

Biracial Asian Americans: Demographic and Labor Market Status

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Introduction

For over three centuries, from 1661 until 1967, anti-miscegenation laws in North America aimed to keep the social taboo of racial intermixing to a minimum. And the “one-drop rule¹” of hypodescent automatically assigned the children of mixed race unions to the group with the lower status. However, in the half century since *Loving vs Virginia*, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of mixed race Americans. The number of Americans identifying with two or more races increased by 32% from 2000 to 2010, and now represents 2.9% of all Americans according to the U.S. Census. And instead of the “one drop rule”, the phenomenon of “racial passing” is used to describe people of mixed-race heritage assimilating into the White majority. For example, the Philip Roth novel, *The Human Stain*, describes a professor of classics, a man of Creole mixed-race ancestry, who spends his adult professional life passing as a European-American Jewish intellectual.

There is good qualitative research on mixed-race Americans. See, for example, Maria Root (1996) and Reene Romano (2006). But the quantitative research has been quite limited, especially regarding mixed race Asian Americans. See, for example, Kao (1999), Shih and Sanchez (2005), Freyer, Kahn, Levitt, and Spenkuch (2012), and Pew Research Center (2015). Historically the Bureau of the Census did not recognize the multiracial background of Americans. But since the 2000 Census, Americans have been allowed to identify with more than one race. This paper begins by looking at the demographic characteristics of multiracial Americans, and multiracial Asian Americans in particular. Then the paper focuses on Americans who self-identify as both Asian and White. By looking at American Community Survey data on six different Asian American ethnic groups, the paper examines the demographic and labor market characteristics of Asian Americans, Asian/White Americans, and White Americans.

Biracial Asian/White Americans may experience a world like Asian Americans because of the “one drop rule”. They may experience a world like White Americans because of the phenomenon of “passing”. Or they may experience a world which is uniquely their own. This paper asks if biracial Asian Americans experience a labor market space between and/or orthogonal to the labor market space of Asian Americans and the labor market space of White Americans. Do they experience more, less or different labor market discrimination than single race Asian Americans? Are Asian/White Americans treated like minorities in the American labor market, or can they “pass” as White? While the answer is that it depends, it is clear that race does matter.

I. Multiracial Americans

¹ See the Racial Integrity Act of 1924 in Virginia.

The number of self-identified multiracial Americans has grown from 6.8 million in 2000 to 9.0 million in 2010, from 2.4% of the population in 2000 to 2.9% of the population in 2010². Thus the number of multiracial Americans grew by 32.0% over the decade, while the population of the country only grew by 9.7%. This is faster than any racial group³ except for Asians and Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders. The number of self-identified multiracial Americans is growing because there are more of them and because Americans are probably more comfortable self-identifying themselves this way.⁴

The vast majority of multiracial Americans include White among their racial backgrounds. More than a third include African American, less than a third include Asian, and about a quarter include American Indian or Alaskan Native. See Table 1.

Table 1		
Multiracial Americans		
2010 Census	Population	Percent of all Multiracial
White multiracial	7,487,133	83.1%
Black or African American multiracial	3,091,424	34.3%
Asian multiracial	2,646,604	29.4%
Some Other Race multiracial	2,640,716	29.3%
AIAN multiracial	2,288,331	25.4%
NHPI multiracial	685,182	7.6%
Total Multiracial ⁵	9,009,073	100%

From 2000 to 2010 the number of multiracial White Americans grew 36.9%, the number of multiracial Asian Americans grew 59.8%, and the number of multiracial African Americans grew 75.5%. The number of Americans identifying with a single race has grown more slowly. The number of single race White Americans grew only 1.2%, the number of single race African Americans grew 12.3%, and the number of single race Asian Americans grew 43.4% over the first decade. See Table 2. In each racial group, the multiracial group grew more quickly except for the “Some Other Race” category.

Table 2
Population Growth Rates (2000-2010)

² The Pew Research Center (2015) survey found that 6.9% of adults in the United States are multiracial, based on either how they identify themselves, or on having parents or grandparents of different races.

³ The Hispanic population grew by 43%, but is not defined as a racial group in the Census.

⁴ Should do rough calculation on what numbers are reasonable given death rates, birth rates, immigration/emigration rates, out-marriage rates, etc.

⁵ The column does not add up to the total population because multiracial individuals show up on multiple row categories.

2010 Census	Population	Growth Rate
White alone	223,553,265	9.2%
White multiracial	7,487,133	36.9%
Black or African American alone	38,929,319	12.3%
Black or African American multiracial	3,091,424	75.5%
Some other race alone	19,107,368	24.4%
SOR multiracial ⁶	2,640,716	-16.5%
Asian alone	14,674,252	43.3%
Asian multiracial	2,646,604	59.8%
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	2,932,248	18.4%
AIAN multiracial	2,288,331	39.2%
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander alone	540,013	35.4%
NHPI multiracial	685,182	44.1%
Total Population ⁷	308,745,538	9.7%

We observe that as the population of the racial group decreases, the percent of the multiracial category increases. The vast majority of people who self-identify as at least partially White are White alone. But among people who self-identify as at least partially Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, the majority are multiracial. If your racial group is smaller in number, the people around you are more likely to be of a different race. Consequently out-marriage rates are likely to be higher, and we expect more multiracial Americans. With small populations, “American Indians and Alaska Natives” and “Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islanders” report the greatest incidence of multiracial identity, while “Whites” and “Blacks,” with much larger populations, report the lowest incidence of multiracial identity. See Table 3.

Table 3		
Multiracial Population Shares		
2010 Census	Population	Percent Multiracial
Total Population ⁸	308,745,538	2.9%
White alone or in combination	231,040,398	3.2%

⁶ Why did these numbers drop?

⁷ The column does not add up to the total population because multiracial individuals show up on multiple row categories.

⁸ The column does not add up to the total population because multiracial individuals show up on multiple row categories.

Black or African American alone or in combination	42,020,743	7.4%
Some other race alone or in combination	21,748,084	12.1%
Asian alone or in combination	17,320,856	15.3%
American Indian and Alaska Native alone or in combination	5,220,579	43.8%
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander alone or in combination	1,225,195	55.9%

Asian Americans out-marry at higher rates than White Americans, African Americans, and Hispanic Americans, in part, because there are fewer of them. However, the Asian American community, both in number and as a percent of the larger population, has been growing dramatically over the past few decades, from 1.55% of the population in 1980 to 5.63% of the population in 2010. It is now relatively easier for Asian Americans to meet other Asian Americans. This is probably why the share of Asian newlyweds who intermarry has declined from 30.5% in 2008 to 27.7% in 2010. (About 36% of Asian female newlyweds married outside their race in 2010, along with 17% of Asian male newlyweds⁹.)

In 2010, most people who are multiracial (91.7%) reported being of two races, as opposed to three, four, or more races. The most common combinations of races are presented on Table 4. The majority of multiracial Americans (57.7%) are White/Black, White/Some other race, or White/Asian. If you include White/American Indian and Alaska Native, you have accounted for nearly three-quarters (73.6%) of multiracial Americans.

Table 4	
Major Racial Combinations	
Major Two Race combinations	Population
White/Black	1,834,212
White/Some other race	1,740,924
White/Asian	1,623,234
White/American Indian and Alaska Native	1,432,309
Black/Some other race	314,571
Black/American Indian and Alaska Native	269,421
Asian/Some other race	234,462
Black/Asian	185,595
White/Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	169,991
Asian/Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	165,690
American Indian and Alaska Native/Some other race	115,752
Major Three Race combinations	
White/Black/American Indian and Alaska Native	230,848

⁹ See Wendy Wang, The Rise of Intermarriage, Pew Research Center, February 16, 2012.

White/Asian/Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	143,126
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The six racial categories in the Census are White, Black or African American, Asian, American Indian and Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islanders, and Some Other Race¹⁰. The race categories on the Census questionnaire use a social definition of race, and are not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically. It is recognized that the categories of the race question include race and national origin or sociocultural groups.

We should note that the Hispanic/Latino category is defined as an ethnic category in the Census, and not a racial category. Individuals are asked if they are of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin. They are also asked to identify their race on a separate question. Thus we can have Hispanic Whites, Hispanic Blacks, and Hispanic Asians, and these people are not identified by the Census as multiracial, though they may identify themselves as such.

The majority (53.0%) of Hispanic Americans report being White. See Table 5. But more than a third (36.7%) of Hispanic Americans report being of “Some Other Race.” A large number of these 18.5 million individuals probably view “Hispanic” as a race rather than an ethnicity, and end up with this designation.

Hispanic Race Identification	Total	Percent
White	26,735,713	53.0
Some Other Race	18,503,103	36.7
Black	1,243,471	2.5
American Indian and Alaska Native	685,150	1.4
Asian ¹¹	209,128	0.4
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	58,437	0.1
Two or More Races	3,042,592	6.0
Total Hispanic	50,477,594	100.0

II. Multiracial Asian Americans

From the 2010 Census, 14.67 million Americans (4.8% of the U.S. population) report being Asian alone, and 17.32 million Americans (5.6% of the U.S. population) report being Asian alone or in combination with one or more races. Thus there are about 2.64 million multiracial

¹⁰ “Some Other Race” includes responses like multiracial, mixed, interracial, or a Hispanic or Latino group such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or Spanish.

¹¹ Since I have a Brazilian passport, I identify as Latino and Asian.

Asian Americans representing over 15% of Asian Americans, and 0.9% of the U.S. population. The number of multiracial Asian Americans has grown by 59.8% over the first decade of this century. Multiracial Asian Americans represent the third largest group of multiracial Americans behind multiracial Whites (7.5 million) and multiracial Blacks (3.1 million).

Geographic Concentration

Single race Asian Americans are geographically concentrated in the United States. The majority of single race Asian Americans actually live in just four states (CA, NY, TX, and NJ). The four-state concentration ratio, the percentage of the population who live in the four states with the largest population shares, is 54.3%. See Table 6. Another measure of geographic concentration is the Herfindahl index. The Herfindahl index is a weighted average of the population shares across the 50 states. More specifically, the Herfindahl index is the sum of the squares of the population shares across the 50 states where the population shares are expressed as fractions. The larger the index, the more concentrated is the population. The Herfindahl index for single race Asian Americans is 1355, larger than for any other racial group.

	Herfindahl Index	4 State Concentration Ratio	Most Population (% of racial/ethnic group)		Most Overrepresented (% of state population)	
White alone, Non Hispanic	346	24.66%	California	7.6%	Maine	94.4%
			Texas	5.8%	Vermont	94.3%
			New York	5.7%	West Virginia	93.2%
			Florida	5.5%	New Hampshire	92.3%
			Pennsylvania	5.1%	North Dakota	91.6%
White multiracial	642	38.30%	California	20.0%	Hawaii	16.7%
			Texas	7.7%	Alaska	6.4%
			New York	5.5%	Oklahoma	5.3%
			Florida	5.1%	Washington	4.1%
			Washington	3.7%	California	4.0%
Black alone	471	30.83%	New York	7.9%	D.C.	50.7%
			Florida	7.7%	Mississippi	37.0%
			Texas	7.7%	Louisiana	32.0%
			Georgia	7.6%	Georgia	30.5%
			California	5.9%	Maryland	29.5%
Black multiracial	467	33.48%	California	12.5%	Rhode Island	1.7%
			New York	8.4%	Delaware	1.6%
			Florida	6.5%	D.C.	1.5%

			Texas	6.1%	Maryland	1.5%
			Ohio	4.3%	Alaska	1.4%
Asian alone	1355	54.32%	California	33.1%	Hawaii	38.6%
			New York	9.7%	California	13.1%
			Texas	6.6%	New Jersey	8.3%
			New Jersey	4.9%	New York	7.3%
			Illinois	4.0%	Nevada	7.2%
Asian multiracial	965	47.48%	California	26.3%	Hawaii	18.8%
			Hawaii	9.7%	California	1.9%
			New York	6.0%	Washington	1.8%
			Texas	5.5%	Nevada	1.8%
			Washington	4.7%	Alaska	1.7%
Hispanic/Latino	1308	61.64%	California	27.8%	New Mexico	46.3%
			Texas	18.7%	Texas	37.6%
			Florida	8.4%	California	37.6%
			New York	6.8%	Arizona	29.6%
			Illinois	4.0%	Nevada	26.5%

The Herfindahl index for non-Hispanic White Americans is quite small, just 346, meaning that the non-Hispanic White population is spread out fairly evenly across the 50 states. Less than a quarter of the non-Hispanic White population live in the top four states of CA, TX, NY, and FL. The four-state concentration ratio is just 24.7%.

The Hispanic population is as concentrated as the Asian population. Almost 62% of Hispanic Americans live in the four states of CA, TX, FL and NY, while the Herfindahl index of 1308 is slightly lower than the index for Asian Americans.

The single race African American population is more concentrated than the White population, but not as concentrated as the Asian or Hispanic populations. The Herfindahl index for single race African Americans is 471, and the four-state concentration ratio is just 30.8%. The states of NY, FL, TX and GA have the largest single race African American populations.

Multiracial Asian Americans are also highly concentrated geographically, though not as highly concentrated as single race Asian Americans. About 47.5% of multiracial Asian Americans live in the four states of CA, HI, NY and TX. The Herfindahl index is 965. Mixed race Asian Americans live predominantly in Hawaii and in the West. But they are a little more spread out than single race Asian Americans. Overall 15.3% of Asian Americans are multiracial. But more than a third of Asian Americans in Montana, Idaho and Wyoming are mixed race Asian Americans. Approximately a third of Asian Americans in Hawaii are mixed race Asian

Americans. Multiracial Asian Americans are more geographically concentrated than White Americans or African Americans, but less so than single race Asian Americans.

Asian Ethnic Groups

The largest group of multiracial Asian Americans are Filipino (766,867), Japanese (462,462), Chinese (457,382), Other Asian (385,429), Asian Indian (264,256), Korean (243,348) and Vietnamese (104,716). The Asian ethnic groups most likely to be multiracial are the Okinawan (49.8%), Japanese (35.5%), Indonesians (26.4%), Thai (23.0%), and the Filipinos (22.4%). See Table 7.

Multiracial Asian Americans by Ethnic Group			
Asian Ethnic Group	Multiracial Population	Ethnic Group Population	Percent Multiracial
Total Asian	2,646,604	17,320,856	15.3%
Chinese & Taiwanese	474,732	4,010,114	11.8%
Chinese	457,382	3,779,732	12.1%
Filipino	766,867	3,416,840	22.4%
Asian Indian	264,256	3,183,063	8.3%
Vietnamese	104,716	1,737,433	6.0%
Korean	243,348	1,706,822	14.3%
Japanese	462,462	1,304,286	35.5%
Other Asian, not specified	385,429	623,761	61.8%
Pakistani	26,169	409,163	6.4%
Cambodian	21,170	276,667	7.7%
Hmong	7,750	260,073	3.0%
Thai	54,711	237,583	23.0%
Laotian	22,484	232,130	9.7%
Taiwanese	16,249	215,441	7.5%
Bangladeshi	5,220	147,300	3.5%
Burmese	4,664	100,200	4.7%
Indonesian	25,174	95,270	26.4%
Nepalese	2,281	59,490	3.8%
Sri Lankan	3,925	45,381	8.6%
Malaysian	4,311	26,179	16.5%
Bhutanese	625	19,439	3.2%
Mongolian	3,206	18,344	17.5%
Okinawan	5,645	11,326	49.8%
Singaporean	778	5,347	14.6%
Maldivian	25	127	19.7%

Iwo Jiman	10	12	83.3%
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The size of the multiracial ethnic group depends on both the size of the ethnic group and the specific history of the ethnic group. Since there are a lot of Chinese Americans, we expect a large number of multiracial Chinese Americans. But there are even more multiracial Filipino and Japanese Americans. The Philippines were a colony of Spain for 300 years before becoming a colony of the United States in 1898. From the 1910 Census through the 1970 Census, the Japanese were the largest Asian American ethnic group. The number of multiracial Korean Americans outnumber the multiracial Vietnamese because the Korean War (1950-53) happened before the Vietnam War (1955-1975). And almost half of Okinawan Americans are multiracial because the U.S. controlled Okinawa from World War II until 1972, and remains a major presence on the islands.

III. Asian/White

This paper will now focus on the demographic and labor market status of Americans who self-identify as Asian/White. Among Asian Americans, the largest multiple race combination is Asian/White. Of the 2.64 million multiracial Asian Americans, the majority (61.3%) of these multiracial Asian Americans report being Asian/White. About 1.6 million Americans are Asian/White. See Table 8. The Asian/Some Other Race and Asian/Black groups are much smaller with 8.9% and 7.0% of the population respectively.

2010 Census	Population	Percent of Multiracial Asian Population
Multiracial Asian Americans	2,646,604	100.0%
Asian/White	1,623,234	61.3%
Asian/Some Other Race	234,462	8.9%
Asian/Black	185,595	7.0%
Asian/Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	165,690	6.3%
Asian/White/Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	143,126	5.4%
All other combinations	294,497	11.1%

The Asian/White category (1.6 million people) is also the third largest combination of all multiracial Americans. The Black/White (1.8 million people), and the White/Some Other Race (1.7 million people) categories are larger. Refer back to Table 4. See Romano (2005), Ruebeck, Averett and Bodenhorn (2009) and Freyer, Kahn, Levitt and Spenkuch (2012) for some results on Black/White Americans. Hispanic Americans who view “Hispanic” as a racial category and are also White probably appear in the White/Some Other Race category.

We will compare and contrast the demographic and labor market experience of White Americans, Asian Americans, and multiracial Asian/White Americans. Do multiracial Asian/White Americans occupy a space between or orthogonal to the space of Asian Americans and White Americans? The Pew Research Center (2015) hints at some answers. In the survey 60% of Asian/White Americans say they are the subject of slurs or jokes, but 58% say it is an advantage to be multiracial. Asian/White Americans say they have more in common with White Americans than they do with Asian Americans, and are more likely to feel accepted by White Americans than by Asian Americans. They have closer ties with their White relatives, and more likely to have close friends who are White.

IV. Asian/White Disaggregated

The Asian American population consists of people from a diverse range of Asian ethnic groups. The American experiences of East Asian immigrants, South Asian immigrants, and Southeast Asian immigrants have significant similarities and significant differences. Thus it is important to disaggregate the Asian American category. In order to examine the experiences of these diverse ethnic groups, we turn to data from the American Community Survey. The American Community Survey (ACS) is an ongoing statistical survey by the U.S. Census Bureau, sent to approximately 250,000 addresses monthly (or 3 million per year or approximately 1% of the U.S. population). It regularly gathers information previously contained only in the long form of the decennial census. It is the largest survey other than the decennial census that the Census Bureau administers. Americans are legally obligated to answer these survey questions as accurately as possible. We are using the 1% sample over a five year period from 2009-2013 giving us a 5% sample of the Americans. From the ACS 2009-2013, we estimate that there are 2,597,387 multiracial Asian Americans. This is basically the same as the 2010 Census estimate of 2.6 million multiracial Asian Americans.

We disaggregate the data by ethnic group. The six largest Asian ethnic groups by population are the Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, and Japanese, in that order. But the six largest multiracial Asian American ethnic groups are Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, Asian Indian, Korean, and Vietnamese. These are the same six ethnic groups, but in a different order.

For the top six Asian American ethnic groups, the largest share of the multiracial population is biracial White. See Table 10. About 39% of multiracial Asian Indians are biracial White, and about 72% - 75% of multiracial Koreans and Vietnamese are biracial White. The biracial Black share ranges from 4.0% of Chinese multiracials to 8.1% of Asian Indian multiracials. The biracial Asian/White population from these six Asian ethnic groups account for 48.7% of all multiracial Asian Americans.

Table 10						
Biracial Asian Americans						
ACS 09-13	Filipino/	Japanese/	Chinese/	Asian	Korean/	Vietnamese/

estimates				Indian/		
White	395,408	288,571	221,919	102,184	182,177	75,868
Black	48,366	19,039	18,483	21,432	18,413	
Hawaiian	20,975	11,195	19,870			
Native American	12,035			11,912		
Some Other Race	33,817	7,593	10,675	29,833		
Total Multiracial ¹²	766,867	462,462	457,382	264,256	243,348	104,716

We compare the demographic characteristics of the biracial Asian/Whites population with both the White population and the Asian population. On many dimensions, we might expect the Asian/White population to fall between the Asian population and the White population. This is true for the Hispanic dimension. For example, 14.5% of Whites report being Hispanic, only 2.7% of Filipinos report being Hispanic, but 13.9% of Filipino/Whites report being Hispanic. For all six ethnic groups, the Asian/White group is more likely to be Hispanic than the Asian alone group, but less likely than the White alone group. See Table 11.

Table 11								
Demographic Characteristics								
ACS 2009-2013	Age	%Native born	Speaks English very well	Only English at home	Married	Same house 1 year ago	Hispanic	Sample Size
White	39.3	90.4	60.5	84.9	42.7	85.9	14.5	11,933,636
Filipino	38.9	30.8	66.9	33.3	47.6	85.6	2.7	126,797
Filipino/White	19.1	90.0	84.7	91.1	16.2	86.1	13.9	19,508
Japanese	47.7	57.9	47.0	55.9	51.0	86.5	2.3	41,328
Japanese/White	24.5	86.6	83.9	85.0	23.7	82.6	8.2	14,763
Chinese	37.9	29.5	43.7	18.3	48.8	83.5	0.7	171,997
Chinese/White	18.3	90.7	80.8	81.3	14.9	84.2	10.0	11,258
Asian Indian	32.7	27.7	73.3	20.9	54.4	80.0	0.4	129,992
Asian Indian/White	18.8	84.0	74.8	80.6	16.5	84.8	6.7	5,111
Korean	37.2	24.2	43.3	22.1	47.7	80.2	0.7	64,750
Korean/White	18.3	85.9	82.8	87.8	17.2	81.1	5.29	8,496
Vietnamese	35.2	30.6	39.7	12.6	44.0	87.0	0.6	77,204
Vietnamese/White	17.1	85.1	69.7	76.5	15.2	83.0	8.1	3,599

¹² 2010 Census numbers

The Asian ethnic groups are predominantly foreign born (except for the Japanese), while the Asian/White ethnic groups are predominantly native born. Anywhere from 24.2% to 57.9% of the Asian alone ethnic groups are native born, but 84.0% to 90.7% of the Asian/White ethnic groups are native born. The Asian/White groups are more likely to be foreign born than the White group, but less likely to be foreign born than the Asian alone group.

But along other dimensions, this relationship does not hold. The Asian alone ethnic groups are substantially older than the Asian/White ethnic groups, and consequently more likely to be married. The average age of Asian/White ethnic groups are anywhere from 17.1 to 24.5 years. But the average age of the Asian alone ethnic groups range from 32.7 to 47.7 years. Consequently only 14.9% to 23.7% of Asian/White ethnic groups are married, but anywhere from 44.0% to 54.4% of the Asian alone ethnic groups are married. The Asian/White ethnic groups are more likely to speak English well than their respective Asian ethnic group. The Asian alone ethnic groups are more likely to speak a language other than English at home compared to their Asian/White counterparts. The mobility rates seem to be about the same for all the groups without any particular patterns. Anywhere from 80.0% to 87.0% of these groups lived in the same house a year ago.

The Asian alone ethnic groups are more geographically concentrated than the Asian/White ethnic groups. Five of the six Asian alone ethnic groups are more geographically concentrated than any of the Asian/White ethnic groups. See Table 12. Among the Asian alone ethnic groups, the Filipinos and the Japanese are the most geographically concentrated. It is interesting that these groups also have the highest multiracial percentages. One might expect high geographic concentration to lead to a smaller share for the multiracial population. But apparently other stronger forces offset this factor. Among the Asian alone ethnic groups, the Asian Indian population is the least geographically concentrated. And among the Asian multiracial groups, the Korean/White ethnic group is the least geographically concentrated. While 31.5% of Koreans live in California, only 15.5% of Korean/White Americans live in California.

Geographic Concentration by Ethnic Group				
Ethnic group Estimated population (ACS sample size)	Herfindahl Index	4 State Concentration Ratio	State	state share of racial group %
Filipino	2,341	62.73	CA	46.37
	#1	#2	HI	7.61
2,617,086			IL	4.38
(126,797)			NJ	4.37
Filipino/White	1,177	47.40	CA	31.21
	#6	#9	WA	5.91

395,408			HI	5.20
(19,508)			FL	4.95
Japanese	1,912	68.82	CA	35.57
	#2	#1	HI	23.69
787,912			NY	4.80
(41,328)			WA	4.76
Japanese/White	1,130	49.80	CA	30.08
	#8	#6	HI	7.62
288,571			WA	7.43
(14,763)			TX	4.67
Chinese	1,744	62.69	CA	36.52
	#3	#3	NY	17.39
3,502,356			TX	4.85
(171,997)			NJ	3.93
Chinese/White	1,174	48.71	CA	30.82
	#7	#8	NY	7.45
221,919			TX	5.29
(11,250)			WA	5.15
Asian Indian	829	49.73	CA	19.29
	#9	#7	NY	11.11
2,967,708			NJ	10.44
(129,992)			TX	8.89
Asian Indian/White	637	39.17	CA	17.36
	#11	#11	NY	9.94
102,184			TX	6.34
(5,111)			IL	5.53
Korean	1,270	52.39	CA	31.49
	#5	#5	NY	9.65
1,453,244			NJ	6.35
(64,750)			VA	4.9
Korean/White	513	33.28	CA	15.51
	#12	#12	WA	7.16
182,177			TX	5.82
(8,496)			NY	4.79
Vietnamese	1,675	59.04	CA	37.27

	#4	#4	TX	13.48
1,650,852			FL	4.22
(77,204)			WA	4.07
Vietnamese/White	780	41.91	CA	22.93
	#10	#10	TX	8.66
75,868			WA	5.27
(3,599)			FL	5.05
White	404	30.3	CA	10.18
	#13	#13	TX	8.27
230,643.701			FL	6.31
(11,933,636)			NY	5.54

V. Labor Market Experience

In order to examine labor market experience, we focus on individuals with a strong attachment to the labor force. Thus we restrict our sample to individuals who are 25-64 years of age, and work at least 30 hours a week for at least 40 weeks out of the year. We also disaggregate men and women. For this subsample, we measure wage and salary, years of education, percent native born, and age. See Tables 13a and 13b. Since the ACS data are collected over a five year period, all the wage and salary figures are adjusted for inflation during the period. By restricting the sample to people with strong attachment to the labor force, our sample sizes become smaller. For four of the Asian/White groups, our sample sizes fall below 1,000. The averages are also weighted averages using the Census weights for each observation. Standard deviations appear in parentheses.

Socioeconomic Characteristics: Men					
	Earnings	Education	Native	Age	Sample size
Filipino	\$59,272 (49,021)	14.51 (2.29)	22.3%	42.8 (10.6)	22,199
Filipino/White	\$62,378 (53,274)	14.29 (2.19)	80.7%	36.8 (9.3)	1,759
Japanese	\$88,185 (77,901)	15.47 (2.41)	59.0%	45.4 (10.2)	7,345
Japanese/White	\$77,905 (70,965)	14.81 (2.33)	79.6%	40.3 (9.9)	2,117
Chinese	\$80,627 (74,892)	15.29 (4.03)	18.4%	43.1 (10.4)	30,939
Chinese/White	\$80,361 (66,875)	15.58 (2.48)	81.8%	38.1 (10.4)	912
Indian	\$97,160	16.50	7.3%	39.7	31,375

	(80,286)	(2.60)		(9.8)	
Indian/White	\$99,251 (95,165)	16.13 (2.79)	58.3%	40.1 (9.6)	415
Korean	\$76,964 (76,506)	15.66 (2.64)	15.2%	41.8 (10.0)	9,670
Korean/White	\$71,506 (64,218)	14.73 (2.20)	71.8%	35.9 (8.1)	840
Vietnamese	\$58,338 (53,787)	13.20 (3.92)	9.2%	42.7 (9.9)	13,110
Vietnamese/White	\$67,573 (53,874)	14.19 (3.32)	56.8%	37.0 (7.1)	307
White	\$70,006 (67,023)	13.89 (2.86)	87.3%	43.5 (10.8)	1,890,185
Standard deviation in parentheses					

Among the men, we notice some “regression toward the mean.” When the Asian alone group has earnings above those of Whites (Japanese, Chinese, Indian, and Korean), the Asian/White group generally sees lower earnings. In the case of Asian Indians, the point estimates go in the other direction, but the standard errors are so large, these differences are statistically insignificant. But when the Asian alone group has earnings below those of Whites (Filipinos and Vietnamese), the Asian/White group sees higher earnings. The same is true for educational attainment. When the Asian alone group has more education than Whites, the Asian/White group generally obtains less education, on average, than the Asian alone groups. The point estimates for Chinese/Whites are an exception, but a statistically insignificant one.

Table 13b ACS 09-13					
Socioeconomic Characteristics: Women					
	Earnings	Education	Native	Age	Sample size
Filipina	\$55,835 (40,242)	14.88 (2.30)	15.5%	44.1 (10.6)	28,230
Filipina/White	\$50,602 (34,330)	14.65 (2.35)	78.4%	37.4 (9.6)	1,639
Japanese	\$61,408 (48,045)	15.40 (2.30)	58.7%	45.0 (10.6)	6,526
Japanese/White	\$57,570 (41,370)	15.12 (2.22)	78.6%	40.4 (10.4)	1,775
Chinese	\$64,941 (57,477)	15.11 (3.80)	17.0%	42.7 (10.3)	28,211
Chinese/White	\$64,467 (51,604)	15.97 (2.35)	79.6%	37.1 (9.7)	880
Indian	\$70,035 (59,212)	16.11 (2.82)	10.4%	39.8 (10.0)	18,170
Indian/White	\$72,341 (63,816)	16.37 (2.55)	68.2%	37.4 (9.4)	337
Korean	\$57,997	15.01	13.8%	42.1	9,317

	(54,834)	(2.82)		(10.7)	
Korean/White	\$57,936 (49,954)	15.17 (2.12)	70.2%	35.9 (8.2)	777
Vietnamese	\$45,104 (41,849)	12.85 (4.24)	9.5%	41.7 (10.0)	11,338
Vietnamese/White	\$50,254 (37,719)	14.60 (3.25)	59.5%	36.2 (7.5)	292
White	\$49,319 (41,635)	14.26 (2.59)	90.0%	43.9 (10.9)	1,601,539
Standard deviation in parentheses					

Among the women, we also notice this “regression toward the mean” more often than not, though it is far from perfect. Even though Indian women earn more than White women, Indian/White women earn slightly more than Indian women. But the standard errors more than dominate this difference in size, so the actual differences may go the other way. And while Chinese, Indian and Korean women are more educated than White women, biracial Chinese, Indian, and Korean women actually get even more education than their Asian alone counterparts, though the differences are still not statistically significant. For all the other Asian ethnic groups and variables, the tendency for “regression towards the mean” holds quite well among the women.

Industry Distribution

On Tables 14a through 14c we look at the industry distribution of these different Asian ethnic groups across 18 different industries. We might expect the industry shares of the Asian/White groups to lie somewhere between the industry shares of the Asian group and the White group. For example, 3.22% of Filipino men work in construction, 6.94% of Filipino/White men work in construction, and 9.72% of White men work in construction. However, this only happens about 24% of the time. Most of the time this pattern does not hold. The Asian/White groups are much more likely to be in the military than either the Asian groups or the White group. Since the U.S. has had a large military presence in Asia, the White men who met Asian women were more likely to be in the military than White men in general. Consequently it makes sense that their children might be more inclined to enter the military as well.

Table 14a shows the industry distribution of Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, and White men. There are a lot of Filipino men in the medical industry, and Japanese men in manufacturing. The Asian/White men are more likely to be in the professional, administration, retail, construction, information, and military industries, and less likely to be in the manufacturing, transportation and entertainment industries than their Asian alone male counterparts.

Table 14a ACS 09-13
Industry Distribution

Filipinos, Japanese and Chinese							
Men	Filipino	Filipino /White	Japanese	Japanese /White	Chinese	Chinese /White	White
Agriculture	0.42	0.20	0.55	0.33	0.11	0.28	1.33
Extraction	0.16	0.39	0.16	0.23	0.27	0.25	1.23
Utilities	0.85	1.32	1.63	2.09	0.78	0.99	1.90
Construction	3.22	6.94	3.81	5.01	2.55	3.98	9.72
Manufacturing	13.77	11.86	19.64	13.89	16.87	12.44	18.00
Wholesale	2.68	3.06	5.23	3.17	4.02	2.59	4.37
Retail	8.72	10.01	8.25	10.40	7.04	8.23	9.71
Transportation	7.01	5.16	4.56	3.92	4.19	3.48	5.87
Information	2.69	4.23	3.71	4.33	3.49	4.81	2.75
Finance	5.92	6.51	7.06	6.05	8.83	7.96	6.14
Professional	10.82	13.60	12.77	14.23	16.29	19.21	10.72
Education	3.72	5.19	7.80	7.78	8.05	9.31	5.94
Medical	19.32	6.96	5.40	5.76	6.40	5.42	4.62
Social Assistance	0.77	1.01	0.45	0.54	0.42	0.91	0.50
Entertainment	8.82	8.12	7.70	6.59	13.89	7.28	5.36
Service	2.56	3.38	2.45	2.84	2.36	3.64	3.70
Administration	6.35	7.97	8.18	10.76	4.17	7.18	6.96
Military	2.19	4.10	0.64	2.07	0.26	2.03	1.16
Approx. std errors ¹³	0.15	0.55	0.28	0.51	0.13	0.78	0.02
NOBS	21,733	1,707	6,868	2,024	28,831	871	1,890,185

Table 14b shows the industry distribution of Asian Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, and White men. There are a lot of Vietnamese men in manufacturing, and Asian Indian professionals. These Asian/White men are more likely to be in the extraction, utilities, administration, and military industries. These Asian alone men are more likely to be in the manufacturing and transportation industries than their Asian/White counterparts.

Table 14b AC 09-13							
Industry Distribution							
Asian Indians, Koreans, and Vietnamese							
Men	Asian Indian	Asian Indian /White	Korean	Korean /White	Vietnamese	Vietnamese /White	White
Agriculture	0.15	0.37	0.15	0.14	0.37	0.22	1.33
Extraction	0.33	0.64	0.15	0.21	0.55	0.62	1.23

¹³ The standard error depends on the point estimate and the number of observations. Consequently every estimate has a different standard error. I provide these approximate standard errors because the table is already fairly large. These standard errors are appropriate for a point estimate of 5.55%.

Utilities	0.76	1.69	0.54	0.82	0.96	1.47	1.90
Construction	1.26	3.48	2.68	5.90	3.36	3.15	9.72
Manufacturing	15.93	14.18	14.55	12.74	33.38	17.08	18.00
Wholesale	2.22	2.90	5.28	3.19	2.45	2.02	4.37
Retail	9.01	7.81	10.74	12.93	7.60	13.04	9.71
Transportation	3.48	2.38	4.25	3.64	3.90	3.86	5.87
Information	4.09	5.38	3.51	3.18	2.25	3.94	2.75
Finance	10.53	8.41	8.09	7.30	4.48	5.01	6.14
Professional	31.09	17.53	15.41	13.33	10.61	12.90	10.72
Education	4.47	9.31	7.43	4.28	2.76	6.26	5.94
Medical	8.63	10.74	6.44	5.67	5.97	7.73	4.62
Social Assistance	0.26	0.95	0.38	0.53	0.43	0.40	0.50
Entertainment	3.63	5.73	7.29	6.35	6.98	8.39	5.36
Service	1.45	2.00	7.73	2.71	9.44	5.71	3.70
Administration	2.61	5.40	4.17	10.93	4.10	6.26	6.96
Military	0.09	1.11	1.23	6.14	0.39	1.94	1.16
Approx. std errors	0.13	1.17	0.25	0.81	0.21	1.34	0.02
NOBS	28,826	377	8,186	807	12,354	294	1,890,185

Table 14c examines the industry distribution of Filipina, Japanese, Chinese, and White women. Over 40% of Filipina women are in the medical industry. These Asian/White women are more likely to go into construction, retail, information, and administration. They are less likely to go into manufacturing, wholesale or transportation than Asian alone women.

Industry Distribution							
Filipinas, Japanese, and Chinese							
Women	Filipina	Filipina /White	Japanese	Japanese /White	Chinese	Chinese /White	White
Agriculture	0.24	0.23	0.23	0.24	0.11	0.34	0.38
Extraction	0.05	0.32	0.16	0.04	0.21	0.09	0.23
Utilities	0.36	0.62	0.75	0.61	0.57	1.03	0.59
Construction	0.58	1.55	1.36	1.63	0.62	2.05	1.33
Manufacturing	7.25	6.48	8.38	5.79	12.69	7.04	8.11
Wholesale	1.57	1.54	3.30	2.22	3.74	1.01	2.14
Retail	8.03	9.37	8.18	9.47	7.07	7.24	9.87
Transportation	2.08	1.78	3.12	2.20	2.29	1.48	2.15
Information	1.74	4.08	3.00	3.27	2.73	4.71	2.15
Finance	7.15	11.07	9.06	10.03	10.94	10.88	9.50
Professional	6.99	11.40	13.18	12.78	14.19	17.00	9.35

Education	5.92	12.06	16.15	14.96	10.44	16.83	15.93
Medical	40.74	18.69	13.79	16.31	13.28	12.88	20.23
Social Assistance	2.38	2.78	2.12	2.52	2.08	1.71	2.93
Entertainment	7.28	7.34	6.47	5.66	10.52	4.73	5.90
Service	2.65	2.80	3.29	3.69	3.78	2.61	3.29
Administration	4.72	6.66	7.35	8.46	4.65	7.73	5.73
Military	0.28	1.24	0.13	0.12	0.10	0.63	0.18
Approx. std errors	0.14	0.57	0.29	0.55	0.14	0.79	0.02
NOBS	27,771	1,616	6,293	1,727	26,980	850	1,601,539

Table 14d presents the industry distribution of Asian Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, and White women. A large number of Asian Indian women are in the medical industry, and a large number of Vietnamese women are in the service industry. These Asian/White women are more likely to be in construction, administration, and the military. They are less likely to be in extraction, manufacturing, and wholesale than their Asian alone counterparts.

Industry Distribution							
Asian Indians, Koreans, and Vietnamese							
Women	Asian Indian	Asian Indian /White	Korean	Korean /White	Vietnamese	Vietnamese /White	White
Agriculture	0.19	0.44	0.04	0.26	0.15	0.00	0.38
Extraction	0.16	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.32	0.00	0.23
Utilities	0.35	0.15	0.17	0.43	0.43	0.49	0.59
Construction	0.53	0.56	0.81	1.73	0.65	0.81	1.33
Manufacturing	10.19	6.15	9.35	7.53	20.83	11.09	8.11
Wholesale	2.12	1.28	3.53	3.07	1.86	1.55	2.14
Retail	8.63	9.27	11.25	7.08	7.25	7.27	9.87
Transportation	2.01	2.08	2.33	0.92	1.40	0.25	2.15
Information	3.05	2.08	2.48	3.30	1.45	3.27	2.15
Finance	10.89	10.75	8.56	11.11	6.12	12.12	9.50
Professional	18.84	18.18	12.08	13.43	8.05	11.66	9.35
Education	8.78	18.34	10.68	9.91	4.71	9.56	15.93
Medical	23.87	19.15	14.75	19.20	12.10	19.63	20.23
Social Assistance	1.66	0.83	2.16	2.50	1.83	0.69	2.93
Entertainment	3.71	2.75	9.70	7.33	6.10	7.83	5.90
Service	1.78	2.11	8.04	3.94	23.10	6.01	3.29
Administration	3.23	5.38	3.77	7.11	3.57	7.44	5.73
Military	0.01	0.48	0.22	1.18	0.09	0.34	0.18

Approx. std errors	0.17	1.26	0.25	0.84	0.22	1.37	0.02
NOBS	17,271	328	8,366	750	10,691	280	1,601,539

Overall, the Asian/White men move out of manufacturing and transportation, and move into administration and military industries relative to their Asian alone counterparts. The Asian/White women move out of manufacturing and wholesale, while moving into construction and administration.

Occupational Distribution

More than 10% of Chinese men have an occupation in food (think Chinese restaurants), but Chinese/White men are much less likely to have this occupation, though more so than White men. The same is true of the food occupation for Japanese, Korean, and Filipino men. We explore the occupational distribution of the various Asian ethnic groups on Tables 15a through 15c across 25 occupational categories. In terms of the occupational distribution, we might expect the occupational shares of the Asian/White groups to lie somewhere between the occupational shares of the Asian group and the occupational shares of the White group. For example, 8.05% of Japanese men work in engineering, 6.03% of Japanese/White men work in engineering, and 3.85% of White men work in engineering. However, this only happens about 42% of the time at this level of disaggregation. Most of the time this pattern does not hold.

Table 15a explores the occupational distribution of Filipino, Japanese, Chinese and White men. We see a lot of Japanese men in management occupations and Chinese men in computer occupations. The Asian/White men are more likely to be in legal, entertainment, protective, repair and military occupations. They are less likely to be in engineering and food occupations than their Asian alone counterparts.

Table 15a ACS 09-13							
Occupational Distribution							
Filipinos, Japanese, and Chinese							
Men	Filipino	Filipino /White	Japanese	Japanese /White	Chinese	Chinese /White	White
Management	7.31	11.08	19.83	13.85	11.84	19.83	13.21
Business	2.66	3.05	3.47	3.36	2.51	2.78	2.41
Financial	2.91	3.43	4.62	2.34	3.97	3.86	2.27
Computer	5.94	6.36	6.23	7.70	14.24	11.51	4.21
Engineering	5.08	3.76	8.05	6.03	9.82	6.83	3.85
Science	1.17	1.53	3.07	1.43	5.22	2.90	1.07
Community	0.77	1.46	1.28	1.01	0.67	1.08	1.26
Legal	0.47	0.60	1.27	1.90	0.93	3.22	1.07
Education	1.89	3.73	4.82	4.80	4.96	5.70	3.47

Entertainment	1.61	2.34	2.73	3.09	1.43	3.60	1.59
Medical	11.62	4.60	3.44	3.97	4.30	3.97	2.61
Health	3.16	0.50	0.37	0.70	0.60	0.26	0.41
Protective	2.77	5.29	2.75	4.59	0.98	2.45	3.90
Food	4.57	3.93	3.85	3.23	10.47	2.87	2.61
Cleaning	4.40	1.52	1.18	1.50	1.06	1.44	3.36
Personal Care	2.05	1.39	0.86	0.91	1.36	0.91	0.76
Sales	6.18	8.46	10.03	10.52	7.20	6.99	10.06
Office	11.81	9.76	7.92	7.64	6.20	8.66	6.51
Farming	0.28	0.17	0.30	0.10	0.08	0.15	0.88
Construction	3.08	5.87	3.02	4.03	1.98	1.72	8.25
Extraction	0.05	0.10	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.36
Repair	5.76	7.55	3.55	5.39	2.24	3.36	7.24
Production	7.68	5.91	3.45	6.09	4.13	1.74	9.26
Transport	5.68	5.49	3.51	4.65	3.68	3.10	8.79
Military	1.09	2.12	0.39	1.14	0.14	1.08	0.59
Approx. std errors ¹⁴	0.13	0.47	0.24	0.44	0.12	0.66	0.01
NOBS	21,733	1,707	6,868	2,024	28,831	871	1,890,185

Table 15b presents the occupational distribution of Asian Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, and White men. We see a lot of Asian Indians in computer occupations, and Vietnamese men in production occupations. The Asian/White men are more likely to be in legal, protective, office, transport, and military occupations than their Asian alone counterparts. They are less likely to be in business, engineering, health, and production occupations.

Table 15b ACS 09-13							
Occupational Distribution							
Asian Indians, Koreans, and Vietnamese							
Men	Asian Indian	Asian Indian /White	Korean	Korean /White	Vietnamese	Vietnamese /White	White
Management	16.30	18.41	15.33	14.24	5.77	15.69	13.21
Business	3.62	3.44	2.95	2.69	1.76	1.39	2.41
Financial	3.32	5.52	4.14	2.26	2.28	2.34	2.27
Computer	31.24	8.35	8.27	9.45	8.41	8.31	4.21
Engineering	7.99	6.20	6.25	4.37	9.42	3.55	3.85
Science	2.60	2.30	3.05	0.97	1.11	1.84	1.07
Community	0.63	2.56	3.57	1.59	0.63	1.54	1.26

¹⁴ The standard error depends on the point estimate and the number of observations. Consequently every estimate has a different standard error. I provide these approximate standard errors because the table is already fairly large. These standard errors are appropriate for a point estimate of 4.0%.

Legal	0.54	3.92	1.79	2.71	0.51	1.04	1.07
Education	2.73	5.96	4.78	2.83	1.00	5.62	3.47
Entertainment	0.72	3.53	2.67	2.19	1.17	1.49	1.59
Medical	6.96	7.01	4.83	3.77	4.79	5.25	2.61
Health	0.38	0.11	0.53	0.42	0.59	0.24	0.41
Protective	0.72	1.67	1.58	4.85	1.05	3.12	3.90
Food	1.39	2.52	4.32	2.97	4.12	5.49	2.61
Cleaning	0.63	1.96	1.11	1.28	2.35	0.35	3.36
Personal Care	0.39	0.79	1.31	0.79	6.89	3.59	0.76
Sales	7.44	9.03	14.01	12.25	5.03	8.69	10.06
Office	4.07	4.49	6.13	6.15	6.62	8.51	6.51
Farming	0.11	0.00	0.05	0.14	0.26	0.03	0.88
Construction	0.68	2.60	1.83	2.93	2.95	2.45	8.25
Extraction	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.21	0.07	0.00	0.36
Repair	1.42	3.12	2.81	8.23	6.79	5.12	7.24
Production	3.07	2.08	5.14	4.80	21.74	6.98	9.26
Transport	2.98	4.16	2.86	5.20	4.56	5.73	8.79
Military	0.04	0.31	0.68	2.70	0.13	1.65	0.59
Approx. std errors	0.12	1.01	0.22	0.69	0.18	1.14	0.01
NOBS	28,826	377	8,186	807	12,354	294	1,890,185

Table 15c presents the occupational distribution of Filipina, Japanese, Chinese, and White women. We see more than a quarter of Filipina women in medical occupations, and over 20% of Korean women in office occupations. The Asian/White women are more likely to be management, community, protective, office, and military occupations. They are less likely to be in financial, cleaning, farming, repair, production, and transport occupations than their Asian alone counterparts.

Table 15c ACS 09-13							
Occupational Distribution							
Filipinas, Japanese, and Chinese							
Women	Filipina	Filipina /White	Japanese	Japanese /White	Chinese	Chinese /White	White
Management	6.70	11.28	11.89	14.54	10.14	13.79	10.71
Business	2.89	5.97	5.34	5.30	3.60	5.90	3.55
Financial	4.59	4.41	6.15	4.12	9.47	4.06	3.38
Computer	1.96	2.35	3.72	3.62	8.32	4.23	1.74
Engineering	0.90	1.17	2.04	0.83	3.08	1.60	0.70
Science	1.15	1.34	1.89	1.48	5.16	3.89	0.95
Community	1.20	2.66	1.82	2.94	0.96	2.24	2.49
Legal	0.73	1.76	2.06	2.03	1.40	3.97	1.63

Education	3.92	8.57	11.56	9.43	6.45	11.62	11.21
Entertainment	0.93	2.01	2.93	2.65	1.88	3.43	1.48
Medical	27.40	11.03	8.83	10.72	8.23	10.54	10.49
Health	6.91	3.24	1.61	1.82	2.55	1.62	3.67
Protective	0.40	0.63	0.49	1.32	0.26	1.49	0.94
Food	3.24	3.50	3.17	2.86	5.58	2.03	3.69
Cleaning	3.03	1.03	0.57	0.56	1.93	0.54	1.87
Personal Care	4.05	2.63	2.38	2.49	3.82	1.49	2.63
Sales	6.66	8.58	8.26	7.58	7.45	8.25	8.91
Office	17.50	23.53	21.71	22.84	13.46	16.53	23.72
Farming	0.22	0.08	0.14	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.22
Construction	0.06	0.19	0.24	0.14	0.12	0.47	0.23
Extraction	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
Repair	0.26	0.40	0.31	0.29	0.16	0.30	0.32
Production	4.25	2.44	2.00	1.69	4.78	1.01	3.65
Transport	0.93	0.81	0.88	0.66	1.04	0.56	1.75
Military	0.11	0.40	0.03	0.06	0.05	0.45	0.08
Approx. std errors	0.12	0.49	0.25	0.47	0.12	0.67	0.02
NOBS	27,771	1,616	6,293	1,727	26,980	850	1,601,539

Table 15d presents the occupational distribution of Asian Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, and White women. We see a lot of Vietnamese women in personal care occupations (think nail salons), and many Asian Indian women in computer occupations. The Asian/White women are more likely to be in management, community, education, and protective occupations. They are less likely to be in engineering, cleaning, construction and production occupations than their Asian alone counterparts.

Table 15d ACS 09-13							
Occupational Distribution							
Asian Indians, Koreans, and Vietnamese							
Women	Asian Indian	Asian Indian /White	Korean	Korean /White	Vietnamese	Vietnamese /White	White
Management	10.38	16.09	10.67	12.25	5.17	11.26	10.71
Business	4.68	4.38	3.33	5.62	2.36	1.58	3.55
Financial	4.95	2.21	5.19	2.42	5.30	5.87	3.38
Computer	16.99	2.08	2.86	4.01	3.71	4.06	1.74
Engineering	2.86	2.14	1.49	1.14	2.27	0.35	0.70
Science	3.45	3.91	2.18	1.98	1.34	2.42	0.95
Community	0.87	3.04	2.06	2.80	1.05	3.15	2.49
Legal	1.17	7.94	2.56	2.11	0.82	1.43	1.63

Education	6.32	11.52	7.43	7.76	2.53	6.56	11.21
Entertainment	0.85	2.78	3.31	2.74	1.18	2.09	1.48
Medical	17.7	14.42	10.53	10.05	8.82	14.37	10.49
Health	2.66	2.43	1.89	2.18	1.92	3.06	3.67
Protective	0.24	1.00	0.41	1.45	0.24	1.51	0.94
Food	1.44	1.59	5.56	2.66	3.45	3.55	3.69
Cleaning	0.72	0.38	1.26	1.25	1.62	0.13	1.87
Personal Care	1.43	2.34	6.13	4.11	23.38	6.41	2.63
Sales	6.98	7.55	12.82	9.28	4.96	8.28	8.91
Office	11.27	10.93	14.08	22.55	12.05	16.68	23.72
Farming	0.10	0.44	0.09	0.00	0.15	0.00	0.22
Construction	0.07	0.00	0.20	0.16	0.18	0.07	0.23
Extraction	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Repair	0.19	0.24	0.15	0.48	0.60	0.49	0.32
Production	3.42	2.16	4.96	1.68	15.12	5.52	3.65
Transport	1.25	0.42	0.78	0.78	1.74	1.13	1.75
Military	0.01	0.00	0.09	0.55	0.03	0.00	0.08
Approx. std errors	0.15	1.08	0.21	0.72	0.19	1.17	0.02
NOBS	17,271	328	8,366	750	10,691	280	1,601,539

Overall, Asian/White men tend to move into legal, protective, and military occupations while moving out of engineering relative to their Asian alone counterparts. Asian/White women tend to move into management, community, and protective occupations, while moving out of cleaning and production occupations.

Labor Market Discrimination

Current labor market discrimination exists when workers who have identical productive characteristics are treated differently because of their race or gender. The two prominent forms of current labor market discrimination are wage discrimination and occupational discrimination. Wage discrimination occurs when two equally skilled groups of workers doing exactly the same job under the same working conditions are paid different wages. Occupational discrimination occurs when two equally skilled groups of workers are given different access to certain occupations. When these occupations are more prestigious and higher-paying, we refer to this as a glass ceiling problem. But occupational discrimination can be a much broader issue.

Since we take the productive characteristics as given, the methodology here ignores the effects of pre-market discrimination and past labor market discrimination. We explore the degree of current labor market discrimination faced by various Asian ethnic groups as narrowly defined

above with ACS data. The ACS data do not allow us to measure the differences in earnings due to discrimination from pre-market or past labor market discrimination.

Wage Discrimination

We first explore the issue of wage discrimination. In 2013 the median usual weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers was \$884 for White men, \$1059 for Asian American men, \$722 for White women, and \$819 for Asian American women.¹⁵ The median hourly earnings of wage and salary workers paid hourly rates was \$14.24 for White men, \$14.24 for Asian American men, \$12.21 for White women, and \$13.04 for Asian American women. Some Asian American ethnic groups earn more than White Americans, and some earn less. But we cannot measure the degree of labor market discrimination unless we control for differences in the productive characteristics of these ethnic groups. Different groups may have more or less education or more or less experience. They also have different kinds of jobs. Everything else being the same, people earn more if they work longer hours or have “dirty, dangerous, and demanding” jobs. Differences in earnings may be because of differences in average levels of productive characteristics and/or labor market discrimination. After controlling for productivity, we test to see if it makes a difference if someone is Asian alone, or biracial Asian/White.

We estimated wage regressions with controls for education, experience, experience squared, industry, occupation, region, age of arrival to the United States (0 if native born), marital status, English language ability, Hispanic origin, weeks worked per year, and hours worked per week using American Community Survey data from 2009-2013. Regressions were run with and without industry and occupation controls. We test to see the effect on earnings of being Asian alone and being biracial Asian/White relative to being White alone.

On Table 16a we present the results comparing Asian alone men and biracial Asian/White men to White alone men. Filipino alone men earn about 17-19% less than comparable White alone men, while Filipino/White men earn about 2-4% less than comparable White alone men. Korean alone and Vietnamese alone men also earn less than comparable White alone men. However, biracial Korean and biracial Vietnamese men have earnings which are comparable to White alone men. For five of the six ethnic groups, the biracial Asian/White men have a better labor market outcome than their Asian alone counterpart. In the one possible exception, Asian Indian alone men may earn more than comparable Asian Indian/White men, though the difference is not statistically significant.

Table 16a ACS 09-13			
Wage Discrimination relative to White Men			
Men		no	with

¹⁵ “Highlights of Women’s Earnings in 2013,” BLS Reports, December 2014.

		industry/occ controls	ind/occ controls
Filipino	Hapa	-0.0194 (0.0160)	-0.0392* (0.0152)
	Asian	-0.1898* (0.0007)	-0.1680* (0.0054)
		1,913,625	
Japanese	Hapa	0.0240 (0.0161)	0.0018 (0.0154)
	Asian	0.0124 (0.0116)	0.0045 (0.0089)
		1,899,077	
Chinese	Hapa	0.0555* (0.0216)	0.0346 (0.0205)
	Asian	0.0259* (0.0051)	-0.0082 (0.0046)
		1,919,887	
Asian Indian	Hapa	0.1026* (0.0411)	0.0463 (0.0344)
	Asian	0.1440* (0.0065)	0.0497 (0.0053)
		1,919,388	
Korean	Hapa	-0.0037 (0.0322)	-0.0242 (0.0252)
	Asian	-0.1017* (0.0137)	-0.0905* (0.0103)
		1,899,178	
Vietnamese	Hapa	0.0284 (0.0408)	0.0114 (0.0364)
	Asian	-0.0378* (0.0080)	-0.0556* (0.0066)
		1,902,833	
* significant at the 5% level Standard error in parentheses Number of observations			

On Table 16b we compare the experience of Asian and Asian/White women relative to White women. By comparing Asian women to White women, we are looking at the effects of race without confounding the effects of gender. Asian alone women earn at least as much as

comparable White alone women. Japanese/White women and Korean/White women do better than their Japanese alone and Korean alone counterparts. But the Chinese alone, Asian Indian alone, and Vietnamese alone women have higher earnings than their Asian/White counterparts. Thus the overall results are mixed here.

Table 16b ACS 09-13			
Wage Discrimination relative to White Women			
Women		no industry/occ controls	with ind/occ controls
Filipina	Hapa	0.0276 (0.0178)	0.0234 (0.0150)
	Asian	0.0504* (0.0052)	0.0067 (0.0044)
		1,630,926	
Japanese	Hapa	0.0669* (0.0156)	0.0375* (0.0143)
	Asian	0.0102 (0.0085)	-0.0110 (0.0079)
		1,609,559	
Chinese	Hapa	0.1115* (0.0249)	0.0694* (0.0222)
	Asian	0.1644* (0.0050)	0.0821* (0.0046)
		1,629,369	
Asian Indian	Hapa	0.0143 (0.0353)	-0.0006 (0.0305)
	Asian	0.1653* (0.0065)	0.0521* (0.0058)
		1,619,138	
Korean	Hapa	0.1405* (0.0202)	0.0960* (0.0191)
	Asian	0.0854* (0.0088)	0.0580* (0.0079)
		1,610,655	
Vietnamese	Hapa	-0.0069 (0.0602)	-0.0246 (0.0494)
	Asian	0.0880* (0.0078)	0.0666* (0.0067)
		1,612,510	

* significant at the 5% level			
Standard error in parentheses			
Number of observations			

On Table 16c we examine the experience of Asian and Asian/White women relative to White women after controlling for sample selection issues. Since we only have earnings data for women who are working, we worry about possible bias in our estimates resulting from any correlation between productivity characteristics and the decision to enter the labor force. Here we estimate the wage regressions with the Heckman correction for sample selection bias.

Overall the Asian women and Asian/White women have earnings at least as high as comparable White women. The Chinese alone, Asian Indian alone, and Vietnamese alone women have higher earnings than comparable Asian/White women. The Japanese alone and Korean alone women have lower earnings than comparable Asian/White women. Thus the results are still mixed. The qualitative results are the same with and without the sample selection correction.

Table 16c ACS 09-13			
Wage Discrimination relative to White Women with sample selection			
Women		no industry/occ controls	with ind/occ controls
Filipina	Hapa	0.0112	0.0097
		(0.0186)	(0.0154)
	Asian	0.0169*	-0.0230*
		(0.0053)	(0.0046)
	Uncensored	1,630,926	
	Censored	764,937	
Japanese	Hapa	0.0635*	0.0349*
		(0.0159)	(0.0146)
	Asian	-0.0029	-0.0216*
		(0.0088)	(0.0082)
	Uncensored	1,609,559	
	Censored	759,970	
Chinese	Hapa	0.1089*	0.0678*
		(0.0257)	(0.0228)
	Asian	0.1515*	0.0720*
		(0.0051)	(0.0046)
	Uncensored	1,629,369	
	Censored	768,860	

Asian Indian	Hapa	0.0214	0.0061
		(0.0370)	(0.0319)
	Asian	0.1551*	0.0438*
		(0.0067)	(0.0059)
	Uncensored	1,619,138	
	Censored	764,109	
Korean	Hapa	0.1383*	0.0945*
		(0.0212)	(0.0200)
	Asian	0.1131*	0.0822*
		(0.0090)	(0.0081)
	Uncensored	1,610,655	
	Censored	762,479	
Vietnamese	Hapa	0.0001	-0.0184
		(0.0634)	(0.0525)
	Asian	0.1016*	0.0780*
		(0.0080)	(0.0069)
	Uncensored	1,612,510	
	Censored	762,734	
* significant at the 5% level			
Standard error in parentheses			
Number of observations			

Once you control for productive characteristics, Asian/White men have higher earnings than comparable Asian alone men. The results for Asian women are mixed.

Glass Ceilings

In addition to being paid less for doing the same work, Asian American ethnic groups may be less likely to receive promotions. Asian Americans may be denied equal access to the higher rungs of the managerial or corporate ladder. To the extent that such discrimination exists, Asian Americans may be excluded from spheres of power and influence along with the associated pecuniary earnings.

Probit models were estimated to explain the factors that affect the probability of someone holding a managerial position. The explanatory variables included years of experience (age), disability status, marital status, Hispanic, rural area, language ability, age at immigration, number of kids (children), and whether or not the person was of Asian descent. Furthermore, controls were included for industry and region of residence because the percent of the labor force in managerial positions may differ by industry and region for reasons independent of race. To

conserve on space, we only report the coefficient estimates for the biracial and Asian dummy variables. All the other coefficient estimates were of the expected magnitude and sign.

Table 17a show the probit results for the Asian, Asian/White and White men. Asian men are generally less likely to hold managerial positions than comparable White men. Furthermore, all the point estimates suggest that Asian/White men are more likely to hold managerial positions than comparable Asian men. The results are similar with and without industry controls.

Table 17a ACS 09-13			
Glass Ceiling Probits relative to White Men			
Men		no industry controls	with industry controls
Filipino	Hapa	0.0682	0.0811
		(0.0644)	(0.0682)
	Asian	-0.3564*	-0.3221*
		(0.0191)	(0.0195)
		1,913,625	
Japanese	Hapa	0.0289	0.0418
		(0.0529)	(0.0569)
	Asian	0.0213	0.0290
		(0.0224)	(0.0223)
		1,899,077	
Chinese	Hapa	0.0514	0.0609
		(0.0598)	(0.0608)
	Asian	-0.1679*	-0.1770*
		(0.0140)	(0.0139)
		1,919,887	
Asian Indian	Hapa	0.0155	0.0186
		(0.1071)	(0.1088)
	Asian	-0.0563*	-0.0468*
		(0.0128)	(0.0128)
		1,919,388	
Korean	Hapa	0.1227	0.1498*
		(0.0732)	(0.0752)
	Asian	-0.0439*	0.0055
		(0.0220)	(0.0217)
		1,899,178	
Vietnamese	Hapa	0.1471	0.1537
		(0.1281)	(0.1311)

	Asian	-0.3689*	-0.3420*
		(0.0242)	(0.0241)
		1,902,833	
* significant at 5% # significant at 10%			
Standard error in parentheses			
Number of observations			

On Table 17b we present the results for Asian, Asian/White and White women. For all six ethnic groups, the Asian women are less likely to have a managerial position than comparable White women. Asian women are also less likely to have a managerial position than comparable Asian/White women. The Asian/White women are generally equally likely to hold a managerial position as comparable White women, though Filipina/White women are less likely and Korean/White women are more likely.

Table 17b ACS 09-13			
Glass Ceiling Probits			
relative to White Women			
Women		no industry controls	with industry controls
Filipina	Hapa	-0.1286*	-0.1658*
		(0.0484)	(0.0502)
	Asian	-0.2566*	-0.2335*
		(0.0175)	(0.0179)
		1,630,926	
Japanese	Hapa	0.0347	0.0233
		(0.0445)	(0.0447)
	Asian	-0.0651*	-0.0946*
		(0.0281)	(0.0295)
		1,609,559	
Chinese	Hapa	0.0839	0.0392
		(0.0621)	(0.0634)
	Asian	-0.0405*	-0.0988*
		(0.0143)	(0.0146)
		1,629,369	
Asian Indian	Hapa	-0.0646	-0.0514
		(0.0935)	(0.0953)
	Asian	-0.0706*	-0.0892*
		(0.0172)	(0.0175)
		1,619,138	

Korean	Hapa	0.2084*	0.1699*
		(0.0782)	(0.0773)
	Asian	-0.0014	-0.0282
		(0.0240)	(0.0244)
		1,610,655	
Vietnamese	Hapa	-0.0346	-0.0376
		(0.1128)	(0.1141)
	Asian	-0.2203*	-0.2344*
		(0.0250)	(0.0257)
		1,612,510	
* significant at 5%			
Standard error in parentheses			
Number of observations			

We also estimate these probits with corrections for sample selection issues. The results, presented on Table 17c, were similar to the results without the correction. Asian women are less likely to hold managerial positions than comparable White women, with or without industry controls. Asian/White women are more likely to hold managerial positions than comparable Asian women. Asian/White women are generally equally likely to hold managerial positions as comparable White women, though Filipina/White women are less likely and Korean/White women are more likely.

Table 17c ACS 09-13			
Glass Ceiling Probits			
relative to White Women			
with sample selection			
Women		no industry controls	with industry controls
Filipina	Hapa	-0.1876*	-0.2144*
		(0.0453)	(0.0470)
	Asian	-0.3860*	-0.3604*
		(0.0154)	(0.0159)
	Uncensored	1,630,926	
	Censored	764,937	
Japanese	Hapa	0.0217	0.0145
		(0.0402)	(0.0405)
	Asian	-0.1179*	-0.1395*
		(0.0244)	(0.0255)
	Uncensored	1,609,559	
	Censored	759,970	

Chinese	Hapa	0.0765	0.0415
		(0.0555)	(0.0568)
	Asian	-0.0975*	-0.1405*
		(0.0126)	(0.0129)
	Uncensored	1,629,369	
	Censored	768,860	
Asian Indian	Hapa	0.0013	0.0191
		(0.0921)	(0.0933)
	Asian	-0.1163*	-0.1329*
		(0.0153)	(0.0155)
	Uncensored	1,619,138	
	Censored	764,109	
Korean	Hapa	0.1767*	0.1458*
		(0.0695)	(0.0685)
	Asian	0.1414*	0.1227
		(0.0215)	(0.0219)
	Uncensored	1,610,655	
	Censored	762,479	
Vietnamese	Hapa	0.0192	0.0139
		(0.1056)	(0.1070)
	Asian	-0.1217*	-0.1352*
		(0.0214)	(0.0221)
	Uncensored	1,612,510	
	Censored	762,734	
* significant at 5%			
Standard error in parentheses			
Number of observations			

The glass ceiling issue is a major issue for Asian Americans. Both Asian men and Asian women are less likely to hold managerial positions than comparable White men and women.

Asian/White men and women are more likely to break through the glass ceiling than Asian alone men and women.

VI. Discussion and Conclusion

Do Asian/White Americans occupy a space between the space of Asian Americans and White Americans? When it comes to general characteristics like average earnings, years of education, geographic concentration, Hispanic identification, and being native born, the answer is generally yes. Japanese Americans have higher earnings than Japanese/White Americans who have higher

earnings than White Americans. Filipino/a Americans have more education than Filipino/a/White Americans who have more education than White Americans. Chinese are more geographically concentrated than Chinese/White Americans who are more geographically concentrated than White Americans. White Americans are more likely to identify as Hispanic than Asian/White Americans who are more likely than Asian Americans.

When it comes to industry and occupation, the answer is generally no. There are some exceptions. About 8.8% of Filipino men are in entertainment, 8.1% of Filipino/White men, and 5.4% of White men. About 23.4% of Vietnamese women are in personal care, 6.4% of Vietnamese/White women, and 2.6% of White women. In these cases, Asian/Whites fall between the proportions of Asian Americans and White Americans. But in general, they do not. Japanese/White Americans are less likely to be in manufacturing than either Japanese Americans or White Americans. And Chinese/White Americans are more likely to be in the military than Chinese Americans or White Americans.

In terms of labor market discrimination, Asian/White Americans generally have a better labor market outcome than comparable Asian Americans. The evidence is most uniform regarding the glass ceiling. Asian Americans, men and women, are less likely to hold managerial positions than comparable White Americans, and Asian/White Americans are more likely to hold managerial positions than comparable Asian Americans. In terms of wage discrimination, Asian American men generally earn less than comparable Asian/White men, and Asian/White men have earnings which are comparable to White men. The results for women were much more mixed. Japanese/White American women earn more than comparable Japanese American women, but Vietnamese American women earn more than comparable Vietnamese/White American women.

Thus along many dimensions, Asian/White Americans find themselves somewhere between Asian Americans and White Americans. But the story is clearly much more complicated when we try to understand the occupational and industry distribution of the labor force. These mixed results are consistent with the Pew Research Center (2015) survey which examined experiences and attitudes of multiracial Americans. The survey found that Asian Americans want bigger government with more services, White Americans want smaller government with fewer services, and Asian/White Americans fall in the middle. Asian Americans want more gun control, White Americans want less gun control, and Asian/White Americans fall in the middle. Asian/White Americans are less likely to be a Democrat than Asian Americans, but more so than White Americans. But on the issue of abortion, Asian/White Americans are more supportive of abortion than either Asian Americans or White Americans.

There are also numerous issues which are unaddressed in this paper. For example, Fryer, Kahn, Levitt, and Spenkuch (2012) find that “on a host of backgrounds and achievement characteristics, mixed race kids fall in between whites and blacks.” However, “when it comes to

engaging in risky/anti-social adolescent behavior, however, mixed race kids are stark outliers compared to both blacks and whites.” They examined data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health). Shih and Sanchez (2005) find that a multiracial background has a negative effect on psychological well-being and adjustment when you look at clinical populations. But they find that multiracial individuals tend to be just as well-adjusted as their mono-racial peers on most psychological outcomes when you look at nonclinical samples. Thus the jury may still be out on these other issues.

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