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Asians in America: Convergence to Non-Hispanic Whites, or a New Trajectory for Assimilation Theory?

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We analyze what assimilation means for first and second generation Asians, given that they are unlike other migrants who enter the United States at lower income and educational levels than Non-Hispanic Whites (NHW). We use the American Community Survey (2012 5-year pooled sample) to explore- how 1) foreign-born and US-born Asians compare to NHW, and 2) inter-generational differences within Asian groups- using two areas: status attainment (education, income, occupation) and family composition (marital status, multi-generational households, labor force participation). Is there, as we see in other immigrant communities, a “convergence” or regression to the mean, or is it still distinctive across generations? We find that income advantage transfers, with second generation more educated and in diverse employment sectors than foreign-born co-ethnics. Additionally, there is evidence of segmented assimilation within the Indian diaspora. We offer explanations and rethink assimilation for immigrants and immigrant generations with sustained high human capital.

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Introduction

The taxi driver, the family physician, the convenience store owner. These are some of the stereotypes associated with Indian Americans in popular culture. Similar tropes exist for Asian-Americans as a whole: the exotic woman, the effeminate man, and the diligent student. According to the most recent US Census, Asian Americans (single race) increased at more than four times the national US population, with Chinese, Indian, Korean, Filipino and Vietnamese occupying the majority (Census 2012). While there have been some careful analyses of the heterogeneous Asian American identity, most are not nationally representative, or are accounts which do not allow a complete understanding of the group in comparison to other Asian races/ethnicities in the country. Quantitative studies tend to lump the group under “Asian” in comparison to NHW, blacks, and Hispanics- if included in analysis at all. This obviates nuances in understanding important outcomes, particularly through a multigenerational perspective. Additionally, in most analyses, NHW outcomes are set as a golden standard of achievement and the main comparative category for reaching assimilation. Given that Asian migrants are more educated on average than NHW, other outcomes are bound to reflect higher achievement- irrespective of metric. Perhaps what we need to go by is the Asian golden standard for assimilation, not NHW. In this paper, we present a careful analysis of some of the most populous Asian groups using American Census data to understand not just about the Asian identity across generations, but hopefully, also something about American migration policy and context of reception.

Research Goals

Our research aims are tripartite.

First, we ask what the levels of human capital of migrants from 6 Asian countries are, and how they compare to NHW in the United States. This question is motivated from assimilation theories that assume migrants enter the United States at lower educational and income levels than the NHW. We explore whether that is true for Asians.

Second, we ask whether the relative income “advantage” of foreign-born Asians carries over to the second generation (US-born Asians). This is motivated by work that shows that the second generation is the one that “regresses to the mean”, with “mean” being NHW levels of education and

income- that are generally higher. The inherent assumption is that migrants enter the country at lower levels of human capital, and it is the second and even third generation that finally reaches parity with NHW- or “assimilation”. Given that our sample may enter at an advantage, we explore whether this advantage remains for the second generation, or whether they regress downwards, to the mean.

Finally, we further analyze these outcomes by Indian sub-group: with a focus on those born in India, born in the U.S., and born outside of India and U.S. - largely the Caribbean/South America and Africa. This is the first time to the authors’ knowledge that Census data is being used to parse information by Indian origin.

Previous Literature

Migration and assimilation theories

Demographers and sociologists have a variety of theories that explain the initiation and continuation of migration from the home country: Push-pull (Ravenstein 1885), human capital theory (Sjaasted 1962), new home economics of migration (Stark and Bloom 1985), segmented labor market theory (Piore 1980), and world system theory (Petras 1981). There are also assimilation theories for migrants in their new countries or destinations: classic assimilation (Alba and Nee 1997), behavioral assimilation or acculturation (Gordon 1961), and segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993).

Criticisms of each theory abound for a variety of reasons, but most relevant to this paper, is the fact that most do not adequately explain the reasons for Asian migration (largely skilled and professional migrants, especially post-1965 Immigration and Nationality Act), nor do they encompass Asian assimilation in the U.S. Yang (2010) conducts a thoughtful analysis of the limitations of each of these theories, and proposes a theory to understand Asian migration, which he coins, “multilevel causation theory” (Yang 2010). Similarly, Le’s (2007) book *Asian American Assimilation: Ethnicity, Immigration, and Socioeconomic Attainment* illuminates the social and economic integration of these groups, particularly for Vietnamese-Americans, but does not offer an assimilation theory for Asians (Le 2007). We return to these theories and discuss others after we present our analyses that include a novel approach to understanding Indian-Americans with different migration histories.

Status Attainment (education, income, occupation, residence)

Education and income- while highly correlated- are the main outcomes used to assess assimilation with relation to NHW. It is important to distinguish the selection of highly educated Asian (Chinese, Indian, Filipino) migrants to the U.S. (i.e. the foreign-born), and the achievement of their children (U.S.-born). Feliciano (2005) creates an educational attainment index using data from 31 countries including 7 Asian countries, and finds that educational selectivity of the immigrant group, which she refers to as “ethnic capital”, significantly affects college attendance rates among 1.5 and second generation children of immigrants (Feliciano 2005). Dustmann et al. (2012) find that educational attainment of the second generation is strongly related to academic levels of the parental generation. In fact, in countries where the foreign-born parents are highly educated, the children of immigrants tend to do well- sometimes even better than their co-ethnic peers who are born to native-born parents (Dustmann et al. 2012). The fact that educational selection exists among immigrants to the U.S. is not new, but is something that is not always parsed out by nation of origin. In fact, the issue of immigrant selection is not limited to certain observed characteristics such as education levels, but also for unobserved characteristics like motivation, ability, unmeasured cultural capital, and social networks (Cohen and Haberfeld 2007).

The model minority typecasting found much disrepute in the early 1990's. Critics argued that this image is largely superficial- Asian Americans were outperforming NHW in terms of college degree attainment, but not receiving income returns on par with whites (Le 2007). In fact, much of the income inequality was perceived to be due to mechanisms of racial/ethnic and gender bias embedded into organizational practices, economic structures, and political intuitions (Le 2007). More recent research posits that achievement among Asian Americans is higher due to the ability for their well-educated foreign-born parents to integrate economically in the U.S., high levels of community support, engaged parents, and a motivation to meet parental expectation (Dhingra and Rodriguez 2014; Xie and Greenman 2011). However, are many degrees to educational attainment among Asians, with Filipinos and Cambodians at the lower end of educational attainment (Zhou and Xiong 2005). There are generational nuances in terms of “catch-up”, with second generation Vietnamese showing high educational achievement and moving closer to the Chinese, Korean, and Indians than to other Southeast Asian counterparts, despite their initially lower socioeconomic status (Zhou and Xiong 2005). Second-generation Filipinos lag quite far behind their Chinese counterparts and show a tendency of converging to the mean (NHW), despite their

higher family SES. These differences in educational attainment between Asian groups and within generations of the same ethnic group are precisely what drives the crux of this research, for it is education that is critically linked to income outcomes and economic/social mobility.

Income is a good metric to assess migrant convergence or divergence to the mainstream or NHW level. Income assimilation is defined as the earnings growth of immigrants above and beyond the growth experienced by natives or by natives who are similar on measured characteristics. In the absence of discrimination, earnings are a function of productivity, which is in turn, a function of skills. Thus, earnings are considered to be the single best indicator for both measured and unmeasured skills- important when considering selection bias in migration (Cohen and Haberfeld 2007). Sociological theories on immigrant and second generation assimilation in education largely focus on linear and segmented assimilation as explanatory models. Evidence on income assimilation among Asian immigrants is mixed. While some studies suggest that Asian immigrants earn higher than native counterparts at the same levels of education, others suggest that Asians received fewer wage returns to years spent in the US and that wage disparities are magnified by the percentage of immigrants in a metropolitan area, called “group threat” (Stewart and Dixon 2010). In fact, the authors find that whites receive a wage premium when living in an area with a larger share of immigrants. The earnings hierarchy for Asians emergent from literature: U.S.-born Asians, Native-born Whites, and finally, Foreign-born Asians.

Differences in human capital of immigrants from Asia lead to sometimes divergent occupational tracks, with some in high-skilled occupations, and others in low-skilled sectors- and implications for their U.S.-born children. Family involvement in career choice is an important concern among the second generation, with high-skilled careers in engineering, medicine, and computer science dominating (Tang et al. 1999). Indeed, in the U.S., about 25% of the medical workforce is international, with a substantial chunk from India and the Philippines (Mullan 2005). Strong family and community networks play a key role in entrepreneurship and small businesses among the Indians and Chinese immigrants groups respectively (Chand and Ghorbani 2011). Additionally, there are differences in types of self-employment, with Indians, Chinese, and Filipinos in professional services, compared to Koreans and Vietnamese in enclave-associated service industries (Le 2007). Occupation notwithstanding, there is some evidence that Asians as a group prefer to live among co-ethnics, and interestingly, this effect does not hold for those with English proficiency (Iceland 2004; Nguyen 2004). Naturally, there are implications for socioeconomic

attainment by co-ethnic residential concentration. For example, in California, Koreans and Chinese exhibit disadvantages to living in ethnic neighborhoods, while Indians and Filipinos show advantages (Le 2007). Living in areas or even states with high co-ethnic concentrations may thus result in positive community-level factors and ethnic resources that may influence outcomes of interest.

Family composition (marital status, multigenerational households, labor force participation)

Marriage- particularly interracial marriage- is seen as an essential predictor for social assimilation in a society. There are differences by Asian groups, with Indian foreign-born and second generation showing the highest levels of homogamy (Kalmijn and van Tubergen 2010). The role of education as a mediator for Asians is mixed: some find that members of high-status immigrant groups more likely to intermarry than members of low-status immigrant groups even after controlling for the individual level of education (Kalmijn and van Tubergen 2010), while others find that educational impact on interracial marriage is strong for Chinese and Asian Indian Americans, modest for Japanese and Southeast Asians, and insignificant for Filipino and Korean Americans (Qian et al. 2001).

The role of multigenerational households on the pooling of income and labor force participation is interesting, and there is little to no evidence on how these dynamics play out for Asian Americans. Cohen and Casper (2002) find that blacks and Hispanics are more likely to live in multigenerational households, but income is a mediatory, with those with high individual incomes less likely to live in multigenerational households (Cohen and Casper 2002). While living together can be a response to hardship (Billingsley 1994), living together enables a pooling of resources, and a sense of support (Tienda and Glass 1985). Labor force participation can be linked to living in multigenerational households, if one thinks of grandparents as built-in childcare leading to high female labor force participation- or as dropping out of the labor force to care for more people in the household, thus linked to lower rates of participation. There is no major difference between labor force participation rates of Asians compared to NHW (Lee et al. 2014), thus living arrangements are unlikely a major factor. After controlling for a variety of important factors like field of study and college type, it was found that U.S.-born Asian women are actually more likely to be unemployed, and once employed, less likely to occupy a high level position (Kim and Zhao 2014).

Immigration-specific (citizenship, ability to speak English, years in the U.S.)

One of the silent features of the discussion above has been the issue of citizenship. Labor force participation and thus household income is contingent on laws that govern the ability of an immigrant to obtain legal work. Additionally, a lack of proficiency in English limits the types of jobs immigrants can get, and eventually, succeed in (Dustmann and Fabbri 2003). Lee (2013) finds that low proficiency in English is not a factor for Korean and Chinese female employment- but could be owed to self-employment in service industries (Lee et al. 2014). Filipino and Indian women on the other hand, are highly skilled at entry, and are more likely to be very proficient in English. The acquisition of English proficiency is essential for assimilation. Zhou finds mixed evidence, with Cambodians and Laotians hampered by their lack of English proficiency, while Filipino immigrants' proficiency did not translate into high levels of educational attainment (Zhou and Xiong 2005). There is an interesting dimension to issues of citizenship and education, particularly for Indian female migrants. In a thought-provoking qualitative study of Indian migrant wives in the Northeast, Purkayastha (2005) found that H1-B dependent spouses- mostly wives- were ineligible to work, but were just as highly qualified as their husbands (Purkayastha 2005). This lack of work due to laws could be reflected in low levels of female participation for some Asian groups, and potentially lead to a feeling of disadvantage among these women.

Duration in the U.S. is a key indicator of income assimilation; women and men who have been in the country longer are expected to have obtained more information and employment opportunities along with necessary skills. Stewart and Dixon (2010) find that most recent immigrants experience higher wage disparities than immigrants who have been in the US. Country of origin here is likely to be the primary driving force, since employment sectors depend on educational levels: Cohen and Haberfeld (2007) find Jewish immigrants from the Former Soviet Union to the U.S. upon arrival earned only 69% of the income of natives at the same educational level, but after 10-15 years, earned 11% more than the natives, implying a faster rate of earnings assimilation. Lee (2007) finds evidence of a gradient by increasing duration of stay across Asian groups, and thus shows how duration in the U.S. can be a manifestation of improving English skills and acquiring legal citizenship.

Data

The American Community Survey (ACS) pooled 5-year sample from 2012 is the main data source for this analysis. The entire sample is restricted to those above the age of 25 in order to approximate

completion of educational attainment, or at least college education. The NHW group includes those that are foreign-born in addition to U.S.-born, although the latter are the dominant (95%). All Asian individuals are identified by those who selected a single race category in the survey. While this may exclude certain groups with high rates of inter-marriage, it would complicate some of the main implications we hope to produce. Asian groups were thus non-Hispanic: Indian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Filipino according to race and not ancestry since it is a more encompassing measure of identity and origin. For example, ancestry would subdivide individuals belonging to Pakistan or India if they responded “Punjabi, or between India and Bangladesh for those responding to “Bengali”. Additionally, this would potentially exclude differentiating between those of Indian origin who are born in the Caribbean/South America or Africa- which are key groups we want to explore quantitatively- a first time to the authors’ knowledge using Census data.

Construction of key variables

Income: Logged individual income is the key dependent variables in the analysis.

Education: Given high educational attainment among Asians, the majority of distinctions are in the higher categories, with main analytic groups classified as: High school or less, some college, college degree (includes associate’s degree), and graduate degree (Master’s, Professional i.e- JD, MD, Doctoral degree).

Occupation: Given that different Asian groups occupy different sectors of employment, we did not want to restrict analysis to specific sectors. We use the 2010 Standard Occupational Classification from the Bureau of Labor Statistics¹ to create high-level occupational aggregations. Group 1: Management, Business, Science, and Arts (includes legal, healthcare, computer, and social science occupations); Group 2: Service (includes healthcare support, food preparation, and personal care); Group 3: Sales and Office; Group 4: Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance; Group 5: Production, Transportation, and Material Moving; Group 6: Military-specific. We also create another category for Science Technology Engineering Mathematics² (STEM) fields due to the dominance of Asian groups in these fields (0= not STEM, 1= STEM, 2= STEM-related). For the descriptive analysis, we use the expanded 25 level occupation codes or STEM codes, while for the multivariate

¹ http://www.bls.gov/soc/soc_2010_user_guide.pdf

² <https://www.census.gov/people/io/files/STEM-Census-2010-occ-code-list.xls>

analysis we use the 6 category groupings described above with Group 1 as the main reference category.

Methods

We present a largely descriptive analysis that details demographic, socioeconomic, and immigrant-specific characteristics of all the Asian groups and compare these characteristics to those of NHW. For multivariate analysis, we use OLS regression analysis with individual income as the main dependent variable. For the latter, we first present stratified regression models by Asian group, and then look at income after controlling for Asian group status to determine whether all income disparity is explained by those characteristics. We follow the same analysis for within-Indian group differences.

Results

Table 1 presents the Asian sample by foreign-born and U.S.-born distinctions. There are differences by birthplace, with most Asians comprising foreign-born (except for the Japanese, who have a longer history in the U.S.). Of the total Indians in the U.S. for example, only a third are born in the U.S. Chinese make up about 25% of all Asians in the U.S., followed closely by Indians and Filipinos. There are interesting differences when parsed out by those age 25 and up, with the sample of U.S.-born attenuating greatly for all groups except the Japanese, signaling that these are still very young groups. As discussed, a sub-focus of this analysis will be on the differences within the Indian group, with those born in India (N=66,968) U.S.-born individuals of Indian origin (5,639), and a sizeable chunk of individuals who are non-US and non-India born (9,883). With respect to the latter group, about 56% trace their birthplace to Africa or South America/Caribbean (Figure 1). The other significant group is the 22% born in different Asian countries. Since these individuals are heterogeneous with respect to birthplace, reasons for immigration, occupational categories, we return to this group later in the analysis, with a focus on the Africa and South America/Caribbean contingent.

[Table 1, Figure 1 here]

Status Attainment

Table 2 is a comprehensive snapshot of the sample, parsed out by demographic, status attainment, family composition, and immigrant-specific variables in sub-tables. Table 2a shows the foreign-born sample is much older than the U.S.-born sample, save for the Japanese. The latter group is also more skewed in terms of sex, with almost 70% foreign-born comprising of women, which makes sense, given that the sample is much older and due to differences in mortality patterns. Indians and Chinese foreign-born and U.S.-born have much higher educational attainment than other Asians. Interestingly, the second generations for all other Asians makes up for lower educational attainment of their parents, with all reporting at least a college degree. Non-US, non-India born Indians are not as educated as a group- about 16.5% have less than a high school degree. These differences are reflected in individual income, but not as much in household income. The median individual income for foreign-born Indians is higher than NHW, while this is not the case for other Asian groups. For household income however, the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos overtake the NHW group. Among the U.S.-born Asians, all except for Vietnamese have higher median individual income than NHW. Just about half of all Asians live in the top 3 states with their co-ethnics; this proportion is slightly higher for Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino second-generation. In the broad occupation categories, the Management, Business, Science, and Arts occupations are mostly where the foreign-born Asians are concentrated, save for the Vietnamese who are in the Service sector. By the second generation, even that group shows a shift in occupational category to the first group. Of all the occupations, Indians (26%) and Chinese (15%) are in STEM fields, while the second generation leans more toward the STEM-related fields.

[Table 2a here]

Family Composition

Marriage is seemingly universal among the foreign-born Asian groups. The U.S.-born group is younger, thus could be reflected in a high proportion reporting being never married or single. Divorce remains low among all Asian groups except for Japanese. Among Indians, 3% of foreign-born, 5% of U.S.-born, and 9% of Non-US, Non-India born report divorce. For multigenerational households, it is informative to note how many live with 3+ generations: almost 14% of Indians to 20% of Filipinos live in these structures. These proportions are high for the second generation as well, with 8% Indians and 13% Filipinos reporting the same. Curiously, female labor force participation for foreign born Indian women is low (57%) given that the mean age of the group is

young at 40, compared to ages of other Asian groups with similarly low female labor force participation. More U.S.-born Asians own homes compared to their foreign-born counterparts, with higher median home values as well. Food stamp receipt is contingent on citizenship, thus after limiting the sample to foreign-born Asians that are naturalized citizens, the results indicate 12% of Vietnamese receive food stamps; this proportion is cut in half by the second generation. For Indians, food stamp receipt remains low, however, for Non-US, Non-India born, the proportion (9%) is slightly higher than that of NHW (8%). One of the greatest advantages that foreign-born Indians have is their proficiency in English. While only 9% claim that they either do not speak English, or do not speak it very well, a third of Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese report the same. While the average length of time in the U.S. for most Asians surveyed is about 20 years, Indians have been here about 15, while Chinese have been in the country for about 19.

[Table 2b, 2c here]

Within-Indian differences

Caribbean Indians have significantly lower educational attainment across all Indian origin groups, with even much lower educational attainment than NHW. The education and income hierarchy is: U.S.-born, India-born, Africa-born, Other (UK, Canada, and Asia), and finally, Caribbean-born. Close to 60% of Caribbean Indians live in states with high proportions of Indians, while only a third of Africa-born live in co-ethnic communities. There is not much difference in types of occupation sectors chosen, with all Indian-origin groups reporting Management, Business, Science, and Arts followed by Sales and Office. Interestingly, Caribbean Indians have higher proportions reporting divorce, and also have close to 16% living in 3+ generation homes. Female labor force participation is highest for that group, and lowest for India-born, which could be related to visa status. About 15% of Caribbean Indians receive food stamps compared to 4% of Africa-born and 7% of NHW.

[Table 3 here]

A closer look at income, labor force participation, and occupation

While overall individual income was higher for NHW than Asian groups (except for Indians), a comparison at same levels of education tells a slightly different story (Table 4a). First, U.S.-born Indians at lower ends of the educational spectrum earn more than India-born. For other Asian groups, the second generation earns more than their foreign-born counterparts (except for the

Vietnamese). When comparing the foreign-born Indians with NHW, those at the higher ends of the spectrum (with a college degree and more), earn substantially more than NHW at the same educational levels. This is not the case for other Asian groups, except Chinese and Vietnamese with graduate degrees. At higher educational levels, the second generation earns more than NHW at those levels except for the Vietnamese and Filipino groups. Interestingly, once further disaggregated by sex, it is clear that foreign-born *and* US-born women across all Asian groups are earning more than NHW women at the same levels of education.

[Table 4a, 4b here]

In order to disentangle the low female labor force employment puzzle, we further analyze labor force participation by education and citizenship. Foreign-born Indian women are highly qualified: about 40% have a college degree while 35% have a graduate degree. However, only about 59% of those with a college degree and 68% of those with graduate degrees are in the labor force. Comparatively, other Asian groups have high female labor force participation given comparable education. When further parsed out by citizenship status, the ability to work legally does seem to be the main factor in low female labor force participation. About 60% of Indian women without citizenship but with graduate degrees are in the labor force compared to 78% of naturalized citizens with the same level of education. Similar patterns are reflected among Korean and Vietnamese women.

[Table 5a, 5b here]

In order to better understand generational occupational change for Asians, we use a larger set of occupation categories. Within the management, business, science, and arts group where the majority of foreign and U.S.-born Asians were clustered, there are interesting nuances. For Indians, computer and mathematical occupations saw a 17% decrease in the second generation, while financial, legal, and healthcare occupations saw gains (+3.4, +4.2 and +9.3% respectively). For Chinese and Japanese, the most significant sector decreases between US and foreign-born were for food preparation, while it was personal care for Vietnamese, and healthcare for Filipinos. Notably, for Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese, the highest increases were seen in the healthcare sectors.

[Table 6 here]

Regression results

The first part of our research question asked how the income of Asian groups (foreign-born and US-born) compared to NHW, or the “mean” in the United States. Table 7 shows the OLS regression estimates for foreign-born and US-born Asians with NHW as the reference group. After controlling for the demographic and immigrant-specific covariates discussed above, there is still some residual income difference. Among the foreign-born- Indians, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Filipino groups have a higher income (between 7% and 10%), while Koreans have a 3% lower income. There was no significant difference for foreign-born Chinese compared to NHW. It is noteworthy that for the foreign-born Asian group, being in the country for 5 years and longer is associated with a 30% higher income than those in the country for less than 5 years. For the US-born group, with the exception of Vietnamese, all groups have a significantly higher income than NHW (between 5% and 15%)

[Table 7 here]

The second part of our research question asked whether the high levels of human capital carry over across generations for Asians. We limit the sample to those between the ages of 25 and 40 to create more comparable groups, given the age of the US-born population. Additionally, years in the United States, which equals age of the US-born for that group, was right truncating the results. Table 8 shows the OLS regression results for the sample with foreign-born as the reference category for each group. The Asian income advantage seems to carry over across generations for the most part- all US-born Asians save for Vietnamese have significantly higher incomes than their foreign-born co-ethnics after controlling for covariates. For US-born Indians, the income is about 18% higher than foreign-born Indians, while for Chinese, it is as high as 32%.

[Table 8 here]

Table 9 shows the residual income advantage after controlling for covariates for within Indian groups. For US-born Indians, after controlling for demographic, status attainment, family composition, and immigrant-specific characteristics, there is still an 18% individual income advantage over India-born, and for African-Indians, this advantage is at 12%. This is a very interesting finding, and shows the variation with the Indian diaspora in the United States.

[Table 9 here]

Discussion

There are 3 main findings that answer the research questions in complex ways for foreign-born and U.S.-born Asians:

First, in terms of income levels, foreign born Indians have a higher median income than other Asian foreign-born individuals and NHW. For the US born, Chinese have the highest median income levels, followed by Indian. From a multigenerational perspective, all U.S.-born Asians have higher median incomes than their foreign-born counterparts, except for the Indian group; US born Indians earn slightly less than foreign-born Indians. There are 2 explanatory factors for this- age and type of education. Since U.S.-born Indians (in this sample restricted to age 25 and up) are younger on average by about 9 years to their foreign-born co-ethnics, they would be expected to have slightly lower income levels, as would those for Vietnamese and Filipino U.S.-born, as they are potentially at different points in the career ladder. Type of education matters as well, with US-born Indians seemingly rejecting traditional career paths of the first generation, and gaining ground in legal, finance, and healthcare occupations- those arguably with many more years of education. When comparing across generations with the same educational levels, U.S.-born Indians and Vietnamese earn less than their foreign-born counterparts. For the other groups, the U.S.-born earn more across the board. When compared to NHW at the same educational levels, foreign-born Indians, Vietnamese, and Filipinos with college degrees or higher earn more. *Second*, after controlling for important demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, it is clear that the residual income differences tell a more nuanced story. Foreign-born and US-born Asians on the whole earn more than NHW (except foreign-born Chinese and US-born Vietnamese), and the Asian advantage carries on to the next generation, rather than a regression to the mean as in other immigrant groups. Finally, there are important findings for Indians born in Africa or South America/Caribbean as compared to India-born and U.S.-born Indians. Africa-born Indians have income levels on par with foreign-born and U.S.-born Indians, but curiously, do not have educational attainment quite as high as the latter. South American/Caribbean Indians have educational and income levels lower than other Indians, as well as NHW. African-Indians and US-born Indians have significantly higher individual income levels than India-born after controlling for key characteristics.

It is helpful to couch the main findings in existing migration and assimilation theories, especially as they pertain to explanations about determinants of income- education, occupation, residence, and citizenship. Assimilation theories that explained European assimilation in the U.S. in the early 20th century more or less concluded that full assimilation occurs in three to four generations

(Neidert and Farley 1985). When it comes to Asian assimilation however, most of which is skilled migration and occurred post 1965, the timeline for assimilation may be shorter. Additionally, what governs “full assimilation”? Our work and that of others shows that Indian and Chinese immigrants are entering the U.S. with significant levels of human capital- at levels higher than that of NHW. So what exactly are we trying to estimate when we talk about assimilation- if it remains a valid concept anymore?

The case of comparison with Caribbean Indians and African-Indians is interesting, and a unique contribution of this paper. Caribbean and African Indians are sometimes regarded as “twice migrants” who migrated from existing Indian diaspora communities to the U.S. - mostly from Guyana, Trinidad/Tobago, Jamaica, and Africa. They tend to identify more with their Caribbean origin rather than Indian and have lost most psychological attachment with the latter, also reflecting in their lower demographic and socio-economic characteristics (Min 2013). If assimilation theories are to be followed, the segmented assimilation model might best explain the lower levels of educational attainment and income levels of Caribbean Indians compared to those with more strong ties to India- India born or the U.S.-born Indians. This group however, has a rather different path to migration in the U.S., sent to the Caribbean as cheap labor to replace black slaves after the abolition of slavery (Kale 2011), and then descendants migrating to the U.S. - with lower levels of human capital than those from India migrating to the United States. What is interesting however, is that individuals who trace their origins to India, but were born in Africa, and then migrated to the U.S. - seem to have trajectories mirroring the U.S.-born Indians. This is to say that two groups who were sent from India to the Caribbean or Africa as labor, and then migrated to the U.S., actually have very different outcomes. Our results show that African-Indians actually do *better* than India-born when controlling for important covariates. African-Indians may have stronger ethnic social networks, where they tend to offer jobs or pool income as risk management with co-ethnics regardless of citizenship status, more so than other Indian or Asian groups. Most of the African-Indian sample is linguistically Gujarati, a community known for their entrepreneurial success in the hospitality industry- with demonstrated assistance to co-ethnics in setting up their own businesses to ease the process of settling into the U.S. (Kalnins and Chung 2006). Additionally, the lack of citizenship and inability to work as an H1-B visa spouse constrains well-qualified women to the home, and out of the labor force. This is particularly true for Indian women of all the Asian groups. This is an interesting example of the U.S. migration and visa policies reinforcing gender norms in an immigrant

community. As the work of Waters shows, some immigrants to the U.S. may maintain their racial and/or ethnic identifications despite economic incorporation. Additionally, their social (and potentially, marriage) networks may remain intact (Waters 1990). This could explain what we are seeing within the Indian community: high levels of economic success, with moderate to high levels of co-ethnic residence, and low levels of out-marriage.

There are certain limitations to the paper which need to be noted. One of the main ones is that we did not include a control for residence, which has been shown to be important in studies of assimilation. The reason of omission is that we would need a very micro estimate of location, preferably at the census tract or county level. Given that the Asian population is small, this would further reduce our small sample size, which would be undesirable. Additionally, we did not parse out other Asian groups by birthplace other than country of origin (China, Korea etc.), and U.S.-born descendants. It would be interesting to do a similar analysis as we did for Caribbean and African Indians by looking at the birthplaces of other Asian groups. Next, since we limited the analysis to single-race Asian groups, we excluded individuals of mixed Asian or other parentage- which could be more problematic for Chinese, Japanese with high rates of intermarriage. Finally, and importantly, since this was an exercise in utilizing Census data, we did not take into account economic, structural, political changes/discrimination taking place. We realize that assimilation does not take place in a vacuum, and perhaps our findings of lower income levels for some Asian groups compared to NHW at the same educational levels is a testament to that.

Conclusion

From an analytical perspective, this analysis validates calls for close analysis of Asian sub-groups rather than lumping together as “Asian”. From a theoretical perspective, it hones in on the fact that there is tremendous heterogeneity even within ethnic groups: For Indians- there are those born in India, U.S., Africa, and South America/Caribbean- all with different, even divergent outcomes.

Table 1: Asian sample by Foreign-born, U.S.-born distinctions

	Full sample (all ages)						Age 25 and up					
	Foreign-born	U.S.-born	Non-native, non US born	Total	% of Asian population	% of US population	Foreign-born	U.S.-born	Non-native, non US born	Total	% of Asian population	% of US population
Indian	77,117	34,019	12,201	123,337	18.7	0.8	66,968	5,639	9,883	82,490	18.1	0.8
Chinese	100,881	49,485	16,101	166,467	25.2	1.1	84,966	16,527	14,103	115,596	25.3	1.1
Korean	45,505	15,403	2,917	63,825	9.7	0.4	37,664	4,541	2,250	44,455	9.7	0.4
Japanese	14,388	23,363	1,611	39,362	6.0	0.3	12,684	19,217	1,354	33,255	7.3	0.3
Vietnamese	48,550	22,001	3,296	73,847	11.2	0.5	43,117	3,203	2,460	48,780	10.7	0.5
Filipino	83,675	34,734	2,580	120,989	18.3	0.8	73,824	12,733	1,763	88,320	19.4	0.8
<i>All Asian population</i>				<i>660,327</i>						<i>456,299</i>		
<i>US population</i>				<i>15,318,124</i>						<i>10,552,753</i>		

Figure 1: Birthplace for non-U.S. and non-India born persons of Indian origin (N=9,883, above age 25)

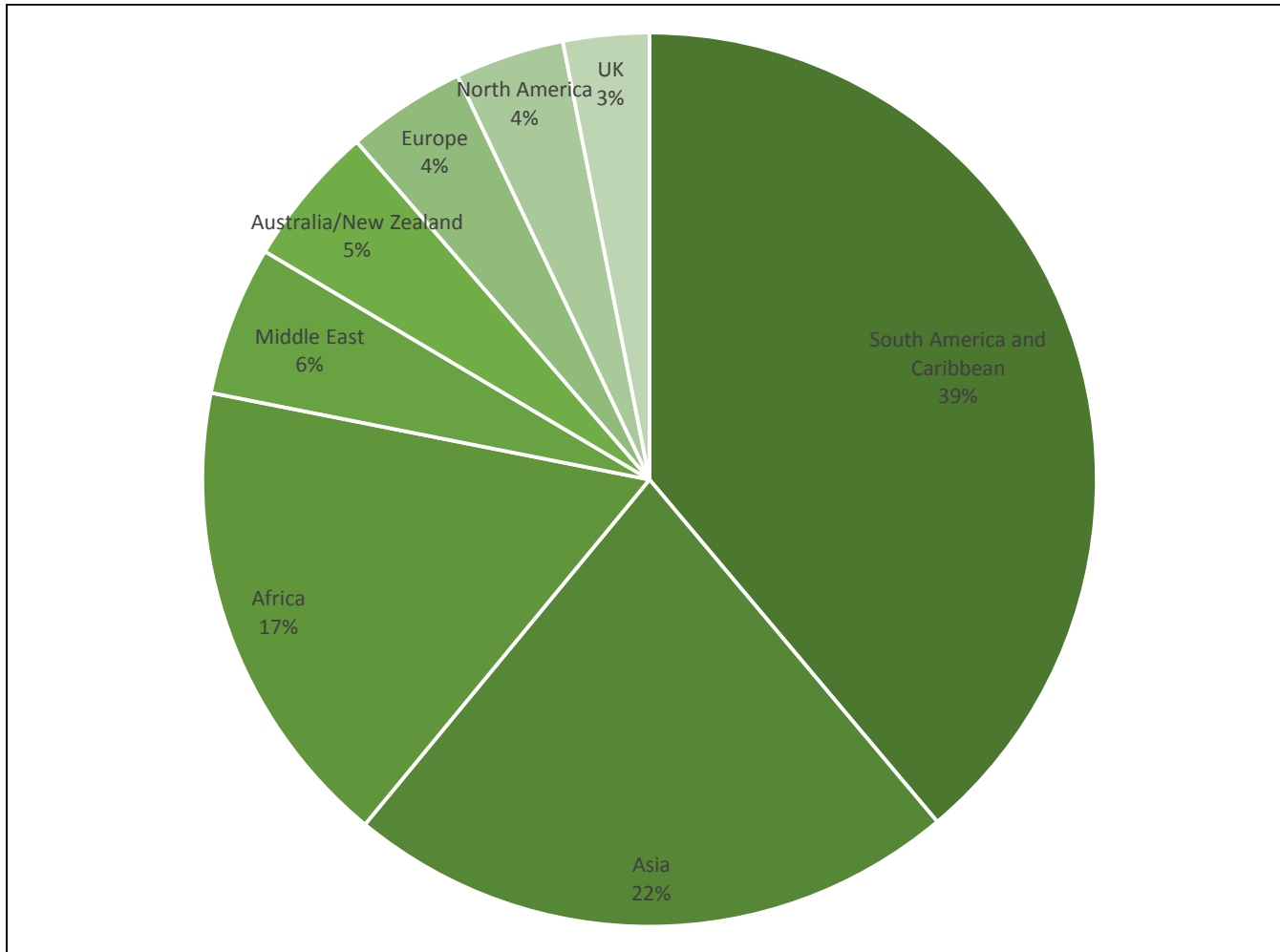


Table 2a: Demographic and Status Attainment Characteristics for foreign-born and U.S.-born Asians

	Non-Hispanic White	Foreign-born (1st generation)						U.S.-born (2nd+ generation)						Other Indian
		Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino	Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino	
Demographic														
Age (mean), full sample	40.7	39.5	44.1	42.5	46.0	44.3	46.4	13.4	22.0	19.4	48.3	14.3	21.8	40.4
Age (mean), 25 and above	52.2	43.2	49.5	48.1	50.6	47.8	50.5	34.6	43.0	37.9	57.1	33.3	39.1	46.4
Gender														
Male	48.3	52.8	45.4	41.0	31.7	47.4	39.2	52.5	51.1	49.5	48.0	51.6	51.4	47.3
Female	51.7	47.2	54.7	59.0	68.3	52.7	60.8	47.5	48.9	50.5	52.0	48.4	48.6	47.3
Status Attainment														
<i>Education</i>														
HS or less	9.2	7.9	20.7	8.3	6.0	31.7	8.1	3.1	2.9	2.8	4.2	7.4	4.5	16.5
Some college	51.0	13.9	23.3	33.5	33.0	37.8	33.7	15.0	19.4	25.9	38.7	34.7	40.3	33.1
College degree	28.0	37.1	27.5	40.6	44.6	24.2	50.2	38.8	48.9	45.8	41.4	43.8	44.4	31.4
Graduate/Professional	10.5	36.6	20.4	13.9	13.0	5.3	7.3	38.3	25.2	22.5	14.1	12.5	10.1	16.4
PhD	1.3	4.6	8.1	3.7	3.5	1.0	0.7	4.8	3.6	3.0	1.6	1.6	0.8	2.5
<i>Median Income</i>														
Individual	40,656	61,000	40,000	37,343	45,400	28,884	38,623	56,138	59,200	48,993	52,665	36,745	41,263	40,656
Household	78,588	109,772	86,800	73,588	80,010	70,000	97,999	120,000	115,000	100,000	107,800	89,125	99,620	90,877
<i>Residence</i>														
Northeast	19.5	29.7	31.2	21.3	17.8	9.9	11.7	29.9	23.8	19.1	2.8	9.8	8.1	37.0
Midwest	25.9	17.5	8.7	10.4	11.5	8.2	8.5	16.3	6.5	10.3	3.7	7.8	7.0	9.5
South	35.0	28.1	16.0	23.5	18.6	32.8	16.3	27.7	10.9	19.4	3.9	34.5	11.8	31.5
West	19.6	24.7	44.2	44.9	52.2	49.1	63.5	26.1	58.8	51.3	89.7	48.0	73.2	22.0
<i>Group-specific enclaves (states)</i>		40.0	45.5	49.7	49.6	55.7	52.7	41.8	51.2	47.0	78.5	57.3	61.8	48.1
<i>Occupation groups</i>														
Management, Business, Science, and Arts	41.6	70.2	53.1	46.1	56.6	27.9	42.6	74.4	67.1	61.9	54.1	49.6	49.3	48.0

Service		12.6		5.1	19.1	14.4	14.0	30.5	21.3		4.1	6.8	8.3	8.8	14.5	12.9		14.5
Sales and Office		24.8		16.8	17.5	26.9	22.6	13.7	21.9		16.6	20.2	23.4	26.0	23.8	24.8		24.2
Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance		9.7		1.4	2.8	3.8	1.7	6.2	4.0		1.9	2.5	2.4	5.5	4.6	5.8		4.8
Production, Transportation, and Material Moving		11.2		6.5	7.4	8.6	5.1	21.7	9.9		2.8	3.2	3.6	5.3	7.1	6.5		8.5
Military-specific		0.3		0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.4		0.1	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.7		0.0
STEM occupation		4.3		25.9	14.7	5.7	7.8	7.6	4.9		13.4	14.0	9.7	7.0	9.2	8.2		8.9
STEM related		4.6		8.2	3.8	4.7	2.8	3.9	15.6		17.3	9.6	8.6	5.1	10.0	10.7		8.4
N		7,698,498		66,968	84,966	37,664	12,684	43,117	73,824		5,639	16,527	4,541	19,217	3,203	12,733		9,883

Table 2b: Family composition for foreign-born and U.S.-born Asians

		Foreign-born (1st generation)							U.S.-born (2nd+ generation)							
	Non-Hispanic White	Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino	Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino	Other Indian		
<i>Marital Status</i>																
Married	61.7	83.7	74.7	71.1	66.9	68.5	69.5	48.8	49.2	43.2	56.7	35.2	46.7	70.4		
Separated/divorced	15.3	2.9	6.6	7.9	10.6	9.4	9.1	4.7	6.0	5.3	10.2	5.1	9.1	9.4		
Widowed	8.0	3.4	5.5	5.4	8.4	5.0	7.3	1.2	3.2	2.5	10.2	1.0	2.4	4.8		
Never married/single	15.1	10.0	13.2	15.6	14.1	17.0	14.1	45.3	41.6	49.0	23.0	58.7	41.8	15.4		
<i>Multigenerational Household</i>																
1 generation	53.6	31.6	36.7	41.0	56.6	24.4	30.3	44.3	48.1	48.9	51.5	40.3	34.5	32.5		
2 generations	40.1	54.4	49.7	51.5	39.1	58.0	49.4	46.5	46.5	44.8	39.4	50.2	50.8	53.6		
3+ generations	4.5	13.6	12.9	6.5	3.0	16.8	19.2	8.4	4.5	4.7	7.3	8.1	13.3	13.2		
<i>Labor force participation (total)</i>	64.6	73.3	66.8	62.6	55.9	71.1	72.9	83.1	78.5	78.4	60.8	80.6	82.9	74.0		
Men	71.4	87.8	74.5	76.1	83.2	77.3	77.6	87.4	82.7	82.7	66.2	83.1	86.5	82.7		
Women	58.2	57.1	60.4	53.2	43.2	65.6	69.9	78.3	74.2	74.3	55.7	78.0	79.1	66.2		
Home ownership	76.7	59.3	66.7	55.4	54.7	69.8	68.5	64.3	73.9	59.4	80.2	64.2	66.6	69.3		

Home value (median)		189,000		350,000	420,000	380,000	320,000	250,000	300,000		400,000	500,000	400,000	475,000	260,000	350,000		350,000
Food stamp recipient		7.8		5.0	7.8	5.6	2.1	12.5	5.2		2.8	2.6	2.5	2.2	6.3	5.5		9.1
<i>N</i>		7,698,498		66,968	84,966	37,664	12,684	43,117	73,824		5,639	16,527	4,541	19,217	3,203	12,733		9,883

Table 2c: Immigrant-specific characteristics for foreign-born Asians

	Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino		Other Indian
English proficiency: does not speak at all or does not speak well	9.8	36.6	31.9	18.5	41.5	7.1		6.4
Naturalized citizen	48.1	60.6	58.7	28.2	76.7	66.1		65.0
Mean years in the U.S.	14.6	19.4	21.3	23.0	20.6	21.2		20.0
Mean years for naturalization	9.9	9.4	9.7	13.1	8.7	8.4		9.6
<i>N</i>	66,968	84,966	37,664	12,684	43,117	73,824		9,883

Table 3: Characteristics of the Non-U.S., Non India-born Indians

	Non US, Non India-born					Foreign-born Indian	U.S.-born Indian
	Non-Hispanic White	Other (UK, Canada, Asia)	Caribbean Indian	African Indian	Total Non US, non-India born		
Demographic							
Age (mean), full sample	40.7	34.7	45.7	47.7	40.4	39.5	13.4
Age (mean), 25 and above	52.2	42.4	49.2	50.3	46.4	43.2	34.6
Gender							
Male	48.3	47.8	45.5	50.1	47.3	52.8	52.5
Female	51.7	52.2	54.6	49.9	47.3	47.2	47.5
Status Attainment							
<i>Education</i>							
HS or less	9.2	13.2	23.6	9.4	16.5	7.9	3.1
Some college	51.0	24.9	45.6	26.5	33.1	13.9	15.0
College degree	28.0	35.7	23.1	39.1	31.4	37.1	38.8
Graduate/Professional	10.5	22.6	6.9	21.8	16.4	36.6	38.3
PhD	1.3	3.6	0.8	3.2	2.5	4.6	4.8

<i>Median Income</i>							
Individual	40,656	45,575	32,866	53,641	40,656	61,000	56,138
Household	78,588	96,761	73,500	115,077	90,877	109,772	120,000
<i>Residence</i>							
Northeast	19.5	21.6	62.0	21.4	37.0	29.7	29.9
Midwest	25.9	12.8	4.0	13.0	9.5	17.5	16.3
South	35.0	28.9	30.8	40.2	31.5	28.1	27.7
West	19.6	36.7	3.3	25.4	22.0	24.7	26.1
<i>Group-specific enclaves (states)</i>		43.5	60.1	33.05	48.08	40	41.78
<i>Occupation groups</i>							
Management, Business, Science, and Arts	41.6	57.3	30.7	60.6	48.0	70.2	74.4
Service	12.6	11.9	21.6	5.8	14.5	5.1	4.1
Sales and Office	24.8	21.5	26.5	26.1	24.2	16.8	16.6
Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance	9.7	2.2	9.2	2.2	4.8	1.4	1.9
Production, Transportation, and Material Moving	11.2	7.0	11.9	5.2	8.5	6.5	2.8
Military-specific	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
<i>STEM occupation</i>	4.3	12.8	3.7	10.2	8.9	25.9	13.4
<i>STEM related</i>	4.6	9.8	5.2	11.8	8.4	8.2	17.3
Family Composition							
<i>Marital Status</i>							
Married	61.7	68.8	68.5	79.1	70.4	83.7	48.8
Separated/divorced	15.3	7.4	13.1	6.2	9.4	2.9	4.7
Widowed	8.0	3.5	6.3	5.1	4.8	3.4	1.2
Never married/single	15.1	20.4	12.1	9.7	15.4	10.0	45.3
<i>Multigenerational Household</i>							
1 generation	53.6	37.5	26.4	32.8	32.5	31.6	44.3
2 generations	40.1	51.1	56.3	53.9	53.6	54.4	46.5
3+ generations	4.5	10.9	15.9	13.2	13.2	13.6	8.4

<i>Labor force participation (total)</i>	64.6	75.3	72.2	74.4	74.0	73.3	83.1
Men	71.4	85.3	78.7	84.3	82.7	87.8	87.4
Women	58.2	66.2	66.8	64.5	66.2	57.1	78.3
Home ownership	76.7	62.6	72.2	80.7	69.3	59.3	64.3
Home value (median)	189,000	325,000	350,000	370,000	350,000	350,000	400,000
Food stamp recipient	7.8	6.0	15.0	4.4	9.5	5.0	2.8
Immigrant specific							
English proficiency: does not speak/well		11.9	1.0	3.8	6.4	9.8	
Naturalized citizen		56.0	72.6	71.7	65.0	48.1	
Mean years in the U.S.		18.1	21.5	21.9	20.0	14.6	
Mean years for naturalization		9.8	9.4	9.5	9.6	9.9	
<i>N</i>	7,698,498	6,018	4,351	1,832	9,883	66,968	5,639

Table 4a: Median Individual Income by foreign-born and U.S.-born Asians

	Co-ethnic income ratio (US born/Foreign-born)					
Educational attainment	Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino
HS or less	1.36	1.06	1.01	0.91	0.96	1.10
Some college or less	1.16	1.48	1.08	1.25	1.07	1.10
College degree	0.90	1.23	1.24	1.15	0.90	1.04
Graduate/professional	0.88	1.07	1.16	1.27	0.69	0.98

	Foreign born/NHW income ratios					
Educational attainment	Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino
HS or less	0.82	0.69	0.98	1.07	0.84	0.91
Some college or less	0.77	0.73	0.86	0.96	0.76	0.88
College degree	1.16	0.93	0.83	1.00	0.94	0.96
Graduate/professional	1.15	1.11	0.86	0.90	1.22	0.96

	US born/NHW Income ratios					
Educational attainment	Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino
HS or less	1.12	0.73	0.99	0.97	0.81	1.01
Some college or less	0.90	1.08	0.93	1.20	0.81	0.97
College degree	1.04	1.15	1.03	1.15	0.85	1.00
Graduate/professional	1.02	1.18	1.00	1.15	0.84	0.94

Table 4b: Median Individual Income ratios by sex and education

	Foreign-born: NHW (Men)							Foreign-born: NHW (women)					
	Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino		Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino
Overall	1.5	0.9	0.9	1.3	0.7	0.8		1.3	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.7	1.1
HS or less	0.8	0.7	0.9	1.1	0.8	0.8		0.9	0.8	1.3	1.3	1.0	1.2
Some college	0.7	0.6	0.8	1.0	0.8	0.8		0.8	0.8	0.9	1.0	0.8	1.0
College degree	1.1	0.9	0.8	1.2	0.9	0.8		1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.1
Graduate/Professional	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.9	1.0	0.8		1.1	1.1	1.0	0.9	1.3	1.1
	US-born: NHW (Men)							US-born: NHW (Women)					
	Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino		Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino
Overall	1.2	1.3	1.0	1.2	0.7	0.9		1.5	1.6	1.3	1.4	1.1	1.2
HS or less	0.9	0.6	0.8	1.0	0.6	0.9		1.5	0.9	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1
Some college	0.7	0.9	0.8	1.0	0.7	0.9		1.0	1.2	1.1	1.4	0.9	1.1
College degree	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.1	0.7	0.8		1.2	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.1
Graduate/Professional	0.9	1.1	0.9	1.1	0.7	0.8		1.1	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.0
	US-born: foreign-born (Men)							US-born: foreign-born (women)					
	Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino		Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino
Overall	0.9	1.4	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.1		1.2	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.1
HS or less	1.1	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.8	1.0		1.8	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.2	0.9
Some college	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1		1.2	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2
College degree	0.8	1.2	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.0		1.2	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.0	1.0
Graduate/Professional	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.2	0.7	1.0		1.0	1.1	1.1	1.4	0.7	0.9

Table 5a: Labor force participation by education for women

	Some college or less	College degree	Graduate/ Professional	Total	N		Some college or less	College degree	Graduate/ Professional	Total	N
NHW	49.2	71.0	74.2	58.2	4,024,647						
Foreign-born							U.S.-born				
Indian	40.1	58.9	67.6	57.1	32,101		57.6	77.4	87.1	78.3	2,698
Chinese	49.7	62.0	78.9	60.4	46,878		49.6	79.1	83.8	74.2	8,200
Korean	47.1	56.3	65.8	53.2	22,536		60.0	77.7	83.2	74.3	2,338
Japanese	29.4	50.8	68.7	43.2	8,833		37.1	68.5	74.4	55.7	10,055
Vietnamese	60.4	78.6	83.8	65.6	22,877		70.5	82.4	82.5	78.0	1,544
Filipino	59.1	77.1	75.5	69.9	44,968		69.9	85.0	88.2	79.1	6,249

Table 5b: Labor force participation by education and citizenship for foreign-born women above age 25

	Non-citizens					Naturalized citizens				
	Some college or less	College degree	Graduate/ Professional	Total	N	Some college or less	College degree	Graduate/ Professional	Total	N
Indian	29.9	48.9	60.2	49.0	14,959	48.4	68.1	77.7	65.3	16,985
Chinese	50.9	49.3	78.1	58.0	16,056	49.0	68.2	79.6	61.9	30,429
Korean	43.8	42.2	52.6	44.4	7,824	48.6	65.6	75.6	58.3	14,436
Japanese	36.3	48.5	69.6	47.2	5,352	20.0	55.8	62.0	31.7	3,159
Vietnamese	57.0	61.5	64.3	57.7	5,092	61.6	80.8	86.5	68.0	17,592
Filipino	57.1	76.4	79.0	68.3	13,333	59.5	77.2	74.2	70.4	30,553

Table 6: Generational occupational difference between foreign-born and U.S.-born Asians

Broad Occupation Groups	Occupation Categories	Generational difference (2G-1G)					
		Indian	Chinese	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese	Filipino
Management, Business Science, Arts	Management, Business, Science, and Arts Occupations	0.2	3.8	0.1	-3.4	4.1	3.6
	Business Operations Specialists	2.3	2.0	2.7	0.9	2.9	1.9
	Financial Specialists	3.4	1.2	1.7	0.2	1.9	-0.3
	Computer and Mathematical Occupations	-16.6	-1.2	3.0	1.0	1.8	2.2
	Architecture and Engineering Occupations	-2.0	-0.6	0.3	-0.8	-1.9	0.3
	Life, Physical, and Social Science Occupations	0.4	-2.4	-0.2	-2.0	0.9	0.4
	Community and Social Services Occupations	0.9	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.3	0.7
	Legal Occupations	4.2	2.5	2.7	1.2	1.6	0.9
	Education, Training, and Library Occupations	1.1	0.0	1.5	-0.6	2.8	2.5
	Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations	1.3	2.0	1.0	-2.8	1.3	2.0
	Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations	9.3	6.2	3.5	3.2	5.8	-7.4
Service	Healthcare Support Occupations	0.0	-0.7	-0.3	-0.2	0.6	-3.0
	Protective Service Occupations	0.3	1.2	0.8	1.4	0.8	1.3
	Food Preparation and Serving Occupations	-0.8	-8.7	-2.4	-5.0	-0.7	-0.9
	Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance Occupations	-0.4	-1.6	-1.3	0.0	-2.3	-3.1
	Personal Care and Service Occupations	0.0	-2.3	-2.7	-1.3	-14.1	-2.5
Sales and Office	Sales and Related Occupations	-1.5	-0.1	-6.3	-0.6	4.4	1.7
	Office and Administrative Support Occupations	1.4	2.9	3.0	4.1	5.7	1.2
Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance	Farming, Fishing, and Forestry Occupations	-0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	-0.1	-0.2
	Construction and Extraction Occupations	0.4	-0.6	-1.1	1.9	-0.9	1.0
	Extraction Workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Workers	0.2	0.3	-0.3	1.7	-0.6	0.8
Production, Transportation, and Material Moving	Production Occupations	-2.1	-2.9	-4.5	-0.4	-13.6	-3.4
	Transportation and Material Moving Occupations	-1.6	-1.3	-0.4	0.7	-0.7	0.1
Military-specific	Military Specific Occupations	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3

Table 7: OLS regression for Individual Income across Asian groups

Asian group (ref: NHW)	Foreign-born				US-born		
	exp (B)	Std. Error	p-value		exp (B)	Std. Error	p-value
Indian	1.070	0.006	0.000		1.056	0.020	0.005
Chinese	1.005	0.005	0.362		1.160	0.012	0.000
Korean	0.978	0.008	0.004		1.049	0.022	0.026
Japanese	1.067	0.016	0.000		1.145	0.012	0.000
Vietnamese	1.096	0.007	0.000		0.955	0.026	0.083
Filipino	1.104	0.005	0.000		1.071	0.012	0.000
Age	1.004	0.000	0.000		1.004	0.000	0.000
Sex	0.585	0.001	0.000		0.580	0.001	0.000
Education(ref: Hs or less)							
Some college	1.394	0.003	0.000		1.419	0.004	0.000
College degree	1.837	0.005	0.000		1.876	0.005	0.000
Graduate/professional degree	2.470	0.007	0.000		2.517	0.008	0.000
Occupation (ref: Management, business, science, arts)							
Service	0.521	0.001	0.000		0.523	0.001	0.000
Sales and Office	0.740	0.001	0.000		0.748	0.001	0.000
Natural Resources, construction, Maintenance	0.664	0.001	0.000		0.668	0.001	0.000
Production, Transportation, Material moving	0.659	0.001	0.000		0.663	0.001	0.000
Military Specific	0.907	0.006	0.000		0.917	0.007	0.000
Marital status (ref: married)							
Separated/divorced	0.957	0.001	0.000		0.957	0.001	0.000
widowed	1.015	0.003	0.000		1.016	0.003	0.000
never married/single	0.795	0.001	0.000		0.793	0.001	0.000
Multigenerational family (ref: 1 generation)							
2 generations	0.978	0.001	0.000		0.978	0.001	0.000
3+ generations	0.854	0.002	0.000		0.847	0.002	0.000
Years in the US (ref: 0-4)							

5 to 9	1.301	0.011	0.000				
10 to 19	1.494	0.012	0.000				
20+	1.508	0.011	0.000				
Proficient in English	1.191	0.006	0.000				
N	5,567,159				5,383,797		
R2	0.211				0.208		

Table 8: OLS regression for Individual Income within Asian groups (age 25 to 40)

	Indian				Chinese				Korean				Japanese				Vietnamese				Filipino		
	exp(B)	Std. error	p-value		exp(B)	Std. error	p-value		exp(B)	Std. error	p-value		exp(B)	Std. error	p-value		exp(B)	Std. error	p-value		exp(B)	Std. error	p-value
US-born (ref: foreign born)	1.178	0.027	0.000		1.322	0.024	0.000		1.200	0.035	0.000		1.283	0.046	0.000		1.018	0.034	0.586		1.054	0.017	0.001
Age	1.050	0.002	0.000		1.059	0.002	0.000		1.051	0.003	0.000		1.039	0.004	0.000		1.040	0.003	0.000		1.035	0.002	0.000
Sex	0.613	0.009	0.000		0.768	0.011	0.000		0.738	0.017	0.000		0.616	0.022	0.000		0.840	0.018	0.000		0.828	0.012	0.000
Education(ref: Hs or less)																							
Some college	1.141	0.062	0.015		1.069	0.031	0.021		1.471	0.156	0.000		1.406	0.293	0.101		1.092	0.031	0.002		1.182	0.058	0.001
College degree	1.482	0.081	0.000		1.357	0.044	0.000		1.786	0.187	0.000		1.741	0.362	0.008		1.330	0.046	0.000		1.402	0.069	0.000
Graduate/professional degree	1.758	0.098	0.000		1.566	0.054	0.000		1.909	0.204	0.000		2.028	0.429	0.001		1.751	0.082	0.000		1.634	0.088	0.000
Occupation (ref: Management, business, science, arts)																							
Service	0.344	0.015	0.000		0.528	0.015	0.000		0.514	0.022	0.000		0.506	0.036	0.000		0.462	0.014	0.000		0.453	0.011	0.000
Sales and Office	0.517	0.015	0.000		0.654	0.016	0.000		0.724	0.023	0.000		0.702	0.032	0.000		0.614	0.022	0.000		0.571	0.011	0.000
Natural Resources, construction, Maintenance	0.530	0.038	0.000		0.640	0.037	0.000		0.712	0.049	0.000		0.728	0.062	0.000		0.604	0.030	0.000		0.710	0.026	0.000
Production, Transportation, Material moving	0.499	0.024	0.000		0.567	0.021	0.000		0.606	0.043	0.000		0.661	0.059	0.000		0.630	0.021	0.000		0.553	0.015	0.000
Military Specific	0.977	0.183	0.901		0.764	0.128	0.108		0.852	0.135	0.312		1.034	0.141	0.807		0.754	0.154	0.168		0.863	0.053	0.018
Marital status (ref: married)																							

Separated/divorced	0.894	0.049	0.040		0.983	0.032	0.594		0.977	0.053	0.666		1.214	0.089	0.008		0.926	0.036	0.045		1.045	0.030	0.120
widowed	1.275	0.146	0.034		1.042	0.115	0.709		0.791	0.221	0.400		1.131	0.321	0.663		0.974	0.153	0.866		0.967	0.157	0.838
never married/single	0.825	0.017	0.000		0.961	0.017	0.021		0.946	0.025	0.032		0.906	0.033	0.006		0.911	0.022	0.000		0.941	0.016	0.000
Multigenerational family (ref: 1 generation)																							
2 generations	0.966	0.017	0.048		0.949	0.015	0.001		0.852	0.021	0.000		0.855	0.033	0.000		0.895	0.021	0.000		0.874	0.015	0.000
3+ generations	0.944	0.026	0.041		0.993	0.024	0.780		0.847	0.048	0.003		0.849	0.064	0.029		0.859	0.027	0.000		0.870	0.019	0.000
Proficient in English	1.401	0.075	0.000		1.402	0.037	0.000		1.394	0.061	0.000		0.954	0.059	0.447		1.309	0.036	0.000		1.148	0.064	0.013
N	29,844				28,309				11,350				5,312				14,270				23,990		
R2	0.254				0.229				0.156				0.169				0.235				0.195		

Table 9: OLS regression for Individual Income within Indian group

Indian groups (ref: India born)	exp(B)	Std.error	p-value
US-born	1.180	0.027	0.000
Caribbean	1.043	0.046	0.341
African	1.124	0.067	0.048
Other	1.040	0.031	0.195
Age	1.049	0.002	0.000
Sex	0.616	0.009	0.000
Education(ref: Hs or less)			
Some college	1.217	0.058	0.000
College degree	1.596	0.078	0.000
Graduate/professional degree	1.917	0.095	0.000
Occupation (ref: Management, business, science, arts)			
Service	0.350	0.014	0.000
Sales and Office	0.520	0.014	0.000
Natural Resources, construction, Maintenance	0.513	0.033	0.000
Production, Transportation, Material moving	0.496	0.022	0.000

Military Specific	0.985	0.165	0.928
Marital status (ref: married)			
Separated/divorced	0.888	0.042	0.012
widowed	1.138	0.158	0.352
never married/single	0.828	0.016	0.000
Multigenerational family (ref: 1 generation)			
2 generations	0.959	0.016	0.011
3+ generations	0.939	0.025	0.017
N	32,746		
R2	0.255		

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