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PARENTHOOD PREMIUMS AND PENALTIES AMONG ASIAN AMERICAN WORKERS:  
EXPLORING THE INCOME DIFFERENCES ACROSS GENDER, MARRIAGE, AND  
PARENTHOOD

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PARENTHOOD PREMIUMS AND PENALTIES AMONG ASIAN AMERICAN WORKERS:  
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PARENTHOOD

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BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

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### *Dedication*

I would like to dedicate my thesis project to my baby nephew, *August*, in hopes that you find my passion for advocating research for Asian Americans will inspire you to be the next changing voice for our community.

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**Parenthood Premiums and Penalties among Asian American Workers:  
Exploring Income Differences across Gender, Marriage, and Parenthood**

**ABSTRACT**

This study uses the Current Population Survey to explore the intersections of gender, marriage, and parenthood on Asian American workers' labor market outcomes. Asian Americans are unique socioeconomically compared to other racial/ethnic minority groups in the US that have been historically and contemporarily disadvantaged. Previous studies measuring the economic attainments of Asian Americans found that both men and women are nearing income parity with White Americans (Greenman 2010, Kim and Sakamoto 2010). However, this raises the question of whether familial factors (i.e., marriage and parenthood) differentially affect Asian American workers' yearly income and how this may vary by gender at multiple points of the income distribution. I use OLS and quantile regression models to analyze the intraracial gender differences in income by marriage and parenthood factors. Among Asian American workers, I find that men benefit from both the fatherhood and marriage premium. Still, married fathers and single fathers have comparable income suggesting parenthood drives the overall increase in income rather than marriage. Asian American mothers are not affected by the motherhood penalty and see a slight increase in pay after having children, whereas married mothers show negligible differences in pay relative to single mothers. Further, there are larger pay discrepancies among workers in the upper third of the income distribution for married parents, suggesting there is still a gender pay gap regardless of the variation in marital and parental statuses. These findings imply that gendered and racialized views within the labor market influence the perceptions of Asian American workers and produce diverse economic outcomes.

**Keywords:** *Motherhood Penalty, Fatherhood Wage Premium, Asian Americans, Income Inequality, Gender Pay Gap*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Income inequality still exists among men and women in the US labor force. Although recent literature suggests a recent narrowing of the gender pay gap (Bernhardt, Morris and Hancock 1995, Cha and Weeden 2014), there is still a distinct gendered difference in pay due to the lasting effects of workplace discrimination (Elliott and Smith 2004), differences in human capital (Lips 2013), and familial expectations (Andersen 2018). This study will explore the latter, focusing on parental and marital effects among Asian American workers. Gendered stereotypes associated with family care and responsibilities are exhibited in pay penalties experienced by mothers (Correll, Benard and Paik 2007). The expectations related to parenthood for women, such as opting out of the labor force to provide childcare, can adversely affect their occupational mobility and economic returns. Conversely, men benefit from having children because employers view fatherhood as a positive characteristic suggesting dependability as an employee and assuming men are the main financial contributor to the household family income (Hodges and Budig 2010, Killewald 2013). Moreover, marriage affects parenthood premiums and penalties exhibited by both working men and women in the labor force. According to Killewald and Gough (2013), working mothers earn substantially less income than fathers whether they are married or not, but marriage augments pay premiums and are reflected in yearly income for fathers.

Previous research shows significant variations in pay penalties among mothers and fathers, however, this varies by racial and ethnic groups (Glauber 2007, Glauber 2008, Greenman 2010). Racial biases within the labor market affect the hiring practices of people of color (POC) workers. Hamer (2001) posits Black fathers are depicted as unreliable and irresponsible workers due to the stereotype of Black men being absent fathers. The expectation



of Hispanic/Latinx and White fathers to be the “breadwinner” of the family is related to employers’ assuming they are more reliable because of their dedication to their families. Furthermore, racial and ethnic minority women are met with income disadvantages resulting from racial biases and gendered discrimination within the workforce (Berrey 2013, Monk, Esposito and Lee 2021). The variation in income levels is dependent on familial characteristics such as motherhood and marriage. For instance, White mothers receive higher wage penalties than Black, Hispanic/Latinx, and Asian American mothers (Budig and England 2001, Glauber 2007, Greenman 2010). However, the size of the pay penalty is contingent on the marital composition of the racial/ethnic group.

Prior income studies regarding parenthood and marriage pay premiums and penalties among racial/ethnic minority groups often leave out Asian Americans (Glauber 2007, Glauber 2008, Lundquist 2004). In general, there is a lack of research studying Asian Americans’ experiences and economic outcomes in the US labor market despite the growing proportion of Asian American workers that is reshaping the racial composition of the US labor force (Budiman and Ruiz 2021, Frey 2020). Unlike other racial/ethnic minority groups, Asian Americans are unique in their labor market experiences (Kim and Sakamoto 2014, Wang, Takei and Sakamoto 2017, Vo et al. Working.) because they show comparable socioeconomic attainment relative to White Americans. Furthermore, the continued disregard of Asian Americans' income and work studies reifies the assumption that all Asian Americans have similar experiences in pay advantages regardless of gender, familial factors (i.e., marriage and parenthood), and socioeconomic profiles (Vo et al. Working.). These assumptions reveal that we know little about within-differences among Asian Americans and how racialized and gendered economic structures can affect these individuals’ overall income patterns. Including research on the impact

of parenthood premiums and penalties will help broaden the cultural contexts of how race and gender are interconnected when discussing income variation among Asian American workers.

Using data from the Current Population Survey from 1996 to 2020, this study explores whether gender, marriage, and parenthood differentially impact the overall income among Asian American workers at multiple income distribution levels. I use a series of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regressions to assess racial/ethnic income inequality among Asian American workers as well as quantile regression models at different points (lower, middle, and upper quantiles) to show how inequalities among Asian American men and women working in the US labor force vary across other parts of the income distribution.

I focus on the intraracial gender differences and highlight the income variation across parental and marital statuses. To frame my general argument, I first discuss the broad literature on parenthood and marriage effects on income. Then, I outline the research on the racial/ethnic differences between parenthood and marriage impacting yearly income. Next, I perform a series of empirical analyses using OLS and quantile regression modeling to evaluate the income variation among Asian American workers and explain how these differences are shaped by gender, parenthood, marriage, and income level distribution. Lastly, I discuss the implications of my findings and suggest future directions for the research in gender studies, specifically for parenthood and marriage pay premiums and penalties, Asian American studies, and income inequality in the US.

## **THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

### *Parenthood and Marriage Effect on Income*

The gendered differences in labor compensation often vary by marital (de Linde Leonard and Stanley 2015, Killewald and Gough 2013) and parental statuses (Andersen 2018, Benard and Correll 2010, Budig and England 2001) among working men and women. Previous research

shows women are disadvantaged in pay compared to men due to discrimination in the workplace (Elliott and Smith 2004), differences in human capital (Gaddis 2014), and gendered division of household/family labor (Duffy 2007). The gendered expectations of family responsibilities and work obligations coincide with the slowing convergence in pay parity between mothers and fathers in the labor force. Within organizations, gender stereotypes affect the hiring practices and promotional decisions toward women due to the expectations of caregiving and motherhood responsibilities (Andersen 2018). Motherhood wage penalties and fatherhood wage premiums are resulting consequences from employers perpetuating gendered biases and gendered-specific beliefs within the organization's work culture (Glauber 2008, Hays 1996).

Previous literature has shown a relationship between family factors and women's earnings in motherhood penalties (Budig and England 2001, Correll, Benard and Paik 2007, Gough and Noonan 2013) and fatherhood premiums (Glauber 2008, Killewald and Gough 2013). According to Correll, Benard, and Paik (2007), working mothers tend to have lower earnings than women without children despite having similar work qualifications. On average, childless women in the labor force earn a higher income than mothers by benefitting from taking minimal familial leave and achieving additive economic advantages over time (Cha 2013, O'Rand 1996). Working mothers generally experience more prominent income disadvantages due to fewer job opportunities in the labor market (Budig and England 2001, Gough and Noonan 2013). The limited job opportunities are related to employers assuming working mothers show lower productivity levels and little work experience than non-mothers (Budig and England 2001). Moreover, the motherhood wage penalty is a direct consequence of the continued prevalence of gendered biases surrounding mothers being less committed and less competent in their respective

jobs, which largely contributes to the persistent gender pay gap in the US labor force (Budig and England 2001, Gough and Noonan 2013).

In contrast, working men generally experience a more positive advantage in income earnings when transitioning into fatherhood than childless men (Glauber 2008, Hodges and Budig 2010). Research has found that biological fathers and men working in higher-paying occupations benefit more from the fatherhood wage premium, while men who are unmarried residential fathers and stepfathers do not receive a fatherhood wage premium (Glauber 2008, Killewald 2013). The common depictions of men as the “breadwinners” of their families relate to the gender-traditional expectations of fathers working overtime to maximize their family earnings (Buchmann and McDaniel 2016, Hodges and Budig 2010). This narrative contributes to the workplace biases toward working fathers and suggests men are the sole financial contributors to the household income. Further, the pay discrepancies associated with differing parental statuses are consequences of gendered childcare expectations, family devotion, employer discrimination against mothers, and favoritism toward working fathers (Buchmann and McDaniel 2016, Budig and England 2001, Hays 1996).

In addition, marriage differentially affects working individuals’ overall income in the labor market. Both working men and women experience a marriage wage premium, however, married men receive higher earnings due to the gendered labor market specialization of household responsibilities holding working fathers to a higher standard than working mothers (Killewald and Gough 2013). Previous studies have found that married fathers tend to assume household specialization (de Linde Leonard and Stanley 2015, Killewald and Gough 2013) of being the family provider, and marriage increases the fatherhood wage premium greater than being an unmarried father (Killewald 2013). Working women, particularly those in high-earning

positions, also benefit from a marriage wage premium but not to the level married men receive in comparison. Bianchi et al. (2000) posit that women increase the amount of time spent doing household labor after entering a marriage, while men in a marital relationship exhibit fewer hours spent performing household labor. This type of division of household labor contributes to the growing gender gap in time, often comprising married women's time spent in the workforce (Bianchi et al. 2000, Bianchi et al. 2012). Further, employers' favoritism toward men in the labor force, in both hiring and retention efforts, allows for early investments for men employees to benefit from both yearly income and wage gains after marriage (Ludwig and Brüderl 2018). In sum, marital status changes the economic outcomes for both working men and women, and employers who prefer to invest in working men over women contribute to the growing gender pay gap.

#### *Racial/Ethnic Differences between Parenthood and Marriage*

Along with the gender pay gap, racialized income inequality has resulted in racial/ethnic minority groups earning significantly less than White Americans historically and contemporarily (Conley 1999, Herring and Henderson 2016, Oliver and Shapiro 1995). Despite the increasing labor participation (about thirty-five percent) of racial and ethnic minorities (i.e., Asian Americans, Black Americans, Hispanic/Latinx, etc.), these groups disproportionately face disadvantages in employment and income accumulation due to generations of systemic racism within the US labor force (Conley 1999, Herring and Henderson 2016). White Americans make up the highest income level, while other racial/ethnic minority workers (i.e., Black Americans, Hispanics/Latinx Americans, and Native Americans) are at around the bottom 10 percent of the overall income distribution in the US labor force (Wilson 2020). Further, racial biases are embedded within organizations' hiring and retention practices, further contributing to the

employment discrimination against Black Americans, Hispanic/Latinx Americans, and other racial/ethnic job candidates regardless of their qualifications (Gaddis 2014, Sullivan and Meschede 2018, Tomaskovic-Devey, Thomas and Johnson 2005). Racial and ethnic minority workers experience cumulative economic disparities due to the lack of labor compensation (Mason 2004), employment opportunities (Gaddis 2014), upward job mobility (Han 2020), wealth accumulation (McKernan et al. 2014), and other forms of systemic racism embedded at both the organizational (Ray 2019) and labor market (Derenoncourt and Montialoux 2020) levels of the social structure.

Similar to the variation in income among parents' earnings levels, there is reason to suspect a relationship between family factors and economic outcomes across different racial and ethnic groups. Racialized perceptions of fatherhood affect men's hiring and promotion decisions within people of color (POC) communities. In particular, White and Hispanic/Latinx fathers are often perceived as taking on the household specialization role as the "breadwinner" or sole financial provider of the family, whereas Black fathers are denoted as unreliable workers and absent fathers (Hamer 2001). Married Black couples tend to adopt an equal division of household labor and paid work compared to married White and Hispanic/Latinx couples, which can explain Black men earning a smaller fatherhood wage premium than Hispanic/Latinx and White American men (Gupta 1999). While there has been some research dedicated to exploring the potential effects of the fatherhood wage premium among men of color (Glauber 2008, Gupta 1999, Hamer 2001), scholars consistently exclude Asian American men in discussions of income inequality. This is due to, in part, data limitations, however, scholars and policymakers perceived assumptions of Asian Americans being the success minority group further reifies that all Asian Americans are succeeding economically compared to other racial/ethnic minority groups despite

distinct differences in parental, marital, and socioeconomic statuses that impact their economic outcomes.

Moreover, racial/ethnic minority women face both gendered and racialized organizational practices within employers, and experiences vary by parental and marital statuses. On average, White women experience a higher motherhood pay penalty than Black women and Hispanic/Latinx women (Blair-Loy and Dehart 2003, Budig and England 2001, Glauber 2007, Gough and Noonan 2013, Waldfogel 1997). Glauber (2007) stated that only married Black women with at least two children pay a wage penalty and Hispanic/Latinx women generally show no significant disadvantage in pay when entering motherhood.

Although most studies found that White Americans pay a larger motherhood wage penalty (Glauber 2007, Greenman 2010), there are differences in marriage composition among racial/ethnic groups that affect the size of the motherhood wage penalty. In general, being married increases the effect of the motherhood wage penalty due to the reduction in women's work hours and gendered discrimination in the workplace (Budig and England 2001). However, Black mothers exhibit higher levels of being unmarried than White mothers, which adversely shows Black mothers receiving a less substantive motherhood pay penalty despite spending more time dedicated towards housework labor (Lundquist 2004, Musick 2002). However, minimal research addresses the impact of the motherhood penalty among racial/ethnic minorities, especially among Asian American women. The few existing studies exploring the earning differences among Asian American women (Greenman and Xie 2008, Greenman 2010) only compared to White women, disregarding the intraracial variation in family structure, marriage, and socioeconomic status between men and women that impacts their overall income.

*Asian American Women and the Motherhood Penalty*

Browne and Misra (2003) show that women of color experience a double disadvantage for being a woman and a racial minority in the workplace by falling at the bottom of wage compensation, occupational attainment, and job authority compared to men and White women. While there has been growing literature on the experiences of women of color in the labor market, most of these studies tend to categorize Asian American women alongside White women by assuming they both have similar experiences and advantages in the workplace (Chin 2020, Woo 1985). Although Asian American women seem to have competitive wages compared to White women, there are distinct cultural, ethnic, and social differences that cannot be ignored.

Previous research stated Asian American women (1.5 and 2<sup>nd</sup> generations) reached income labor market parity with White women due to the hyper selectivity of many of their immigrant parents and their education levels (Kim and Zhao 2014, Zhou and Lee 2017). According to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 2020, the median weekly earnings for full-time Asian American women were \$1,224 compared to \$910 for White women. There is, however, still a gender wage gap. Asian American women working full time earn seventy-six cents for every dollar that an Asian American man earns (Harwood 2019).

While Asian American women show comparable income advantages to White women, this outcome relies on the patterned treatment of grouping Asian American women as homogenous in their socioeconomic attainment. Moreover, Asian American women experience several other disadvantages as racial minority women in the labor force. Asian American women face a “glass ceiling” – an artificial barrier discriminating against women and minorities in workplace advancement regardless of their qualifications (Cotter et al. 2001) – when being considered for upper management or leadership positions in the US workplace due to gender and racial stereotypes and biases (Berrey 2013, Le and Miller



2010, Lee 2002, Mary Lee 2002, Yamane 2011, Zhou and Lee 2017). Asian American women experience adverse effects from the bamboo ceiling – an invisible barrier specifically hindering the advancement of Asian American women in income and occupational positions – as well as the glass ceiling (Chin 2020, Kim and Zhao 2014, Lee and Tran 2019, Zhou and Lee 2017). Overall, these barriers put Asian American women at a double disadvantage due to the “prejudice born from the intersection of race and gender and the way that intersection produces structural obstacles for Asian American women” (Chin 2020:148).

U.S.-born Asian American women are less likely than White women to reduce their labor or work hours after having children (Lu, Wang and Han 2017). This helps Asian American women overcome motherhood disadvantages and continue to gain human capital because of the decision to take minimal leave after entering motherhood. According to Emily Greenman (2010), other cultural factors also contribute to the advantage of Asian American working women with children. Many Asian societies and cultural traditions are centered around family communal effort in raising children by including older members who live with their married children. Grandparents take on a significant role as caretakers and are more involved in the upbringing of children compared to both immediate parents, allowing for Asian American mothers to increase their work productivity levels and increasing pay over time (Greenman 2010). Despite generally most working women experiencing the motherhood penalty, Asian American women receive a higher overall income than working White women. Greenman (2010) attributes Asian American mothers’ income gain is due to the cumulative advantages from not opting to leave their employment

for long periods due to family responsibilities, resulting in more work experience and social capital within the labor market.

Moreover, family dynamics shape women's overall income in the labor market. Yet scholars that continue to aggregate Asian Americans' economic experiences further perpetuate the misconceptions of Asian Americans as a "model minorities" (Shih, Chang and Chen 2019, Wu 2014) despite the heterogeneity in socioeconomic attainments (Vo et al. Working). The breadth and depth of current income studies has neglected Asian American workers' labor market experiences and needs to further explore the mechanisms impacting work and family processes within this community.

#### *Current Study*

Building upon current research, I evaluate the recent income trends of Asian American workers to further explain the overall effects of gender, marital status, and parenthood penalties and premiums. Previous research concerning Asian American women's economic outcomes uses White women as the comparison group (Greenman 2010, Kim and Zhao 2014, Wang, Takei and Sakamoto 2017). By focusing on the intraracial differences among Asian American workers by gender, I provide a broader contextual understanding of how marriage and parenthood affects the gender pay gap between Asian American workers and how this varies at different levels of the income distribution. I use data from the Current Population Survey from 1996 to 2020 and run a series of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models to estimate the yearly income differences across Asian American workers in the US labor force. There is reason to believe that there are meaningful differences within the income distribution (Kim and Sakamoto 2014, Painter and Qian 2016), and I use quantile regression modeling to measure the influence of marriage and parenthood penalties

and premiums on Asian American workers' economic outcomes at varying levels of the income distribution.

## DATA AND METHODS

I use data from the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (CPS)<sup>1</sup> from 1996 to 2020 (Flood et al. 2020) to measure whether gender and familial factors affects yearly income among Asian Americans. The CPS is collected by the US Census Bureau and Department of Labor Statistics and is one of the primary US surveys used to measure unemployment rates and monthly household income across all 50 US states and the District of Columbia. Previous studies used the CPS to study both racial/ethnic (Derenoncourt and Montialoux 2020, Oh and Min 2011) and gender (Bernhardt, Morris and Handcock 1995, Cha and Weeden 2014) income inequality in the US. In my analysis, I focus on respondents who self-identify as non-Hispanic<sup>2</sup>, Asian American/Pacific Islanders<sup>3</sup> in my sample.

Beginning in 1994, the CPS also began collecting information on respondents' citizenship and nativity status. Due to these limitations and issues with missing income information from 1994 and 1995,<sup>4</sup> my time series runs from 1996 to 2020. Following previous studies on income inequality (Bloome 2014, Derenoncourt and Montialoux 2020), I limit the analytical sample to individuals between the ages 18 to 65, who are currently employed, who worked at least 50 weeks in the previous year, and who provide other basic demographics information (i.e., citizenship, nativity status, survey year, educational attainment, living in a city,

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<sup>1</sup> The data extract is downloaded from IPUMS CPS. See <https://cps.ipums.org/cps/> for more detailed information.

<sup>2</sup> The CPS collects information on individuals of Hispanic origin using 13 categories. I create an indicator for respondents who identify as Hispanic (coded 1) compared to non-Hispanics (coded 0). I combine racial and ethnic information to create a series of indicators for "Asian, non-Hispanic," "Black, non-Hispanic," "Hispanic," and "Other Race, non-Hispanic," with "White, non-Hispanic" as the comparison group.

<sup>3</sup> Asian Americans who identify with Hispanic origins make up 2,354 respondents of the original sample.

<sup>4</sup> I remove the years 1994 and 1995 due to incomplete information on the imputation of missing income values in the CPS. See: Mouw and Kalleberg (2010).

and region) that impact individuals' yearly income. After adjusting for missing information, my final analytical sample includes information on US workers identifying as Asian, non-Hispanic with a total of 72,112 observations from 1996 to 2020.

### ***Measures***

*Key Independent Variable: Gender.* The CPS captures information on the sex of the respondents, and I use this information to distinguish the gender<sup>5</sup> differences among Asian Americans in terms of income. To do this, I create an indicator for *Woman* (coded 1) compared to *Men* (coded 0) to capture any potential effects of the gender pay gap.

*Additional Key Independent Variables: Parental Status and Marital Status.* Given previous literature on the marriage premium for men (de Linde Leonard and Stanley 2015) and motherhood penalty (Andersen 2018), I account for working individuals with different familial factors that impact yearly income. The CPS collects information on the counts of the number of own children (of any age or marital status) that lives with the respondent and includes stepchildren, adopted children, and biological children in the count ranging from 0 children to 9 or more children (as a top-coded value). I combine the responses for respondents who have more than one child and create a binary indicator those who *Has Children* (coded 1) compared to those who *Has No Children* (coded 0). The CPS further asks respondents to self-report whether they are "Married-spouse present," "Married-spouse absent," "Separated," "Divorced," "Widowed," or "Never Married/Single." To account for marital status, I transform this information to include an indicator variable for individuals who are *Currently Married* (coded 1)- including both spouse present and absent- compared to individuals who are currently *Not Married* (coded 0).

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<sup>5</sup> Due to data limitations, gender can only be expressed in binary terms for women and men.

*Dependent Variable: Natural Logarithm of Inflation-Adjusted Yearly Income.* The outcome variable for my analysis is the natural logarithm of annual income using 2020 dollars. The CPS collects information on respondents' total yearly salary income (before taxes). I standardize the income data to 2020 dollars by recoding the income for each year by the Consumer Price Index (CPI) to account for inflation.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the CPS truncates the overall income distribution for individuals who fall at the top end to protect their identifying information. Starting in 1996, the CPS replaced the top-coded income values with varying values based on their demographic income models.<sup>7</sup> I adjust for the truncated income values by transforming the income information with top-coded values back to the original single top-coded value for each year and multiplying by 1.4 times the single top-coded value.<sup>8</sup>

*Control Variables:* The CPS collects information on a series of occupational factors and demographics that may impact income. In my analysis, I condition for the effects of hours worked in a typical week, STEM field occupations (Beutel and Schleifer 2021), and various demographics (i.e., citizenship, nativity, education, region, urban dweller, age, year). I include a measure for *Hours Worked in a Typical Week* as a continuous control variable and include an *hours squared* term to capture potential curvilinear effects when modeling yearly income. Asian Americans working in science, technology, engineering, and mathematical (STEM) occupations are typically overrepresented. I follow Beutel and Schleifer (2021) to control for STEM occupations by creating an indicator for those working in the *STEM worker* compared to *non-STEM worker*. I do this by combining STEM occupations across 1990, 2000, 2010 census occupational coding systems.

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<sup>6</sup> For more information on inflation adjustment, see <https://cps.ipums.org/cps/cpi99.shtml>.

<sup>7</sup> For more information on top-codes values, see [https://cps.ipums.org/cps/topcodes\\_tables.shtml](https://cps.ipums.org/cps/topcodes_tables.shtml)

<sup>8</sup> The adjustment is called the "Rule of Thumb" approach (Burkhauser, Feng and Jenkins 2009).

Since most Asian American income inequality studies focus on the generational differences among immigrants (Kim and Sakamoto 2010, Woo, Sakamoto and Takei 2012), I include proxy variables by including a respondent's citizenship and nativity status. To control for citizenship, I create an indicator for *non-Citizens* by combining the four categories "Born in US, outlying," "Born abroad of American Parents," "Naturalized Citizen," and "Not a US Citizen" (coded 0) and keeping the last category (coded 1) as *US Citizen*. By including "Both parents native-born," "Mother foreign, father native," "Both parents foreign," and "Foreign Born," I can control for nativity status. I create an indicator for *Foreign Born (1<sup>st</sup> Gen)* compared to *US born (2+ Gen)* by combining the first three categories.

This dataset captures respondents' educational attainment by measuring the highest year of school or degree completed the respondent received. Starting in 1992, the CPS began classifying high school graduates according to their highest degree or diploma attained. From this, I combine the education years to include a series of indicators for *High School or Less*, *Some College*, and *Bachelor/Advanced Degree*. Then, I include a continuous variable to measure *age* spanning from 18 to 65 to control for individuals who are of legal working age. I also use an *age squared term* for potential curvilinear effects. I also incorporate a measure for survey *year* that runs from 1996 to 2020, and I recode the survey years where 1996 is coded 0, 1997 is 1, and all the way up to 24 for 2020. I use a *year squared term* to capture potential curvilinear effects that may affect yearly income. To control for geographical differences in income, I include a binary indicator for individuals who live in a *Lives in City* and regional indicators for those who live in the *West* compared to individuals in *Other Regions*.

### ***Analytical Strategy***

To estimate the annual income differences across racial/ethnic groups, gender, and family structure, I use a series of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models. The OLS model takes the following form:

$$\ln(\text{inc.}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{Gender}) + \beta_2(\text{Parent}) + \beta_3(\text{Marriage}) + \beta_4(\text{Int.}) + \beta_5(\text{Cont.}) + \varepsilon$$

Here,  $\ln(\text{inc.})$  is the natural logarithm of yearly income in 2020 standard US dollars. *Gender* is the variable that captures the gender differences in the  $\beta_1$  coefficients. *Parental Status* is an indicator for workers who have one or more children in the home and with the accompanying  $\beta_2$  coefficient.  $\beta_3$  coefficient capture the effects of the indicator for those who are currently married (*Marital Status*). *Int.* is the vector of the interaction terms, and these differences are captured in  $\beta_4$  vector of coefficients. *Cont.* vector includes all the control variables with the income differences shown in  $\beta_5$  vector of coefficients.  $\beta_0$  is the model intercept and  $\varepsilon$  is the residual error term.

Since income variables have many outliers, especially in the higher tail of the distribution, these outliers affect the results of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression models. To model income among Asian Americans workers at varying points of the distribution, I use quantile regression analysis. Quantile regression allows for more robust estimates to outliers than the mean and puts more emphasis on the distribution around a particular quantile (i.e., median, 1<sup>st</sup> quartiles, 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile, etc.) rather than areas farther away from the quantile (Painter and Qian 2016). Following Glauber (2018) and Kim and Sakamoto (2014), using quantile regression models provide a more accurate depiction of wage penalties and premiums across the income distribution. From this, I assess gendered income inequality at different points of the conditional distribution of income and measure the lower (.25), middle (.50), and upper (.75) quantiles of the

income distribution among Asian American workers. The quantile regression model takes the following form:

$$Q^{(p)}(\ln(\text{inc.}) | X) = \beta_0^{(p)} + \beta_1^{(p)}(\text{Gender}) + \beta_2^{(p)}(\text{Parent}) + \beta_3^{(p)}(\text{Marriage}) + \beta_4^{(p)}(\text{Int.}) + \beta_5^{(p)}(\text{Cont.}) + \varepsilon$$

where  $p = .25, .50, .75$

Here,  $Q^{(p)}(\ln(\text{inc.}) | X)$  refers to the conditional quantile of the natural logarithm of yearly income<sup>9</sup> given the independent variables. For each quantile,  $p$  takes on the values set  $\{.25, .50, .75\}$  to represent the lower, middle, and upper quantiles of the income distribution respectively. All the covariates, interactions, and controls are the same described previously in the OLS model above.

## RESULTS

Table 1 presents the summary statistics for Asian American workers disaggregated by parental status. In the total sample, we can see here that the average yearly income for Asian American workers is \$65,087.23, with an hourly wage of \$31.65. About 52 percent of Asian American workers are men relative to 48% of workers being women. Moreover, 45 percent of respondents currently have no children compared to 55 percent of respondents who are parents with children. Primarily within the sample, a higher percentage of Asian American workers are currently married, with 68 percent relative to 32 percent who are currently not married.

The average annual income for workers with no children is about \$58,763.85, with an hourly wage of \$28.63. There is a lower percentage of Asian American women with no children relative to Asian American men working in the labor force. About 47 percent of Asian women

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<sup>9</sup> I take a conservative approach by using the natural logarithm of yearly income as the outcome variable to mimic the same process used in the Ordinary Least Squares models.



are childless compared to 53 percent of childless Asian American men. Additionally, 58 percent of childless workers are not married relative to 42 percent currently married. Among Asian Americans who are parents, the average yearly income is \$70,293.64 with an hourly wage of 34.11. Around 52 percent of Asian American men are fathers, and 48 percent of Asian American women are mothers currently working in the US labor force. Most working parents are currently married at about 89 percent compared to 11 percent of single parents.

[INSERT TABLE 1]

Table 2 presents the results of the five Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression models. I condition for all models' effects of employment characteristics (i.e., STEM field worker and hours worked in a typical week), educational attainment, and basic demographics. Model 1 shows the general pattern captured on logged income for working individuals with controls. Model 2 introduces an interaction between a respondent's gender identity and parental status while controlling for all other factors. Model 3 includes an interaction effect between working women and their current marital status on their yearly logged income. Model 4 shows the interaction pattern on logged income for working individuals who have children and are currently married. Model 5 includes a triple interaction among working women who have children and are currently married to predict respondents' yearly logged income.

[INTSERT TABLE 2]

The results in Model 1 show Asian American women workers are being paid about 19.2 percent less yearly logged income than Asian American men. To put this simply, Asian American women make around \$9,217.04 less than men in yearly income. Workers who currently have children have 1.9 percent higher logged income than those without children, which is estimated to be about \$932.58 more in annual income. Currently married Asian

American workers receive about a 10.9 percent higher logged income relative to those not currently married. The pay difference is about \$5,122.26 higher annual income for married workers than unmarried workers in more concrete terms.

Looking at the gender differences in pay, we see that working women receive approximately 19.31 percent less logged income, equating to about \$8,691.85 less yearly income compared to men. Unmarried respondents with children earn about 4.23 percent higher logged income or \$1,820.93 increase in annual income than unmarried individuals with no children. Respondents who are married with no children earn around 11.04 percent higher logged income than unmarried workers with no children. That is about a \$5,842.10 gain in yearly income for married workers with no children compared to unmarried respondents with no children. Individuals who are married and have children receive about 12.98 percent gain in logged income, which is nearly a \$5,842.10 advantage in yearly income compared to unmarried individuals with no children.

Model 2 introduces an interaction between a respondent's gender and parental status identities while controlling for all other factors. I plot the predicted income (\$2020) to display the income differences among Asian American workers by gender.

[FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 1 shows the predicted yearly income for Asian Americans by gender and parenthood status. Here, we can see that Asian American men with no children have a higher annual income of \$57,181.22 compared to the \$49,420.14 yearly income predicted for Asian American women with no children. In comparison, there is a pay gap between childless Asian American men and women of about \$7,761.08 difference in income. Among Asian American workers with children, men make about \$60,836.94 annual income, and women earn about

\$48,288.65 yearly income, resulting in a \$12,548.29 gender income gap among Asian American parents. Moreover, Asian American men with children receive a fatherhood wage premium with a \$4,655.72 increase in annual pay compared to men without children. Conversely, Asian American mothers experience a motherhood penalty with \$1,131.49 less yearly income than Asian American women with no children.

Recent literature has shown that workers' current marital status impacts their overall income and affects men and women differently in the labor market (Cheng 2016, de Linde Leonard and Stanley 2015, Killewald and Gough 2013). I account for the potential effects of marriage and gender in Model 3 by including an interaction between respondents' current marital status and gender identity. Figure 2 shows the results for Model 3 using predicted probabilities in yearly income. Asian American men who are not married receive a higher yearly income of \$52,323.14 than unmarried Asian American women with \$46,664.21 in income. This results in a \$5,658.93 pay gap among unmarried men and women currently working. Among married Asian Americans, we can see here that men earn around \$62,099.71 in annual income. Married Asian American women earn about \$49,357.10 in annual income and experience a \$12,742.61 pay gap compared to married men. Asian American men who are currently married earn about \$9,776.57 increase in pay relative to unmarried men. For working Asian American women, married workers receive a \$2,692.89 increase in overall income. On average, both men and women benefit from a marriage premium, but married men earn substantially more than married women in the labor force.

[FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

In Model 4, I interact with marital and parental status to capture the logged income patterns among Asian American workers. I plot the predicted income by current marriage and

parenthood status in Figure 3. Here, we can see that unmarried workers with no children earn a lower overall income of about \$49,555.18. However, married workers with no children earn about \$55,927.20 annually, about a \$6,372.02 income gain compared to unmarried workers. Among Asian American workers, married individuals with no children are estimated to receive around \$51,923.11 in yearly income, and married workers who are parents make about \$56,514.72 in overall income. Results show a substantial income gain of about \$4,591.61 for married workers with children compared to married workers who do not have children. On average, Asian American workers with no children receive higher pay when married with about a \$2,367.93 annual income compared to unmarried individuals. Asian Americans with children have similar income levels, but those currently married gain about \$587.53 in yearly income than unmarried workers.

[FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]

Model 5 interacts with the main effects for gender, marriage, and parenthood to estimate the yearly logged income among Asian American workers. I display the results in Figure 4 to show the general pattern captured in Asian Americans' predicted income (\$2020) by gender, marital, and parental status. Here, we can see that single men with no children make about \$51,511.44 in annual income. Conversely, single women with no children make around \$46,569.30 annual income and exhibit a \$4,942.14 decrease in pay relative to single men with no children. Married men with no children have an income advantage of about \$61,238.85 compared to married women with no children with approximately \$49,672.73 yearly income. A gender pay gap of about \$11,566.12 exists between married Asian Americans with no children. Among single respondents with children, men earn about \$56,798.08 higher income than women making around \$46,243.98 in annual income. These results show an estimated \$10,554.10 pay

difference among single individuals with children by gender. Moreover, I find that married fathers earn a higher average of \$62,590.01 yearly income than married mothers with about \$49,337.95 overall income. Married mothers experience the largest gender pay gap of approximately \$13,252.06 annual income compared to other family structures.

Overall, the general pattern among Asian American workers shows men are making significantly more income than women regardless of marital and parental statuses. Both men and women who have no children exhibit an increase in pay after being married, which holds true for working mothers and fathers. In contrast, we see mothers experience a motherhood penalty in income regardless of marital status. At the same time, fathers benefit from the fatherhood premium in pay whether they are currently married or not. These results show that Asian American women experience a substantial disadvantage in pay compared to men. Furthermore, the motherhood penalty is still prevalent and exacerbates the gender pay gap among Asian American workers.

[FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE]

Previous income studies have shown Asian Americans are reaching parity with White Americans in overall income both for men and women (Kim and Sakamoto 2010, Kim and Zhao 2014). However, these studies often homogenize Asian Americans' socioeconomic profiles despite the impact of familial factors (i.e., marriage and parenthood) and gender identity on their economic outcomes. I have reason to suspect there is variation among Asian Americans across different levels of the income distribution. In Table 3, I focus on the quantile regression results<sup>10</sup> for Model 5 (See Table 2) that interacts with gender, parental, and marital status.

[TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

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<sup>10</sup> See Appendix for quantile regression results for OLS models 1-4 in Tables 4-7.

In Figure 5, I plot the predicted income (\$2020) to display the income differences among Asian American workers by gender and familial statuses across the lower (.25), middle (.50), and upper (.75) quantiles of the distribution. In quantile (.25), married fathers have a higher predicted income of about \$44,031.45 annually than married mothers with approximately \$35,720.38 in annual income. Married mothers experience an \$8,311.07 pay disadvantage in yearly income relative to married fathers. In the middle (.50) of the income distribution, we see that married fathers receive an overall income of about \$63,341.33, while married mothers earn less income of about \$50,629.69 per year. Asian Americans, married mothers, receive approximately \$12,711.64 less yearly income than married fathers. Asian American workers at the higher end of the quantile distribution (.75) exhibit the largest pay gap between married mothers and fathers. Married fathers show a higher income of about \$90,119.02 than married mothers with \$71,496.97 yearly income. The estimated income gap between married mothers and married fathers is approximately \$19,622.05 per year. As expected, Asian American workers who are married mothers earn the lowest yearly income across all quantiles than married fathers.

[FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE]

To see the variation between quantiles, I analyze the income differences among married Asian American parents. Married mothers at the lower end of the income distribution (quantile .25) make \$34,776.59 less than married mothers at the upper end (quantile .75). For married mothers, respondents in the middle of the income distribution (quantile .50) earn around \$14,909.31 more yearly income than individuals at the lower end (quantile .25). Married mothers in the upper quantile (.75) make around \$19,867.28 more compared to married mothers in the median quantile (.50). Among Asian American men, married fathers in the lower quantile (.25) receive about a \$46,087.57 disadvantage in pay than married fathers in the upper quantile (.75).

Married fathers at the middle (quantile .50) of the income distribution receive an income advantage of \$19,309.88 than individuals at the lower end (quantile .25). For married fathers, Asian American men at the upper end of the distribution (quantile .75) gain about \$26,777.69 annual income than men at the median quantile (.50). While these patterns are suggestive, using quantiles in my analyses gives a better understanding of the socioeconomic variation among Asian Americans and how marriage and parenthood affect their overall income.

## **DISCUSSION**

My findings show that the intersection of gender, parenthood, and marriage is affecting Asian American workers' yearly income across the income distribution. This research explores the trends in marriage and parenthood penalties and premiums for those at the bottom, middle, and top of the income distribution. Previous literature generally homogenizes Asian Americans' work experiences and assume these individuals have similar pay advantages in the US labor market (Vo et al. Working.). This narrative, reaffirmed in US income inequality studies, neglects the heterogeneity in experiences and socioeconomic attainment among Asian American workers. Further, family processes shape the expectations, opportunities, and job mobility within the labor market for both working men and women *and* varies by racial and ethnic groups (Beutel and Schleifer 2021, Bloome 2014, Buchmann and McDaniel 2016) including Asian American mothers and fathers. Although studies have found that Asian American men and women are nearing economic parity with White workers, there is a lack of research focusing on the intraracial differences and how family obligations are influencing workers' overall income. My research contributes to the broader literature in race and gender income inequality by re-instating the importance of Asian American workers in the labor market and provide analyses on intraracial gender differences by parenthood and marriage using the CPS data (1996-2020).

There is disproportionate amount of research focusing on White fathers' experiences in the labor market (Glauber 2018, Killewald 2013, Killewald and Gough 2013), neglecting the impact of fatherhood among other racial/ethnic minority groups. While there is some literature measuring Black and Hispanic/Latinx fathers (Glauber 2008, Hamer 2001), Asian American men are entirely excluded from this dimension of income differences in the US labor force.

Disregarding Asian American men's experiences treats these individuals as indistinguishable to White men in the US labor market, thereby reaffirms the ideology of Asian men as the "model minority" (Sakamoto, Takei and Woo 2012, Wong et al. 1998) and disregarding the many forms of structural racism experienced by these individuals. To combat this narrative, I analyze the relationship between Asian American men and women across familial factors (i.e., marriage and parenthood) and focus on Asian American men's earnings related to the fatherhood and marital pay premiums. The results show that Asian American men do receive a fatherhood and marriage premium in their overall income. Married Asian American fathers specifically earn a slightly higher income than single fathers, suggesting that having children is the primary factor patterning pay inequality for these men in the workplace. This finding aligns with previous studies noting that fathers receive a substantive wage premium, especially for married men (Hodges and Budig 2010, Killewald and Gough 2013), and further extends the literature by re-integrating Asian American men in discussions of race and gender income inequalities.

Asian American women, like other women of color, face double disadvantages of racial and gender discrimination in the labor market regarding wage compensation, occupational attainment, and job mobility. Studies that do include Asian American women (Greenman 2010, Kim and Zhao 2014) assume Asian American women do not suffer equivalent race-based earnings penalties like other racial/ethnic minority women in the labor force due to, in part, the



comparison to White women and treatment of Asian Americans as homogenous in socioeconomic attainment labor market experiences (Greenman 2010, Kim and Zhao 2014). Here, I demonstrate that Asian American women's income is motivated by family formation processes and their relative earnings compared to Asian American men in similar family structures is exacerbated among the highest earners.

Asian American women in this sample show an increase in pay after transitioning into motherhood status but receive negligible differences in pay after being married. There are insignificant differences in income between married mothers and single mothers, which again suggests that having children is a contributing factor for Asian American women to benefit from a slight motherhood pay premium. This result coincides with current literature presented in Greenman (2010) and Wang, Takei, Sakamoto (2017), stating Asian American mothers do not receive a motherhood penalty compared to White mothers in the US labor force. Furthermore, my analysis reiterates the importance of family processes such as marriage and parenthood in shaping Asian American women's labor market experiences and overall income. Future research should focus on the implications of Asian American women experiences in the labor force and how cultural contexts such as receiving extended family help contributes to smaller motherhood pay penalties.

Many studies regarding parenthood pay premiums and penalties overgeneralize workers' experiences in the labor market despite. However, family processes (i.e., parenthood and marriage) affect workers' yearly income differently depending on socioeconomic status. For instance, the fatherhood wage premium, on average, has increased income overall for high-earning men, while the motherhood wage penalty still disproportionately affects working mothers, especially high-earning women (Glauber 2018). Further, I expect these differences to

impact racial/ethnic minority workers overall income, especially Asian American workers. To challenge this narrative, I use quantile regression modeling to disaggregate Asian American workers' multiple income levels within the distribution to better depict the differences in pay gaps both men and women encounter at varying levels within the income distribution.

The gender pay differences among Asian American men and women are still prevalent across all quantiles, especially among the upper portions of the income distribution. Asian American fathers are predicted to earn about \$20,000 higher yearly income than Asian American mothers. In the middle of the income distribution, there is an income gap of about \$13,000 in annual income with men exceeding women in pay. This pattern is reflected again at the lower end of the income distribution showing Asian American men earning about \$8,000 more in overall income than Asian American women in the labor force. Overall, the largest gender gap in pay is seen at the upper end of the income distribution which further reaffirms my argument that scholar's previous exclusion of Asian American workers ignores the complexity and diversity of their economic outcomes.

I recognize that my findings have some limitations worth noting. First, I treated the CPS dataset as cross-sectional and could not follow the same respondents over time to see how income may have changed following the transitional periods into marriage and parenthood statuses. Second, the CPS can control for several factors relating to income variation, such as the potential effects of nativity and citizenship status. However, the CPS is limited in capturing the specific generational differences among Asian Americans regarding the relationship between US educational attainment and timing of arrival in the US among recently immigrated respondents from Asia. The multiple generations allow for broader evidence of how immigration and access to the US education system may impact Asian American workers' economic outcomes (Kim and

Sakamoto 2010, Oh and Min 2011). A third issue is that the CPS does not have extensive enough data to examine the differences within multiple Asian ethnic groups to assess the income variation at varying income levels of the distribution. Vo et al. (Working.)'s income analyses suggest that Asian American workers experience heterogeneity in economic returns over time when disaggregating by Asian ethnic groups and gender. Future research should examine the combined effects of familial factors (i.e., marriage and parenthood) and gender within Asian ethnic groups to better understand how ethnic variation can affect overall income.

This study outlines the contributions toward comprehensively examining intraracial gendered differences in income by marriage and parenthood among Asian American workers. The results from this current study raise important questions for future research on whether familial factors differ by cultural and racial experiences. Yet the consistent portrayal of Asian Americans as model minorities by previous scholars and policymakers has left this community out of discussions regarding everyday racial discrimination at work, diversity and inclusion plans within organizations, and barriers regarding hiring and job promotions. Diversifying our understandings of Asian Americans' heterogeneity in economic outcomes will mitigate cultural misrepresentations and economic discrimination by recognizing disparities in education and income levels within the Asian American community.

Furthermore, the recent rise in anti-Asian sentiments and hate crimes during the COVID-19 pandemic invoke public conversations surrounding xenophobic attitudes and racial biases within workplaces and organizations (Tang 2021). The racial stereotypes surrounding Asian American workers, especially women, as unassertive and incapable leaders undermine their qualifications and abilities to fit within the dominating White standards of corporate executive culture (Chin 2020). Mobilizing for the inclusion of Asian Americans within income studies will

provide crucial understanding of how racialized and gendered organizations act as mechanisms toward existing pay gaps within the US labor market. Overall, the number of workers from multiple racial and ethnic backgrounds has exponentially grown in the US labor force and will continue to do so. As such, we must acknowledge that workers come from multiple racial/ethnic backgrounds and encounter varying workplace experiences due to racial discrimination and structural economic disadvantages. By doing so, we can expand beyond the Black/White dichotomy of how systemic racism operates within the US labor market and further reintegrate Asian Americans back into broader US racial narratives.

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**APPENDIX**

Table 1. Summary Statistics among Asian American Workers by Parental Status

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Full Sample</i>	<i>Has No Children</i>	<i>Has Children</i>
Yearly Income (2020\$)	\$65,087.23	\$58,763.85	\$70,293.64
Median	\$50,041.00	\$45,827.43	\$53,491.68
Hourly Wage (2020\$)	\$31.65	\$28.63	\$34.11
Median	\$24.07	\$22.38	\$25.72
<i>Gender</i>			
Man	52%	53%	52%
Woman	48%	47%	48%
<i>Parental Status</i>			
Has No Children	45%		
Has Children	55%		
<i>Marital Status</i>			
Not Married	32%	58%	11%
Currently Married	68%	42%	89%
<i>Employment Characteristics</i>			
Non-STEM Worker	85%	86%	85%
STEM Worker	15%	14%	15%
Hours Worked <small>Typical Week</small>	38.62	38.07	39.07
<i>Educational Attainment</i>			
High School or Less	25%	23%	28%
Some College	21%	23%	19%
BA/Adv Degree	54%	54%	53%
<i>Basic Demographics</i>			
US Born (2+ Gen)	16%	18%	14%
Foreign Born Parents	84%	82%	86%
US Citizen	70%	71%	70%
Non-US Citizen	30%	29%	30%
Age	41	38	44
Lives Outside City	06%	06%	06%
Lives in City	94%	94%	94%
Other Region	47%	46%	48%
West	53%	54%	52%
<i>N</i>	72,112	32,563	39,549

Source: Current Population Survey, 1996-2020

Table 2. OLS Regression on Logged Income among Asian American Workers

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE.)
<u>Main Effects</u>										
Woman	-0.192***	(.00)	-0.146***	(.01)	-0.114***	(.01)	-0.194***	(.00)	-0.101***	(.01)
Has Children	0.019***	(.01)	0.062***	(.01)	0.012*	(.01)	0.047***	(.01)	0.098***	(.02)
Currently Married	0.109***	(.01)	0.104***	(.01)	0.171***	(.01)	0.121***	(.01)	0.173***	(.01)
<u>Interactions</u>										
Woman x Has Children			-0.085***	(.01)					-0.105***	(.02)
Woman x Currently Married					-0.115***	(.01)			-0.108***	(.01)
Has Children x Currently Married							-0.036**	(.01)	-0.076***	(.02)
Woman x Has Children x Currently Married									0.076**	(.03)
<u>Controls</u>										
<i>Employment Characteristics</i>										
STEM Worker	0.299***	(.01)	0.299***	(.01)	0.297***	(.01)	0.299***	(.01)	0.297***	(.01)
Hours Worked Typical Week	0.058***	(.00)	0.058***	(.00)	0.058***	(.00)	0.058***	(.00)	0.058***	(.00)
Hours Worked Typical Week <sup>2</sup>	-0.000***	(.00)	-0.000***	(.00)	-0.000***	(.00)	-0.000***	(.00)	-0.000***	(.00)
<i>Educational Attainment</i>										
Some College	0.232***	(.01)	0.231***	(.01)	0.230***	(.01)	0.233***	(.01)	0.230***	(.01)
BA/Adv. Degree	0.672***	(.01)	0.671***	(.01)	0.670***	(.01)	0.673***	(.01)	0.670***	(.01)
<i>Basic Demographics</i>										
Born Outside US	-0.049***	(.01)	-0.049***	(.01)	-0.049***	(.01)	-0.048***	(.01)	-0.049***	(.01)
US Citizen	-0.130***	(.01)	-0.130***	(.01)	-0.131***	(.01)	-0.130***	(.01)	-0.131***	(.01)
Age	0.062***	(.00)	0.062***	(.00)	0.062***	(.00)	0.061***	(.00)	0.062***	(.00)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)
Year	-0.002	(.00)	-0.002	(.00)	-0.002	(.00)	-0.002	(.00)	-0.002	(.00)
Year <sup>2</sup>	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)
Lives in City	0.089***	(.01)	0.089***	(.01)	0.088***	(.01)	0.090***	(.01)	0.090***	(.01)
West	0.011*	(.00)	0.012*	(.00)	0.011*	(.00)	0.011*	(.00)	0.011*	(.00)
N	72,112									
R <sup>2</sup>	0.423		0.423		0.424		0.423		0.424	
adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.4226		0.4232		0.4236		0.4227		0.4238	

Coefficients presented in logged income. Standard errors in parentheses. Source: Current Population Survey (1996-2020)

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table 3. Quantile Regression on Logged Income among Asian American Workers by Gender, Parental, and Marital Status

<i>Variables</i>	<b>Quantile (.25)</b>		<b>Quantile (.50)</b>		<b>Quantile (.75)</b>	
	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE.)
<u>Main Effects</u>						
Woman	-0.075***	(.01)	-0.086***	(.01)	-0.129***	(.01)
Has Children	0.085***	(.02)	0.101***	(.02)	0.077***	(.02)
Currently Married	0.160***	(.01)	0.164***	(.01)	0.148***	(.01)
<u>Interactions</u>						
Woman x Has Children	-0.083**	(.03)	-0.115***	(.02)	-0.093***	(.02)
Woman x Currently Married	-0.096***	(.02)	-0.108***	(.01)	-0.089***	(.01)
Has Children x Currently Married	-0.057**	(.02)	-0.076***	(.01)	-0.056*	(.02)
Woman x Has Children x Currently	0.044	(.03)	0.085***	(.02)	0.065**	(.02)
<u>Married</u>						
<u>Controls</u>						
<i>Employment Characteristics</i>						
STEM Worker	0.436***	(.01)	0.311***	(.01)	0.170***	(.01)
Hours Worked Typical Week	0.086***	(.00)	0.073***	(.00)	0.043***	(.00)
Hours Worked Typical Week <sup>2</sup>	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.000***	(.00)
<i>Educational Attainment</i>						
Some College	0.224***	(.01)	0.231***	(.01)	0.249***	(.01)
BA/Adv. Degree	0.590***	(.01)	0.676***	(.01)	0.749***	(.01)
<i>Basic Demographics</i>						
Born Outside US	-0.074***	(.01)	-0.052***	(.01)	-0.028**	(.01)
US Citizen	-0.145***	(.01)	-0.107***	(.01)	-0.098***	(.01)
Age	0.054***	(.00)	0.056***	(.00)	0.061***	(.00)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)
Year	-0.002	(.00)	-0.002	(.00)	-0.003	(.00)
Year <sup>2</sup>	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)
Lives in City	0.077***	(.01)	0.083***	(.01)	0.099***	(.01)
West	0.019***	(.00)	0.010*	(.00)	0.013**	(.00)
<i>N</i>	72,112					

Coefficients are presented in logged income. Quantile regression modeling on the triple interaction between *Woman*, *Has Children*, and *Currently Married* indicators. Standard errors in parentheses. Source: Current Population Survey (1996-2020) \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table 4. Quantile Regression on Logged Income among Asian American Workers

<i>Variables</i>	<b>Quantile (.25)</b>		<b>Quantile (.50)</b>		<b>Quantile (.75)</b>	
	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE.)
<b><u>Main Effects</u></b>						
Woman	-0.161***	(.01)	-0.179***	(.00)	-0.208***	(.01)
Has Children	0.023*	(.01)	0.021***	(.01)	0.016***	(.00)
Currently Married	0.102***	(.01)	0.102***	(.01)	0.097***	(.01)
<b><u>Controls</u></b>						
<i>Employment Characteristics</i>						
STEM Worker	0.436***	(.01)	0.315***	(.01)	0.172***	(.01)
Hours Worked <sub>Typical Week</sub>	0.086***	(.00)	0.071***	(.00)	0.043***	(.00)
Hours Worked <sub>Typical Week</sub> <sup>2</sup>	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.000***	(.00)	-0.000***	(.00)
<i>Educational Attainment</i>						
Some College	0.228***	(.01)	0.236***	(.01)	0.254***	(.01)
BA/Adv. Degree	0.595***	(.01)	0.678***	(.01)	0.751***	(.01)
<i>Basic Demographics</i>						
Born Outside US	-0.072***	(.01)	-0.051***	(.01)	-0.028***	(.01)
US Citizen	-0.140***	(.01)	-0.111***	(.01)	-0.095***	(.01)
Age	0.054***	(.00)	0.056***	(.00)	0.061***	(.00)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)
Year	-0.003	(.00)	-0.003	(.00)	-0.003	(.00)
Year <sup>2</sup>	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)
Lives in City	0.074***	(.01)	0.084***	(.01)	0.099***	(.01)
West	0.022***	(.01)	0.008	(.00)	0.011*	(.01)
<i>N</i>	72,112					

Coefficients are presented in logged income. Quantile regression modeling for OLS model with full controls. Standard errors in parentheses.

Source: Current Population Survey (1996-2020) \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table 5. Quantile Regression on Logged Income among Asian American Workers by Gender and Parental Status

<i>Variables</i>	<b>Quantile (.25)</b>		<b>Quantile (.50)</b>		<b>Quantile (.75)</b>	
	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE.)
<b>Main Effects</b>						
Woman	-0.111***	(.01)	-0.130***	(.01)	-0.167***	(.01)
Has Children	0.069***	(.01)	0.065***	(.01)	0.052***	(.01)
Currently Married	0.095***	(.01)	0.096***	(.01)	0.095***	(.01)
<b>Interaction</b>						
Woman x Has Children	-0.088***	(.01)	-0.088***	(.01)	-0.072***	(.01)
<b>Controls</b>						
<i>Employment Characteristics</i>						
STEM Worker	0.437***	(.01)	0.313***	(.01)	0.172***	(.01)
Hours Worked <sub>Typical Week</sub>	0.086***	(.00)	0.072***	(.00)	0.043***	(.00)
Hours Worked <sub>Typical Week</sub> <sup>2</sup>	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.000***	(.00)
<i>Educational Attainment</i>						
Some College	0.226***	(.01)	0.232***	(.01)	0.250***	(.01)
BA/Adv. Degree	0.592***	(.01)	0.678***	(.01)	0.748***	(.01)
<i>Basic Demographics</i>						
Born Outside US	-0.073***	(.01)	-0.053***	(.01)	-0.030***	(.01)
US Citizen	-0.142***	(.01)	-0.107***	(.01)	-0.096***	(.01)
Age	0.054***	(.00)	0.057***	(.00)	0.062***	(.00)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)
Year	-0.002	(.00)	-0.003*	(.00)	-0.003	(.00)
Year <sup>2</sup>	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)
Lives in City	0.074***	(.01)	0.085***	(.01)	0.100***	(.01)
West	0.019***	(.01)	0.009	(.01)	0.011	(.01)
<i>N</i>	72,112					

Coefficients are presented in logged income. Quantile regression modeling on the interaction between *Woman and Has Children* indicators. Standard errors in parentheses. Source: Current Population Survey (1996-2020)

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table 6. Quantile Regression on Logged Income among Asian American Workers by Gender and Marital Status

<i>Variables</i>	<b>Quantile (.25)</b>		<b>Quantile (.50)</b>		<b>Quantile (.75)</b>	
	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE)
<u>Main Effects</u>						
Woman	-0.088***	(.01)	-0.100***	(.01)	-0.142***	(.01)
Has Children	0.014**	(.00)	0.011*	(.01)	0.010	(.01)
Currently Married	0.162***	(.01)	0.168***	(.01)	0.150***	(.01)
<u>Interactions</u>						
Woman x Currently Married	-0.109***	(.01)	-0.116***	(.01)	-0.096***	(.01)
<u>Controls</u>						
<i>Employment Characteristics</i>						
STEM Worker	0.435***	(.01)	0.312***	(.01)	0.172***	(.01)
Hours Worked <sub>Typical Week</sub>	0.086***	(.00)	0.072***	(.00)	0.044***	(.00)
Hours Worked <sub>Typical Week</sub> <sup>2</sup>	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.000***	(.00)
<i>Educational Attainment</i>						
Some College	0.225***	(.01)	0.233***	(.01)	0.248***	(.01)
BA/Adv. Degree	0.590***	(.01)	0.677***	(.01)	0.748***	(.01)
<i>Basic Demographics</i>						
Born Outside US	-0.073***	(.01)	-0.054***	(.01)	-0.030***	(.01)
US Citizen	-0.144***	(.01)	-0.108***	(.01)	-0.098***	(.01)
Age	0.054***	(.00)	0.056***	(.00)	0.061***	(.00)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)
Year	-0.002	(.00)	-0.002	(.00)	-0.002	(.00)
Year <sup>2</sup>	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)
Lives in City	0.076***	(.01)	0.083***	(.01)	0.100***	(.01)
West	0.020***	(.01)	0.009	(.01)	0.014***	(.00)
<i>N</i>	72,112					

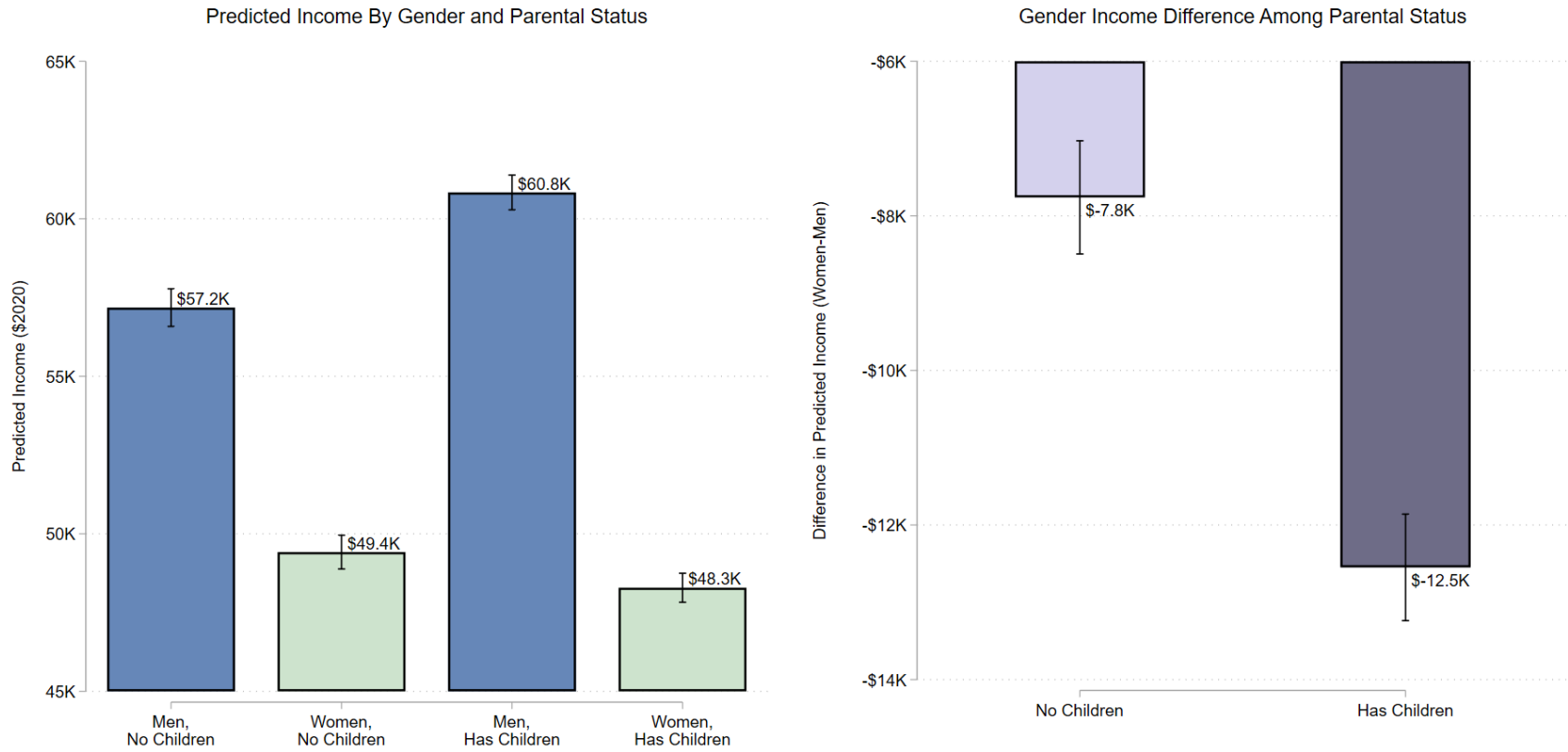
Coefficients are presented in logged income. Quantile regression modeling on the interaction between *Woman and Currently Married* indicators. Standard errors in parentheses. Source: Current Population Survey (1996-2020) \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table 7. Quantile Regression on Logged Income among Asian American Workers by Parental and Marital Status

<i>Variables</i>	<b>Quantile (.25)</b>		<b>Quantile (.50)</b>		<b>Quantile (.75)</b>	
	$\beta$	(SE.)	$\beta$	(SE)	$\beta$	(SE)
<b><u>Main Effects</u></b>						
Woman	-0.163***	(.01)	-0.180***	(.01)	-0.209***	(.01)
Has Children	0.052***	(.01)	0.042***	(.01)	0.032**	(.01)
Currently Married	0.117***	(.01)	0.113***	(.01)	0.104***	(.01)
<b><u>Interactions</u></b>						
Has Children x Currently Married	-0.039***	(.01)	-0.028**	(.01)	-0.020	(.01)
<b><u>Controls</u></b>						
<i>Employment Characteristics</i>						
STEM Worker	0.435***	(.01)	0.314***	(.01)	0.172***	(.01)
Hours Worked <sub>Typical Week</sub>	0.085***	(.00)	0.071***	(.00)	0.043***	(.00)
Hours Worked <sub>Typical Week</sub> <sup>2</sup>	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.000***	(.00)	-0.000***	(.00)
<i>Educational Attainment</i>						
Some College	0.226***	(.01)	0.237***	(.01)	0.254***	(.01)
BA/Adv. Degree	0.596***	(.01)	0.681***	(.01)	0.752***	(.01)
<i>Basic Demographics</i>						
Born Outside US	-0.071***	(.01)	-0.050***	(.01)	-0.027***	(.01)
US Citizen	-0.141***	(.01)	-0.111***	(.00)	-0.095***	(.01)
Age	0.053***	(.00)	0.056***	(.00)	0.061***	(.00)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)	-0.001***	(.00)
Year	-0.003*	(.00)	-0.003*	(.00)	-0.003	(.00)
Year <sup>2</sup>	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)	0.000***	(.00)
Lives in City	0.075***	(.01)	0.083***	(.01)	0.099***	(.01)
West	0.022***	(.01)	0.009	(.01)	0.012*	(.00)
<i>N</i>	72,112					

Coefficients are presented in logged income. Quantile regression modeling includes the interaction among individuals who *Has Children and are Currently Married*. Standard errors in parentheses. Source: Current Population Survey (1996-2020) \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

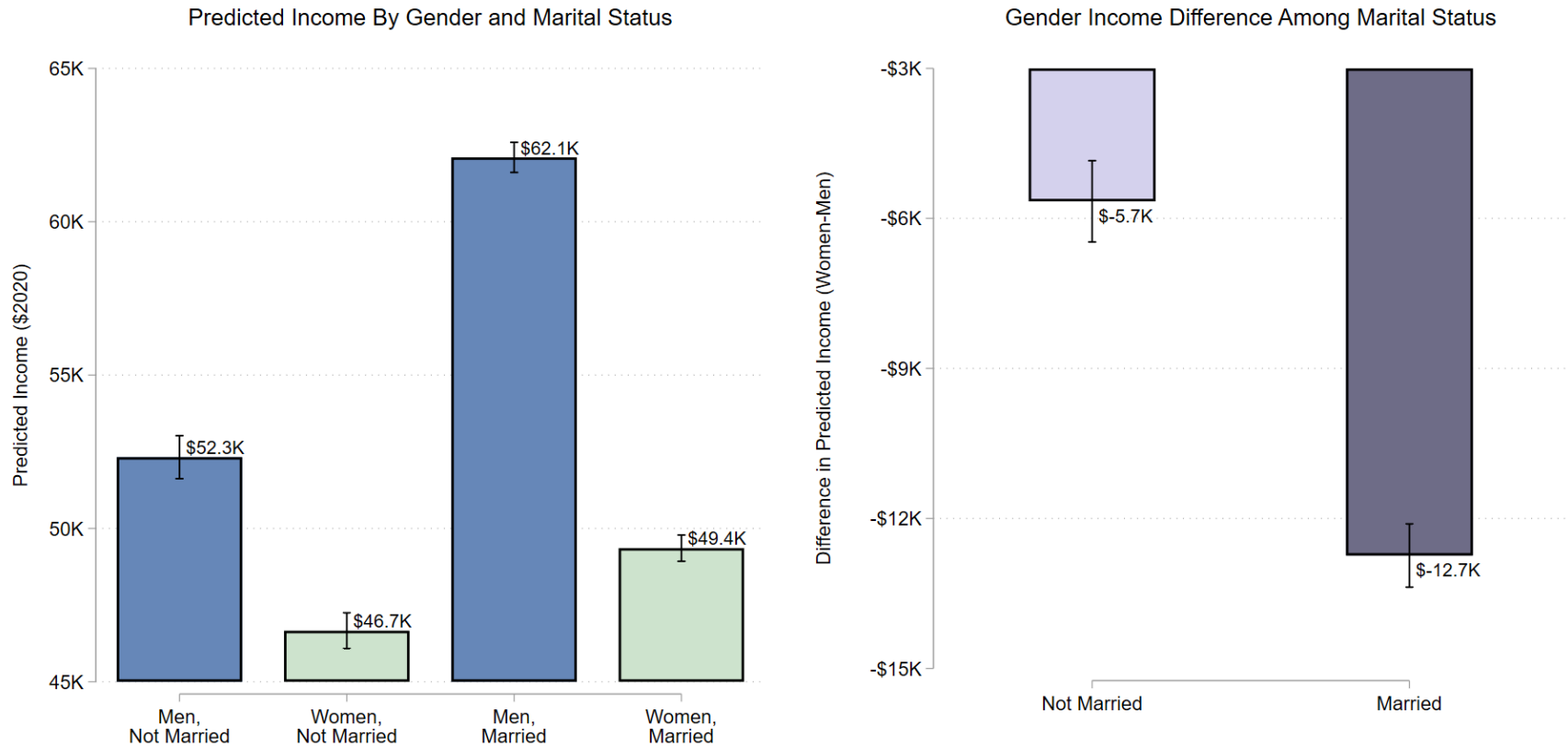
**Figure 1. Predicted Income (\$2020) among Asian American Workers by Gender and Parenthood**



Source: Current Population Survey (1996-2020)

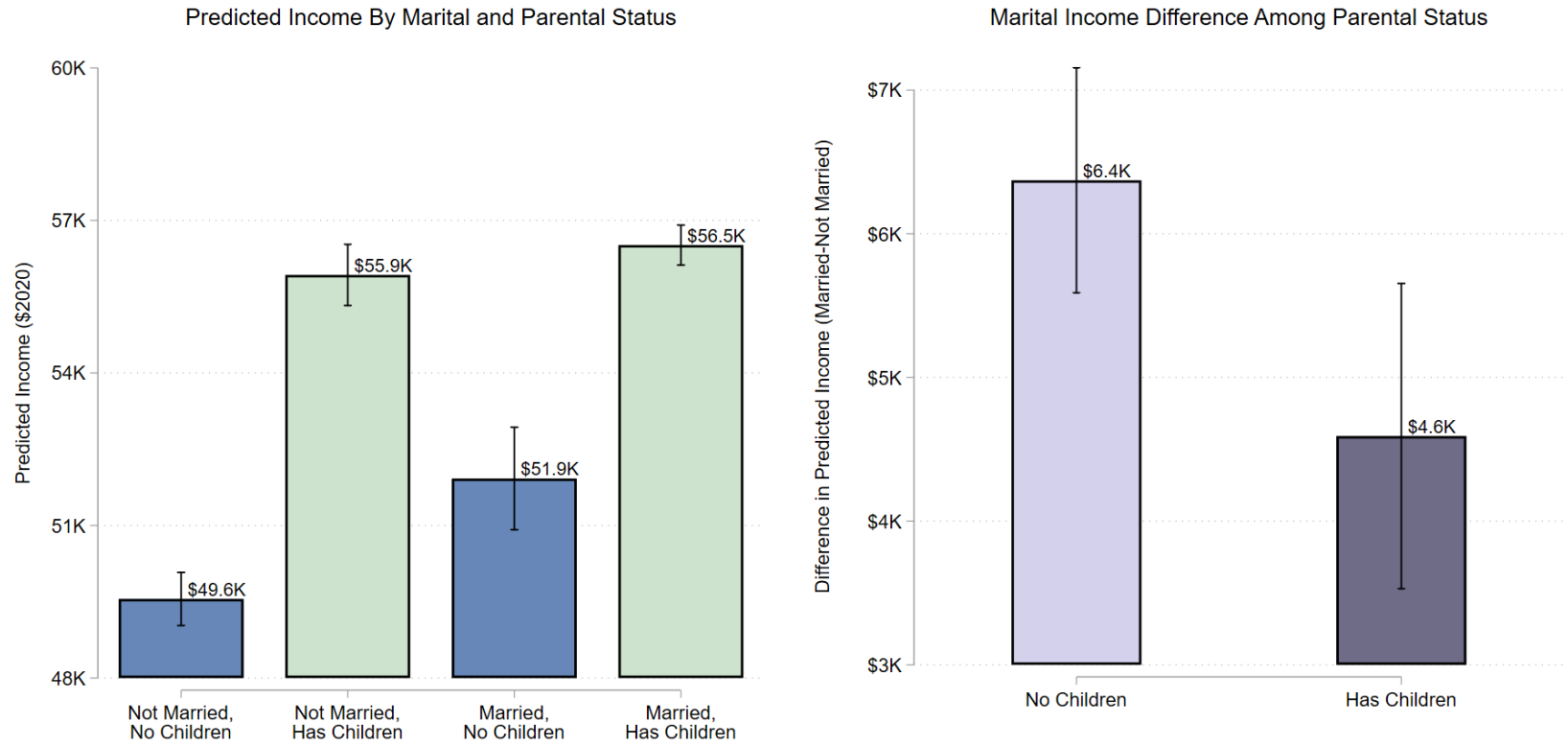


**Figure 2. Predicted Income (\$2020) among Asian American Workers by Gender & Marriage**



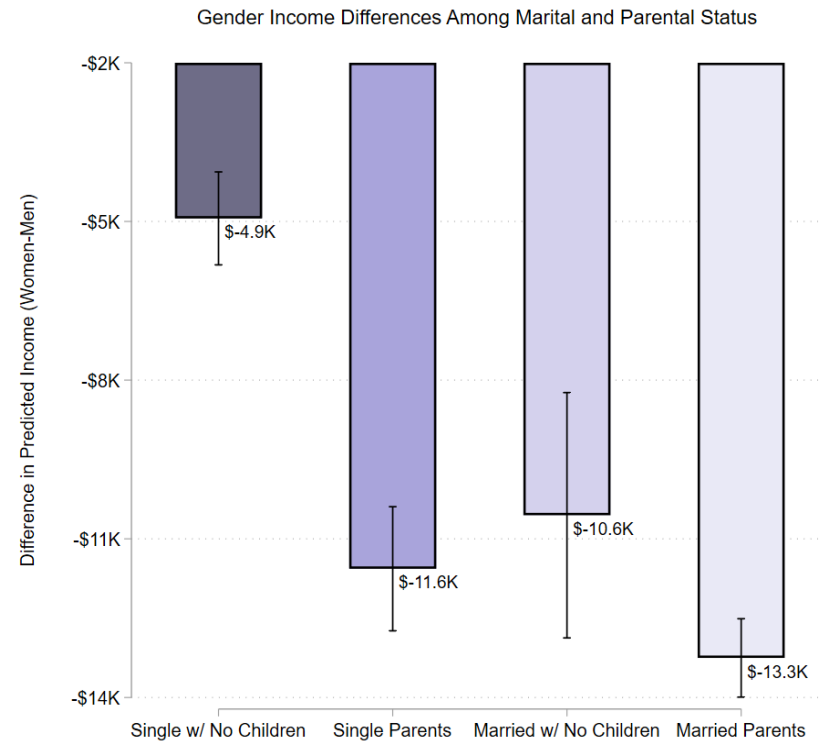
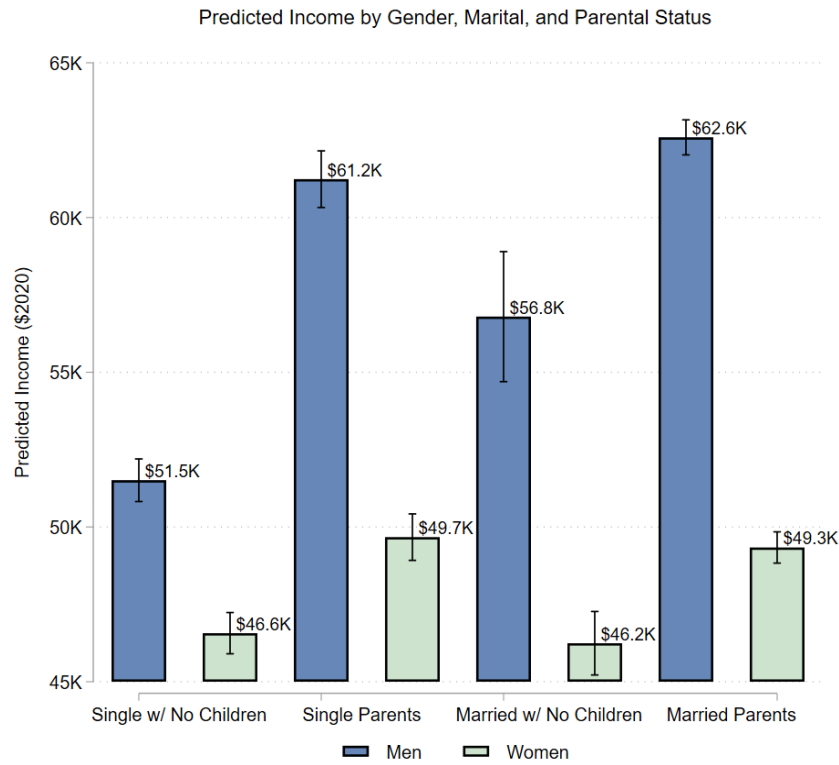
Source: Current Population Survey (1996-2020)

**Figure 3. Predicted Income (\$2020) among Asian American Workers by Marriage & Parenthood**



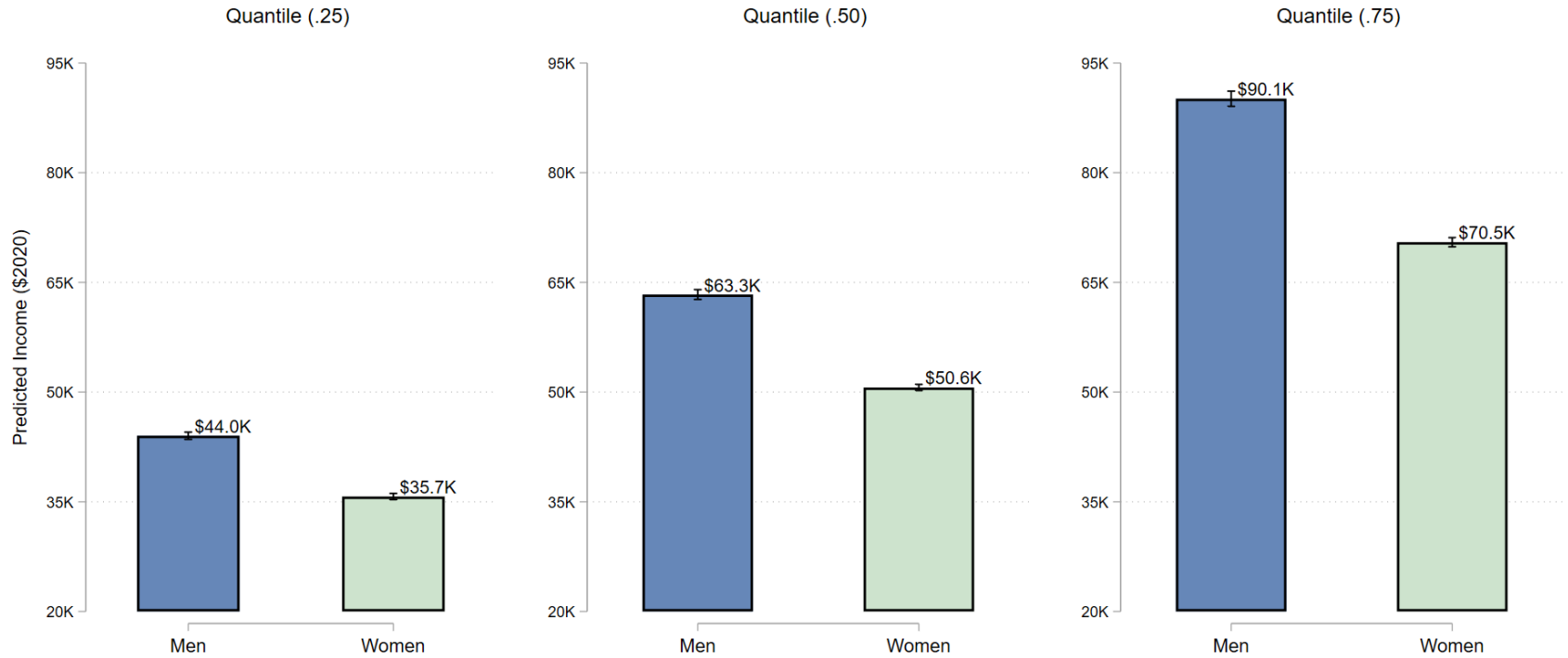
Source: Current Population Survey (1996-2020)

**Figure 4. Predicted Income (\$2020) among Asian American Workers by Gender, Marriage, & Parenthood**



Current Population Survey (1996-2020)

**Figure 5. Predicted Income (\$2020) Distribution among Married Asian American Workers with Children by Gender**



Source: Current Population Survey (1996-2020); Model 5