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“What Are You? I Am AsianLatinx”: Situating AsianLatinxs Beyond Asian Diaspora, Mixed Race Studies, and Interethnic Relations

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“What Are You? I Am AsianLatinx”: Situating AsianLatinxs Beyond Asian Diaspora, Mixed Race Studies, and Interethnic Relations

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by

Kevin Ronny Kandamby

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

"What Are You? I Am AsianLatinx": Situating AsianLatinxs Beyond Asian Diaspora, Mixed Race Studies, and Interethnic Relations

by

Kevin Ronny Kandamby

Master of Arts in Chicana and Chicano Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Robert Chao Romero, Chair

Diasporic intimacies between Asian and Latinx communities have converged across the world for centuries; the mixing of these cultures and as a result, mixed individual is the effect of centuries of interactions with each other. In this thesis, I review the literature across Asian diaspora in Latin America, mixed race studies, and interethnic relations to understand how AsianLatinxs have continually been relegated to the subaltern despite their strong presence in the Americas. I argue it is necessitated to center AsianLatinxs experiences to understand the interconnectedness of global Asian and Latinx communities through what I call AsianLatinx Studies. A field such as AsianLatinx Studies disrupts previous monoracial frameworks of diaspora, mixed identity, and interethnic relations to (re)imagine a reality that situates the complexities of mixedness tangential to racialization processes, identity formation, and transnationalism.

The thesis of Kevin Ronny Kandamby is approved.

Floridalma Boj Lopez

Evyn Lê Espiritu Gandhi

Robert Chao Romero, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

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I write to those on the fringes of their families, communities, society, etc. It does not get easier, but know that we are needed.

To my family across the world in Sri Lanka and México, you are all ever-present through my existence, may we all one day be together.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

To research and understand what it means to be MexiLankan (Mexican and Sri Lankan) is something that I would have never seen as a possibility, and I consider myself privileged every day for this opportunity. Growing up ostracized for being seen as different because I have immigrant parents from various countries across the globe has taken me many years to normalize and understand why my parents met at a food truck in Norwalk, California. Today, I have more questions than answers, and academia has made it that much more isolating. I say this because this is who I am writing for, for those of us who are castaway to the fringes, for the folks in-between.

The master's thesis was no easy feat and much less during a pandemic. I want to acknowledge all those who have transitioned during the Covid-19 pandemic--especially my Aachi. May we meet again in another life.

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changed my understanding of race relations and pushed me to think of my own research as an extension of this field and challenge the limitations. Thank you for your feedback and for moving me to think across various disciplines. Dr. Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., thank you for your support and guidance on the earlier stages of the master's thesis; your research and scholarship have been formative to the AsianLatinx Studies field. My faculty mentors outside of UCLA, Dr. Suyapa Portillo, Dr. Gilda Ochoa, and Dr. Jose Calderon, thank you all for the support you have given me even beyond my years as an undergraduate student. You three embody the academic values that I aspire to have by placing community and students at the forefront of your careers. Thank you.

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Introduction

"I stood at the border, stood at the edge and claimed it as central. l claimed it as central, and let the rest of the world move over to where I was."

—Toni Morrison[1]

"This general lack of receptivity or attention to the topic of multiracial identity is due in part to the fact that US social scientists, like the individuals and communities that were the primary focus of their studies, have internalized not only hypodescent but also monoracial norms."

—G. Reginald Daniel et al.[2]

As I sit and fill out that I am both Asian and Latinx on the 2020 United States census form, I cannot help but wonder how many others have filled out the form identifying as AsianLatinx and how many other AsianLatinxs have come before me?[3] How long have AsianLatinxs been around yet, gone unaccounted for? Since the 2000 census, people in the United States have had the opportunity to check for more than one race, and according to the Pew Research Center, by 2060, we are expected to see the multiracial population in the United States triple in size.[4] However, under this new umbrella term of multiracial/multiethnic/mixed, many still fall between the lines and go unaccounted for: such as AsianLatinxs. The removal of the hyphen and the capitalization of Latinx in AsianLatinx is intentional; I do this to highlight that AsianLatinx is a fluid identity inclusively belonging to Asian, Latinx, and AsianLatinx

1. Gary Deans et al., *Toni Morrison Uncensored* (Princeton, NJ: Films for the Humanities & Sciences, 1998).

2. G. Reginald Daniel et al., "Emerging Paradigms in Critical Mixed Race Studies," *Journal of Critical Mixed Race Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014), 11.

3. I use Latinx as a gender-neutral alternative to Latina or Latino.

4. "Multiracial in America." *Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project* (blog), June 11, 2015.

communities. I define the use of AsianLatinx by expanding and specifying more in-depth what Romero and Escudero define as Asian Latinos.[5] The scholars identify Asian Latinos as the following:

> Asian immigrants from Latin America, Asian Latinos is comprised of persons born in the United States of cross-cultural Asian Latino parentage, Filipinos who blend into Latino communities by capitalizing upon their Spanish surnames and familiarity with the Spanish language, and (Lai and Arguelles, A descendants of Puerto Rican immigrant laborers who went to Hawaii during the late nineteenth century and intermarried with Native Hawaiians.[6]

By expanding their parameters for Asian Latinos, I identify AsianLatinx as the following: ethnic Asians from Latin America, ethnic Latinxs from Asia, and peoples born to parents of cross-cultural AsianLatinx parentage. A fourth, smaller category of AsianLatinxs includes Filipinxs who blend into Latinx communities by inheriting colonial Spanish surnames, familiarity with the Spanish language, and shared colonial history.[7] I also identify AsianLatinx as considering both people of mixed heritage and mixed culture.[8] By categorizing these four groups under AsianLatinx, I argue that the intimacies of these ethnic and racial groups go beyond just shared and cross-cultural relationships, one that can be traced to colonial pasts. Diasporic relationships and intimacies between Asian and Latinx communities have converged across the world for centuries; the mixing of these cultures and mixed individuals as a result are only the

5. Robert Chao Romero and Kevin Escudero, "'Asian Latinos' and the US Census," *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community* 10, no. 2 (2012): 1–20.

6. Chao Romero and Escudero, 2.

7. I use Filipinx as a gender-neutral alternative to Filipina or Filipino.

8. Robert Chao Romero and Kevin Escudero, "'Asian Latinos' and the US Census," *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community* 10, no. 2 (2012): 1–20.

effect of centuries of interactions with each other.[9] Thus, the purpose of this thesis is to introduce and curate a field of AsianLatinx Studies, in which these intimacies remain central and at the forefront, to understand the ways in which AsianLatinx communities unveil more connections to each other than just intimacy and mixedness.

In this master's thesis, I focus primarily on Asian diaspora in Latin American and people born to cross-cultural AsianLatinx parentage and how racialization processes develop across the Americas varies for these different groups. The literature pertaining to Latin American diaspora to Asia is nascent in comparison to the Asian diaspora in Latin America, which I conclude is due to the high demands of migrant labor in Latin America during the 20th century. By including the experiences AsianLatinxs across the Americas we may delve deeper into the complexities of race and ethnicity for AsianLatinx identity formation. With the consistent growth of mixed individuals in the United States, over 300,000 AsianLatinxs in the United States at the turn of the millennium, and the long history of AsianLatinx communities in the United States, we cannot continue to ignore the history and growing numbers of AsianLatinxs in the United States.[10] Centering this community allows us to understand how AsianLatinxs have been continuously ignored in the United States and how AsianLatinxs refute homogenous understandings of Latinx and Asian American identity around the world.

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9. María DeGuzmán, *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire* (U of Minnesota Press, 2005); Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Duke University Press, 2015); Lok Siu, *Memories of a Future Home: Diasporic Citizenship of Chinese in Panama* (Stanford University Press, 2007).

10. Robert Chao Romero and Kevin Escudero, "'Asian Latinos' and the US Census," *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community* 10, no. 2 (2012): 1–20, 8.

Romero and Escudero explored the 2000 US census data and concluded that often AsianLatinxs fall into the "black hole," unaccounted for.[11] The census's language of choosing more than one race or origin continues to be considerably vague, such as the complexity of white vs. non-white Hispanic as a separate question on the US census. Language and the centering of whiteness further complicates mixed classification, often lumping together white and nonwhite mixed people into the same category. For example, white-Asian, Black-Asian, white-Black, and other mixed nonwhite people thus get categorized under the same racial classification and further homogenizes a diverse population. The choice to lump all mixed people together becomes a problem because, again, this means that nonwhite multiple minority people, that is, people who are born to nonwhite parents are not receiving a choice to document their existence uniquely different to monoracial, monoethnic, and white mixed people in the United States. Considering there is no explicit question in regard to identifying as AsianLatinx, as in mixed rather than Asian and Latinx, on the census, Romero and Escudero conclude that there is a missed opportunity in which the inclusion of AsianLatinx could mend and cultivate political and cultural liaisons for future policy changes with the inclusion of AsianLatinx in the US census.[12] In problematizing the racial categories of the US census, I do believe that we must consider a new understanding of how we are allowing multiple minority mixed people to document their identities on the US census because the choices offered now are limited and formulated in ways that continue to homogenize the mixed population in the United States.

11. Chao Romero and Escudero, 3.

12. Chao Romero and Escudero, 16–17.

As we continue to see migration to the United States primarily led by Asians and Latinxs, we must also consider the growing AsianLatinx populations in the United States.[13] Scholars across various disciplines have noted that Asians and Latinxs have a history of sharing similar struggles and geographical location in the United States.[14] However, little has been shared on how these shared experiences have cultivated intermarriages and the generation of children that result from these intermarriages. Even more nascent is the literature available pertaining directly to AsianLatinxs in the United States.[15] Learning from their experiences may hold answers or further complicate this shift in cultural identity and racial formation of living in what Anzaldúa refers to as borderlands.[16] Anzaldua describes the borderland identity situated between two or

13. Abby Budiman et al., "Immigrants in America: Key Charts and Facts," *Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project* (blog), August 20, 2020.

14. Natalia Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (University of California Press, 2006); Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (University of California Press, 2006); Leland T. Saito, *Race and Politics : Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb* (Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 1998); Vivek Bald, *Bengali Harlem and the Lost Histories of South Asian America* (Harvard University Press, 2013); Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012); Wendy Cheng, *The Changs Next Door to the Diazes: Remapping Race in Southern California* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Karen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Temple University Press, 1992).

15. Karen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Temple University Press, 1992); Vivek Bald, *Bengali Harlem and the Lost Histories of South Asian America* (Harvard University Press, 2013); Robert Chao Romero and Kevin Escudero, "'Asian Latinos' and the US Census," *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community* 10, no. 2 (2012): 1–20; Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012); Wendy Cheng, *The Changs Next Door to the Diazes: Remapping Race in Southern California* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Anthony Christian Ocampo, *The Latinos of Asia: How Filipino Americans Break the Rules of Race* (Stanford University Press, 2016); Nancy Kang and Silvio Torres-Saillant, "'Somos Asiáticos': Asian Americans, Latinos, and Hispanics of Asian Ancestry," *Latino Studies* 14, no. 4 (December 2016): 545–64.

16. Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza* (Aunt Lute Books, 1987).

more cultures, swimming in a new element.[17] Navigating the in-between is complicated vis-à-vis AsianLatinx identities while geographically located in the United States, what I can reductively explain as feelings of belonging in regard to the following, *ni de aqui, ni de alla, ni de y tambien de todos lados* (neither from here nor there nor from, while also from everywhere). That is, the AsianLatinx identity further complicates the in-between because there is no identity tied between two places, but instead three or more. Stuart Hall defines cultural identity as "becoming as well as of being," fluidly changing across place, time, history, and culture.[18] Identity is fluid and ever-changing through adaptation. Similarly, I argue that AsianLatinx is no different; in later chapters, I unveil how AsianLatinx identity has not only been silenced historically but continues to change present-day.

The lack of scholarship on AsianLatinxs is critical to address vis-à-vis the increase in intermarriages among multiple minority couples in the United States. Since the *Perez v. Sharp* decision, which allowed the intermarriage between a Mexican American woman and an African American man in California in 1948, and the *Loving v. Virginia* decision in 1967 allowing a Black woman to marry a white man, intermarriages have been on the rise. These decisions coupled with the Hart-Cellar Immigration Act of 1965, which removed immigration quotas to the United States could be argued had an effect on the increased intermarriages between migrant couples we see presently in the United States. To see that AsianLatinxs are continuously missing in the narrative of mixed identity in the United States is evident, considering how miscegenation has been outlawed in the United States since the 1960s.

17. Anzaldua, Preface.

18 Stuart Hall, *Cultural Identity and Diaspora* (na, 1990), 225.

As the field of critical mixed race studies expands beyond the centering of whiteness, the voices of AsianLatinxs are still missing among multiple minority intermarriages.[19] The field of critical mixed race studies has only recently begun to reflect on the problematics of exclusion in the field, and with the increasing interest in decentering whiteness from the field, we are now seeing growth in scholarship centering multiple minority mixed people, including AsianLatinxs. As this field grows and expands to encompass the experiences of all multiple minority individuals, so does the need to include AsianLatinx identifying individuals within the fields of Latinx/Chicanx/Asian American Studies. This means pushing beyond the current state of the field to move beyond monoracial understandings of relational analysis framework.[20] That is, to begin interrogating and understanding how scholars can begin expanding the importance of relation race theory to be inclusive of racial/ethnic groups who do not belong in discrete racial groups, such as ethnically and racially mixed peoples. As multiple minority individuals in the United States continue to rise, we must reassess what this means for those in between multiple academic fields that are often not in communication. By bridging these otherwise independent fields, we can complexify what it means to be mixed, Asian and Latinx. This placement of AsianLatinxs among Asian and Latinx ethnic groups is essential to reinscribe preconceived optics of racialized understandings of Asians and Latinxs. Understanding that those who identify as AsianLatinx belong within all of the aforementioned groups, we can understand that these racialized groups are heterogeneous and diverse. There is no one authentic way to identify and fit

19. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra, and Paul Spickard, *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown: Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies* (Rutgers University Press, 2017).

20. George Lipsitz et al., *Race as a Relational Theory: A Roundtable Discussion*, *Relational Formations of Race* (University of California Press, 2019).

within these ethnic groups, and as the mixed population continues to increase in the United States, let us begin to understand these groups and identities as fluid rather than stagnant and finite.

While personal to me as a MexiLankan (Mexican and Sri Lankan), this research goes beyond personal interest, challenging us to think and expand preexisting understandings of what it means to be multiracial/multiethnic/mixed by placing multiple minority individuals such as AsianLatinxs at the forefront of spatial locations such as Latin America, Asia, and the United States. As we begin centering multiple minority individuals and decentering whiteness, we can begin looking into global racial structures and how AsianLatinxs navigate their identity as a minority within the minority. As these minorities within minorities continue to grow, so will the need to rethink whether existing cultural identity frameworks and racial formation theories apply to AsianLatinxs in Latin America, Asia, and the United States.

In this master's thesis, I review the literature available in what I categorize as AsianLatinx Studies. Although there is no dedicated or formal field of AsianLatinx Studies, scholars have called for a field or framework that encapsulates the AsianLatinx experience, interethnic relations, and mixing that occurs between Asian and Latinx peoples worldwide.[21] Therefore, the purpose of this master's thesis is to review the contributions and limitations of literature pertaining to AsianLatinx communities around the globe. In a more practical sense, this master's thesis updates the bibliography of Clara Chu on Asian diaspora in Latin America, including literature on mixed race studies and interethnic relations between the Asian and Latinx

20. Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940*, Pbk. ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011); María DeGuzmán, *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire* (U of Minnesota Press, 2005).

communities in the United States.[22] Since 2002, there has not been an updated bibliography to this article, the field, and how other fields have come together to expand the field of AsianLatinx Studies. In doing so, it is with hopes that the analysis of literature across various disciplines builds an opportunity to understand the various relations that Asian and Latinx communities have created for centuries by centering the experiences of the AsianLatinx community. In chapter two, I review the literature on Asian diaspora in Latin America, paying particular attention to the ways in which AsianLatinx communities came to fruition through increased labor demands across Latin America, and how these communities carved out their existence in society. Chapter three looks towards the mixed race studies field, and its transition into critical mixed race studies. Here, I situate the AsianLatinx studies field as a place in which racially mixed AsianLatinx people belong, while simultaneously acknowledging the lack of AsianLatinx-centered literature in the broader mixed race studies field. By situating AsianLatinxs in a field such as critical mixed race studies, opportunity to push previous boundaries of mixed race studies via diaspora and migration begin to unfold. In chapter four, I review literature pertaining to Asian and Latinx interethnic relations, and how situating AsianLatinxs within comparative and relational analyses complicates our understandings of these frameworks. Comparative and relational frameworks often turn to compare communities in monoracial ways, negating the presence of mixed people that bridge the seemingly discrete groups. Lastly, in chapter five I summarize the limitations and future directions of the AsianLatinx studies field. By acknowledging the lack of literature pertaining particularly to multiple minority AsianLatinxs, I introduce a future study that centers the racial identity formation of AsianLatinxs in the United

22. Clara M. Chu, "Asians in Latin America: A Selected Bibliography, 1990–2002," *Amerasia Journal* 28, no. 2 (2002): 235–45.

States to understand how they navigate and negotiate their identity and racialization processes. As the AsianLatinx community continues to grow in the United States, it is with high hopes that this proposed study will yield an important contribution to understanding the diversification of mixed people in the United States.

In reviewing the literature across Asian diaspora in Latin America, Latin American diaspora in Asia, mixed race studies, and interethnic relations, I argue it is important to understand how AsianLatinxs fit within these fields of study and more broadly how AsianLatinx experiences can be centered as an opportunity to learn from these communities. I do not claim to create an AsianLatinx studies field, as many scholars before me have published important works on AsianLatinx community across the world. Rather, by rethinking the relationship between Asian and Latinx communities globally, I propose that centering the AsianLatinx communities both historically and presently allows for a better understanding of the ways in which these communities have always been interconnected. Thus, a field such as AsianLatinx Studies disrupts previous monoracial frameworks of diaspora, mixed identity, and interethnic relations to (re)imagine a reality that situates the complexities of mixedness tangential to racialization processes, identity formation, and transnationalism.

The recommendation for a field of AsianLatinx Studies is not limited to my perspective. In this master's thesis, I approach AsianLatinx Studies as a field that is intertwined across academic institutions and interdisciplinary by nature beyond academic peripheries. That is, an approach to a field beyond area studies, traditional methodologies, and preexisting frameworks.[23] By centering the AsianLatinx individual, we can challenge previously acknowledged

23. Evelyn Hu-DeHart, *From Area Studies to Ethnic Studies: The Study of the Chinese Diaspora in Latin America*, vol. 9 (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 1991).

understandings of Asian and Latinx peoples worldwide. Acknowledging the mixed narratives of Asian and Latinx ancestry people highlights how their narratives have been historically silenced and occluded from hegemonic narratives of Asian and Latinx identity. Before moving forward, I do acknowledge that deferring to racial and ethnic markers such as Asian and Latinx might be rather limiting in terms of racial categorization. I do recognize that Blackness and indigeneity play a role in both Latinx and Asian ancestry and it is with hopes that this call for an AsianLatinx Studies field does not detract from or contribute to the erasure of Black, Indigenous, non-Asian, and non-Latinx identifying peoples. Thus, a field of AsianLatinx Studies in no way hopes to contribute to the erasure of these voices but instead works towards challenging hegemonic narratives of Asian and Latinx identity while simultaneously refuting to detract from the importance of the aforementioned groups.

Asian Diaspora in Latin America

The Asian diaspora in Latin America has existed for centuries, dating as early as the 16th century by Spanish colonization of the Philippines and enslavement of Asian people across the continent.[24] Diaspora is defined as "the scattering and migration of minority groups who have a common ancestral homeland, reside in several foreign areas, share a common culture, hold similar aspirations and beliefs, and maintain some kind of linkage with a homeland."[25] Since then, the Asian diaspora has primarily existed in Latin America because of the increasing labor demands from the 19th century to the present. In this section, I document how the Asian diaspora has become a part of Latin America and the various communities that continue to exist today. The readings included are not a comprehensive list of all the published works on the Asian diaspora in Latin America or all the existing Asian communities in Latin America; instead, let this section serve as an understanding that the Asian diaspora has largely existed across Latin American for centuries.

Starting as early as the sixteenth century to situate the Asian diaspora in Latin America, Tatiana Seijas does what no other historian has done before in her book *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico.* She captures the transnational, transpacific colonial enslavement of Asia by the Spanish

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24. Déborah Oropeza Keresey, "La Esclavitud Asiática En El Virreinato de La Nueva España, 1565-1673," *Historia Mexicana*, 2011, 5–57; Rubén Carrillo, "Asia Llega a América. Migración e Influencia Cultural Asiática En Nueva España (1565-1815)," *Asiadémica: Revista Universitaria de Estudios Sobre Asia Oriental*, no. 03 (2014): 81–98; Déborah Oropeza, "La Migración Asiática Libre al Centro Del Virreinato Novohispano, 1565-1700," *Relaciones. Estudios de Historia y Sociedad* 37, no. 147 (2016): 347–63; Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians*, Cambridge Latin American Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Déborah Oropeza, *La Migración Asiática En El Virreinato de La Nueva España:: Un Proceso de Globalización (1565-1700)* (El Colegio de Mexico AC, 2020).

25. Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940*, Pbk. ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 5.

empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Beginning in the slave markets in Manila, Seijas traces how the reductionistic categorization of all Asian peoples as "chinos," complicated the experiences and lives of Asian slaves as they were forced across the Pacific Ocean and across the Americas. As Seijas conducted her archival work, the categorization of slaves from Asia as "chinos" becomes symbolic, so much that we continue to see the derogatory use of the word to simply call all Asian people "chinos" today across Latin America. She writes the following on "chinos":

> On arrival to Mexico, slave owners and Spanish official grouped them together, overlooked their social and linguistic differences, and categorized them all as *chinos*. Chinos came to be treated under the law as Indians (the term for all native people of Spain's colonies) and became indigenous vassals of the Spanish crown after 1672. The implications of this legal change were enormous: As Indians, rather than chinos, they could no longer be held as slaves.[26]

Throughout the book we begin to understand the placement of "chinos" in relation to Indians and the larger Spanish colonizer in Mexico. By centering the experiences of the larger "chino" enslavement in Mexico, Seijas concentrates on the interconnectedness of Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Europe in a way that has never been seen before. The use of this broad framework in regard to "chinos" emphasizes how coerced labor is directly related to colonial expansion and forced global migration. Centering "chinos" in the larger colonial narrative challenges assumptions of the slave experience in the Americas, particularly in Mexico. Seijas spent two years consulting archives in Spain and Mexico, to formulate a comprehensive understanding of chino lived experiences from the entire 17th century.

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26. Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians*, Cambridge Latin American Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1.

Her book follows not only a chronological order, but also the trajectory of "chino" slaves and their resistance to slavery until the abolition of slavery in Mexico at the end of the seventeenth century. Ultimately what Seijas argues in her book is that to date, her book is the first to trace "chinos'" origins in Asia and reconstructs the narrative of their lives in Mexico. "Told in full, 'chinos' story changes our understanding of the history of slavery and ethnic interactions in this part of the Americas."[27] In her book she argues that "chinos'" have changed our understanding of the history of slavery and ethnic interactions in Mexico and other parts of Latin America. I would also add that Seijas delves into the complexities of racialization and exclusion as we see Spanish society claim all people from Asia to be "chino" and then throughout various occasions "chinos'" becoming Indian in Mexico by association to the state or through the Catholic church. One could argue that legally "chinos" at some point became Indian and therefore complicated indigeneity even further in Mexico, as Indian became a form of legal citizenship that granted many privileges that "chino" slaves were not afforded. As we see later on in the 19th and 20th century, I argue this legal changing of identification could further complicate Mexico's notion of mestizaje and the nationalist transition into embracing the mixing of Indigenous and Spanish people while ostracizing those mixed with Asian ancestry. To largely understand how Asian diaspora has existed in the Americas and Latin America, it is important to recognize the large, forced enslavement of Asians across the continent through the Manila salve market by the Spanish empire. Understanding how racialization processes of the Asian population largely reduced them to "chinos" set a precedent for the receival of the Asian diaspora for future generations as we will see with the following texts.

27. Seijas, 7.

Clara Chu's bibliography is an important entry point into understanding the expansive field of Asian Diaspora in Latin America.[28] Chu's selected bibliography considers works on Asians in Latin American from 1990-2002. She sections her bibliography by the following: *Asians (and works on more than one group), Chinese, East Indians, Japanese, Javanese (Indonesian),* and *Koreans*, with subheaders including where these Asian groups are situated in Latin America. Chu states that research on Asians in Latin America has primarily been historical, focusing primarily on Chinese, East Indians, and Japanese.[29] In this bibliography, Chu alludes to how we come to understand the Asian diaspora in Latin America. By highlighting that most literature is primarily historical, we fail to see these diasporic communities outside of the historical context in contemporary contexts. The main limitation of this selected bibliography is that it is challenging to document all literature written about the Asian diaspora in Latin America. While this is a comprehensive list of scholars in her bibliography, she misses out on scholars who have been foundational to the Asian diaspora in Latin America today. In agreeance with Chu, literature published on the Asian diaspora during this time has been primarily historical, and one crucial historian that was not mentioned in the bibliography but has made a significant contribution to Asian diaspora in Latin America is Evelyn Hu-DeHart.

While focusing primarily on the Chinese diaspora, Evelyn Hu-DeHart has shaped understandings of Asian diaspora, primarily on the Chinese diaspora due to labor demands in Cuba, Mexico, and Peru.[30] In her early scholarship on Chinese diaspora to Mexico titled,

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28. Clara M. Chu, "Asians in Latin America: A Selected Bibliography, 1990–2002," *Amerasia Journal* 28, no. 2 (2002): 235–45.

29. Chu, 236.

30. Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Immigrants to a Developing Society: The Chinese in Northern Mexico, 1875–1932," *The Journal of Arizona History* 21, no. 3 (1980): 275–312; Evelyn Hu-

"Immigrants to a Developing Society," Evelyn Hu-DeHart explains the history behind Chinese migration to Northern Mexico, often searching for developing areas where they could economically prosper. Using archives such as newspapers, government documents, and José Angel Espinoza's *El Ejemplo de Sonora,* which contains information regarding Chinese diasporic life in Mexico, Hu-DeHart shows us how the resistance to acculturation and economic success quickly turned into hostility towards Chinese migrants as Mexican nationalism increased during the start of the Mexican Revolution. By unveiling the resistance that the Chinese laborers were met with upon migrating to Mexico, Hu-DeHart provides a vital insight into Chinese life in Mexico during the 19th and 20th centuries. Moreover, this article and her scholarship on the Chinese in Mexico were a boon to the nascent broadening field of Asian diaspora to Latin America.

Hu-DeHart's pioneering scholarship on Asian diaspora across Latin America, mainly centers the Chinese diaspora in Mexico. However, we can trace literature on the Chinese in Mexico as early as the 1960s.[31] In Cumberland's article, he traces how Mexico responded to the influx of Chinese immigrants in the 20th century to Baja California and Sonora after signing the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Mexico and China. Since labor was cheaper to import at the time, Mexicans hired Chinese male laborers to work in Mexico, and soon after, Chinese communities, albeit small, began establishing across all of Mexico. Cumberland analyzes a series

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DeHart, "Coolies, Shopkeepers, Pioneers: The Chinese of Mexico and Peru (1849–1930)," *Amerasia Journal* 15, no. 2 (1989): 91–116; Evelyn Hu-Dehart, "Chinese Coolie Labour in Cuba in the Nineteenth Century: Free Labour or Neo-Slavery?," *Slavery and Abolition* 14, no. 1 (1993): 67–86; Evelyn Hu-DeHart, *Across the Pacific: Asian Americans and Globalization*, vol. 2 (Temple University Press, 2000).

31. Charles C. Cumberland, "The Sonora Chinese and the Mexican Revolution," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1960): 191–211.

of governmental documents as his primary source of methodology, mainly US consular dispatches to Mexico, and José Angel Espinoza's *Ejemplo de Sonora.*[32] In Sonora, Cumberland argues that the Chinese laborers were forced to flee the state because the Mexican Revolution in Mexico was grounded in excluding foreigners from the country. Thus, revolutionaries were used as tools to fuel the animosity towards the Chinese laborers working in the state of Sonora. This study has become foundational to the understanding of Chinese labor in Mexico during the 19th and 20th centuries, and since then, scholars have meticulously studied the Chinese community in Mexico.

Labor demands have been pivotal for Asian migration to Latin America. Robert Chao Romero's *The Chinese in Mexico 1882-1940* displays how labor needs in Mexico saw an influx of Asian immigrants in the 19th and 20th century, particularly due to the US Chinese Exclusion act of 1882.[33] Although it largely began as a labor movement, many Chinese migrants changed occupations and became merchants. Chao Romero argues that the Chinese created a national commercial orbit in resistance and adaptation to the Chinese exclusion laws of the United States.[34] He supports this by utilizing a "diasporic transnational approach" to examine Chinese immigration to Mexico within the context of the global Chinese diaspora of the mid-nineteenth through the early twentieth century.[35] Claiming that Chinese immigrants were the first "undocumented immigrants," the author highlights that the transnational commercial orbit led to

32. José Angel Espinoza, *El Ejemplo de Sonora ...*, 1. ed. (México, 1932).

33. Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 5.

34. Chao Romero, 5.

35. Chao Romero, 6.

the smuggling of Asian immigrants into the United States from Mexico and the search for economic opportunities in the growing Mexican economy.

Chao Romero accomplishes this through the use of Mexican and US archival sources: more specifically, the Mexican census records, municipal manuscripts, interviews of Chinese immigrants conducted by US immigration services, and US consular and Treasury Department reports.[36] He most importantly utilizes Chinese Exclusion Act case files from the Immigration and Naturalization Service and 1930 Mexican municipal census manuscripts, with the former scarcely used and the latter never been used prior to his study on the Chinese in Mexico.

The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940, concludes by explaining the importance of the Chinese in Mexico, especially in his suggestion to reconsider indeed what mestizaje truly means, considering the sizable population of Chinese Mexicans during the Mexican revolution — ultimately alluding to the expansion of Chicanx, Latin American, and Asian American studies to include AsianLatinx scholarship in both historical and contemporary contexts across Latin America and the United States. One limitation regarding the AsianLatinx community is that his analysis of the Chinese and Mexican community interethnic relations ends with intermarriage. Scarcely does Chao Romero speak on the children of these intermarriages and he does not look into how they were navigating an identity that was seen throughout Mexico during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Julia María Schiavone Camacho's *Chinese Mexicans* continues the research on Chinese diaspora in Latin America and more specifically the Chinese in Mexico during the 19th and 20th century. In her book, Camacho follows the path of various Chinese Mexican families. Following

36. Chao Romero, 9.

these families, Camacho traces how Chinese Mexicans fluidly identified as Mexican, Chinese, and/or Chinese Mexican as deportations and exclusionary policies forced many Chinese Mexicans to create trilateral transnational identities between Mexico, the United States, and China. In this book Camacho details the history of Chinese Mexican challenges understanding of nationalities, borders, belonging and largely mestizaje. By informing us of the long history that the Chinese community has had in Mexico, we better understand the large efforts conducted to eradicate and erase the existence of the vibrant Chinese Mexican community we continue to see today. By including a transpacific framework for identity formation, we see how Chinese Mexicans negotiated and maneuvered an identity intertwined with multiple diasporas. She employs the use of Chinese Mexicans beyond an identity marker. She writes:

> The complex ties formed between Mexicans and Chinese in the Northern Mexico during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and the integration of Chinese men into local communities led to racial and cultural fusion and over time to the formation of a new cultural identity. Racially and culturally hybrid families straddled the boundaries of identity and nation. They made alternating claims on Chineseness and Mexicanness during their quest to belong somewhere, especially as social and political uproar erupted in Mexico, the United States, and China.[37]

The use of Chinese Mexicans and understanding their experience through personal narratives is important and crucial to understanding the larger historical contexts of the Chinese Mexicans in Mexico. Camacho also employs a borderlands migration framework, defining it as the following:

> [borderlands migration framework] It views with one lens Chinese exclusion, the deportation of Mexicans from the United States, Chinese expulsion from Northern Mexico, and Chinese Mexican repatriation. It approaches the history of Chinese Mexicans via human relations and identity formation.[38]

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37. Julia María Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910-1960* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2012), 3.

38. Camacho, 14.

To center the Chinese Mexicans and their lived realities during the 19th and 20th centuries allows us to further grasp the broader exclusionary practices Mexico, the United States, and China imposed onto the Chinese Mexican communities, by rendering them stateless. Camacho delves into these lived realities through the use of various archives across the world, in particular English and Spanish archival and oral histories collected in Mexico, the United States, Macau, and Hong Kong. She also claims to be the first historian to implement the use of Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) documents on Chinese Mexicans during the nationally recognized "refugee crisis" of Chinese migration to the United States in the 1900s. Using these archives, we can understand the legal and political understandings and sentiment towards Chinese Mexicans and how they were forced to be deported to China, despite the wives and children of many of these Chinese Mexican families being born in Mexico.

Camacho's book complicates understandings of national identity formation, particularly by centering the family and interpersonal relations as key to identity formation within diaspora studies.[39] Ultimately, Camacho argues that this book aids in the reclamation of Chinese Mexicans within Mexican nationalist identity and Mexican and borderlands history.[40] Following a chronological understanding of Chinese Mexican migration and national identity, Camacho outlines her book into eight chapters. Chapter one opens with the migration of Chinese men from the Guangdong Province to the border region of Northern Mexico. With particular focus to the intermarriages and relationships, we see how the Chinese became integral to the local Mexican society in the early 20th century. Chapter two turns towards the anti-Chinese campaigns that

39. Camacho, 2–3.

40. Camacho, 9.

coincided with the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Chapter three follows this anti-Chinese movement into the depression era, where Chinese were eventually expelled from Sonora and Sinaloa. The expelled Chinese Mexicans end up moving to the United States where in chapter four we see that many were deported back to China, including their Mexican wives who were born in Mexico. This creates an issue that becomes central to chapter five, where Camacho follows the families deported from the US and expelled from Mexico back to China. Here we see how these families appealed to the Mexican authority to return back to Mexico. Chapter six delves into the lived realities of the Mexican women and their Chinese Mexican children who had to adjust to life in China. Chapter seven leads us towards the repatriation of the Chinese Mexican community back to Mexico which became a struggle of over three decades. The final chapter takes us back to Mexico to understand how the Chinese Mexican communities reclaimed their place in the Mexican nation-state. Camacho closes the book with a conclusion on how the Chinese Mexican community began to claim the Mexican identity during their forceful return to China and how their process can help us understand the process of diasporic identity formation in Mexico, the US, and China for Chinese Mexican communities.

Chinese Mexicans is an important book to understand not only the history and experiences of Chinese Mexicans in Mexico, the United States, and China, but more broadly how transnational identity challenges dominant nationalist identity and discourse. Camacho challenges mestizaje and what diasporic identity means to those that are away from their homeland; in this case when Chinese Mexicans identified strongly as Mexican when they were deported to China from the United States or expelled from Mexico.

However, the experiences of Chinese Mexicans were not the same across Mexico, even between the northern regions. In *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown,* Castillo-Muñoz takes the

reader to Baja California in the early 20th century.[41] Castillo-Muñoz opens with the vignette of Maria Librada Wong Duarte and Alejandro Vicente Wong Duarte, Chinese Mexicans, or AsianLatinxs, born in La Paz, Baja California in the 1910s.[42] The new generation of Chinese Mexicans was a common sight in Baja California, and similar to previous scholars writing on the Chinese in Mexico were a result of labor influx from Chinese migrants.[43] Unlike previous research on Asian migration to Mexico centered on Chinese migrants, Castillo-Muñoz denotes that Japanese and Chinese men were intermarrying with mestizo and native women in Mexico.[44] The purpose of Castillo-Muñoz's chapter is to grapple with the complications of mestizaje. By turning to the AsianLatinx Japanese Mexicans and Chinese Mexicans, the author grapples with mestizaje's tensions and how it both incorporated and excluded people from various ethnic and racial backgrounds in Baja California.[45] With José Vasconcelos as head of Mexico's Department

41. Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, "Intermarriage and the Making of a Multicultural Society in the Baja California Borderlands," in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr, and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 49–70.

42. Castillo-Muñoz, 49.

43. Julia María Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910-1960* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2012); Grace Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Stanford University Press, 2013); Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Coolies, Shopkeepers, Pioneers: The Chinese of Mexico and Peru (1849–1930)," *Amerasia Journal* 15, no. 2 (1989): 91–116; Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940*, Pbk. ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011).

44. Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, "Intermarriage and the Making of a Multicultural Society in the Baja California Borderlands," in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr, and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 49–70, 50.

45. Castillo-Muñoz, 50.

of Education and pushing forth *La Raza Cosmica*, Chinese-Mexicans in Baja California could participate in public life with limitations, such as speaking Cantonese at home, but Spanish at school. In juxtaposition to the rest of Northern Mexico and specifically Sonora with the anti-Chinese movement, the Asian Mexican people in Baja California to this day still participate in the Chinese Association, "challenging marginalization and discrimination by appropriating and shaping their own conceptions of *Mexicanidad*."[46] The Asian Mexicans in Baja California exemplify what it means to be resilient, and that historical exclusion does not dictate how they choose to identify as Mexican, Asian, or Asian Mexican.

Although a majority of the canon on Asian diaspora has centered around the Chinese diaspora and more extensive studies centered around the diaspora to Mexico, some key scholars have looked towards the Chinese diaspora in Cuba[47]. In Kathleen Lopez's *Chinese Cubans,* the author delves into the transnational history of Chinese Cuban migrants and their multiple identities as Chinese and Cubans in the 19th and 20th centuries. Lopez provides insight into the coolie system and indentured servitude in Cuba and how many Chinese migrants became so coerced into these systems that many never had the opportunity to return to China and remained in Cuba. Lopez claims that much of the historical scholarship available in Cuba remains in the

46. Castillo-Muñoz, 65-66.

47. Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Chinese Contract Labor in the Wake of the Abolition of Slavery in the Americas: A New Form of Slavery or Transition to Free Labor in the Case of Cuba?," *Amerasia Journal* 45, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 6–26; Evelyn Hu-Dehart, "Chinese Coolie Labour in Cuba in the Nineteenth Century: Free Labour or Neo-Slavery?," *Slavery and Abolition* 14, no. 1 (1993): 67–86; Mauro García Triana and Pedro Eng Herrera, *The Chinese in Cuba, 1847-Now*, vol. 1 (Lexington books, 2009); Wong Chun Foo, "The Chinese in Cuba," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend* 19, no. 4 (1874): 107–8; Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Temple University Press, 2008).

period of the coolie trade from 1847 to 1874, leaving the transition from indentured servitude to free laborers untouched. By focusing on this period of post-emancipation, she writes:

> This book examines how racist ideologies in a multiethnic society, class stratification, gender imbalance, kinship and business networks, and generational differences converged to shape Chinese identities in Cuba. Situated between the Spanish and Qing empires, or the Cuban and Chinese republics, the Chinese in Cuba did not conform to political and legal definitions of national identity and citizenship. Chinese migrants themselves altered both official and popular conceptions of what it meant to be Chinese or Cuban in different contexts.[48]

Lopez also engages with the resistive efforts of the Chinese migrant and Chinese Cubans communities, paying particular attention to the legal system, marriage, interracial alliances, and participation of ethnic associations. She draws on the connectedness of the African and Asian diaspora in the Americas to highlight how Chinese Cubans leaned on the African community to build across racial and ethnic lines while simultaneously understanding the limitations of such solidarity movements in a racialized Cuban society.

To accomplish this historiography of Chines Cuban identity formation post-emancipation, Lopez centers the book on two research questions: what can the Asian presence tell us about constructions of national identity in Latin American and the Caribbean? With its dominant theories of racial harmony and transculturation, what accounts for the continued surfacing of anti-Chinese sentiment?[49] To answer these questions, Lopez employs the use of a transnational and hemispheric perspective. In this case, she geographically centers Cuba, emphasizing the historical nature of the Chinese Cuban community, and most importantly, centers on the experiences and significance of transnational migration via everyday life. She does

48. Kathleen López, *Chinese Cubans: A Transnational History* (UNC Press Books, 2013), 5.

49. López, 8.

this through archival documents and oral histories of Chinese migrants, returned migrants, and their descendants across China, Cuba, and the United States.

Lopez outlines her book into three parts. Part one follows the Chinese migrant community and transitions from coolie labor to free agricultural laborers and entrepreneurs in Cuba. Part two examines the Chinese as migrants between the collapse of the Spanish empire in 1898 and the Qing dynasty in 1911, and the formation of new Cuban and Chinese republics. Chinese participation in the independence wars and inclusion in a Cuban national narrative provided them with a basis for citizenship in the new nation. However, restrictive immigration laws and anti-Chinese discourse at the outset of the Cuban republic continued to make belonging to that nation anything but possible. Part three explores the developing Chinese Cuban transnational communities and the process of becoming Cuban. Lopez also delves into the complexities of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions and the effects of migration and transnational ties. "This study concludes with an epilogue discussing today and the descendants of Chinese migrants. the question of the position of the Chinese in Cuba resurfaced in official and popular discourse, now recognized as a strategic element furthering economic and diplomatic relations in China."[50]

Chinese Cubans is a critical book to situate with the literature on the Chinese diaspora in Latin America. It can be argued that the Chinese Cuban community had a different experience in terms of being accepted than in other places in Latin America, such as Mexico. The transition from coolie labor to free labor is an essential contribution to understanding the diaspora and how we continue to see the ever-present Chinese Cuban communities throughout Cuba; albeit considerably. However, the enclave's present demonstrates that the Chinese Cuban community

50. López, 12.

continues to be active and present. Not only on their own accord but nationally recognized by the Cuban government, something that we have not seen in comparison to Mexico, where today we continue to see the silences and denial of genocide committed by the Mexican state onto the Chinese migrant and Chinese Mexican community.

Moving from the Chinese diaspora, it is important to note Ignacio López-Calvo's recently published book on Japanese Brazilians.[51] In his book, he examines the ways Brazilian cultural production created by Japanese Brazilian scholars is often portrayed as Japanese rather than Brazilian. He is primarily interested in how the Nikkei community has progressively delinked from Japan and has shifted into identifying with the host country through mainstream culture, language, national history, and society.[52] He supports his interest by choosing to focus on literature, art cinema, and documentary, "because, in my view, they develop and reveal complex postwar Nikkei identarian issues, articulate a collective Japanese Brazilian discourse, and provide a voice for this historically silenced group in a deeper way…"[53] Although López-Calvo is not the only scholar researching the Japanese-Brazilian community, it is necessitated that we understand why he chooses to look at cultural production beyond any other methodology.[54] He has encountered what I have encountered while researching AsianLatinx identity; often, these communities are relegated to the subaltern and silenced. Therefore, this book highlights the

51. Ignacio López-Calvo, *Japanese Brazilian Saudades: Diasporic Identities and Cultural Production* (University Press of Colorado, 2019).

52. Ignacio López-Calvo, 9.

53. Ignacio López-Calvo, 12.

54. Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil*, Illustrated edition (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press Books, 1999); Jerry García, *Looking Like the Enemy: Japanese Mexicans, the Mexican State, and US Hegemony, 1897–1945*, First edition (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014).

importance and need for an AsianLatinx Studies field to create agency and understand that mixed people of Asian descent exist in places like Mexico, Cuba, and Brazil.[55] What follows is a comparative section in which I compare the existing literature through thematic connections. I draw on the literature of the Chinese Mexican, Chinese Cuban, and Japanese Brazilian community to connect experiences of AsianLatinxs across Latin America.

The Asian diaspora has existed in Latin America since the *Nueva España era*, yet these histories often go unrecognized because of the national suppression of Latin American country's denial of Asian enslavement. I open with this statement to clarify that Asians of Latinx descent are not some new phenomena that recently sprouted or peaked interest. The Asian diaspora, largely through the Manila slave trade system in the Philippines controlled by the Spanish empire, created the system of enslaved Asian people forcibly moved to the Americas.[56] Upon my literature review of the current Asian diaspora in Latin America, it was noticeable that most prominent literature is focused on Chinese migrants and other east Asian countries to Mexico, Cuba, and Brazil. While I cannot cover the entirety of the Asian diaspora across Latin America, I believe my coverage of the chosen texts does reflect the current state of the field. Clara Chu, in her article on the selected bibliography, certainly reflects this conclusion as well.[57] The Asian

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55. Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Chinatowns and Borderlands: Inter-Asian Encounters in the Diaspora," *Modern Asian Studies*, 2012, 425–51.

56. Déborah Oropeza, *La Migración Asiática En El Virreinato de La Nueva España:: Un Proceso de Globalización (1565-1700)* (El Colegio de Mexico AC, 2020); Déborah Oropeza Keresey, "La Esclavitud Asiática En El Virreinato de La Nueva España, 1565-1673," *Historia Mexicana*, 2011, 5–57; Rubén Carrillo, "Asia Llega a América. Migración e Influencia Cultural Asiática En Nueva España (1565-1815)," *Asiadémica: Revista Universitaria de Estudios Sobre Asia Oriental*, no. 03 (2014): 81–98. Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians*, Cambridge Latin American Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

57. Clara M. Chu, "Asians in Latin America: A Selected Bibliography, 1990–2002," *Amerasia Journal* 28, no. 2 (2002): 235–45.

diaspora reflects broader trends of labor demands to places such as Mexico and Cuba. In Mexico, we saw that Chinese labor was sought out specifically after signing the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between China and Mexico, creating a system that saw Chinese migrant labor as more affordable than domestic Mexican labor.[58]

We see the impact of Chinese migration to Mexico in Hu-Dehart, Romero, Camacho, and others, highlighting to the reader that the Chinese migrants were not met with open arms from Mexican nationals.[59] Sinophobia led to the removal of Chinese migrants in Sonora and Sinaloa, Mexico because of the economic competition that many of these migrant laborers signified to broader Mexican society. It is not until Romero, Camacho, and Castillo-Muñoz turn to the intimacies between Chinese migrants and Mexicans via intermarriages and the Chinese Mexican families in Mexico that we can delve into the mixed experiences of AsianLatinxs in Latin America.[60] Up until Castillo-Muñoz's article, the outwardly embracement of a mixed Chinese Mexican identity was one that was silenced. That is, the Chinese Mexican community in Baja

58. Charles C. Cumberland, "The Sonora Chinese and the Mexican Revolution," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1960): 191–211.

59. Julia María Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910-1960* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2012); Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940*, Pbk. ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011); Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, "Intermarriage and the Making of a Multicultural Society in the Baja California Borderlands," in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr, and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 49–70, 50.

60. Julia María Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910-1960* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2012); Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, "Intermarriage and the Making of a Multicultural Society in the Baja California Borderlands," in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr, and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 49–70; Grace Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Stanford University Press, 2013).

California has expressed their appreciation for their mixed identity in an attempt to reclaim what *Mexicanidad* means to them.[61] Castillo-Muñoz challenges mestizaje and the privileges it awards to those who are mixed with Spanish ancestry (whiteness) by examining the erasure of mestizo Chinese Mexicans in Mexico. From the scarcely documented intermarriages between Chinese men and Mexican women to transforming segregated neighborhoods into Chinese Mexican communities in Baja California, Chinese Mexicans have resisted and carved out their identities and own conceptions of *Mexicanidad.*[62] A framework that centers AsianLatinx experiences or a subfield concentrated on the experiences of Chinese Mexicans, and the ways that mixed Chinese Mexicans by way of their identity are able to foster transnational forms of communities that move beyond arbitrary racial optics and physical borders. Castillo-Muñoz leaves the reader with the following, "Multiracial border towns like Mexicali extended across transnational borders and shaped communities by influencing labor practices, border politics, and migrations patterns in US-Mexico borderlands."[63] AsianLatinx Studies serves as an opportunity to resume where many Asian diaspora scholars end by also looking towards the generation after the intermarriages, often left out of the broader narrative in the literature on Asian diaspora in Latin America. If one were to center the lived experiences of AsianLatinx people such as the Chinese Mexicans, there would be an opportunity to understand better the consequences of the (forced) labor migration for the Chinese diaspora. Castillo-Muñoz hints to the reader that Chinese Mexicans are actively

61. Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, "Intermarriage and the Making of a Multicultural Society in the Baja California Borderlands," in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr, and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 49–70.

62. Castillo-Muñoz, 66.

63. Castillo-Muñoz, 66.

preserving their culture and identity, remaining committed to their cultural associations, and redefining not only *Mexicanidad* but, more broadly, mestizaje. The Chinese Mexican community is committed to shaping their understandings of their identity that I argue negates and disregards whiteness in what traditionally constitutes mestizaje. Thus, mestizaje to the Chinese Mexican community does not inherently acknowledge a mixing with Spanish ancestry, instead a mixing of Chinese and Mexican ancestry.

Similarly, Chao Romero, in his conclusion to *The Chinese in Mexico,* alludes to this reconfiguration of mestizaje.[64] Chao Romero writes:

> One of the central implications of this book is that such traditional notions of mestizaje must be revisited and revised to account for the significant cultural contributions made by the Chinese to Mexican society and the process of postrevolutionary Mexican racial formation.[65]

He explains that his book does not just contribute to theoretical understandings of mestizaje but also historically contextualizes the increasing contemporary Asian-Latino population, Asian-Latino relations, and Asian-Latino coalition building.[66] The growing number of AsianLatinxs in the United States warrants the need to create a field of AsianLatinx or "Chino-Chicano" studies field as Chao Romero playfully writes. He suggests that such would fuse Latin American studies, Chicano/Latino Studies, and Asian American studies to uncover and analyze Asian contributions to Latin American and Chicano/Latino culture and identity.[67]

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64. Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940*, Pbk. ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011).

65. Chao Romero, 196.

66. Chao Romero, 196.

67. Chao Romero, 197.

The proposition for a field that looks at AsianLatinxs, in this case Chinese-Chicanos thus has existed prior to my proposal in this master's thesis. What I fundamentally do is expand and include other ethnic groups from Asia and Latin America, centering their ethnic mixed identities and cultural fusion beyond the context of Chinese and Mexican relations. Chao Romero suggests to the reader that a Chino-Chicano centered field allows us to look not only to the past but to the contemporary to understand relations between Chinese and Chicano communities across the world. Ultimately Chao Romero ends with the following statement on an AsianLatinx Studies field:

> Chino-Chicano studies would examine the historical and sociological experiences of Chicanos/Latinos of Chinese, Asian, and partial Asian ancestry living in the United States. As specific topics of research, it would analyze their cultural adaptation experiences in the United States and the variations of ethnic/cultural identity possessed by this unique segment of the Chicano/Latino community. Insofar as this book offers an analysis of Chinese immigration and settlement in Mexico during the early twentieth century, it provides the historical context for understanding contemporary Chino-Chicano identity and cultural relations and represents a small but important step towards the development of the new field of Asian-Latino, or Chino-Chicano studies.[68]

Chao Romero was conceptualizing an ethnic studies field that considers the cultural impact and lived realities of Chinese Mexican peoples living in the United States since his book was published in 2010. Since then, not much has been published within these fields pertaining to the mixed race AsianLatinx experience, as I have noted throughout the literature review. Although his book is primarily based on the influx of Chinese migrant laborers and merchants to Mexico in the late 19th and 20th century, Chao Romero's conclusion to expand studies to include the experiences of mixed AsianLatinx people points to a necessary intervention that has yet to gain traction although it is much needed. The study of AsianLatinx people across the Americas is

68. Chao Romero, 197.

one that we seldom see, often centering the interrelationship between Asian and Latinx people rather than the generation after. I would argue that this is the case because mixed AsianLatinx people are not afforded the same visibility in the United States in terms of mixed identity pertaining to whiteness and mestizaje narratives across Latin America that favor Spanish mixture. We fail to see the connections of the Asian diaspora in Latin America, the generation after, the children of these intermarriages, and how they navigate their identity and understand racialized perceptions.

Within Castillo-Muñoz's book, we see her interrogate mestizaje and its purpose in reinscribing dominant racialized narratives.[69] By using archival material such as census records and oral histories, Castillo-Muñoz compares how the Chinese Mexican community was socially excluded in Northern Mexico, while in Baja California, Chinese Mexicans began changing neighborhood demographics. To this day, there are large Chinese Mexican communities in Baja California, and they continue to challenge *Mexicanidad* as a means of resistance.

We saw in López-Calvos' book that Japanese Brazilians were perceived as monoethnically Japanese rather than Brazilian, underscoring not only how the individual is perceived but also how Brazilian society has dictated who can and cannot identify as Brazilian.[70] By including Nikkei Japanese Brazilian works of cultural productions, the artists analyzed are able to situate themselves in Brazilian society. Lopez-Calvo writes:

> …these works reflect a lived experience that has drawn new, transnational, and unstable maps beyond the Brazilian and Japanese national borders while concomitantly building

69. Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, "Intermarriage and the Making of a Multicultural Society in the Baja California Borderlands," in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr, and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 49–70.

70. Ignacio López-Calvo, *Japanese Brazilian Saudades: Diasporic Identities and Cultural Production* (University Press of Colorado, 2019).

symbolic bridges between the two countries, as well as the third space of liminality and hybridization.[71]

The use of the third space is not a new phenomenon; López-Calvo situates Japanese Brazilian Nikkei as problematizing the liminal space of fictional national culture, and their identity as a tool for resistance for diasporic minority identity formation. López-Calvo argues that the Nikkei are challenging racial democracy, contesting the Brazilian myth that the founding races, Indigenous, Black, and white, were the only races present and reconstructing idealized histories of the development of the Brazilian nation.[72]

AsianLatinxs have existed and continue to exist throughout Latin America. In this chapter, I looked primarily towards three specific groups: Chinese Mexicans, Chinese Cubans, and Japanese Brazilians. The literature present on AsianLatinxs in Latin America allows us to better understand how AsianLatinx identity has been racialized and navigated across various time periods. Except for López-Calvo's book and Castillo-Muñoz's chapter, most scholars focus on the reasons for Asian migration to Latin American and the effects of these interethnic relations between the Asian migrant community and the host country. [73] One subfield of a field like AsianLatinx Studies could move beyond the tensions and look towards the generation after—the second generation.

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71. López-Calvo, 15–16.

72. López-Calvo, 19.

73. Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, "Intermarriage and the Making of a Multicultural Society in the Baja California Borderlands," in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr, and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 49–70; Ignacio López-Calvo, *Japanese Brazilian Saudades: Diasporic Identities and Cultural Production* (University Press of Colorado, 2019).

By focusing on the generation after, we can ask questions in regard to identity formation, negotiation, and navigation, refute dominant monoracial hierarchies across the Americas, and resume where many of these diasporic scholars end their studies. Many scholars have covered the Asian diaspora across the Americas and much greater detail than I have here in this thesis.[74] However, I acknowledge that the studies on Asian diaspora to Latin America that I did review primarily centralize Chinese migrants to Latin American because of increasing labor demands from Latin America. The limitations of this field in that the primary foci are the cause and effect of migration from Asia to Latin America excludes the generation after, the children of the diaspora, and how often times they are mixed children of Asian and Latinx descent. These limitations, I argue, underscore the opportunity for a field of AsianLatinx Studies to look towards

74. Evelyn Hu-DeHart, *Across the Pacific: Asian Americans and Globalization*, vol. 2 (Temple University Press, 2000); Seiichi Higashide, *Adios to Tears: The Memoirs of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in US Concentration Camps* (University of Washington Press, 2011); Luisa Marcela Ossa and Debbie Lee-DiStefano, *Afro-Asian Connections in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2018); Elliott Young, *Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era Through World War II* (UNC Press Books, 2014); Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians*, Cambridge Latin American Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Jason Oliver Chang, *Chino: Anti-Chinese Racism in Mexico, 1880-1940* (University of Illinois Press, 2017); Ignacio López-Calvo, *Imaging the Chinese in Cuban Literature and Culture* (University Press of Florida, 2008); Zelideth María Rivas and Debbie Lee-DiStefano, *Imagining Asia in the Americas* (Rutgers University Press, 2016); Ana Paulina Lee, *Mandarin Brazil: Race, Representation, and Memory* (Stanford University Press, 2018); Lok Siu, *Memories of a Future Home: Diasporic Citizenship of Chinese in Panama* (Stanford University Press, 2007); Fredy Gonzalez, *Paisanos Chinos: Transpacific Politics among Chinese Immigrants in Mexico* (Univ of California Press, 2017); Mauro García Triana and Pedro Eng Herrera, *The Chinese in Cuba, 1847-Now*, vol. 1 (Lexington books, 2009); Walton Look Lai and Chee Beng Tan, *The Chinese in Latin America and the Caribbean* (BRILL, 2010); Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Temple University Press, 2008); Daniel M. Masterson and Sayaka Funada-Classen, *The Japanese in Latin America*, vol. 135 (University of Illinois Press, 2004); Ximena Alba Villalever, *The Migration of Chinese Women to Mexico City* (Springer, 2020), Rachel Haejin Lim, "Ephemeral Nations: Between History and Diaspora in Kim Young-Ha's Black Flower," *Verge: Studies in Global Asias* 7, no. 1 (2021): 197–219.

these intimacies and how these AsianLatinx communities challenge hegemonic narratives, reclaim the meaning of mestizaje, and ultimately validate their existence in Latin America and Asia.

Current conversations within mixed race studies

In this chapter, I move beyond the historiography of the Asian diaspora in Latin America and delve into field of mixed race studies. The field has grown exponentially since the early published works of Maria Root.[75] Her seminal volume, *The Multiracial Experience,* opened a pathway for mixed race studies and critical mixed race studies. Root claims that people are ready for more comprehensive frameworks to discuss race and that more questions emerge than answers given.[76] Root introduces what she calls the *Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed Peoples* which she developed to include the following as an understanding to the mixed race experience: "a critical number of multiracial people of an age in positions to give voice to concerns and injustices; a biracial baby boom; and a continued social movement to dismantle racism."[77] She explains her "bill of rights" by dividing the bill into three sections: resistance, revolution, and change. She argues the purpose of this framework is to expose the ways our lives are entwined with various mechanics of oppression through systemic beliefs, biased data or interpretation of data, rationalization, and social distance.[78] She writes:

> If we resist this fragmentation, if we revolutionize the way we think about identity and the self in relationship to the *other*, we begin to free ourselves from an oppressive structure. When we refuse to garment ourselves or others, then we become capable of embracing the humanity in ourselves and the other.[79]

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75. Maria P. P. Root, *Love's Revolution: Interracial Marriage* (Temple University Press, 2001); Maria P. P. Root, *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier* (SAGE, 1996).

76. Maria P. P. Root, *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier* (SAGE, 1996), xxviii.

77. Root, 6.

78. Root, 14.

79. Root, 14.

Although Root wrote this volume nearly thirty years ago, it is important to understand her scholarship as a mixed race scholar. Although many scholars write on mixed identity with whiteness in her volume, her *Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed Peoples* is an example of the emerging conversations around mixed-race occurring in the late 20th century. She ends her volume offering the following:

> Whereas Du Bois insightfully forecast that the problem of the 20th century would be the color line, my hope is that the boundaries among and between races will be the new frontier for changing the direction and structures of race relations as we begin the new millennium.[80]

One limitation to Root and her work is that she functioned on the premise of understanding race as categorical, ultimately including no consideration for indigeneity into her understandings of mixed identity. That is, there is no inclusion of indigeneity in her original volumes outside of categorial understandings of mixed identity and therefore reinscribes settler racial logics to her contributions to mixed race studies. Since Roots volume, the field of mixed race studies has evolved in a multiplicity of ways. Most notably, how mixed race studies focus their attention on the experiences of nonwhite mixed people and identity formation for mixed people in transnational contexts. *The Sum of Our Parts* takes Maria Root's work on multiraciality and extends it to center the Asian American experience, thus disrupting the Black/white race paradigm seen within mixed race studies.[81] Not only that, but this work also looks into multiple minority relations and identity, thus expands preconceived understandings of mixed identity by negating and unsettling whiteness from the conversation in its entirety. The volume also seeks to

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80. Root, xxviii.

81. Teresa Williams-León and Cynthia L. Nakashima, *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans* (Temple University Press, 2001).

go beyond the United States' colonial borders, as we see in several essays of mixed Asian people worldwide in part four of the anthology, offering a perspective of multiracial consciousness beyond United States racial formations.[82] The last significant contribution to this volume is that most of the studies are sociological studies, while previous studies, almost in their entirety, were centered within psychology. Williams-León and Nakashima noted approaches to mixed race studies and intermarriages are moving beyond historical and psychological studies.[83] Expanding disciplines for the overarching field of mixed race studies is to begin looking at studies of mixed people beyond a psychological lens, allowing scholars to reconsider whom we can study and how we can continue studying the racial and ethnic dynamics of mixed people. As Michael Omi states in the foreword, this volume was long overdue for the year 2001.[84] Mixed Asian American identities have always been present in the United States since the earliest arrival and settlement of Asian immigrants. Thus, like Root's volume, this work also grounds the support for research on multiple minority AsianLatinx individuals. Most importantly, what this work does for the

82. Jan R. Weisman, "The Tiger and His Stripes: Thai and American Reactions to Tiger Woods's (Multi-)'Racial Self,'" *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed Heritage Asian Americans*, 2001, 231–43; Loraine Y. Van Tuyl, Teresa Williams-León, and Cynthia Nakashima, *The Racial Politics of Being Dogla and of "Asian" Descent in Suriname* (Temple University Press Philadelphia, PA, 2001); Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, "Multiethnic Lives and Monoethnic Myths: American-Japanese Amerasians in Japan," *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed Heritage Asian Americans*, 2001, 207–16; Mark Taylor Brinsfield, "A Dutch Eurasian Revival?," *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans*, 2001, 197–206; David Parker, T. Williams-Léon, and C. L. Nakashima, "We Paved the Way': Exemplary Spaces and Mixed Race in Britain," in *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed Heritage Asian Americans* (Temple University Press Philadelphia, 2001), 185–96.

83. Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, *When Half Is Whole: Multiethnic Asian American Identities*, 1st edition (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012).

84. Teresa Williams-León and Cynthia L. Nakashima, *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans* (Temple University Press, 2001), x.

field of AsianLatinx Studies is showcase that multiple minority literature and scholarship have existed since the early 2000s, allowing the justification to academic standards that nonwhite mixed people exist and that it is academia in its entirety that is behind on the realities for mixed AsianLatinx people. This volume also signifies that the specific subfield of AsianLatinx studies is not farfetched and limited, that the realities of nonwhite AsianLatinx people are a growing community in the United States, as we see throughout *The Sum of Our Parts.*

In *The Diversity Paradox,* Lee and Bean look towards the growing immigrant Latinx and Asian communities in the United States to understand how and why the Asian and Latinx community are intermarrying at the highest rates.[85] The authors focus primarily on intermarriage because they claim that racial, ethnic prejudice is declining via marriage mixing. While I do not believe that this is true, Lee and Bean assert, "both interracial marriage and multiracial identification thus speak volumes about the current meaning of racial status in American society; in particular, they signal where racial-groups boundaries are fading most rapidly and where they continue to endure."[86] Using mixed methods quantitative and qualitative methods, the authors consulted the American Community Survey and interviews of 36 intermarried couples and 46 multiracial people in California. They argue that "examining trends and patterns in both the quantitative and qualitative data will help determine where the color line is being draw in the twenty-first century."[87] Ultimately the authors conclude that the "diversity paradox" alludes to what they call "black exceptionalism" in which Black people intermarry at lower rates than

85. Jennifer Lee and Frank D. Bean, *The Diversity Paradox: Immigration and the Color Line in Twenty-First Century America* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2010), 17.

86. Lee and Bean, 17.

87. Lee and Bean, 17.

Asian and Latinx people. Their conclusions seem to point to intermarriage for Asians and Latinxs with white people to blend into whiteness in ways that Black people cannot. The study's implications ultimately question the color line and where it stands going into the 21st century. The authors believe that a Black/non-Black color line is formulating in the United States and that we must consider how these shifts occur as intermarriages and the multiracial communities in the United States continue to grow. However, it is important to note that these interviews occurred and took place with intermarried multiracial couples in California, where demographics in California are considerably different in comparison to the rest of the United States. This book alludes to and centers on the growing Asian and Latinx immigration populations in the United States and how they are intermarrying outside of their community, creating more multiracial people in the United States. The limitations of this book are the lack of focus central to Asian and Latinx intermarriages and the broad assumption that race prejudice will be eradicated through racial mixing. While one could argue that these communities are smaller, it is crucial to understand that intermarriages do not only occur with white people and that the multiple minority mixed community is continuing to grow year by year in the United States.

Rondilla, Guevarra Jr., and Spickard challenge whiteness and its place in the nascent critical mixed race studies field. In their pathbreaking anthology, *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, the contributors confront whiteness in the field of mixed race studies.[88] Claiming that "the study of multiracial people is the fastest-growing segment of ethnic studies," they note that the majority of scholarship concerns people who are part white, and the purpose of their book is not to be about those people, rather to center the experiences of racially mixed people from

88. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra, and Paul Spickard, *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown: Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies* (Rutgers University Press, 2017).

multiple minority backgrounds.[89] Moving away from the narratives, the scholars turn towards the changing racial landscape of the United States and locations worldwide, in which mixing is a commonality. The volume draws on "social, psychological and political situations of mixed race people from multiple minority backgrounds, that is, people who have links to two or more peoples of color."[90] The authors are adamant in curating a volume that decenters whiteness in multiracial studies and looks to the historically silenced mixed voices as an opportunity to engage with the understandings of race. *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown,* argues that the field of mixed race studies is moving beyond the need to engage whiteness, which I argue is also central to the field of AsianLatinx Studies. Rondilla, Guevarra Jr., and Spickard would most certainly agree there is a need for AsianLatinx Studies and would have indeed found a home within this volume.

Rebecca Romo's chapter, *"You're Not Black or Mexican Enough!"* in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, looks at the Blaxican population in Los Angeles and how authenticity policing enforces racial/ethnic boundaries for Blaxicans.[91] More specifically, Romo explores interactional power dynamics between monoracial people of color and mixed race people. "Racial/ethnic authenticity policing is at the core of many of these conflicting interactions, and how these interactions drive the development of new or post-civil rights hybrid racial/ethnic identities."[92]

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89. Rondilla, Guevarra Jr., and Spickard, 4.

90. Rondilla, Guevarra Jr., and Spickard, 8.

91. Rebecca Romo, "'You're Not Black or Mexican Enough!':," in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 127–44, 127.

92. Romo, 127.

She argues that Blaxicans exist at the borderlands between African American and Mexican American.[93] This in-between differs from white/minority mixed people because of phenotype, and the connection to two separate histories of oppression, thus choosing both identities rather than one or the other that is generally seen for white/minority multiracial people. Employing intersectionality, matrix of domination, and borderlands theory, Romo writes that Blaxicans have to navigate this in-between of not being Mexican or Black enough, thus motivating individuals to identify as Blaxican and not one or the other.[94] Through the use of in-depth interviews, Romo concludes that Blaxican identities are "undefined and fluid" and choose to identify in a shared struggle across their historically marginalized communities, choosing to identify with both and find common ground on liberation for both Black and Mexican communities.[95] Romo hints at the potentials of centralizing rather than excluding a multiple minority mixed person in conversations of solidarity as an opportunity to unify communities.

Similarly to Romo's claim of recognizing the mixedness of Blaxican, Maharaj Raju Desai makes the claim that Indipinos must be seen as a mixed group in his article *Bumbay in the Bay.* [96] The author opens with a vignette of his identity as an Indipino (Indian and Filipino) being questioned at a conference at the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS).[97]

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93. Romo, 128.

94. Romo, 129.

95. Romo, 140.

96. Maharaj Raju Desai, "Bumbay in the Bay:," in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 147–62.

97. Desai. 147.

Like the participants in Romo's chapter, Desai clarifies that he is not any different from other mestizos at the conference and that just because he is of mixed multiple minority heritage, he should not be questioned on identity authenticity. In this chapter, Desai explores the Indipino experience, relaying the importance of the nuances in an identity that goes beyond "Filipino Indian" and "Indian Filipino."[98] Indipino moves beyond the hyphenation of ethnic identity, denoting that identifying through hyphenation splits both self and community.[99] Desai explains that Indipino includes mixed races and mixed cultures, meaning that anyone of Indian ancestry who grows up in the Philippines is also considered Indipino.[100] This identification also resonates with how Romero and Escudero, and I identify AsianLatinxs, in that AsianLatinx considers both people of mixed heritage and mixed culture.[101]

By employing a multiracial identity formation framework, Desai interviews four Indipinos who went to public high schools in San Francisco from the 1970s-1990s. By employing multiracial identity formation, Rockquemore, Brunsma and Delgado argue that racial category, racial identification, and racial identity impact mixed race identity formation.[102] Desai applies this framework to his study to better understand Indipino identity formation and concludes that double minority women with ambiguous physical features were labeled Latina,

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98. Desai, 148.

99. Desai, 149.

100. Desai, 149.

101. Robert Chao Romero and Kevin Escudero, "'Asian Latinos' and the US Census," *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community* 10, no. 2 (2012): 1–20.

102. Kerry Ann Rockquemore, David Brunsma, and Daniel Delgado, "Racing to Theory or Retheorizing Race? Understanding the Struggle to Build a Multiracial Identity Theory," Journal of Social Issues 65 (2009): 13– 34.

with Latinx being seen as a catchall category for people who fell out of other racial categories. The participants also note that they claim to be American more than anything else: "American is a synthesis of race and class that connects their mixed identity and their suburban American lifestyle in opposition to assimilationist constructions of essentialized Filipino and Indian identities."[103] Thus, to the participants being American meant that they could ambigously mixed regardless of ethnic background.

Desai is limited to the children of mixed-heritage immigrant parents mixed in the Philippines and only to the San Francisco and San Mateo County in California. Although Desai only had a handful of participants, he found significant findings to better understand Indipino identity formation. More than anything else, Desai contributes to the growing critical mixed race studies field. While still in the early iterations of his work, the Indipino identity formation of those living in the United States depicts identity formation complexities across various spheres, such as migration and mixed identity transnationally. This study and Desai's argument of non-hyphenation attends to the intricacies of identity formation separate of monoethnic communities, agreeing with other mixed race studies scholars.[104] An approach to the AsianLatinx Studies field like Desai's is critical to understand AsianLatinx mixed race identity concerning their monoracial identities and, more broadly, to their spatial context—such as the United States.

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103. Maharaj Raju Desai, “Bumbay in the Bay:,” in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 147–62, 160.

104. Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012); Rebecca Romo, “‘You’re Not Black or Mexican Enough!’:,” in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 127–44; Maria P. P. Root, *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier* (SAGE, 1996).

Since Desai's inclusion of migration to the composition of mixed race identity, most recently, Alyssa Newman considers the intersections of immigration scholarship and mixed race studies in *Revisiting the Marginal Man*.[105] Newman focuses on the narratives of adult multiracial people who have at least one immigrant parent in order to "interrogate the use of multiracial identity as an indicator of assimilation."[106] The study includes 26 multiracial adults out of a larger sample of 52 participants in a study on multiracial identity from the "multiracial belt" in California. Broader themes that arose from Newman's study include the relationship between language and identity and the role of trips abroad, and parent's citizenship status. By dividing the findings into two parts, Newman considers children's experiences from immigrant and white American intermarriages, where the families were concerned with minimizing their ethnoracial and cultural differences. By focusing on these participants, Newman asserts that these expectations resonated with the assimilation literature. The second group looked to her participants that had parents from two different countries. Here she analyzes two groups; these groups demonstrated their commitment to retain ethnic identification and asserted their multiracial identity.[107] In her article, Newman highlights theoretical shortcomings to race relations and assimilationist frameworks, especially when considering the multiracial identity. Newman proposes the following:

> Beyond the strength or fluidity of boundaries, there is potential to explore the prospect of new boundary constructions around this liminal "third racial" experience (Daniel 2002).

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105. Alyssa M. Newman, "Revisiting the Marginal Man: Bridging Immigration Scholarship and Mixed-Race Studies," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, July 7, 2020.

106. Newman, 2.

107. Newman, 9.

> This transitive space, passed over by the assimilation literature, may also be one of boundary construction.[108]

Thus, Newman argues that this multiracial experience should not be read as liminal and transitioning into assimilation, that third space, such as a multiracial identity, may exist separate to assimilationist frameworks. Rather than consider multiraciality as blurring boundaries or transitionary, Newman writes:

> I argue that it should be analyzed as the locus of an individual, as well as a potential collective, identity. Although the institutional treatment of multiracial identity has undoubtedly changed, little has shifted in its application within analyses of assimilation… The analysis of multiracial identity formation must be updated to reflect these new social realities and contexts.[109]

Newman leaves the reader to reconsider how we engage mixed identity. What that means more broadly now as United States demographics are drastically changing is considering mixed identity beyond transitional and allowing mixed identity to be a separate from assimilationist undertones.

The need to begin considering mixed race identity across traditional frameworks is addressed in the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Critical Mixed Race Studies*, in *Emerging Paradigms in Critical Mixed Race Studies.*[110] The authors in this article outline why the "critical" is needed in mixed races studies. The field began to gain traction in the mid-2010s, focusing on revisiting previous scholarship to reassess the purpose of mixed race studies. They write:

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108. Alyssa M. Newman, “Revisiting the Marginal Man: Bridging Immigration Scholarship and Mixed-Race Studies,” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, July 7, 2020, 12; G. Reginald Daniel, *More Than Black: Multiracial Identity & New Racial Order* (Temple University Press, 2010).

109. Newman,12.

110. G. Reginald Daniel et al., “Emerging Paradigms in Critical Mixed Race Studies,” *Journal of Critical Mixed Race Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014).

> Critical mixed race studies place mixed race at the critical center of focus. Multiracials become subjects of historical, social, and cultural processes rather than simply objects of analysis. This involves the study of racial consciousness among racially mixed people, the world in which they live, and the ideological, social, economic, and political forces and policies that impact the social location of their mixed-race individuals and inform mixed-race experiences and identities.[111]

Critical mixed race studies move beyond identity politics, by assessing racialization beyond monoracial discourse, particularly in the United States. The scholars also emphasize the intertwined racial phenomena with gender, sex, sexuality, class, and other categories.[112] The field of critical mixed race studies and, more broadly, mixed identity has gone largely ignored. "This general lack of receptivity or attention to the topic of multiracial identity is due in part to the fact that US social scientists, like the individuals and communities that were the primary focus of their studies, have internalized not only hypodescent but also monoracial norms."[113] The scholars highlight that mixed race and multiraciality must be critical of potential problematics, such as discourse centering mixed identity as hybridity to ensue unequal power relations and other forms of exploitative motives. Critical mixed race studies is not informed by notions of colorblindness or discourse regarding postracial ideology. The authors conclude with the following:

> CMRS analyzes socio-historical contexts of slavery and US colonialisms; US empire and its consequences in Asia, the Pacific, and Latin America; the rise of cosmopolitan citizens and the new globalization; the women's, civil rights, black power, brown power, yellow power, red power, as well as the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer (LGBTQ) movements; and the post-1967 growth in the numbers offspring from interracial marriages… CMRS scholars explore these issues concurrently, understanding how they intersect and are mutually constructed, such as the relationship of mixed race to queer identities, women and feminism; transnationalism and diaspora; and questions of

111. Daniel et al., 7–8.

112. Daniel et al., 8.

113. Daniel et al., 11.

> passing as well as authenticity in relation to the narration and counter-narration of the nation and nationalisms.[114]

The field of critical mixed race studies is a growing field that continues to interrogate both previous and current mixed race conversations across the world. The scholars in the article leave the reader with one call for the future of critical mixed race studies, to create your version of what you want critical mixed race studies to be, and let it be from your perspective even if it diverges or counters the one told by those in the article. As I push for the recognition of an AsianLatinx Studies field, I look to the path that critical mixed race scholars have created and how this field was created from undergraduate student-organized conferences that allowed for mixed race scholars to come together and create a space where mixed people could be central to the research.

Mixed race studies, and more importantly, critical mixed race studies has developed within the last few decades. In this chapter I outlined the temporal trajectory and the development of the critical mixed race studies field and situate the AsianLatinx studies within the developing critical mixed race studies field. We have seen how the mixed race studies field has grown by looking at foundational works such as Maria Root's *The Multiracial Experience*, and works that grow from Root's ideas, such as Williams-Léon and Nakashima's *The Sum of Our Parts*, and Lee and Bean's *Diversity Paradox.*[115] The field has shifted from focusing primarily on majority-minority mixed identity to considering multiple minority identities. This

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114. Daniel et al., 25.

115. Jennifer Lee and Frank D. Bean, *The Diversity Paradox: Immigration and the Color Line in Twenty-First Century America* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2010); Maria P. P. Root, *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier* (SAGE, 1996); Teresa Williams-León and Cynthia L. Nakashima, *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans* (Temple University Press, 2001).

shift is intentional, as we see in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown.*[116] The explicit decentering of whiteness is emblematic, considering that mixed identity does not have to encompass whiteness to understand how whiteness affects mixed identity. Romo, in her article, explains to the reader how Blaxicans living in Los Angeles are no longer choosing to identify as one or the other, but both and mixed Black and Mexican. Rather than policing Blaxicans' authenticity, efforts might be more productive in including Blaxican consciousness within Black-Brown solidarity coalitions.[117] For Blaxicans who engage in their own borderlands identity that Anzaldua introduces, blending in their own identities and understanding the commonalities of oppressive systems onto Black and Brown communities allows for an opportunity to engage with more robust coalition-building rather than continuing a divisive isolated path towards liberation. Like Romo, Desai introduces the Indipino community who identifies as both Indian, Filipino and mixed Indipino. With the deliberate removal of the hyphenation, Desai argues that the hyphen's inclusion divides both community and identity. He also argues that he is no different from other mestizos Filipinxs, just because he is of mixed minority identity and not mixed with Spanishness/whiteness. In her most recent article, Newman bridges mixed race studies with immigration in the field of sociology. Her work is timely and essential because she challenges what it means to be mixed race in a more traditional sociology field. She challenges this notion of mixed race identity formation in a transitional, liminal space of assimilation in the United States. Including the experiences of mixed individuals with multiple minority immigrant parents

116. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra, and Paul Spickard, *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown: Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies* (Rutgers University Press, 2017).

117. Rebecca Romo, "'You're Not Black or Mexican Enough!':," in *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown*, ed. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., and Paul Spickard, Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies (Rutgers University Press, 2017), 127–44, 140.

argues that just because someone chooses to identify as mixed does not mean that they are transitioning to assimilating to the more racially dominant identity. She leaves the reader thinking of how demographics in the United States are shifting and the consideration needed to allow mixed identities to exist separate of this assumption that mixing correlates with assimilation in the United States.

Lastly, the critical mixed race studies article collectively outlines what a critical understanding of mixed race studies looks to and challenges, critiques, and advances previous understandings of mixed race studies. This article outlines how a critical mixed race studies field challenges the problematics of mixed race studies and consciously addresses the power structures and previous understandings of mixed race studies. The authors leave the reader with one thing: to allow mixed people to speak for themselves, including their experiences, and move beyond monoracial/monoethnic analysis. Their critiques and exclusion of the mixed individual across all disciplines are fundamental to consider and ultimately let the reader understand that they want their critiques to be challenged and engaged with because engaging in this work means that for once mixed individuals are being considered and not pushed to the edges.

The field of mixed race studies and critical mixed race studies ultimately challenge society to think beyond monoracial/monoethnic understandings of racialization. Among many concerns, mixed people are often considered as less or not authentic because there is a misconception that someone mixed is only half one identity and half the other. Mixed people are not seen as whole beings, which becomes a problem as it seeps into the exclusion of mixed people across all communities. As we see the scholars argue in this chapter, mixed demographics are growing more and more in the United States. To assume mixed people are in a liminal space towards assimilation disregards and makes assumptions of how one identifies. This is also

lumping all mixed people into a homogenous group; how does someone who is Blaxican, or in the case for my argument, AsianLatinx, in transition to assimilating in the United States, where a racial hierarchy continues to exist? This alludes to the fact that scholars do not engage with multiple minority mixed people in the United States, and it is evident that these narratives continue to be occluded.

The limitations to mixed race studies are that we are at a turning point in the field, looking more importantly towards a critical mixed race studies field in which valid critiques are now pointing the field into a more reflexive and inclusive field that decenters whiteness and upholds multiple minority people. A field of AsianLatinx Studies engages with these nuances of homogeneity of mixed identity. By centralizing the AsianLatinx identity and community, this field engages with the multiple minority identities uniquely different from the experiences of majority minority mixed identities. AsianLatinxs have a different relationship to mixed identity than white and nonwhite mixed people in the United States. Since Asian and Latinx communities are racialized differently to whiteness in the United States, it is crucial to understand how AsianLatinxs challenge the racialization processes in the United States. While still in its early stages, critical mixed race studies allude to how whiteness is placed upon mixed people rather than focusing on whiteness within the mixed individual. This distinction is critical to recognize because the field of AsianLatinx Studies I would consider to be a subset or categorized within critical mixed race studies. AsianLatinx Studies is not interested in whiteness in the same way that Rondilla, Guevarra Jr., and Spickard outline for the reader in their anthology.[118] Instead, AsianLatinx Studies is interested in how mixed AsianLatinx identity has been impacted by

118. Joanne L. Rondilla, Rudy P. Guevarra, and Paul Spickard, *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown: Decentering Whiteness in Mixed Race Studies* (Rutgers University Press, 2017).

whiteness across the world but most present, in the United States. The shift of mixed race studies to critical mixed race studies goes much further than inclusivity and identity politics, to honestly sit with the experiences of mixed nonwhite people and how monoracial/multiethnic understandings of race and ethnicity have hindered the possibilities of truly understanding the queries of mixed identity.

Asian and Latinx interethnic relations in the United States

Moving beyond the field of mixed race studies, this chapter turns to the Asian and Latinx interethnic relations situated in the United States. Asian and Latinx communities have coexisted since the late 19th century from coast to coast in the United States, and interactions between groups have yielded a myriad of responses. From intermarriages between Asians and Latinxs over the centuries to interethnic and racial tensions during the Los Angeles 1992 uprising, I seek to understand how these two communities have interacted within the United States. This section will curate scholarship readily available into three categories: Asian and Latinx relational and comparative analysis, literary works depicting Asian and Latinx relations, and AsianLatinx communities in the United States. While these categories are not finite, the distinction in these three categories allows one to see how Asians and Latinxs have interacted in the United States and what factors contribute to how these communities intermarry or racialize themselves vis-a-vis to how they are racialized across the United States.

Ultimately, this literature review highlights the shortcomings between relational and comparative analysis by looking at the growing mixed AsianLatinx population in the United States. By reviewing the current literature on Asian and Latinx interethnic relations in history, literature, and ethnic studies, relational and comparative frameworks' limitations become more apparent. I argue that the limitations of an Asian and Latinx interethnic relations framework presents an opening for AsianLatinx studies to expand understandings of interethnic relations beyond monoracial comparisons. Interethnic relations often negate the intimacies and nuances of the mixed AsianLatinx identity. These frameworks often compare monoracial and monoethnic groups, therefore excluding the mixed individual that encompasses cultures and experiences culminated between two or more cultures. Thus, this review opens avenues to continue studying

and creating a new area of study that looks at AsianLatinxs beyond relational analysis, literary works, and histories. The AsianLatinx Studies subfield offers new insights and centralizes the lived experiences of mixed AsianLatinx peoples and how they navigate and negotiate a multifaceted Asian and Latinx ancestry and identity. I believe that an AsianLatinx Studies field is necessary to truly centralize AsianLatinx communities and individuals' experiences. A field allows for the expansion of disciplines to contribute to an inclusive understanding of these realities and allows for further development through critiques of limitations. By centralizing such a community, I imagine that the field can only grow to challenge previously established disciplines while simultaneously growing. This proposition of the field is not one of ownership, nor is it stagnant; I invite the conversations to continue growing with the AsianLatinx community's interest always remaining central.

Asian and Latinx Interethnic Relations

In this section, I turn to the contributions of Asian and Latinx interethnic relations to ground understandings of both relational and comparative frameworks. I first turn towards Southern California's contributions, particularly Los Angeles and the San Gabriel Valley. Speaking of Asian and Latinx residential relationships, Mike Davis in *Magical Urbanism (2001*) writes:

> Korean investors control thousands of low-income residential units in inner-city neighborhoods as well as the larger share of the "swap meet" space that dominates retail trade in Southcentral Los Angeles. New Asian and Latino residents also rub shoulders in Hollywood and a dozen other neighborhoods west of Downtown, while upwardly mobile Chicanos and affluent Chinese immigrants live side-by-side in the dim-sum-*con-salsa* suburbs of the eastern San Gabriel Valley.[119]

119. Mike Davis, *Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the US City* (Verso, 2001), 58.

Choosing Los Angeles and the San Gabriel Valley as sites for this master's thesis is important because they have historically and spatially become central to Asian and Latinx interethnic relations. In addition, I move beyond Southern California's confines to look towards the South, particularly Arkansas, to understand why Asian and Latinx communities have migrated to the South. I analyze how Perla Guerrero in *Nuevo South* (2017) employs a comparative analysis of Asian and Latinx refugees to more recent Latinx labor migration and how these groups' racialization differed for many reasons. I end this section of the literature review with understanding the limitations of interethnic relations and how these frameworks are often limited to a relational or comparative analysis of monoracial/monoethnic groups, leaving out entirely how Asianlatinx people navigate their lives between hegemonic norms in both dominant societies as well as within their ethnic communities.

Natalia Molina's book *Fit to be Citizens?* (2013) explains how Chinese, Mexican, and Japanese communities were racialized vis-à-vis whiteness in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Often overlooked, her book critiques the role of the public health sector as "scientifically objective," when in reality, it was not and used as a tool to further racialize and distance communities of color from citizenship rights and other public services. She keeps one research question central to her book, "The process by which public health as an institution and a discourse evolved into a key site of racialization in late-nineteenth- through mid-twentieth-century Los Angeles—how it came to exert an influence that extended far beyond the realm of health."[120] She utilized census and city official documents across Los Angeles because the city has no archive dedicated to the public health of Los Angeles. By drawing across various

120. Natalia Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (University of California Press, 2006), 13.

archives, Molina argues, "by examining public health as a site of racialization, we will see how public health workers at the local level contributed to the construction of racial categories."[121] This argument is necessary when the reader observes the breakdown of her chapters and how she observes the racialization of the Chinese, Mexicans (Americans), and Japanese in the United States and how these racial projects change with proximity to whiteness.

Molina highlights the complications of the Black-white paradigm and how it is not as simple because of the added factor of insider/foreigner to the racialization of minorities in the United States.[122] We see the complexities of these nuances unfold when Mexican Americans were seen as closer to the proximity of whiteness than Japanese since assimilation was seen as the pathway for Mexicans in the early 20th century. However, as time went on, Mexicans were seen as unassimilable and excluded from public services. Omi and Winant's *racial formation theory* and their use of racial projects are clearly shown as public services were limited to those not seen as white, which ultimately led them to be racially excluded.[123]

While Molina claims to focus primarily on the Mexican population in Los Angeles at the time, she does go into detail on the specific strategies taken up by the city to exclude the Chinese in Los Angeles. We saw laborers being excluded and launderers racialized into losing their businesses because, “The court maintained that the public needed to be protected from laundries

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121. Molina, 5.

122. The Black-white paradigm is the assumption that race and racialization only occur on a binary between Black-white.

123. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, Third Edition (New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 13. Omi and Winant define racial projects as efforts to shape how human identities and social structures are racially signified as building blocks to the racial formation process.

because they were centers for ‘the propagation of disease [where] deleterious germs’ could spread to the surrounding atmosphere, giving rise to the danger of infection to persons coming into close proximity’ with the laundries.”[124] This became coded language for attempts to remove the Chinese from Los Angeles. We see this sentiment repeated towards the Mexican and Japanese communities throughout the book.

My only critique of Molina's book is the lack of interethnic dialogue between the minority groups in the book. While Chinese people were being targeted because of "yellow peril," there was no understanding of how Mexican and Black communities responded to these racialized experiences. Whether they were involved or not, there is much context missing in this history between the different minority groups. Each chapter on a racialized minority seemed isolated from all other interracial factors except for whiteness. In chapter one, the Chinese were not the only minority group in the United States at the time, and therefore I think it is essential to contextualize the way they were excluded not only in proximity to whiteness but also to the Black and Mexican community as well. I think this would have further supported her claim of racial hierarchy not being only superior/inferior but also insider/foreigner. While I understand that this is out of her scope, I still believe it is crucial to contextualize all minority groups to understand how they are collectively oppressed by whiteness. I do not believe it is enough to compare experiences of minorities with only whiteness and have them be independent of each other. That being said, I am aware that because of Molina's scholarship, scholars such as Cheng and other scholars have built on these frameworks of race relations.[125] In this way, Molina has

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124. Natalia Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (University of California Press, 2006), 38.

125. Leland T. Saito, *Race, and Politics : Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb* (Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 1998); Wendy Cheng, *The Changs Next*

been foundational to the field of Asian and Latinx interethnic relations and other minority relations in the United States.

In *Race and Politics* (2008), Leland Saito writes on coalition-building between Asians and Latinxs through their collective oppression faced in the San Gabriel Valley. He diverges from centering a structural factor impacting Asian and Latinx communities as Molina does and instead focuses on location as a space for coalition-building. The San Gabriel Valley during the late 20th century became a hub for international, transnational commerce for Chinese communities. The massive immigration waves to the San Gabriel Valley were fueled by the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act, which removed the quota system for migration to the United States and contributed to the unification provisions that allowed relatives of high-skilled occupations to migrate to the United States. Saito underlies that the reason Latinxs and Asians are living in close proximity is the result of the practice of economic and political segregation that has shaped and limited residential choices. The history of sharing communities between Asians and Latinxs is not limited to only the San Gabriel Valley, but the history of the Japanese in Boyle Heights in East Los Angeles shows that the San Gabriel Valley is not some unique location that became the hub for Asian and Latinx interrelations. The shared racist history that Asians and Latinxs faced in Monterey Park outline why the two communities have settled together in this region. Saito brings these two unlikely groups who share racialized histories in Southern California in conversation. Through grass-roots activism, city politics, and racism, Asians and Latinxs in Monterey Park became politicized within their communities. By coupling ethnographic fieldwork and interviews with census data and local election results, Saito can delve into the

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Door to the Diazes: Remapping Race in Southern California (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

nuances of how ethnic, racial, and, more specifically, panethnic ethnic identities are developed in this rapidly diversifying region outside of Los Angeles. Saito claims that Latinx and Asian American communities have faced similar political forces of exclusion, and in particular, the communities in the San Gabriel Valley share similar political goals and alliances because of these shared histories.

Wendy Cheng resumes where Saito leaves us in his book on Asian and Latinx communities in the San Gabriel Valley. In her book *The Changs Next Door to the Díazes* (2013), Cheng centers racial identity and how space influences these understandings. The author introduces the concept of *regional racial formation*, defining it as place-specific racial processes, with the potential of challenging dominant hegemonic ideologies of race.[126] By focusing on the predominately Asian and Latinx communities in the San Gabriel Valley, Cheng looks to the daily lives of 70 San Gabriel Valley residents, interviewing them on their perceptions of the San Gabriel Valley and asking them to partake in a cognitive mapping exercise, where Cheng is able to analyze further the perception that her participants have of the San Gabriel Valley. Cheng's use of the San Gabriel Valley is vital for my research on the relationships between Asian and Latinx communities living in proximity to each other, such as the suburbs east of Los Angeles. The limitation of this in terms of my interest in AsianLatinx identity formation is that she glosses over the intimacies of the Asian and Latinx communities living so close to each other and formulating relationships in the suburbs. She alludes to some romances but never truly delves into how these two communities are intertwined and have led to mixing these two communities beyond interethnic relations. Therefore, while this book looks to understanding the role of space

126. Wendy Cheng, *The Changs Next Door to the Diazes: Remapping Race in Southern California* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 10.

and racial formations ideology, I am looking for something that alludes more to the intimacies of how space impacts how Asian and Latinx communities share intimacies. While I highlight this discrepancy of the Asian and Latinx interethnic relations approach, I want to carefully point that this limitation in Cheng's work is one that I see as a broader trend within Asian and Latinx interethnic relations, relational race relations, and comparative analysis. Most of these works and more broadly continue to look at these relations from a monoethnic and monoracial perspective.

Similar in the use of race relations approach as Molina, Saito, and Cheng, Perla Guerrero in *Nuevo South (2017)* compares the racialized experiences of Asian and Latinx peoples by looking to the Vietnamese and Cuban refugee relocation program at Fort Chaffee and the recent migration of Latinx poultry workers in the late 20th century early 21st century. She keeps the following research question central to her project: "How did the placement and arrival of Asians and Latinas/os in Arkansas during the last quarter of the twentieth century renovate and make critical already existing notions of race in the region?"[127] Guerrero employs and redefines what the *Nuevo South* is and what it is becoming to answer her research question. The *Nuevo South* builds on what was previously known as the *New South* in understanding how Latinx and Asian communities are increasingly redefining what the South is and how it continues to change demographically. "Nuevo South framework also grapples with the multifaceted ways in which Latinas/os and Asians are sometimes granted a modicum of acceptance by established communities, how they locate themselves within a field of social and racial positions…"[128] Guerrero builds on previously established frameworks, including Cheng's *regional racial*

127. Perla M. Guerrero, *Nuevo South: Latinas/os, Asians, and the Remaking of Place* (University of Texas Press, 2017), 4.

128. Guerrero, 11.

formation and ultimately contributing to racialization literature. Using multiple methods, Guerrero supplements her extensive archival research with ethnographic interviews to better understand how racialization between three different migrants to Northwest Arkansas has induced many responses. Two arguments remain central to Guerrero's book: in order to understand processes of racialization for the Vietnamese, Cubans, and Mexican groups, there must be an understanding of the place-specific ideologies that extend to the ways these migrant groups were racialized, in this case, a racially white conservative and evangelical northwest Arkansas. In tandem with the first, the second argument argues that national discourse and larger scale racialization processes influenced and informed Vietnamese and Cuban refugees' local racialization processes and the most recent influx of Latinx migrant poultry workers in Arkansas.

Guerrero offers the reader an understanding of changing demographics in the South through her *Nuevo South* framework. As the South continues to diversify, the outdated Black-white binary paradigm is no longer applicable to the South, with the need to start considering how migrant populations are reshaping the demographics and racialization of the South. This book contributes to place-specific racialization processes and how minority groups are racialized differently to national discourse. Like previous critiques of the other readings in this section, there is no analysis or instances in which we can understand how the Asian and Latinx communities in the South are racialized in respect to each other. I have noted earlier this lack of analysis in Molina's *Unfit Citizens* (2013), in so much that the comparative framework or relational analysis seems to be in respect to racialization processes from hegemonic structures—essentially how minority groups are racialized in isolated settings only to whiteness, negating how minorities are racialized amongst each other.

As I continue to read and engage with the literature on Asian and Latinx interethnic relations, it seems to maintain monoracial analyses pertaining to these two communities. The approach to interethnic relations seldom includes the interactions between minorities—in this case, Asian and Latinx communities. As we see in the texts included in this section, most of these interethnic relations understand how Asian and Latinx communities have been affected by the same hegemonic structures or have shared the exact spatial location—for example, racism in the public health sector, living in the San Gabriel Valley, and lastly racialization with the deep systemic racism of the South. The experiences of mixed AsianLatinx people are scarcely found within these reviewed texts and ultimately speak to the more significant exclusion of mixed people in the literature regarding interethnic relations. In the following section, I turn to literary works that again draw on interethnic relations between Asian and Latinx and their shared histories of oppression in the United States. Mirrored with this section, it becomes apparent that race relations and comparative analysis do not seem to be interested in the mixed identity component, which I argue should be a critical component to understanding race relations between Asian and Latinx communities.

Asian and Latinx Interethnic Literary Connections

In this section, I turn towards literary works to understand how cultural production has been used to understand Asian and Latinx communities' experiences in the United States. I start with literary works that are broadly comparative and then focus on the latter portion of the literature review to look at how AsianLatinx people have been incorporated into literary works and how their identities are negotiated by their community or themselves. I highlight these texts to underscore the discrepancies in interethnic relations and relational works and how these fields

across disciplines contribute to the erasure of AsianLatinx peoples. By centralizing literary works, one can see that even catchall terms such as "LatinAsian" do not mean that mixed AsianLatinx people are considered. I argue that this creates further erasure to AsianLatinx people who already cannot see themselves represented within their cultures because of dominant homogeneous generalizations of Asians and Latinxs in the United States.

LatinAsian Cartographies (2018), written by Susan Thananopavarn, is a recent addition to the literature on Asian and Latinx interrelations in the United States. Her approach to Asian and Latinx interrelations is through literary comparison, asking questions on the experiences of being a racial minority in the United States. Thananopavarn examines Latinx and Asian American literature to rewrite official national narratives and situate US history within a global context that resituates understanding what it means to be American. She illustrates shared experiences of US imperialism, nativistic racism, Cold War divisions, globalization and theorizes on the transpacific zones of Asian-Latinx interactions created via migration and colonization. Thananopavarn claims the book is comparative and also intersectional, acknowledging how transpacific zones by Asian-Latina/o communities have been created by centuries of migration and colonization. By employing a framework Thananopavarn calls *LatinAsian contact zone*, one can better understand how similar systemic oppressions intertwine Asian and Latinx communities. Thananopavarn defines *LatinAsian contact zone* as the following:

> I propose the United States may productively be understood as a LatinAsian contact zone. In this place, people of Latin American and Asian descent constitute groups with unique histories and intersect in ways that reflect centuries of global labor migration US military intervention abroad.[129]

129. Susan Thananopavarn, *LatinAsian Cartographies: History, Writing, and the National Imaginary* (Rutgers University Press, 2018), 4.

Her theoretical framework reinterprets US history through the lens of Asian American and Latinx communities without necessarily bringing the two groups into conversation besides comparing their experiences to US intervention and US systemic oppression. Thus, as we saw previously in the other examples of interethnic relations, this limits the conversation of these two groups interacting with each other, calling for further expansion of Asian and Latinx interrelations than comparative histories. While this text is essential to understanding that Asians and Latinxs in the United States have been erased in textbooks and mistreated throughout their history in the United States, the literature on the interrelations between these two groups must continue to be explored further than comparative literature. I would even go as far as argue that Thananopavarn misinterprets what María DeGuzmán meant by *Latinasia.* In *Spain's Long Shadow* (2005), María DeGuzmán writes:

> The displacement to China of a description that could be interpreted as primarily about Latin(a/o) American identity makes sense in the world when one thinks of the tremendous mixture of peoples and cultures in China. Even more apt, somehow, is the conjoining of the "Latin" with the Chinese or, more generally, Asian, in light of transnational migratory patterns and demographic processes in the Americas over the last three centuries—that is, the enormous influx of Asian immigrants and the movement of Latina/o peoples across the Americas, south to north and west to east. What has and will continue to result from these converging processes might be described under the rubric *Latinasia*.[130]

Here DeGuzmán indicates to the reader that *Latinasia* is the converging processes and mixtures of both peoples and cultures from Latin America and Asia across the Americas, situating AsianLatinx understandings most organically, through understandings of inevitable mixings between the groups. While I understand that Thananopavarn extends LatinAsia to the United States as she explained through her framework, *LatinAsian contact zone*, I would argue

130. DeGuzmán, María. *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire*. U of Minnesota Press, 2005, 301.

María DeGuzmán meant *Latinasia* beyond just the convergence of shared spatial location and oppressive nature of the United States onto Asia and Latin America. DeGuzmán also meant to look at how Asia and Latin American converge through intermarriage, mixed identity, and culture mixing. *LatinAsia* can be seen heavily in the works of Asian diaspora scholars and Chinese Mexican scholars.[131]

Similarly, Long Le-Khac in *Giving Form to an Asian and Latinx America* (2020) draws upon a literary comparison between Asian and Latinx Cold War migrant communities in the United States. Le-Khac introduces what he calls *transfictional form.* He explains that this framework "describes narrative works that create an effect of many distinct, semiautonomous stories, each focusing on different characters and events but taking place within the same imagined world."[132] By focusing on Latinx and Asian American authors' literary works, Le-Khac

131. Evelyn Hu-DeHart, *Across the Pacific: Asian Americans and Globalization*, vol. 2 (Temple University Press, 2000); Elliott Young, *Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era Through World War II* (UNC Press Books, 2014); Kathleen López, *Chinese Cubans: A Transnational History* (UNC Press Books, 2013); Julia María Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910-1960* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2012); Jason Oliver Chang, *Chino: Anti-Chinese Racism in Mexico, 1880-1940* (University of Illinois Press, 2017); Ignacio López-Calvo, *Imaging the Chinese in Cuban Literature and Culture* (University Press of Florida, 2008); Ignacio López-Calvo, *Japanese Brazilian Saudades: Diasporic Identities and Cultural Production* (University Press of Colorado, 2019); Grace Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Stanford University Press, 2013); Ana Paulina Lee, *Mandarin Brazil: Race, Representation, and Memory* (Stanford University Press, 2018); Lok Siu, *Memories of a Future Home: Diasporic Citizenship of Chinese in Panama* (Stanford University Press, 2007); Fredy Gonzalez, *Paisanos Chinos: Transpacific Politics among Chinese Immigrants in Mexico* (Univ of California Press, 2017); Mauro García Triana and Pedro Eng Herrera, *The Chinese in Cuba, 1847-Now*, vol. 1 (Lexington books, 2009); Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011); Daniel M. Masterson and Sayaka Funada-Classen, *The Japanese in Latin America*, vol. 135 (University of Illinois Press, 2004).

132. Long Le-Khac, *Giving Form to an Asian and Latinx America* (Stanford University Press, 2020), 8-9.

traces the Dominican Republic and Vietnam histories and the relationship these countries have to the United States post-Hart-Cellar Act of 1965. While many of the authors included in the text are different in literary aesthetics, Le-Khac explores the relationship of disruptive US forces that have contributed to the violence of the Dominican and Vietnamese communities going beyond the US nation-state. In particular, the author focuses on the effect of two US invasions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic within two months of each other and how these invasions were informed by each other and contributed to the mass displacement of Vietnamese and migration of Dominicans to the United States. Again, as we have previously seen with other scholars across this literature review, Le-Khac argues Asian and Latinx communities are interconnected because of US imperialist powers. Le-Khac writes:

> They share an intertwined history that this book traces through a shared aesthetic paradigm, an interlinked yet discontinuous transfictional form that structures many contemporary Asian American and Latinx fictions…Within the shared history of these groups are the potential for solidarities that could confront the global military and capitalist forces buffeting so many of their members and intervene in the present and future of the United States and its relations to the world.[133]

Understanding the potentials of shared oppressions imposed by the United States onto Latinx and Asian communities, Le-Khac argues there is immense potential for coalition-building and cross-ethnic organizing. He recognized how an understanding of these shared oppressions may lead to an emergent formation not yet perceivable by writing the following:

> This emergent formation can become a political force only if recognized across minority communities that currently see their fates separate. Read together, literature by Asian Americans and Latinxs make this formation palpable. Their aesthetics give it a legible shape, frame it into shareable stories, make visible its tensions, and help us imagine its possibilities. They give form to an emerging Asian and Latinx America.[134]

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133. Le-Khac, 5.

134. Le-Khac, 5.

Le-Khac leads the reader to imagine a world beyond literary works and hopes that *transfictional form* can move beyond literature to see Asian American and Latinx communities build solidarities and new possibilities.

In their article *"Somos Asiáticos"* (2016), Kang and Torres-Salliant write a literature review that challenges the dominant Black-white narrative of race relations in the United States. By looking at the Asian and Latinx communities, they underline how they have fostered connections through the arts, intermarriage, economically, politically, and culturally. While there is a shortage of scholarship on AsianLatinx intimate relations, the authors review and discuss literature that has normalized these realities and shown us the possibilities of AsianLatinx intermarriages and AsianLatinx mixed peoples. This review differs from the rest of the literary works in this section and the broader literature review. It includes how Asian and Latinx communities have converged beyond comparative analysis and shared systemic oppressor—the United States' imperialist nation-state.

However, the scholars in this section all similarly write on Asian and Latinx coalition-building and the possibilities of understanding the intertwined shared oppressions. Thananopavarn, Le-Khac, Kang, and Torres-Salliant, all share the possibilities and hopes for a future of solidarity between Asian and Latinx communities in both the United States and beyond. The scholars in this section clearly outline how these two communities come together. However, without the scholarship produced on Asian and Latinx relations beyond understandings of shared histories and oppressions, I argue that we are left with empty hands imagining only solidarity movements, negating the realities of AsianLatinx mixed people who are living the realities of Asian and Latinx interethnic relations in year by year in the United States. In the following sections, we will see how AsianLatinx people in the United States have existed in the United

States and how they navigated and negotiated their mixed identity as multiple minority mixed peoples.

AsianLatinxs in the United States

AsianLatinx people have had a long history of existing in the United States. This section reviews a few published works on the various enclaves of AsianLatinx groups here in the United States. This includes ethnic Asians from Latin America, ethnic Latinxs from Asia, peoples born to parents of cross-cultural AsianLatinx parentage, and Filipinxs who blend into Latinx communities. While this literature is not an exhaustive list of the AsianLatinx communities in the United States, the literature available on these groups is limited and speaks to how AsianLatinxs have not been central to literature on Asian Americans and Latinxs in the United States.

Karen Leonard's *Making Ethnic Choices* (1992) centers California's Punjabi-Mexican community that emerged through agricultural labor demands in the 20th century. As a result of the labor shortage, Punjabi men came to work in the Imperial Valley of California, and as their time prolonged, they began to intermarry with Mexican women. Leonard documents the lived experiences of the Punjabi Mexican families and the issues they faced navigating their multiethnic family and identities. Leonard theoretically delves into ethnic identity formation through regional economic context and public policies. Regarding ethnic identity, Leonard also observes how identity changes through generation, gender, stage of life, and social class. One prominent theme addressed in her book is "the articulation of gender power relationships and the

problematic of ethnic identity within as well as outside of family."[135] She highlights the purpose of observing such a small community in Southern California with the following:

> All three themes emphasize individual and family life processes, that is, micro-level processes, with the political economy. Here was a community so small and idiosyncratic that the state took no official notice of it—a community that lasted only one, possibly two generations in any structural sense. Nevertheless, its history can tell us a great deal across time, space, and context. In particular, its history offers insights into the nature of ethnic pluralism in the United States. [136]

Leonard's work is critical to understand labor migration and how this has increased intermarriages between two distinct ethnic groups. As one of the earliest groups in the United States to intermarry between and ethnic Asian and Latinx communities, it is crucial to understand the various ways in which migration impacts lived realities for migrants in the United States.

Drawing on San Diego's demographics, Guevarra Jr. in *Becoming Mexipino* (2012) highlights to the reader that San Diego has the second-largest enclave of Filipinxs in the world, and Mexicans constitute the largest group of Latinxs in San Diego. While Guevarra Jr. outlines the collective contribution to economic and social development in San Diego by Filipinxs and Mexicans, his focus is that there had been no meaningful analysis of San Diego's Mexican and Filipinx groups in relation to each other. Guevarra Jr. writes on culture, location, and religion as factors for the high intermarriage rates between Filipinxs and Mexicans in California. He argues that "racial and ethnic groups have always functioned in relation to each other, not as separate

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135. Karen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Temple University Press, 1992), 13.

136. Leonard, 14.

entities."[137] His book is essentially a social-historical interpretation of Mexicans and Filipinos who met in San Diego from 1903 to 1965. This period reflects the following: the first migration of Filipinxs to San Diego in the twentieth century and the Immigration Act of 1965 that impacted both Mexican and Filipinx communities. Guevarra Jr. uniquely brings together cultural, social, and historical similarities into the conversation between two groups that would come together in San Diego. His work from all angles focuses on the interethnic relations between Filipinos and Mexicans in San Diego. He turns to newspapers, census records, immigration records, and marital records in from Seattle, Washington to Acapulco, Mexico. He also incorporates oral histories with Filipinxs, Mexicans, and Mexipinxs across multiple generations.[138] While his work engages with interethnic relations between Mexican and Filipinxs in San Diego, Guevarra Jr. engages with the two communities' intimacies. By engaging with the Mexipino community, Guevarra Jr. goes beyond just the comparative analysis or US hegemonic oppression; he engages with the generation after and the mixed Mexipino community to understand how this community both navigates and negotiates their identity between their Mexican, Filipinx, and broader US. American identities.

Similar to Leonard, Vivek Bald's book, *Bengali Harlem and the Lost Histories of South Asian Americans* (2013) also explores South Asian labor migration into the United States. Bald writes on the South Asian community who was lost when the *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind* case declared that South Asian migrants were not eligible for a pathway to citizenship. As this book focuses primarily on the early 20th century, the context of the Bengali migrants to

137. Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 170.

138. Mexipino is an ethnic group that identifies as both Mexican and Filipinx.

Harlem and their relationships with Puerto Ricans in New York contain essential insight into the South Asian and Latinx interrelations fostered by immigration. Bald indirectly highlighted the effect of ethnic enclaves, and when different groups live within proximity to each other, it can foster intermarriages and other relationships between South Asians and Latinxs. Although the text's focus is historical, it is essential to consider how South Asian and Latinx communities living in proximity to each other can shape the different forms of created relationships, as we see with the Bengali and Puerto Rican communities. In Harlem, the Bengali migrant primarily encompassed men working on ships, settled in the Puerto Rican area of Harlem, and eventually intermarried with the Puerto Rican women. In the later chapters of his book, Bald delves into these intermarriages' dynamics and provides vignettes of the BengaliRican children from these intermarriages and their mixed multiple minority identity dynamics. We can see and understand how AsianLatinx identity has manifested as early as the 20th century in various places across the country, as we saw in the Imperial Valley, San Diego, and Harlem.

Lastly, In Ocampo's book *The Latinos of Asia: How Filipino Americans Break the Rules of Race* (2016), Asian and Latinx interethnic relations manifest in the Filipinx community's lives.[139] He writes that Filipinxs are often seen as racially ambiguous, transgressing between Asian and Latinx communities, and often relating to the Latinx community, alluding to the fact that Filipinx and Latinx communities have a shared history of Spanish colonization. Ocampo argues that Filipinxs embody an identity often seen at the confines of both Asian and Latinx communities. He seeks to document the ways Filipinxs carve out their racial place in American society. Using interviews and surveys, Ocampo unveils the ways Filipinxs have found a shared

139. Ocampo, Anthony Christian. *The Latinos of Asia: How Filipino Americans Break the Rules of Race*. Stanford University Press, 2016.

collective identity with ethnic groups outside of their own. Ocampo contributes to AsianLatinx Studies to push scholars to think beyond the confines of arbitrary racial and ethnic lines and see an ethnic group such as Filipinxs as an ethnic group that is Asian, Latinx, and AsianLatinx. As we see in Romero and Escudero's article on their definition of Asian Latino, they also include a third category that includes Filipinxs, acknowledging how the Filipinx community has a shared history of Spanish colonization as well as US intervention and imperialism as seen in Latin America and Asia.[140]

Interethnic relations between Asian and Latinx communities have been seen across the United States since the 19th century. While these relations have not always been in solidarity with each other, often Asian and Latinx communities across the United States have been impacted by similar systemic oppressors throughout history. In this chapter, I introduce three bodies of scholarship on Asian and Latinx interethnic relations: Asian and Latinx relational and comparative analysis, literary works depicting Asian and Latinx relations, and AsianLatinx communities in the United States. Throughout the scholarship of Asian and Latinx interethnic relations, scholars identify a common oppressive structure or spatial location in which Asian and Latinx communities share. While it is essential to scale back to understand the impact that structures and location have, the AsianLatinx community is often not recognized or central to the effects of these interactions. The AsianLatinx community is neither consulted nor recognized in what I argue due to these shared oppressors and locations amongst the Asian and Latinx communities. Like Asian and Latinx interethnic relations, literary works also allude towards shared possibilities of solidarity between Asian and Latinx communities. Thananopavarn and Le-

140. Robert Chao Romero and Kevin Escudero, "'Asian Latinos' and the US Census," *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community* 10, no. 2 (2012): 1–20.

Khac invite us to understand the shared global US imperialist impositions onto Latin America and Asia both domestically and globally, pushing towards a collective understanding of solidarity against US systemic oppressions the Asian and Latinx communities face in the United States.

The literature on AsianLatinx communities and individuals in the United States, while limited, displays understandings and solidifies the implications of how these intermarriages and communities continue to grow. In the AsianLatinx subsection, we saw how South AsianLatinx communities grew due to increased labor demands across the nation.[141] We also understand the question of what AsianLatinx entails, in particular for the Filipinx community. Guevarra delves into the histories of the Mexipinx community in San Diego and Ocampo on the broader Filipinx community identifying as both Latinx and Asian.[142] These texts take us through a history of AsianLatinxs in the United States from the early twentieth century and the present complexities of racialization in the United States amongst various racial and ethnic groups. As Romero and Escudero point out for us, the number of AsianLatinx identifying people in the United States numbered over 300,000 in the year 2000, and that number continues to grow as we continue to see the mixed population in the United States grow year by year.[143] Scholarly research has not

141. Vivek Bald, *Bengali Harlem and the Lost Histories of South Asian America* (Harvard University Press, 2013); Karen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Temple University Press, 1992).

142. Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012); Anthony Christian Ocampo, *The Latinos of Asia: How Filipino Americans Break the Rules of Race* (Stanford University Press, 2016).

143. Robert Chao Romero and Kevin Escudero, "'Asian Latinos' and the US Census," *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community* 10, no. 2 (2012): 1–20, 8.

considered the growing number of AsianLatinx individuals and communities in the United States. Now more than ever, scholars should consider the growing AsianLatinx community in a country led by the highest immigration rates from Asian and Latinx peoples.

Except for the AsianLatinxs in the United States subsection, most, if not all of the works mentioned in this chapter perceive Asian and Latinx communities as monoracial/monoethnic and used spatiality as an opportunity to understand race relations between the two groups. Scholars who function within the premises of interethnic relations see the Asian and Latinx communities as two separate entities that could converge and build multiethnic solidarity movements amongst each other. Where these scholars have created foundations and left off, I resume and continue to explore in my argument for the inclusion of an AsianLatinx studies field to continue moving beyond barriers of racial and ethnic lines. Interethnic relations do not have to be limited to understandings of monoethnic and monoracial comparative analysis. As we see in this chapter, AsianLatinxs are not anomalies to the Asian or Latinx communities in the United States. These groups have always existed, and there needs to be an understanding we are continuing to grow in the United States. We must not continue to be relegated to the confines of the Asian and Latinx communities while simultaneously acknowledging the importance of our existence and the need to be included in the discourse of interethnic relations. Ultimately, what dictates interethnic relations between Asian and Latinx communities is not necessitated only because of spatiality, but also the dominant discriminatory policies and how the United States has relegated Asian and Latinx communities as disposable. As many scholars have pointed out in the literature review, Asian and Latinx communities often live in conjunction with each other is not by coincidence, but more so how the United States functions to relegate these communities as *the other.* While

not always functioning as spaces of solidarity, these interethnic relations offer an opportunity for coalition-building among Asian American and Latinx communities in the United States.

Conclusion

The nascent field of AsianLatinx Studies is a field coming to fruition spanning across various disciplines. As we saw in this literature review of the field, I engage with the following disciplines: history, sociology, psychology, English, Latin American, Latinx, Asian American, and American studies, mixed race studies, and broadly ethnic studies. While I engage with these works, I denote that AsianLatinx studies is not only limited to these fields. By nature, focusing on a particular community such as the large AsianLatinx community worldwide, to engage holistically and intentionally is to not be limited to one academic discipline. The literature presented in this master's thesis allows us to see how scholars have engaged with the AsianLatinx community as well as where their research falls short. The importance is that the amount of literature centering the AsianLatinx community continues to grow allowing for scholars to continue building on these works. The AsianLatinx Studies field is not new, scholars have always written on these AsianLatinx communities because the literature pertaining to these communities has always existed for many years. What I claim that a dedicated field such as AsianLatinx Studies does is rediverts and re-centers mixed AsianLatinx narratives allowing us to understand and make sense of racialization processes for the AsianLatinx diaspora across the Americas.

I acknowledge that I cannot mention all literature pertaining to the AsianLatinx communities around the world; it is simply a task too grand for a master's thesis. However, I want to acknowledge one limitation in particular to this growing AsianLatinx studies field. In particular, the nascent yet salient literature present on the experiences and identity formation of multiple minority AsianLatinxs. That is, the AsianLatinx community that has parents from different countries of origin or ancestry, one from Latin American and the other from Asia. This

particular community is important to highlight considering that the Asian and Latinx migrant communities continue to be the largest migrating groups to the United States, and as DeGuzman alludes to in her book, as the convergence of a *Latinasia* north south east and west across the Americas.[144] As the AsianLatinx multiple minority population community in the United States continues to grow, I believe that research centering AsianLatinx experiences and identity formation expands preexisting fields of study. Thus, these limitations allow for the AsianLatinx Studies fields and scholars invested to take the field in all directions, to expand, elaborate, and imagine a new reality in which AsianLatinx communities around the world are now longer relegated to the margins, but intentionally centered.

Future Directions

By means of conclusion, and drawing from the literature previously discussed, I propose a future qualitative study centered around the experiences of multiple minority mixed AsianLatinx communities in the United States allowing us to understand and situate our preexisting understandings of diaspora and mixed people in the US settler-state. By situating AsianLatinxs at the center of this study, I hope to sit and contend how we understand diaspora and how that differs for people with immigrant parents from different countries, such as AsianLatinxs. What I hope to accomplish with this future study is to recognize and center the growing AsianLatinx community in the United States. By understanding the experiences of AsianLatinxs we can delve into conceptualized understandings of identity formation, racialization processes, transnationalism, diaspora, migration, and more. This project attempts to

144. DeGuzmán, María. *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire*. U of Minnesota Press, 2005, 301.

center these concepts to continue growing our understandings through the experiences of AsianLatinxs in the United States.

The increasing representation of children of immigrants in the political landscape mirrors the ways in which the U.S. continues to diversify. As we continue to see the United States as a hub for diasporas, my proposed project shall examine how current mixed race identity frameworks account for multiple minority individuals of multiple diasporic backgrounds. As the Asian and Latinx immigration rates continue to rise, so have AsianLatinx intermarriages and the number of individuals identifying as AsianLatinx. My proposed research examines the increasing number of multiple minority individuals in the United States by looking at the AsianLatinx population in the United States. As such, my research is guided by the following questions: How do AsianLatinxs construct their multifaceted identity in the U.S. today? How might place and nationality inform the racialization processes and multiracial negotiations Asian-Latinxs navigate in the U.S.?

My interdisciplinary research makes scholarly contributions to the literatures on immigration, racialization, racial identity, and AsianLatinxs. First, I will shed light on the increasing AsianLatinx community in the United States by examining AsianLatinx relations and intermarriages. While AsianLatinx marriages have been understood as fostered through labor shortages and shared spatial location in the United States, I will explore the identify formation of the generation after, the AsianLatinx mixed community. Secondly, I will contribute to the nascent field of critical mixed race studies, a field that critiques whiteness's place within multiracial studies and racial formation theories by focusing on nonwhite individuals from multiple minority backgrounds and how they navigate racialization processes. Lastly, in examining the diasporic experiences of multiple minority individuals, I will also advance

previous identity formation frameworks in the United States. Specifically, I expand on theoretical frameworks of the in-between, third space, and racial formation in the United States by situating the multiple minority individual between the multiple diasporas *and* the United States.

In terms of methodology, my proposed study draws upon various qualitative approaches to examine AsianLatinx identity and racialization processes. Specifically, I will conduct in-depth interviews via narrative inquiry and incorporate cognitive mapping to supplement my interviews. The in-depth interviews allow me to ask questions in relation to constructing their AsianLatinx identity and how pivotal moments in their life contribute to their multifaceted identity. Cognitive mapping allows participants to demonstrate how spatial location has informed their identity formation in the United States. I extend cognitive mapping to go beyond physical location. I will ask participants also to draw a map of their identity in relation to the United States and their parent's diasporic homelands, reflecting on their identity as AsianLatinx children of immigrants. These two methods will allow me to understand how their identity has been shaped in relation to space and how they view themselves as multiple minority individual situated in the United States. I intend to interview at minimum 60 individuals who identify as AsianLatinx across the United States. I have already recruited participants via a snowball sample across various cities such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, and New York City. These diverse cities with higher AsianLatinx concentrations allow me to probe questions on identity in relation to race and space. More than anything else, I hope that this dissertation project allows AsianLatinx people in the United States to share their lived experiences and how they make sense of their own identity formation.

This master's thesis represents my first attempt to centralize the experiences of AsianLatinx communities and peoples across the world. While what seemed like a large task at first, turned out to be manageable for two reasons that juxtapose each other: the scholarship on AsianLatinxs for the most part has existed for four decades, and the field is nascent yet continuing to grow. I do not claim to coin such a field of AsianLatinx Studies but rather redefine and emphasize the importance of centering the narratives of AsianLatinx communities. What I do offer in this thesis and future study is an attempt to reach across various disciplines that have engaged with AsianLatinxs and situate them into a conversation that further develops a subfield focusing on mixed race AsianLatinxs and advances the future of the AsianLatinx Studies field. Across the fields of Asian diaspora in the Americas, mixed race studies, and Asian and Latinx interethnic relations, limitations across all point to the lack of autonomy that allows AsianLatinxs to dictate their own identity and understandings of their identity. These limitations are where I propose my own future study for my dissertation on AsianLatinx identity formation, to understand the nuances while allowing the community to dictate their own narrative. Ultimately, the AsianLatinx Studies field will continue to grow, because we AsianLatinxs continue to grow every single day around the world. I end with the following quote by the late Toni Morrison, "I stood at the border, stood at the edge and claimed it as central. l claimed it as central, and let the rest of the world move over to where I was."[145] I open and end with this quote to emphasize the importance of reclaiming what becomes the central focus or canon. I do not intend to coopt Toni Morrison's words, and fully understand the context of her quote in relation to Blackness, but I do want to acknowledge the importance and possibilities if we are able to situate AsianLatinx

145. Gary Deans et al., *Toni Morrison Uncensored* (Princeton, NJ: Films for the Humanities & Sciences, 1998).

central rather than at the border to better understand diaspora, mixed identity, and racial processes in the United States and around the world.

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