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Transnational Crossroads

Camilla Fojas

Rudy P. Guevarra Jr.

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Transnational Crossroads

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BORDERLANDS AND TRANSCULTURAL STUDIES

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edited by Camilla Fojas & Rudy P. Guevarra Jr.

Transnational Crossroads

Remapping the Americas and the Pacific

University of Nebraska Press | Lincoln & London

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In loving memory of Louis Baas Fojas,
Consuelo Fernandez, and Raúl Beltrán

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Introduction

Camilla Fojas and Rudy P. Guevarra Jr.

Transnational Crossroads explores the contact among Asian, Latina/o, and Pacific Islander cultures and communities in the Americas and the American Pacific that is apparent in key figures, migratory paths, cultural productions, and social and political formations. Perhaps the most infamous example of this transcultural contact is that of Alberto Fujimori, the former president of Peru, who maintains strong ties to Japan and Latin America, evinced by his dual Peruvian and Japanese citizenship. After leaving his self-imposed exile in Japan in 2000, Fujimori was extradited from Chile to Peru, where in April 2009 he was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison after being found guilty of ordering massacres and kidnappings during his tenure as commander in chief. Although the victims' families and human rights groups around the world celebrated his sentencing, it was not without conflict, for Fujimori is still revered by many Peruvians for his legacy in bringing the country out of near economic and political collapse and for his role in subduing the leftist guerrilla group El Sendero Luminoso, the Shining Path; in fact hundreds of Fujimori supporters, or *fujimoristas*, took to the streets to protest his sentence, and his closest ally, his daughter Keiko, once a congresswoman in Peru, was narrowly defeated in the 2011 run-off election for the presidency.[1]

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On the popular culture front, the multiethnic band Ozomatli, with Latino and Asian American band members (among others), points to the new kinds of collaboration and political solidarity between Asian American and Latina/o Americans that is created in the music and entertainment media. Their compositions illustrate their multiethnic sound and often feature overtly political lyrics. Similarly the famed Latin pop star Enrique Iglesias, touted for his Spanish songs and crossover appeal in the United States, is of mixed Filipino and Spanish ancestry. These two examples were preceded by the renowned Mexican singer and entertainer Ana Gabriel, who foregrounds her Mexican Chinese heritage in her public image.[2] Twenty years ago Chicano activists and audiences were scandalized when the mestizo Filipino actor Lou Diamond Phillips took major roles in Latino cinematic productions, such as the lead role of Ritchie Valens in Gregory Nava's *La Bamba* and a Chicano gang member in *Stand and Deliver*. Now the protagonist in a recent film about the Chicano student movement, *Walkout* (2006), is openly Filipina Mexican, or as the character's father refers to her, a "Chilipina." And Phillips has been embraced by the Filipino American community; he was recognized by *Filipinas* magazine in 2001 and awarded the Asian Pacific Islander Heritage award in 2005 for his work in the entertainment media.

The collaboration and continuities between these two communities, Filipino and Mexican, in the United States has begun to be recognized in mainstream media. This recognition affects subsequent political, social, and cultural formations and challenges the separation between ethnic and racialized communities, which, as many who study these topics are aware, has always been part of the larger tapestry of Asian-Latina/o relations. Indeed many of the regions of this study—Hawai'i, the Philippines, the Caribbean, and North and South America—have long histories of racial mixing and cross-cultural contact. We seek to bring these lineages to the fore to forge the groundwork for new ways of approaching often disparate fields of study toward the formation of transnational and comparative studies of the Americas and the American

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Pacific. *Transnational Crossroads* participates in what Masao Miyoshi calls the "de-disciplining" of geographical spaces and bodies of knowledge as they pertain to Asian and Latina/o America and the American Pacific. Utilizing a comparative and relational framework this collection of essays weaves together narratives of U.S. and Spanish empire; globalization; resistance; social, labor, and political movements; and identity.

Scope of the Book

Transnational Crossroads interrogates "America" as a placeless place that does not neatly index the mainland territory of the United States but instead corresponds to the larger geopolitical boundaries of the Americas and the American Pacific. We use the term "crossroads" to evoke the idea of a place where various lines of inquiry intersect to produce new forms of knowledge and ways of seeing. This study of the Americas adds an east-west dimension to the typically north-south orientation. Thus the focus shifts from the United States as the purported center of American studies to foreground contact and collaboration across the Americas and the American Pacific. American studies has just begun to reflect changes in world dynamics that have impacted the role and function of the United States in the hemisphere and beyond. Though cultural and political contact across and between the American hemispheres and the American Pacific has a long history, there is little academic work that examines the consequences and contemporary conditions of this contact. *Transnational Crossroads* foregrounds the cultural contact and political alliances that have shaped the newly defined force field of America and examines how this region is profoundly affected by a long history of colonialism and imperialism. Recent American studies scholarship has moved away from the exceptionalist model to examine the United States in terms of its naked imperial ambitions while excavating the actual meaning of "America" as inclusive of the entire hemisphere. Scholars such as José David Saldívar, E. San Juan Jr., George Yúdice, Haunani-Kay Trask, Amy Kaplan, Greg Grandin, John Mason Hart, Donald

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Pease, Robyn Wiegman, David Stannard, and Rob Wilson have led this charge.[3] *Transnational Crossroads* carries on this critical tradition but adds the South American hemisphere and the American Pacific into the examination of the multiple imperial legacies of the Americas, particularly within a comparative analysis of the U.S. and Spanish empires.

An emergent body of work over the past few years has set the stage for comparative ethnic studies, especially as it relates to Asian and Latina/o America. Books by Mae Ngai, Natalia Molina, Scott Kurashige, Luis Alvarez, Eileen O'Brien, and Laura Pulido provide comparative frameworks for understanding the experiences of both Chicana/os and Latina/os, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders with regard to issues such as immigration, health, racialization, and social activism in the United States. Similarly studies done by Sandhya Shukla and Heidi Tinsman and by Rob Wilson also expand this comparative approach with regard to national and disciplinary boundaries, expanding notions of what "America" means in a rapidly globalizing world. Shukla and Tinsman's *Imagining Our Americas*, for example, provides a hemispheric approach beyond the confines of an America that is not bound by borders but is a space where transnational realities exist.[4]

Transnational Crossroads brings together many areas of study and disciplines to forge a global perspective around imperial formations in the American hemisphere and the Pacific. Often Latin American, Asian American, and Pacific Islander studies are separate "area studies," just as American studies and Latin American studies had been in the early years of their development. American studies began as a nationalist project about U.S. identity and the formation of the nation-state. Latin American studies in the United States emerged during the cold war to serve the intelligence interests of Washington, though by the 1970s Latin American studies in the United States shifted focus and became inflected with the political work of left-leaning thinkers. U.S. American studies and Latin American studies were mutually exclusive projects that

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served the same aims: the continued dominance of the United States in the hemisphere and the commanding position of Washington. Recent American studies work links these two projects around a critical and reflexive approach that includes a trans-American perspective and examines the imperial ambitions of the United States.

Asian American and Latina/o studies, like American and Latin American studies, share the same origin; both emerged in a post–civil rights context to examine the histories, cultural productions, political formations, and social movements of Asian Americans and Latina/os. Yet Asian American studies and Latina/o studies have been kept separate, a reflection of the racial stratification of the United States. Moreover ethnic studies has harbored U.S.-centric notions based on exceptionalist ideas about the exemplary case of U.S. civil rights struggles. Often the United States remains at the center of ethnic studies, and U.S. processes of racialization are central to its formation.

Transnational Crossroads engages the colonial and imperial histories of migrations and cultural and political contact across the Americas and the Pacific that displaces the United States from the center of critical analysis. For instance, we include areas of research that have been marginal to recent studies of the Americas. Hawaiian studies is rarely at the center of ethnic and American studies, as it has been to Pacific Islands studies. Yet Hawaiian studies examines issues of sovereignty and native self-determination and U.S. imperialism that set it apart from the larger rubric of Pacific Islands studies. Likewise Filipina/o studies has unique features that distinguish it from Asian or Asian American studies. Filipina/o studies explores the transnational links among Filipinos in the diaspora and the Philippines along with issues of both Spanish colonialism and U.S. imperialism.

This volume seeks to be a foundational text that will bring all of these areas of study together under the same umbrella. We bring together comparative American and comparative ethnic studies while opening up a field of study that compares Asian Pacific American and Latin American studies. Thus academic programs

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of study might rethink the boundaries and separations among academic units and seek new collaborations and new comparative and relational analyses for pressing concerns related to immigration, borders and national identity, and political coalition building. Our hope is that this volume enables new cross-discipline work and creative collaborations that will help students to think differently and maneuver an increasingly complex and interconnected global world. We bring together work on migration in the Americas, the political solidarity of Latina/os and Asians, political and social movements in the American Pacific, and comparative imperialism to show how these areas of study and the essays that represent these intersecting themes connect in comparative, relational, and global ways.

Part 1. The End of Empire: Spanish and U.S. Imperialism

The southern American hemisphere—from the U.S.-Mexican borderlands to the Southern Cone, and the American Pacific from Hawai'i to the Philippines and Guam—share many issues and concerns relating to national and cultural sovereignty, independent political formations, and socioeconomic and political stability. Each region must deal with the expanding notion of "America" as a term that has been colonized as shorthand for the United States and as an imperial concept—where "America" means, paradoxically, the forced imposition of democratic freedoms and at-will interventions to protect those freedoms. The borderless space of America links the various singularities and seeming incongruities in the hemisphere and across the Pacific. The American Pacific, Latina/o America, and Asian America are at the margins of America, in the places that are part of its territorial identity but not its definitional center. This anthology challenges the invisibility of these regions to the core notion of "America" and connects often disparate areas of study to foreground continuities and trends among places that share an Americanism of culture and name.

Recent work on the analysis of imperialism tends to focus on the role of the United States at the helm of global politics.[5] We

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argue that U.S. imperialism cannot be extracted from the legacies of Spanish imperialism in the hemisphere and in the Pacific. The comparison of the Spanish and U.S. imperial formations links the Pacific to the Americas while it also reveals how the process and status of empire have changed. The contemporary form and function of empire and its definitional center resides with the United States, but it is the shared history of Spanish subjection that links Latin America, parts of the Caribbean, the Philippines, and Guam.

The Uruguayan thinker Enrique Rodó, in his essay "Ariel" (1900), compared U.S. and Spanish cultural hegemony in a manner that shaped subsequent analyses of this relation.[6] His "Ariel" is a symbol of the intellectual and romantic spirit of Europe, and he implores Latin America to recognize and embrace this lineage. The United States is characterized by cold materialism and the ambitious drive, at all costs, to hegemony. Rodó cautions against the drive to modernization at the expense of cultural and intellectual development and calls for the creation of an elite class of cultural producers. Of course, his rhetorical exhortations were interpreted by later generations as the agenda of the ruling class. After the Cuban Revolution the Cuban thinker Roberto Fernández Retamar would rewrite "Ariel" as "Caliban" and propose the creation of liberatory cultural productions that value working-class contributions to national cultural identity.[7] What each writer from either side of the socioeconomic divide shares is the comparative analysis of postcolonial experience in the shadow of U.S. cultural imperialism. This back-to-back imperialism is more directly experienced by the regions linked by the Spanish-American War. Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam were "liberated" from Spain only to be placed directly into the imperial force field of the United States.

In this anthology we argue that it is possible to understand these island histories only within the context of shared and dual imperial relations. The histories of Spanish and U.S. imperialism are deeply imbricated. In many ways the rise to power of the United States is directly connected to the failures of the Spanish Empire. One

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of the greatest gains in territory occurred after the Mexican-U.S. War in 1848, when the United States annexed a massive amount of land that had formerly belonged to Spain. After 1898 the United States would present itself as a benevolent hero of freedom and independence to the former colonies of Spain. If the two empires were to be compared, as they were in "Ariel," it would be along the axis of modernity. Spanish rule was characterized by brutal conversions to Catholicism, corrupt rule, excessive taxation, hierarchical social relations, and adherence to tradition.[8] At the end of its imperial rule, Spain had remained unchanged for centuries and had acquired the status of being archaic and backward. After the Spanish-American War, the United States promised cultural and economic uplift from the downward pull of Spanish backwardness. The Spanish imperial career in the American hemisphere and the Philippines was finally terminated in 1898, with the Spanish-American War opening the way for the subsequent rise of U.S. dominance in the region and the Pacific. The corrupt and weakening influence of the Spanish Empire left its former colonies prey to U.S. colonial rule and vulnerable to its many promises of cultural and economic uplift. The United States offered modernization of public works and institutions and political restructuring and opened up trade relations. But these benevolent gestures concealed sinister motives to control these new colonies at all costs; the United States would engage in an illegal war against Filipinos from 1899 to 1902 (which led to continued resistance until 1916), slaughtering an estimated one million Filipinos who resisted being "liberated."[9]

The geopolitical boundaries of the United States, far from being natural or predestined by the shape of its territorial space, can be traced back to international wars and conflicts. Those boundaries are an effect of the competition among empires, particularly the Spanish and the French, and the success of the United States in the nineteenth century set the stage for its global imperial image in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. From the original settlements to the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the Mexican- and

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Spanish-American wars in 1848 and 1898, respectively, the wars in Asia and Central America, and the wars in the Gulf region and the Middle East, the motives for international engagement have shifted from desire for territorial expansion to the promotion and display of influence and "American" values. Washington has reshaped the meaning of empire to something practically unrecognizable and easily disavowed; George W. Bush and his staff often denied the existence of a U.S. Empire, stating plainly on many occasions that "the United States is not an empire." In actuality the United States is the only truly global empire that has created and disseminated a world system based on its principles. The United States is both visible and invisible as the center of world organization; it is the absent center that shapes the whole. The "Americanism" of the world order is most apparent in the shape of "America," which has migrated from the mainland United States to the Caribbean and the Pacific. We use the term "America" to link these disparate locations and spaces, and we do so in a manner that is critical, recognizing the imperial drive that animates it.

The transnational flows that are an effect of empire have recently been marked as sinister routes of terrorism. For instance, the colonial connection between the United States and the Philippines was not a very visible part of popular or public culture in the United States—the opposite is true in Filipino popular culture—until the specter of terrorism forcefully emerged after the tragic events of September 11, 2001.[10] Suddenly the Philippines were targeted as another front on the "war on terror." The Philippines developed internal counterterrorism strategies that reflected those of the United States. This led to new restrictions on travel into and out of the Philippines as part of the 2007 Philippine Human Security Act that authorizes the detainment of anyone suspected of terrorism at will and without due process. Faye Caronan writes of the limitations this places on transnational activists whose work makes them vulnerable to charges of terrorism. She offers the example of the transnational network Gabriela, which advocates for Filipino women's rights in various capacities, particularly as they relate

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to domestic workers. But members of Gabriela have been deemed terrorists by the Philippine government and put on no-fly lists, severely limiting their ability to act transnationally to protect Filipinas from human rights abuses. Caronan compares the postcolonial roles and work of Filipino and Puerto Rican transnational activist-artists as symptoms of the divergent status of the Philippines and Puerto Rico within the U.S. Empire. The Philippines and Puerto Rico share the double colonial legacies of subjection to the Spanish and U.S. empires, and from these colonial conditions arise similar means of addressing and contesting them. Yet as a colony, the Philippines was deemed unassimilable to the U.S. state, while Puerto Rico was integrated as a commonwealth, making Puerto Ricans U.S. citizens. Caronan describes how Filipino artist-activists suffer more limitations than their Puerto Rican counterparts, yet these artists actively engage in coalition building that serves to break down these limitations.

Camilla Fojas examines the incongruity noted by Caronan between the Philippines and Puerto Rico along with the other islands gained by the United States after 1898, including Hawai'i, Cuba, and the less often mentioned Guam. Fojas describes the imagined space of the U.S. Empire in which disparate island nations were in constant company in U.S. mass media. She argues that travel writings after 1898 promoted empire as a way of life for U.S. citizens by suggesting new opportunities for work and leisure. These travel guides were popular texts that set the terms for subsequent imperial attitudes toward Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawai'i. Describing these places together also generates the illusion of imperial control. The guidebooks depict island peoples as uniformly suffering from moral and physical lassitude while exhorting U.S. readers to invest in the colonies and remedy tropical malaise with industrial labor. The Spanish-American War and subsequent rise to empire of the United States intensified the circulation of peoples and goods among these islands and the mainland U.S., a circulation that would include new routes of military travel between Pearl Harbor, Vieques, Manila, and Guantánamo Bay.

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Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez follows one axis of these patterns of travel, taking the route from Pearl Harbor to Manila. She traces recent paths of circulation in Asia and the Pacific through the production of articles of tourism relating to Hawaiian practices and objects. She traces the production of the Hawaiian quilt as it is displaced from the islands to the Philippines and later to China. The quilt is an object that embodies cultural relations and visually depicts Hawaiian stories, but Gonzalez notes that it can be read as an object of different cultural relations telling new stories about the conditions of global capital flows. Gonzalez examines the history of the relationship between Hawai'i and the Philippines in terms of the hierarchies of empire and the gendered relations of the work and politics of quilt making. She finds that the global circulation of the Hawaiian quilt form produces unexpected contact and possible lines of affiliation between colonized peoples across Asia and the Pacific.

Part 2. Comparative Racialization: Trans-American Pacific Racial Formations

In this anthology we attempt to go beyond ethnic studies as a regional set of debates by placing interethnic and transracial relations in a global context that includes the American hemisphere and the American Pacific. What may seem like a project with an ambitious scope captures the complex and shifting perspective shared by many multiracial and mixed-heritage peoples in a globalized world. The work in this anthology is linked by the common experience of a colonial heritage that can be traced back to the Spanish Empire or to the contemporary force field of the U.S. Empire.

Comparative work on racialization challenges discrete categories of race but is also inherently tied to colonial and imperial histories, giving it a transnational and global focus that displaces any single nation or territory from the center of critical analysis. The contact among races is the result of various kinds of migration, both forced and at will, and it is the outcome of imperial expansion throughout the ages as well as contemporary forces of globalization. Though

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the work in this anthology is linked by the common referent of "America," we are concerned with how the notion of "racialization" has different meanings in the hemisphere and in the Pacific, particularly in regions that share colonial heritages.

We acknowledge, as many critics have done, that although race is a fiction, it has very real effects, particularly that of differential treatment based on racialization. Like ideology, race is an idea and an image that has changed across time and place and that has been identified as a major shorthand for identity. To get a sense of one of the possible futures of contact among the races, or multiraciality in the Americas, we need only take a page from the history of *mestizaje* in Mexico.

After the Mexican Revolution the mestizo became a symbol of new revolutionary Mexico, a symbol not just of the mixed configuration of cultures but of a future state of social unity and cohesion. The spokesperson for this future was José Vasconcelos; his mestizo is heralded as the "cosmic race" and the future not just of Mexico but also of the world. Yet his theory of the cosmic race retained the taint of racial hierarchies of his day; he talks of *tipos bajos* ("lower types") being absorbed by *el tipo superior* ("the superior type"), the latter describing the Anglo race while all other races were deemed lower. The mixture of the two elevates the lower types, who bring the advantage of the adaptive qualities of the lower races.[11] The postrevolutionary rhetoric about a racial utopia remained just that; the entrenched meanings around race have yet to be eclipsed by some other value system, and whiteness remains a powerful cultural emblem. Later in the twentieth century the borderlands critic Gloria Anzaldúa reclaimed the new mestizo as a sign of how Latina/os, particularly Chicana/os, are between cultures and racial poles in the United States and thereby have already culturally adapted to the future of mestizaje.[12] Nonetheless the overwhelming symbolic force of whiteness emanating from long histories of empire and colonialism maintains Anglo power far beyond efforts at cultural resignification.

In the United States Latina/os and Asian Americans are less likely

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to be drawn into the same political orbit, and there has been little work on the comparative racialization of both groups. Yet Latina/os and Asian Americans share common experiences related to immigration, internal colonialism, assimilation, and often negative racialization. In the United States these groups have been pitted against each other through the myth that Asian Americans constitute a "model minority" against which all other racialized minorities fall short. For this reason we couch the analysis of race within the American sphere in terms of histories of colonialism and imperialism. We examine circuits of migration in the Americas and the American Pacific; this includes Asian migration to the Americas and Hawai'i and Latina/o migration to the northern hemisphere and the American Pacific. Each instance of cross-cultural and racial contact subtends different racialized and cultural discourses, and these discourses must be read in terms of the history of colonial and imperial interventions. Many of our contributors are interested in the potential for political collaboration across racial and ethnic divides, particularly in the case of Asians and Latina/os. In the relatively special case of Hawai'i, plantation economies and the migration of various groups from Asia, the Caribbean, and the mainland along with the Native Hawaiian population has created a uniquely diverse racialized population. The "local cultures" of mixed peoples of Asian heritage with long histories in Hawai'i often conflict with the indigenous Hawaiian sovereignty movement. Using various cases from diverse regions in the Americas and the American Pacific, we challenge American conceptions of racial polarization by reexamining the color line around the histories and politics of colonialism and imperialism.

One way of reexamining the negative racialization of Asians and Latina/os in the United States is by returning to shared histories of racial denigration and political exclusions. Jinah Kim shows how Japanese internees and Mexican braceros during World War II share similar histories of racialization and cultural exclusion. Yet she warns of the pitfalls of reparations discourse in ethnic studies scholarship since the discourse of state apology or

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reparation obviates the need to discuss the role of the state in the ongoing production of racial violence. Instead Kim argues that we should move beyond the politics of injury and victimization to the formation of a "just space" in the racial remapping of the Americas. These two cases show how the borders of the United States have realigned to produce what Mike Davis calls a "third border," which effects a pervasive separation and segregation of racialized and immigrant bodies. Kim uses these historical cases to forge new directions in comparative work in Latina/o American and Asian American studies.

Asian Americans and Latina/os have long been separated and pitted against each other in the United States. In their chapter Gilda L. Ochoa, Laura E. Enriquez, Sandra Hamada, and Jenniffer Rojas show how the separation between Asian Americans and Latina/os originates and is perpetuated in the experience of students in middle school and high school in California. Drawing data from 230 open-ended interviews of students, parents, and teachers and other school personnel, Ochoa et al. discovered a profound gap in social and educational experiences based on racialization. Asian American students were perceived as "high achieving" and rule-abiding, whereas Latina/os were considered "low achieving" and more likely to be disobedient. This insidious and persistent gap in perception based on race and ethnicity leads to profound interracial tension and learned social stratification. This study makes apparent the need to reassess the dominant attitudes and ideologies that shape educational policy and practice; moreover all students are negatively affected by such deeply prejudicial and racially determined attitudes, which in turn limit their educational experience. This educational socialization denies the history of collaboration and interethnic work of Latina/os and Asian Americans.

In his essay Rudy P. Guevarra Jr. recovers a vital history in the labor and political collaboration between Filipino and Mexican workers, showing that interethnic labor organizing in Hawai'i was a template for similar efforts in California. Guevarra shows, for example, that Filipino organizers, after being forcibly exiled from

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Hawai'i for being "agitators," joined thousands of other workers who left voluntarily and took their work to California, thus beginning interethnic labor organizing efforts. He notes that this occurred a good forty years before the iconic work of the United Farm Workers in the 1960s. The work of Filipinos and Mexicans set the terms and lay the groundwork for subsequent efforts, and although moments of tension existed between them, their common struggle may be seen as a model for interethnic and cross-racial alliances.

Part 3. The American Pacific

The American Pacific is a vast region where cultures and peoples have intersected as U.S. interests spanned the continental United States and reached into the Pacific Ocean and its territories. Within this context, the struggles of Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) and other Pacific Islanders have been an ongoing process in the realm of U.S. empire. Indeed these movements center on issues of citizenship, sovereignty, land rights, political leadership, labor, identity, and nationhood. Studies such as those by Paul R. Spickard, Joanne L. Rondilla and Debbie Hippolite Wright, Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor, Donald Denoon and Malama Meleisea, Noenoe K. Silva, Haunani-Kay Trask, Candace Fujikane, and Jonathan Y. Okamura speak to the complex, interwoven histories and interrelations that Asians, Filipinos, and Pacific Islanders have to each other and within the context of U.S. empire and postempire relations as colonial and postcolonial subjects.[13]

The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 set the global stage for how the United States imagined its boundaries, beginning in the western hemisphere, which was the impetus to expand overseas as U.S. greed for markets, cheap labor, and military buildup in the region was well under way. The cry of manifest destiny necessitated U.S. expansion, according to its proponents, doubling the size of the United States by 1848, after its war with Mexico, and supporting its imperial ambitions to compete with European powers that were colonizing the world. The Spanish-American War of 1898

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catapulted U.S. geographical boundaries across the globe to extend its reach to the Philippines, Guam, and other former Spanish colonies. The United States also set its sights on the Hawaiian Islands, which were already being colonized by missionaries and sugar interests after the Great Mahele (division) in 1848 and a subsequent land law in 1850 ended the traditional Hawaiian system of landownership. This opened the door for foreign interests to control Hawaiian lands for the sake of U.S. capitalism. The illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 and the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands in 1898 signaled the beginning of U.S. permanency in the Pacific as it established the island of O'ahu as its major Pacific military base. Controlling the Hawaiian Islands was a strategic move of the United States, which could monitor Japan and other colonial powers as they made their way into U.S. territorial waters. Guam and the Philippines were already militarily, economically, and educationally colonized to create other U.S. bases in the Pacific.

In the context of the U.S. military buildup in the Pacific during the late nineteenth and twentieth century, one could argue that the United States was also in an arms and territory race with a rising Asian superpower, Japan, who with the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) and Russo-Japanese War (1904–5) had established itself as a modern-day military force with its own imperial ambitions. With the entrance of the United States in World War II after Japan's bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the two imperial powers were fighting for control of the Pacific region, with campaigns in the Philippines, Guam, New Guinea, and the Gilbert, Marshall, Solomon, and Mariana Islands, among other areas. Just as it rose in power amid the ashes of Spain's demise as an empire, with Japan's surrender in 1945 the United States became the most powerful empire in the world, establishing permanent military bases in the Philippines, Hawai'i (which achieved statehood in 1959), Guam, and American Sāmoa (which was under U.S. control by 1904). The Federated States of Micronesia, which includes the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Republic of Palau, and the

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Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, also came under the umbrella of U.S. control when they signed the Compact of Free Association in 1986. Indeed the presence of the United States in the Pacific and its neocolonial relationships with these countries confirm the continued existence of the U.S. Empire.

However, when U.S. soldiers went from being "liberators" to being "oppressors," the U.S. Empire faced resistance among the populations of these regions. Scholars such as Haunani-Kay and Mililani B. Trask, Kekuni Blaisdell, Keith L. Camacho, and Setsu Shigematsu write critically about the United States and its colonial stranglehold in the Pacific, which has endured nuclear bombings, economic dependence, the destruction of land and water, and U.S. military presence.[14] One cannot discuss the Pacific without critically examining U.S. imperialism and its influence in the continued migration of Pacific Islanders and Filipinos to the United States as a result of the depressed economies and environmental destruction that is occurring in the name of national security and democracy. Indeed these movements of people signal the contraction of geographic space as imperial expansion and globalization have made such journeys a means of survival.

Maile Arvin addresses some of these issues in her chapter, as she explores how Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) deal with issues of identity and land rights when public discourse markets their cultural and socioeconomic difference and multiculturalism through neoliberal benevolence, thus depoliticizing and minimizing their claims for sovereignty and justice under U.S. rule. Referring to what she calls "spectacles of philanthropy," Arvin evokes the examples of multimillion-dollar homes in an area of O'ahu being given to eight "deserving" Native Hawaiian families by Genshiro Kawamoto, a Japanese real estate tycoon in 2006, and an episode of ABC's *Extreme Makeover: Home Edition* in 2007 that featured a Native Hawaiian family receiving a mansion. The episode portrayed them as deserving because they embodied a humble "spirit of aloha." These forms of welfare, Arvin notes, worked to silence the voices of Kanaka Maoli struggling for sovereignty and land rights.

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Arvin also provides a critical examination of the debates surrounding the Akaka Bill, which also elicits spectacles of philanthropy by rewarding good citizenship with a settlement package from the U.S. government. The bill has gone through several revisions to address issues such as gaming rights, though it still does not speak to the issue of land rights in Hawai'i. Although there are groups in favor of the bill, others, such as Ka Lahui Hawai'i, advocate for moving the conversation of Native Hawaiian recognition away from a U.S.-centered discourse to one that is international. Arvin explores how this recent debate over the Akaka Bill, land rights in Hawai'i, and Kanaka Maoli citizenship illustrates that Native Hawaiians are more than just the "victimized citizenry" that both the media and Congress present them to be.

Continuing the conversation regarding Hawaiian lands and identity, ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui demonstrates the importance of viewing Hawai'i as a geographical place and a contested space. As the original inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands, Kanaka Maoli must contend with immigrant groups who claim Hawai'i as their homeland. The use of indigenized identity terms such as *kama'āina* (child of the land), "local," "hapa," and "Hawaiian at heart," ho'omanawanui claims, perpetuates the erasure of Native Hawaiians, who are "First Nations people." She asks whether indigenous claims to identity, land, and nationhood are still relevant in today's transglobal world, and whether immigrants and settler groups can support indigenous claims to land, nationhood, and identity. These questions probe for a deeper understanding of these identity terms and the implications they have with regard to the violent dispossession, displacement, and treatment of Kanaka Maoli from the eighteenth century to the present.

Ho'omanawanui links issues of land and identity to present-day scenarios, as she examines contemporary erasures in what she calls both "real and imagined worlds." These include websites that misappropriate the term "hapa" in multiple forms, though what they all have in common, she suggests, is a lack of historical knowledge of this Hawaiian word as used by Kanaka Maoli; the Polynesian

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Cultural Center and its use of advertisements to play with the notion that settlers are also native; the use of the word *kamaʻāina* by local business and tourism that normally have no such ties to Hawaiʻi and, most famously, to describe President Barack Obama, who is touted as a kamaʻāina because of his ties to Hawaiʻi as a former settler, which, as hoʻomanawanui notes, ignores the Natives in Hawaiʻi and further erases their indigenous claims to land and identity.

Bianca Isaki continues the discussion of Asian settlers with a specific incident. In 1894 Japanese workers trekked thirty-eight miles from Kahuku plantation to Honolulu to present their grievances regarding a *luna* (foreman) to Goro Narita, the Japanese chargé d'affaires to the Hawaiian Republic. Rather than listen with compassion to the workers' issues, authorities arrested them and fined them five dollars each, then made them walk back to work. In connecting history with the present, Isaki then recounts how her grandmother Thelma Shigemitsu shared memories of her ties to Kahuku while they walked along the Kahuku stretch of Kamehameha highway. In the context of juxtaposing these two stories, Isaki links past to present, offering a way to re-archive Hawaiʻi in U.S. history as the history not only of colonial dispossession of Native Hawaiian rights and land, but also of the position Asian settlers have in this narrative. She writes, "As Hawaiians decolonize *these* histories, Asian settlers cannot have a history of becoming U.S. citizens in Hawaiʻi anymore." She thus calls for a decolonial archive. Her exploration of this idea is in response to what she sees as Asian settler state administers who have politically and economically benefited under U.S. hegemony since World War II. Citing the former Hawaiʻi governor George Ariyoshi, who stated that non-Native Hawaiians also deserve a place to rest under the sun, Isaki exhorts us to critique such notions of political legitimacy and of a moral economy of merit and insensitivity. By contemplating and reenvisioning her grandmother's connection to history and landscape, Isaki offers a way to remember and re-archive such histories of Asian settlers in the context of U.S. hegemony.

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JoAnna Poblete examines the relationship between Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawai'i. After the Spanish-American War of 1898, both the Philippines and Puerto Rico become territories of the United States, along with Hawai'i, which was illegally annexed and made into a territory. Because of their status as nationals who could move freely within the United States and its colonial possessions, Puerto Rican and Filipino plantation workers move to the Territory of Hawai'i to live and work on the sugar plantations during the first half of the twentieth century. Poblete calls these workers intracolonials who move in and out of the U.S. Empire. Given that they had no official support to advocate for their grievances, local community leaders, such as labor agents and ethnic ministers, filled that void. Poblete thus explores the complexities of these intracolonial workers, local community leaders, and Anglo sugar planters and how the workers' needs were met in this context.

Part 4. Crossroads of American Migration

The intersectionality between Asians and Latina/os has been the subject of several studies that examine the diaspora and the integration or subjugation of Asians across the Pacific and into the western hemisphere. These interactions are not a twentieth- or twenty-first-century phenomenon, but are part of historical processes in which cultures, bodies, and consumer goods have been in constant motion between Asia, the Pacific region, the Americas, and the Caribbean. The 250-year period of the Acapulco-Manila galleon trade (1565–1815) between Mexico and the Philippines in the context of Spanish colonialism is one example. This period signaled the first global trade network, which brought significant changes to these economies in the form of agricultural produce, forced labor, luxury and other consumer goods, bodies, and ideas. It is in this context that primarily Filipino Indios as well as Chinese (known to the Spanish as *Sangleys*) and Chinese mestizos (*mestizos de Sangley*) from the Philippines were integrated into local Mexican societies. Tens of thousands of Filipino Indios jumped ship once they reached the port of Acapulco, blending into local communities

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and marrying Mexican Indio and mixed-race women. The descendants of these early deserters still reside in the coastal regions of the Mexican state of Guererro and other parts of Mexico.[15] However, Filipinos were not the only group from the Asian Pacific region to migrate to the Americas and the Caribbean. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, thousands of Chinese, Japanese, Asian Indians, and Koreans made their way to Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, Peru, and other parts of Latin America and the Caribbean. There they labored in various industries, established small businesses and communities, and even fought in revolutionary wars in their adopted countries. Studies such as those by Evelyn Hu-DeHart, Seiichi Higashide, Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, Edward R. Slack Jr., Robert Chao Romero, Walton Look Lai, Floro Mercene, Lok C. D. Siu, and Andrew R. Wilson show the rich, complex history and interactions of Asians and Latina/os in the Americas.[16] Social and political movements, most notably the involvement of Chinese during the Cuban Revolution of the 1950s, illustrate the integration of these communities into their new homelands and their relationship with their Latina/o counterparts. Indeed Asians and Latina/os have been intricately linked by historical events, cultural exchanges, commerce, and personal interrelationships. However these interactions were not always amicable; at times conflict and violence also existed between Asian and Latina/o communities. In Mexico, for example, staunch anti-Chinese sentiment and racism was rampant during the 1920s–30s. Violence and the move to exclude and expel Chinese and other Asians from Mexico were very profound at both local and national levels. Intellectuals, business leaders, and others, such as José Vasconcelos, José Maria Arana, Adolfo de la Huerta, José Angel Espinoza, and even the Mexican revolutionary Francisco "Pancho" Villa, were staunchly anti-Chinese and participated in the expulsion and even extermination of Chinese and other Asians.

In the contemporary era, conflict between Pacific Islanders and Latina/os can be seen in the recent example of the violation of human rights by the Chilean government against the Rapa Nui

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people, stemming from land and sovereignty issues, which demonstrates the intricacies of colonialism in all its forms.[17] These examples of interaction and conflict show the complexities and intersections that exist in Latin America and the Caribbean among Asians, Latina/os, Africans, and other ethnic groups as they live, work, mobilize, and worship together in their respective societies. Their stories are evidence of the rich historical legacy that continues to unfold in the present time, as Asians and Latina/os continue to build community across boundaries in the Americas.

We begin this section with Erika Lee, who examines a transnational debate over race and immigration policy in the western hemisphere in the nineteenth century, led by the United States, which ultimately influenced how Canada and South America, specifically Brazil and Peru, would treat its Japanese immigrant communities. In what she calls "hemispheric Orientalism," the multiple processes of race made Japanese an unassimilable race and culture. Lee contends that anti-Japanese sentiment and restrictive immigration policies in North and South America "contributed to an unparalleled transnational conversation about race, migration, and national and hemispheric security." A global discussion of the "Yellow Peril" spread from the United States and Canada, eventually influencing how Peru and Brazil would see and respond to its Japanese immigrant communities. Indeed the fear of the Yellow Peril in the United States set the tone for its immigration laws, specifically the 1924 Immigration Act to curtail the Japanese threat. Similar laws followed in Canada, Brazil, and Peru in the 1920s and 1930s. The rhetoric of Peruvian businessmen, intellectuals, policymakers, and ordinary citizens echoed the same prejudices and fears that were running rampant in the United States, portraying the Japanese as an economic threat unwilling to assimilate into Peruvian society. These unfounded fears and animosity culminated in anti-Japanese riots. World War II proved devastating to the Peruvian Japanese community, when Peru sent an estimated 1,800 of its Japanese immigrant citizens to be interned in the United States. These incidents illustrate how racialization and laws of exclusion

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occur as transnational processes and policies across borders and have lasting implications in the western hemisphere. As Lee notes, these hemispheric Asian migration and exclusion experiences provide us with a way of connecting histories of Asians in the Americas across local, regional, national, and global contexts.

Stella Oh provides a much-needed perspective on the dialogue concerning the U.S.-Mexican border by illustrating how borders are dynamic regions that redefine notions of home. In her examination of Karen Tei Yamashita's *Tropic of Orange* (1997), Oh challenges the notions of an exclusive U.S.-Mexican border by tracing what she calls the "capital flows of poisoned oranges from Brazil to Mexico to California," and more broadly from South America to the United States. Utilizing an approach that shows the complexities of transnational flows of capital, culture, and people that extend far beyond the U.S.-Mexican border, Oh's reading of *Tropic of Orange* illustrates how new approaches to homeland are forged as people search for their roots in a context of displacement. This is most evident in the way Asians and Latina/os are exploited in their home countries, so that they are forced to migrate to the United States, leading to what Oh calls a "commerce of humanity." Using the examples of an Asian-Mexican relationship and a multiracial child, she shows how the lived experiences of people transcend boundaries and borders, resulting in transnational movements and cultural connections in an increasingly globalizing world. Borders do not necessarily define us, Oh says, but they contribute to the complexity of our notions of home, nation-state, and identity.

Claudia Sadowski-Smith engages with the work of both Stella Oh and Erika Lee, invoking Lee's argument that comparative work should move beyond the geographical confines of the United States and the Pacific and incorporate hemispheric perspectives into the discussion of transpacific connections of families and communities. Sadowski-Smith does this by examining three novels: Cristina Garcia's *Monkey Hunting* (2003), SKY Lee's *Disappearing Moon Café* (1991), and Karen Tei Yamashita's *Tropic of Orange* (1997). These novels portray the movements of Chinese migrants to Cuba,

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Canada, and the United States via Mexico and the impact this has had on the formation of Asian American families. As Sadowski-Smith notes, these stories speak to the role that trauma plays in these relationships and how it is passed down through family stories. Historical trauma and memory thus contribute to the formation of these interracial families. The relationship between Chinese men and Afro-Cuban, Native Canadian, and Latina women were based on a shared, collective experience with trauma and multiraciality, thus challenging the long-standing belief that ethnic communities function as separate entities with little interaction with each other. Read together, these novels illustrate how interactions between racialized communities and the multiplicity these families and communities embody have yet to be acknowledged as part of the "narrative of national identity" that was influenced by U.S. imperialism and the migratory movement of Chinese as a result of economic, political, immigration, and racialized policies. In her examination of these novels Sadowski-Smith challenges the reader to embrace the possibility of alternative conceptions of family, community, and nation.

Jane H. Yamashiro and Hugo Córdova Quero provide a comparative account of how Japanese Americans and Japanese Brazilians construct their ethnic identities and cultural ties to Japan based on their cultural, social, and economic capital. In examining the transnational and transpacific migration patterns of these Nikkeijin (Japanese emigrants and their descendants), Yamashiro and Quero argue that although both Japanese Brazilians and Japanese Americans have similar backgrounds, once they are in Japan their social and economic status is based on their national background. Japanese Brazilians lose cultural capital because they come from a Latin American nation; in Japan they are seen as unskilled manual laborers. Japanese Americans occupy a more privileged position; because they come from the United States they can use their cultural and social capital to obtain white-collar work and move into middle- or even upper-class status. The fact that one does not need to know Japanese to get a good job in Japan, and the desire

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of many Japanese residents to learn English to obtain better employment opportunities and move up in social status, both speak to the power and influence of English-speaking countries in the world today. As Yamashiro and Quero explain, "Simply being an English speaker—and even more so if one is a native speaker—gives one cultural capital in Japan." This translates into economic capital as well, as English-speaking Japanese Americans supplement their income or make their livelihood by teaching English in Japan. These transnational experiences, when taken together, illustrate how Japanese Brazilian and Japanese American ethnic and cultural connections to Japan occur and are situated within a stratified local context and larger global economy.

Ryan Masaaki Yokota speaks to Erika Lee's discussion of the migration of Japanese to Peru; however, his focus is on the experience of Okinawans (Uchinānchu), who composed over a third of those who had migrated to Peru by 1941. Although Japanese and Okinawans maintained separate, independent community institutions, anti-Japanese sentiment by the larger Peruvian population changed their isolation from each other. As Yokota also notes, Okinawans constituted half of the 1,800 Japanese Peruvians to be interned in concentration camps in the United States, to be used as tools for hostage negotiations with Japan. That wartime experience, Yokota points out, started a transnational chain migration, which continues to the present.

As a diasporic community, Peruvian Okinawans developed a distinct transnational identity. Examining the Peruvian Nisei Association, whose members were predominantly Okinawan Peruvians, Yokota shows how these communities in Los Angeles had to deal with the complexities of having four different identities: Uchinānchu, Japanese, Peruvian, and American. They fostered this collective identity, overcoming class, regional origin, and language differences. By focusing on identity and ethnic formation in the context of cultural adjustment to the United States, Yokota shows how Okinawan identity has challenged notions of what it means to be an American, Asian, Asian American, or Latina/o. Their

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complex, cultural identity has survived despite all of the changes that have occurred since World War II. This identity persists today, and this multiplicity contributes to "a growing appreciation of who the Uchinānchu are."

Transnational Crossroads examines the geographic and imaginary boundaries of "America" across the Americas, the Caribbean, Asia, and the Pacific, weaving topics that address issues relating to the transnational and transpacific movements of goods, bodies, and ideas. By engaging in the interrogation of particular historical moments and contemporary issues, this collection critically examines how these relationships are complex in contested and cooperative interactions, existing as both a product and a mechanism of resistance to colonialism and racial discourses. It is our sincere hope that these essays, taken together, open up new discussions about the role and function of "America" in the world.

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