

# Germany's 9-Euro-Ticket: Lasting Effects of a Temporary Price Shock?

MPhil Economics Thesis  
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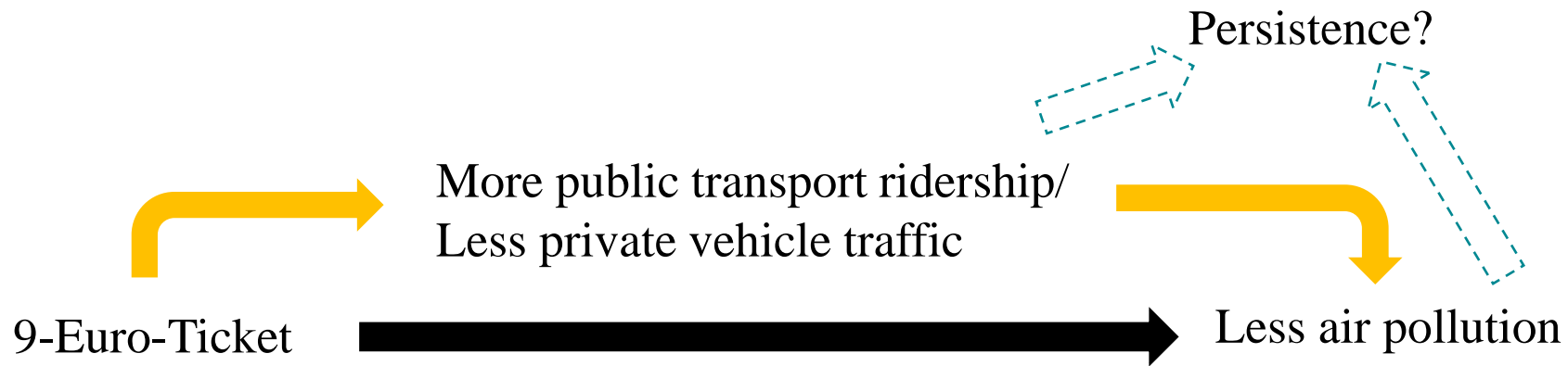
# Road Map (pun intended?)

- What is the 9-Euro-Ticket?
- Why should we care?
- What am I trying to do:
- What related research is out there?
- How am I doing it?
- What are my results?



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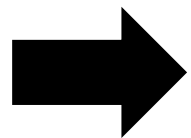
# Short Preview of Results



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# Background: 9-Euro-Ticket

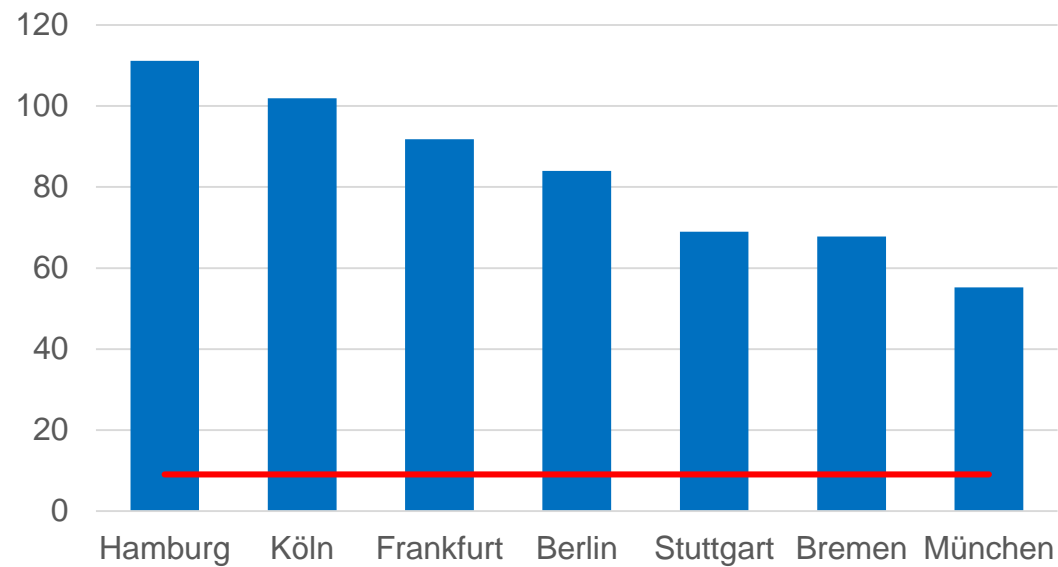
- 9 Euro monthly travel pass for June, July, August
- Valid on public transport **throughout** Germany
  - Basically everything except long-distance trains



**Cheap and simple**



2020 price for a regular monthly pass, €



Source: Infrastrukturatlas 2020, Heinrich Böll Stiftung  
<https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/2020-11/Infrastrukturatlas%202020.pdf>

Verkehrs- und Tarifverbünde in Deutschland



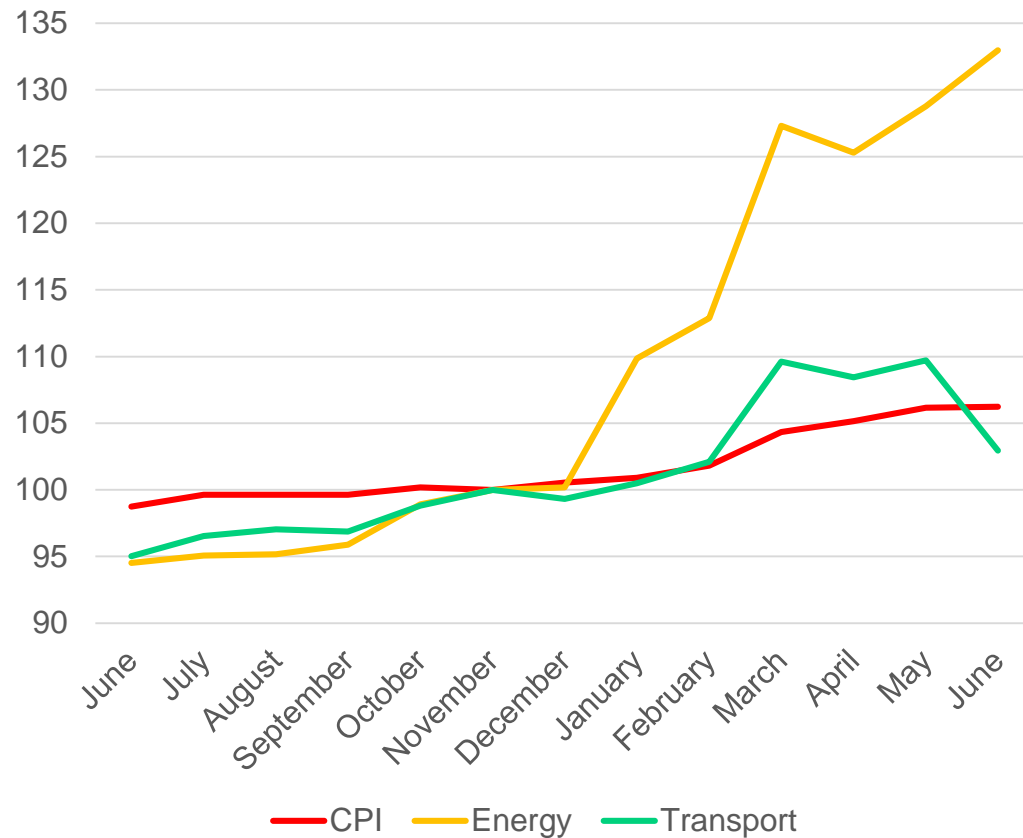
**Legende**

	Yellow	Grey	Light Blue	White	Green	Light Green	Dark Green	Light Yellow
SPNV-Integration	✓	✗	✗		fremder Verbund	fremder Verbund	✓	✗
StPNV-Tarif	✓	✓	✗	verbund-freies Gebiet	✓	✗	✓	✗
StPNV-Koordination	✓	✓	✓		✓	✗	fremder Verbund	fremder Verbund

Ausgewählte Gebiete mit Übergangstarifen oder gemischten Zuständigkeiten sind durch gestrichelte Linien abgegrenzt.

# Background: 9-Euro-Ticket

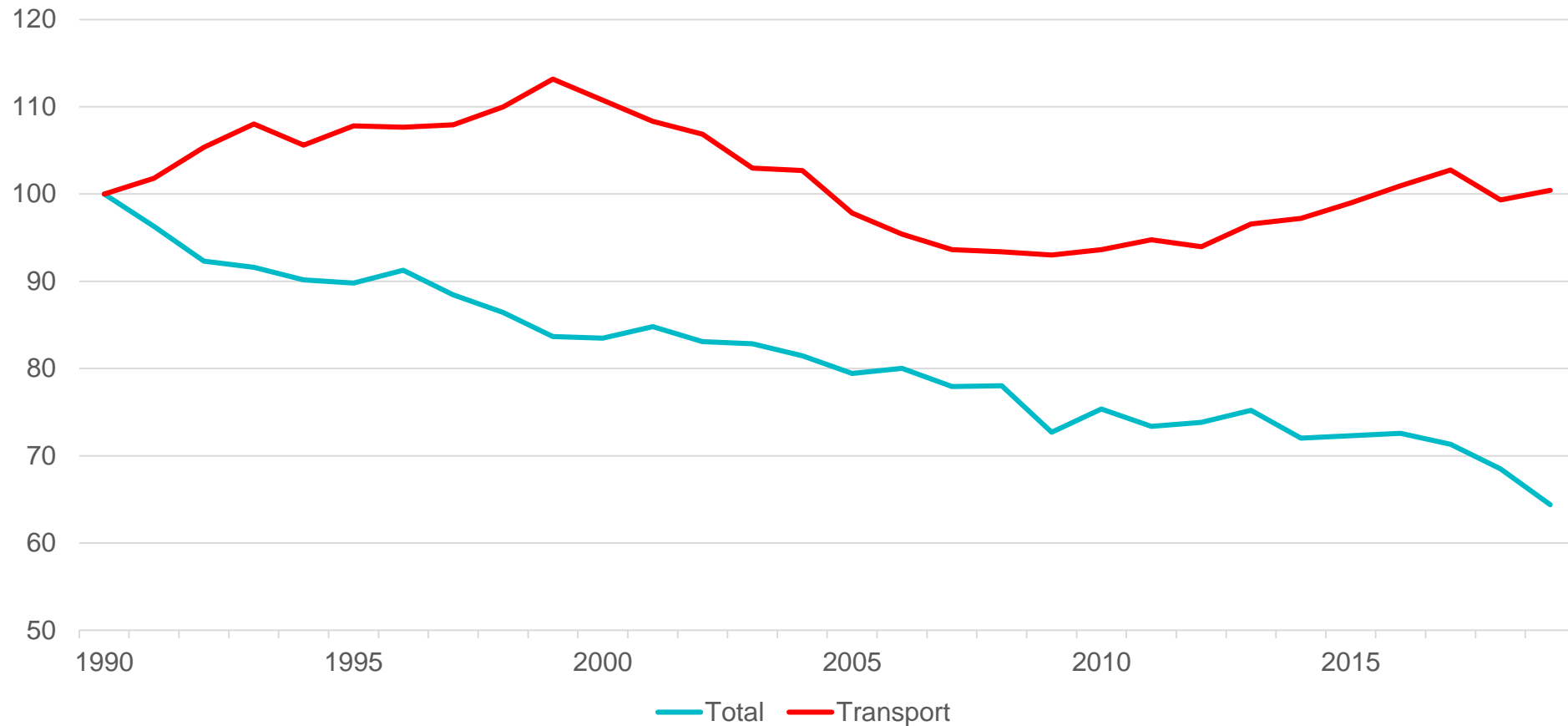
German CPI: June 2021 – June 2022  
(November 2021 = 100)



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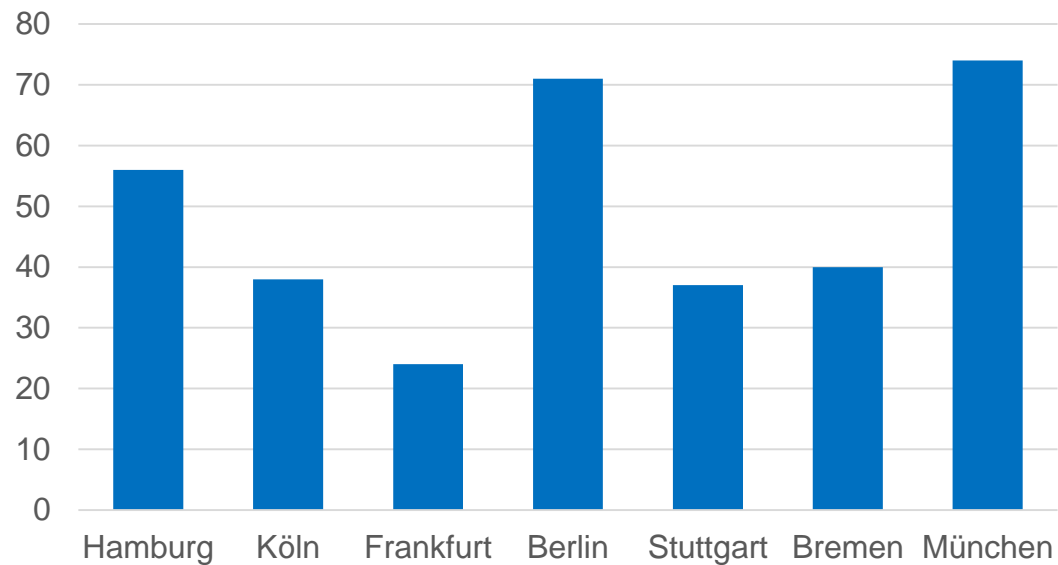
# So what? Why should we care?

German GHG emissions 1990 - 2019, percentage of 1990 emissions



# Why should we care?

Avg time (hours) lost in traffic, 2022



Source: Inrix 2022 Global Traffic Scorecard  
<https://inrix.com/scorecard/#city-ranking-list>

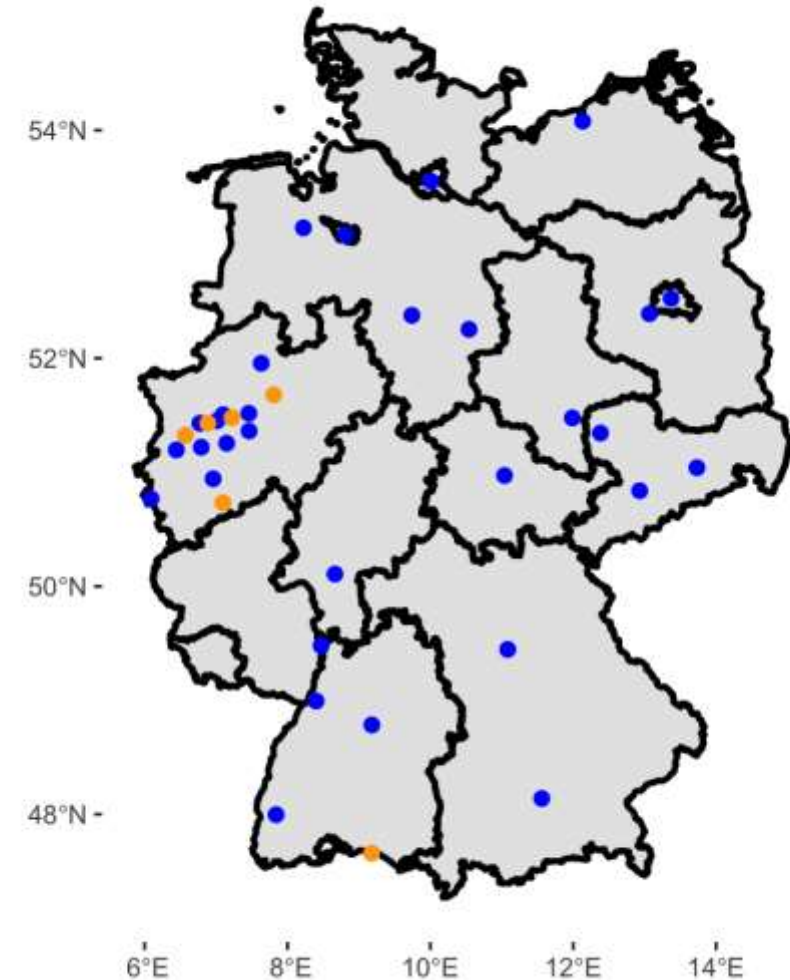
A screenshot of a tweet from the World Health Organization (@WHO). The tweet text reads: "Shocking! 99% - or almost the entire world's population breathes air with unhealthy levels of fine particulate matter & nitrogen dioxide, and threatens their health. More: [bit.ly/3uW6wfC](https://bit.ly/3uW6wfC)". Below the text is a graphic with the title "Nitrogen dioxide pollution from traffic, power plants, industry or agriculture" and a sub-headline "can aggravate respiratory diseases, particularly asthma". The graphic features illustrations of a bus, a car, and a factory. To the right, it says "Well planned public transport, along with safe walking and cycling can:" followed by a list: "• improve air quality", "• mitigate climate change", and "• improve physical activity". The WHO logo and the hashtag #HealthierTomorrow are at the bottom of the graphic. The tweet is dated "1:11 PM · Apr 4, 2022".



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# What am I studying?

- Travel behaviour – price incentives
- Travel behaviour (commute) – habits/persistence
  - Is price shock enough to change habits?
  - Does ‘regular’ behaviour resume after prices return to normal?
- **Effects on air pollution**
- **31 German cities (plus 6 without air pollution data)**



# What are others saying?

- O'Sullivan (2012), simple model for mode choice:

Travellers choose mode to minimise:

$$C = m + (T_a * d_a) + (T_v * d_v)$$

- $m$ : monetary cost;  $T_a$ : access time;  $d_a$ : marginal disutility of access time;  $T_v$ : in-vehicle time;  $d_v$ : marginal disutility of in-vehicle time.
- Goodwin (1977): Habit and Hysteresis in Mode Choice
  - Commuters don't engage in optimisation every day, likely only prompted by larger shocks
- Larcem, Rauch, Willems (2017): London Tube Strike
  - 'Forced experimentation' is welfare enhancing because commuters re-optimize

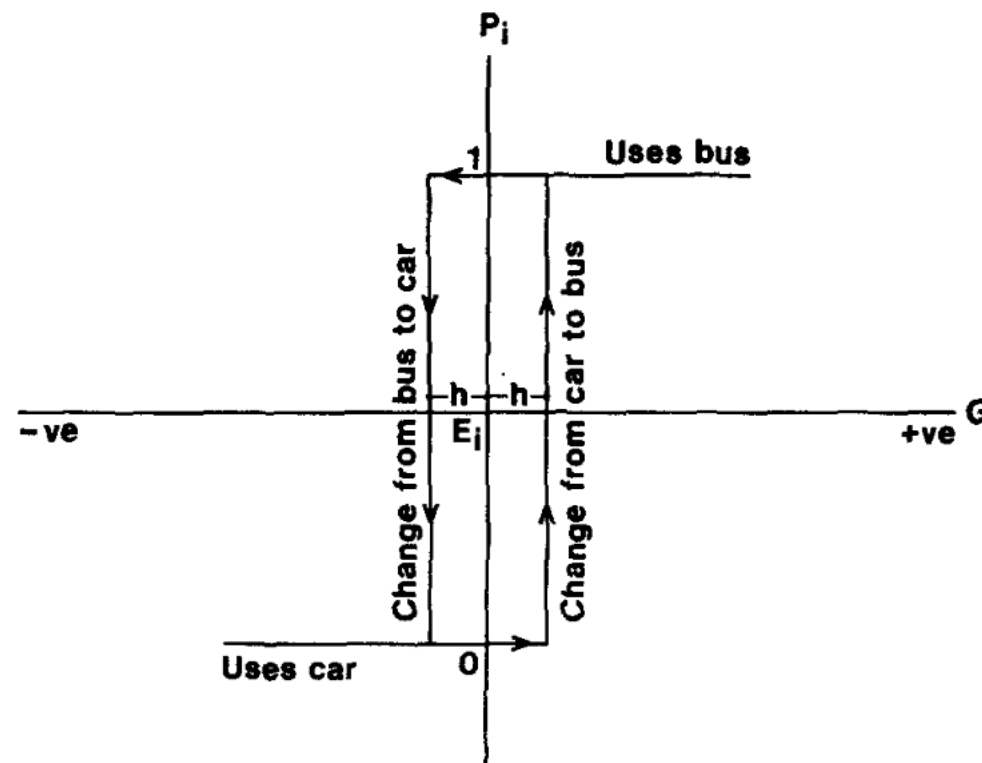


Fig. 3. Mode choice for the individual, incorporating habit.

# What are others saying?



Sendung verpasst? ▶



Mehr Verkehr

## Kein Klimaschutz durch 9-Euro-Ticket?

Stand: 08.08.2022 09:07 Uhr

Ersten wissenschaftlichen Auswertungen zufolge führt das 9-Euro-Ticket nicht dazu, dass viele Menschen ihr Auto stehen lassen. Eine positive Klimaschutzwirkung ist damit eher unwahrscheinlich.

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Germany

• This article is more than 4 months old

## Germany's €9 train tickets scheme 'saved 1.8m tons of CO2 emissions'

A fifth of the 52m tickets sold were bought by people who did not ordinarily use public transport

## Germany's 9-euro ticket "as impactful as Covid" on passenger numbers

Limited long-term effect if campaign not extended.

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# What are others saying?

“Using DiD estimation strategies on air pollutant data, we show that this intervention causally reduced a benchmark air pollution index by more than six percent.”

CEPA DP No. 50

AUGUST 2022

Ticket to Paradise? The Effect of a Public Transport Subsidy on Air Quality

Niklas Gohl  
Philipp Schrauth

$$\log(\text{Pollution}_{it}) = \alpha_i + \beta_1 \text{June} + \beta_2 \text{2022} + \beta_3 \text{June} * \text{2022} + \beta_4 \mathbf{X}_{it}$$

$\mathbf{X}_{it}$ : Covariates including weather, fuel prices, holidays

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# My aims

- 1) Replicate Gohl and Schrauth (2022)
- 2) Extend their model: Persistence of effects?
- 3) Investigate direct link to reduced car traffic  
and increased public transport usage



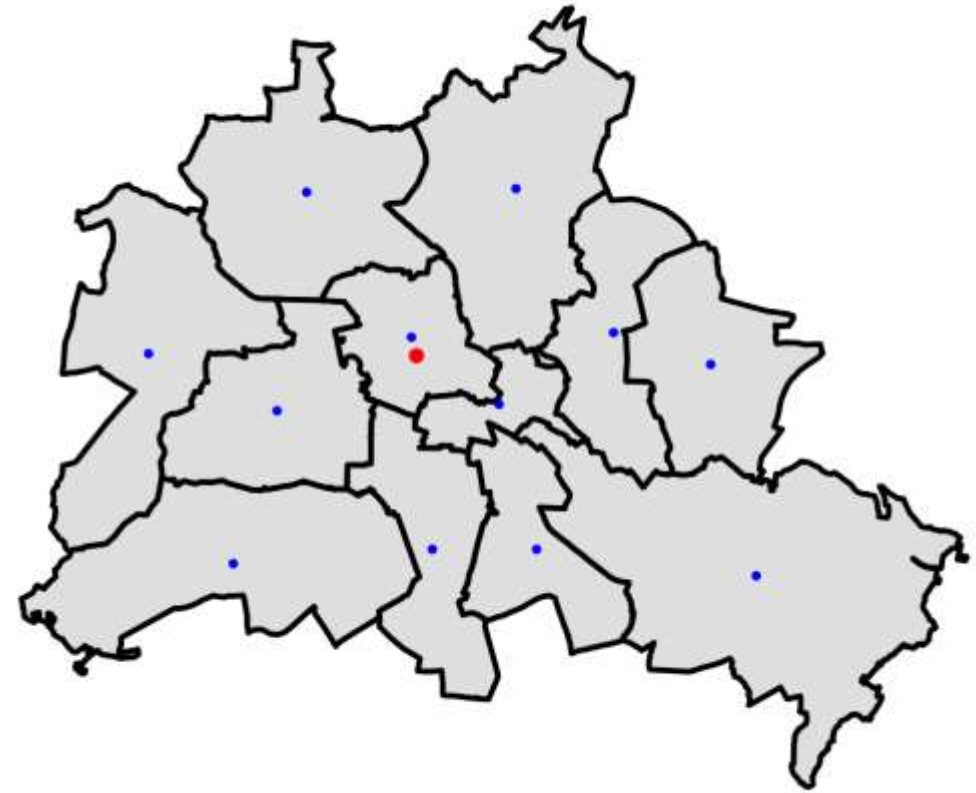
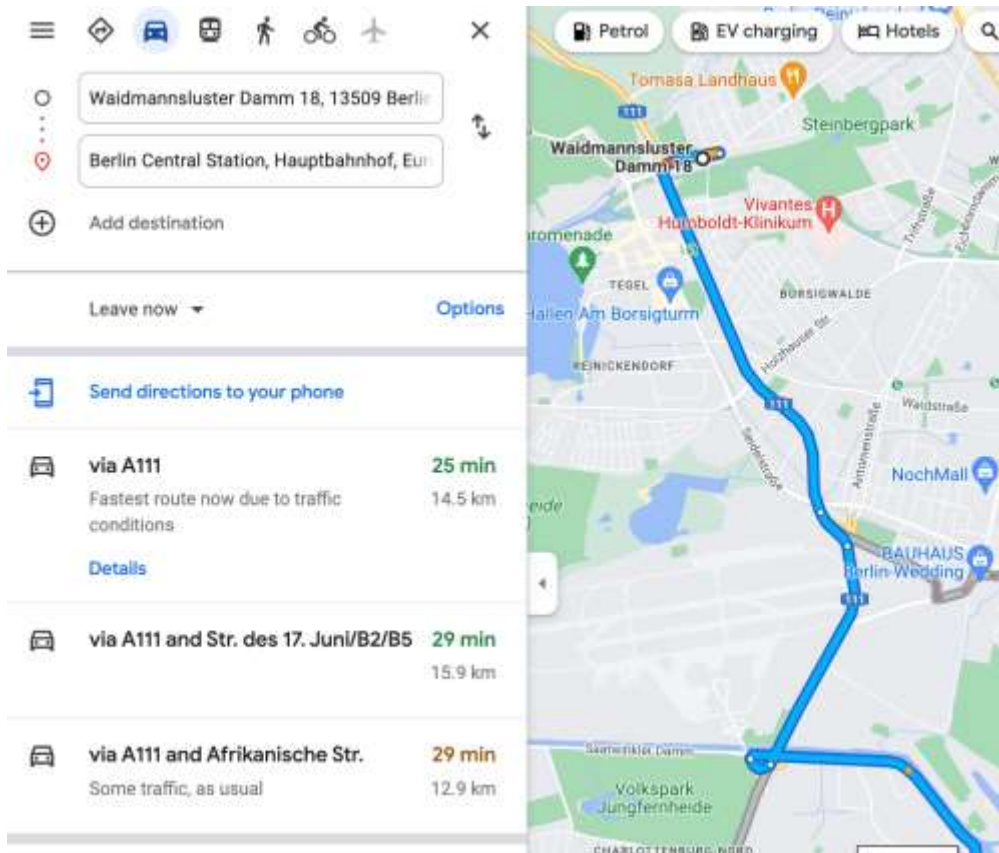
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# Data, data, data

For my 30+ German cities I collect data on:

- Air pollution:  $PM_{10}$ ,  $NO_2$ , Air Quality Index (AQI)
    - AQI contains  $PM_{10}$ ,  $NO_2$ ,  $O_3$
  - Fuel prices: petrol and diesel
  - Weather: temperature, wind, precipitation
  - Traffic: Google Maps peak-hour travel time
  - Public transport: **limited** data on ridership
-

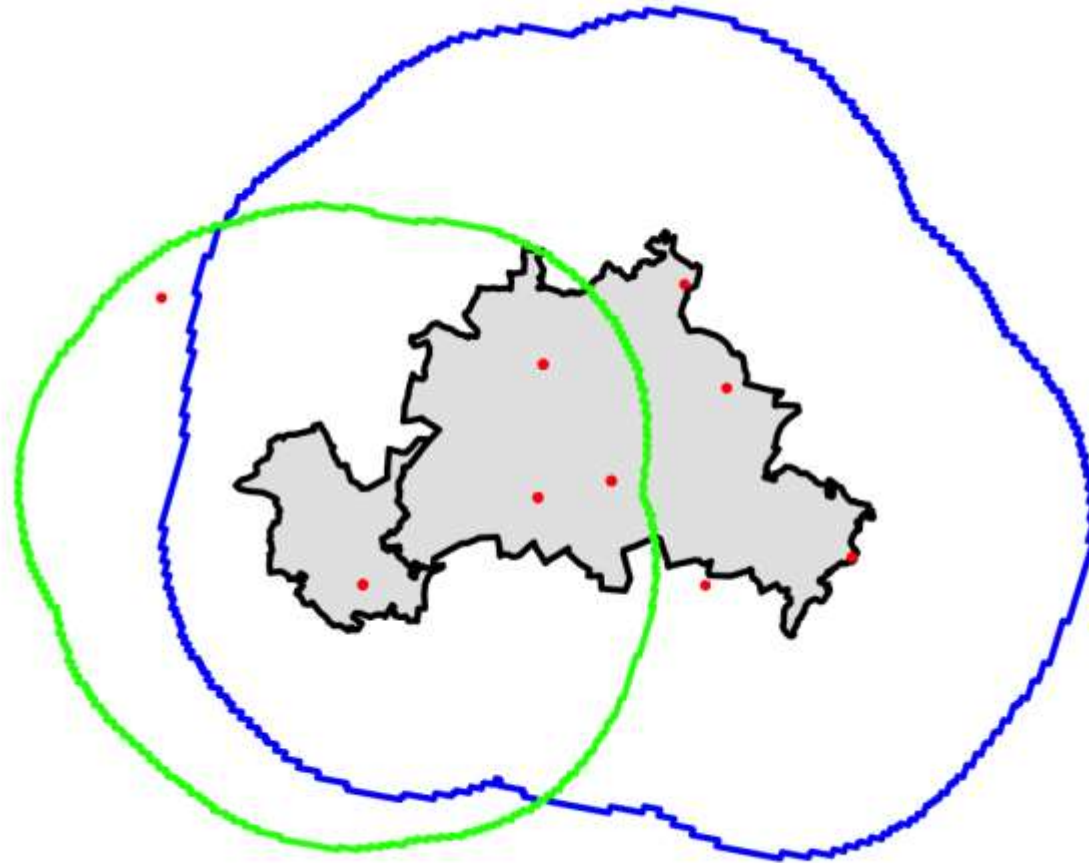
# Google Maps



Added traffic time =  
Real travel time at 8am - GMaps baseline time

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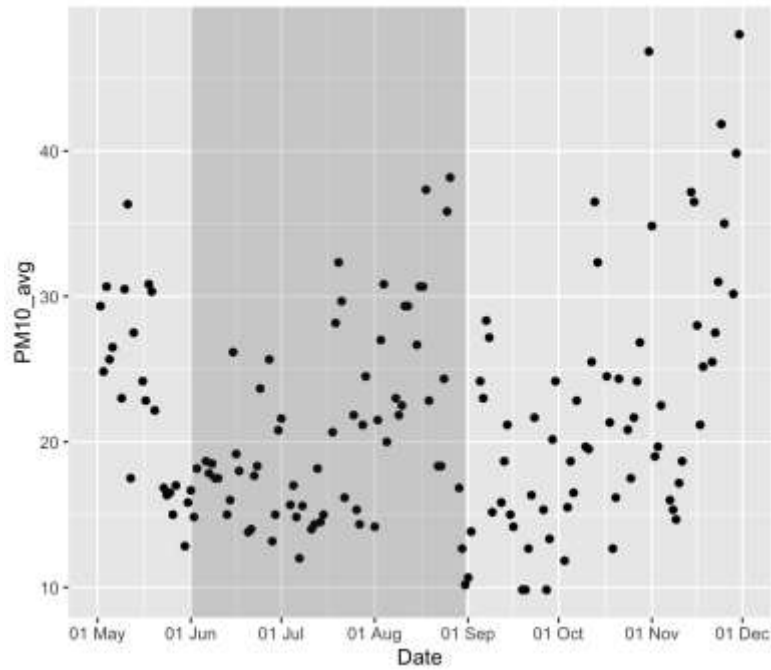
# Air Pollution, Fuel, Weather



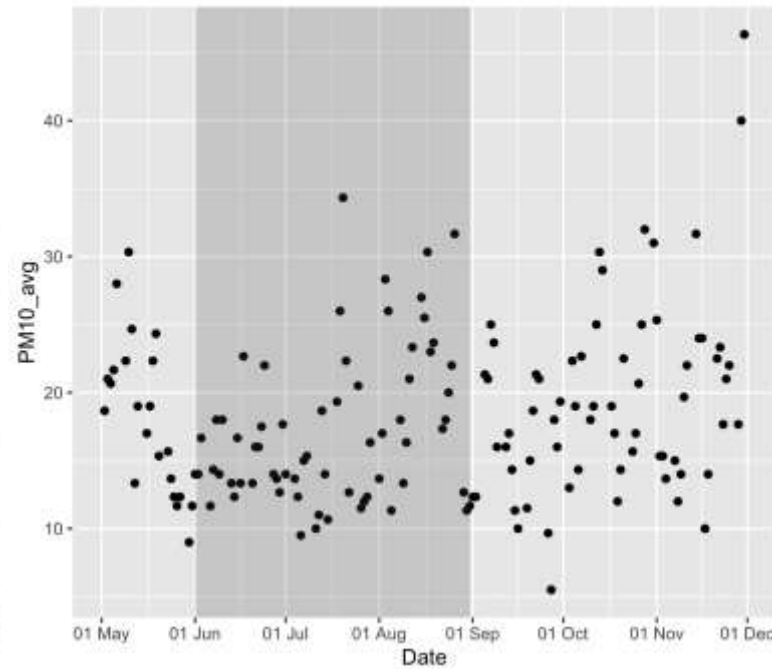


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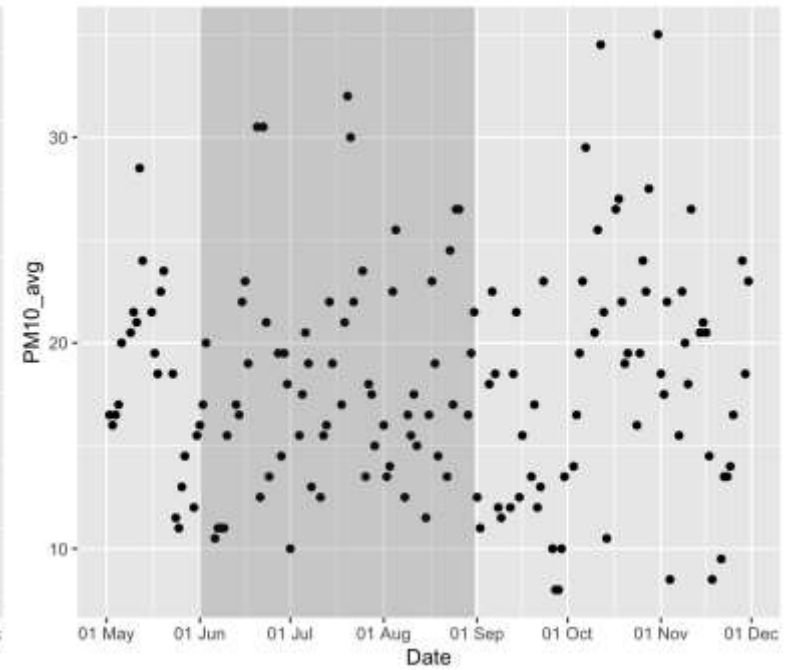
# Stylised Facts – Pollution from Traffic



**Berlin**



**Hamburg**

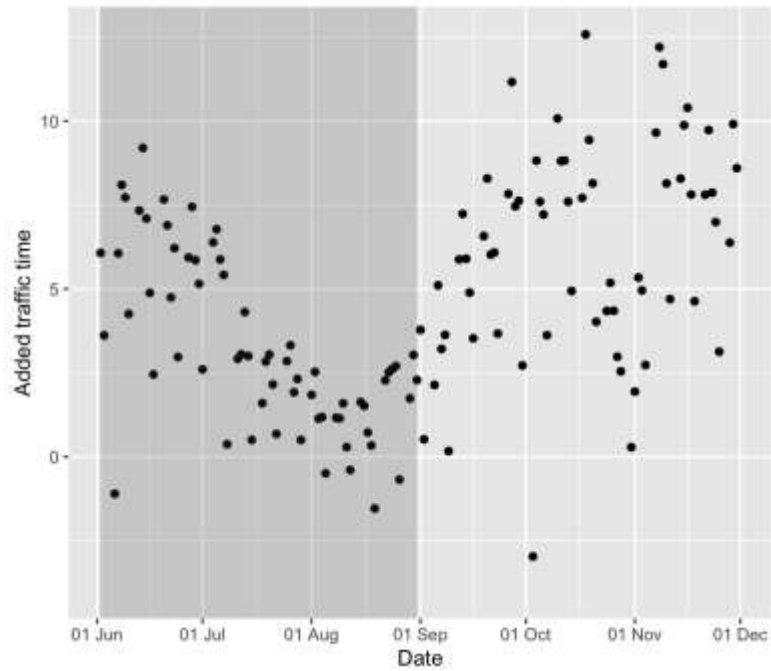


**Munich**

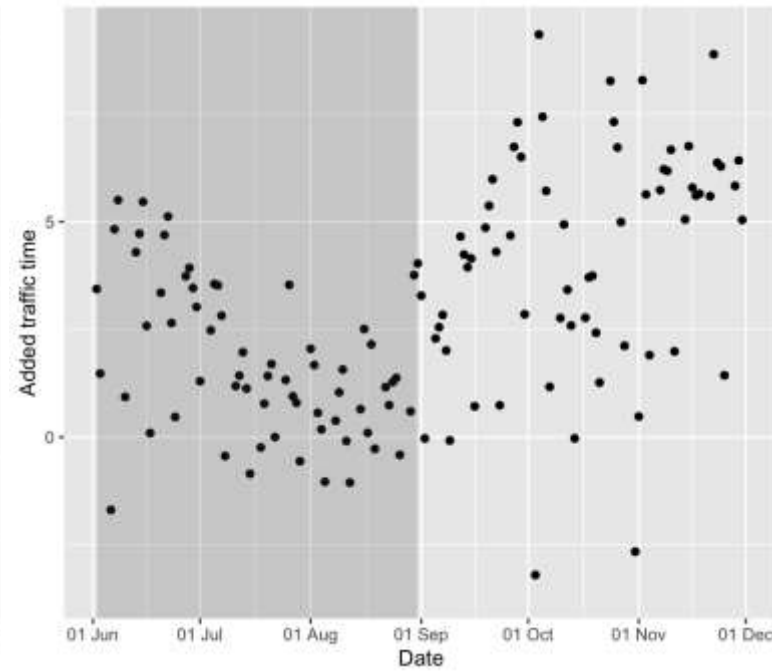
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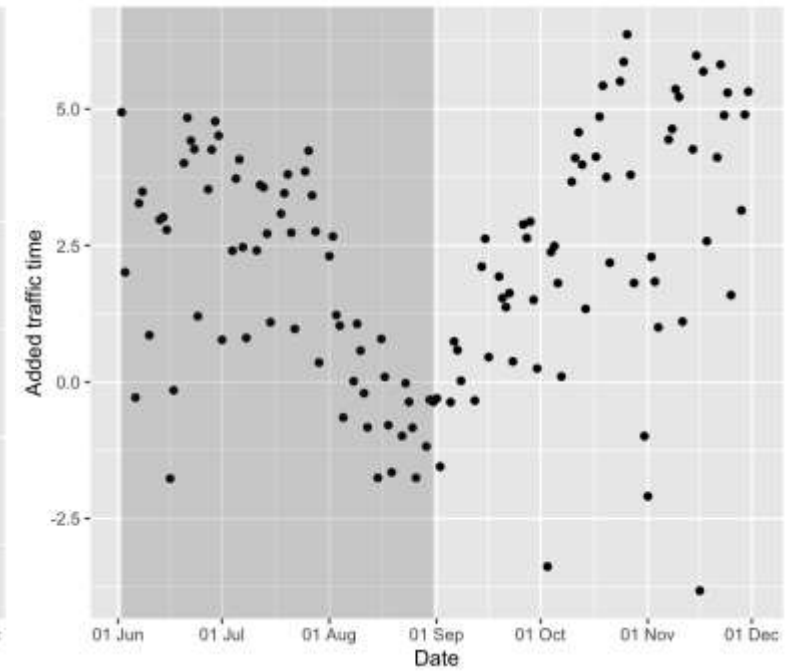
# Stylised Facts - Traffic



**Berlin**



**Hamburg**

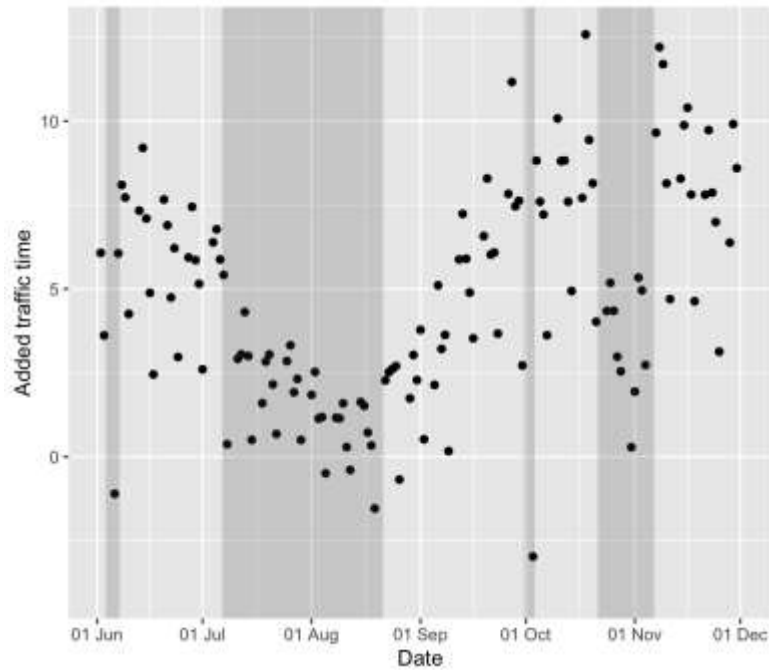


**Munich**

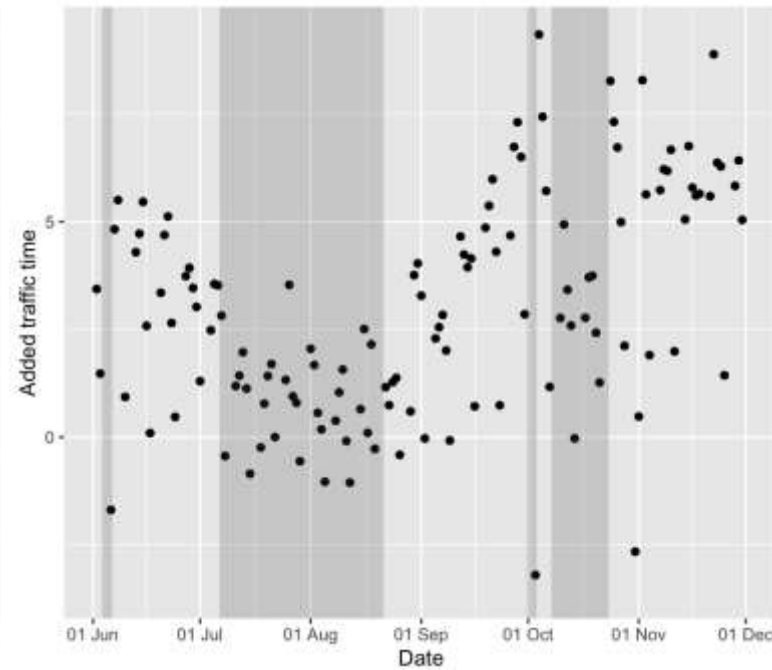
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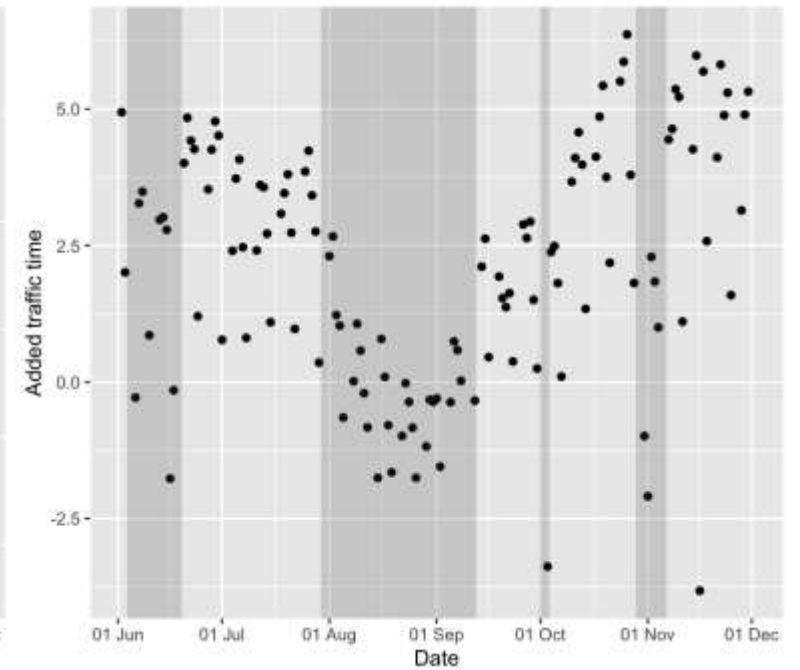
# Stylised Facts – Traffic (2)



**Berlin**



**Hamburg**



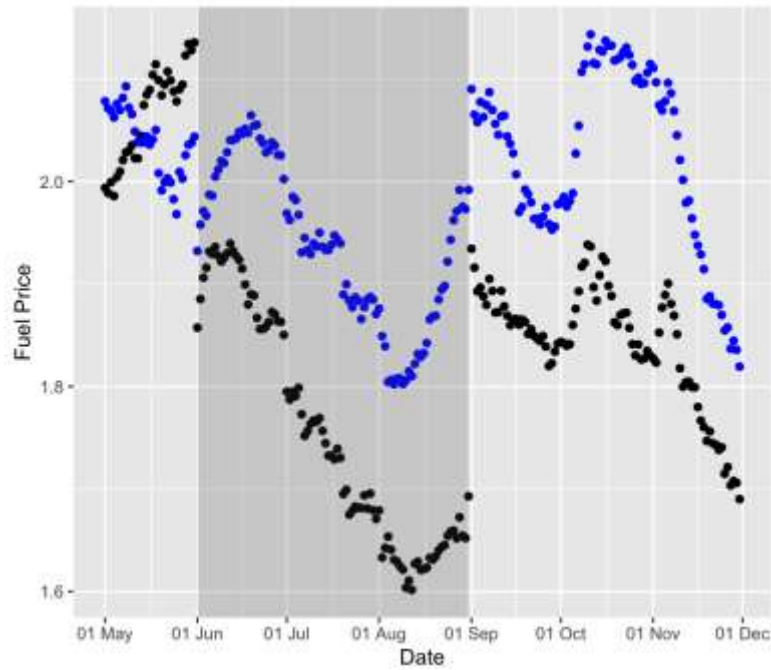
**Munich**

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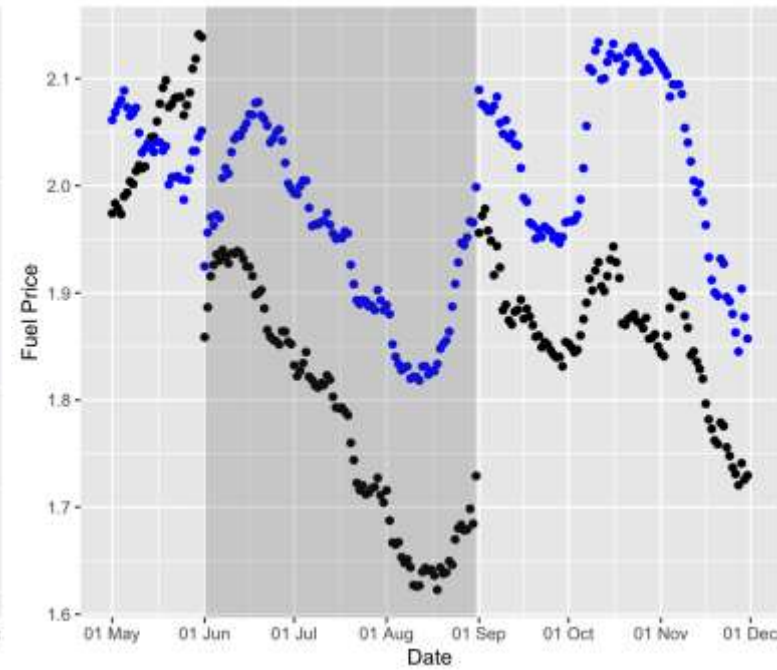
# Stylised Facts – Fuel Prices

Black: Petrol (E10)

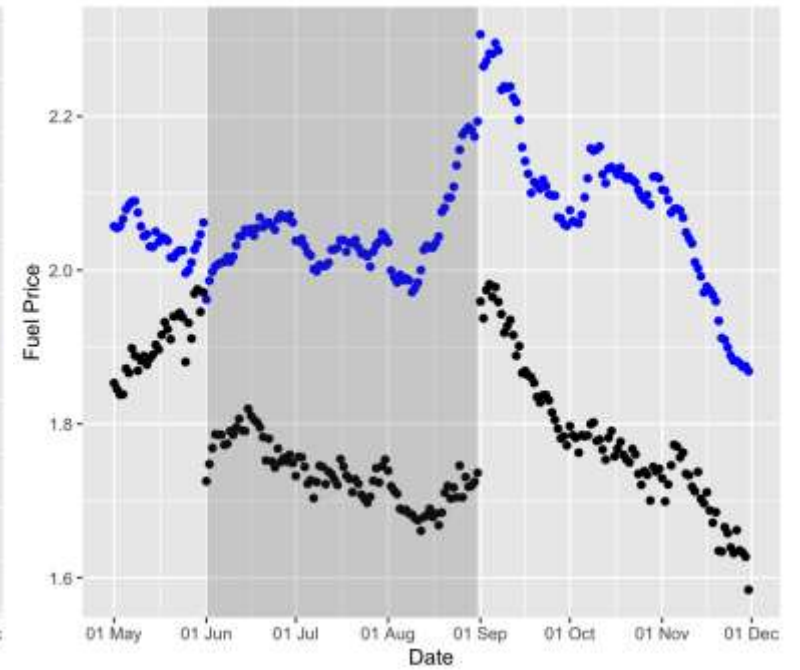
Blue: Diesel



**Berlin**



**Hamburg**



**Munich**

# So let's bring in some econometrics...

Observation period:  
1 May to 30 Nov 2022

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	log(PM10 emissions)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
9 Euro	-0.223*** (0.046)	-0.207*** (0.046)	-0.339*** (0.050)	-0.346*** (0.051)
Temperature	0.025*** (0.005)	0.025*** (0.005)	0.029*** (0.004)	0.030*** (0.005)
Wind	-0.128*** (0.014)	-0.128*** (0.014)	-0.129*** (0.013)	-0.129*** (0.013)
Rain	-0.008** (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)
No School		-0.077** (0.031)	-0.034 (0.027)	-0.033 (0.027)
Fuel Price			-0.680*** (0.155)	-0.863** (0.341)
Fuel Price (7 Day Avg)				0.198 (0.332)
City Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day of Week Fixed effects	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	6,556	6,556	6,556	6,556
R <sup>2</sup>	0.279	0.288	0.334	0.335
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.276	0.285	0.330	0.330
Residual Std. Error	0.335 (df = 6521) 0.333 (df = 6520) 0.323 (df = 6513) 0.323 (df = 6512)			

*Note:*

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Standard errors in parentheses clustered by city and date

Observation period:  
1 May to 30 Nov 2022

	Dependent Variable (log):		
	PM10 (1)	NO2 (2)	AQI (3)
9 Euro	-0.346*** (0.051)	-0.344*** (0.037)	-0.472*** (0.058)
Temperature	0.030*** (0.005)	0.017*** (0.003)	0.034*** (0.005)
Wind	-0.129*** (0.013)	-0.158*** (0.011)	-0.194*** (0.016)
Rain	-0.009*** (0.003)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.009*** (0.003)
No School	-0.033 (0.027)	-0.098*** (0.027)	-0.069* (0.034)
Fuel Price	-0.863** (0.341)	-1.123*** (0.210)	-1.336*** (0.384)
Fuel Price (7 Day Avg)	0.198 (0.332)	0.451** (0.204)	0.463 (0.382)
City Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day of Week Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	6,556	6,610	6,609
R <sup>2</sup>	0.335	0.629	0.398
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.330	0.627	0.394
Residual Std. Error	0.323 (df = 6512)	0.231 (df = 6566)	0.399 (df = 6565)

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Standard errors in parentheses clustered by city and date

# Aim 1: Replicate Gohl and Schrauth (2022)

$$\log(Pollution_{it}) = \alpha_i + \beta_1 June + \beta_2 2022 + \beta_3 June * 2022 + \beta_4 X_{it}$$

Observation period: 1 May to 30 June  
2018, 2019, 2022

	Dependent Variable (log):		
	PM10 (1)	NO2 (2)	AQI (3)
Month = June	-0.234*** (0.018)	-0.151*** (0.024)	-0.286*** (0.022)
Year = 2019	-0.126*** (0.016)	-0.046*** (0.015)	-0.132*** (0.018)
Year = 2022	0.324*** (0.099)	-0.229*** (0.074)	0.199* (0.111)
Temperature	0.036*** (0.002)	0.016*** (0.002)	0.039*** (0.002)
Wind	-0.076*** (0.006)	-0.146*** (0.006)	-0.136*** (0.008)
Rain	0.006*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)
No School	-0.126*** (0.014)	-0.243*** (0.012)	-0.218*** (0.015)
Fuel Price	-0.272 (0.184)	-0.277** (0.134)	-0.375* (0.207)
Fuel Price (7 Day Avg)	-0.691*** (0.101)	0.017 (0.103)	-0.634*** (0.137)
<b>June * 2022</b>	<b>-0.110*** (0.030)</b>	<b>-0.019 (0.025)</b>	<b>-0.092*** (0.035)</b>
City Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day of Week Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5,611	5,656	5,660
R <sup>2</sup>	0.411	0.710	0.505
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.406	0.708	0.501
Residual Std. Error	0.284 (df = 5564)	0.230 (df = 5609)	0.336 (df = 5613)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01		
	Standard errors in parentheses clustered by city-year		

	log(PM <sub>10</sub> )	log(NO <sub>2</sub> )	(4)
Interaction	-0.0511** (0.0231)	-0.0380* (0.0227)	-0.0642*** (0.0236)
Covariates	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Station FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day of Week FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	19,925	23,142	24,103

# Aim 2: Persistence?

Treatment: June, July August

Post Treatment: September, October, November

Observations for 2018, 2019, 2022

$$\log(Pollution_{it}) = \alpha_i + \beta_1 Treat + \beta_2 Post + \beta_3 2022 + \beta_4 X_{it} + \gamma_1 Treat * 2022 + \gamma_2 Post * 2022$$

	Dependent Variable (log):					
	PM10 (1)	NO2 (2)	AQI (3)	PM10 (4)	NO2 (5)	AQI (6)
Treatment	-0.165*** (0.018)	-0.174*** (0.014)	-0.244*** (0.020)	-0.157*** (0.015)	-0.097*** (0.016)	-0.214*** (0.020)
Post Treatment				0.009 (0.016)	0.123*** (0.023)	0.046** (0.021)
Year = 2019	-0.211*** (0.014)	-0.162*** (0.013)	-0.278*** (0.018)	-0.217*** (0.014)	-0.150*** (0.014)	-0.279*** (0.018)
Year = 2022	-0.160*** (0.041)	-0.227*** (0.039)	-0.242*** (0.047)	-0.046 (0.054)	-0.300*** (0.042)	-0.175*** (0.061)
Temperature	0.014*** (0.001)	0.012*** (0.001)	0.017*** (0.001)	0.014*** (0.001)	0.014*** (0.001)	0.018*** (0.001)
Wind	-0.135*** (0.005)	-0.149*** (0.005)	-0.189*** (0.006)	-0.135*** (0.005)	-0.150*** (0.005)	-0.189*** (0.006)
Rain	-0.006*** (0.001)	0.002*** (0.001)	-0.006*** (0.001)	-0.006*** (0.001)	0.001** (0.001)	-0.006*** (0.001)
No School	-0.050*** (0.009)	-0.087*** (0.007)	-0.089*** (0.010)	-0.049*** (0.009)	-0.088*** (0.007)	-0.089*** (0.010)
Fuel Price	-0.379*** (0.103)	-0.848*** (0.104)	-0.703*** (0.136)	-0.491*** (0.105)	-0.629*** (0.100)	-0.722*** (0.140)
Fuel Price (7 Day Avg)	0.154 (0.104)	0.469*** (0.108)	0.322** (0.137)	0.161 (0.103)	0.439*** (0.102)	0.317** (0.133)
Treatment * 2022	-0.005 (0.025)	-0.100*** (0.025)	-0.032 (0.030)	-0.087*** (0.029)	-0.084*** (0.024)	-0.091*** (0.035)
Post Treatment * 2022				-0.092*** (0.026)	-0.012 (0.029)	-0.076** (0.031)
City Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day of Week Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	19,454	19,852	19,848	19,454	19,852	19,848
R <sup>2</sup>	0.344	0.663	0.448	0.345	0.671	0.448
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.342	0.663	0.447	0.343	0.670	0.447
Residual Std. Error	0.337 (df = 19407)	0.245 (df = 19805)	0.391 (df = 19801)	0.336 (df = 19405)	0.242 (df = 19803)	0.391 (df = 19799)

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Standard errors in parentheses clustered by city-year



# Aim 2: Persistence?

Event Study

Observations for 2018, 2019, 2022

	Dependent Variable (log):		
	PM10 (1)	NO2 (2)	AQI (3)
Jun 22	-0.160*** (0.022)	-0.124*** (0.017)	-0.185*** (0.026)
Jul 22	-0.182*** (0.040)	-0.104*** (0.035)	-0.227*** (0.047)
Aug 22	-0.097* (0.050)	-0.050 (0.044)	-0.115** (0.058)
Sep 22	-0.275*** (0.022)	0.018 (0.021)	-0.258*** (0.028)
Oct 22	0.079*** (0.026)	0.137*** (0.029)	0.129*** (0.028)
Nov 22	-0.007 (0.041)	0.166*** (0.038)	0.063 (0.046)
Year = 2018	0.097 (0.072)	0.390*** (0.070)	0.234*** (0.084)
Year = 2019	-0.116 (0.076)	0.238*** (0.078)	-0.045 (0.090)
Regular Covariates	Yes	Yes	Yes
City Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day of Week Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	19,454	19,852	19,848
R <sup>2</sup>	0.349	0.651	0.442
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.347	0.650	0.440
Residual Std. Error	0.335 (df = 19403)	0.249 (df = 19801)	0.393 (df = 19797)

*Note:* \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Standard errors in parentheses clustered by city-year

Potential explanation for September 2022 result: Did people 'front load' their travel?

# Aim 3a: Effect of 9-Euro-Ticket on Car Traffic

Observation period:  
1 June to 30 Nov 2022

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Added Traffic (seconds)		Speed in Traffic (m/s)	
	Full Period (1)	Weekdays only (2)	Full Period (3)	Weekdays only (4)
9 Euro	-9.418 (8.539)	-14.651 (10.805)	0.102* (0.055)	0.151** (0.071)
Temperature	-2.596*** (0.725)	-3.577*** (0.853)	0.011*** (0.004)	0.016*** (0.005)
Wind	7.218*** (1.989)	9.816*** (2.385)	-0.042*** (0.013)	-0.056*** (0.015)
Rain	-0.433 (0.277)	0.026 (0.382)	-0.00005 (0.002)	-0.004* (0.002)
No School	-93.360*** (8.917)	-85.712*** (8.849)	0.680*** (0.060)	0.631*** (0.062)
Fuel Price	-124.106*** (45.386)	-143.809*** (51.862)	0.851*** (0.270)	0.959*** (0.318)
Fuel Price (7 Day Avg)	176.658*** (41.203)	202.703*** (46.189)	-1.078*** (0.264)	-1.240*** (0.299)
City Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day of Week Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	6,502	4,644	6,502	4,644
R <sup>2</sup>	0.788	0.674	0.921	0.867
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.786	0.671	0.920	0.866
Residual Std. Error	66.686 (df = 6452)	61.225 (df = 4596)	0.409 (df = 6452)	0.400 (df = 4596)

*Note:*

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Standard errors in parentheses clustered by city and date

## IV Regression (exploratory)

First stage regresses speed in traffic on the following outside instruments:

- 9 Euro
- No School
- Fuel Price
- Fuel Price (7 Day Avg)

But... 9 Euro alone is too weak an instrument

	Dependent Variable (log):		
	PM10 (1)	NO2 (2)	AQI (3)
Temperature	0.014** (0.005)	0.005 (0.003)	0.013** (0.006)
Wind	-0.121*** (0.016)	-0.143*** (0.013)	-0.178*** (0.018)
Rain	-0.009** (0.004)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.008* (0.004)
Speed in Traffic (m/s)	-0.056 (0.045)	-0.173*** (0.040)	-0.124** (0.057)
F-Statistic (First Stage)	35.90	36.08	35.92
City Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day of Week Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,851	3,886	3,887
R <sup>2</sup>	0.283	0.446	0.301
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.276	0.441	0.294
Residual Std. Error	0.328 (df = 3812)	0.251 (df = 3847)	0.400 (df = 3848)

Note:

\* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

Standard errors in parentheses clustered by city and date

# Aim 3b: Effect on PT (exploratory)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	log(mean passengers)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
9-Euro	0.109*** (0.028)	0.084** (0.035)	
Post 9-Euro		-0.097* (0.043)	
Treatment			-0.040 (0.036)
Post Treatment			-0.039 (0.028)
Year = 2022			-0.216** (0.083)
Treatment * 2022			0.278*** (0.050)
Post Treatment * 2022			0.094* (0.048)
Line Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	98	98	98
R <sup>2</sup>	0.852	0.865	0.893
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.837	0.850	0.876
Residual Std. Error	0.127 (df = 88)	0.122 (df = 87)	0.111 (df = 84)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01		
	Standard errors in parentheses clustered by Line		

Data for tram and bus lines in Chemnitz, 2019 and 2022

9-Euro: Jun, Jul, Aug 2022

Post 9-Euro: Sep, Oct 2022

Treatment: Jun, Jul, Aug both years

Post Treatment: Sep, Oct both years

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# Conclusion

- 9-Euro Ticket reduced air pollution (at least initially)
  - Some evidence that this is directly due to less car traffic/more public transport
  - Persistence is unclear – seems to be driven by abnormality in September 2022
  
  - Reminder: This is very much still work in progress
    - Many puzzles still to solve!
  - Important to continue discussion/research in run-up to (permanent) 49-Euro Ticket!
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# Additional Tables

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# Aim 1: Replicate Gohl and Schrauth (2022)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	log(PM10 emissions)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Month = June	-0.037** (0.017)	-0.032* (0.018)	-0.244*** (0.018)	-0.234*** (0.018)
Year = 2019		-0.234*** (0.013)	-0.133*** (0.015)	-0.126*** (0.016)
Year = 2022	-0.119*** (0.036)	-0.229*** (0.018)	0.253** (0.098)	0.324*** (0.099)
Temperature			0.036*** (0.002)	0.036*** (0.002)
Wind			-0.078*** (0.006)	-0.076*** (0.006)
Rain			0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)
No School			-0.123*** (0.014)	-0.126*** (0.014)
Fuel Price			-0.831*** (0.162)	-0.272 (0.184)
Fuel Price (7 Day Avg)				-0.691*** (0.101)
June * 2022	-0.049** (0.022)	-0.060*** (0.022)	-0.119*** (0.030)	-0.110*** (0.030)
Constant	2.954*** (0.027)			
Observations	5,622	5,622	5,611	5,611
R <sup>2</sup>	0.040	0.214	0.408	0.411
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.039	0.209	0.404	0.406
Residual Std. Error	0.362 (df = 5618)	0.328 (df = 5581)	0.285 (df = 5565)	0.284 (df = 5564)

*Note:* \* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01  
Standard errors in parentheses clustered by city-year

## Aim 2: Extend the model - Persistence

Was this only an initial shock?

Same regression but including the entire treatment period: observations from 1 May to 31 Aug 2018, 2019, 2022

	Dependent Variable (log):		
	PM10 (1)	NO2 (2)	AQI (3)
9-Euro Period	-0.303*** (0.015)	-0.153*** (0.023)	-0.366*** (0.025)
Year = 2019	-0.091*** (0.013)	-0.087*** (0.014)	-0.164*** (0.020)
Year = 2022	0.068* (0.037)	-0.287*** (0.036)	-0.175*** (0.058)
Temperature	0.045*** (0.002)	0.026*** (0.002)	0.050*** (0.002)
Wind	-0.079*** (0.005)	-0.156*** (0.006)	-0.147*** (0.007)
Rain	0.006*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)
No School	-0.116*** (0.010)	-0.117*** (0.009)	-0.161*** (0.012)
Fuel Price	0.016 (0.108)	-0.275*** (0.102)	0.063 (0.157)
Fuel Price (7 Day Avg)	-0.499*** (0.106)	0.090 (0.086)	-0.439*** (0.142)
9-Euro Period * 2022	-0.066*** (0.022)	-0.062*** (0.021)	-0.022 (0.036)
City Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day of Week Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	11,066	11,404	11,404
R <sup>2</sup>	0.446	0.717	0.515
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.444	0.716	0.513
Residual Std. Error	0.275 (df = 11019)	0.235 (df = 11357)	0.352 (df = 11357)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01		
	Standard errors in parentheses clustered by city-year		