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June 6, 2025

Liya Palagashvili
Senior Research Fellow
Mercatus Center at George Mason University
3434 Washington Blvd., 4th Floor
Arlington, VA 22201

Dear Dr. Palagashvili:

Thank you again for testifying at the May 20, 2025, Subcommittee on Workforce Protections hearing titled "Empowering the Modern Worker." Enclosed are additional questions submitted by a Committee member following the hearing. Please provide a written response no later than June 23, 2025, for inclusion in the hearing record. Responses should be sent to Daniel Nadel (daniel.nadel@mail.house.gov, (202) 226-3873) of the Committee staff. We appreciate your contribution to the work of the Subcommittee.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Ryan Mackenzie".

Ryan Mackenzie
Chairman
Subcommittee on Workforce Protection

**Questions for the Record from
REPRESENTATIVE ROBERT C. “BOBBY” SCOTT**

**Committee on Education and Workforce
Workforce Protections Subcommittee hearing entitled “*Empowering the Modern Worker*”**

**Tuesday, May 20, 2025
10:15 A.M.**

**Representative Robert C. “Bobby” Scott (D-VA)
Questions for Witness Dr. Liya Palagashvili**

1. Your testimony referred to a study which remains unpublished, although you have already publicized your findings in a blog post which promised full publication by this February.¹ This still-unpublished study has even been cited in the news media² and by other witnesses in this hearing.
 - a. In accordance with your promise during the hearing to make your data and methods public, please provide the following:
 - i. all cleaning codes used to construct the analysis dataset from the raw data files;
 - ii. all codes that conduct the core analysis; and
 - iii. the versions of raw data files you used in your analysis.
 - b. With respect to your selection of states to assess in the study, please address the following:
 - i. You listed the states you assessed for ABC test impacts — California, Hawaii, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, and Nevada (hereinafter the “study states”) — and mentioned a comparison against states used as controls (hereinafter the “control states”). Which states were the control states?
 - ii. What criteria did you use to select the control states?
 - iii. Your blog post about the study reveals that, for each study state, you “recorded the timing of the test’s adoption and the severity of its application.” For each study state, please list the legal change that constitutes “implement[ing] the ABC test for any domain” and the date you recorded for measuring the timing of its adoption.

¹ Liya Palagashvili & Revana Sharfuddin, *New Study: From Gig to Gone? ABC Tests and the Case of the Missing Workers*, SUBSTACK: LAB. MKT. MATTERS (Jan. 10, 2025), <https://liyapalagashvili.substack.com/p/new-study-from-gig-to-gone-abc-tests> (“Our full study will be published next month. In this post, we preview our findings.”).

² Erik Sherman, *Anti-Contractor ABC Test Results in Less Employment Says Study*, FORBES (Jan. 11, 2025), <https://www.forbes.com/sites/eriksherman/2025/01/11/anti-contractor-abc-test-results-in-less-employment-says-study/>; Victoria Churchill, *Senate Republicans Should Help Trump Help Independent Contractors*, REAL CLEAR POL. (Feb. 12, 2025), https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2025/02/12/senate_republicans_should_help_trump_help_independent_contractors_152344.html.

- iv. Please explain what measure you used to assess the “severity of [the] application” of the ABC test.
- v. Did you conduct a particularized evaluation of application severity for each study state (*yes/no*)? If *yes*, please list your severity measure for each study state and the inputs that went into that measure.