



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Opening the Front Door: Household Composition as a Link Between Asian American Identities and Histories

Ummul-Kiram Kathawalla[†]
Department of Psychology
University of Minnesota

Carolyn A. Liebler
Department of Sociology
Minnesota Population Center
University of Minnesota

December 19, 2019

Working Paper No. 2019-07
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18128/MPC2019-07>

[†]Address correspondence to Ummul-Kiram Kathawalla, University of Minnesota, Minnesota Population Center, 50 Willey Hall, 225 19th Ave S., Minneapolis, MN 55455 (email: kath0033@umn.edu). Support for this work was provided by the Minnesota Population Center at the University of Minnesota (P2C HD041023) and the Minnesota Population Center Summer Diversity Fellowship Program. The first author's work was supported by the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship Program (NSF 00039202). We thank Victoria Bao Lee for thoughtful contributions to earlier versions of the paper. Teresa Toguchi Swartz gave helpful guidance on our research. We are grateful to the Minnesota Population Center's Spatial Core, through which we made the maps. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation.

Abstract

We focus on the household's racial-ethnic homogeneity and diversity as a bridge between society-level forces and person-level experiences. We use 2010 U.S. Census data and focus on groups who fall under the general label "Asian American" to explore the relationships between household context and histories (e.g. immigration, intermarriage, settlement patterns). We provide fine-grain descriptive information into the contextual experience for Asian American subgroups. Specific Asian group histories work together with household composition to influence individuals' ethnic-racial identification. Our results provide important contextual information using household diversity, homogeneity, and size to better understand an important location where ethnic-racial development occurs.

Word count: 99

Key words: Context; ethnic-racial identity and identification; household diversity; Asian American immigration history; census.

The Asian American population is very diverse and includes individuals from more than 20 different countries (López, Ruiz, & Patten, 2017). Many research studies combine all Asian Americans, but the diversity within the community results in variation in culture, histories, traditions, and languages among subgroups. Thus, there is a need to tease apart the larger Asian American group to gain insight into the experiences of subgroups of Asian Americans. We argue household composition is a valuable setting in which fine grain descriptive information can assist researchers in understanding the experiences of subgroups of Asian Americans.

Ethnic and racial household homogeneity and diversity is an understudied context that may have important implications for ethnic-racial minority development. The home is a context for many important interactions with family members or other co-residents, and it reflects much broader social forces, which are often ignored in psychological and sociological work (e.g. Kiang, Tseng, Yip, 2016; Elder, 1998). Who lives in each home reflects (and affects) such things as wars, national economics, and immigration policies. We argue that the ethnic and racial composition of the home should be considered when studying psychological and sociological processes, such as ethnic-racial identification.

Psychological and sociological theories point to social settings, including interactions with close people, as key sites for further research (Cooley, 1902; Hogg & Turner, 1987; Hogg, Turner, & Davidson, 1990; Mead, 1934; Phinney, 1990; Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1982; Syed, Juang, & Svensson, 2018; Way, Santos, Niwa, & Kim-Gerver, 2008). Researchers have described the basic developmental processes and psychological correlates of ethnic-racial identity (Phinney, 1990; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014, Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), but there is more to learn about processes of ethnic-racial self-identification.

In this research, we show patterns of within-household homogeneity/diversity within a varied set of people – the “Asian American” group in contemporary United States – because we see household context as a potentially influential setting for ethnic-racial identity development and maintenance. Household ethnic-racial composition is a meso-level link between a group’s macro-level experiences (such as history and locational distribution) and micro-level identity-related social processes. In the first of our three research questions, we ask: *What does “Asian American” household homogeneity and diversity look like compared to other U.S. groups?* We place the Asian American group as a whole in context by comparing household racial-ethnic composition statistics for Latinx Asians and non-Latinx Asians to similar statistics of other U.S. racial-ethnic groups. Cross-group variation in household size and homogeneity/diversity point to differences that may be important in ethnic-racial identity development processes.

Next we turn to: *How do specific subgroups within “Asian American” vary in their household homogeneity and diversity?* There is notable variation across Asian subgroups in many aspects of history, culture, and experiences (Lee, Martins, & Lee, 2015; Singh, McBride, & Kak, 2015; Kane et al., 2017). We show household homogeneity/diversity for 65 Asian groups in the 2010 U.S. Census public use data (a dense, nationally-representative sample). We provide more detail in our results than we can effectively discuss in our limited space in hopes of supporting others’ research into experiences of particular Asian sub-populations.

Finally, we ask: *How did historical and contemporary experiences create the household homogeneity and diversity we see here?* We give a brief overview of historical patterns of immigration, intermarriage, and settlement for several of the detailed Asian groups to illustrate how these link to the group’s average household composition. We also show maps of spatial variation in the average within-home racial-ethnic homogeneity of non-Latinx Asian subgroups.

Related Research

In this section, we introduce ethnic-racial household composition and highlight the link to the psychological and sociological process of ethnic-racial identification. Then, we briefly summarize Asian American immigration history as related to household composition.

First, a note on terminology. Many sociologists and psychologists, including ourselves, see *ethnicity* as a historically- and socially-informed construct of traditions, beliefs, and practices (e.g., Korean; Syed & Mitchell, 2013; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) and *race* as a social construct mainly defined by a person's physical features and grounded in a system of power, with definitional variation across locations (e.g., Asian; see Syed & Kathawalla, 2018 for discussion). We use "*ethnic-racial*" to reference these ideas of ethnicity and race. In contrast, the federal government defines two ethnicities (Spanish/ Hispanic/ Latino or not) and five race groups, one of which is Asian (Office of Management and Budget (OMB), 1997). Asian subgroups (e.g., Korean) are measured in the census race question. When discussing our analyses, we use the census (federal) definitions of "ethnicity" and "race." We use "*racial-ethnic*" to indicate the intersection of these. We use Latinx as a gender-neutral shorthand for the federally-recognized ethnicity category "Spanish, Hispanic, and Latino" (OMB 1997; deOnís, 2017).

The household is a potentially important setting for self-identification and identity.

The people in a person's home – whether blood relatives, other family, or non-relatives – are part of their social network, yet household composition has not been a focus of other studies (e.g. Kiang, Tseng, Yip, 2016; Elder, 1998). Psychological and sociological theories highlight the influence of social settings and interactions with close people on development of social identities (Cooley, 1902; Hogg & Turner, 1987; Hogg, Turner, & Davidson, 1990; Mead, 1934; Phinney, 1990; Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1982; Syed, Juang, & Svensson, 2018; Way, Santos, Niwa,

& Kim-Gerver, 2008). We argue that household composition can affect ethnic-racial identification as well as ethnic-racial identity more generally.

Syed and colleagues (2018) highlight the importance of four dimensions of an “ethnic-racial setting” for ethnic-racial identity development. Our work focuses specifically on one of these – *heterogeneity*, or “the degree of variation, or diversity, of different ethnic groups in the setting” (p. 264; Syed et al., 2018). We use the term “diversity” as a synonym to “heterogeneity.” Identification processes depend on cues, interactions, and role models, which are more complex when people in important settings (such as the home) have a variety of self-identities. Living in a heterogeneous household may affect a person’s self-conception through intertwined mechanisms, including how each individual in the home defines ethnic-racial groups and their boundaries, how the household is seen by outsiders, like neighbors (Porter, Liebler, & Noon, 2016), and historical and family-history reasons that affect household composition.

Prior empirical work hints at the importance of household homogeneity/diversity. Family ethnic socialization is consistently found to be related to ethnic identity (e.g. Nguyen, Wong, Juang, & Park, 2015; Juang et al., 2018; Daga & Raval, 2018). For Asian American students who grew up near few other Asian Americans, parentsⁱ and home environments were primary sources of cultural knowledge (Chan, 2017). Role models, stories about local history, and the mindsets of nearby others can build on each other to support the stability of some identities more than others (see Chong 2013; Holloway, Wright, Ellis, & East, 2009; Holloway, Ellis, Wright, & Hudson, 2005; Holloway, Wright, & Ellis 2012; Liebler & Zacher, 2016; Light & Iceland, 2016).

Local context (in-home or otherwise) might also affect identity through allowing the individual to feel “typical” within the group (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Santos & Updegraff 2014; Wright, Holloway, & Ellis, 2013). In an area or a home with relatively many others who

give the same ethnic-race response, the person will see a variety of other representations of the group. Within that variety, they have a better chance of seeing a mirror of themselves (in terms of values, physical traits, and/or behaviors). Thus, the person has a better chance of identifying with others and feeling “typical,” which can deepen commitment to an identity (Mitchell et al., 2018; Santos & Updegraff, 2014; Wright et al., 2013).

Ethnic-racial setting is theorized to influence ethnic-racial identity development and identification

Ethnic-racial identity is a multidimensional construct that includes both the content of an individual’s beliefs and the process of developing the beliefs (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Ethnic-racial identity development incorporates exploring and internalizing ethnic-racial identification and group-related values and experiences (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Cokley, 2007). An important part of the life-long process of developing an ethnic-racial identity involves identifying with a group and eventually developing a social identity as a group member.

Ethnic-racial identification is the cognitive process through which an individual comes to understand that a group exists, comes to internalize social identification with the group, begins to claim categorical membership in that specific group, and then identifies with an ethnic-racial label (Hogg & Turner, 1987; Hogg et al., 1990; Turner, 1982). Ethnic-racial identification impacts an individual’s sense of self (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004) and is shaped both by how society defines the group and how “important others” enact and define the group (Ashmore et al., 2004). Ethnic-racial identity development processes happen internally as well as through proximal socialization with people in their environment (Korobov, 2015; Hughes et al., 2006).

The ethnic-racial setting in which identity develops is not included in most research on ethnic-racial identity development (see Syed et al., 2018 for discussion). Related psychology research shows the promise of ethnic-racial settings for a deeper understanding of ethnic-racial identification, including research using measures of local density of ethnic-racial groups (Seaton et al., 2017; Syed & Juan, 2012) and social network composition (Abrams, Wetherell, Cochrane, Hogg, & Turner, 1990; Doucerain, 2018; Hogg & Turner, 1987; Hogg et al., 1990; Turner, 1982). Sociology studies show significant relationships between local density of the group and the child's reported race among children of interracially married Asians (Xie & Goyette, 1997), Native Hawaiians (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005), and American Indians (Eschbach, 1993; Liebler, 2010). More so than others with parents from different race groups, children with one Asian parent and one non-Asian parent are especially likely to be reported as multiple races (Liebler, 2016).

According to psychological and sociaological theories, context matters for ethnic-racial identirication as individuals engage with their environments (including other people in the environments) and create meaning out of their experiences (Seaton, Quintana, Verkuyten, Gee, 2017; Syed, 2015). Meaning-making occurs through interactions with parents, family, peers, and in schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces (e.g. Nadal, 2004; Tran & Lee, 2010). Meaning-making also occurs via cultural socialization through exposure to traditions, cultural practices, and learning in-group history (Moua & Lamborn, 2010; Phinney, 1989; Syed, 2015). Social network composition influences how people understand the ethnic-racial identification options available to them (Syed et al., 2018; Gaither, 2015; Harris & Sim, 2002; Hitlin, Brown, & Elder, 2006; Poston, 1990; Renn, 2000; Rockquemore, 1998).

History affects household composition

Household composition serves as an important middle (meso) level of social life between micro-level personal experiences of ethnic-racial identity development and macro-level policies and processes. Broad social forces and group-level experience impact stereotypes, help define categories of belonging, give or restrict opportunities for meeting co-ethnics, and provide role models. Household composition of Asian Americans is particularly impacted by some types of history – the timing and size of immigration streams, whether a person immigrated alone or with family, type of visa, race relations in settlement areas, and intermarriage laws. To contextualize our results, we give a very brief overview of Asian American history in the United States.

During the 19th century, early Asian immigrants were mostly sojourner economic immigrants from China and Japan, as well as some from the Philippines, Korea, and India. Many were poor, less-educated men who intended to return to Asia to reunite with their wives and children (Dhingra & Rodriguez, 2014). A number of laws prohibited intermarriage between these men and White women (Espiritu, 1997), limiting early mixed-race family groups. Because they were not in the White or Black race categories required for citizenship before the 1950s, Asian Americans were not able to become naturalized citizens for most of U.S. history (Haney López, 1997; U.S. Government, 1906).

Anti-Asian sentiment drove legislation that severely limited Asian immigration before 1965 (US Government, 1882, 1892; Zhou & Gatewood, 2007). One exception was Filipino migrants, as the Philippine Islands were a U.S. territory and Filipinos were allowed in to solve a U.S. labor shortage (US Government, 1924). In another exception, most Asian veterans of both World Wars were able to become naturalized citizens (except Japanese after WWII). Also, the 1945 War Brides Act allowed the immigration of spouses of U.S. military personnel including

many Asian women married to White and Black servicemen (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services History Office and Library, 2012; U.S. Government, 1945).

The largest Asian country-of-origin groups in the United States before 1965 were Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos (Zhou & Gatewood, 2007). The national-origin composition of the Asian population, as well as its size, changed dramatically due to the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act (Hart-Cellar Act), which abolished the previous quota system of immigration and instead allowed up to 170,000 immigrants (up to 20,000 per country) based on skills and family ties (US Government, 1965). Immigrants began to be admitted to the U.S. through family-sponsored visas, employer-sponsored visas, diversity lottery visas, and refugee visas. This likely promoted household homogeneity at the time and since. Asian immigrants since the 1980s have been mainly from the Philippines, China, Korea, India, and Vietnam (Zhou & Gatewood, 2007). Asian immigration continued to grow after the 1990 Immigration Act that increased the annual cap of immigrants to the U.S. to 700,000 (US Government, 1990). Now more than two-thirds of Asian immigrants are family sponsored immigrants and one-in-five is an employer sponsored skilled worker (Zhou & Gatewood, 2007). Family sponsored immigrants from a single family may share households with one-another or live near each other, thus influencing each others' day-to-day ethnic-racial context. On the other hand, economic migrants from the same country may be more scattered from one another as they move to individual opportunities.

The history of Asian immigration to the U.S., as well as the diversity of Asia, has created substantial cross-group variation in such things as education, socioeconomic backgrounds, geographical location, and intermarriage. For example, many people from Southeast Asia moved to the U.S. as refugees who have experienced substantial trauma and had limited opportunities to develop educational or professional skills in their home countries (Zhou & Gatewood, 2007).

This may affect a group's ability to integrate into U.S. culture, which could lead to more insular and homogenous households. This brief review of Asian American immigration history highlights some of the many factors that link macro-level forces to household composition.

Present Research

We see an important and understudied role of household homogeneity and diversity in understanding ethnic-racial identity development and maintenance. Household homogeneity and diversity tap some dimensions of context that are thought to influence ethnic-racial identity (Syed et al., 2018) and also reflect broad historical forces. As mentioned above, we examine three related research questions about household homogeneity and diversity among Asian Americans in 2010 in the U.S.. First, what does "Asian American" household homogeneity and diversity look like compared to other U.S. groups? Second, how do specific subgroups within "Asian American" vary in their household homogeneity and diversity? And third, how did historical and contemporary experiences create the household homogeneity and diversity we see here? In answering these questions, we place the Asian American group context by comparing household ethnic-racial composition across major race groups. We show household homogeneity and diversity for 65 specific Asian groups. We give a brief overview of historical patterns of immigration, intermarriage, and settlement for several of the detailed Asian groups, highlighting links to the group's average household composition. And we show maps of spatial variation in the average within-home ethnic-racial homogeneity of six country-of-origin groups.

Method

Data

To address our empirical research questions, we use the 2010 Census Public Use Microdata Sample – a 10% sample of the U.S. population weighted to represent the whole

country (accessed via IPUMS.org; Ruggles, Genadek, Goeken, Grover, & Sobek, 2017). The measures in the data are very limitedⁱⁱ but are so dense that they allow us to address our research questions for an enormous variety of Asian groups. The data give the general location of the household using the concept of the Public Use Microdata Area (PUMA).ⁱⁱⁱ

Measures

Latinx origins. Immediately before the race question, respondents were asked “Is this person of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?” There were several response options if the answer was “yes.” We recoded this “ethnicity” information to a yes/no variable and reference it with the gender-neutral words Latinx and non-Latinx.

Major race groups. In Figures 1, 2, and 3, we show our results separately by “major race group” as defined by the federal government (OMB 1997; Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011). These groups are: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander. The U.S. Census Bureau offers a sixth category (which we also show) – Some Other Race – which is mainly used by people who report Latinx ethnicity. People filling out the 2010 Census form were invited to “mark one or more” responses to the race question resulting in a multiple race group. Census responses are not necessarily self-identification, though in most cases the subject is well-known to the person filling out the form. We do not know who filled out each form.

Self-identification can change when context changes. People can and do self-categorize differently at a different point in time, especially people who ever report multiple races (Liebler, Porter, Fernandez, Noon, & Ennis, 2017; Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Saperstein & Penner, 2012). We consider all race and ethnic responses to be point-in-time measures.

Detailed Asian race groups. There were six country-specific Asian group check boxes on the 2010 Census race question (Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese) as well as an “Other Asian” write in box with the instruction: “Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.” Psychology research shows that ethnic-racial self-categorization is a stronger indicator of identity when an individual is able to write in their selection (Syed, 2015). Because of the extremely large sample size and minimal available identifying information (only 10 questions were asked on the form), the Census Bureau provided unusually detailed information about specific write-in responses and multiple responses. We use this detail to present information for 65 Asian groups (see Figure 4).

Maps of household homogeneity. In Figure 5, we show national maps of the average local household homogeneity for the six largest Asian groups. We use the PUMA as the level of geography for the maps and in each map calculate the average household homogeneity of people who are in that Asian subgroup, living in households of two or more, and living in that PUMA. We do not show results for PUMAs with less than 20 people in the group in the PUMA.

Household members may be family members, roommates, or have some other relationship. We calculate household homogeneity separately for each individual. Household homogeneity ranges from 0% to 100% depending on the race and Latinx origin responses of the others in the household. For example, in a three-person household with two non-Latinx Thai people and one non-Latinx Japanese person, the first two would have a household homogeneity score of 50% (half of their coresidents had the same race and ethnicity response) and the third would have a score of 0% (no household members share the same race and ethnicity). This measure varies by household size (see Figure 3) so we include information about of group-members’ household size in Figures 1 and 4.

Results

Sample Selection

In the full 2010 Census data in Figure 1, there are 30,871,077 cases representing the entire U.S. population of 308,710,770. In Figures 2 and 3, we include households (i.e., not group quarters)^{iv} with at least two people – 26,951,426 cases representing 269,514,260 people in the U.S. living in households of two or more. In Figure 4 we include people reported as Asian and who lived in a household of 2 or more people (1,581,091 cases representing 15,810,910 people). And in the maps in Figure 5, we focus on the non-Latinx portion of the six largest Asian groups. Notably, research tends to focus on ethnic-racial identification for children, but identity development occurs throughout the life course (Erikson, 1994 [1959]). Therefore we include people of all ages in our analyses.

Asian Americans as a group, in comparison to other U.S. race groups

What does “Asian American” household homogeneity and diversity look like compared to other U.S. racial-ethnic groups? To answer this question, we created three figures to show household size, household diversity, and the relationship between them, for non-Latinx and Latinx Asian people and for the other major racial-ethnic groups in the census data.

In Figure 1, we show household size across 14 major racial-ethnic groups. Compared to other groups, non-Latinx Asians have a relatively large proportion living in two-, three-, and especially four-person households. Relatively few non-Latinx Asians live alone. Note that non-Latinx Whites have an unusually large proportion of people living in two-person households – an experience that is about half as common among people of color and indigenous people. Significance tests (not shown) reveal that non-Latinx Asians households are significantly larger than White, Black, Some Other Race, and Multiple race households, but significantly smaller

than American Indian/Alaska Native and Pacific Islander households. Larger households provide more opportunity for interactions and other social processes that connect household composition to identity (e.g. Hughes et al., 2006).

[Figure 1 here]

How diverse were Asian Americans' households compared to other U.S. households in 2010? In Figure 2, we show the average household composition, by ethnic-race group. Asian Americans have a relatively high level of household homogeneity; on average, a non-Latinx Asian lived in a household where 87% of the other occupants were also non-Latinx Asian. T-tests (not shown) indicate that non-Latinx Asian homogeneity is significantly different than all other group homogeneity. Household homogeneity was also high for non-Latinx Whites, non-Latinx Blacks, Latinx Whites, and Latinxs individuals of Some Other Race. Groups with relatively low household homogeneity include Latinx Asians, non-Latinx American Indians, non-Latinx Pacific Islanders, and other Latinx individuals. We note that these are the same groups who have a higher propensity to change race responses from one census to the next (Liebler et al. 2017).

Household diversity can increase by living with someone of a different race (i.e. White) and by living with someone of a different ethnicity (i.e. Latinx). We disaggregate these possibilities in Columns B and C. Latinx Asians have diverse households mostly from living with other people of color, Native people, and/or Latinxs of other races. In these diverse households, the ethnic-racial identity development and the self-categorization process may be impacted by a variety of messages of what it means to be a part of a specific ethnic-racial group and what it means to be a person of color.

[Figure 2]

In Figure 3, we show individuals' average household homogeneity disaggregated by household size, comparing other racial/ethnic groups to Latinx and non-Latinx Asians. The experience of living in a diverse household may be different in large households than in small households. For example, a household homogeneity score of 50% indicates one housemate of a different ethnic-race group in a three-person household but in a seven-person household, 50% homogeneity denotes three coresidents of a different group (and three of the same group as the focal individual). In the latter case, an individual may receive more messages in support of their ethnic-racial identity and may feel more typical of that group.

Figure 3 highlights that household homogeneity and household size often increase together, though this is neither guaranteed nor linear. Non-Latinx Asians in small households have more within-household diversity than most other non-Latinx groups; there is an average of 76% homogeneity in two-person households with a non-Latinx Asian, but an overall average (from Figure 3) of 87% homogeneity in all households with a non-Latinx Asian. Non-Latinx Asians in very large households are usually in very homogenous households, which may solidify self-categorization as Asian. Latinx of all race groups, and especially Latinx Asians, have low household homogeneity at all household sizes. As a result of their households' diversity, Latinx Asians probably have different self-categorization and identity experiences with others in the home than do non-Latinx Asians and people in other groups.

[Figure 3]

Specific Asian American subgroups have their own demographics and experiences

How do specific subgroups within “Asian American” vary in their household homogeneity and diversity? “Asian American” is a broad label that encompasses people with many cultures and backgrounds. Across 65 Asian American groups in Figure 4, we highlight the

extent of homogeneity/diversity in households with two or more people. In support of future research on these groups, we also provide the subgroup population count, percent Latinx within the subgroup population, and distribution of household sizes among subgroup members.

The 65 Asian groups in Figure 4 differ greatly in population size (Column 1), which is a reflection of group experiences and can affect whether individuals have opportunities to interact with and live with others in their same group. Although Latinx Asians clearly differ from non-Latinx Asians, case counts do not support a disaggregation of Latinx Asians from non-Latinx Asians in the 65 groups in Figures 4. Instead, we show the percent of the group who is identified as Latinx. Latinx Asians are most highly represented among those who reported both Some Other Race and Asian (Column 2). The relative proportion of the group with each household size and in group quarters (Column 3) shows that the modal household size in most Asian groups is four people, and (in most groups) it is rare to live in a household of six or more. Relatively speaking, many Japanese people lived alone or with only one other person, while Hmong people were most likely to live in a household with 10 or more people. People in group quarters (whose information is often drawn from institutional records; Chun & Gan 2014) are over-represented among those for whom no country of origin is reported.

Cross-group variation in household homogeneity or diversity may translate into variation in cultural socialization, self-categorization, response stability, and other aspects of identity (e.g. Moua & Lamborn, 2010; Syed et al., 2018). In the final columns of Figure 4, we present our calculations of the racial-ethnic composition of households with at least two people. This information is similar to that given in Figure 2, but here we have divided household members' races into four categories: (A) the same detailed Asian group as named in the row, (B) another Asian group, (C) non-Latinx White, and (D) anyone else. We give the same information in visual

form in the last column of Figure 5. The overall average household homogeneity for single-race Asians (shown in Figure 2) was 87%, meaning that an average of 87% of people in the home were also Asian. Summing categories (A) and (B) in Figure 4 gives the same statistic for detailed Asian groups.

The fourth column of Figure 4 shows that some Asian subgroups tend to live more with people of their same group (e.g. Asian Indian, Vietnamese, Bangladeshi, Burmese, and Hmong), while other Asian subgroups (e.g. Japanese, Malaysian, Thai, and people who reported multiple Asian groups or multiple races) often live with people from other Asian subgroups. Several of these same groups (e.g. Japanese, Malaysian, Thai, and Indonesian) are often also living with non-Latinx Whites. It is rare for a single-race Asian to live with someone who is non-Asian and a person of color or indigenous (Category D); this is only common for people who report being multiple-race Asian and a non-White race.

Patterns in Figure 4 are related to historical and contemporary social processes such as immigration patterns, settlement patterns, reasons for immigrating, and forces supportive of intermarriage, as we discuss and illustrate below. Variation in groups' histories (and family histories of people within each group) support efforts to go beyond the major race group category of "Asian American" to see how social forces can shape household composition and thus inform identity (e.g. Way et al., 2008).

[Figure 4]

Interpretation of results through the lens of history

How did historical and contemporary experiences create the household homogeneity and diversity we see here? We draw on prior research to highlight ways in which history (e.g., immigration and other macro-level processes) affects biography (e.g., ethnic-racial identification

and identity development) through meso-level processes like family tree formation and social interactions made possible by household composition and residential location. Immigrants from Asia have settled alone or in family groups, near or far from others from the same country of origin. Each local context as a race relations history, marriage market, and social construction of the meaning of “Asian,” all of which can affect their own identities and the identities of their descendants (Holloway et al., 2005, 2009, 2012; Kana’iaupuni & Liebler 2005; Liebler & Zacher, 2016; Qian, Sampson, & Ruf, 2001; Santos & Updegraff, 2014; Way et al., 2008; Xie & Goyette, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006).

As examples of how a group’s experiences are reflected in household size, homogeneity or diversity, location, and expected impacts on identity, we highlight eleven of the larger 65 groups in a discussion of specific aspects of history which are reflected in their average household compositions. In Figure 5, we also show locational variation in household homogeneity among non-Latinx people in the six largest Asian subgroups – Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese – to see how group-specific history is reflected in groups’ distribution within households and across the U.S.

[Figure 5]

Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos have especially long, and thus particularly diverse, histories of immigration and settlement in the U.S., as discussed above. Because these populations have such a long history in the U.S., they are relatively dispersed and then to live with more Whites than later groups (see Figure 4 and 5). A series of Acts in the mid-1940s made way for many Asian wife -White husband families whose legacy can be seen in households today (see Figure 4, Column C).

Dramatic revision of immigration laws in 1965 brought a new wave of immigrants from China, many of whom married earlier generations of Chinese Americans (Qian et al., 2001), contributing to high Chinese household homogeneity (as shown in Figure 4). More recent immigrants from China have settled in a small number of states (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid 2012; Takaki, 1989), increasing the chances that they can live with and near other Chinese Americans, and likely impacting self-categorization of the next generation (Xie & Goyette 1997). The map of non-Latinx Chinese household homogeneity (in Figure 5) shows locational variation, however, reflecting migration, integration, international adoption, international students (Institute of International Education (IIE), 2017), and intermarriage over the long history of Chinese Americans in the US. The variation in experiences creates a diversity of “typical” ways of being Chinese American and may encourage self-classification and identity as Chinese (Hogg & Turner, 1987; Santos & Updegraff, 2014).

Japanese are currently the Asian group with the highest proportion US-born. Japanese household diversity (shown in Figure 4) is quite high with only 58% homogeneity and the other household members, on average, split between Asian and non-Latinx White. Japanese Americans have a relatively high intermarriage rate with Whites and other Asians (Qian et al., 2001), with many children reported as multiple-race (Liebler, 2016). The impact of history can be seen in these numbers. For example, the War Brides Act (1945) and similar legislation allowed White-Japanese interracial marriages while limiting Japanese family migration at the time. Japanese households are also relatively small; many people live alone and the modal household size is just two people. After WWII, Japanese were relocated from incarceration to dispersed areas; few places in the U.S. currently hold at least 20 households with two or more people, at least one of whom is Japanese (the non-Latinx Japanese household homogeneity map

in Figure 5 has many missing PUMAs). Social processes related to identity and self-categorization are likely affected by living in small, diverse households, especially if there are few other of the same national-origin group in area (e.g. Korobov, 2015).

Because of past U.S. colonization, Filipinos have had more access to and familiarity with the U.S. than other Asian American groups before 1965. Currently, however, two-thirds of Filipinos in the U.S. were born abroad (Zhou & Gatewood, 2007). Rather than settling in concentrated communities as other Asian immigrants did to protect against heavy discrimination and ease the cultural transition (Hoeffel et al., 2012), Filipino people have been settling in less concentrated groups (Figure 5). They have a relatively high rate of interracial marriages, especially with Whites (Qian et al., 2001). Figure 4 shows that Filipino Americans, on average, live in homes where three-fourths of people are also Filipino and one-eighth are White. Filipino American population size, household size, and geographic distribution are similar to the patterns for Chinese and Korean Americans (Figures 4 and 5), though Filipino Americans tend to live in bigger households. Living in a relatively large household with other Filipinos may bolster Filipino identity and stabilize ethnic-racial identification (Ashmore et al., 2004). Those who live in diverse households (as is true for many; see Figure 5) may have less connection to, and support for, a strong ethnic-racial identity as Filipino. The few Filipinos who live in relatively large households with other Filipinos experience strong and stable Filipino ethnic-racial identification (Ashmore et al., 2004).

After the 1965 Immigration Act, the Korean, Asian Indian, and Pakistani populations grew in the U.S. through skilled-worker and family-reunification immigration programs (Zhou & Gatewood, 2007). Many thousands of students from India and South Korea also come to the U.S. for schooling (IIE, 2017). Immigration through family reunification can be a force pushing

toward larger, more homogenous households (this seems especially true for Pakistani; Figure 4). Korean-dominated neighborhoods (Hoeffel et al., 2012) also support their residents in a strong ethnic-racial identity through connections to language and culture (Syed, 2015; Umaña -Taylor et al., 2014), though Korean households are often diverse (Figure 4). Asian Indian people are living in highly homogenous households in many areas of the U.S. (see Figure 5). In contrast, those who came to the U.S. for schooling often live in diverse, non-family households. The school experience and household diversity may support a different type of ethnic-racial identity and self-categorization for Asian American students (Gummadam, Pittman, & Ioffe, 2016).

Effects of the U.S. military involvement in South East Asia and the Refugee Act of 1980 are apparent in the household composition of groups that came to the U.S. as refugees or as a result of war, including Vietnamese, Hmong, Cambodian, Laotian, and Thai (U.S. Government, 1980). Before the Vietnam War and related conflicts, most Vietnamese immigrants were women married to U.S. soldiers who had been stationed in the area (Gordon, 1987). The war created refugees, over 100,000 of whom settled in family units in the U.S. between 1975 and 1984 (Gordon 1987; Takaki, 1989). Vietnamese people in 2010 still had relatively large, homogenous households (90% homogeneity). The map of non-Latinx Vietnamese household homogeneity (in Figure 5) has very dark coloring indicating that most Vietnamese-origin people in the U.S. are living primarily with other Vietnamese people. The speckled distribution across the map shows that households are clustered near each other rather than spreading out across neighboring areas. Hmong people also sought refuge in the U.S. in the 1970s and 1980s. They live in particularly large and homogenous households (95% homogenous; map not shown). Hmong refugees came in family groups and entire villages were sometimes settled together in the U.S., contributing to a strong sense of identity for many (Vang, 2010).

Because of the same war, refugees from Cambodia and Laos moved by foot to refugee camps in Thailand where they waited for resettlement (Gordon 1987). In 2010, Cambodians and Laotians have fairly large households living with relatively many Asians who are a different Asian subgroup (10-14% in Category B of Figure 4). This partly reflects intermingling while at refugee camps, as well as close historical and cultural connections between Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand (Bankston & Hidalgo, 2007; Gordon 1987). Living with Asians from a different national origin group may involve interactions and understandings that support a qualitatively different racial identity than living with only others from the same group.

Although Thai immigrants are not considered refugees, the Vietnam War influenced their immigration history as well. Not only were many refugee settlements in Thailand, but also American troops were stationed in Thailand during and after the war, leading to many marriages between Thai women and American servicemen (Bankston & Hidalgo, 2007). This is reflected in the presence of Whites in homes with a Thai person (25% White household members on average, Figure 4). In sum, this brief review of Asian American history provides insight to the household homogeneity patterns across the 65 Asian groups in Figure 4 and six maps in Figure 5.

Discussion and Conclusion

We have focused on the household homogeneity and diversity of Asian Americans in the contemporary United States in order to illustrate links between macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of the social world, arguing that household composition is an important consideration when examining ethnic-racial identity development. We highlighted ways in which the meso-level household and racial-ethnic composition link macro-level processes such as immigration histories to micro-level processes of ethnic-racial identification. We used the 2010 Census – a dense, nationally-representative sample – to describe Asian Americans as a collective in

comparison to other U.S. ethnic-racial groups, and as specific Asian groups with unique histories. We highlighted aspects of group-specific histories, and presented maps of variation in household homogeneity that can be traced to these histories. The variation in household composition and size, as well as geographic dispersion, reflects history and affects identity.

Psychologists have recently called for more consideration of context in understanding identity development (Syed, et al., 2018). Ethnic-racial identity development and self-categorization theory suggest that an individuals' ability to self-categorize into ethnic-racial groups is influenced by society and context (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Hogg & Turner, 1987). Specifically, people self-categorize into ethnic-racial groups by identifying with a socially constructed group that fits with how they perceive themselves. Close relationships and nearby people impact how an individual self-identifies as they interact with others (who are undergoing their own ethnic-racial identities and self-categorization processes; Korobov, 2015; Rockquemore & Brunσμα., 2002). Living in a household with people of the same Asian subgroup may lead to feeling more a part of the group through reflected appraisals and ethnic socialization (Cooley, 1902; Khanna 2004; Moua & Lamborn, 2010). Living with others in the same subgroup, especially if living near other homogenous households from the same subgroup (as shown in Figure 5), allows individual's to see a wider variety of people that fit in a socially constructed group, allowing them a broader chance to "feel typical" (e.g. Holloway et al., 2012; Santos & Updegraff 2014). In related work using a nationally-representative sample of Asian Americans, Syed & Juan (2012) demonstrated that local density of co-ethnics differentially moderated the association between discrimination and psychological distress depending on Asian specific-ethnic group. Their findings suggest that subgroup density influences different psychological processes and that these experiences are different across Asian subgroups. Our

research shows differences in household configuration that may explain some of these cross-group differences.

In our analyses, we showed distinctions and similarities between Asians and other major ethnic-racial groups in household homogeneity and size (Figures 1 through 3). Then we showed similarly wide variation across 65 specific Asian American categories. We found that the extraordinary diversity among Asian Americans can be seen even at the household level, which reflects variation in immigration and state-side experiences. Many researchers treat “Asian American” as a single group, but disaggregation allows a more nuanced look at the contexts in which identities form. With maps (Figure 5) we illustrated patterns in location and homogeneity that were influenced by recent and past family and group histories. Histories continue to generationally influence families potentially through cultural socialization processes (e.g. Moua & Lamborn, 2010; Hidalgo & Bankston, 2010).

Like all analyses, ours has limitations. First, although identity theories and immigration histories include all people, we are only able to give relevant statistics about people who live in a household with at least one other person. People who live alone or in group quarters are not included in our household homogeneity calculations. Group quarters living arrangement policies (e.g., imposed racial segregation in prisons) may also impact identity and identification. Second, we do not have a good measure of identity in the census data, only an indication of self-identification (or categorization by a household member). A single household member filling out the form for everyone might identify others as the same subgroup as themselves, thus increasing measured household homogeneity. Third, we only have point-in-time measures of self-identification yet this is known to change over time for some people. However, even with these limitations, researchers have acknowledged that responses on a census form can be used as a

proxy for ethnic-racial identity and can provide valuable information about an individual's identity (Roth, 2016) and how a person is socialized to think about their ethnicity and race (Hidalgo & Bankston, 2010).

In this paper, we argue that household is an important level of analysis to consider in the identity development process, and specifically that household homogeneity and diversity likely play a role in lifelong ethnic-racial identity development. Conceptually, the influence of group history, family history, identity, and household composition are all interrelated and influential. We provide novel calculations using the U.S. census data to help researchers better investigate Asian subgroups. Variation in household homogeneity across groups and geographical location can inform researchers' understanding of factors that may influence ethnic-racial identity development among Asian Americans and others. Our results assist in understanding the context of identity development for Asian Americans of all ages in the U.S., and thus can contribute to hypothesis generation and data interpretation for studies with Asian Americans. These results highlight to clinicians, practitioners, and programs that Asian subgroups vary in immigration histories, geography, and household composition in ways that may influence ethnic-racial identities. We encourage other researchers to use the household composition information we provide to support disaggregation of Asian subgroups in future studies so that we might have a more wholistic understanding of the many unique groups included in the term "Asian American."

References

- Abrams, D., Wetherell, M., Cochrane, S., Hogg, M. A., & Turner, J. C. (1990). "Knowing what to think by knowing who you are: Self-categorization and the nature of norm formation, conformity and group polarization." *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 29(2), 97-119. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1990.tb00892.x>
- Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K., & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004). An organizing framework for collective identity: Articulation and significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin*, 130(1), 80-114. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.130.1.80
- Bankston, C. & Hidalgo, D. A. (2007). The waves of war: Immigration, refugees, and new Americans. In M. Zhou & J. V. Gatewood (Eds.), *Contemporary Asian America: A Multidisciplinary Reader*. New York: NYU Press.
- Chan, J. (2017). " Being Asian American Is a Lot Different Here": Influences of Geography on Racial Identity. *Journal of College Student Development*, 58(7), 1001-1017. doi: [10.1353/csd.2017.0080](https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2017.0080)
- Chong, K. H. (2013). Relevance of race: Children and the shifting engagement with racial/ethnic identity among second-generation interracially married Asian Americans. *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 16(2), 189-221. doi:10.1353/jaas.2013.0019
- Chun, A. Y., & Gan, J. (2014, August). Analysis of the source of group quarters enumeration data in the 2010 Census. Paper presented at the Joint Statistical Meetings of the American Statistical Association, Survey Research Methods Session, Boston, MA.
- Cokley, K. (2007). Critical issues in the measurement of ethnic and racial identity: A referendum on the state of the field. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54(3), 224-234. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.224

- Cooley, C. H. (1902). *Human nature and the social order*. New York: Scribner's.
- Daga, S. S., & Raval, V. V. (2018). Ethnic-racial socialization, model minority experience, and psychological functioning among south Asian American emerging adults: A preliminary mixed-methods study. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 9*(1), 17-31. doi: 10.1037/aap0000108
- deOnís, K. M. (2017). What's in an "x"?: An Exchange about the Politics of "Latinx". *Chiricù Journal: Latina/o Literature, Art, and Culture, 1*(2), 78-91. doi:10.2979/chiricu.1.2.07
- Dhingra, P., & Rodriguez, R. M. (2014). *Asian America: Sociological and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Polity Press Cambridge, UK.
- Doucerein, M. M. (2018). Heritage Acculturation Is Associated With Contextual Factors at Four Different Levels of Proximity. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 49*(10), 1539-1555. doi: [10.1177/0022022118796976](https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022118796976)
- Elder Jr, G. H. (1998). The life course as developmental theory. *Child development, 69*(1), 1-12. DOI: [10.1111/j.1467-8624.1998.tb06128.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1998.tb06128.x)
- Erikson, E. H. (1994) [1959]. *Identity and the life cycle*. WW Norton & Company.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Youth: Identity and crisis*. New York: WW. Norton
- Eschbach, K. (1993). Changing identification among American Indians and Alaska Natives. *Demography, 30*, 635-652. doi: 10.2307/2061811
- Espiritu, Y. L. (1997). *Asian American Women and Men*. Sage Publications Thousand Oaks: California.
- Gaither, S. E. (2015). 'Mixed' results: Multiracial research and identity explorations. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 24*(2), 114-119. doi: 10.1177/0963721414558115

- Gordon, L. W. (1987). Southeast Asian refugee migration to the United States. *Center for Migration Studies special issues*, 5: 153–173. doi: 10.1111/j.2050-411X.1987.tb00959.x
- Gummadam, P., Pittman, L. D., & Ioffe, M. (2016). School belonging, ethnic identity, and psychological adjustment among ethnic minority college students. *The Journal of Experimental Education*, 84(2), 289-306. doi: 10.1080/00220973.2015.1048844
- Haney López, I. (1997). *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. New York: NYU Press.
- Harris, D. R. & Sim, J. J. (2002). Who is multiracial? Assessing the complexity of lived race. *American Sociological Review*, 67(4), 614-627. doi: 10.2307/3088948
- Hidalgo, D. A. & Bankston, C. L. (2010). Blurring racial and ethnic boundaries in Asian American families: Asian American family patterns, 1980-2005. *Journal of Family Issues*, 31(3), 280-300. doi: 10.1177/0192513X09350870
- Hitlin, S. J., Brown, S. & Elder Jr., G. H. (2006). Racial self-categorization in adolescence: Multiracial development and social pathways. *Child Development*, 77(5), 1298-1308. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00935.x
- Hoeffel, E. M., Rastogi, S., Kim, M. O. & Shahid, H. (2012). *The Asian Population: 2010*. 2010 Census Brief C2010BR-11. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.
- Hogg, M. A., & Turner, J. C. (1987). Intergroup behaviour, self-stereotyping and the salience of social categories. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 26(4), 325-340. doi: 10.1111/j.2044-8309.1987.tb00795.x
- Hogg, M. A., Turner, J. C. & Davidson, B. (1990). Polarized norms and social frames of reference: A test of the self-categorization theory of group polarization. *Basic and Applied Psychology*, 11(1), 77-100. doi: 10.1207/s15324834basp1101_6

Holloway, S. R., Ellis, M., Wright, R., & Hudson, M. (2005). Partnering ‘out’ and fitting in:

Residential segregation and the neighbourhood contexts of mixed-race

households. *Population, Space and Place*, 11(4), 299-324. doi: 10.1002/psp.378

Holloway, S. R., Wright, R., & Ellis, M. (2012). Constructing multiraciality in U.S. families and

neighborhoods. In *International Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Mixedness and Mix.*

Rosalin Edwards, Suki Ali, C. Caballero & Miri Song (Eds). New York: Routledge.

Holloway, S. R., Wright, R., Ellis, M., & East, M. (2009). Place, scale and the racial claims

made for multiracial children in the 1990 U.S. Census. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(3),

522-547. doi: 10.1080/01419870802021120

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006).

Parents’ ethnic-racial socialization practices: a review of research and directions for

future study. *Developmental Psychology*, 42(5), 747. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747

Humes, K. R., Jones, N. A. & Ramirez, R. R. (2011). *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin:*

2010. 2010 Census Brief C2010BR-02. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.

Institute of International Education. (2017). Top 25 places of origin of international students,

2015/16-2016/17. *Open Doors Report on International Educational Exchange.*

Juang, L. P., Park, I., Kim, S. Y., Lee, R. M., Qin, D., Okazaki, S., Swartz, T.T., & Lau, A.

(2018). Reactive and proactive ethnic–racial socialization practices of second-generation

Asian American parents. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 9(1), 4-16. doi:

0.1037/aap0000101

Kana’iaupuni, S. M. & Liebler, C. A. (2005). Pondering poi dog: Place and racial identification

of multiracial Native Hawaiians. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(4), 687-721. doi:

10.1080/01419870500092852

Kane, J. C., Damian, A. J., Fairman, B., Bass, J. K., Iwamoto, D. K., & Johnson, R. M. (2017).

Differences in alcohol use patterns between adolescent Asian American ethnic groups: representative estimates from the National Survey on Drug Use and Health 2002–2013. *Addictive Behaviors*, 64, 154-158. doi: 10.1016/j.addbeh.2016.08.045

Kang, S. K. & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2015). Multiple identities in social perception and interaction: Challenges and opportunities. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 66, 547-74. doi: 10.1146/annurev-psych-010814-015025

Khanna, N. (2004). The role of reflected appraisals in racial identity: The case of multiracial Asians. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 67(2), 115-131. doi: 10.1177/019027250406700201

Kiang, L., Tseng, V., & Yip, T. (2016). Placing Asian American child development within historical context. *Child Development*, 87(4), 995-1013. DOI: 10.1111/cdev.12578

Korobov, N. (2015) Identities as an Interactional Process. Pp. 210-227 in K. C. McLean & M. Syed (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Identity Development*. Oxford University Press.

Lee, S. Y., Martins, S. S., & Lee, H. B. (2015). Mental disorders and mental health service use across Asian American subethnic groups in the United States. *Community Mental Health Journal*, 51(2), 153-160. doi: 10.1007/s10597-014-9749-0

Liebler, C. A. 2010. Homelands and Indigenous identities in a multiracial era. *Social Science Research*, 39, 596-609. doi: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2010.02.003

Liebler, C. A. 2016. "On the boundaries of race: Identification of mixed-heritage children in the U.S., 1960 to 2010." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 2(4), 548-568. doi: 10.1177/2332649216632546

- Liebler, C. A., Porter, S. R., Fernandez, L. E., Noon, J., & Ennis, S. R. (2017). America's churning races: Race and ethnicity response changes between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census. *Demography*, 54, 259-284. doi: 10.1007/s13524-016-0544-0
- Liebler, C. A. & Zacher, M. L. (2016). History, place, and racial self-representation in 21st Century America. *Social Science Research*, 57, 211-32. doi: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2015.12.002
- Light, M. T. & Iceland, J. (2016). The social context of racial boundary negotiations: Segregation, hate crime, and Hispanic racial identification in metropolitan America. *Sociological Science*, 3, 61-84.
- López, G., Ruiz, N. G., & Patten, E. (2017) Key facts about Asian Americans, a diverse and growing population. *Pew Research Center*. Retrived <<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/09/08/key-facts-about-asian-americans/>>
- McAdams, D. P. (1985). *Power, Intimacy, and the Life Story*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, Self and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mitchell, L. L., Kathawalla, U.-K., Ajayi, A. A., Fish, J., Nelson, S. C., Peissig, L. H. M., & Syed, M. (2018). Ethnic-racial typicality and its relation to ethnic identity and psychological functioning. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 24(3), 400-413. doi:10.1037/cdp0000193
- Moua, M. Y., & Lamborn, S. D. (2010). Hmong American adolescents' perceptions of ethnic socialization practices. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 25(3), 416-440. doi: 10.1177/0743558410361369
- Nadal, K. L. (2004). Pilipino American identity development model. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 32(1), 45-62. doi: [10.1002/j.2161-1912.2004.tb00360.x](https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2004.tb00360.x)

- Nguyen, C. P., Wong, Y. J., Juang, L. P., & Park, I. J. (2015). Pathways among Asian Americans' family ethnic socialization, ethnic identity, and psychological well-being: A multigroup mediation model. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 6*(3), 273-280. doi: 10.1037/aap0000026
- Office of Management and Budget. (1997). Revisions to the standards for the classification of federal data on race and ethnicity. *Federal Register, 62*, 58782-58790.
- Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence, 9*(1-2), 34-49. doi: [10.1177/0272431689091004](https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431689091004)
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin, 108*(3), 499-514. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.108.3.499
- Porter, S. R., Liebler, C. A., & Noon, J. M. (2016). An outside view: What observers say about others' races and Hispanic origins. *American Behavioral Scientist, 60*(4), 465-497. doi: 10.1177/0002764215613397
- Poston, W. C. (1990). The biracial identity development: A needed addition. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 69*, 152-155. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6676.1990.tb01477.x
- Qian, Z., Sampson, L. B., & Ruf, S. (2001). Asian American interracial and interethnic marriages: Differences by education and nativity. *International Migration Review, 35*(2), 557-586. doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2001.tb00029.x
- Renn, K. A. (2000). Patterns of situational identity among biracial and multiracial college students. *The Review of Higher Education, 23*(4), 399-420.
- Rivas-Drake, D., Syed, M., Umaña-Taylor, A., Markstrom, C., French, S., Schwartz, S. J., & Lee, R. Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group. (2014). Feeling

- good, happy, and proud: A meta-analysis of positive ethnic-racial affect and adjustment. *Child development*, 85(1), 77-102. doi: [10.1111/cdev.12175](https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12175)
- Rockquemore, K. A. (1998). Between Black and White: Exploring the 'biracial' experience. *Race and Society*, 1(2), 197-212. doi:10.1353/rhe.2000.0019
- Rockquemore, K. A., & Brunsma, D. L. (2002). Socially embedded identities: Theories, typologies, and processes of racial identity among Black/White biracials. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 43(3), 335-356. doi: 10.1111/j.1533-8525.2002.tb00052.x
- Roth, W. D. (2016). The multiple dimensions of race. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(8), 1310-1338. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2016.1140793
- Ruggles, S., Genadek, K., Goeken, R., Grover, J., & Sobek, M. (2017). Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 7.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Santos, C. E. & Updegraff, K. A. (2014). Feeling typical, looking typical: Physical appearance and ethnic identity among Mexican-origin youth. *Journal of Latina/o Psychology*, 2(4), 187-199. doi: 10.1037/lat0000023
- Saperstein, A. & Penner, A. M. (2012). Racial fluidity and inequality in the United States. *American Journal of Sociology*, 118(3), 676-727.
- Seaton, E. K., Quintana, S., Verkuyten, M., & Gee, G. C. (2017). Peers, policies, and place: The relation between context and ethnic/racial identity. *Child development*, 88(3), 683-692. doi: 10.1111/cdev.12787
- Singh, S., McBride, K., & Kak, V. (2015). Role of social support in examining acculturative stress and psychological distress among Asian American immigrants and three sub-groups: Results from NLAAS. *Journal of immigrant and minority health*, 17(6), 1597-1606. doi: 10.1007/s10903-015-0213-1

- Sohoni, D. (2007), Unsuitable suitors: Anti-miscegenation laws, naturalization laws, and the construction of Asian identities. *Law & Society Review*, 41, 587-618. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-5893.2007.00315.x
- Sohoni, D., & Vafa, A. (2010). The fight to be American: Military naturalization and Asian citizenship. *Asian American Law Journal*, 17, 119-151.
- Syed, M. (2015). Theoretical and methodological contributions of narrative psychology to ethnic identity research. In C.E. Santos & A. J. Umaña-Taylor (eds.). *Studying Ethnic Identity: Methodological and Conceptual Approaches across Discipline*. Washington, D.C.: APA Press.
- Syed, M. & Kathawalla, U. (2018). Integrating culture and biology in psychological research: Conceptual clarifications and recommendations. In *Handbook of Culture and Biology Interplay: Bridging Evolutionary Adaptation and Development*, J. M. Causadias, E. H. Telzer, & N. A. Gonzales (Eds.). New York: Wiley.
- Syed, M., & Juan, M. J. D. (2012). Discrimination and psychological distress: Examining the moderating role of social context in a nationally representative sample of Asian American adults. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 3(2), 104-120. doi: 10.1037/a0025275
- Syed, M, Juang, L. P., & Svensson, Y. 2018. Toward a new understanding of ethnic/racial settings for ethnic/racial identity development. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 28(2), 262-276. doi: 10.1111/jora.12387
- Syed, M, & Mitchell, L. L. (2013). Race, ethnicity, and emerging adulthood: Retrospect and prospects. *Emerging Adulthood*, 1(2), 83-95. doi: 10.1177/2167696813480503
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Takaki, R. (1989). *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*. New York: Little, Brown, and Co.
- Tran, A. G., & Lee, R. M. (2010). Perceived ethnic–racial socialization, ethnic identity, and social competence among Asian American late adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 16*(2), 169. doi: 10.1037/a0016400
- Turner, J. C. (1982). Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group. In *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, H. Tajfel (Ed.). London, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Quintana, S. M., Lee, R. M., Cross, W. E., Rivas Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., Syed, M., Yip, T., & Seaton, E. (2014). Ethnic and racial identity during adolescence and into young adulthood: An integrated conceptualization. *Child Development, 85*(1), 21-39. doi: 10.1111/cdev.12196
- U.S. Army. (n. d.). Asian-Americans & Pacific Islanders in the United States Army. Retrieved from <https://www.army.mil/asianpacificamericans/history/>.
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services History Office and Library. (2012) *Overview of INS History*. U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services.
- U.S. Government (1882). *Chinese Exclusion Act*.
- U.S. Government (1892). *Geary Act*.
- U.S. Government (1906). *The Naturalization Act of 1906*.
- U.S. Government (1924). *Immigration Act of 1924*.
- U.S. Government (1945). U.S. *Public Law: 271. War Brides Act*.
- U.S. Government. (1965). U.S. *Public Law: 89-236. Immigration and Nationality Act, amendments*.
- U.S. Government. (1980). U.S. *Public Law 96-212. Refugee Act*.

U.S. Government. (1990). U.S. *Public Law 101-649. Immigration Act 1990*.

Vang, C. Y. (2010). *Hmong America: Reconstructing Community in Diaspora*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Way, N., Santos, C., Niwa, E. Y., & Kim-Gervey, C. (2008). To be or not to be: An exploration of ethnic identity development in context. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 120, 61-79. doi: 10.1002/cd.216

Wright, R., Holloway, S. & Ellis, M. (2013). Gender and the neighborhood location of mixed-race couples. *Demography*, 50(2), 393-420. doi: 10.1007/s13524-012-0158-0

Xie, Y. & Goyette, K. (1997). The racial identification of biracial children with one Asian parent: Evidence from the 1990 Census. *Social Forces*, 76(2), 547-570. doi: 10.1093/sf/76.2.547

Zhou, M. & Gatewood, J.V. (2007). Transforming Asian America. In M. Zhou & J. V. Gatewood, (Eds.) *Contemporary Asian America: A multidisciplinary reader*. New York: NYU Press.

ⁱ Parents have dynamic identities and complex messages for their children (see Chong, 2013).

ⁱⁱ The 2010 Census includes only measures of the following: age, sex, race, Latinx origin, household versus group quarters, and the type of family/non-family relationship between each person and the first person listed on the household's form.

ⁱⁱⁱ A PUMA includes between 100,000 and 199,999 people within a state. See: <https://www.census.gov/geo/reference/puma.html> and https://usa.ipums.org/usa-action/variables/PUMA#description_section.

^{iv} We cannot know which people share the same group quarters, so we exclude group quarters residents when focusing on households. See:

<https://usa.ipums.org/usa/chapter2/chapter2.shtml#2010> and https://usa.ipums.org/usa-action/variables/GQ#description_section and https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/tech_docs/group_definitions/2010GQ_Definitions.pdf

Figure 1: Distribution of household sizes by race and ethnicity, 2010



Figure 2: Household homogeneity and diversity in 2010, by race and ethnicity

Total in 2010		Average household composition ^a			
<i>Focal person's race/ethnicity</i>		(A) Same race & ethnicity	(B) Non-Hisp. White	(C) Another race or ethnicity	
Non-Latinx					
Asian	14,456,600	87	8	5	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
White	196,782,960	95	--	5	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
Black	37,704,030	94	3	3	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
American Indian	2,248,480	66	23	11	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
Pacific Islander	481,260	71	13	17	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
Some other race	602,340	59	18	23	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
Multiple races ^b	5,950,130	45	32	22	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
Latinx					
Asian	212,940	47	10	44	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
White	26,735,490	84	11	5	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
Black	1,242,270	59	4	37	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
American Indian	681,020	66	8	26	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
Pacific Islander	57,970	55	11	35	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
Some other race	18,508,120	88	4	7	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
Multiple races ^b	3,047,160	53	13	34	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div>
Total	308,710,770				

Notes: Scores show the average percent of household members in each race/ethnicity, by row. For example, the average non-Latinx white person lives in a household that is 95% non-Latinx white. Data are the 2010 U.S. Census 10% Public Use Microdata Sample, accessed via IPUMS.org (Ruggles et al., 2017), and weighted to represent the population.

^a Members of each household of 2 or more people (not group quarters) are coded as having reported: (A) the same race and ethnic group as the focal person, (B) single-race non-Latinx White, or (C) any other race or ethnic response group.

^b Number of non-Latinx multiple-race Asian people = 2,244,760. Number of Latinx multiple-race Asian people = 392,420.

Figure 3: Average household homogeneity of racial-ethnic groups by household size, 2010

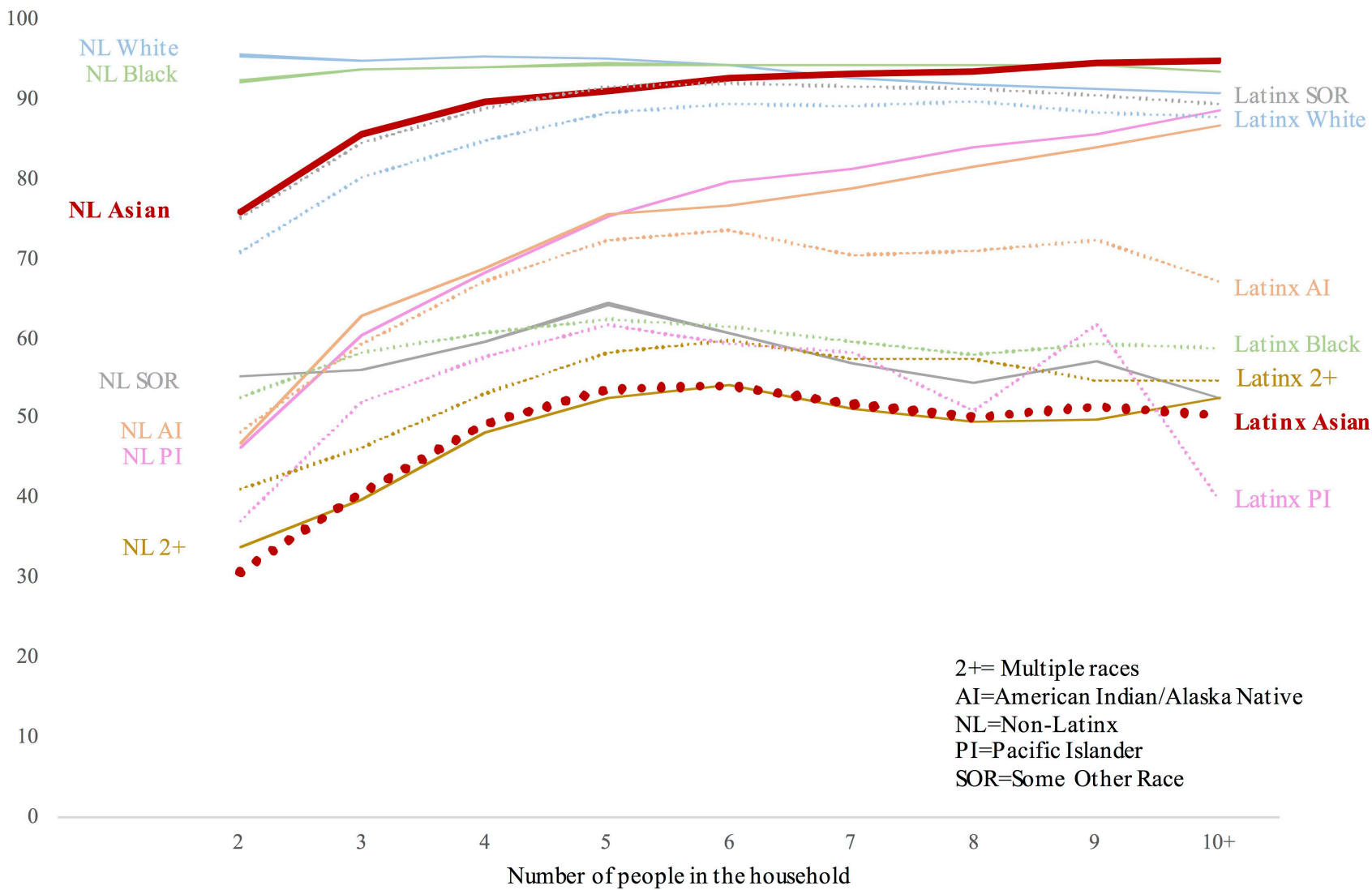


Figure 4: Households of people in 65 Asian groups in the United States in 2010

	Total	%	Household size	Average household composition ^b				
	in 2010	Latinx	distribution ^a	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	
Groups with their own check boxes								
Chinese	3,124,940	0.8		85	6	8	1	
Japanese	762,910	2.4		58	17	21	3	
Filipino	2,553,510	3.6		77	8	12	3	
Asian Indian	2,843,420	0.7		92	3	4	1	
Korean	1,423,650	0.8		80	6	12	1	
Vietnamese	1,548,300	0.6		90	5	4	1	
Asian write-in groups								
Bangladeshi	129,980	0.2		91	6	1	1	
Bhutanese	15,420	0.7		93	6	1	0	
Burmese	91,850	0.6		92	5	2	1	
Cambodian	230,780	1.5		83	10	5	2	
Hmong	244,850	0.5		95	4	1	0	
Indonesian	62,360	1.4		68	11	17	3	
Laotian	193,790	2.3		81	12	5	2	
Malaysian	15,750	0.5		54	23	20	3	
Mongolian	15,510	0.8		78	8	12	2	
Nepalese	51,270	0.2		86	8	5	1	
Pakistani	362,120	0.6		89	6	4	1	
Sri Lankan	36,310	0.6		81	9	8	2	
Taiwanese	201,470	0.3		81	11	7	1	
Thai	169,310	1.6		57	14	25	4	
Another single Asian group	19,450	0.9		51	33	14	2	
Asian, group not specified	221,870	3.9		71	15	11	3	
Multiple Asian groups								
Chinese & Filipino	39,140	11.5		33	54	11	3	
Chinese & Japanese	31,020	2.4		26	62	11	1	
Chinese & Korean	13,500	1.3		29	61	8	1	
Chinese & Vietnamese	53,320	0.5		57	38	4	1	

Figure 4, cont: Households of people in 65 Asian groups in the United States in 2010

	Total	%	Household size	Average household composition ^b				
	in 2010	Latinx	distribution ^a	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	
Multiple Asian groups, cont.								
Japanese & Filipino	22,360	7.5		27	60	9	3	
Japanese & Korean	10,580	2.7		24	61	12	2	
Other Asian race comb.	138,550	1.8		50	42	6	2	
Non-Asian & Asian								
Pacific Islander (PI) & Asian								
Chinese & Hawaiian	17,920	10.4		31	48	13	8	
Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian	12,380	20.4		34	51	9	6	
Filipino & Hawaiian	22,790	15.1		33	46	13	9	
Japanese & Hawaiian	11,330	7.0		28	50	17	6	
Other Asian race(s) & PI race(s)	75,500	5.5		43	33	14	10	
White & Asian								
White & Asian Indian	106,120	7.6		33	23	42	2	
White & Chinese	200,250	9.1		31	26	40	2	
White & Filipino	400,520	13.8		34	24	38	4	
White & Japanese	268,020	7.5		34	21	42	3	
White & Korean	165,570	5.3		32	23	42	3	
White & Vietnamese	72,460	5.1		36	24	37	3	
White & other Asian race(s)	386,700	5.5		55	16	26	3	
Black (B) & Asian								
Black & Asian Indian	29,960	6.6		50	19	5	25	
Black & Chinese	21,800	9.8		31	19	8	42	
Black & Filipino	52,010	9.5		32	30	7	31	
Black & Japanese	19,430	8.0		31	25	11	33	
Black & Korean	19,380	6.5		32	23	11	33	
Black & other Asian race(s)	43,460	7.5		38	28	6	28	

Figure 4, cont: Households of people in 65 Asian groups in the United States in 2010

	Total	%	Household size	Average household composition ^b				
	in 2010	Latinx	distribution ^a	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	
American Indian/Alaska Native (AIAN) & Asian								
AIAN & Asian Indian	18,550	14.6		48	35	5	12	
AIAN & Filipino	12,360	32.6		28	30	19	23	
AIAN & other Asian race(s)	26,710	17.8		38	34	11	17	
Some Other Race write-in (SOR) & Asian								
SOR & Asian Indian	52,050	12.2		67	22	3	8	
SOR & Chinese	13,720	75.7		31	30	13	26	
SOR & Filipino	43,970	73.5		42	27	7	24	
SOR & Japanese	10,870	88.3		30	21	13	35	
SOR & other Asian race(s)	116,730	40.3		56	17	9	18	
Asian & 2 non-Asian races								
Asian, W, B	59,350	17.3		32	27	20	21	
Asian, W, AIAN	40,440	27.6		36	23	21	20	
Chinese, W, Hawaiian	29,960	12.5		38	36	19	7	
Chinese, Japanese, W, Hawaiian	12,180	11.5		36	48	12	4	
Chinese, Filipino, W, Hawaiian	14,840	27.6		37	46	12	5	
Filipino, W, Hawaiian	20,200	20.0		36	34	18	12	
Japanese, W, Hawaiian	12,910	11.7		34	37	20	9	
Other Asian race(s) & W & PI	52,170	16.0		37	30	19	14	
Asian, W, SOR	10,940	52.4		33	22	23	22	
Asian, PI, SOR	4,130	65.6		33	35	8	24	
Asian & 3 or more non-Asian races	54,180	38.8		47	18	11	24	

Note: We use the 10% sample of the Census 2010 data, weighted to represent the population.

^a This is the percent of people in this row who live in each household size (or group quarters). The 11 categories in this column are: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 or more, and group quarters.

^b Members of each household of 2 or more people (not group quarters) are coded as having reported: (A) the same detailed Asian group as the focal person, (B) another Asian group, (C) single-race White, or (D) any other race response group.

Figure 5: Average household homogeneity of non-Latinx single-race Asians in 2010, by PUMA

