Forging a Mexipino Identity: Multiplicity and Community in San Diego, California*

（メキシピーノ・アイデンティティーの生成――
カリフォルニア州サン・ディエゴの
多様性とコミュニティー）

Rudy P. Guevarra Jr.**

Introduction

On March 15, 2008, Manny Pacquiao and Juan Marquez squared off for the WBC Super Featherweight Championship of the world. The fight was held at the Mandalay Bay Resort and Casino in Las Vegas, Nevada. The fight between Filipino boxer Pacquiao and Mexican boxer Marquez symbolized many things. First, two men—one representing the Philippines and the other Mexico—were competing in a title fight that would garner them and their respective home countries worldwide attention. Their hopes and dreams of economic success were made possible in the United States, where they competed for the title, its cash prize, and bragging rights. Finally, people in the crowd were waving Philippine and Mexico flags, representing the ethnic pride they attached to their respective fighters. Before the fight began, the national anthems of each country were performed. A Filipina represented the Philippines, while a Mexicano performed Mexico's national anthem.

---

* This article is a modified introduction reprinted from Rudy P. Guevarra, Jr., *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012). Used by permission courtesy of Rutgers University Press. This is a revised version of the lecture given at Sophia University on November 17, 2016.

** Associate Professor, Asian Pacific American Studies, School of Social Transformation, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Arizona State University, Arizona, U.S.A.

The U.S. national anthem was notable. There to perform it was fourteen-year-old Jasmine Villegas, a multiethnic Filipina-Mexican, or Mexipina. The image of this Mexipina, who sang her country's most revered song, sent a powerful message filled with layers of symbolism. Villegas's mere presence embodied the coming together of two cultures, one Filipino, one Mexican. She symbolized this union as its product: an American-born, multiethnic Mexipina who embodied this representation of multiplicity in the United States, another reminder echoing President Barack Obama's words about his own multiracial background when he said, "In no other country on earth is my story even possible."[1] Her image indeed tells this story. It is the tale of two communities that participated in this country's economic, social, and cultural development. These communities, one Mexican and the other Filipino, converged, sometimes in competition and in tension but more often in cooperation and coalition to carve a place for themselves and their children. It is a distinct union that has been carried into the twenty-first century. As I watched the event, I knew that this was more than a boxing match. It was a powerful reminder of just how prevalent Mexipino communities are within the fabric of California, Southwest borderlands, and U.S. history.

As a scholar who also shares this multiethnic background, I am often challenged by my colleagues and friends concerning my scholarly interest with chronicling the Mexipino experience in San Diego. When engaging in discussions over my research, I am often asked by my fellow historians, So what? Why is this story important? What makes the interethnic relationship between Mexicans and Filipinos so unique and, more so, what is so special about the lives and experiences of Mexipino children? Let me be clear. As someone who is also Mexipino, this is a personal journey to understand my family and the communities we are a part of in San Diego. I am a fourth-generation Mexipino. My father and grandmother also share this multiethnic mix. Growing up in San Diego, I have met a lot of Mexipinos over the years who share similar experiences, growing up in two cultures. Some of them even go back several generations, like my own family. The Mexipinos I have met over the years are also from different generations. It is a distinct experience that is common in the communities where I grew up in San Diego, yet is given little attention by scholars in the fields of ethnic studies, history, and mixed-race studies. Ours is a story that has existed for several hundred

years and is a common experience throughout California, Washington, New Mexico, and Mexico, among other geographical sites where Mexican and Filipino communities converge, but no one has fully explored this history. I have thus spent my adolescent and adult years trying to understand what historical and contemporary forces shaped the Mexipino experience in a place like San Diego, California.[2] In doing so, I often ask myself, what makes our collective story possible?

San Diego is home to the nation's second largest Filipino community and continues to be a favorable destination for new Filipino immigrants. According to the 2000 census, San Diego's Filipino community currently numbers 133,112, or 4.5 percent of the total population of the county, making them the largest Asian group in San Diego. Sharing a border with Tijuana, Mexico, San Diego is also home to substantial Mexican and Chicano communities that are continually fed by immigration from its southern neighbor. The Mexican population totals 804,047, or 27.1 percent of the county population, making them both the largest Latino group in San Diego and the county's largest ethnic minority. By 2009, the number of Filipinos grew to 135,272, while those who identified as Mexican increased to 805,326.[3] What is even more intriguing is that with the 2000 census, individuals for the first time could mark more than one racial category. As a result, 15 percent, or 249,000 of those with Asian ancestry, also identified as Latino, while 119,829 of those with Latino ancestry also identified as Asian.[4] Taken together, these numbers are impressive regarding the size of the mixed Asian-Latino population in the United States, which would include Mexipinos in those numbers. This signals larger trends: San Diego and the nation at large are fast becoming a nonwhite majority in the twenty-first century. One can only wonder what the 2010 census will reveal with the mixed-race Asian-Latino population.

Collectively, Filipinos and Mexicans have been central in the economic and social development of San Diego since the early twentieth century. As workers they contributed to the agricultural, fish-canning, service work, and wartime industries that made San Diego an economic juggernaut, especially during the 1930s, World War II, and the postwar years. As home to one of the country's largest naval bases, San Diego also solidified its importance as a major military installation on the West Coast. Despite these facts, San Diego as a region has garnered little historical attention. Indeed, the vast majority

of scholarly attention has been given to Los Angeles's ethnic communities and, most notably, its Chicano population. As the gateway to California, San Diego remains in the shadow of its northern neighbor in both social and economic importance. Even more neglected are the histories of its racial and ethnic communities. For example, other than Richard Griswold del Castillo's edited volume, *Chicano San Diego*, and Roberto R. Alvarez Jr.'s *Familia,* there are no other monographs on the Mexican or Chicano experience in San Diego. Similarly, Yen Le Espiritu's *Filipino American Lives* and *Home Bound* are the only full-length studies done on Filipinos in San Diego.[5] Given San Diego's large Mexican and Filipino communities and the interethnic mixing that has and continues to occur, one can only wonder why there is not more scholarship.

More importantly, there is no meaningful analysis exploring the experiences of San Diego's Mexicans and Filipinos in relation to each other. Adelaida Castillo-Tsuchida's 1979 MA thesis was the first to briefly touch upon the interactions between Filipinos and Mexicans in San Diego. James Sobredo's 1998 dissertation on Filipino exclusion campaigns also provides a brief comparative analysis of Mexican and Filipino communities.[6] Although limited in its scope, what Sobredo did provide was the implication of where these sorts of interpretive inquiries can take us. Other scholars, such as Paul Spickard, Maria P. P. Root, and Karen Isaksen Leonard, have also pointed to the historical interactions between both groups. No other work to date has been done to compare their experiences in a substantive way. It is here that I wish to make these historical interventions and unearth these experiences.

As the field of comparative ethnic studies continues to grow, these sorts of comparisons are vital for understanding communities in rural and urban settings. Studies done by Scott Kurashige, Lorrin Thomas, Mark Wild, Karen Isaksen Leonard, Mae M. Ngai, Laura Pulido, Natalia Molina, Paul Spickard, Jonathan Y. Okamura, and Moon-Kie Jung, for example, have led the way in critically examining racial and ethnic groups as both intricate relationships and comparative analysis.[7] This growing body of scholarship is leading the way to interrogate larger questions of what Michael Omi and Howard Winant refer to as "racial formations" and the realities that ethnic and racial groups do not exist in isolation from each other, but rather in *relation to* each other.[8] This comparative/relational multiethnic approach, as geographer Laura Pulido notes, "enables us to see the interaction among various racial/

ethnic groups and their influences on each other."[9] Indeed, it helps us to rethink how we understand race and racial formations by rearticulating these conversations to include the complexities of racial hierarchies that go beyond the dichotomy of the black/white binary.[10] My study contributes to this growing body of work by filling an important scholarly gap. It expands on these works by exploring how the shared experiences of Mexicans and Filipinos in San Diego forged a distinct identity over several generations from two ethnicities that share overlapping histories, a similar culture, and lived experiences. Their relationship, however, was complex, forged through moments of both cooperation and disagreement, which will be highlighted in the pages that follow. They also had differential experiences at times, especially when it came to matters such as citizenship, factors influencing immigration experiences, and the issue of whiteness that some Mexicans evoked and that Filipinos could not. Shifting racial positions for both groups, as historian Scott Kurashige notes in his study on Black Japanese in Los Angeles, "varied over time and space in conjunction with demographic, economic, and political changes," which also affected San Diego in regional, national, and transnational/transpacific ways.[11] Yet despite these moments of divergence or difference, their relationship serves as an example for the possibilities of interethnic cooperation and coalition building. We can learn from their experiences as we continue to live in a country where different racial and ethnic groups converge in multiple settings.

Multiplicity and the Mexipino Experience

In both historical and contemporary contexts, multiracial/multiethnic settings ultimately lead to the formation of interethnic and interracial mixing and mixed-race children through personal relationships, shared experiences and overlapping histories. Indeed, racial mixing has always been a part of our nation's history, despite the aggressive attempts of local, state, and federal officials to prevent these unions (and procreation for that matter) through various miscegenation laws over the past three hundred years. These racist miscegenation laws were finally declared unconstitutional at the national level with the Supreme Court case *Loving v. Virginia* in 1967.[12] As a result, interracial mixing and marriage proliferated, which in turn increased

the number of multiracial children during the baby boom of the 1980s and 1990s.[13] The scholarship that came out of this time period to address the multiracial population also increased. Although much of the early research done on interracial coupling and mixed-race identity were on biracial black/white individuals and families, research in the field of Asian American and Pacific Islander studies moved beyond the black/white dichotomy and included the voices of multiracial and multiethnic Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. A large portion of these early studies came out of California and other West Coast states, Hawai‘i, and the present-day U.S. Southwest, revealing an experience that was just never black and white, but rather multiethnic, and included Asian, Pacific Islander, Mexican (and other Latinos), and indigenous ancestries. Although some of these stories initially followed a similar nonwhite/white dichotomy, more voices emerged from subsequent studies to include a variety of mixed race/ethnic experiences and interracial/interethnic coupling. The field of Chicana and Chicano studies also had a few early studies addressing the issue of multiethnic and multiracial Mexican, Chicana, and Chicano identity. A small sample of this extensive and growing body of early and contemporary works from both disciplines includes studies by Paul Spickard, Maria P. P. Root, Teresa Williams-León, Velina Hasu Houston, Cynthia Nakashima, Christina Iijima Hall, Rowena Fong, Kip Fulbeck, Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, George Kitahara Kich, Karen Isaksen Leonard, Gloria Anzaldúa, Kevin R. Johnson, and Martha Menchaca, for example. Collectively, these studies paved the way toward rearticulating and moving beyond the black/white or white/other paradigm of race and mixed-race relations and focusing on the understudied histories of mixed-race peoples of Asian, Pacific Islander, and Mexican descent and the rich, complex ways identities are forged and maintained.[14] It is here that my work also makes a theoretical intervention by proposing to include a distinct experience in communities throughout the West Coast and U.S. Southwest, places not yet included in this body of scholarship. Indeed, I contend that one of the missing stories in these regions is the Filipino-Mexican connection and the frequent coupling and multiethnic experience that have existed for centuries yet have never been given full attention in understanding the complexities of race and ethnic relations and multiple identity formations in the growing field of mixed-race studies.

Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San

Diego is a social-historical interpretation of two ethnic groups, one Mexican, the other Filipino, whose paths led them to San Diego, California, from 1903 to 1965. I situate my study between these two historical moments to document the first migration of Filipinos to San Diego in the twentieth century and the impact that the changes in the Immigration Act of 1965 had on both Mexican and Filipino communities. Although African Americans, indigenous peoples, those of Chinese and Japanese ancestry, and whites figure in this story at different historical moments, the major actors in this story are Mexicans and Filipinos and their Mexipino children. Indeed, this book recounts the story of how predominately Filipino men and Mexican women, key characters in this tale, were part of multiracial communities that lived, worked, worshipped, and socialized together under various contexts with overlapping histories. As Scott Kurashige writes about the black and Japanese American communities of Los Angeles, here I also demonstrate how and why Mexicans and Filipinos "came to occupy overlapping positions within the racial politics and geography" of twentieth-century San Diego and how "race functions in a multiethnic context."[15] Their cultural similarities were initially forged from a shared Spanish colonial past and have resonated through the twentieth century. They formed intimate relationships over several generations and raised multiethnic Mexipino children. As they came of age, generations of Mexipinos forged new identities for themselves that were rich and complex as they navigated through their multiethnic families and communities, creating an experience that continues to be distinct in its own right. Borrowing Kevin Mumford's process of "excavating a genealogy," I uncover the multiple layers of historical narrative that explain how Mexicans and Filipinos came together in the twentieth century and the various "interzones" that facilitate their intricate, interethnic relationships.[16]

The challenging part of telling this story, however, is the dearth of sources available for both Mexican and Filipino communities in San Diego. I painstakingly searched all of the archives available in San Diego and throughout the state of California to find scattered fragments of information about the presence and participation of Mexicans, Filipinos, and Mexipinos in their communities. My search for evidence took me as far north as Seattle, Washington, and south to Acapulco, Mexico. I excavated sources such as newspapers, labor reports, government documents, census reports, city directories, immigration records, baptismal and marriage records, and other

primary and secondary sources. Although I tried to weave together their stories as best as I could, there were certain chapters that had fewer sources and less documentation on either group when discussing them collectively. What I had to do is rely on the fragments of information I gathered and use them to the best of my ability, given the lack of sources available. Personal interviews were also vital to this story. The dozens of individual and families I interviewed were helpful in contributing their stories, personal documents, and photographs. These included Filipinos, Mexicans, and Mexipinos spanning several generations. They helped me build a personal archive of sources, enabling me to share their narratives with you. Their collective memories are at the heart of this story, breathing life into the photographs, archival documents, and personal archives I gathered during the course of writing this book.

Before we begin this journey exploring the interactions of Mexicans and Filipinos in twentieth-century San Diego, we need to look back several centuries, to when their first meetings took place in the era of Spanish exploration and colonialism. This historical episode laid the foundation for their twentieth-century interactions and is important to understanding how deep their connections are in the context of this story.

Spanish Colonialism and the Origins of Mexipinismo

Cultural similarities are the foundation of the Mexican and Filipino relationship—a relationship that began in the sixteenth century. For more than 250 years, Philippine and Mexican history was intertwined through the Acapulco-Manila Galleon Trade (1565 to 1815), a byproduct of both countries' Spanish colonialism. This global enterprise under Spain's empire brought about an exchange of luxury goods, agricultural produce, precious metals, and, most of all, people. Filipino and Mexican *indios* and *mestizos* were key actors in the human and cultural exchanges that took place and forged centuries of racial and cultural blending, or *mestizaje* in both Mexico and the Philippines. The relationships they made extended well beyond what even their Spanish colonizers expected.[17] Indeed, in addition to the agricultural goods exchanged between Mexico and the Philippines, which have greatly impacted both countries, Filipinos and Mexicans cohabited and

intermarried for centuries. During the 250 years of the galleon trade, Filipino and Mexican indios and mestizos arrived in each other's countries as slaves, servants, concubines, and soldiers. Given the brutality and forced servitude experienced by the Filipino and Mexican laborers on the galleons across the nine-thousand-mile journey, desertion was inevitable.[18] Upon a galleon's arrival in Manila, its predominately Mexican crew deserted, blending into the local Filipino indio and mixed-race communities. The same phenomenon occurred when galleons reached Acapulco's ports. Thousands of Filipinos jumped ship and also blended into the local Mexican indio and mixed-race populations. This took place for the next 250 years, resulting in Filipinized Mexicans in the Philippines, and Mexicanized Filipinos in Mexico. Although there is a dearth of evidence regarding the Mexican presence in the Philippines during this time, there is a bit more documented evidence of the Filipino presence in Mexico. According to the journalist and author Floro Mercene, for example, mixed Mexican-Filipinos can trace their Filipino ancestry back over fifteen generations. Filipinos and mixed Mexican-Filipinos were also active participants in major events in Mexican history, including independence from Spain and the founding of several Mexican towns.[19]

When Mexicans and Filipinos began intermixing, they found they had a lot in common, such as religion. Under Spanish colonialism, Mexicans and Filipinos were predominately Catholic, which enabled them to participate in religious events and celebrations together, as well as forge stronger bonds through the practice of *compadrazgo,* or godparenthood. This was something that both Mexicans and Filipinos already practiced prior to Spanish Catholicism; it was just further reinforced, which strengthened the bonds between Mexicans and Filipinos. Spanish colonialism also influenced both groups by giving them a shared language. Other Filipino dialects, such as Tagalog and Chavacano, also have many Spanish words in them.[20] Filipinos and Mexicans also shared various religious and cultural events such as Dia de los Muertos (Day of the Dead) and the coming-of-age ceremonies for young women (the Filipina debut and Mexican *quinceañera*), which are similar in tradition and significance, and the spectacle of cockfighting.[21] These are just some examples of the many cultural exchanges that both groups engaged in, which had a lasting impact on both their countries. These cultural exchanges reinforced the bonds of mestizaje between Mexicans and Filipinos.

Although the galleon trade ended in 1815, these historical ties and cultural bonds laid the foundation for what would be the renewed interethnic relationships and communities in twentieth-century San Diego and other locals throughout California and the Pacific West Coast. Wherever there were Mexicans and Filipinos, cultural interactions were renewed and interethnic relationships and communities were formed. What resulted was a multicultural experience that resonates to present-day Mexican and Filipino cultural expressions. The children from these twentieth-century families and communities are thus part of a long historical, collective memory of Mexipinos who trace their origins to the first interactions that took place in the sixteenth century. It is this cultural, linguistic, and religious foundation that enabled Mexicans and Filipinos in San Diego, for example, to forge multigenerational interethnic families and identities. This foundation however, is just the beginning.

Mapping the Mexipino Experience

My study begins by investigating the colonial relationships between Mexico, the Philippines, and the United States. These colonial relationships allowed the United States to draw upon it colonial workforce to help build its western seaboard cities, such as San Diego. Immigration acts that excluded Asians and other European ethnic groups in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries worked in conjunction with the unrestricted flow of Mexican and Filipino labor to the United States. Both groups immigrated in mass numbers during the early twentieth century to help build San Diego into a major metropolitan city. For Mexicans this was a transnational experience, while Filipinos engaged in a transpacific migration. The labor of Mexicans and Filipinos fueled the diversified industries of San Diego's agriculture, fish-canning, defense, and service sectors. The U.S. Navy was also a means by which Filipinos came to San Diego, thus serving in the American empire.

I follow these early migration experiences with examining how the forces of race and the politics of space shaped the Mexican and Filipino communities of San Diego. Race was the primary factor in the formation of segregated communities, which were a part of larger multiracial spaces where these two groups converged and interacted with African Americans,

Asian Americans, and some European ethnics. As whites fled the changing demographics in these aging areas, they used race-restrictive covenants, local and state-sponsored redlining, and even violence and intimidation to confine Mexicans, Filipinos, and other nonwhites to their racially prescribed spaces. Mexicans and Filipinos turned inward for safety, support, and cultural familiarity. These communities were formed primarily in the South Bay, the Southeast, along the waterfront (e.g. Logan Heights) and a small section of downtown San Diego.

In these racially confined spaces I explore the social worlds that Mexicans and Filipinos created to cope with the social pressures of racial segregation and discrimination. Within their multiracial communities, Mexicans and Filipinos formed social organizations, such as mutual aid societies and social clubs, as mechanisms of ethnic solidarity and camaraderie. These organizations were also established to fight for the civil rights of those enduring racial discrimination. These existed both as separate ethnic organizations and as interracial ones that included Mexicans, Filipinos, and Mexipinos. Social clubs, for example, were more prevalent among second- and third-generation teenagers who also created vibrant youth cultures that were distinct in their own right. These youth cultures included fashion, music, and other forms of entertainment, which provided them a nurturing haven from life's drudgeries and a hostile outside world.

Labor is key to this study. I examine how labor and racial oppression was critical to the workplace interactions between Mexicans and Filipinos. Since both groups experienced exploitation and racial oppression, they found a common bond on which they developed their own respective worker cultures that varied with the industries in which they labored. They also organized together to fight their oppression by working under coalitions of separate ethnic unions, as well as forming interethnic ones. Work cultures, labor organizing, and the daily interactions that Mexicans and Filipinos experienced in their communities strengthened their interethnic relationships. Labor was thus a vital factor in how Mexican and Filipino communities were established and intimately tied together in San Diego.

Through these mutually shared experiences, intimate relationships were forged. I examine the ways in which interethnic relationships formed, primarily between Filipino men and Mexican women. Given that both groups shared many cultural, religious, and linguistic similarities and were

for the most part immune to the miscegenation laws of the times, they began a network of Filipino-Mexican families that linked together San Diego, the Imperial Valley, and Tijuana, Mexico. These relationships occurred over several generations beginning in the late 1920s. The Mexipino children that came from these unions are the legacy of this multigenerational relationship. Their multicultural upbringing allowed Mexipino children to identify with both aspects of their parents' cultures. Interactions with newly arrived Filipino and Mexican immigrant groups that questioned their cultural authenticity also illustrate how Mexipinos are in tension with their cultures of origin. In response Mexipinos used their multiethnic identity to resist and challenge mono-ethnic identities. It is this experience, I argue, that demands a reassessment of what it means to be both Mexican *and* Filipino and how group identity and community were, and continue to be, redefined by Mexipinos in the twenty-first century.

My study concludes with the post-1965 Mexipino experience with their participation in the cultural nationalist movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s in San Diego and, more recently, with transpacific and transnational activism in the Philippines and Mexico. As recent arrivals from the Philippines and Mexico continue to migrate and settle in satellite suburban communities, class tensions also define Filipino-Mexican relations with older, established communities. The epilogue also looks at the future of Mexican-Filipino relations and how the experiences of Mexipinos help us to understand these relationships through a multiethnic lens.

By telling this story I explore how we can use the shared experiences of Mexicans and Filipinos in San Diego to understand how ethnic communities function in relation to each other in a local context, while tying it to larger multiethnic narratives of California, the Southwest borderlands, and U.S. history, which are influenced by transnational and transpacific events. Oftentimes ethnic and racial communities are marginalized and neglected by these very narratives. Their stories have been hidden, even excluded from the dominant narrative of our nation's past, rendering them invisible, or a shadow at best. I attempt to follow in the footsteps of other revisionist historians and ethnic studies scholars who have been able to bring "the margin at the center." Indeed, by probing the historical amnesia that plagues San Diego's past, I can follow historian Richard Griswold del Castillo's attempt to empower Mexicans and Filipinos "with a sense of belonging and of pride in

their participation in the rich history of this region."[22] Thus, by examining the intimate, complex relationship between Mexicans and Filipinos in San Diego and exploring how they and their multiethnic children carved a place for themselves in the United States, we can begin to appreciate how identities and communities are formed, nurtured, and sustained over generations. Indeed, the multiple generations of Mexipinos are testimony to this unique history of multiethnic communities in the United States. It is a story worth telling.

Notes

1. "My Vision for America: Speeches by Barack Obama," November 8, 2008, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/race-for-whitehouse/my-vision-for-america-speeches-by-barack-obama-1001275.html (accessed July 8, 2010).
2. For more on the experiences of Mexipinos in San Diego, see Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., "Burritos and Bagoong: Mexipinos and Multiethnic Identity in San Diego, California," in *Crossing Lines: Race and Mixed Race across the Geohistorical Divide,* ed. Marc Coronado, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., Jeffrey Moniz, and Laura Furlan Szanto (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2005), 73-96.
3. U.S. Census Bureau, 2006-2008 American Community Survey, San Diego County, CA, ACS Demographic and Housing Estimates: 2006-2008; U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2009 American Community Survey, San Diego County, CA, ACS Demographic and Housing Estimates: 2005-2009; Yen Le Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 22.
4. Census numbers provided in Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Voices of Asian Latinas and Latinos, Historical Perspective, Forced Removal and Displacement, Interesting and Unusual Situations," http://www.jrank.org/cultures/pages/3615/Asian-Latinos.html (accessed March 3, 2011).
5. Richard Griswold del Castillo, ed., *Chicano San Diego: Cultural Space and the Struggle for Justice* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007); Robert R. Alvarez Jr., *Familia: Migration and Adaptation in Baja and Alta California, 1800-1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Yen Le Espiritu, *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives across Cultures, Communities, and Countries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); and Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives.*
6. See Adelaida Castillo-Tsuchida, "Filipino Migrants in San Diego, 1900-1946" (MA thesis, University of San Diego, 1979); and James D. Sobredo, "From American 'Nationals' to the 'Third Asiatic Invasion': Racial Transformation and Filipino Exclusion (1898-1934)" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1998), 213-28.
7. Scott Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); Lorrin Thomas, *Puerto Rican Citizen: History and Political Identity in Twentieth-Century New York City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); Mark Wild, *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic*

Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004); Natalia Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Paul Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008); and Moon-Kie Jung, *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii's Interracial Labor Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

8. Omi and Winant refer to racial formations as "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed." See Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formations in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 55.
9. Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left*, 3.
10. Ibid., 4.
11. Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 4.
12. For more on the Supreme Court decision of *Loving v. Virginia* (1967), see Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 287-96; and *Loving v. Virginia*, 388, U.S. 1 (1967).
13. Although Maria P. P. Root refers to it as the "biracial baby boom," collectively, individuals who may already be biracial when entering mixed-race or ethnic unions in the United States create a more complex multiracial baby boom experience. See Maria P. P. Root, ed., *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996), xiv.
14. One of the earliest studies done on interracial mixing and mixed-race identity was by sociologist Romanzo Adams, who looked at the Hawaiian Islands as a geographic site for these experiences. See Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii: A Study of the Mutually Conditioned Processes of Acculturation and Amalgamation* (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1969). For more on the multiracial baby boom studies to come out after the 1980s, see Paul R. Spickard, *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); Maria P. P. Root, ed., *Racially Mixed People in America* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1992); Paul R. Spickard and Rowena Fong, "Pacific Islander Americans and Multiethnic Identity: A Vision of America's Future?" *Social Forces* 73, no. 4 (June 1995): 1365-83; Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, "Addressing Issues of Biracial/Bicultural Asian Americans," in *Reflections on Shattered Windows: Promises and Prospects for Asian American Studies*, ed. Gary Y. Okihiro et al. (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1988), 111-16; Teresa Williams-León and Cynthia L. Nakashima, eds., *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed Heritages, Asian Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Velina Hasu Houston and Teresa Kay Williams, eds., "No Passing Zone: The Artistic and Discursive Voices of Asian-Descent Multiracials," special issue, *Amerasia Journal* 23, no. 1 (1997); Stephen L. Murphy-Shigematsu, "The Voices of Amerasians: Ethnicity, Identity, and Empowerment in Interracial Japanese Americans" (dissertation.com, 1999); Root, ed., *The Multiracial Experience*; Christina Iijima Hall, "The Ethnic Identity of Racially Mixed People: A Study of Black Japanese" (PhD diss., University of California, 1980); George Kitahara Kich, "Eurasians: Ethnic/Racial Identity Development of Biracial Japanese/White Adults" (PhD diss., University of California,

1983); Kip Fulbeck, *Paper Bullets: A Fictional Autobiography* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*; Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987); Kevin R. Johnson, *How Did You Get to Be Mexican? A White/ Brown Man's Search for Identity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999); and Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Reconstructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

15. Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race,* 2, 4.
16. For more on this, see Kevin Mumford, *Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
17. Most references to the term *indio* in Spanish records regarding the Philippines generally referred to native Filipinos. The same could also be applied for indigenous Mexicans. The term *mestizo* initially referred to both Filipinos and Mexicans who were of indio and Spanish ancestry. These terms, however, were never fixed and changed depending on time and space. For more on these terms, see Edward R. Slack Jr., "Sinifying New Spain: Cathay's Influence on Colonial Mexico via the *Nao de China,*" *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 5 (2009): 5-8; Edward R. Slack Jr., "The *Chinos* in New Spain: A Corrective Lens for a Distorted Image," *Journal of World History* 20, no. 1 (2009): 35-67; Arnoldo Carlos Vento, *Mestizo: The History, Culture, and Politics of the Mexican and Chicano* (New York: University Press of America, 1998); C. E. Marshall, "The Birth of the Mestizo in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 19, no. 2 (May 1939): 161-84; and Edward Slack Jr., e-mail correspondence with author, January 3-4, 2011.
18. William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon: The Romantic History of the Spanish Galleons Trading between Manila and Acapulco* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959), 263; and Eugene Lyon, "Track of the Manila Galleons," *National Geographic* 178, no. 3 (September 1990): 28-34.
19. Floro L. Mercene, "15 Generations of Filipinos Thriving in Mexico," *Philippine News* (June 21-27, 2000), A15; Mercene, *Manila Men in the New World: Filipino Migration to Mexico and the Americas from the Sixteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 118-30.
20. Museum Exhibit Display Information, "Crossbreeding or Mestizaje," Museo Histórico de Acapulco Fuerte de San Diego, Acapulco, Mexico. All subsequent references to the museum's exhibit displays will be referred as MEDI. Amalia R. Mamaed, "Distant Cousins," *Hispanic* (January/February 1994): 30-32; Mercene, *Manila Men in the New World*, 122-24.
21. See MEDI, "Contributions of New Spain to the Philippines" and "Crossbreeding or Mestizaje"; Evelyn Ibatan Rodriguez, "Comparing Filipina Debuts and Mexican Quinceañeras," Mexican-Filipino American File, Filipino American National Historical Society, National Pinoy Archives, Seattle, Washington (hereafter cited as FANHS NPA); Carlos Quirino, "The Mexican Connection: The Cultural Cargo of the Manila-Acapulco Galleons" (source unknown), 933-34, Manila Galleons File, FANHS NPA; Mamaed, "Distnt Cousins," 30-32; Marcelino A. Foronda Jr., "Vigan: A Study of Mexican Cultural Influences in the Philippines," *Journal of Social History* (Manila, Philippines) 21, nos. 1-2 (January-December 1976): 1-12; and Mercene, *Manila Men in the New World*, 123-27.
22. Mumford, *Interzones,* xii; and Griswold del Castillo, *Chicano San Diego,* 5.