THE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF ASIAN IMMIGRANTS ENTERING THE U.S. BETWEEN 1975 AND 1979

by

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(ABSTRACT)

This study examines the economic performance of Asian immigrants during their first years in the United States. The earnings levels of Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Vietnamese immigrants entering the U.S. between 1975 and 1979 were compared with the usual earnings patterns of immigrants found in the work of Barry Chiswick. The primary influencing the earnings levels of people different immigrant groups were found to be the transferability of skills and levels of self-selection. These factors are to be expected when using a study framework based on a conventional human capital model. equations were estimated using 1980 Census data to measure earnings differentials between new Asian immigrants and the native-born. The earnings levels of refugees (Vietnamese) and economic immigrants (Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Korean) were compared to identify differences.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The economic success of different immigrant groups in the United States is a continuing phenomenon. At the turn of this century, immigrants from Europe prospered. In the last several decades, Asians have taken the same path.

Part of this success may be due to the continuing growth in the number of Asians admitted to the U.S. since the significant change in the Immigration Law in 1965. This law allows the admission of more immigrants from Asia than Europe. As a result Asian immigrants have grown from five percent of the total U.S. immigrants admitted in 1960 to 34 percent in 1980. The share of Asian Americans in the total U.S. population has grown from less than half of a percent in 1960 to three and a half percent in 1980. The major groups of Asian Americans are Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, and Vietnamese. The Vietnamese, however, have become one of the fastest growing immigrant groups since 1975, after the fall of South Vietnam.

¹ Robert W. Gardner, Bryant Robey, and Peter C. Smith, Asian Americans: Growth, Change, and Diversity, Population Bulletin (Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, Inc., 1985), p. 2.

² U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980 United States Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, December, 1983), pp. 1-17.

There are vastly different reasons for each of these Asian groups to migrate to the U.S.; some came for economic reasons, others because of political turmoil. In any case, Asian immigrants have consistently proven to be more successful than most other ethnic groups in the U.S. What are the factors that cause one immigrant group to be more economically successful than the others?

Around the turn of this century, millions of people from southern and eastern Europe came seeking a new home in the U.S. Most of them earned barely the subsistent level of living. Yet, in a study by the Immigration Commission to the Congress in 1910, this situation was regarded as "unfair competition" in the labor market.³ Isaac Hourwich (1912) in a critique of the report explained the cause and effect of the, then, "new" immigrants. His interpretation was that the earnings differentials were due to supply and demand, and skill differentials. Robert Higgs (1971) approached these explanations in a more systematic manner, also in attempt to explain the traditional pattern in which "each new immigrant group came in at the bottom and subsequently

³ U.S. Immigration Commission, <u>Report</u> (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), I, 38, cited by Robert Higgs, "Race, Skills, and Earnings: American Immigrants in 1909," <u>Journal of Economic History</u>, Vol. 31, No. 2 (1971), p. 421.

worked its way up."⁴ He found that the ability to speak English and being literate in an ethnic group's language highly correlate with earnings level. These factors represented the skill level or skill differentials that Hourwich referred to.

Barry Chiswick (1978) presented an extensive study on the earnings patterns of immigrants the U.S. and world-wide. He set up a framework for analyzing the earnings of immigrants in which skill transferability and self-selection are two main factors determining the level of earnings of different immigrant groups. He divided immigrants into three types: English-speaking economic immigrants, other (non-English-speaking) economic immigrants, and refugees. He concluded that the first type of immigrants has the least earnings disadvantage, followed by the other economic immigrants, and refugees have the greatest earnings disadvantage.

This study will examine the economic performance of Asian immigrants entering the U.S. during 1975 and 1979. It uses the conventional human capital earnings model. Taking into account the traditional pattern, if the phenomenon of Asian immigrant's economic progress persists, any earnings gap between the native-born and new Asian immigrants should

⁴ Robert Higgs, "Race, Skills, and Earnings: American Immigrants in 1909," <u>Journal of Economic History</u>, Vol. 31, No. 2, (1971), 421.

not be significant. Furthermore, there should not be a significant difference in the earnings of refugees and immigrants within the Asian groups.

This paper begins with a brief history of Asian immigrants in the U.S. and a more detailed discussion of Higgs' and Chiswick's framework for analyzing the immigrants earnings patterns. The specific model to be used for the empirical analysis of the economic performance of different Asian groups is presented, followed by the results of that analysis. Finally, implications of the findings for earnings patterns of the next generation of these immigrants as well as for the native population will be discussed.

II. BACKGROUND

History of Asian Immigration in the U.S.

Asian immigration to the United States dates back to the mid 1800's, starting with people from mainland China. The Chinese came to the U.S. as laborers during the California gold rush and later in the development of the railroads. They worked longer hours as unskilled workers, and for much less wages than did the natives. The Chinese Exclusion Act, designed to eliminate the growth of these workers, was passed by Congress in 1882 under pressure from organized labor, amended in 1892, and made permanent in 1902.5

Japanese immigration started in 1880's mostly in Hawaii and the West Coast. They worked in sugar plantations. Some established household labor businesses and truck farms. Like the Chinese, as competition in the labor market intensified, Japanese immigrants were restricted by the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan in 1909. Chinese and Japanese immigration was further reduced by the Immigration

⁵ Charles Hirshman and Morrison G. Wong, "Trends in Socioeconomic Achievement among Immigrant and Native-Born Asian-Americans, 1960-1976," <u>The Sociological Quarterly</u>, 22 (August, 1981), p. 497.

Act of 1924 in which individuals from Northwestern Europe were given first priority. 6

As the Chinese and Japanese were barred from U.S. entry, the Filipinos became the third major group of immigrants from Asia in the 1920's. They were excluded from the Asian category since they were considered American citizens during that time. Again, the Filipinos fulfilled the demand for low paid workers until the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, also called the Filipino Exclusion Act of 1934.7

Until the Immigration Act of 1965, Asian immigration to the U.S. was halted by all the exclusion acts. Today, immigration is the most significant contribution to the growth of the numbers of Asian Americans. The 1965 Act, which emphasized family ties and scarce occupational skills, abolished the national origins quota system and increased the annual overall quota for Asia. As a result, immigration from countries other than Japan and the Philippines including Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and India, began to increase dramatically. Asian immigrants grow from five

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Victor Neu and Jimmy Sanders, "The Road to Parity: Determinants of the Socioeconomic Achievements of Asian Americans," Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 8, No. 1 (January, 1985), p. 78.

⁸ Ibid.

percent of total U.S. immigrants in 1960 to 34 percent in 1980.

The Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 amended by the Refuge Act of 1980 collectively permitted over 300,000 refugees from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam to resettle in the U.S. between 1975 and 1980. The majority of these refugees were from Vietnam. This has contributed to a significant change in the composition of the Asian American population. In 1980, the Vietnamese were ranked the sixth largest group among the Asian American population. By 1985, they were the fourth largest. With the continuing flow of Vietnamese refugees, they are projected to be the third largest Asian American group by 1990.10

The Refugee Act of 1980 amends the definition of a refugee that was previously established to be limited to those fleeing from communist countries or the Middle East. Under this law, a refugee is defined as "one who is outside his or her country of nationality (or habitual residence) who is unable or unwilling to return to that country because of persecution or a well-found fear of persecution on

⁹ Theresa Tayabas and Than Pok, <u>The Arrival of the Southeast Asian Refugees in America: An Overview in Bridging Cultures: Southeast Asian Refugees in America</u> (Los Angeles, CA: Special Service for Groups, 1983), p. 4.

¹⁰ Gardner, Robey, and Smith, Asian American, p. 37.

account of race, religion, nationality,..." Humanitarian relief is also authorized. 11

While refugees are considered involuntary immigrants, immigrants are individuals who move from one geographical location to another following a decision made in part "on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or values ends..."

This implies that immigrants decide to migrate based on the economic returns. Therefore, immigrants, except for refugees, are classified here as economic immigrants for analysis purpose. Within the framework of this study, all Asian immigrants (i.e., Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Korean) entering the U.S. between 1975 and 1979 are considered economic immigrants. The Vietnamese are considered refugees.

The Traditional American Immigrant Economic Pattern

The traditional earnings pattern of American immigrants, which is true despite ethnicity, generalizes as "new immigrants come in at the bottom and subsequently work their way up." 13 Robert Higgs (1971), in an attempt to modify

¹¹ J.J. Mangalam and H.K. Scharzweller, "Some Theoretical Guidelines Toward a Sociology of Migration," <u>International Migration Review</u>, IV (Spring, 1980), p. 8.

¹² Carl Wong, The Implications of the 1980 Refugee Act for Southeast Asian Refugees in Bridging Cultures: Southeast Asian Refugees in America (Los Angeles, CA: Special Service for Groups, 1983), p. 121.

¹³ Higgs, "American Immigrants," p. 421.

Isaac Hourwich's arguments on the economic progress of European immigrants to the U.S. at the turn of this century, concluded that their earnings followed the traditional earnings pattern. Higgs' extended hypothesis was that the earnings level of different immigrant groups arriving in the U.S. during the same time-frame depends on their skills level. The higher the skills level of the ethnic group, the higher is its earnings.

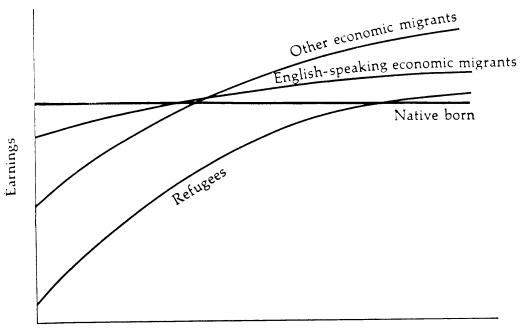
Using data from a U.S. Immigration Commission Report on the new immigrants from Europe in 1911, Higgs theorized that the ability to speak English and to be literate in that ethnic group's language represent the immigrant group's most important skills. Since English is a tool for learning new skills, the ability to speak English opens more opportunities for the new immigrants to acquire higher wages. literacy level measures basic job skills such reading. Higgs postulated that the weekly earnings of each ethnic group is dependent on the percentages of immigrants who can speak English, are literate in their own language, and reside in the U.S. for more than five years. This model was estimated using regression techniques for thirty-five European immigrant groups and the results were statistically Higgs further concluded that over time the significant. immigrants would climb up the economic ladder as they gain command of English and acquire U.S. skills.

The Universal Patterns

Barry Chiswick (1978) introduced the motivation for migration as another factor effecting the earnings level. His hypotheses were similar to those made by Higgs in that the level of skills has direct effects on the earnings level of immigrants. Chiswick conducted an extensive study of the economic performance of immigrants from different ethnic groups in different countries and at different times. His findings were that economic immigrants have higher earnings than refugees; immigrants from countries with economic and industrial bases and demographic characteristics (i.e., language, culture) similar to the destination country have the most earnings advantage; and refugees would be unlikely to "catch up" with the earnings of the native-born. Figure 1 below depicts the patterns found by Chiswick.

The framework that Chiswick used to derive those findings included two main factors effecting the economic progress of immigrants: the transferability of skills and the "self-selection" of the immigrants. Self-selection is defined as the "level of innate ability and work motivation" of an individual. These factors have direct affects on the earnings level of immigrants. The higher the transferability of skills and the stronger the self-selection level, the greater is the earnings level.

The transferability of skills refers to the extent to which skills or occupations acquired in the country of



Years since migration

FIGURE 1 SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF EARNINGS PROFILE BY YEARS SINCE MIGRATION

Source: Barry Chiswick, "The Economic Progress of Immigrants: Some Apparently Universe Patterns," in Contemporary Economic Problems, 1979, ed. by William Fellner (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1979), p. 369.

origin can be readily applied in the U.S. or other destinations. The quality and quantity of schooling represent the productivity or skills level, and international compatibility of schooling represents the skills transferability. Depending on how "country-specific" that schooling is to the U.S., the same schooling level of different immigrants with unsimilar demographics might not have the same productivity in the U.S. labor market. The higher the skills transferability, the greater the earnings level.

The transferability of skills also varied from one immigrant group to the next due to the circumstances of migration. The refugees who had to leave the country of origin in an unexpected and unplanned condition would likely have lower skills transferability. Economic immigrants would likely have more time to prepare for the migration and, therefore, have a higher level of skills transferability. In turn, refugees usually earn less than economic immigrants.

The second factor affecting immigrants' earnings is the self-selection level. Immigrants may possess a higher level of motivation to work for economic achievement than a native person. The higher the level of achievement motivation, or self-selection, the greater the return to a migration investment. Economic immigrants are considered to have a higher level of self-selection because they base their decision to migrate on the prospective economic advancement.

Since refugees migrate for political reasons, they are less likely to be self-selected. The more intense their innate ability and motivation, the faster is the adjustment time for immigrants to catch up with the earnings level of the native-born. Economic immigrants, therefore, reach and exceed the native-born earnings level much sooner than do refugees. This pattern is complete between 11 to 16 years after arrival in the U.S. for the economic immigrants and several decades later or not at all for refugees. In general, the higher the skills transferability and self-selection levels, the greater the earnings level.

III. ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK

The two factors influencing the economic progress of immigrants, based on Chiswick's study discussed in Chapter II, are the transferability of skills and self-selection level. The skills transferability of the immigrant groups that are the focus of this study can be examined using the human capital earnings function. Self-selection is captured by the earnings differentials between immigrant groups after the effects of skills transferability on earnings have been taken into account. The following paragraphs discuss the model to be used for analyzing earnings of Asian immigrants.

The Basic Model

The human capital earnings function or the human capital model has become the conventional tool for analysis of earnings and skills level. The model relates the level of income to education and experience as follows:

$$LnY = a + b_1s + b_2t - b_3t^2 + v$$

where:

LnY = Natural log of income

s = years of school attended

t = years of experience

 t^2 = years of experience squared

If work experience (t) is continuous and starts immediately after completion of schooling, then experience is equal to current age minus age at completion of schooling or:

$$t = A - s - B$$

where:

A = current age

s = years of schooling

B = age at which schooling begins

In accordance with the optimizing behavior, the rate of return to schooling and experience diminishes over the individual's life cycle. This means that income rises with labor market experience but at a decreasing rate. Then, the coefficient of the experience squared (t²) is one-half of the rate of diminishing returns to human capital investments.

The human capital model has served as the basic framework for many studies in labor economics. Borjas (1985), Chiswick (1983), and Fujii and Mak (1985) have used the model in their analyses of the economic progress of American Asians and immigrants. Each modified the basic model by adding more explanatory variables for the purpose of the specific study.

The Estimating Equations

The framework of this study is based on the human capital model used by Chiswick (1983). The model summarizes the earnings of immigrants as:

LNINC =
$$b_1$$
EDUC + b_2 EXP + b_3 EXPSQ + b_4 LNWWK (1) where:

LNINC = Log of annual income in the prior year

EDUC = Years of education completed in the country of origin

EXPSQ = Square of years of experience

LNWWK = Log of weeks worked in the prior year

All variables except for LNWWK are the same as in the basic model. The variable LNWWK was used by Chiswick to measure the correlation between weeks worked and earnings within education and experience levels. Its coefficient (b_4) is the elasticity of annual earnings with respect to the number of weeks worked in the prior year.

The expected signs for the rates of return to education (b_1) and experience (b_2) are positive. These rates represent the rate of transferability of skills. Immigrants who possess more transferable education and experience will have a higher rate of skills transferability. The coefficient b_1 and b_2 are expected to be greater for economic immigrants

than for refugees. The diminishing return to skills transferability term, b_3 , is expected to be negative. The coefficient b_4 can be less than, equal to, or greater than one. When b_4 is less than one, it implies a backward bending labor supply curve; the more weeks worked, the less income earned. If b_4 is greater than one, the more weeks worked, the higher is the weekly earnings level. It also means that the person probably worked more hours per week because of the incentive of a higher wage rate.

The model is used to test the hypotheses raised in Chapter I. First, for Asian immigrants entering the U.S. between 1975 and 1979, earnings levels do not differ significantly from the native-born. Second, within the Asian immigrant groups, refugees' earnings do not differ much from economic immigrants' earnings. The native-born category refers to U.S. native-born whites and their earnings level represent the average earnings level in the U.S. without immigration or ethnic influences.

When testing for earnings differentials between Asian immigrants and the native-born in a pooled data set, two dummy variables are added to equation (1) as follows:

LNINC =
$$b_1$$
EDUC + b_2 EXP + b_3 EXPSQ + b_4 LNWWK
+ b_5 IMMGR + b_6 REFUGE (2)

where:

The coefficients of the variables IMMGR and REFUGE are expected to be negative. Being an economic immigrant or refugee reduces an individual's earnings within the combined sample of whites and Asians.

By applying equation (1) to each immigrant group, earnings profiles by ethnic groups can be derived. These profiles allow comparison of earnings level between immigrant groups and the native-born. If there is a significant earnings difference between immigrant groups and the native-born, then the traditional earnings pattern holds for the new immigrants. Furthermore, if the earnings differentials between economic immigrants and refugees are significant, the pattern presented by Chiswick for earlier groups of immigrants also holds for these Asian immigrants. That is, refugees are more economically disadvantaged than economic immigrants.

Table 1 summarizes the distribution of total Asian population. It shows that relatively more Asians are found in the West Coast and the Southern regions and they are found mostly in the West. This implies that regional

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN POPULATION IN THE U.S.

U.S. REGION	JAPANE	SE	CHINES	SE	FILIF	PINO	KOREA	N N	VIETN	AMESE
U.S. REGION	5,,,,,,	%		%		%		%		%
NORTH EAST	46,913	7	217,624	27	77,051	10	68,357	18	22,021	9
NORTH CENTRAL	46,254	6	74,944	9	80,928	10	89,588	23	32,949	13
SOUTH	47,631	7	91,415	11	85,626	11	70,999	19	76,916	31
WEST	575,533	80	428,195	53	538,289	69	153,464	40	113,139	46
TOTAL	716,331	100	812,178	100	781,894	100	382,408	100	245,025	100

Source: Bureau of Census, <u>General Social and</u> <u>Economic Characteristics</u>, p. 1-17.

differences might be significant. To detect this variation, the variable SOUTH is added to form the following equation:

LNINC =
$$b_1$$
EDUC + b_2 EXP + b_3 EXPSQ + b_4 LNWWK + b_5 SOUTH (3)

The dummy variable SOUTH is equal to one if the immigrant lives in a southern state (see Appendix A for a listing of states and regions) and zero otherwise. The coefficient b_5 is expected to be negative. Immigrants earn less in the southern states mainly because they are engaged in lower paying occupations.

The Data

The equations (1) through (3) are estimated using Public-Use Samples of the 1980 Census of U.S. Population. The 5% sample is used for selecting immigrants data and the one-in-one thousand of the 1% sample is used for native-born whites. Individuals in the data set are limited by the following criteria to ensure homogeneity of the data: males between 25 and 64 years of age; if immigrants, year of immigration between 1975 and 1979; weeks worked in 1979 greater than 0; and only non-farm wage and salary earnings. The transferability of skills can only be consistently compared by excluding transfer income, self-employed or farm income, and other types of income. These types of income do not necessarily represent the compensation for weeks worked

or skills levels. This income criteria was not used by Chiswick.

The sample size of each immigrant group is limited, but the groups are homogenous compared to the total Asian population. Table 2 shows the geographic distribution of the sample of immigrants. The immigrant sample includes 6,131 observations. The native-born sample includes 38,750 observations drawn from the 1/10,000 Census sample.

Mean Values

Table 3 presents mean values for variables to be used in estimations of equations (1) through (3). The Japanese group has the highest average income level, \$23,504, which is also higher than the native-born's average income. other ethnic groups have a lower average income than do the native-born. The Vietnamese average income is unexpectedly higher than the Chinese, Filipino, and Korean. In accordance with Chiswick's immigrant earnings scheme discussed in Chapter II, refugees should have lower income than economic immigrants. The average weeks worked in 1979 is highest for It is not clear whether most of the native-born whites. immigrants included in the sample arrived before 1979 or at some point during 1979. A later arrival time might reduce the number of weeks that immigrants worked in 1979. also possible that they spent some time looking for jobs after arrival in the U.S.

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE POPULATION IN THE U.S.

U.S. REGION	JAPANE	SE	CHINES	SE.	FILIF	PINO	KOREA	N	VIETNA	MESE
U.S. REGION		%		%		%		%		%
NORTH EAST	284	38	514	31	181	14	231	23	117	8
NORTH CENTRAL	52	7	111	7	26	2	63	6	113	8
SOUTH	100	13	268	16	134	10	182	18	510	36
WEST	311	42	776	46	973	74	511	53	674	48
TOTAL	747	100	1,669	100	1,314	100	987	100	1,414	100

Source: 5% Public-Use Sample.

TABLE 3

MEAN VALUES OF VARIABLES IN THE HUMAN CAPITAL MODEL

VARIABLE	JAPANESE	CHINESE	FILIPINO	KOREAN	VIETNAMESE	NATIVE-BORN
INCOME	23504	8937	10200	9998	10598	17078
WEEKSWK	46.52	40.96	43.3	42.03	42.49	48.04
AGE	34.52	36.7	36.96	37.64	35.94	41.18
LNINC	9.762	8.774	8.99	8.99	8.977	9.604
EDUC	17.804	15.07	16.5	16.195	14.907	15.129
EXP	11.721	16.632	15.45	16.447	16.035	21.051
EXPSQ	187.97	437.392	391.06	366.586	362.482	597.634
LNWK	3.774	3.599	3.66	3.628	3.63	3.829
SAMPLE SIZE	773	1779	1348	1133	1459	38750

Source: For immigrants, 5% Public-Use Sample. For the native-born, 1/10,000 Sample.

Estimating equations (1) through (3) using the sample data selected will give a better understanding of how well each ethnic group performs relative to their levels of skills transferability and self-selection.

IV. ANALYSIS OF EMPIRICAL RESULTS

The human capital equations were estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS). Overall, the regression results are statistically significant except for some coefficients which will be discussed individually in the paragraphs below. T-statistics (in parentheses) indicate that the estimated coefficients are significant at a 5% level. The signs of the coefficients are consistent with the theoretical framework. The regression coefficients (R²) are also significant. Independent variables do not appear linearly dependent, except for the labor market experience variables EXP and EXPSQ. Table 4 represents the correlation matrix of the variables from regressions. This matrix is about the same as those for the other equations.

Comparison with Native-Born Whites

Table 5 summarizes the regression results for equation (1). Equation (1) analyzes the earnings and skills level of all Asian immigrants and native-born whites to determine if there is a large income gap between new immigrants and the native-born. The intercept of each regression for the immigrants is higher than for the native-born. However, the estimated coefficients indicate that immigrants have returns

TABLE 4

CORRELATION MATRIX OF REGRESSION RESULTS IN TABLE 5

VARIABLE	INTERCEPT	EDUC	ЕХР	EXPSQ	LNWWK	REFUGE	IMMGR
INTERCEPT	-	-0.479	-0.2274	0.1303	-0.7999	-0.1266	-0.1627
EDUC	-0.4759	-	0.124	0.0088	-0.0637	0.0444	0.0437
EXP	-0.2274	0.124		-0.9597	-0.1043	0.0078	0.0761
EXPSQ	0.1303	0.0088	-0.9597	-	0.1035	0.0163	-0.0482
LNWWK	-0.7999	-0.0637	-0.1043	0.1035	-	0.0901	0.1418
REFUGE	-0.1266	0.0444	0.0078	0.0163	0.0901	-	0.0865
IMMGR	-0.1627	-0.0437	0.0761	-0.0482	0.1418	0.0865	-

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF EARNINGS BETWEEN ASIAN IMMIGRANTS
AND NATIVE-BORN

VARIABLE	ALL ASIANS	NATIVE-BORN	TOTAL
INTERCEPT	4.125 (52.206)	3.72 (84.655)	3.88 (101.957)
EDUC	0.0367 (13.925)	0.068 (53.118)	0.062 (54.412)
EXP	0.038 (13.600)	0.044 (36.6)	0.043 (38.831)
EXPSQ	-0.0008 (12.984)	-0.0007 (28.13)	-0.0007 (30.561)
LNWWK	1.098 (67.359)	1.133 (112.53)	1.123 (132.329)
SOUTH	-0.03 (1.258)		
REFUGE			-0.339 (18.172)
IMMGR	0.0177 (.766)		-0.344 (3.682)
SAMPLE SIZE	6152	35144	41327
R-SQ	0.46	0.34	0.4

to education and labor market experience that was obtained in their native Asian countries. The elasticity of income with respect to weeks worked is slightly greater than one for all groups.

In the pooled regression, equation (2), Table 5 column 3, the coefficients of variables for immigration status (IMMGR and REFUGE) are significant and fairly large. That is, being an immigrant, whether an economic immigrant or a refugee, reduces an individual's earnings relative to the U.S. average. By comparing the earnings of only the economic immigrants and refugees, column 1, the coefficient for being an economic immigrant (IMMGR) is small and statistically insignificant.

Comparison Between Immigrant Groups

The analysis discussed above does not provide a clear picture of how each immigrant group performs economically compared to the native-born. Table 6 presents the estimated earnings functions by ethnic group. The results indicate that the Japanese have the highest rates of return to education and experience within the immigrant groups. The return rate to education is lower than for the native-born. Surprisingly, this group's experience coefficient is higher than the native-born's. This means that the Japanese have more transferable job experience than the other Asian immigrant groups. Other studies have determined that

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF EARNINGS BY ETHNIC GROUPS IN ALL U.S. REGIONS

VARIABLE	JAPANESE	CHINESE	FILIPINO	KOREAN	VIETNAMESE	NATIVE-BORN	TOTAL
INTERCEPT	4.38	4.24 (29.679)	4.78 (31.105)	4.63	4.1 (30.68)	3.72 (84.655)	3.88
EDUC	0.044 (4.332)	0.03	0.034 (6.223)	0.011	0.028	0.068 (53.118)	0.062
EXP	0.083	0.03 (6.178)	0.028	0.044 (5.314)	0.012 (2.141)	0.044 (36.6)	0.043
EXPSQ	-0.001	-0.0006 (5.849)	-0.0006	-0.0009	-0.0003	-0.0007	-0.0007 (30.561)
LNWWK	1.006 (15.678)	1.064 (33.972)	0.936 (31.607)	1.054 (26.152)	1.204 (42.445)	1.133 (112.53)	1.123
REFUGE	::	: : :	:::	:::	:::	:::	-0.339
IMMGR	: :	: :	: :	;	;	;	-0.344 (3.682)
SAMPLE SIZE	756	1683	1321	766	1424	35144	41327
R-Sa	0.38	0.43	0.47	0.43	0.57	0.34	7.0

Filipinos have the lowest earnings level of all Asian groups. 14 However, in this comparison, they appear to have relatively high earnings level. The Vietnamese have approximately the same return rate of education as the Chinese and Filipinos. The Koreans have the same experience coefficient as the native-born. The weeks worked-income elasticity is close to unity across the groups. It is highest for the Vietnamese and lowest for the Chinese.

When controlling for regional differences, the coefficient of variable SOUTH is inconsistent across ethnic groups and statistically insignificant, as shown in Table 7. Since there are relatively more Asians on the West Coast (see Table 2) it is necessary to examine further the possibility of regional differentials in the earnings level of immigrant groups. Therefore, equation (1) is estimated for two sets of data, the Western and Southern regions.

The estimated earnings profiles of the economic immigrants (Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Korean) and the refugees (Vietnamese) in the Southern region are shown in Table 8. Except for the Japanese, education and labor experience effect the earnings levels of immigrant groups differently in the southern states. The Japanese maintain the highest rates of return to education and experience, so their skills transferability level is high in this region.

¹⁴ Hirshman and Wong, 1981; Chiswick, 1979.

TABLE 7

COMPARISON OF EARNINGS BY ETHNIC GROUPS
IN ALL U.S. REGIONS

VARIABLE	JAPANESE	CHINESE	FILIPINO	KOREAN	VIETNAMESE
INTERCEPT	4.376	4.249	4.793	4.667	4.112
	(13.710)	(29.611)	(31.073)	(22.507)	(30.595)
EDUC	0.045	0.03	0.034	0.01	0.028
	(4.339)	(6.928)	(6.197)	(1.317)	(5.594)
EXP	0.081	0.03	0.028	0.046	0.012
	(6.694)	(6.149)	(5.477)	(5.484)	(2.112)
EXPSQ	-0.001	-0.0006	-0.0006	-0.001	-0.0003
	(2.648)	(5.830)	(5.464)	(5.343)	(2.555)
LNWK	1.01	1.064	0.937	1.049	1.203
	(15.681)	(33.841)	(31.597)	(25.947)	(42.225)
SOUTH	-0.072	1.064	-0.046	-0.07	0.004
3331	(.888)	(.240)	(.810)	(1.138)	(.119)
SAMPLE SIZE	748	1676	1317	990	1417
R-SQ	0.38	0.43	0.47	0.43	0.57

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF EARNINGS OF ASIAN IMMIGRANT GROUPS
IN THE SOUTHERN REGION

VARIABLE	JAPANESE	CHINESE	FILIPINO	KOREAN	VIETNAMESE
INTERCEPT	3.397 (3.260)	3.80 8 (9.776)	6.123	4.291 (8.552)	4.513 (20.057)
EDUC	0.035	0.03	0.02	0.032	0.018 (2.310)
EXP	0.074	0.069	0.041	0.034 (1.557)	0.008
EXPSQ	-0.0006 (.700)	-0.001 (4.232)	-0.001 (3.083)	-0.0005 (1.107)	-0.0003 (1.691)
LNWWK	1.294	1.11 (13.571)	0.615 (7.705)	1.047 (11.709)	1.153 (22.815)
SAMPLE SIZE	100	268	134	182	510
R-SQ	0.42	0.48	0.37	0.45	0.52

While the rate of return to education for the Koreans is lowest using the total sample data (national), it is higher than the others in the South. The Chinese show an increase in the return rate to experience. The opposite is true for the Vietnamese. They show the lowest overall skills transferability level in the Southern region.

Table 9 provides the earnings profiles of immigrant groups in the Western region. The estimated coefficients for all variables in the earnings of the Japanese equation are about the same as in the South. The rate of return to education is lowest for the Koreans. The rates of return to both education and experience for the Chinese, Filipinos and Vietnamese are the same as in the national regression. It is apparent that there is no consistent pattern of regional differences in the effects of education and experience level on the immigrants' earnings levels when comparing between the Western and Southern regions.

TABLE 9

COMPARISON OF EARNINGS OF ASIAN IMMIGRANT GROUPS
IN THE WESTERN REGION

4.571	4.403	4.765	4.991	4.057
(9.500)	(20.868)	(26.535)	(16.627)	(20.777)
0.047	0.032	0.028	0.00001	0.034
(2.976)	(4.963)	(4.301)	(.001)	(4.513)
0.073	0.024	0.034	0.05	0.008
(3.870)	(3.230)	(5.463)	(4.304)	(1.035)
-0.0007	-0.0005	-0.0007	-0.0011	-0.0001
(1.359)	(3.434)	(5.365)	(4.384)	(.841)
0.931	1.039	0.953	0.997	1.193
(9.009)	(22.262)	(27.805)	(16.861)	(30.181)
311	776	973	511	674
0.34	0.42	0.47	0.39	0.59
	0.047 (2.976) 0.073 (3.870) -0.0007 (1.359) 0.931 (9.009)	0.047	0.047	0.047 0.032 0.028 0.00001 (2.976) (4.963) (4.301) (.001) 0.073 0.024 0.034 0.05 (3.870) (3.230) (5.463) (4.304) -0.0007 -0.0005 -0.0007 -0.0011 (1.359) (3.434) (5.365) (4.384) 0.931 1.039 0.953 0.997 (9.009) (22.262) (27.805) (16.861) 311 776 973 511

V. INTERPRETATION OF REGRESSION RESULTS

The regression analyses indicate that the traditional earnings pattern of U.S. immigrants is consistent for all Asian immigrant groups except the Japanese. The rate of return to human capital seems higher for the Japanese than for the native-born. Also, Japanese immigrants have significantly higher income than the native-born. Their earnings profiles exceed the earnings profile of the economic immigrants suggested by Chiswick. There is an earnings gap between the native-born and the other immigrant groups, the Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Vietnamese. The rate of return to human capital is lower for these groups compared to the native-born. This may be due partly to language problems and different professional standards in the U.S. Their earnings profile are consistent with the traditional pattern and Chiswick's immigrants' earnings scheme.

It is apparent that the economic immigrant group with more transferable skills has higher earnings. In this case, the Japanese have a high level of transferability of skills. They migrated from Japan, which is an industrial country with the level of technology and economy similar to the U.S. As mentioned before, these characteristics increase the transferability of skills and increase the earnings potential of that immigrant group.

The Chinese, Filipinos, and Koreans have lower earnings levels than the Japanese, even though they are also economic immigrants. They came from developing countries which have different economic and technology bases than the U.S. and Japan. The lower rates of return to education and experience obtained from Taiwan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, or Korea indicate that their skills are not as transferable as those of the Japanese.

The Vietnamese have relatively the same earnings level as the Chinese, Filipinos, and Koreans. Their earnings profile is not consistent with the earnings scheme that Chiswick developed. He argued that refugees have much lower earnings levels than economic immigrants. This stemmed from either low levels of skills transferability and self-selection or work motivation.

The Vietnamese refugees have relatively low skills transferability but apparently have a high work motivation level (note the relatively high coefficients they exhibit for the weeks worked variables). This high work motivation level contributes to a higher average income than expected. These refugees may initially have had no expectation for economic advancement. Once settled in the U.S., they quickly became more self-selected. They also became more willing to acquire new skills to compensate for their low skills transferability. The greater their innate ability and motivation, the faster they would be able to achieve

income equality with the economic immigrants and eventually with the native-born.

VI. IMPLICATIONS OF RESULTS

The new Asian immigrants show a potential for quick economic adjustment in the U.S. The Japanese have already exceeded the average earnings level. This implies that their adjustment to U.S. labor market may be complete sooner than the historical adjustment period. The quicker the immigrants reach income equality with the native-born, the less their migration impacts the average level of income of the total population.

As the Asian immigrants gain higher skill levels, they become even more motivated toward a higher economic success. This contributes to a continually growing phenomenon of economic success by Asian Americans. They also ensure that their children will be as successful in the future. Asian parents put much pressure on their children to work as hard in school as they do in their work. This has been evidenced by the remarkable academic achievement of students from the Asian groups in recent years. 15

Since 1980, a "second wave" of Vietnamese refugees has arrived in the U.S. They are distinguished from the refugees arriving between 1975 and 1979 for their lower education and experience levels. A large percentage of

¹⁵ David Brand, "The New Whiz Kids," <u>Time Magazine</u>, August 31, 1987, pp. 42-51; Robert Lindsey, "The New Asian Immigrants," <u>New York Time Magazine</u>, May 9, 1982, pp. 22-42.

these refugees are less literate. They were mostly farmers, fishermen and laborers in Vietnam. There has been concern that this "second wave" of refugees will become an economic burden of the U.S.

The Refugee Act of 1980 requires the Office of Refugee Resettlement to provide resources for employment training as well as job placement for newly arrived refugees. 16 Since 1980, refugees undergo English and job training in the refugee camps in the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia while awaiting for admission into the U.S. results of this study indicate that the earlier refugees have a high self-selection level which compensates for their low skills level. If the "second-wave" group is as strongly motivated, they will likely be as willing to learn new skills that are productive in the U.S. The orientation process constituted by the 1980 Refugee Act will increase the skills level of the refugees prior to entering the U.S. Then, the percentage of refugees receiving income from public assistance programs will be limited.

¹⁶ Carl Wong, "The 1980 Refugee Act," p. 140.

VII. SUMMARY

This study focussed on the economic performance of Asian immigrants entering the U.S. between 1975 and 1979. It compared the earnings levels of these new immigrants with the traditional earnings pattern of U.S. immigrants using the framework established by Chiswick. The analysis was based on applying the human capital model to 1980 Census data.

The results indicate that all Asian groups, except for the Japanese, have lower earnings profiles than the native-born. Immigrants from countries without geographic characteristics like the U.S., such as the Philippines, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Vietnam, have a significantly lower level of skills transferability. The Japanese have a high level of skills transferability and strong self-selection. Therefore, their earnings levels exceed the average of those who are native-born.

For the economic immigrants, excluding the Japanese, earnings levels are relatively the same across the ethnic groups. The Filipinos, as documented in various works in the literature, have had the lowest earnings level among the Asian. In this study, they appeared to perform at about the same level as the Chinese and Korean.

The analysis concluded that Vietnamese refugees have had the same earnings levels as economic immigrants. This

was interpreted as showing that they have a high level of self-selection which compensates for their low level of skills transferability.

The result of a Gallup poll conducted in 1975 on the decision to accept Southeast Asian refugees showed that 54 percent of the American public was against the decision and 36 percent was favorable. There was a fear of negative impacts of refugees on the U.S. economy. However, in his remarks to the Advisory Committee on Refugees in 1975, President Ford said "the people that we are welcoming today (Indochinese refugees) are individuals who can contribute significantly to our society in the future...we are a country built by immigrants...and we have always been a humanitarian nation." The results of this study indicated that former President Ford made the right economic as well as moral decision.

¹⁷ Tayabas and Than Pok, "Southeast Asian Refugees in America," p. 8, citing <u>U.S. News and World Report</u>, May 19, 1975, p. 1.

APPENDIX A

The selection of sample data used in the regression analysis involved the following steps:

- For the Asian immigrants:
- 1. Retrieval, by state, of data tape which contain the If the race of the sample (Sample A). 5% individual is either Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, or Vietnamese, data is extracted based on the four criteria set in the framework of this The four criteria include: male, year of studv. immigration between 1975 and 1979, age between 25 and 64, and number of weeks worked in 1979 not zero. Only states with high Asian population were Those states are listed in Table A-1 by selected. U.S. Census regions. Figure A-1 shows how data were originally collected by the Bureau of Census.
- State sample data extracted in step 1 are then combined into four regional data sets: Northeast, North Central, South, and West.

For the native-born whites, the 1/10,000 sample of total U.S. population (Sample B) was used. The data were extracted based on three criteria: male, age between 25 and 64, and number of weeks worked in 1979 greater than zero.

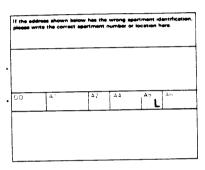
TABLE A-1
STATES INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE DATA
BY REGION

U.S. Region	States
Northeast	Connecticut Massachusetts New Jersey New York Pennsylvania
North Central	Illinois Iowa Ohio Michigan Minnesota Missouri
South	Alabama Arkansas N. Carolina S. Carolina District of Columbia Florida Georgia Louisiana Maryland Mississippi Oklahoma Tennessee Texas Virginia
West	Arizona California Colorado Oregon Utah Washington

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, December 1983).

Please fill out this official Census Form and mail it back on Census Day. Tuesday, April 1, 1980

1980 Census of the United States



Your answers are confidential

By law (title 13, U.S. Code), census employees are subject to fine and/or imprisonment for any disclosure of your answers. Only after 72 years does your information become available to other government agencies or the public. The same law requires that you answer the questions to the best of your knowledge.

Para personas de habla hispana

(For Spanish-speaking persons) SI USTED DESEA UN CUESTIONARIO DEL CENSO EN ESPAÑOL Ilame a la oficina del censo. El número de teléfono se encuentra en el encasillado de la dirección

O, si prefiere, marque esta casilla v devuelva el cuestionario por correo en el sobre que se le incluye

U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census Form D. 2

A message from the Director, Bureau of the Census . . .

We must, from time to time, take stock of ourselves as a people if our Nation is to meet successfully the many national and local challenges we face. This is the purpose of the 1980 census.

The essential need for a population census was recognized almost 200 years ago when our Constitution was written. As provided by article I, the first census was conducted in 1790 and one has been taken every 10 years since then.

The law under which the census is taken protects the confidentiality of your answers. For the next 72 years — or until April 1, 2052 — only sworn census workers have access to the individual records, and no one else may see them.

Your answers, when combined with the answers from other people, will provide the statistical figures needed by public and private groups, schools, business and industry, and Federal, State, and local governments across the country. These figures will help all sectors of American society understand how our population and housing are changing In this way, we can deal more effectively with today's problems and work toward a better future for all of us.

The census is a vitally important national activity. Please do your part by filling out this census form accurately and completely. If you mail it back promptly in the enclosed postage-paid envelope, it will save the expense and inconvenience of a census taker having to visit you.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Please continue -

O M B No 41-578006

FIGURE A-1 SAMPLE OF THE 1980 CENSUS FORM

Source: Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and Housing, 1980: Public-Use Microdata Samples Technical Documentation (Washington, D.C.: Data User Services Division, 1983).

How to fill out your Census Form

Page 1

See the filled-out example in the yellow instruction guide This guide will help with any problems you may have.

If you need more help, call the Census Office. The telephone number of the local office is shown at the bottom of the address box on the front cover.

Use a black pencil to answer the questions. Black pencil is better to use than ballpoint or other pens.

Fill circles "O" completely, like this:

When you write in an answer, print or write clearly

Make sure that answers are provided for everyone

See page 4 of the guide if a roomer or someone else in the household does not want to give you all the information for the form

Answer the questions on pages 1 through 5, and then starting with pages 6 and 7, fill a pair of pages for each person in the household.

> Check your answers. Then write your name, the date, and telephone number on page 20.

Mail back this form on Tuesday. April 1, or as soon afterward as you can. Use the enclosed envelope: no stamp is needed

Please start by answering Question 1 below

Question 1

List in Question 1

- · Family members living here, including babies still in the hospital
- · Relatives living here
- · Lodgers or boarders living here
- · Other persons living here
- · College students who stay here while attending college. even if their parents live elsewhere
- · Persons who usually live here but are temporarily away (including children in boarding school below the college
- · Persons with a home elsewhere but who stay here most of the week while working.

Do Not List in Question 1

- . Any person away from here in the Armed Forces.
- .Any college student who stays somewhere else while attending college.
- Any person who usually stays somewhere else most of the week while working there.
- .Any person away from here in an institution such as a home for the aged or mental hospital.
- Any person staying or visiting here who has a usual home

1. What is the name of each person who was living here on Tuesday, April 1, 1980, or who was staying or visiting here and had no other home?

If everyone here is staying only temporarily and has a usual home elsewhere, please mark this box .

Then please

- · answer the questions on pages 2 through 5 only.
- enter the address of your usual home on page 20

Please continue -

e 2				THE HOUSING QUESTIONS ON PAGE
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QUESTIONS		First name Middle with	of Furnit reprise Middle instead	First name Middle inits
in column Fill one circle If "Other rele	person related to the person 1? e. ative of person in column 1, lationship, such as mother-in-law,	START in this column with the household member (or one of the members) in whose name the home is owned or rented. If there is no such person, start in this column with any adult household member.	If relative of person in column 1 Husband wrife Father/mother Son/daughter Other relative Brother/sister If not related to person in column 1 Roomer boarder Other nonrelative Partner roommate.	If relative of person in column 1 Husband/wife Father/mother Son/daughter Other relative — Brother/sister If not related to person in column 1 Roomer loadfer : Other nonrelative - Partner roomnate.
3. Sex Fill on	e circle.	Male Female	Paid employee Male Female	Paid employee Maie Female
4. is this pers		_	White Asian Indian	White Asian Indian
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(2) County: (3) City, town. village, etc.: (4) Inside the incorporated (legal) limits of that city, town, village, etc.?		No.		1 1	1	1000100	- 1						
(2) County: 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3		1 -		1 / 5			. [-			8 8 8		8 8 8	ē -
(3) City, town. village, etc.: (4) Inside the incorporated (legal) limits of that city, town, village, etc.?	(2) County:		,		1	1 !	·3	1 3	3 3 3	3 3 3			
village, etc.: 7 3.5 <t< td=""><td></td><td>1</td><td></td><td>1.</td><td></td><td>4</td><td>· 1</td><td></td><td>2. 1. 0</td><td>1 ' '</td><td></td><td></td><td>l</td></t<>		1		1.		4	· 1		2. 1. 0	1 ' '			l
(4) Inside the incorporated (legal) limits of that city, town, village, etc.?			1.5	-			1	3.6	333				
of that city, town, village, etc.?		1							???	7 ? ?	? ? ?	7 2 :	7 ?
	of that city, town, village, etc.?	1	1 -	1			3 3	4. 3	e e				
				Ì		1 2 2 1	9 9	95	8 S .	1999	5 5 3)	· · · ·	
													

W 1 ON PAGE 2 c. When going to work last week, did this person usually —	CENSUS	31a. Last year (1979), did this person work, even for a few	CEN	MELIE I		Pa
Drive alone — Strip to 28 Drive others only	USE	days, at a paid job or in a business or farm?	CEN	NSUS I	U3E U	MLY
Share driving Ride as passenger only	21b.	Yes No — Skip to 31d	31b.	, 31c.		
d. How many people, including this person, usually rode	1			1.		
to work in the car, truck, or van last week?		b. How many weeks did this person work in 1979?				
3 2 3 4 3 6	ff c c	Count paid vacation, paid sick leave, and military service.	3	5		3 1
○ 3	1	Weeks	1			. 5
15. Was this person temperarily absent or on layoff from a job	- "	c. During the weeks worked in 1979, how many hours did	,		, {	5
or business last week?	IV	this person usually work each week?		100		?
O Yes, on leyoff	5	Hours		1.	s i	5
 Yes, on vecation, temporary illness, labor dispute, etc. No 	22b.	4 04 #	22-		32b.	
	_	d. Of the weeks <u>not worked</u> in 1979 (if any), how many weeks was this person looking for work or on layoff from a job?	328.		32D.	
Kis. Has this person been looking for work during the last 4 weeks — ○ Yes ○ No — Skip to 27	1 : 1	Weeks		. :		
↑ ○ Yes ○ No — Skip to 27	ट हे		-		1	
b. Could this person have taken a job <u>lest week?</u>	3 3	32. Income in 1979 —	3	13	13	
No, already has a job	5.5	Fill circles and print doller amounts. If net income was a loss, write "Loss" above the doller amount.	-	1 9	į .	
No, temporanty ill No, other reasons (in school, etc.)	4	If exact amount is not known, give best estimate. For income	6.4			
 Yes, could have taken a job 	1 ::	received jointly by household members, see instruction guide.		1	100	
7. When did this person lest work, even for a few days?	1	During 1979 did this person receive any income from the	1.0			
0 1000 0 1070 0 1074)	28.	following sources?		A C	1 -	A :
○ 1979 ○ 1975 to 1977 ○ 1969 or earlier \ 31d	ABC	If "Yes" to any of the sources below — How much did this person receive for the entire year?	32c.		32d.	
Never worked J	200	a. Wages, salary, commissions, bonuses, or tips from	2.3	20	133	
18-39. Current or most recent job activity	DEF	all jobs Report amount before deductions for taxes, bonds,	1 4			· .
Describe clearly this person's chief job ectivity or business lest week. If this person had more than one job, describe the one at which	200	dues, or other items.	3 3			5 3 5
this person worked the most hours.	GHJ	C Yes \$ 00	3 2	3 4	1	. ÷
If this person had no job or business last week, give information for last job or business since 1975.	000	(Annual emount - Dollers)	35	53	15	ورد
	KLM	b. Own nonfarm business, partnership, or professional	2.2	2 7	12.	2 2
28. Industry a. Fer whem did this person work? If now on ective duty in the	000	practice Report net income after business expenses.	1	5 5 4) 0	1 6	
Armed Forces, print "AF" and skip to question 31.	000	○ Yes → \$ 00	1	Ă S	1.5	A 3
	1 1 1	(Annual amount - Dollars)	22-		321.	
(Name of company, business, organization, or other employer)	3 3 5	c. Own farm Report net income after operating expenses. Include earnings as	320.		321	
b. What kind of business or industry was this?	166	a tenant farmer or sharecropper.	` :			: : :
Describe the activity at location where employed.		ু Yes → \$ 00		3 3	1	
	6.6	○ No (Annual amount – Dollars)	,		1	, ,
(For example: Hospital, newspaper publishing, mail order house, auto angine manufacturing, breakfast cereal manufacturing)	- 3	d. Interest, dividends, royalties, or net rental income		4		5
c. Is this mainly — (Fill one circle)	99	Report even small amounts credited to an account.		· ·	1	
Manufacturing	AF O	. Yes → \$ 00 ○ No zerranszazza.			1	
 Wholesale trade Other — (agriculture, construction service, government, etc.)) NW O	(Annual amount - Dollars)			i	
29. Occupation	29.	e. Social Security or Railroad Retirement	32g.		33.	
a. What kind of work was this person doing?	NPQ	No (Annual amount - Dollars)	00	33	₹ .	
	000	f. Supplemental Security (SSI), Aid to Families with	1 1		1 .	. : :
(For example: Registered nurse, personnel meneger, supervisor of order deperament, gesoline engine exampler, grinder operator)	RST	Dependent Children (AFDC), or other public assistance		ے: 3 د		ے۔ زیارٹ
b. What were this person's most important activities or duties?		or public welfare payments	9- 0.	2. 0.	1	
	UVW	Yes - \$.00	1	5 /	5	: 5 5 : 3 6
(For example: Petient care, directing hiring policies, supervising	000	○ No (Annual emount – Dollers)	5 /	ن د)
order clerks, essembling engines, operating grinding mill) 30. Was this person — (Fill one circle)	X Y Z	g. Unemployment compensation, veterans' payments,	` -	.3	1	
Employee of private company, business, or	000	pensions alimony or child support, or any other sources of income received regularly	1 1	-)] _ '	e ere
individual, for wages, salary, or commissions	100	Exclude lump-sum payments such as money from an inheritance	L∎		0	A S
Federal government employee	111	or the sale of a home.	1:		:	: : :
State government employee	3 . 3	○ Yes → \$ 00	3.3	3		: 2 2 3 3 3
Local government employee (city, county, etc.)	1 6 2	No (Annual amount – Dollars)	4. 2.	3		: 3 3 : 4 5
Self-employed in own business,	3 2 3	33. What was this person's total income in 1979?	3 5	5		3 5
professional practice, or farm — Own business not incorporated:	12.2	Add entries in questions 32e		3		, :
	-	through g; subtract any losses. (Annual amount — Dollars) If total amount was a loss,			:	
Own business incorporated		II IUIU WIIUUIII WAS VIUGS,	0 -	I .	.	
Working without pay in family business or farm		write "Lass" above amount. OR None	1		1	

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