal status to obtain a driving permit. Some states even explicitly prohibited the issuance of driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants. While states must issue driver licenses that comply with the criteria for an ID that can be used for "federal purposes," they retain the autonomy to issue noncompliant "not for federal ID" driver licenses, which can be granted to undocumented immigrants.[5]

Around the second decade of the 21st century, these practices began to shift, coinciding with heightened interior immigration enforcement that adversely affected mixed-status households and migrant communities at large. A lack of proper documentation and insurance could lead to a criminal conviction and deportation. During this period, many states expressed growing concerns that preventing undocumented migrants from having a driver's license may pose challenges to their social and economic integration as well as their cultural assimilation (Allen and Wang, 2020), may also lead to higher insurance rates (Caceres and Jameson, 2015) and decrease road safety (Lueders *et al*., 2022; Amuedo-Dorantes and Dziadula, 2023). As a result of these concerns, a total of 18 states had implemented some form of driving privileges for undocumented migrants by 2023 (see Appendix Table A1). During this period, some states issued only regular "for federal purposes" driving licenses, while others granted "not for federal purposes" driving privilege cards. Though distinct from regular licenses, these cards enabled undocumented migrants to legally operate vehicles.

[5] While the Real ID Act was mostly induced by the 9/11 attacks of 2001, some states began imposing Documented Presence Laws (DPL) in the 1990s, which require proof of lawful presence in the U.S. as a requirement to obtain a driver license (Amuedo-Dorantes *et al*, 2020; Caceres *et al*, 2015), and resulted in effectively prohibiting undocumented immigrants from obtaining a driver license. States were allowed to issue "not for federal ID" driver licenses as long as these are distinguishable from licenses that meet the federal identification requirements established by the 2005 REAL ID Act.

Prior studies have documented the benefits of gaining access to driver's licenses and car ownership on employment (Baum, 2009; Bansak *et al*, 2010; Gautier and Zenou, 2010). For instance, Amuedo-Dorantes *et al.* (2020) show that extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants raises their employment opportunities and hours of work. This finding, consistent with a standard labor supply model where access to private transportation reduces commuting time and frees up time for work (Bansak *et al.,* 2010), is also confirmed by subsequent studies. For instance, Raphael *et al.* (2022) find that car ownership increases employment using an instrumental variable approach where insurance and gasoline taxes are used as instruments.

Due to spatial decentralization, cars are essential for accessing jobs, amenities, and educational facilities in the United States. Access to a motor vehicle raises mobility, autonomy, and schedule flexibility (Bania *et al.,* 1999; Holzer *et al.* 1994). Car ownership also lowers work absenteeism and increases punctuality, particularly for workers with complicated commute patterns that are not well served by public transit (Raphael *et al*., 2022). Since absenteeism and punctuality are central in educational settings, access to a driver's license would likely enhance children's schooling performance, potentially influencing parental decisions regarding educational investments.

2.2 Early Child Education of Children of Likely Undocumented Immigrants

With the highest fertility rates in the country, Hispanic immigrants and their offspring constitute the fastest-growing population segment in the United States (Hamilton, 2021). However, children of Hispanic immigrants continue to be significantly under-enrolled in ECE programs (Ackert *et al*., 2020). In a recent study, Ansari (2017) demonstrates that ECE enrollment rates are notably lower for children of Hispanic immigrants, averaging close to 56%, compared to those of U.S.-born Hispanics (63%) or children of Black and non-Hispanic White descent (70-72%).

Remarkably, their ECE enrollment rates are even lower than those of other immigrant-origin children (Johnson *et al*., 2017).

There is a vast literature that supports the positive effects of ECE on human capital and social outcomes, as these improve educational attainment, increase earnings, reduce welfare dependency, and reduce crime (Currie, 2011). ECE is particularly beneficial to economic actors who start with unequal endowments, as it improves skills and enhances child development, helping disadvantaged children begin schooling on equal footing with their more advantaged peers (Currie, 2011; Blau and Currie, 2004). ECE programs also have spillover effects on health, as ECE reduces the probability of health disease, stroke, cancer, and mortality across the life cycle (Garcia and Heckman,2021). Given the well-documented positive impacts of ECE on children, including Hispanic children (Lesnick *et al.*, 2010; Holod *et al.,* 2020; Smith, 2020), it is essential to gain a deeper understanding of how policy may influence ECE enrollment among children of immigrants, who have lower ECE enrollment rates than children of natives.

Previous research has identified some of the factors responsible for the lower ECE enrollment rates of Hispanic children, including lack of familiarity with the school system by immigrant parents, limited availability of ECE in low-income Hispanic neighborhoods, and transportation difficulties in accessing the centers (*e.g.,* Ansari, 2017; Ansari *et al*., 2020; Crosnoe and Ansari, 2015). Studies have also shown that working mothers, especially those with higher earnings, are more likely to invest in high-quality early childhood education programs (*e.g.,* Waldfogel, 2002; Morrissey, 2017), suggesting both maternal employment and households' disposable income are important factors shaping children's participation in ECE programs.

Our study focuses on the effect of facilitating likely undocumented Hispanic parents' driving and transportation autonomy on their children's ECE attendance. Even though driving

without a license is not directly recognized as a deportable offense, many undocumented immigrants report fear of deportation as a driving barrier (Rabin *et al*., 2024). The extension of driving privileges to this population enhances their mobility, access to employment opportunities, and social interactions, facilitating awareness and affordability of ECE for their children.

3. Data

Our study uses the *American Community Survey* (ACS) from 2005 through 2019 (Ruggles *et al.,* 2022), which is a large nationally representative dataset surveying 1% of the U.S. population each year. The dataset is well-suited for our analysis for several reasons. First, its large sample size facilitates the analysis of questions involving minority groups, as in the case of likely undocumented immigrants. Second, the ACS provides detailed information on demographic traits necessary to identify likely undocumented migrants, including individuals' place of birth, citizenship, and ethnicity, as well as information on their year of arrival to the United States. Finally, the ACS is notable for its consistency and high-quality data over extended periods, enabling us to gauge the impact of changes in the policy environment on the labor market performance of our population of interest.

For our main analysis of children's ECE attendance, we focus on Hispanic children between ages 3 to 6 with at least one likely undocumented parent. When investigating the mechanism likely at play, our sample focuses on likely undocumented adults. At this juncture, it is worth noting that, since the ACS does not collect information on the legal status of immigrants, we rely on traits highly predictive of immigrants' undocumented status to identify which parents or adults likely lack legal immigration status. Specifically, using a proxy similar to the one proposed by Borjas (2019), parents are classified as likely undocumented if they arrived after 1980, are not citizens, lack a social security number, lack Medicaid, Medicare, or military health

insurance, are not veterans, are not in the military, are not public sector employees, are not Cuban, do not have an occupation that requires licensing, and do not collect Supplemental Security Income (SSI) or alike forms of public assistance not available to unauthorized immigrants.

Table 1 provides an overview of our sample, composed of either Hispanic children or households with at least one undocumented parent. Table 1 also distinguishes between respondents residing in states that have eventually extended driving privileges to undocumented immigrants (treatment states) and those that have not (control states). Dependent variables are presented in Panel A. First, we observe that about 48 percent of Hispanic children with at least one likely undocumented parent in treatment and control states attend preschool. Second, among households with at least one likely undocumented immigrant, car ownership and the average number of cars per household is slightly higher in states that have extended driving privileges to undocumented immigrants. Third, 84 percent of likely undocumented individuals in states that issue them driver's licenses use a car to commute to work, and 76 percent of them do not rely on carpool. Fourth, the labor market outcomes among likely undocumented fathers (employment, number of working hours per week, log of hourly wage, and level of English proficiency) are similar in treatment and control states. Finally, the labor market outcomes of likely undocumented fathers and mothers are also similar, particularly in treatment states.

Panel B of Table 1 provides summary statistics of the independent variables used in our modeling, including the gender and age of the children, as well as the father's and mother's education and family size. Additionally, we include dummy variables for the presence of other immigration policies, such as E-Verify mandates, Secure Communities, and Omnibus Immigration Laws. Lastly, we also include an indicator for whether the state mandates kindergarten.

4. Methodology

With the ultimate goal of evaluating the effect of granting driving privileges to undocumented immigrants on their offspring's access to ECE, we exploit the temporal variation in the granting of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants, comparing *changes* in ECE attendance of Hispanic 3–6-year-olds with likely undocumented parents in *treated* states following the adoption of those laws, to the changes observed in *control* states over the same period as illustrated by the following model:

$$(1) \qquad Y_{ist} = \alpha + \beta DL_{st} + X_{ist}\gamma + Z_{st}\delta + \theta_s + \theta_t + \varepsilon_{ist}$$

where the vector Y_{ist} is an indicator of whether the child *i* residing in state *s* attended ECE in year *t*. We restrict the subsample to Hispanic 3-6-year-old children with likely undocumented parents. The coefficient of interest (β) captures the effect of extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants on ECE attendance among 3-6-year-old Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents, relative to 3-6-year-old Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents in states that did not issue driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants. The vector X_{ist} controls for a series of individual and family traits that likely shape children's participation in ECE, such as family size, mother's and father's education, and the child's gender. The vector Z_{st} accounts for state-level mandates and other immigration policies potentially correlated to our outcome, such as mandatory kindergarten laws, E-Verify mandates, and omnibus immigration laws.

Equation (1) includes state-fixed effects to capture time-invariant differences across states affecting children's access to ECE and year-fixed effects to account for national trends in ECE affecting children in all states. Standard errors are clustered at the state level, and results are weighted using ACS individual weights. The vector ε_{ist} is the idiosyncratic error.

A priori, the impact of granting driving privileges to undocumented migrants on their children's access to ECE is ambiguous. On the one hand, having a driver's license may facilitate the child's transportation to the school, encouraging participation in ECE programs ($\beta > 0$). On the other hand, having a driver's license may encourage household task specialization, with one parent specializing in the labor market and the other one in household production, including childcare. Such a specialization could potentially reduce children's participation in ECE programs ($\beta < 0$). Finally, it is also possible that undocumented immigrants may be unaware or unable to take advantage of the driving permits, in which case their driving patterns would remain unaltered and children's attendance to ECE programs unaffected ($\beta = 0$).

Because parental access to a driver's license may differentially affect their offspring's access to ECE depending on which parent gains access to a driver's license, we restrict the analysis to Hispanic 3-to-6-year-old children and separately estimate the model using a subsample of children with a likely undocumented father, a subsample of children with a likely undocumented mother, and a subsample of children with two likely undocumented immigrant parents. The treatment group in each case is the subsample share residing in a state issuing driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants, whereas the control group is composed of the remaining children in the subsample.

A limitation of the two-way fixed effects (TWFE) estimates derived from the estimation of equation (1) is that, due to the staggered enactment of laws granting driving privileges to undocumented immigrants, the estimates make both "clean" comparisons between treated and not-yet treated units, as well as "forbidden" comparisons between newly and previously treated units, leading to negative weighting problems (*e.g.,* Goodman-Bacon, 2021). Because most states have not granted driving privileges to undocumented immigrants, clean comparisons dominate in the

computation of the TWFE estimates. Nevertheless, to address any concerns, we estimate equation (1) using the estimators proposed by Gardner (2022) and Borusyak *et al*. (2021) –both known to yield robust estimates to heterogeneous treatments.

5. Driver's Licenses for Undocumented Migrants and Early Childhood Education

5.1 Main Findings

Our main aim is to evaluate how granting driving privileges to undocumented immigrants may affect ECE attendance among 3 to 6-year-old Hispanic children with a likely undocumented parent. Panel A of Table 2 displays the estimated coefficient β from equation (1) when we use a sample of Hispanic children with at least one likely undocumented parent. The first column corresponds to a baseline TWFE model that only includes state and year-fixed effects. The extension of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants is associated with a 3.2 percentage points increase in ECE attendance among Hispanic 3–6-year-olds with at least one likely undocumented parent. Based on this group's ECE mean of 47.9%, the estimated impact translates into a 6.6 percent increase (=0.032/0.479). Including the full set of controls in column (2) slightly reduces the estimated impact to 2.8 percentage points (5.8%), with the estimate remaining statistically different from zero at conventional significance levels. Because of the staggered granting of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants across U.S. states, columns (3) and (4) estimate the model using the methodology proposed by Gardner (2022) and Borusyak *et al*. (2021), respectively. Given the large number of states that do not grant driving privileges to undocumented immigrants, it is not surprising that the results are largely unchanged when we address the staggered nature of the policy.

To allow for differential impacts of paternal vs. maternal access to a driver's license, we distinguish between the two scenarios in Panels B and C, respectively. The results indicate that the

ECE attendance of Hispanic 3–6-year-olds with a likely undocumented father rises between 4.8% and 5.9% following the granting of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants (Panel B). The increase is greater, ranging between 7.5% and 9%, among Hispanic 3–6-year-olds with a likely undocumented mother (Panel C). While children's ECE rises regardless of which parent may be potentially gaining from the enactment of legislation extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants, the impact is slightly greater when children report having a likely undocumented mother. This result highlights the relevance of enabling undocumented women to drive as they are often the ones in charge of child-rearing. Finally, Panel D reports the effect of the policy when both parents are likely undocumented. ECE attendance among Hispanic 3–6-year-olds then rises between 2.7 (5.7%) and 3.9 percentage points (8.3%), but its magnitude is no longer statistically different from its impact among children with only one likely undocumented parent.

In a nutshell, the estimates in Table 2 suggest that the granting of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants improves ECE attendance of Hispanic 3-6-year-olds with likely undocumented parents, regardless of whether it is the mother, father, or both parents who stand to benefit from the legislation.

5.2 Placebo Checks

If our findings were driven by changes in Hispanic children's pre-primary education trends instead of being driven by undocumented immigrants gaining access to driver licenses, we should find comparable impacts on similarly aged Hispanic children whose parents are documented. To gauge if that is the case, we re-estimate equation (1) focusing on 3–6-year-old children with parents that do not meet the criteria for likely undocumented. Panel A of Table 3 indicates no evidence of the policy affecting ECE attendance among 3 to 6-year-old Hispanic children with documented parents. Specifically, even though the estimated coefficients are still positive, they are statistically

indistinguishable from zero and lower in magnitude (averaging 1% to 2%) than the estimated impacts for similarly aged Hispanic children with at least one likely undocumented parent (for whom the effect averaged 6% in Table 2). This finding supports the notion that the estimates in Table 2 are not the byproduct of confounding factors driving ECE trends among Hispanic children.

Given that the majority of undocumented immigrants are Hispanic,[6] we expect the impact to be the largest among Hispanic children as they may be directly or indirectly impacted through their family or social network. Since all undocumented immigrants stand to benefit from the extension of driving privileges regardless of their race, we also evaluate whether non-Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents benefited from the policy. Based on the results in Panel B of Table 3, ECE attendance among White children with likely undocumented parents remains largely unchanged in response to the enactment of legislation granting undocumented immigrants access to a driver's license. Next, the estimates in Panel C of Table 3 suggest that ECE attendance among Black children with likely undocumented parents rises between 4% (=0.028/0.564) and 10% (=0.062/0.564) depending on the specification, although the effect is not statistically significant at conventional levels. In Panel D, we find that ECE attendance among Asian children with likely undocumented parents also rises between 2.7% (=0.016/0.586) and 3.9% (0.023/0.586) depending on the specification; yet, once more, the effect is not statistically significant at conventional levels. Finally, given the smaller number of Black and Asian children with likely undocumented parents, we experiment with lumping all children together. Based on the estimates in Panel E, the policy does raise ECE attendance among non-Hispanic children 3–6 years old with a likely undocumented parent (between 2% and 4%) under certain specifications.

[6] Approximately 67% of undocumented immigrants are from Mexico and Central America, and 6% are from South America (Migration Policy Institute, 2019)

In sum, the estimates in Table 3 indicate that granting driving privileges to undocumented immigrants did not affect attendance to ECE programs among White children with likely undocumented parents, but increased it among Hispanic, Black, and Asian children with likely undocumented parents –the largest effect being among Black children and the smallest effect among Asian children, albeit they were non-statistically significant at conventional levels. The fact that the extension of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants primarily benefited Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents is somewhat unsurprising given the dominant ethnic and racial composition of the policy's target group.

5.3 Identification Checks

A critical assumption in the DD design is the assumption that children's ECE in states extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants would have trended parallelly to children's ECE in the remaining states in the absence of such legislation (Angrist and Pischke, 2008). While this counterfactual is ultimately untestable, it is feasible to gauge how children's ECE trended in states that grant driving privileges to undocumented migrants and compare them to those in control states before any policy enactment by estimating the following event study:

$$(2) \qquad Y_{ist} = \alpha + \sum_{k=-5}^{4} \beta_k \, \mathrm{I}[DL_{st}^{k} = 1] + X_{ist}\gamma + Z_{st}\delta + \theta_s + \theta_t + \varepsilon_{ist}$$

where DL_{st}^{k} equals one for each of the k periods preceding or following the year in which state s granted driving privileges to undocumented immigrants; otherwise, it equals zero. We set $\beta_{k=-1}$ to zero; therefore, all β_k coefficients should be interpreted in reference to one year prior to the state's granting of driving licenses to undocumented immigrants.

Figure 1 depicts the results from estimating equation (2) using our preferred model specification in column (4) of Table 2 on the following subsamples of 3–6-year-old Hispanic children: children with at least one undocumented parent (Panel A), with a likely undocumented

father (Panel B), with a likely undocumented mother (Panel C), and. with two likely undocumented parents (Panel D). In all instances, there is a clear lack of differential pre-trends in ECE of Hispanic 3–6-year-olds with likely undocumented parents in treated vs. control states, suggesting the estimated policy impact did not precede its enactment.

In addition, the event study enables us to gauge the policy's impact dynamics. In the case of Panel A, we observe a break in the trend of ECE immediately following the extension of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants, with the policy's impact lasting four years after its passing. Consistent with the estimates in Table 2, Figure 1 indicates that the effect is larger among Hispanic children with a likely undocumented mother (Panel C of Figure 1) than among their Hispanic counterparts with a likely undocumented father (Panel B of Figure 1). Overall, the event studies are reassuring about the lack of differential ECE pre-trends, as well as about the suitability of the control group and the lasting impact of granting driving privileges to undocumented immigrants on ECE.

Aside from testing for differential pre-trends, we investigate if the findings could be driven by confounding population changes in the states issuing driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants potentially correlated with Hispanic children's ECE. To that end, we re-estimate equation (1) for the following state-level outcomes in any given year: (a) the share of the population that is likely undocumented, (b) the share of the population that is Hispanic, and (c) the share of the population with more than a high school degree.

First, we evaluate whether granting driving privileges to undocumented immigrants increased the share of the population composed of likely undocumented immigrants, as such an increase could have mechanically increased the number of children of likely undocumented immigrants attending ECE. Panel A of Table 4 confirms that our main findings are not driven by a

sudden increase in households with likely undocumented immigrants, as the sign of the coefficient is negative but non-statistically different from zero at conventional significance levels.

Second, in Panel B of Table 4, we explore if the granting of driving privileges altered the share of Hispanics in the state, which could have also mechanically increased the number of Hispanic children attending ECE. We do not find evidence of a statistically significant effect on the share of Hispanics in the state.[7]

Finally, in Panel C of Table 4, we investigate whether the passage of these laws affected the educational composition of the state's population given that more educated parents may be more prone to enroll their children in ECE programs. Yet, here too, we find no evidence of that being the case.

In sum, there is no evidence that the enactment of laws extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants changes the demographic composition of the states.

5.4. Robustness Checks

5.4.1 Triple Difference Estimates

The difference-in-differences approach used in equation (1) restricts our focus to Hispanic 3-6-year-old children with at least one likely undocumented parent. In doing so, we are implicitly assuming that the share of those children residing in states that have not (or have not yet) granted driving privileges to undocumented immigrants serve as a proper control group for children residing in states that have already extended driving privileges to undocumented immigrants. To address any remaining concerns regarding the possibility that the findings may be driven by changes in ECE determinants that might vary across treated and control states, we estimate an

[7] It is worth noting that, even if we had found an effect, such a mechanical increase would only be problematic if the policy raised ECE among all Hispanic children, regardless of their parent's immigration status. However, we only find evidence of an increase in ECE attendance among Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents (Table 2), and not among their counterparts with likely-documented parents (Panel A, Table 3).

alternative specification of triple-differences which relies on comparing two groups of children *within* the same state. In this manner, we account for unobservable factors that affect ECE attendance that are state and year-specific, such as the level of public funding allocated to ECE. Specifically, we estimate the following triple-differences model using a sample of 3–6-year-old Hispanic children:

$$(3) \qquad Y_{ist} = \alpha + \beta_1 DL_{st} + \beta_2 LUP_{ist} + \beta_3 DL_{st} * LUP_{ist} + X_{ist}\gamma + Z_{st}\delta + \theta_s + \theta_t + \varepsilon_{ist}$$

The vector LUP_{ist} equals 1 if the child i residing in state s in year t has a likely undocumented parent; otherwise, it is zero. All other vectors are specified as in equation (1). In this manner, we can compare 3–6-year-old Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents to 3–6-year-old Hispanic children with documented parents, in control versus treated states, before and after the enactment of laws extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants. In addition to allowing us to account for factors possibly affecting all Hispanic children in any given state, the increase in sample size enhances statistical power and results in more precisely estimated impacts than in the difference-in-differences framework.

The coefficient β_1 in equation (3) enables us to assess if ECE attendance changes after undocumented immigrants gain access to driver's licenses in any given state for all Hispanic 3–6-year-old children, irrespective of parental documented status. The coefficient β_2 gauges if ECE attendance differs among Hispanic 3–6-year-old children based on their parent's immigration status and irrespective of whether the state extended driving privileges to undocumented immigrants. The coefficient of interest is β_3, which captures the change in ECE attendance among Hispanic 3–6-year-old children with likely undocumented parents relative to their counterparts with likely documented parents, following the enactment of laws granting driving privileges to undocumented immigrants.

Table 5 shows the results of this exercise. In line with our prior findings in Table 2, we find that the passage of laws extending driving privileges to undocumented migrants raises the likelihood of attendance to ECE programs among Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents, relative to their counterparts with likely documented parents, by 4% relative to the mean (=0.021/0.479) –an increase statistically significant at the 1% level (Panel A). Interestingly, the estimated impact appears mainly driven by children with likely undocumented mothers (Panel C), for whom the policy raises the likelihood of attendance to ECE by 5.6% to 6%. This finding underscores the relevance of increasing driving autonomy for mothers, who are more often in charge of childcare. Finally, the estimated impact hovers between 5% and 8% when both parents are likely undocumented (Panel D).

Taken together, the estimates from the triple differences approach confirm our main findings, suggesting that extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants raises attendance to ECE programs among Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents, with the effect being primarily driven by children whose mothers may gain from access to a driver's license.

5.4.2 Using Alternative Proxies of Having a Likely Undocumented Parent

Of particular importance when evaluating the impact of policies affecting likely undocumented immigrants is to gauge the sensitivity of the findings to the use of alternative proxies for immigrants' legal status. As noted earlier, the ACS does not gather this information. Researchers have used various methods to proxy for immigrants' legal status. Some rely on a residual method that identifies immigrants legally in the country to then classify the residual immigrant population as likely undocumented (*e.g.*, Passel and Cohn, 2014). Others rely on predicting immigrants' legal status using out-of-sample predictions derived from a donor sample, such as the *Survey of Income and Program Participants* (SIPP), which asks respondents about

their legal status in some years (*e.g.*, Rendall *et al*., 2013; Van Hook *et al*., 2015). Finally, some authors use logical imputation methods that classify immigrant groups with traits common to unauthorized migrants as likely undocumented. Examples include using Hispanic non-citizens with less than a high school education and long-term residencies in the United States or less-educated Hispanics receiving no government benefits and employed in non-governmental jobs or in occupations that do not require a license (Orrenius and Zavodny, 2017, 2016; Amuedo-Dorantes and Bansak, 2012, 2014; Amuedo-Dorantes and Lopez, 2017; Amuedo-Dorantes *et al*. 2020). We use a proxy based on Borjas (2017) –a thorough combination of all the traits noted above. Nevertheless, we also experiment with an alternative proxy that relies on fewer traits, classifying migrants as being likely undocumented if they are non-citizens, Hispanic, low-skilled (with less than a high school diploma), and long-term residents (have resided in the U.S. for 5 years or more, exhausting the duration of most non-immigrant visas).

Using this alternative proxy for undocumented status, Panel A in Table 6 indicates that the enactment of laws extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants leads to an increase in ECE ranging from 8% (=0.04/0.47) to 9% (=0.045/0.47) among 3–6-year-old Hispanic children with at least one likely undocumented parent. Consistent with our estimates in Table 2 and Table 5, the estimated impact is larger in magnitude when we restrict the subsample to 3–6-year-old Hispanic children with a likely undocumented mother (Panel C) than when we focus on similarly aged Hispanic children with a likely undocumented father (Panel B). Nevertheless, the benefit is present and alike regardless of whether one or both parents are undocumented (Panels A and D).

5.4.3 Assessing Policy Awareness

As a final robustness check, we also explore the extent to which likely undocumented immigrants appear to have been aware of the policy change. Using data from Google searches, we

test whether individuals are more likely to search for keywords related to the extension of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants. We focus on terms people may have searched to learn about state laws enabling undocumented migrants' access to driver's licenses, such as "Driver+License+Immigrants" and "Requirements+Driver+License."

Google provides an index for each search term representative of the relative popularity of the term. It is generated by dividing the number of searches for the term by the total count of searches within a locality and year. Mechanically, the index ranges between 0 and 100. Using these data, we estimate a variant of equation 1 where the outcome of interest is the search index measured at the state-year level.[8] According to the estimates displayed in the first three columns of Table 7, searches appear to have increased following the policy adoption in treated, relative to control, states.

We also experiment with including an interaction between the policy adoption indicator in state *s* and year *t* with the share of Hispanics in the state before the policy change. As expected, the relative volume of these searches appears to have risen with the share of Hispanics residing in the state before the extension of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants.

Overall, the estimates in Table 7 support the notion that Google searches related to policies extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants rose following the enactment of such laws. Furthermore, the intensity of the searches appears to have been greater in states with a higher share of Hispanics, suggesting searches may have been greater in states with a larger concentration of the population targeted by the laws.

[8] This regression includes state fixed effects, year fixed effects, and controls for the state-and-year-specific share of the population composed of Black residents, male residents, minors (age up to 17), working-age adults (age 18-64), Hispanic residents, and the natural logarithm of the population. The model also controls for Secure Communities and other county and state-level immigration enforcement measures, such as 287(g) and employment verification mandates.

6. Understanding Likely Mechanisms at Play

6.1 Increased Transportation Options and Mobility

Thus far, our findings have underscored the increase in ECE among 3 to 6-year-old Hispanic children with likely undocumented parents following the enactment of state laws granting driving privileges to undocumented immigrants. Given that lack of transportation is one of the recognized structural barriers to preschool attendance (Ansari *et al.,* 2020), the extension of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants may have removed the risk of criminal conviction associated with driving without a license or insurance and, in turn, enabled undocumented immigrants to drive their children to ECE centers themselves (McDonald and Aalborg, 2009).

To gauge if the impact is accompanied by an increase in driving autonomy by the policy's targeted population, we use a variant of equation (1) and estimate the extent to which the policy may have impacted car ownership, the number of owned vehicles, the use of a car to commute to work, and the use of a carpool to commute to work among households with at least one Hispanic likely undocumented immigrant. According to the estimates in Panel A of Table 8, extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants increases car ownership rates. Because car ownership is already high, averaging 90%, the estimated impact of DL laws on car ownership is a modest, albeit statistically significant, increase of less than 1% (=0.008/0.9035). Yet, households with at least one Hispanic likely undocumented member increased the number of vehicles owned by 3.6% (=0.07/1.8663) relative to the mean of 1.86 vehicles before the policy enactment (see Panel B of Table 8). Furthermore, according to the estimates in Panel C of Table 8, the policy raised the likelihood of using a car to commute to work by 1.3% (=0.011/0.8356) relative to the baseline mean of 8.56% among Hispanic likely-undocumented individuals. Finally, the propensity to avoid carpooling among likely undocumented Hispanics driving a car to commute to work

increased by 1.4% relative to the baseline mean of 73.9% (see Panel D in Table 8). Altogether, the results in Table 8 suggest that access to driver's licenses expands the transportation options of households with at least one likely undocumented member by increasing their likelihood of owning a car, the number of vehicles owned, the probability of commuting to work by car, and by decreasing their reliance on carpool when driving to work.

Figure 2 displays the coefficients from corresponding event studies. As shown therein, we find no evidence of statistically significant differential pre-trends for any outcome modeled in Table 8. However, there is a break in the trend leading to a sharp increase in car ownership, the number of cars, and the use of a car to commute to work following the enactment of laws extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants. Finally, the impacts are not short-lived, lasting up to five years after such policy enactment.

6.2 Exploring Alternative Mechanisms and Policy Implications

In addition to increasing the availability and accessibility to a broader set of transportation options, granting access to driver's licenses to likely undocumented immigrants may have expanded their employment opportunities and earnings –factors that may have also helped boost their offspring's attendance to ECE (*e.g.,* Waldfogel, 2002; Morrissey, 2017). Table 9 displays the results of assessing this alternative mechanism. The first three columns focus on likely undocumented fathers with a Hispanic child 3-6 years old, and the next three columns on likely undocumented mothers with a similarly aged Hispanic child.

Based on the estimates therein, the policy appears to raise both paternal and maternal employment by 1% (=0.011/0.905 for men and 0.006/0.471 for women), although the impact is only statistically significant at conventional levels for likely undocumented fathers. The small magnitude of this effect is unsurprising given the already high employment rate among likely

undocumented men, averaging 90%. Importantly, gaining access to driver's licenses increases the number of weekly hours worked by likely undocumented Hispanic fathers by 1% (=0.448/39.852) and by 2% (=0.492/18.946) for likely undocumented mothers, with both impacts being statistically significant at conventional levels. Finally, the policy appears to raise the hourly wages earned by likely undocumented mothers between 2.5% and 2.7% (see Panel C), while those of likely undocumented fathers remain unchanged. The relative gain among mothers, vis-à-vis fathers, may have boosted their bargaining power within the household and given them additional financial resources to allocate towards their children's education (Verriest, 2018).

By enabling migrants to drive, the extension of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants may have also increased their likelihood of registering in English classes and/or expanded their opportunities to interact with native speakers, which may have boosted English proficiency. According to the estimates in Panel D of Table 9, the policy enactment lowers the probability that likely undocumented immigrants report speaking "poor English" by 3% to 4%, an impact similar in size for both likely undocumented fathers and mothers. Parental English proficiency may also incentivize ECE attendance, as it may increase interactions with other parents and awareness of educational opportunities for the children.

Taken together, the estimates in Table 9 suggest that the extension of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants may have boosted parental employment at both the extensive and intensive margins while raising hourly wages among likely undocumented mothers. These impacts may have, in turn, helped boost their offspring's attendance to ECE by increasing financial resources that can be allocated towards their children's early education, as well as maternal bargaining power in the household, which can lead to greater investments in children's early education (Verriest, 2018).

Finally, as shown in the event studies included in Figures 3 and 4, changes in employment, number of hours worked, hourly wages, and English proficiency do not precede the extension of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants; rather, they follow the enactment of such policies, with their impact lasting a few years.

7. Summary and Conclusions

We study how states' extension of driving privileges to undocumented immigrants may not only benefit undocumented migrants but also their offspring. Using data from the *American Community Survey* (ACS) spanning 2005 to 2019 along with a quasi-experimental approach exploiting the staggered adoption of these policies by some states, we find compelling evidence that extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants increases pre-primary education attendance among Hispanic children with likely-undocumented parents by approximately 6%. This increase is particularly pronounced among households with likely-undocumented mothers, who experienced an average increase of 4 percentage points in ECE attendance, compared to a 2-percentage point increase among households with likely-undocumented fathers.

The robustness of our findings is confirmed through various checks, including event studies and alternative proxies for undocumented status, ensuring that the observed effects are not merely correlations but indicative of a causal relationship. The long-lasting nature of these impacts, persisting up to four years post-enactment, underscores the enduring benefits of such policies.

We also explore some of the likely mechanisms through which driving privileges may enhance ECE enrollment. These include increased mobility and autonomy for undocumented parents, which, in addition to enabling parents to drive their children to school, facilitates access to employment opportunities, higher earnings, and social interaction, resulting in improved

English proficiency that can further enhance parents' awareness and utilization of early educational opportunities for their children.

Ultimately, our findings underscore the broader socio-economic benefits of integrating undocumented immigrants into the formal economy through policy measures like granting driving privileges. By lifting mobility constraints, these policies not only enhance the employment prospects and earnings of undocumented immigrants but also significantly improve the educational outcomes and future prospects of their children (Duncan and Magnuson, 2013), contributing to their successful integration into society.

In conclusion, our study provides robust evidence supporting the positive ripple effects of extending driving privileges to undocumented immigrants. Policymakers should consider these broader impacts when designing immigration and transportation policies to foster better integration and socio-economic outcomes for immigrant families.

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Table 1: Summary Statistics, Subsample in Main Analysis

Group:	Treatment states		Control states	
Statistic:	**Mean**	**SE**	**Mean**	**SE**
Panel A: Dependent variables				
Children Attend ECE[a]	0.477	0.499	0.485	0.500
Car ownership[b]	0.945	0.229	0.913	0.283
Number of cars owned[b]	2.256	1.282	1.987	1.178
Drives to work[c]	0.843	0.364	0.836	0.370
Carpools to work[d]	0.760	0.427	0.738	0.440
Maternal Outcomes:[e]				
Employed	0.615	0.487	0.618	0.486
Working hours/week	16.516	19.976	16.327	20.281
Log hourly wage	4.307	0.644	4.249	0.664
Poor English	0.357	0.479	0.359	0.480
Paternal Outcomes:[f]				
Employed	0.654	0.476	0.670	0.470
Working hours/week	17.662	20.294	18.461	20.944
Log hourly wage	4.316	0.623	4.254	0.627
Poor English	0.364	0.481	0.376	0.484
Panel B: Independent variables				
Male (%)	0.507	0.500	0.511	0.500
Age 3 (%)	0.241	0.428	0.245	0.430
Age 4 (%)	0.244	0.430	0.248	0.432
Age 5 (%)	0.253	0.435	0.254	0.435
Age 6 (%)	0.262	0.440	0.252	0.434
Father's education	4.435	2.528	4.638	2.697
Mother's education	4.748	2.548	4.917	2.662
Family size	5.179	1.648	4.952	1.470
Policy exposure:				
Counties with Secure Communities (%)	0.406	0.491	0.355	0.478
State with E-Verify Mandate (%)	0.030	0.170	0.103	0.304
State with Omnibus Immigration Laws (%)	0.030	0.170	0.121	0.326
State with Mandatory kindergarten (%)	0.106	0.308	0.216	0.411

Notes: Variables in Panel A correspond to the dependent variables. Variables in Panel B are the controls. Education is a categorical variable (coded from the following categories; 00 N/A or no schooling; 01 Nursery school to grade 4; 02 Grade 5, 6, 7, or 8; 03 Grade 9; 04 Grade 10; 05 Grade 11; 06 Grade 12; 07 1 year of college; 08 2 years of college; 09 3 years of college; 10 4 years of college; 11 5+ years of college). (a) Universe: Hispanic children aged 3-6 with at least one likely undocumented parent (Refer to Table 2 for sample size. Same universe as Table 2); (b) Universe: Households with at least one likely undocumented immigrant (Refer to Table 8 for sample size. Same universe as Table 8); (c) Universe: Hispanic likely undocumented individuals; (d) Universe: Hispanic likely undocumented individuals who use a car to commute to work; (e)/(f) Universe: Likely undocumented mothers/fathers of Hispanic children of age 3-6.

Table 2: DL Effects on ECE Among Hispanic Children of Age 3-6, DD

Panel A: At least One Likely Undocumented Parent				
Driver License	0.032***	0.028***	0.028***	0.033***
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.012)
Mean Pre-DL	0.479	0.479	0.479	0.479
Observations	135783	100414	100414	100414
Panel B: Likely Undocumented Father				
Driver License	0.028**	0.024*	0.028*	0.023*
	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.012)
Mean Pre-DL	0.472	0.472	0.472	0.472
Observations	82576	71230	71230	71230
Panel C: Likely Undocumented Mother				
Driver License	0.041***	0.037***	0.036***	0.043***
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.014)
Mean Pre-DL	0.476	0.476	0.476	0.476
Observations	84086	68757	68757	68757
Panel D: Both Parents are Likely Undocumented				
Driver License	0.039**	0.027*	0.035*	0.035**
	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.015)
Mean Pre-DL	0.467	0.467	0.467	0.467
Observations	44295	44295	44295	44295
OLS	Y	Y	N	N
Garner	N	N	Y	N
Borusyak	N	N	N	Y
Controls	N	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
State FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
2005-2019	Y	Y	Y	Y
Borjas def	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: All regressions include a constant term. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. ***Significance at the 1% level, **significance at the 5% level, and *significance at the 10% level. Universe Panel A: Hispanic children aged 3-6 with at least one likely undocumented parent. Universe Panel B: Hispanic children aged 3-6 with a likely undocumented father. Universe Panel C: Hispanic children aged 3-6 with a likely undocumented mother. Universe Panel D: Hispanic children aged 3-6 with two likely undocumented parents.

Table 3: Placebo Effects

Panel A: Hispanic Children without any Likely Undocumented Parents			
Driver License	0.009	0.008	0.012
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.008)
Mean Pre-DL	0.543	0.543	0.543
Observations	218452	218452	218452
Panel B: Non-Hispanic White Children with at least One Likely Undocumented Parent			
Driver License	0.001	-0.004	0.004
	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Mean Pre-DL	0.584	0.584	0.584
Observations	27267	24777	24777
Panel C: Non-Hispanic Black Children with at least One Likely Undocumented Parent			
Driver License	0.051	0.062	0.028
	(0.038)	(0.051)	(0.032)
Mean Pre-DL	0.564	0.564	0.564
Observations	10801	7964	9982
Panel D: Non-Hispanic Asian Children with at least One Likely Undocumented Parent			
Driver License	0.023	0.016	0.016
	(0.021)	(0.017)	(0.010)
Mean Pre-DL	0.586	0.586	0.586
Observations	31374	29168	29168
Panel E: Non-Hispanic Children with at least One Likely Undocumented Parent			
Driver License	0.023	0.015	0.015*
	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.008)
Mean Pre-DL	0.580	0.580	0.580
Observations	75519	67201	67201
OLS	Y	N	N
Garner	N	Y	N
Borusyak	N	N	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y
State FE	Y	Y	Y
2005-2019	Y	Y	Y
Borjas def	Y	Y	Y

Notes: All regressions include a constant term. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. ***Significance at the 1% level, **significance at the 5% level, and *significance at the 10% level. Universe Panel A: Hispanic children aged 3-6 without likely undocumented parents. Universe Panel B-C-D-E Children aged 3-6 with at least one likely undocumented parent.

Table 4: Identification Check – Evaluating Confounding Impacts

Panel A – Outcome: Percent Likely Undocumented			
Driver License	-0.0018	-0.0019	-0.0019
	(0.0014)	(0.0013)	(0.0012)
Mean Pre-DL	0.010	0.010	0.010
Observations	720	720	720
Panel B – Outcome: Percent Hispanic			
Driver License	0.0011	0.0011	0.0011
	(0.0017)	(0.0017)	(0.0016)
Mean Pre-DL	0.069	0.069	0.069
Observations	720	720	720
Panel C – Outcome: Percent with More than High School			
Driver License	0.0022	0.0025	0.0025
	(0.0025)	(0.0024)	(0.0021)
Mean Pre-DL	0.387	0.387	0.387
Observations	720	720	720
OLS	Y	N	N
Garner	N	Y	N
Borusyak	N	N	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y
State FE	Y	Y	Y
2005-2019	Y	Y	Y
Borjas def	Y	Y	Y

Notes: All regressions include a constant term. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. ***Significance at the 1% level, **significance at the 5% level, and *significance at the 10% level. Each observation corresponds to a state-year

Table 5: Robustness Check #1 – Triple Difference Estimates

Panel A: At Least One Likely Undocumented Parent			
Driver*Undocumented	0.021**	0.021**	0.022**
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Mean Pre-DL	0.479	0.479	0.479
Observations	354235	354235	354235
Panel B: Likely Undocumented Father			
Driver*Undocumented	0.009	0.008	0.01
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Mean Pre-DL	0.472	0.472	0.472
Observations	354235	354235	354235
Panel C: Likely Undocumented Mother			
Driver*Undocumented	0.027**	0.027**	0.029**
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.010)
Mean Pre-DL	0.476	0.476	0.476
Observations	354235	354235	354235
Panel D: Both Parents are Likely Undocumented			
Driver*Undocumented	0.026*	0.039**	0.028**
	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.015)
Mean Pre-DL	0.467	0.467	0.467
Observations	262747	262747	262747
OLS	Y	N	N
Garner	N	Y	N
Borusyak	N	N	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y
State FE	Y	Y	Y
2005-2019	Y	Y	Y
Borjas def	Y	Y	Y

Notes: All regressions include a constant term. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. ***Significance at the 1% level, **significance at the 5% level, and *significance at the 10% level. Universe is composed of Hispanic children of age 3-6. The treated and control groups are defined as follows for each panel: Panel A: The treatment group is Hispanic children aged 3-6 with at least one likely undocumented parent. The control group is other Hispanic children of age 3-6. Panel B: The treatment group is Hispanic children of age 3-6 with likely undocumented fathers. The control group is other Hispanic children aged 3-6 without a likely undocumented father (including those with and without a likely undocumented mother). Panel C: The treatment group is Hispanic children of age 3-6 with likely undocumented mothers. The control group is other Hispanic children aged 3-6 without a likely undocumented mother (including those with and without a likely undocumented father). Panel D: The treatment group is Hispanic children of age 3-6 with both likely undocumented parents. The control group is other Hispanic children aged 3-6 without both likely undocumented parents (including those with and without any likely undocumented parent.

Table 6: Robustness Check #2 – Using Alternative Definition of Undocumented Immigrants

Panel A: At Least One Likely Undocumented Parent			
Driver License	0.041**	0.04***	0.045***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Mean Pre-DL	0.470	0.470	0.470
Observations	70,742	70,742	70,742
Panel B: Likely Undocumented Father			
Driver License	0.033*	0.032*	0.033*
	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.019)
Mean Pre-DL	0.463	0.463	0.463
Observations	41634	41634	41634
Panel C: Likely Undocumented Mother			
Driver License	0.039***	0.039***	0.042***
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.018)
Mean Pre-DL	0.463	0.463	0.463
Observations	38437	38437	38437
Panel D: Both Parents are Likely Undocumented			
Driver License	0.031*	0.032*	0.031**
	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.018)
Mean Pre-DL	0.457	0.457	0.457
Observations	34823	34823	34823
OLS	Y	N	N
Garner	N	Y	N
Borusyak	N	N	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y
State FE	Y	Y	Y
2005-2019	Y	Y	Y
Borjas def	Y	Y	Y

Notes: All regressions include a constant term. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. ***Significance at the 1% level, **significance at the 5% level, and *significance at the 10% level. Universe Panel A: Hispanic children aged 3-6 with at least one likely undocumented parent. Universe Panel B: Hispanic children aged 3-6 with a likely undocumented father. Universe Panel C: Hispanic children aged 3-6 with a likely undocumented mother. Universe Panel D: Hispanic children aged 3-6 with two likely undocumented parents.

Table 7: Robustness Check #3 – Policy Awareness through Google Searchers

Panel A – Outcome: Google Searches of "Driver+License+Immigrants"					
Driver License	2.469*	26.486+	1.894		
	(0.996)	(15.243)	(1.405)		
Driver License*Hispanic Share				0.058	1.713*
				(0.077)	(0.848)
Mean Pre-DL	79.28	79.28	79.28	79.28	79.28
Observations	867	867	867	867	867
Panel B – Outcome: Google Searches of "Requirements+Driver+License"					
Driver License	3.513**	32.732+	2.362*		
	(1.136)	(17.043)	(1.134)		
				0.081	2.038*
				(0.066)	(0.864)
Mean Pre-DL	81.69	81.69	81.69	81.69	81.69
Observations	867	867	867	867	867
OLS	Y	N	N	Y	N
Garner	N	Y	N	N	Y
Borusyak	N	N	Y	N	N
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
State FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2005-2019	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: All regressions include a constant term. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. ***Significance at the 1% level, **significance at the 5% level, and *significance at the 10% level.

Table 8: Mechanisms #1: Changes in Driving Patterns

Panel A – Outcome: Car Ownership				
Driver License	0.00863*	0.00911*	0.00913*	0.0095**
	(0.0047)	(0.0048)	(0.0050)	(0.0039)
Mean Pre-DL	0.9035	0.9035	0.9035	0.9035
Observations	434,043	434,043	434,043	434,043
Panel B - Outcome: Number of Cars				
Driver License	0.0735*	0.0697*	0.0683*	0.0763**
	(0.0382)	(0.0353)	(0.0371)	(0.0347)
Mean Pre-DL	1.8663	1.8663	1.8663	1.8663
Observations	434,043	434,043	434,043	434,043
Panel C – Outcome: Use Car to Commute to Work				
Driver License	0.0111**	0.0112***	0.0119***	0.0113***
	(0.0046)	(0.0043)	(0.0045)	(0.0032)
Mean Pre-DL	0.8356	0.8356	0.8356	0.8356
Observations	754,902	754,902	754,902	754,902
Panel D – Outcome: No Carpool to Work, Conditional on Using a Car to Go to Work				
Driver License	0.0110**	0.0137***	0.0138***	0.0148***
	(0.0047)	(0.0040)	(0.0040)	(0.0048)
Mean Pre-DL	0.7392	0.7392	0.7392	0.7392
Observations	633,418	633,418	633,418	633,418
OLS	Y	Y	N	N
Garner	N	N	Y	N
Borusyak	N	N	N	Y
Controls	N	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
State FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
2005-2019	Y	Y	Y	Y
Borjas def	Y	Y	Y	Y

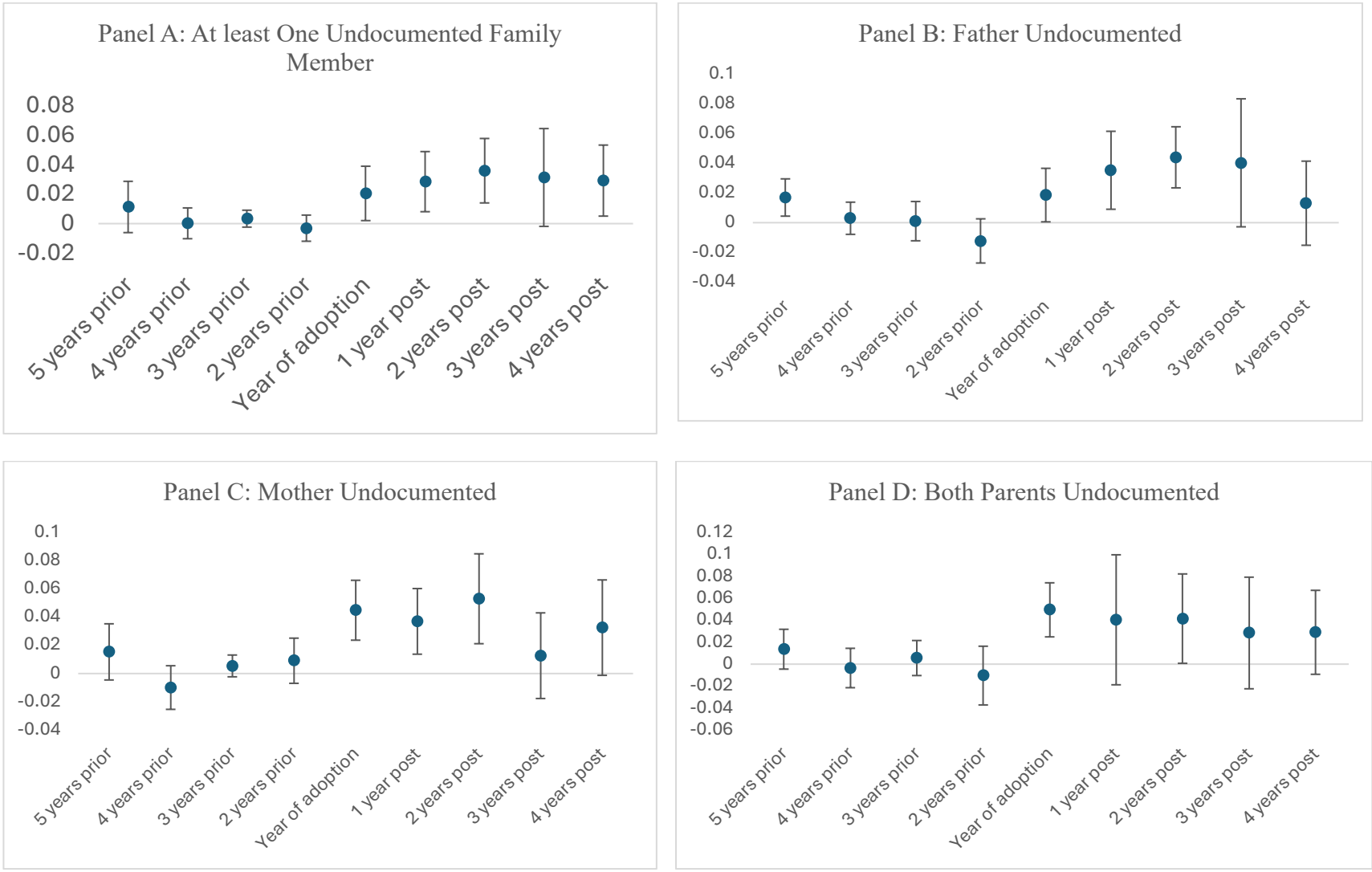
Notes: All regressions include a constant term. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. ***Significance at the 1% level, **significance at the 5% level, and *significance at the 10% level. Universe Panel A-B: Households with at least one likely undocumented immigrant. Universe Panel C: Likely undocumented Hispanics. Universe Panel D: Likely undocumented Hispanics who use a car to commute to work.

Table 9: Mechanisms #2: Complementary Impacts on Parental Labor Supply and Integration

Panel A – Outcome: Employed						
Parent:		**Father**			**Mother**	
Driver License	0.011**	0.011**	0.011***	0.006	0.008	0.01
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Mean Pre-DL	0.095	0.905	0.905	0.471	0.471	0.471
Observations	253023	253023	253023	250201	250201	250201
Panel B – Outcome: Hours Worked per Week						
Parent:		**Father**			**Mother**	
Driver License	0.448*	0.459*	0.474**	0.492*	0.462*	0.558**
	(0.233)	(0.236)	(0.235)	(0.254)	(0.272)	(0.257)
Mean Pre-DL	39.852	39.852	39.852	18.946	18.946	18.946
Observations	253043	253043	253043	250214	250214	250214
Panel C – Outcome: Ln Hourly Wage						
Parent:		**Father**			**Mother**	
Driver License	-0.007	-0.008	-0.01	0.027*	0.025	0.025*
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.014)
Mean Pre-DL	4.382	4.382	4.382	4.105	4.105	4.105
Observations	221018	221018	221018	120057	120057	120056
Panel D – Outcome: Speaks Poor English						
Parent:		**Father**			**Mother**	
Driver License	-0.022***	-0.021**	-0.019**	-0.023**	-0.023**	-0.023**
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Mean Pre-DL	0.525	0.525	0.525	0.652	0.652	0.652
Observations	253043	253043	253043	250214	250214	250214
OLS	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Garner	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Borusyak	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
State FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2005-2019	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Borjas def	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

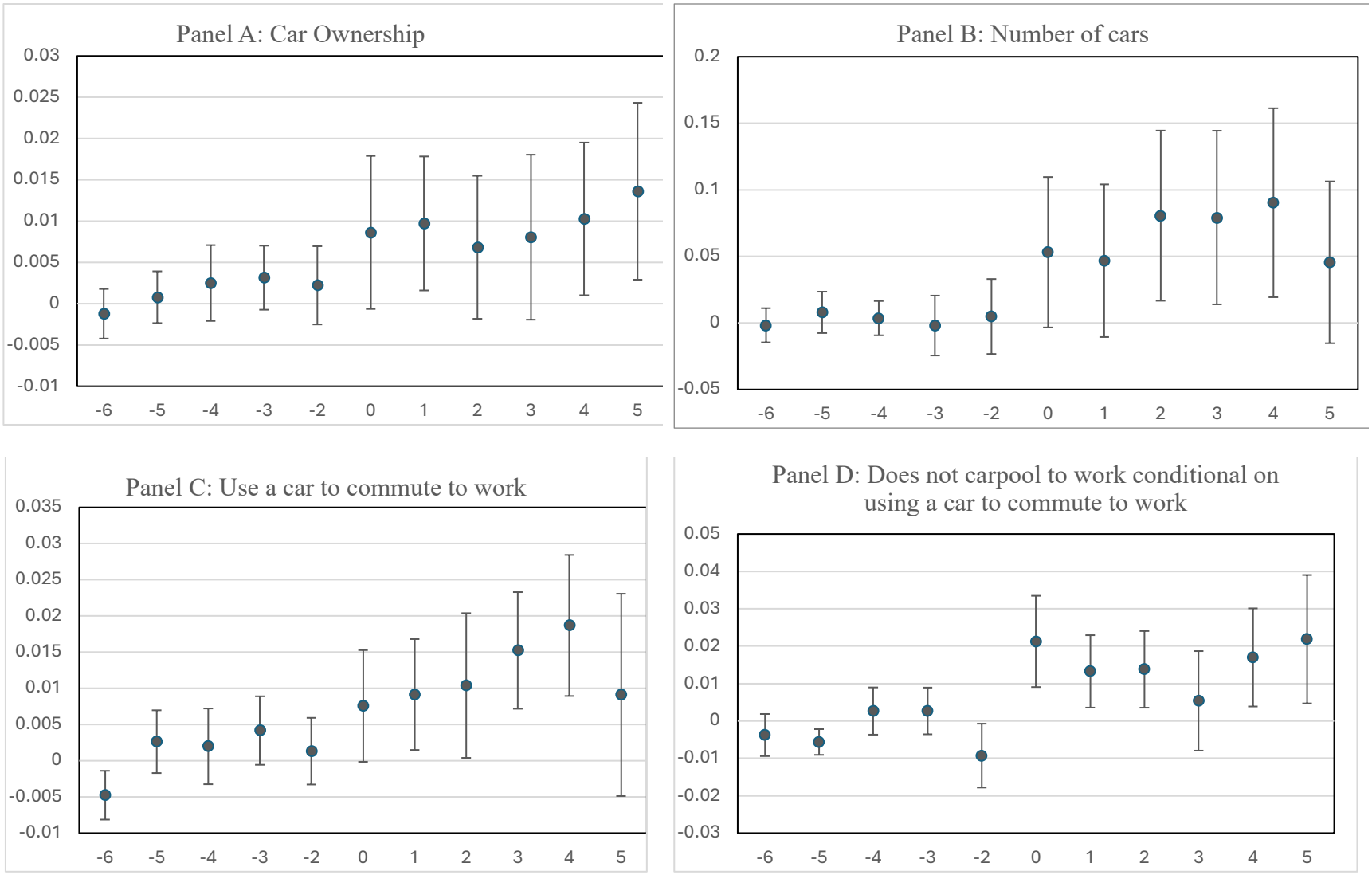
Notes: All regressions include a constant term. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. ***Significance at the 1% level, **significance at the 5% level, and *significance at the 10% level. Universe columns 1-2-3: Likely undocumented fathers of Hispanic children of age 3-6. Universe columns 4-5-6: Likely undocumented mothers of Hispanic children of age 3-6. Poor English indicates the percentage of individuals that claimed to speak no English or speak English but not well from a total of six categories (0 N/A or blank; 1 Does not speak English; 2 Yes, speaks English; 3 Yes, speaks only English; 4 Yes, speaks very well; 5 Yes, speaks well; 6 Yes, but not well).

Figure 1: Event Studies, DL Effect on ECE of Hispanic Children of Age 3-6 with Likely Undocumented Parents



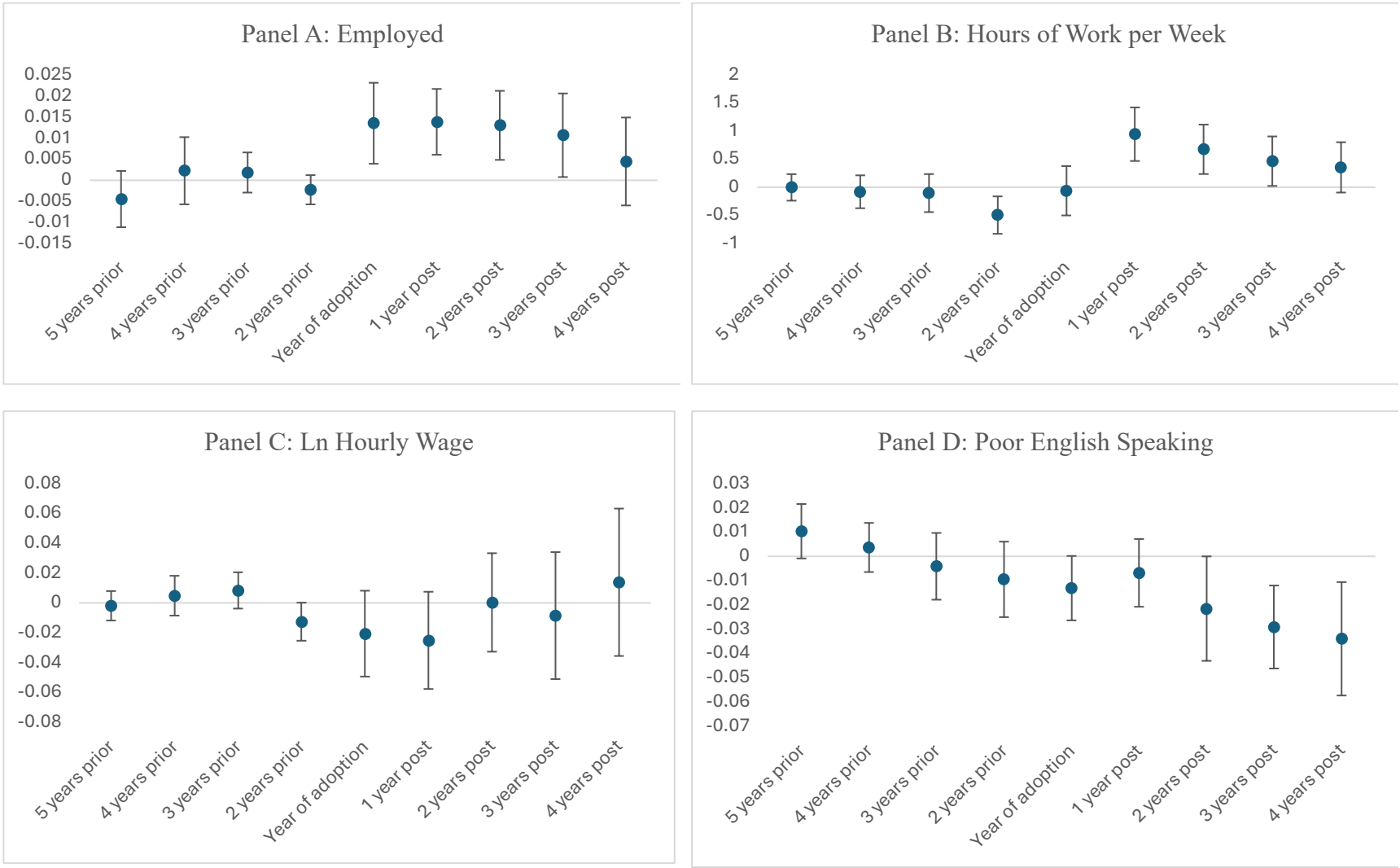
Note: Universe as in Table 2.

Figure 2: Event Studies Documenting Driving Patterns in Household with At Least One Hispanic Likely Undocumented Member



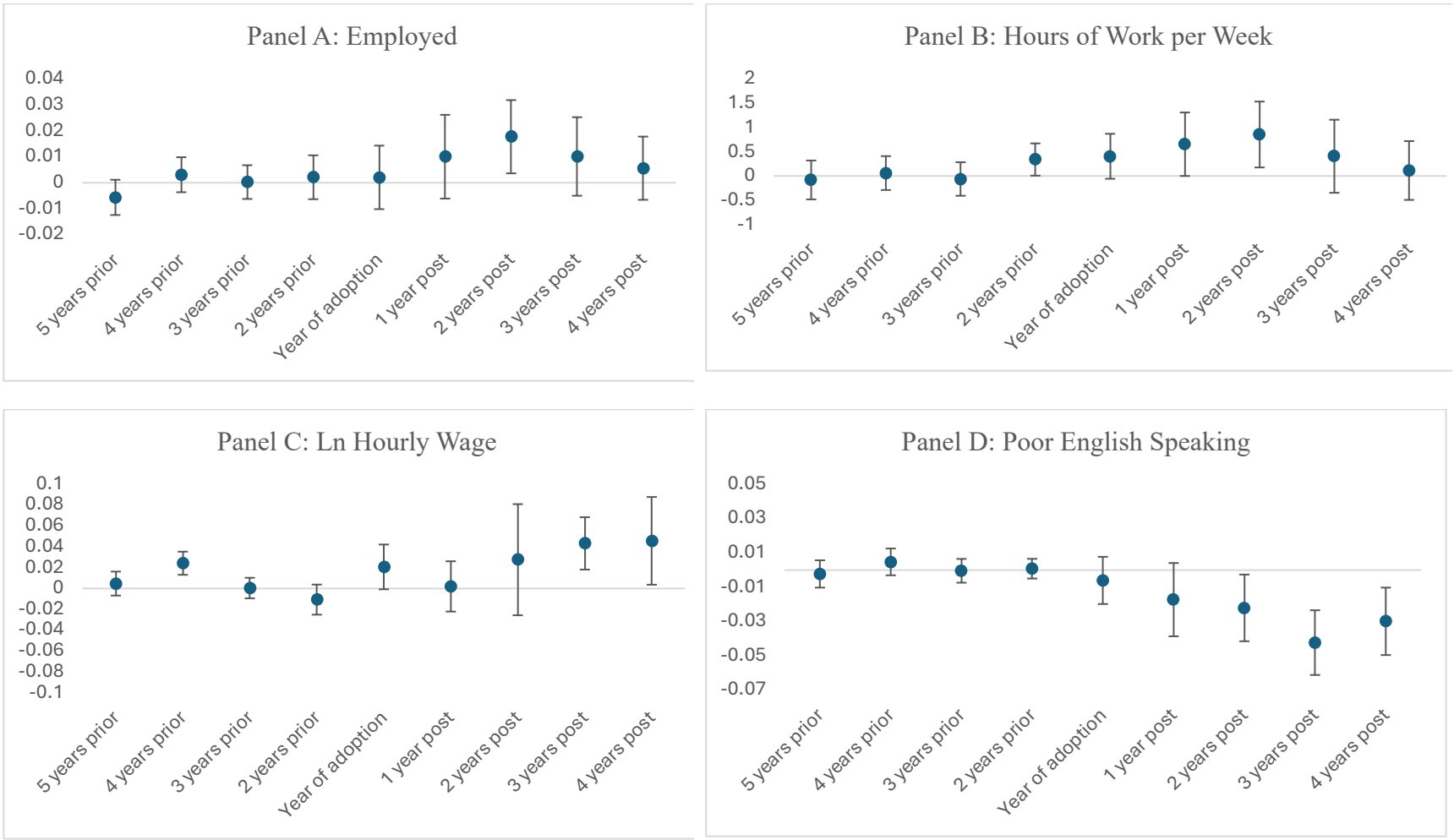
Notes: Universe as in Table 8.

Figure 3: Event Studies Documenting Labor Market Outcomes and English Fluency of Likely Undocumented Fathers



Notes: Universe as in Table 9.

Figure 4: Event Studies Documenting Labor Market Outcomes and English Fluency of Likely Undocumented Mothers



Notes: Universe as in Table 9.

Table A: Dates of Implementation

State	Bill	Year Enacted	Effective Date
California	A 60	2013	Jan. 1, 2015
Colorado	S 251	2013	Aug. 1, 2014
Connecticut	H 6495	2013	Jan. 1, 2015
Delaware	S 59	2015	Dec. 27, 2015
Hawaii	H 1007	2015	Jan. 1, 2016
Illinois	S 957	2012	Nov. 28, 2013
Maryland	S 715	2013	Jan. 1, 2014
New Jersey	A4743	2019	Jun. 1, 2000
New Mexico	H 173	2003	Jan. 1, 2003
New York	A3675	2019	Dec. 14, 2019
Nevada	S 303	2013	Jan. 1, 2014
Oregon	H2015	2019	Aug. 9, 2019
Rhode Island	S 2006/ H 7939	2022	Jul. 1, 2023
Utah	S 227	2005	Mar. 8, 2005
Vermont	S 38	2013	Jan. 1, 2014
Virginia	HB 1211/SB 34	2020	Jan. 1, 2021
District of Columbia	B275	2013	May 1, 2014
Washington	H 1444	1993	Jul. 25, 1993

Source: National Conference of State Legislatures. States Offering Driver's Licenses to Immigrants. https://www.ncsl.org/immigration/states-offering-drivers-licenses-to-immigrants.