## The Effect of Racial and Ethnic Attitudes on Asian Identity in the U.S

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## **Abstract**

I study the determinants of the choice to identify as Asian among those who could—those whose parents, grandparents, or selves were born in an Asian-speaking country. I find that individuals with Asian ancestry are significantly less likely to self-identify as Asian if they live in states with high levels of implicit ethnic bias. A one standard deviation increase in bias decreases self-reported Asian identity by 7 and 13 percentage points for first and second-generation Asians, respectively. These effects are more prominent among second-generation immigrants with both parents born in an Asian-speaking country than among children of inter-ethnic parents. These findings have implications for the interpretation of research on ethnic gaps in economic outcomes and the correct counting of the population.

**Keywords**: Economics of Minorities, Race, and Immigrants; Discrimination and Prejudice

JEL Classification: I310, J15, J71

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Table 1: CPS Summary Statistics with Skin IAT Scores

	Overall	By Generation		
Characteristic	<b>All Sample</b> N = 318,404	<b>First</b> N=40,033	<b>Second</b> N=199,294	<b>Third</b> N=79,077
Female	0.49	0.54	0.49	0.49
Asian	0.65	0.95	0.72	0.33
Age	8.7	11.2	8.5	7.7
	(5.1)	(4.5)	(5.1)	(5.0)
College Graduate: Father	0.50	0.56	0.49	0.48
College Graduate: Mother	0.48	0.55	0.47	0.48
Total Family Income (1999 dollars)	78,763 (80,171)	69,732 (72,672)	78,909 (81,395)	82,811 (80,254)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The samples include children ages 17 and below who live in intact families. First-generation Asian immigrant children that were born in a Asian country. Native-born second-generation Asian immigrant children with at least one parent born in a Asian country. Finally, native-born third generation Asian immigrant children with native-born parents and at least one grand parent born in a Asian country.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Data source is the 2004-2021 Current Population Survey.

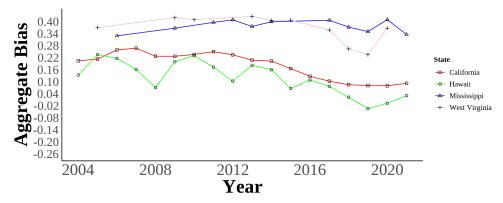
Table 2: Asian Self-identification by Generation

	Self-identify as Asian	Self-identify as non-Asian	% Self-identify as Asian	% Self-identify as non-Asian
1st Gen.	38,198	1,835	0.95	0.05
2nd Gen.	143,066	56,228	0.72	0.28
Asian on:				
<b>Both Sides</b>	116,593	4,272	0.96	0.04
One Side	26,473	51,956	0.34	0.66
3rd Gen.	25,797	53,280	0.33	0.67
Asian on:				
<b>Both Sides</b>	11,204	547	0.95	0.05
One Side	6,188	19,225	0.24	0.76

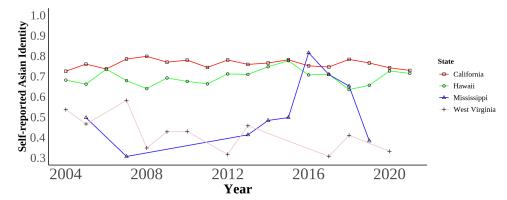
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Data source is the 2004-2021 Current Population Survey.

Figure 1: Bias and Self-reported Asian Identity in the Least and Most Biased Places (a) Skin Tone Implicit Association Bias Over Time



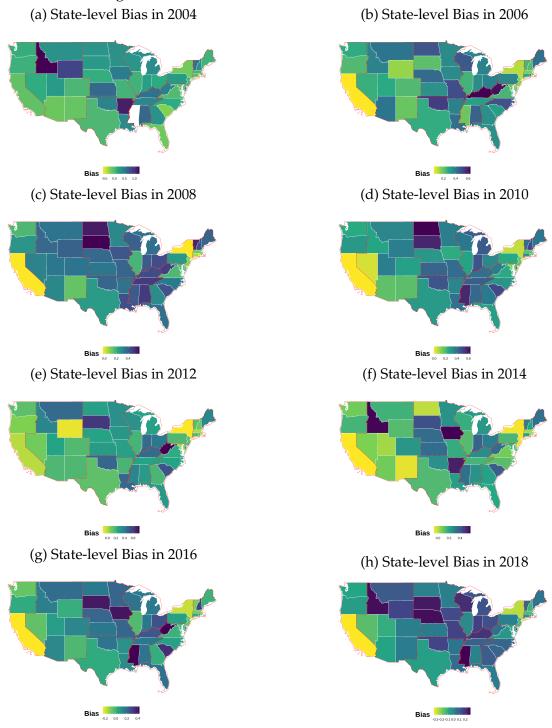
(b) Self-reported Asian Identity Over Time



These two panels show the trends in implicit bias (panel a) and self-reported Asian identity among Asian immigrants (panel b) of the least and most biased places in the data. The District of Colombia is the least biased geographical area, and North Dakota is the most biased. The bias units are in standard deviations. Self-reported Asian identity is among first, second, and third-generation Asian immigrants aged 17 and younger still living in intact families.

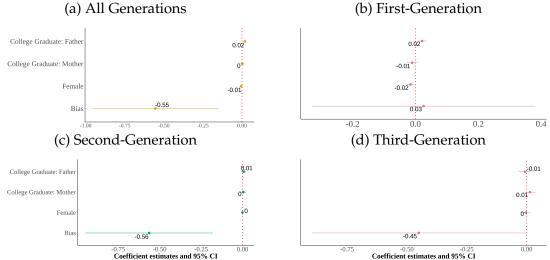
Bias data is from the 2004-2021 Harvard's Project Implicit Association Test scores. Identity data is from the 2004-2021 Current Population Survey (CPS).

Figure 2: Maps of State-level Implicit Association Test Bias Over Time Measure with Census Division Regional Boundaries



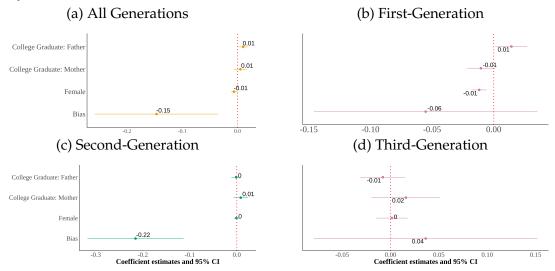
In this figure, I show the state-level implicit bias in different years in the sample. Each panel presents state-level bias during a certain year. The boundaries in red represent the different Census divisions in the United States. Notice how there is a variation across states with-in a region.

Figure 3: Relationship Between Self-Reported Asian Identity and Bias: By Generation



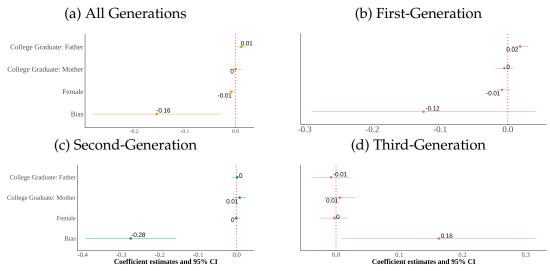
I show four panels of estimating equation (??). I include region  $\times$  year fixed effects with controls for sex, quartic age, and parental education. The dependent variable is self-reported Asian identity and the independent variable is state-level bias. Each panel is the results from the same regression but on different samples that are divided by generation. Standard errors are clustered on the state level. The samples include first-, second-, and third-generation Asian children ages 17 and below who live in intact families. First-generation Asian immigrants are children that were born in a Asian country. Native-born second-generation Asian immigrants are children with at least one parent born in a Asian country. Finally, native-born third-generation Asian immigrants are children with native-born parents and at least one grandparent born in a Asian country.

Figure 4: Relationship Between Self-Reported Asian Identity and Bias: By Generation County



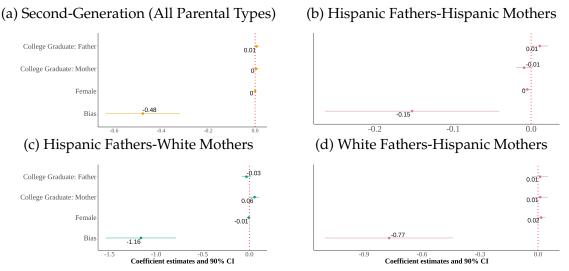
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Figure 5: Relationship Between Self-Reported Asian Identity and Bias: By Generation MSA



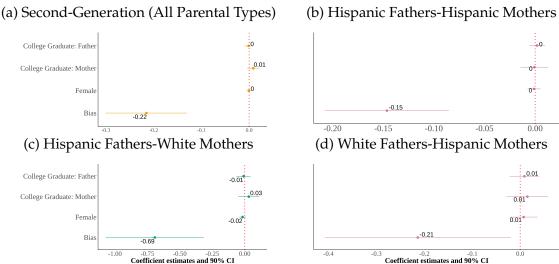
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Figure 6: Relationship Between Self-Reported Hispanic Identity and Bias: By Parental Types



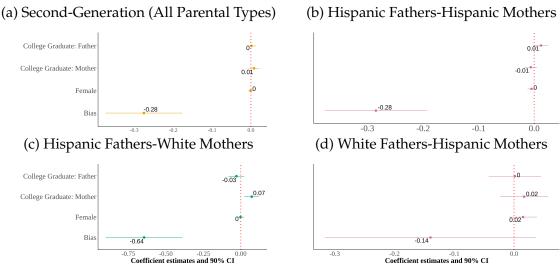
I show four panels of estimating equation (??). I include region  $\times$  year fixed effects with controls for sex, quartic age, and parental education. The dependent variable is self-reported Hispanic identity and the independent variable is state-level bias. Each panel results from the same regression but on different samples divided by parental types. Standard errors are clustered on the state level. The samples include second-generation Hispanic children ages 17 and below who live in intact families. Native-born second-generation Hispanic immigrant children with at least one parent born in a Spanish-speaking country.

Figure 7: Relationship Between Self-Reported Hispanic Identity and Bias: By Parental Types County



I show four panels of estimating equation (??). I include region  $\times$  year fixed effects with controls for sex, quartic age, and parental education. The dependent variable is self-reported Hispanic identity and the independent variable is state-level bias. Each panel results from the same regression but on different samples divided by parental types. Standard errors are clustered on the state level. The samples include second-generation Hispanic children ages 17 and below who live in intact families. Native-born second-generation Hispanic immigrant children with at least one parent born in a Spanish-speaking country.

Figure 8: Relationship Between Self-Reported Hispanic Identity and Bias: By Parental Types MSA



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Table 3: Relationship Between Bias and Self-Reported Asian identity Among Third-Generation Asian Immigrants: By Grandparental Type

	Number of Asian Grandparents			
	(1) One	(2) Two	(3) Three	(4) Four
Bias	-0.24*	-0.60***	-2.34***	-0.24
	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.78)	(0.20)
Female	0.00	0.00	0.01	-0.02*
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.01)
College Graduate: Mother	0.01	0.04**	0.11	-0.02
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.09)	(0.02)
College Graduate: Father	-0.03***	0.00	-0.03	0.02**
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.01)
Observations	30,052	26,255	1,324	11,751
Year $\times$ Region FE	X	X	Χ	Х

<sup>\*</sup> p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Each column is an estimation of equation (??) restricted to third-generation Asian immigrants by number of Asian grandparents with region × year fixed effects. I include controls for sex, quartic age, fraction of Asians in a state, and parental education. Standard errors are clustered on the state level.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The samples include third-generation Asian children ages 17 and below who live in intact families. Native-born third-generation Asian immigrant children with at least one grandparent born in a Asian country.

 $<sup>^{3}\,</sup>$  Data source is the 2004-2021 Current Population Survey.

Table 4: Relationship Between Bias and Self-Reported Asian Identity: By Generation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	All Gens	First Gen	Second Gen	Third Gen
	$H_{ist}$	$H^1_{ist}$	$H_{ist}^2$	H <sup>3</sup> <sub>ist</sub>
Bias	-0.11***	-0.06	-0.22***	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Female	0.00	-0.01***	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
College Graduate: Mother	0.01	-0.01*	0.01	0.02
-	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
College Graduate: Father	0.00	0.01**	0.00	-0.01
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Observations	260,423	41,865	131,999	48,423
Mean	0.84	0.26	0.45	0.27
State FE	X	X	X	X
Year FE	X	X	Χ	Χ

<sup>\*</sup> p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>3</sup> Data source is the 2004-2021 Current Population Survey.

Table 5: Relationship Between Bias and Self-Reported Asian identity Among Second-Generation Asian Immigrants: By Parental Type

Parents Type	All	Both Parents from Spanish Speaking Country (HH)	Father from Spanish Speaking Country (HW)	Mother from Spanish Speaking Country (WH)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	$A_{ist}^2$	$A_{ist}^2$	$A_{ist}^2$	$A_{ist}^2$
Bias	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.18
	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.68)	(0.33)
Female	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
College Graduate: Mother	0.01	-0.01	0.06**	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)
College Graduate: Father	0.00	$0.01^*$	-0.03	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Observations	167,733	103,709	19,982	44,042
State FE	X	X	X	X
V DD	V	V	V	V

Each column is an estimation of a heterogeneous effect of regression (??) by generation with region × year fixed effects. I include controls for sex, quartic age, fraction of Asians in a state, and parental education. I also added parents' (HH, HW, and WH) and grandparents' (HHHHH, HHHW, HHWH, etc.) type dummy variables to the regression on second and third generation immigrants, where H is objectively Asian (born in a Asian country) and W is objectively White (native-born). Standard errors are clustered on the state level.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The samples include children ages 17 and below who live in intact families. First-generation Asian immigrant children that were born in a Asian country. Native-born second-generation Asian immigrant children with at least one parent born in a Asian country. Finally, native-born third-generation Asian immigrant children with native-born parents and at least one grandparent born in a Asian country.

Table 6: Relationship Between Bias and Interethnic Marriages

		Asian Men	Asian Women
	(1) Interethnic	(2) Interethnic	(3) Interethnic
Bias	0.11***	-0.20***	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
College Graduate: Wife	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
College Graduate: Husband	0.01*	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Observations	146,125	108,152	125,085
$Year \times Region FE$	X	X	Х

<sup>\*</sup> p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

Table 7: Main Effect of Proxy on Second-Generation's Asian Self-identification

Parents Type	All	Asian-Asian	Asian-White	White-Asian
Proxy:				
Mother	0.69	0.97	0.35	0.32
Father	0.71	0.96	0.41	0.29
Self	0.84	0.96	0.36	0.4
Others	0.82	0.96	0.47	0.48

 $<sup>^{1}\,</sup>$  This is the result to estimating  $(\ref{eq:condition})$  as a linear probability model.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I include controls for partners' sex, age, education, and years since immigrating to the United States. Standard errors are clustered on the household level.

 $<sup>^{3}\,</sup>$  Data source is the 2004-2020 Current Population Survey Data.

Table 8: Relationship Between Bias and Migration

	(1) Migrated from Birth Place	(2) Migrated from Birth Place	(3) Bias <sub>ist</sub> — Bias <sub>ilb</sub>
Bias <sub>st</sub>	1.05***		
	(0.18)		
Bias <sub>lb</sub>		0.15	
		(0.59)	
Asian			0.01**
			(0.01)
Female	0.00**	-0.01***	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
College Graduate: Mother	0.01***	0.00	-0.01**
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
College Graduate: Father	-0.03***	-0.03***	0.01**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Observations	169,206	86,686	10,410
Mean	0.15	0.15	-0.06
Year $\times$ Region FE	X		
$\underline{ \text{Birthyear} \times \text{Birth Region FE} }$		X	

<sup>\*</sup> p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Each column is an estimation of equations (??) in column (1), (??) in column (2), and (??) in column (3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Column (1) is a regression where the left hand side variable is a dummy variable that is equal to one if a person migrated from the state were born in and the right hand side variable is bias the year of survey. Column (2) is a regression where the left hand side variable is a dummy variable that is equal to one if a person migrated from the state were born in and the right hand side variable is bias the year of birth in the state of birth. Column (3) is a regression where the left hand side variable is the difference between state-level bias during the year of the survey in the current state the respondent is living in, and state-level bias during the year of birth in the state of birth and the right hand side variable is self-reported Asian identity. This regression captures the selection of those that self-reported Asian identity into states with different levels of bias. I include controls for sex, quartic age, parental education, fraction of Asians in a state, and region × year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered on the state level.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The samples include children ages 17 and below who live in intact families. Native-born second-generation Asian immigrant children with both parents born in a Asian country. The sample in the column (3) regression is further restricted to only those that migrated from their birth state.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Data source is the 2004-2021 Census Data.

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