



Unions and Upward Mobility for Asian Pacific American Workers

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Executive Summary

Asian Pacific Americans (APAs) are, with Latinos, the fastest growing ethnic group in the U.S. workforce. In 2008, Asian Pacific Americans were one of every twenty U.S. workers, up from one in forty only twenty years earlier.

APAs, again with Latinos, are also the fastest growing ethnic group in organized labor, accounting for just under one-in-twenty unionized workers in 2008.

Even after controlling for workers' characteristics including age, education level, industry, and state, unionized APA workers earn about 9 percent more than non-unionized APA workers with similar characteristics. This translates to about \$2.00 per hour more for unionized APA workers.

Unionized APA workers are also about 19 percentage points more likely to have health insurance and about 25 percentage points more likely to have a pension than their non-union counterparts.

The advantages of unionization are greatest for APA workers in the 15 lowest-paying occupations. Unionized APA workers in these low-wage occupations earn about 12 percent more than APA workers with identical characteristics in the same generally low-wage occupations. Unionized APA workers in low-wage occupations are also about 24 percentage points more likely to have employer-provided health insurance and 31 percentage points more likely to have a pension on the job.

Introduction

Asian Pacific Americans (APAs)¹ are, with Latinos, the fastest growing ethnic group in the U.S. workforce.² In 2008, Asian Pacific Americans were one of every twenty U.S. workers, up from one in forty only twenty years earlier.³ (See **Figure 1**.) APAs, with Latinos, are also the fastest growing ethnic group in organized labor, accounting for just under one-in-twenty unionized workers in 2008.

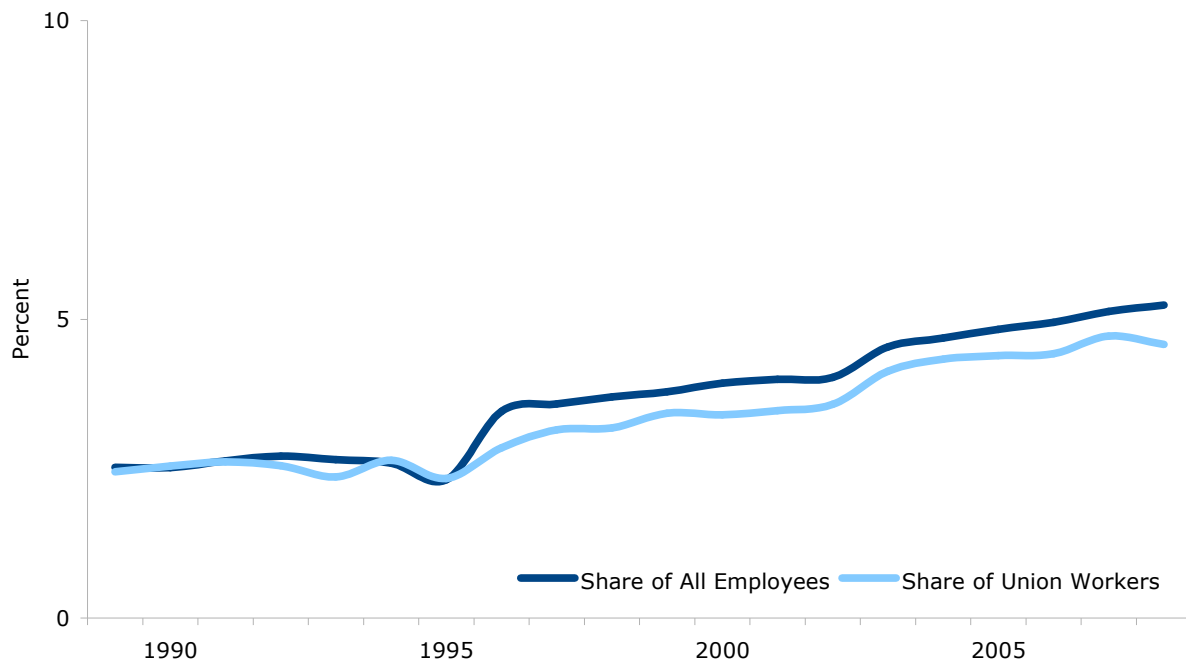
This paper uses recent data from the U.S. government's most important regular survey of the labor market to examine the impact of unionization on the pay and benefits of APA workers. The data suggest that even after controlling for systematic differences between union and non-union workers, union representation substantially improves the pay and benefits received by APA workers.⁴ On average, unionization raised APA workers' wages by 9.3 percent – about \$2.00 per hour – compared to non-union APA workers with similar characteristics.⁵ The union impact on health insurance and pension coverage was even larger. Among APAs, union workers were about 18.5 percentage points more likely to have employer-provided health insurance,⁶ and about 25 percentage points more likely to have an employer-provided pension.⁷

These union effects are large by any measure. For example, between 1996 and 2000, a period of sustained low unemployment that helped to produce the best wage growth for workers in the last three decades, the real wage of low-wage workers⁸ increased, in total, about 12 percent.⁹ The union wage effect estimated here is roughly equal to three years of wage growth at a historically rapid rate. Over the same boom period in the 1990s, coverage among the bottom fifth of workers rose only

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- 1 We use the term Asian Pacific Americans to refer to workers who tell Current Population Survey (CPS) interviewers that their race is Asian or Pacific Islander. From 2003 forward, when the CPS instrument allowed respondents to identify themselves as having a mixed racial background, we classify any mixed response that includes Asian or Pacific Islander as APA, except responses that also include African American. The APA category also excludes workers that the CPS identifies as being of Hispanic origin. None of our major findings are sensitive to these exclusions. The CPS does not have consistent data on APAs before 1989.
 - 2 For more on the experience of Asian American and Pacific Islander workers in the United States, see the special issue of *AAPI Nexus*, Summer/Fall 2005; for more on APA workers in the labor movement, see Ruth Milkman (ed.), *Organizing Immigrants: The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*, Cornell University Press, 2000; Immanuel Ness, *Immigrants, Unions, and the New U.S. Labor Market*, Temple University Press, 2005; and Kent Wong, "Building an Asian Pacific Labor Movement," in F. Ho, C. Antonio, D. Fujino, and S. Yip (eds.), *Legacy to Liberation: Politics and Culture of Revolutionary Asian Pacific America*, San Francisco, California, and Edinburgh, Scotland: Big Red Media and AK Press, 2000, pp. 89–98.
 - 3 Authors' analysis of CEPR extract of the Current Population Survey (CPS) Outgoing Rotation Group (ORG). For an overview of the changes in the composition of organized labor over the last 25 years, see John Schmitt and Kris Warner, "The Changing Face of Labor, 1983-2008," CEPR Briefing Paper, November 2009.
 - 4 Earlier research finds substantial union effects on wages and benefits for workers overall; among many others, see David Blanchflower and Alex Bryson, "What Effect Do Unions Have on Wages Now and Would Freeman and Medoff Be Surprised?," in James Bennett and Bruce Kaufman (eds.), *What Do Unions Do: A Twenty Year Perspective*, Edison, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2007.
 - 5 Over the period 2003-2007, the average wage of APA workers in constant 2008 dollars was \$21.66 per hour. The union wage premium at the mean wage estimated here is about 9.3 percent, or about \$2.00 per hour.
 - 6 An employer- or union-sponsored plan for which the employer paid at least a portion of the insurance premium.
 - 7 The employer- or union-provided pension may or may not include an employer contribution to the plan.
 - 8 The 10th percentile worker in the overall distribution, that is, the worker who makes more than 10 percent of all workers, but less than 90 percent of all workers.
 - 9 For a discussion of the economic and social benefits of sustained low unemployment, see Jared Bernstein and Dean Baker, "The Benefits of Full Employment: When Markets Work for People," Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute, 2003.

about three percentage points for health insurance (3.2 percentage points) and pensions (2.7 percentage points), about one-sixth of the estimated impact of unionization on health insurance and one-eighth of the estimated impact on pension coverage for Asian Pacific American workers.¹⁰

FIGURE 1
Asian Pacific Americans, Share of All Union Members and All Employees, 1989-2008



Source: Authors' analysis of CEPR extract of Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group.

APAs in Unions and the Workforce

Table 1 compares the characteristics of Asian Pacific American workers in unions, all APA workers, all union workers, and all workers in the overall labor force. Over the period 2003-2007, about 12.5 percent of Asian Pacific American workers were in a union or represented by a union at their workplace, just under the 13.6 percent rate for all workers.¹¹

¹⁰ Authors' calculations based on the March Current Population Survey (CPS).

¹¹ The time period used here, 2003-2007, is designed to allow for some comparability between these estimates for APAs and similar estimates for African Americans, Latinos, women, and young workers, produced by CEPR between April and December 2008, for the years 2004-2007. Given the smaller sample size for APAs, however, we have added data for 2003.

TABLE 1
Demographic Composition of Asian Pacific American Workers, 2003-2007

	APAs		All		Unionization Rate	
	Union	All	Union	All	APAs	All
	(annual average number of workers)				(percent)	
All	755,420	6,350,019	17,172,531	131,364,743	12.5	13.6
	(percent)					
Male	51.5	53.1	55.8	52.8	12.3	14.7
Female	48.5	46.9	44.2	47.2	12.8	12.5
Age						
16-24	6.0	11.8	6.1	14.7	6.1	5.4
25-34	22.9	27.8	19.4	22.3	10.1	11.7
35-44	25.5	26.9	26.3	24.4	12.0	14.8
45-54	27.1	20.7	30.2	23.1	16.8	18.1
55-64	16.2	10.5	16.0	12.4	19.9	18.0
65+	2.4	2.4	2.0	3.1	13.3	9.4
Region						
Northeast	21.3	19.3	27.5	18.8	13.9	19.9
Midwest	8.5	12.2	27.4	23.3	8.7	16.0
South	7.0	20.3	19.4	35.5	4.4	7.5
West	3.2	4.3	4.8	6.9	9.3	9.6
Pacific	60.0	43.9	20.9	15.5	16.9	18.3
State						
California	40.5	32.5	15.1	11.5	15.5	17.8
New York	13.3	9.2	12.2	6.3	18	26.2
Hawaii	13.5	6.3	0.8	0.4	26.4	25.3
Texas	1.1	5.7	3.4	7.4	2.5	6.2
New Jersey	4.9	4.8	4.8	3.1	13.2	21.3
Washington	4.6	3.7	3.3	2.2	15.4	20.8
Nevada	1.9	1.4	1.0	0.8	17.4	16.0
Education						
Less Than High School	4.6	7.0	5.4	10.3	8.1	7
High School	20.5	19.9	31.1	30.8	12.8	13.6
Some college	25.1	21.4	28.6	28.9	14.5	13.5
College	34.3	31.6	20.2	19.9	13.6	14.1
Advanced	15.4	20.0	14.7	10.0	9.8	20.7
Immigrants	66.1	71.2	11.9	15.0	11.7	10.8
Full-time	89.2	84.3	90.4	82.2	13.3	15
Part-time	10.8	15.7	9.6	17.8	8.5	7.3
Non-Manufacturing	91.9	86.1	87.4	87.3	13.4	13.7
Manufacturing	8.1	13.9	12.6	12.7	7.1	13.3
Private Sector	56.8	87.2	52.1	84.6	8.2	8.5
Public Sector	43.2	12.8	47.9	15.5	40	40.5

Notes: Authors' analysis of CEPR extract of the Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group, 2003-2007. States listed above had highest share of APA workers or highest share of APAs in each state's workforce.

Several features of the APA union workforce stand out. First, APA women are strongly represented. During the period studied here, almost half (48.5 percent) of APA workers in unions were women, which is higher than the share of women in the overall APA workforce (46.9 percent), and higher than the share of women in the overall union workforce (44.2 percent).

Second, a large share of unionized APA workers are immigrants. In 2003-2007, on average, two-thirds (66.1 percent) of unionized APA workers were immigrants. Immigrants were a slightly higher share (71.2 percent) of the overall APA workforce. The immigrant representation in the unionized and the overall APA workforce was substantially higher than the immigrant share in the overall unionized workforce (11.9 percent) and the overall workforce (15.0 percent).

Third, unionized APA workers have about the same level of formal education as the overall APA workforce, but are better educated than the overall union workforce and the overall workforce. In the period covered here, almost half (49.7 percent) of unionized APA workers had a four year college degree or more, compared to 51.6 percent of all APA workers, and 34.9 percent of all union workers. Among workers with advanced degrees, APA workers were less than half as likely to be unionized (9.8 percent are unionized) as were overall workers (20.7 percent).

Fourth, a high concentration of unionized APA workers is in the public sector. Over 2003-2007, more than four-in-ten (43.2 percent) unionized APA workers were in the public sector, a much higher share than the overall APA workforce (12.8 percent), but slightly lower than the overall union workforce (47.9 percent). In fact, there were on average more APA workers in the public sector (about 815,000) and in unions (755,000) than were self-employed (477,000).¹²

Finally, unionized APA workers are heavily concentrated in several states. For 2003-2007, about six-in-ten (60.0 percent) of unionized APA workers were in the Pacific states, with about four-in-ten (40.5 percent) in California alone. The Northeast states accounted for over one-in-five (21.3 percent) APA union workers, with a particularly large presence in New York (13.3 percent). The rest of the country had a much smaller proportion of unionized APA workers: the Midwest (8.5 percent), the South (7.0 percent), and the West (3.2 percent). In part, the distribution of unionized APA workers reflects the distribution of the overall APA workforce, which is concentrated in the Pacific (43.9 percent) and the Northeast (19.3 percent). In part, however, the low share of union APA workers reflects the low unionization rate for APA workers in the South (7.5 percent) and the West (9.6 percent).

12 Authors' calculations based on the Current Population Survey (CPS) Outgoing Rotation Group (ORG). See also Don Mar, "Asian Americans in the Labor Market: Public Policy Issues," *AAPI Nexus*, vol. 3 (2005), no. 2 (Summer/Fall), pp. 39-58.

APA Workers in Unions Earn More, More Likely to Have Benefits

Unionized Asian Pacific American workers typically earn substantially more than their non-union counterparts (see **Table 2**). In 2003-2007, the median unionized APA worker earned about \$21.66 per hour, compared to \$17.93 per hour for the median non-union APA worker. Unionized APA workers were also much more likely to have health insurance (76.8 percent) than APA workers who weren't unionized (55.5 percent), and also much more likely than non-union APA workers to have a pension plan (69.0 percent, compared to 40.1 percent).

TABLE 2
Wages, Health, and Pension Coverage for Union and Non-Union Asian Pacific American Workers, 2003-2007

	Union share (percent)	Median hourly wage (2008\$)		Health-insurance (percent)		Pension (percent)	
		Union	Non-union	Union	Non-union	Union	Non-union
All	12.5	21.66	17.93	76.8	55.5	69.0	40.1
Men	12.3	22.06	20.54	81.2	59.8	65.0	41.6
Women	12.8	21.36	15.58	71.9	51.0	73.4	38.5
In low-wage occupations	14.1	13.35	10.39	66.7	37.0	60.8	22.0

Notes: Authors' analysis of CEPR extract of the Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group and UNICON extract of March Current Population Survey data. Union refers to union membership or union coverage. Health insurance refers to participation in an employer- or union-sponsored plan where the employer pays some or all of the premium. Pension refers to participation in an employer-sponsored plan, with or without employer contribution. See Appendix Table for further details on sample. Health and pension coverage refer to 2003-2006; wages refer to 2003-2007.

Wages and benefit coverage vary substantially by gender and union status. In 2003-2007, APA men and women had similar unionization rates (12.8 percent for women, 12.3 percent for men). On average, unionized APA men earned more (\$22.06 per hour) than their non-union counterparts (\$20.54 per hour), and were much more likely to have health insurance (81.2 percent) and a pension (65.0 percent) than if they were not in a union (59.8 percent for health insurance, 41.6 percent for pension coverage). Unionized APA women earned substantially more (\$21.36) than non-union APA women (\$15.58), and were also much more likely to have health insurance (71.9 percent) and a pension (73.4 percent) than APA women who were not in a union (51.0 percent for health insurance and 38.5 percent for pension coverage).

The data presented in the first three rows of Table 2 cover all APA workers, including those at the bottom, middle, and top of the wage distribution. The last row of the table looks only at APA workers in the 15 lowest-wage occupations.¹³ As was the case for the APA workforce as a whole,

13 The 15 low-wage occupations are: food preparation workers, cashiers, cafeteria workers, child-care workers, cooks, housekeeping cleaners, home-care aides, packers and packagers, janitors, grounds maintenance workers, nursing and home-health aides, stock clerks, teachers' assistants, laborers and freight workers, and security guards. Together, these occupations represent about 15 percent of total U.S. employment. See the data appendix and John Schmitt, Margy Waller, Shawn Fremstad, and Ben Zipperer, "Unions and Upward Mobility for Low-Wage Workers," CEPR Briefing Paper, September 2007.

unionized APA workers in low-wage occupations earned substantially higher salaries and were much more likely to have health insurance and a pension plan than were non-union APA workers in the same occupations. The median APA union worker in a low-wage occupation earned about three dollars per hour more (\$13.35) than the median APA non-union worker (\$10.39). Unionized APA workers in these same low-wage occupations also had large advantages over their non-union counterparts with respect to non-wage benefits. About two-thirds of unionized APA workers (66.7 percent) in low-wage occupations had health insurance, compared to only about one-third of the non-union APA workers (37.0 percent) in the same occupations. For pension plans, the union gap was also substantial: 60.8 percent of unionized APA workers in low-wage occupations had a pension, compared to only 22.0 percent of their non-union counterparts.

The data in Table 2, however, may overstate the union effect because, as we saw in Table 1, union workers are more likely to have characteristics associated with higher wages, such as being older or having more formal education, or living in higher-wage states or working in higher-wage industries, where all workers, union and non-union, tend to receive higher wages. In **Table 3**, therefore, we present a second set of results using standard regression techniques to control for these potential differences in the union and non-union workforces.¹⁴ Controlling for these other effects does reduce the union wage and benefit effect, but the effect of unionization on the wages and benefits of Asian Pacific American workers remains large.

TABLE 3
Regression-Adjusted Union Wage, Health, and Pension Premiums for Asian Pacific Americans, 2003-2007

	Union share (percent)	Union premium		
		Hourly wage (percent)	Health-insurance coverage (p.p.)	Pension coverage (p.p.)
All	12.5	9.3	18.5	25.0
Men	12.3	7.0	21.6	24.4
Women	12.8	11.1	14.3	26.5
In low-wage occupations	14.1	12.2	24.0	31.2

Notes: All regressions include controls for age, education, gender (where appropriate), state, and two-digit industry. Union wage premiums in percent are converted from log points; all are statistically significant at least the one-percent level. Union-health insurance and pension coverage figures are the percentage-point (p.p.) increases associated with union coverage or membership; all estimates are significant at the one-percent level. See Appendix Table for further details about the sample. Health-insurance and pension coverage refer to 2003-2006; wages refer to 2003-2007.

After controlling for workers' characteristics, the union wage premium for all APA workers is about 9 percent or about \$2.00 per hour.¹⁵ For APA workers, the union advantage with respect to health insurance and pension coverage also remains large even after controlling for differences in workers'

14 The regressions control for age (and age squared), education (five levels of educational attainment), gender (wherever observations for men and women appear in the same regression), state of residence, and two-digit industry. The wage regressions use ordinary least squares; the health insurance and pension regressions are probits.

15 These estimates of the union wage premium are likely to be underestimates of the true union effect on the wages of APAs. Barry Hirsch and Edward Schumacher ("Match Bias in Wage Gap Estimates Due to Earnings Imputation," *Journal of Labor Economics*, vol. 22 (2004), no. 3 (July), pp. 689-722) have documented that the procedure that the Census Bureau uses to impute wages for workers who fail to report wages in the CPS imparts a substantial downward bias in standard union wage-premium regressions such as the ones reported here.

characteristics. Unionized APA workers were about 19 percentage points more likely to have health insurance, which suggests an increase in health coverage from about 56 percent for non-union workers (see Table 2) to about 75 percent after unionization.¹⁶ For pensions, unionized APA workers were about 25 percentage points more likely to have coverage, suggesting that unionization would raise pension coverage from about 40 percent for non-union workers to about 65 percent after unionization.

The union wage premium and health insurance and pension advantages are large for both men and women. The regression-controlled union wage premium is about 7 percent for men and about 11 percent for women. The union effect on health insurance coverage for APA workers is about 22 percentage points for men and about 14 percentage points for women. Given that 59.8 percent of non-union APA men had health insurance (see Table 2), the 22 percentage-point increase in health coverage associated with unionization would raise non-union APA men's health insurance coverage by about one-third to about 82 percent. The 14 percentage-point union health insurance advantage for women would raise the non-union coverage rate from 51.0 percent to about 65 percent.

The union pension advantage for APA workers is about 24 percentage points for men and 27 percentage points for women. Using the pension coverage rates from Table 2, these estimates suggest that unionization would increase pension coverage rates from 41.6 percent to roughly 66 percent for APA men and from 38.5 percent to roughly 66 percent for APA women.

The benefits of unionization also remain large for APA workers in low-wage occupations. For APA workers in the 15 lowest-paying occupations, unionization raises wages by about 12 percent. For the same group of workers, unionization is also associated with a 24 percentage-point greater likelihood of having health insurance and a 31 percentage-point greater likelihood of pension coverage. Since only 22.0 percent of non-unionized APA workers in low-wage occupations had pensions, a 31 percentage-point increase would more than double their likelihood of having pension coverage.

16 The percentage-point effects in Table 3 are the estimated effects at the sample mean, not the mean for non-union workers, so this and subsequent estimates of the post-unionization health and pension coverage rates are only approximations.

Conclusion

Asian Pacific American workers are, with Latinos, the fastest growing group in the U.S. workforce and in organized labor. Since the late 1980s, APA workers have seen their representation in the ranks of U.S. unions almost double, from about 2.5 percent of all union workers in 1989 to about 4.6 percent in 2008.

An analysis of recent data suggests that even after controlling for differences between union and non-union workers – including such factors as age and education level – unionization substantially improves the pay and benefits received by APA workers. After controlling for workers' characteristics, the union wage premium for all APA workers is about 9 percent or about \$2.00 per hour. The union advantage for APA workers is even larger with respect to health insurance and pension coverage. Unionized APA workers were about 19 percentage points more likely to have health insurance and about 25 percentage points more likely to have a pension than their non-union counterparts.

The substantial wage and benefit advantages of unionization also apply to APA workers in otherwise low-wage occupations. Among APA workers in the 15 lowest wage occupations, after controlling for a host of differences in worker characteristics, unionization raised wages about 12 percent, the likelihood of having health insurance about 24 percentage points, and the likelihood of having a pension about 31 percentage points.

These findings demonstrate that Asian Pacific American workers who are able to bargain collectively earn more and are more likely to have benefits associated with good jobs. The data strongly suggest that better protection of workers' right to unionize would have a substantial positive impact on the pay and benefits of APA workers.¹⁷

17 For recent discussions of the benefits for workers and for overall economic inequality of unionization, see: Blanchflower and Bryson (2007, cited above); Richard Freeman, "What Do Unions Do? The 2004 M-Brane Stringtwister Edition," in James Bennett and Bruce Kaufman (2007, cited above); Frank Levy and Peter Temin, "Inequality and Institutions in Twentieth Century America," NBER Working Paper 07-17, 2007; Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and Heidi Shierholz, *The State of Working America 2008-2009*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2009; and John Schmitt, "The Union Wage Advantage for Low-Wage Workers," CEPR Research Briefing Paper, 2008.

Appendix

In order to have a sample that is sufficiently large to analyze the unionized Asian Pacific American workforce, our analysis combines data from consecutive years of the Current Population Survey (CPS), a nationally representative monthly survey of about 60,000 households. For wage-related data, we use the 2003 to 2007 merged Outgoing Rotation Group (ORG) from the CPS. The ORG includes a series of questions about the respondent's current job, asked of one-quarter of the monthly participants in the CPS. For health- and pension-related data, we use the March supplement to the CPS for the years 2004 to 2007. The March CPS survey asks respondents about their health- and pension-coverage in the preceding calendar year, so the health and pension data in the report refers to coverage during the calendar years 2003, 2004, 2005, and 2006. (The wage data refer to calendar years 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2007.)

Health

The March CPS asks whether an individual was covered by an employer-provided health-insurance plan and, if so, whether the employer paid all, part, or none of the premiums for that plan. We treat workers as having health-insurance coverage if their employer (or union) offered a plan and the employer paid at least part of the premiums associated with the plan. Respondents answer the health-coverage question in March of each year, but their response refers to their coverage status in the preceding calendar year.

Pension

The March CPS asks whether an individual's employer participated in an employer-sponsored pension plan. Unfortunately, the survey does not distinguish between defined-contribution and defined-benefit plans and does not ask if the employer makes a contribution to the plan. We treat workers as having pension coverage if their employer offered a retirement plan, whether or not the employer made a contribution to that plan. As with health-insurance coverage, respondents answer the pension question in March of each year, but their response refers to their coverage status in the preceding calendar year.

Union

The CPS ORG asks workers if they are a member of, or represented by, a union at their current job. We define a union worker as any worker who says that he or she is a member of or represented by a union. Unfortunately, the March CPS does not ask workers about their union status during the preceding calendar year. We use workers' union status in their current job in March of each year as a proxy for their union status in the preceding calendar year. Using workers' status in March has two drawbacks for our analysis. First, since we must rely on union status in March, which comes from the ORG for the same month, we are limited to only one-fourth of the full March CPS sample – the fourth of the full monthly sample that also participated in the ORG. The smaller sample reduces the precision of our estimates of the union effect on health and pension, making it more difficult for us to find a statistically significant union effect if one exists. Second, using union status in March as a proxy for union status in the preceding year introduces measurement error into the union variable in the health and pension regressions. Measurement error will bias the coefficient of the variable measured with error toward zero, making it less likely that we will find a statistically significant union effect if there is one.

Low-Wage Occupations

Following Schmitt, Waller, Fremstad, and Zipperer (2007), Tables 2 and 3 present analysis of 15 low-wage occupations as defined by the “Standard Occupational Classification 2000” system used in the Current Population Surveys for 2004-2007. The specific occupations selected were the 15 occupations with the lowest non-union median wage meeting the following two criteria: first, the occupation had to be at least 0.25 percent of the total workforce over the combined period 2004-2007; and, second, the unionization rate had to be at least five percent over the same period.

The selected occupations include only one deviation from the above formula: the two lowest-wage occupations “combined food preparation and serving workers, including fast food” and “food preparation workers,” which are conceptually closely related and both of which, separately, met the selection criteria, were combined into a single occupation.

The final list of low-wage occupations were: food preparation workers, cashiers, cafeteria workers, child-care workers, cooks, housekeeping cleaners, home-care aides, packers and packagers, janitors, grounds maintenance workers, nursing and home-health aides, stock clerks, teachers’ assistants, laborers and freight workers, and security guards. See Schmitt, Waller, Fremstad, and Zipperer (2007) for more details.

Data

All data and programs used to produce this analysis are available upon request. The underlying CEPR extracts of the CPS ORG analyzed in this paper are available to download from <http://www.ceprdata.org>.

APPENDIX TABLE
Asian Pacific American Sample Sizes for Regressions in Table 3

	Wages	Health	Pension
All	40,323	3,125	3,125
Men	20,551	1,534	1,534
Women	19,772	1,591	1,591
In low-wage occupations	6,320	356	356

Notes: The March CPS sample is smaller than the ORG sample because: (1) the CPS ORG is one-fourth of the full CPS for 12 months of the year, while the March CPS is the full CPS for only one month of the year; and (2) the March CPS has union affiliation in the current month for only one fourth of the participants in the survey that month. Union affiliation data from the March CPS refer to the respondent’s job in March of each year, while health and pension benefits refer to the respondent’s main job in the preceding calendar year, as a result the union, health, and pension variables in Tables 2 and 3 are measured with error; the measurement error in the dependent variable in Table 3 will increase the standard errors of the coefficient estimates, but will not bias the estimates; the measurement error in the union variable will bias the estimated union effect toward zero. See text for further discussion.