

I Don't Know! I Don't Know! Should I be Considered Latina?
How Spanish and Non-Spanish speakers with Caribbean and Latin American Ancestry
Relate to Latinx Identity

Kella Narki Merlain-Moffatt
Africana Studies Senior Honors Thesis
Tufts University
April 28, 2020

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I analyze how Spanish and non-Spanish speaking individuals with Latin American and Caribbean ancestry relate to Latinx identity based on their upbringings, self-identification, adaptation experiences, and language acquisition patterns. I draw on field site observations of meetings and events held by both the Tufts University Association of Latin American Students and the Caribbean Students Organization in the fall of 2019, as well as 15 semi-structured interviews with immigrants and first-generation Tufts affiliates (faculty, students, and alumni) from Haiti, Belize, Brazil, and Spanish speaking Latin American countries. I demonstrate that participants were largely confused about the internal and external boundaries around Latinx identity. Subsequently, I show that participants largely viewed the Spanish language as the main signifier and symbol of being a part of the Latinx community in the U.S. Brazilian participants considered themselves to be Latinx. However, other participants did not consider themselves to be Latinx even though they all feel some connection to it as an identity and a group. Instead, my participants strongly identified with their respective ethnocultural identifiers (i.e. Haitian, Belizean Kriol, Garifuna). Finally, I conclude by examining the implications of these results for existing literature on Latinx identity. I advocate for incorporation of more non-Spanish speaking populations from other parts of Latin American into future studies of Latinx identity, in order to query its complexity and nuance more thoroughly.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the help of many, the following work would not be possible. I first thank God, because without the direction of the Most High I would not have gotten through this process.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis committee, consisting of Helen Marrow and Pedro Palou. Beyond your intellectual advice throughout this year-long research, thank you for your words of encouragement, for pushing me, and for agreeing to be a part of this journey. Thank you for being a part of my development as a researcher and also as an individual. It has been a pleasure working with you both.

Who knew that a simple question about the thesis writing process on February 12th, 2019 on my Instagram story would be followed by this final product a year later? For reading my rants on my stories, I thank my Instagram followers for encouraging me to write a thesis in the first place. Similarly, to everyone who discouraged me from writing a thesis along the way, thank you. Your negativity, at times, was used as fuel.

I would like to thank my friends, and more specifically my sisters of Capen Phi Capen, who graciously listened to my thoughts and struggles throughout this process and checked up on me. I am grateful for your consistency and friendship.

For their open ears and understanding hearts, I thank Sydni Bailey, Leanne Collymore, Sydney Groom, Chisara Ibezim, and Danielle Moors for listening to me. They are honest critics and brilliant women.

To my parents, you both are the best and I could not have done this without your constant and undying support over the years. Thank you for believing in me and praying for me. I appreciate and love you both dearly. My most heartfelt appreciation goes to my favorite sister for reading and re-reading my drafts. Thank you for laughing with me and for pushing me to be a better version of myself.

To my interviewees who graciously gave their time and energy to share their stories with me, this paper would not have been possible without your experiences. Thank you.

Table of Contents

I DON'T KNOW! I DON'T KNOW! SHOULD I BE CONSIDERED LATINA?	0
ABSTRACT	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	2
INTRODUCTION	4
WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE LATINO/HISPANIC?	6
THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TERM "LATIN AMERICA"	11
PARENTAL SOCIALIZATION	12
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION	13
METHODS	15
PART I.	17
<i>PERSONAL BACKGROUND, SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND COMMUNITY</i>	17
COMMUNITY: CENTERS AND ORGANIZATIONS	20
PART II.	22
<i>UNCERTAINTY, AMBIVALENCE, AND RELATIONSHIPS TO THE LATINX COMMUNITY</i>	22
<i>External Identification: Vague Frameworks</i>	23
<i>External Identification: Race, Geography and Language</i>	28
<i>External Identification: Tests of Authenticity</i>	37
PART III.	40
<i>WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?</i>	40
SUGGESTIONS FOR SOCIAL AND PUBLIC POLICY	40
DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION	45
LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	51
AFTERWORD	52
APPENDICES	53
APPENDIX A:	53
APPENDIX B:	65
BIBLIOGRAPHY	66

INTRODUCTION

During the spring of my second year at Tufts University, I was excited when someone notified me that, on the Tufts Latino Center Facebook it was posted that “all seniors who identify as Latinx, Caribbean, Latin American, and multiracial are invited to reserve a FREE stole and participate in Tufts Latino Center stole ceremony and dinner reception.” However, I was then told by a fellow student that I could not get a graduation stole from the Latino Center because I was “not Latina”. I retorted that the Dominican Republic and Haiti (where my matrilineal line stems from) are a part of the same island and that my peer’s comment was lacking in validity. That student continued to elaborate that Haiti is a country that does not use Spanish and therefore, Haitians cannot be Latinx people. The silence in the room around us suggested that others agreed, thinking that I was wrong in my assertion, too. But was I?

I continue to wonder: What criteria determines who is or can claim to be Latino/a/x in the U.S. today? This paper seeks not to find an all-encompassing answer to that question in a normative sense, but rather to uncover how Spanish and non-Spanish speakers of Latin American and Caribbean descent at Tufts University empirically understand and relate to the terms Latino/a/x and their corresponding communities. Existing literature tells us a great deal about how Spanish-speaking descendants relate to Latinx identity, but less research includes people like me, who hail from countries bordering Spanish Latin America, in the conversation. My findings show that while members of these groups are largely confused about how they relate to the Latinx identity, they understand its boundaries primarily in relation to the Spanish language. Therefore, unlike me, they typically shy away from it even though, like me, they feel some connection to it as both a label and larger community. I conclude by considering the implications

of my research for the existing literature, as well as for relations between Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking groups in the United States.

LITERATURE REVIEW

What does it mean to be Latino/Hispanic?

When analyzing existing literature on Latinos and their relationship to Latinx identity, it is important to begin with an understanding of what it means to officially be Latino and Hispanic in the U.S. context. Though Latinos have been present in the U.S. prior to the conception of the U.S. nation state, this population was not accounted for until the 1970s. During the 1960s, Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, Puerto Ricans, and later on Cubans, were focused on different political and civic agendas that directly impacted their respective communities. Between these groups there was great tension and fighting which led high ranking political leaders to doubt their ability to form and present as a united political front (Mora 2014). Additionally, bureaucrats were hesitant to identify Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, and Puerto Ricans under the same category even though they recognized that these groups had linguistic similarities. In large part, at that time Census officials still maintained that Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans considered themselves to be separate entities. Due to this, the 1960 decennial Census did not provide a question or category that offered panethnic community (Mora 2014). However, in the mid 1960s, inspired by the civil rights discourse around African American issues, Mexican Americans began to form coalitions that were equally distressed and sought after a changed political climate and national recognition. This in turn led to the concept of “the Spanish Speaking” who were members of the American constituency that were seeking equal membership in U.S. society (Mora 2014).

Followed by “Spanish Speaking” demands made to leaders in Washington by Puerto Rican and Mexican American leaders in 1971 at a unity conference, the federal government, including the executive office, began to test different methods of providing resources for the

Latin American diaspora in order to secure their vote. At the same time, activists gained momentum and established strong national political coalitions. Throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, there were many Spanish-language media networks that developed panethnic Hispanic news and variety programming with the aim of connecting Mexican American, Cuban American, and Puerto Rican audiences across the country (Mora 2014). Ultimately, this gave rise to Hispanic panethnic identification and the way the U.S. would begin to categorize those of Latin American descent over the rest of the 20th century. In particular, Mexican American activists would play a large role in pressuring state and Census officials to institutionalize the “Hispanic” census category (Mora 2014).

In 1980, the census asked if persons were of “Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent” and officially conceptualized “Hispanic” in ethnic terms. When “Hispanic” became associated with “Spanish origin or culture”, Portuguese speakers and culture were simultaneously denied (even after being briefly entertained for consideration), Brazilians and Cape Verdeans were by default also excluded from official definitions of Hispanic ethnicity. If this had not occurred, Brazilians would have possibly been considered Hispanics from the onset (Marrow 2007). The U.S. Census currently still defines any individual of “Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture, origin regardless of race” as Hispanic or Latino. Spaniards are included, as are people from Spanish speaking countries (even if they speak languages other than Spanish). However, Portuguese, Brazilians, Cape Verdeans, Haitians, Belizeans, and Filipinx are not.

While the formation of the Hispanic category involved a great deal of conflict, struggle and even “cross field collaboration” across institutions as various as the executive office, the Census, the media, and ethnic and civic activists themselves (Mora 2014), Mora shows that once

established, government categorization of a group can lead to material benefits. She describes “co-optation through state classification” as the first moment that helped to define and solidify relationships that were created by classification struggles (Mora 2014). In this process, government officials responded to criticisms and demands from Mexican-American and Puerto Rican political leaders by devising a new category which changed the classification of a certain racial or ethnic group. Subsequently, officials provided resources to entities that agreed and went along with the state’s new category. There was a mutual understanding among ethnic activists that even if the category was not ideal, nor even clear, material benefits and resources could now be acquired by accepting the new “Hispanic” categorization from the nation state (Mora 2014).

The second moment is described by Mora as “negotiations over data” (2014). In this capacity the government and ethnic leaders discussed the inclusionary boundaries of the new group and debated over the legitimacy of who is allowed to claim connection to the group. Finally, the third moment is “collaborative marketing of new category.” Once the new category is agreed upon and created, cooperative projects were used to legitimize the category (Mora 2014). In this instance, media executives played a large role in a two-fold manner. First, they provided a platform for Census officials and ethnic leaders to promote the new “Hispanic” census category. Second, they associated the Hispanic category to images and cultural messages about panethnicity and broadcasted new categories to mass audiences (Mora 2014). In time, mindsets among Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans began to shift and stakeholders eventually developed a shared interest in sustaining and advancing the new category. Today, even though most Latinos still identify primarily with their national origin group (e.g., as Mexican or Cuban or Salvadoran), the percentage who identify, even secondarily, as “Hispanics” or “Latinos” has grown substantially over the last half of the 20th century.

Importantly, Mora also argues that the longevity of the “Hispanic” term can be associated with its “strategic ambiguity” (2014). Government officials, activists, and media executives never delineated a precise definition as to who belonged in the category. While Mexican American and Puerto Rican calls for political recognition initially emphasized racial minority status and political subjugation as critical features, ultimately executive branch and Census officials broadened the term’s reach and chose to make broader references to a “unifying culture.” Sometimes, for example, they emphasized that Hispanics were bound by shared language, geographic origin, or even cultural values, such as being hardworking, religious, and family-focused – even though all of these characteristics could be ascribed to any ethnic group (Mora 2014). This narrative allowed for Hispanic panethnicity to be more expansive and inclusive than the original racial/political vision advocated for, while also maintaining some of the more strategic interests of consumption, minority disadvantage, and statistical correlation along the way (Mora 2014). The more stakeholders worked together across their respective institutional fields, the easier it became to create images, symbols, and frames about a shared Hispanic cultural identity. In time, this aided in the shift to more self-identification with Hispanic panethnicity among groups beyond just Mexican Americans in the U.S. Southwest and Puerto Ricans in the U.S. in the 1970s (Mora 2014). This would become all the more important as immigration flows from all over Latin America, including in Central and South America, and the Caribbean, grew after the 1970s.

Panethnicity is the formation of groups who previously held distinct ethnic or national identities into one racial or ethnic category. In the 2000 Census, Latinos who identified panethnically checked “other” or wrote “Hispanic” or “Latino” rather than indicating if they were Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or another national group (McConnell and Delgado-

Romero 2004). McConnell and Delgado-Romero's examination of four substantive and methodological arguments for Latino panethnicity demonstrate that Latinos may identify with panethnic, national, or regional labels (2004). Therefore, panethnic identification has the potential to be a genuine reflection of how some Latinos may wish to identify at a given point in time (McConnell and Delgado-Romero 2004). It is important to note that the creation of a panethnic identity "did not have to happen" (Mora 2014). Rather, it was a product of activists, government officials, media institutionalizing the Hispanic category which in turn created a national movement that popularized the Hispanic identity (Mora 2014). It is a social and political construction, not a natural phenomenon or label.

However, Hispanic panethnicity presents a challenge as persons of Latin American descent tend to be unsure about which political and cultural issues unify them (Mora 2014). The problem with labels is that they can be non-inclusive or imprecise in nature. Academics have argued that "Hispanic" sometimes denotes a cultural attachment to white Spain and can therefore be non-inclusive as it disregards Indigenous and African people. While not an ideal term, "Latino" was introduced later on, since it was perceived to be more expansive and less overtly connected to Spain. It must be noted that the meaning of the term is rather ambiguous (Mora 2014) and as a result of that, all members of a group will never be content with that singular identity. No matter the word, everyone could not be pleased, and civic organizations began to refer to people with a "Hispanic/Latino" category. Hispanic and Latino began to be used interchangeably which comments on the ambiguous nature of their respective meanings (Mora 2014).

The Construction of the term “Latin America”

The construction of the geographic label “Latin America” was created by the French intellect Michele Chevalier in 1836. He sought to create a unifying term that would unite colonial subjects under a “Latin” identity. This enabled France to have great influence in the reshaping of former Spanish colonies. In his historical analysis, José Antonio Mazzotti explains how “Latin America” as a term was a recognition of the “Latin”/ Romance cultures as part of the identity of the Creole elite in the region at the time (Mazzotti 2018). In 1855, the geographical term began to circulate among Spanish American intellectuals after Columbian poet and politician José María Torres Caicedo, wrote a poem that discussed the racial, historical, linguistic, and religious differences between Anglo America and Latin America (Mazzotti 2018). This identity soon became commonplace though it still is problematic in many ways. As the term “Latin America” is pro-European in nature, it implicitly and actively silences and denies the existence of Indigenous, Black, and mestizo (Spanish and Indigenous ancestry) populations. While the notion of using the term was meant to unify Latin America, it ultimately perpetuated colonialism against native and Black peoples in the hemisphere (Mazzotti 2018). Thus, even as a derivative of “Latin America”, “Hispanic” and “Latino” as terms in the U.S. continue this process of effectually erasing the contributions and traditions from the Indigenous, Black and mestizo populations in Latin America. In the U.S. context, the terms also group various groups together for statistical purposes and do not account for internal variation among them. The problem with placing people in categories is that it disregards the nuance of each group or sub-ethnic group within the greater category. There are many immigrants that come to the U.S. from Spanish speaking countries who consider themselves Indigenous (i.e. Maya, Quecha, Zapotec, etc.) and perhaps do not consider themselves “Latinos” since they may not speak Spanish. It can

even be offensive to refer to Indigenous peoples as “Latino/a/x” when they were historically oppressed, exploited, and massacred by European colonizers and their descendants (Mazzotti 2018). Where there is inclusion, inherently exclusion will follow. With the knowledge that “pinning down” Latino ethnic identities prove to be empirically difficult (McConnell and Delgado-Romero 2004) due to the complexity of identity, it will be interesting see how non-Spanish and Spanish heritage speakers see themselves as being a part of or separate from Latinx group categorization.

Parental Socialization

Perhaps one of the most fundamental aspects of this research is that ethnic identification is intrinsically linked with upbringing. Enculturation is the process of learning our own culture, while acculturation is the process of learning and adopting another culture. These both take place consciously and subconsciously over time. Analyzation of previous sociological, social psychological, and quantitative measures demonstrated that children’s identification as “Latino” is greatly influenced by sociological processes of enculturation and acculturation (Quintana and Scull 2009). Therefore, the more children are exposed to Latinx culture and people, the more likely they are to identify with an ethnic heritage. The opposite applies as well; the more children are introduced to and are surrounded by non-Latino culture, the more likely they are to not identify as Latinos (Quintana and Scull 2009). What this assumes is that there is a recognizable and definable Latinx culture. Through semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations, Guardado (2008) sheds light on the critical interdependence of language to cultural and ethnic identity. In many ways, language is a part of culture and a window into that culture. This is not surprising as Guardado’s qualitative and ethnographic studies show that cultural identity and language are frequently tied together (2002, 2010; Norton 2000). In depth interviews with

second generation young adults demonstrated that bilingual immigrant descendants connect their level of Spanish language acquisition to identifying with their culture (Nesteruk et al. 2015). Furthermore, analysis of the 2006 American Community Survey showed that monolingualistic descendants who speak English exclusively were more likely to identify as non-Hispanic in comparison to Spanish-speaking descendants (Emeka and Vallejo 2011).

Internal and External Self-Identification

Ethnic and racial diversity and identity have been sources of pride, unity and achievement (Cornell and Hartmann 1998). They shape the way people interact with themselves and those who hold same member group identification as well as others. Ito-Adler (1980) in Cornell and Hartmann (1998) states that ethnic groups and identities “form in an interaction between assignment —what others say we are— and assertion—who or what we claim to be.” According to the social constructionist approach, this process is ever evolving and there is no final state of configuration since ethnic and racial identities are malleable, conditional, and greatly varied. While it is important to note the contributions that group members make to creating and shaping their own identities (Cornell and Hartmann 1998), one must also acknowledge that the constructions of different ethnic and racial organizations can change with guidance by group members and outsiders.

In analyzations of work in the sociolinguistic realm, leading discourse surrounding Latino identity generally focuses on the Spanish language (Mendoza-Denton 1999). The presence of non-Spanish speaking countries in Latin America and the Caribbean are largely missing from the literature, but further complicate “Latino-ness” or Latinidad. The U.S. Census externally defines Hispanic or Latino and this definition is not inclusive of many countries that are in Latin-America or the Caribbean, and do not speak Spanish (i.e. Haiti, Brazil, Belize, etc.). Still, how

individuals from these places internally identify (or not) with these terms and categories, plus how individuals from these places are seen by other people who are officially included within the group (not), are still open empirical questions worthy of investigation.

METHODS

The overall study was designed to explore how Spanish and non-Spanish speaking individuals with Latin American and Caribbean ancestry relate to Latinx identity. Data come from semi-structured, in depth interviews with a non-representative sample of three Spanish heritage speakers and twelve non-Spanish heritage speakers with Latin American/Caribbean ancestry that I recruited through personal networks and direct advertisements on Tufts Facebook pages. I also conducted one to two hour long ethnographic observations of weekly meetings and events of the Tufts' Association of Latin American Students (ALAS) and Tufts' Caribbean Student Organization (CSO). I intended to conduct observations of Brazilian Student Association (BRASA) meetings, but I was unable to acquire permission. I chose these spaces because many students who identify with these ethnic groups attend these meetings and events. ALAS meetings took place in the Latino Center and CSO meetings took place in the Africana Center. I attended a CSO party in which the majority of the music played was in English, Haitian Creole, and Spanish. I also took notes at an ALAS/ Black Student Union (BSU) joint meeting on colorism in both communities. I took notes on my computer or phone depending on the setting and since other people had their phones and computers out, I was not out of place. While the data cannot be generalized to all Spanish and non-Spanish speakers with Latin American/Caribbean ancestry, they nonetheless provide an interesting view into the conceptions and experiences of some and are suggestive of broader trends.

All respondents were Tufts affiliates (students, alum and faculty) who came to the Boston area at various points in time or were born in the area. All respondents self-identified with the following countries: Belize (2), Brazil (5), Cuba (1), Haiti (5), Mexico (1) and Peru (1). Interviews lasted approximately 35 minutes to two hours and I asked respondents a series of

questions related to family backgrounds and upbringings, self-identification, adaptation, their personal relationship to the Latinx identity, language acquisition, and experiences in Boston and home as people with non-U.S. ancestral ties (for complete interview guide see Appendix A). I recorded and transcribed the interviews to maintain accuracy. I identified myself as a student conducting research for my thesis and asked comparative questions intended to gather their viewpoints on the differences between those in the inclusionary and exclusionary boundaries of Latinx identity. I quickly discovered that many respondents had many friends or family members with Latin American/Caribbean relations, which enabled them to engage with cross-cultural comparisons. To ensure anonymity, I have changed all names of interviewees.

PART I.

Personal Background, Self-Identification and Community

This thesis seeks to understand how Spanish and non-Spanish speakers of Latin American and Caribbean descent at Tufts University come to understand the terms Latino/a/x. When it comes to internal self-identification, ethnic group members are actively involved in the construction and reconstruction of identities, determining boundaries, asserting meanings, interpreting their pasts, and creating their future (Cornell and Hartmann 1998). This section explains the backgrounds of some of my participants and explains how and why they have come to self-identify as they do.

Though eight of the participants were born in their country of origin and the other seven were born in the U.S., all 15 interviewees expressed an attachment and connection to their groups, identities, communities, and cultures. The Haitian and Belizean participants were raised either Black or Caribbean and used national origin and ethnocultural identifiers (i.e. Haitian, Garifuna, Belizean Kriol). Of the seven, none of them used some form of “Latin” (Latin, Latin American, Latino/a/x) or “Hispanic” to identify themselves. All five of the Brazilian interviewees strongly identified with their Brazilian heritage, Portuguese speaking abilities, and as Latino/a/x. The Spanish heritage speakers used national origin and ethnocultural identifiers (i.e. Cuban, Mexican, or Peruvian), and two identified as Latino/a while the other identified as Hispanic. Though all the participants identified differently in some regards, they still recognized commonalities in their identities.

There were many vivid descriptions and explanations of food and how it was used to connect members of same and differing ethnic groups. The relationship to some cultural foods was recognized as a similarity between Caribbean and Latin American culture by many participants. Tabitha, a Haitian participant, expressed that she had rice and beans as a

commonality between her and her Venezuelan best friend. Darius, a Belizean interviewee, stated that through food, he is able to learn about and connect with his culture because there are many Belizean restaurants in his home community. Marguerette who is Garifuna and Belizean and Darius (Belizean Kriol) both associated warmth, feeling good, and familial familiarity to attending a Belizean dinner in Boston their freshmen spring. When discussing the dinner gathering, they both expressed that the affair was nice and that they felt like they were home even though they were in the presence of strangers who were part of varying Belizean ethnic groups.

There was a clear distinction in how respondents connected to “home” in comparison to the U.S. or Boston/Tufts. All of them stated that they either missed home, felt different while they were there, or had stronger and closer relationships in those communities. Abelino explained that in Brazil, his friend group comprised of people of color. When he first came to Boston he recalled being “scared” at seeing so many white people in the airport. Darius expressed how he felt he had lost his community when he moved to Boston for schooling and was in search of it at Tufts.

As participants described their experiences at Tufts, many stated that their initial impression was that Tufts is a very white space. Tabitha aired her frustrations with being ignored by the other white first year women of her dormitory floor. She expressed that she was out of her comfort zone and that it took her a while to find community at Tufts. It is not uncommon for individuals to find discomfort in new surroundings, especially when there are large cultural differences at play. These discomforts can also lead individuals to come to new forms of identification.

Many respondents expressed that there was a change in their identification over time. Tabitha identified as Haitian. As a young girl she moved to the US with her family and would visit Haiti for the summers. While growing up in a predominately white neighborhood she expressed that her household was still culturally Haitian, and she strongly holds onto that identity. After coming to Tufts and interacting with more Caribbean students and the Caribbean Student Organization she started to more broadly identify as Caribbean in addition to Haitian. Joanne, a Haitian-American participant was raised in a predominately Haitian and Black neighborhood in Massachusetts where she never questioned her identity. Upon coming to Tufts, she recalled conversations she had with peers who asked if she identified as Latina since Haiti is in Latin America. She communicated to them that she had never thought about it before. She expressed that for some time she “played around” with identifying as “Latina” after these conversations, but it never stuck for her. Darius expressed that he identifies as Black and Belizean. He grew up among other Belizeans and had many Central American friends who encouraged him to identify as Latinx due to the geographical location of Belize. While at Tufts, he felt excluded from the Latinx community, but still suggests that he is interested in exploring what identifying as Latinx would look like for him. On the other hand, all other Black identifying participants expressed confusion surrounding Latinx identity or that it was not an identity with which they felt connected, as I will discuss further in Part II. Uncertainty, Ambivalence, and Relationships to the Latinx Community.

One thing that did not change when students got to Tufts was the way in which they related to language. They felt strongly about retaining their cultural tongue whether it was Garifuna, Belizean Kriol, Haitian Creole, Portuguese, or Spanish. Noah, a Mexican-American participant, even noted that he intends for his child to speak Spanish, even if he has to teach his

spouse how to speak the language. This is likely due to the critical relationship between language acquisition and cultural/ethnic identity (Guardado 2002, 2010; Norton 2000). Josephine a Haitian-American participant noted that Haitian Creole is important to her. She expressed that “being Haitian isn’t only about speaking Creole. It’s good. It’s a plus if you know it but everyone’s situation is different. With language, it was important to me to preserve Creole. That’s why I practice it with my mom a lot and with my dad.” Noah noted that he considers his ability to speak Spanish to be one of his strongest tools and values the way in which it has been able to connect him with other Spanish speakers. He stated, “I love being fluent because you meet all kinds of people and it's cool. Like when somebody looks at you, and then they just start speaking Spanish because they know it's like yeah I guess.” Giannina a Brazilian respondent said that her “Portuguese definitely just kind of helps [her] stay in touch with [her] community. It is clear that language acquisition greatly informs the way cultural/ethnic identity is formed and for many interviewees they noted that language helps them feel connected to their respective communities.

Community: Centers and Organizations

In coming to Tufts, many students still yearned to find connection with others of similar backgrounds. While some participants struggled in finding a space that they could call their own, for many participants, a new sense of comfortability was found within the Latino Center or Africana Center, different organizations and groups, or new friends when they came to Tufts. They held onto their cultural heritage and had a desire to be around others with similar upbringings and experiences. Many of the Brazilian participants highlighted how BRASA meetings are important to them because it gives them a time and space to hang out with other Brazilians who have similar cultural understanding and experiences. Two Belizean-American

participants Marguerette and Darius and two Haitian-American participants Tabitha and Josephine began to attend meetings and events of the Tufts Caribbean Student Organization (CSO) and realized:

1. How vast the Caribbean community is
2. There are some intersections between many Caribbean communities and the Latinx community (particularly with regards to food and music)
3. They are not alone on campus in their Caribbean identity.

In these capacities, they were able to maintain and grow in their Caribbean identities while away from home. At Tufts, identity centers and organizations are oftentimes the spaces where people are able to find community. The center directors, executive board members of affiliated clubs and students are key in shaping the dynamic of the centers and organizations. In an ALAS/BSU joint meeting, the Director of the Latino Center emphasized that, “You don’t have to be Latino/x/a, to come to the LC [Latino Center]. We are all family, we are all *familia* there.” This sense of family was strongly associated with the Latinx identity by ALAS members at a meeting. They stated that the Latinx identity and culture is inclusive, multicultural, and diverse. Among interviewees, they also stated that the culture is energetic, warm, welcoming, and full of laughter and strength. Even when talking about the term “Latinidad” specifically, one participant notably shared that the term is “a beautiful word”, “a very communal word”, and—perhaps, most poignantly— “the word is like a hug.” For many respondents this is how they described the Latinx community, despite their use of the term for personal identification. In the following section, we will explore the boundaries that prevent my participants from non-Spanish speaking countries from fully identifying with Latino/a/x terms.

PART II.

Uncertainty, Ambivalence, and Relationships to the Latinx Community

As just stated, my participants from non-Spanish speaking countries revealed a sense of uncertainty and ambivalence with regards to the Latinx community. While commonalities within the Latinx experience were identified, and while some of these participants even connected with Latinx identity centers and organizations, those who were Haitian and Belizean did not self-identify as Latinxs themselves, choosing other national origin, ethnocultural and racial terms instead. Though, regarding self-identification, I uncovered even deeper complexity – most were confused about the term and ambivalent about whether they *are even allowed to* identify with it in the first place. Darius, a Belizean respondent posed, “is Latinx something that I would want to be considered as?” Non-Latinx identifying interviewees expressed uncertainty and constantly said, “I don’t know”, for example, when asked about who/where is considered Latinx, how to use the word Hispanic in relation to Latino/a/x, and who they would consider to be Latino/a/x. When Marguerette, the Garifuna Belizean interviewee was asked about what the term “Hispanic” means she said, “I don’t know if I’m right about these things [Latino and Hispanic label definitions].” When Josephine a Haitian participant, was asked the same question she said, “I don’t know it gets hazy for me.” Furthermore, most participants had difficulty in explaining how they identify others as members of the Latinx community. Josephine stated that “you can’t look at someone and say...you have to ask where they’re from or their family is from.” Moreover, others voiced that one had to prove their standing in the community as will be further discussed in External Identification: Tests of Authenticity.

My sample demonstrates that their thought process around the inclusionary boundaries of the identity are based primarily upon their anticipations of external identification – the way they

think other people identify and may identify them in return. In the following sections, I will analyze how external identification is based upon: 1) vague frameworks; 2) race, geography and language; and 3) tests of authenticity. It should be noted that many of these sub-categories correlate and overlap between them will be demonstrated.

External Identification: Vague Frameworks

The significance of ethnicity and race lies in the power we attach to them in our own identifications and the identities of other individuals. When the Hispanic/Latino panethnic identity was created, it was hazily framed around broad cultural values and experiences; it was also created to be “strategically ambiguous” (Mora 2014). This vague framework encourages and even values confusion, further complicating how external identification is processed. In this section, external identification is defined as the way in which others perceive each of the interviewees and how the interviewees identify others as members of the Latinx community (or not).

When given a map (see Appendix B) and directed to circle the regions and countries that she felt were a part of the Latino/a/x community Marguerette, the Garifuna Belizean-American participant, posed to herself, “Why do I feel like I’m wrong?” She stated that, “Cause it’s not like I know the set definitions. I feel like they’re always changing and when people explain it to me, I just get even more confused.” Her confusion was not unique. Darius, the Belizean Kriol interviewee, stated, “Yeah, I don’t know of a concrete definition to use of it [Hispanic]” and “Latinx takes in everybody of Latin descent. And even then, I don’t know what historically Latin descent means.” Even though respondents expressed confusion and ambivalence over different potential definitions, they still had some ideas as to what it meant to be a part of a distinct community.

In order to see how participants determined if someone else was Latino/a/x, they were also asked to think about a hypothetical scholarship that was ear marked for Latino/a/x students. Participants were asked questions related to this hypothetical scholarship. Tabitha, one of the Haitian participants, noted how it would be a bit difficult to determine who is a part of the community, especially with regards to Haitians. She notes,

Me: Who do you think that scholarships that are ear-marked for Latino/a/x students are designed to reach, and why?

Tabitha: It's tricky because I don't wanna tell somebody 'you're not a part of this community' if they feel that they are. I don't feel that I'm part of the Latinx community but if another Haitian doesn't feel that way, they feel that they are a part of the Latinx community, I won't tell them 'no'. It depends on how you view the word Latinx. Like your definition of it. So, I think it would depend on what definition the people who make these scholarships have of Latinx.

It is clear that Tabitha believes that claiming Latinx identity, as a Haitian person, depends on the definition one is using. Her desire to have a definition supports that a lack of a solid definition has complicated how external identification is understood and encourages misunderstanding. She defers to the "self-identification" of people instead of formal, concrete external identification. In the same breadth, she also expressed a desire to have the institutions specify a precise delineation of Latinx identity. In this manner, she gives primary importance to self-identification and secondary importance to institutional external identification. Tabitha's confusion was similar to Francois, one of the Haitian American participants, who also expressed uncertainty in how Haitians fit into the Latinx community. He notes,

Me: How would you feel, hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from Haiti, Belize, Guyana or Brazil, applying for a scholarship earmarked for Latino students?

Francois: Haiti, I would be sort of confused by it honestly. Guyana, Belize I mean, yeah, I circled them [on the map] together so I guess. So that's why Brazil is fine [points to circling of Brazil on the map]. Okay, so yeah, Haiti would be the one that will be most confusing for me [...] If the Haitian does identify themselves as Latino, Latina, or Latinx all right. I'll be confused at first, but I'm not, you know, it's not, it's not my place to ask questions, you know?

Francois, like Tabitha, expressed great uncertainty in understanding why Haitians would consider themselves Latinx. He noted that it is not his place to question the identity of someone else. With regards to why he circled Guyana and Brazil, Francois said he did so because of their geographical location. For Belize he stated, "I'm pretty sure yeah [...] I think there's some connection there" between Belize and the rest of continental Latin America. Overall, his reasoning for Belize was rather vague in nature.

My sample revealed that while some participants were uncomfortable in questioning the identity of others, they were also self-conscious in talking about the Latinx identity, especially when in reference to themselves. There was an overwhelming amount of confusion and ambivalence as to whether or not respondents should identify as Latinx people. Darius evidently expressed "I know I identify as Black. I know I identify as Belizean. Is Latinx something that I would want to be considered as?" Similarly, Marguerette said, "I don't know! I don't know if I should [identify as Latina]." Josephine shared, "I feel like the history is there and... I'm not sure 'cause as a Haitian, I've never checked Latino before I just put Black." While the Haitian and

Belizean participants have been able to identify with other panethnic identities over time, they struggled with claiming Latinidad. This could be in part due to a lack of knowledge surrounding the complexity of the panethnicity. With regards to the Hispanic (and by extension Latino) panethnic category, its ambiguity over time has led to a “collective amnesia” as the category’s history and narratives of culture begin to become more streamlined (Mora 2014). At a joint ALAS/BSU meeting, the Director of the Latino Center addressed a part of this communal forgetfulness. He stated, “You may or may not know most of the slaves went to Latin America and only a portion went to the U.S. In running the Latino Center that’s [the knowledge of the Africans and Indigenous folks] what I am carrying into that space and is who I see as my Latinx people. [...] this history [Blackness and racism] also impacts Latin America.” A lack of conversations that remind people of the past and how Latin America came to be, only perpetuates a streamlined cultural narrative and “collective amnesia” (Mora 2014). Without a critical analysis of what it means to be Latinx, the category can become completely institutionalized and with time, it will be assumed that the classification has always existed. This can lead to people coming to understandings of what it means to be a part of the Latin identity without being able to explain why they have chosen specific criteria, as seen in conversation with Noah.

I asked Noah how he would hypothetically feel if he was a finalist for a scholarship covering full tuition for Latinx students and a Haitian student won the scholarship instead. He stated that if he felt he needed the scholarship that he would feel like he should get it because there is a “differentiating factor” at play. In asking for clarification, Noah expressed that this was not his opinion, but one he felt that more traditional/older Latin Americans would express. When asked to clarify what the “differentiating factor” was he expressed that he did not know. While

he expressed uncertainty as to why older generations would be upset, he settled on the notion that parents/grandparents who are immigrants from Central and South American countries would not consider Caribbean peoples as Latinos.

This notion of the Caribbean being completely different from Latin America is not limited to older generations alone. When discussing why he would not consider Haiti to be a part of the Latinx community Darius noted, “if you’re an island you less likely have those connections to cultures and groups around you. Probably you’ll have food and some cultural aspects but when it comes to overall cultural influence, probably not as strong because of the separation.” In the same breadth, he considered Cape Verdean people to be Latinx because of interactions he had with a Cape Verdean peer. He described his friend as being someone who listened to Spanish music and gave off a “Latinx vibe.” He further explained that his friend comfortably fit into the Latinx community and had permission to engage with the community unlike him because he looks more Latinx than Darius does even though he too identifies as Black. When I asked Darius for clarification as to how his friend looked more Latinx he referred to skin tone. Darius completely neglected to acknowledge that Cape Verde is a mainly Portuguese-based creole (Kriolu) speaking island off of the coast of Africa. It seems that his thought process of the Latinx identity is not associated as much with geography as insinuated and more with skin color, community acceptance, and an ambiguous “Latinx vibe.” Darius’ thought process lies tangentially to Mora’s explanation of how the strategic vagueness of the Hispanic/Latino panethnic label itself has further encouraged ambiguity in people’s everyday understanding of Latinx panethnicity. In the following section, this ambiguity will be analyzed through an exploration of the relationship between race, geography, language and the Latinx community.

External Identification: Race, Geography and Language

“Othering” based on phenotype, culture, and language, among other socio-cultural and socio-economic characteristics, greatly informs how the Latino identity came into existence. To better analyze how participants understand the Latinx community, they were asked to list the characteristics and traits that they would use to identify somebody as Latino/a/x and Hispanic. Most interviewees responded that they would be unable to identify someone as Latino/a/x or Hispanic without the person stating their identity first. In the same breadth, many participants indicated that physical appearance, phenotype, and skin color could be identifiers.

The emphasis on racial categorization greatly impacts the way race and identity are perceived, experienced, and ascribed to others in the United States. Abelino, a Brazilian respondent, maintained that he does not assume the identity of others before they tell him how they identify, but he also noted that physical appearance may indicate where someone is from and could be used as a characteristic or trait used to identify someone as Latino/a/x. One of the Haitian participants Francois stated that he would use their skin color as the identifier. While many participants alluded to the fact that race and skin color may be markers of identification, Francois was the only one to say explicitly that he would look at skin in order to identify Latino/a/x people. When asked why he would not consider Haiti as a Latinx country after excluding Haiti from his circle on the map, he stated that he considers the country “Black” and the heritage of the people to stem from Africa. While this notion holds validity, it also alludes to the perception that other Latin American countries do not have a strong cultural African influence, which is inaccurate.

The association of Blackness as a despicable “other” can be seen throughout the *blanqueamiento*, or whitening process that many Latin-American countries actively put in

place. This historical aversion to Blackness has informed how Latinxs come to understand their self-identification and how others perceive the Latinx community. Darius, one of the Belizean participants, did not feel it was his place to tell someone whether or not they were Latinx. Yet, he noted,

You have to be clear as day Afro-Latino in order to even think about saying something like that [claiming Latinidad]. Like a Black person who lives in Cuba can say that they're Afro-Latino. One parent's Black, one's Cuban. *claps* There you go, you're Afro-Latino. You might [have] the same issues I have, but it is less easy to dispute that they are Afro-Latino and that they fall into Latino community and the Black community.

This idea is fascinating because it does not clarify what “clear as day” means and also alludes to the concept that Blackness must be an identity that is *added* to being Cuban. This negates that Cuba was a stop on the Middle Passage, as was the entirety of Latin America.

In analyzing the obscurity of the terms Hispanic and Latinx, it is vital to note that analogy helped to promote the vagueness of Latinx identity (Mora 2014). During the construction of the “Hispanic” panethnic identity, activists and census officials claimed that “Hispanics are *like* Blacks.” They suggested to listeners that Black and Hispanics are distinct minority groups that exist within the American demographic. Using analogies of this sort suggests that Hispanics and Blacks have similarities but emphasizes that Hispanic is nonetheless a separate category from Black. This suggests an exclusionary boundary that perpetuates that Hispanics, and by extension Latinxs, are *not* Black (Mora 2014). However, this is further from the truth considering that enslaved Africans were taken to Latin America as early as the sixteenth century. This notion also deconstructs, complicates and promotes the erasure of the Afro-Latino identity, which includes individuals who may straddle both categories. The development of “Hispanic” as a term and

label separate from Black has very clearly impacted the way Latinx, Black, and Afro-Latinx identities are explored today and how people understand the two groups. Though it is understood that there is overlap in these identities, they are often understood separately. In his interview, Darius remarked that “people see [him] as Black, Caribbean and *not* Latinx.” Perhaps, Darius’ socialization as a non-Latinx person growing up led him to the conclusion of his aforementioned statement regarding Afro-latinidad and Afro-Cubans. Perhaps, it is also evidence of how the social and political workings of the Hispanic identity in relation to the Black identity (Mora 2014) have informed the conceptualization of Latinx identities.

While some interviewees asserted that they could not use specific characteristics or traits to identify individuals as Latinx people, they still suggested that race could be used as an identity marker. Still others expressed assurance in being able to identify people of certain backgrounds. For example, Amelia noted that she was “*almost* 100% sure” she could identify someone as Mexican because of her experience growing up around Mexicans in Florida, she noticed that “they have more definite characteristics to Mexico.” She emphasized that she was “no expert” but still felt that Mexican people “have like this certain stature, or certain look.” While this “certain stature/look” was not expanded upon, it seems to be at odds with the lived experience of Noah, the Mexican participant. He considers his family to be “lighter than most Mexicans” and explained how this feature has had an impact on how others perceive him. He even noted that if someone else were to describe him, he does not believe they would use the “Latinx” term because of his skin color. He explained how people have told him that he “grew up white” and that “people like [him] wouldn’t get associated with that [Latino/x] term.” He described this phenomenon as “weird.” While there is no definitive demarcation that the “certain look/stature”

that Amelia refers to is not in correlation with the “lighter” features that are held by Noah’s family, it does not seem that Amelia would readily ascribe “Mexican” to Noah and his family.

In addition to race, participants commented on the relevance of geography to the Latinx culture. I asked Pablo, the Peruvian participant, how he would feel if a Haitian, Belizean, Guyanese, or Brazilian student applied for a hypothetical scholarship earmarked for Latinx students. He expressed that he did not know how he would feel. Instead, he emphasized that “a lot of people” would not consider Haiti, Belize, Guyana, or Brazil to be Latin American countries. In following up, he voiced that being Latin American is less about geography and more about the culture. He continued by stating that these countries “probably” did not have a similar culture and therefore, their application for the scholarship would be seen as problematic by other people. What is important to note here is not only the ambiguity in assumption of what other cultures in Latin America look like, but also the emphasis on how other people would feel rather than how he would feel. When asked how he would feel if a Filipinx person applied for the aforementioned scholarship he said that “most people would consider them [Filipinx people] Asians.” This was a common sentiment among participants.

When asked if they would consider the Philippines to be comprised of Latinx people, many participants were very apprehensive about labeling Filipinxs as Latinx due to the racial makeup, location, and lack of their knowledge of Filipinx culture. For those who did have some awareness of Filipinx culture, they noted that Spanish was not spoken and that the Philippines are in Asia. Marguerette noted that Filipinxs would be “stretching it because as of right now you’re considered in today’s society to be Asian not Latino or Latina so why are you applying for that scholarship. I’m pretty sure there’s Asian scholarships.” She explained that just because the Philippines were colonized by Spain does not mean they are Latinos and that it was a stretch

because colonization occurred long ago. When asked what significance the length of colonization and its proximity to the present day had to her rational, she noted that in places like Ecuador there is “culture” remnant of colonization while in the Philippines that is not the case. She did not elaborate on what this “culture” entailed. Subsequently, this external classification of Filipinx as non-Latinxs contradicts the self-identification of U.S. born Filipinx Americans, 25% of whom identify as Latino (Ocampo 2016).

Many participants, when circling their maps, included parts of the U.S. like El Paso, Miami, and Los Angeles as parts of the Latinx community. They rationalized these choices by saying that there are large populations of Latinx people in these areas. In any case where there is a “principle of inclusion there also exists a principle of exclusion” (Cornell and Hartmann 1998). This exclusion can be enforced by members of the same cultural group or by members of the same geographical group. Noah, in our 35 minute interview, discussed growing up in “the lightest part of California,” Palo Alto. He shared that growing up, before he moved from South Central Los Angeles to Palo Alto, that he went to a Spanish language immersion school where he found a lot of comfort in fitting in with other students. When he changed schools, he began experiencing discrimination and, later on in life, microaggressions. Noah stressed that he was proud of his Hispanic roots and how Spanish was a way for him to connect with other Latinx people.

Noah detailed how in order to “diversify” rich Palo Alto schools, students from East Palo Alto were brought in. He explained how to his peers he was perceived as white. When I inquired as to why this was the case, he responded by saying that he grew up in the rich part of Palo Alto. He continued by stating that in his graduating class that started with 100 Mexican students only seven graduated. For the other students at Noah’s school, they classified Mexican students as

those from East Palo Alto with fewer opportunities while Noah was seen as one of them. Due to the low graduation rate, Mexican students were othered and placed into another “pool.”

In the same breadth, he also explained that the low graduation rate was due to an inaccessibility to resources. When talking about the Mexican students from East Palo Alto he stated that, “they don’t interact with anybody else.” He further elaborated that he had to use “they” because he is not a part of “that group.” Noah clarified that his use of “they” and not “we” was because he grew up in West Palo Alto and when he attempted to interact with the students from East Palo Alto, they would ignore him. This demonstrates that even within the same ethnic categories there is not always a sense of community experienced by every party.

According to Noah’s description, it is evident that the administrators and lawmakers that sent East Palo Alto students to West Palo Alto to “build up diversity” in the school system, while probably well intentioned, neglected to give the students adequate resources. This othered the students and probably informed how they understood their group identity as Mexican students from East Palo Alto and impacted the way they were treated in school. With this in mind, it is not shocking that Noah, despite his cultural background, was excluded from their comradery and seen as an outsider since he was someone who had access in the larger school community.

Following geography and culture, many respondents also spoke with some confusion about the central importance of (or lack thereof) the Spanish language to the Latinx identity. When asked if Latinx people need to speak Spanish, most respondents said “no.” At the same time, when asked why Haiti was not considered a Latin American country, a rational was that Haitians do not speak Spanish or Portuguese and are in no way related to the culture of Latin America by a couple of respondents. When asked if Brazilians count as Latinx people, Tabitha, a Haitian interviewee, said that she would consider Brazilians because Portuguese is a Latin based

language — while she did acknowledge that French is a Latin based language, she expressed ambivalence over including Haitians because “[Haitian] Creole and French are not the same language.” Meanwhile, Marguerette and Josephine would not consider Brazil because Portuguese is the official language of the country and not Spanish. This was not surprising as Spanish is argued by some to be the language that connects the Latin American diaspora (Mora 2014). Brazilian participant Sebas supported this sentiment in voicing that he feels Latino/a/x terms are used to keep Latin American people together, but that the term is usually more connected to Spanish speakers. He credited this language barrier as a principle reason why Spanish heritage speakers can better integrate into the Latinx community than Brazilians. Darius, a Belizean interviewee, also credited Spanish to be a language that connects the Latinx community by expressing his own struggles with language acquisition. He stated that he only speaks English comfortably and that his Belizean Kriol is not the best. He expressed that,

most Belizeans who grew up around Belizeans who [speak] our tongue, which is Kriol, they can clearly tell ‘okay though you’re Belizean, you’re not *real* Belizean.’ Whenever I would go to family events, they would treat me as such. Like ‘you’re Belizean, but you could be *so much more*’ and it’s all because of the way I speak. And I kind of hate that you can’t get around it so yeah that’s how [speaking only] English [comfortably] itself has impacted me.

He further explained that if he spoke Kriol more, he feels that he would have a greater connection to his community. He used these sentiments to explain how Latinx people might feel in relation community in saying, “if they speak Spanish, they connect to the community a lot easier. And I’ve seen a desire for people who don’t speak Spanish who are Latinx that they wish they spoke Spanish a little more at home. So it makes their lives’ easier.” This feeling of not

belonging or feeling as connected is not uncommon among non-Hispanic Latin American descendants. Instead, it aligns with a sociological study that uncovered that monolingualistic Latin-American descendants who speak English exclusively were more likely to identify as non-Hispanic in comparison to Spanish-speaking descendants (Emeka and Vallejo 2011). This ultimately impacts the way one perceives themselves in relation to group membership and exclusion.

Abelino noted that language is essential for group communication and stated that, “if you cannot communicate with a group of people, you don’t belong to that group of people.” He quickly stated that his previous statement was “hard” and uttered that, “people who are born in the U.S., they learn how to speak Spanish and it may take some time, but they’re still Latino, so, um, yeah, what I’m trying to say is languages are important because it allows communication and communication is essential for like the way you identify.” Though Abelino corrected his statement, it is important to note his use of Spanish as the language that Latinos in America learn and use, rather than Portuguese, his native tongue.

Amelia, a Brazilian interviewee, strongly opposed the notion that Spanish is the language that connects Latin American peoples. She expressed that oftentimes, Portuguese is left out of the mix even though Brazil is the largest country in Latin America. When discussing who she would and would not include in the circling of her map, Amelia said that she would curve around Jamaica because the country’s official language is English. She asked for a repetition of the prompt to circle the countries she deemed to be a part of the Latinx community and stated,

Oh, that's so hard. Damn. This is really tough. After that, I kind of want to change my answers. Wait, this is really tough. I never really thought about this like that. It's interesting **because I did the same thing, like excluding another country** [...] this is

harder than I thought. Okay, now that I'm thinking about it, wait, I'm getting confused.

Okay Latin America. Yeah, maybe I guess I should include everything. Okay, I'm going to change my answer. I'm gonna include everything. You really made me change my mind here.

Language was the sole reason Amelia wanted to exclude Jamaica from the Latinx community, but she soon recanted and realized that her exclusion was similar to those who dismiss Brazil for not speaking Spanish.

While exclusions are not always intentionally placed on others, for some, their perception of exclusion is enough to feel othered and isolated. Abelino, a Brazilian interviewee, noted how he does not feel comfortable going to the Latino Center because Spanish is usually spoken by the people who spend time there. He continued to explain how even though he understands Spanish, he cannot speak the language and therefore, he feels like he was “being ostracized like, pushed away because [he] cannot interact with them.” In a similar manner, Darius, a Belizean interviewee, explained how he would frequently visit the Latino Center until he felt excluded. He clarified how Latinx people at Tufts would start speaking Spanish when they were around him and thought he did not understand. He strongly asserted that his Blackness played a factor as he did not “look Hispanic” and felt that he was being treated differently from someone who looked or seemed “fully Hispanic.” He concluded that he was not included in the conversation because the people he was interacting with did not see him as a member of the Latinx community. When one is trying to gain entrance into a community it can be difficult to navigate. Darius noted that “if I start identifying as Latinx I do not know how the rest of the Latin community would respond to that.” This nuanced perspective has not been addressed in the literature. While considerate to acknowledge how those on the inclusionary boundaries may react to those on the

exclusionary boundaries who wish to gain entrance into the community, the idea of permission is poignant.

External Identification: Tests of Authenticity

One thing that must be questioned is: who has the responsibility and ability to determine who is included in and excluded from the Latinx community? When it comes to internal self-identification, ethnic group members are actively involved in the construction and reconstruction of identities, determining boundaries, asserting meanings, interpreting their pasts, and creating their future (Cornell and Hartmann 1998). When it comes to external identification these processes are equally applicable. Due to the constant reconstruction of ethnic and racial identities, the measurability of identification—when phenotype cannot be used as a determinant—without questioning someone’s authenticity is impossible. This can place individuals in unwarranted situations where their identity is challenged.

Peter Berger notes a “plausibility structure” to be a: sociocultural web of agreed upon meanings and accepted roles that become institutionalized and connected to one another through a broader set of shared meanings (Mora 2014). Tabitha explained how she could not tell another Haitian that they are not Latinx but alluded to needing them to prove their identification choice. She expressed that if one has to think about whether someone is Latinx extensively and that information is not readily available, then the person should not be considered Latinx. At the same time, she seemed to perceive identity through the plausibility structure and demonstrated how current political social norms have influenced her perception over time of the Latinx identity in saying,

Tabitha: Um I think that would be considered kind of a gray area. Maybe, maybe not. To me personally, depending on the definition you use for Latinx, my definition of Latinx

could also be fair, but I could also see why someone would think it wouldn't be fair. Creole to me isn't a Latin based [language] so it wouldn't be considered Latinx so Haiti wouldn't be considered a part of the Latinx community. Creole was hugely influenced by French and French is Latin based so technically speaking: $a = b$; $b = c$ so $a = c$. So, it would be fair, but you didn't say $a = c$ before so can you really consider it Latinx? Like you have to do a lot of explaining to find the connection so I could see why someone would think it wouldn't be fair. **Like if you think about it so much then just say no.**

When Tabitha was asked how she would be able to identify if someone was deserving of a hypothetical scholarship that would cover full tuition for Latino/a/x students she asserted that one would "know someone is deserving of the scholarship when the connection to the Latinx community is very obvious." She continued with, "they come from a culture where the language is Latin based. There's no denying that. They come from a Spanish speaking culture for example. There's no denying that Spanish is Latin based so there's no denying that they're Latinx. With Haiti it goes back to the $A = C$ thing. You have to think about it too much. It's not obvious."

When asked if race played a role in the "obvious" signifier she said that for her, race did not play a role in her perception. The use of language, specifically Spanish was the "very obvious" signifier of authenticity that Tabitha and many participants relied on even though they expressed that one does not need to speak Spanish in order to be Latinx. Perhaps, this is the same thought process that was used by my peer when they said I was not Latina because Haiti is not a Spanish speaking country.

Darius emphasized that if someone felt whole heartedly that they were of the community then they should get the scholarship.

Me: How would you feel, again hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from Haiti, Belize, Guyana, or Brazil, applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?

Darius: I feel like if they feel in their heart of hearts that they belong to the Latinx community then by all means...yes...if a Belizean knew in their heart of hearts that they were a part of the Latinx community I feel like that would be fine.

The notion of proving authenticity seemed at odds with data gathered in observations of ALAS meetings. One of the attendees remarked that a person is the only one in control of finding their identity and it is not easy to just claim Latinidad. She said that if one deeply feels it is their identity okay and if not, they can explore day by day. While she stated this, there were others who discussed how while there may seem to be acceptance and unity within the Tufts' Latinx community that similar sentiments may not exist outside of the collegiate setting. At the meeting individuals described Latinidad as "inclusivity, warm, determined, anyone, multicultural, platano [plantain], proudness, warm, ganas [wins], diverse." A different attendee elaborated on how there is not one color, shade, or ideal image of a Latino/x/a person. She further detailed how the lack of acceptance in the Latino community is often times not discussed.

PART III.

What Does It All Mean?

Identification shapes the way we move through the world. It informs our personal relationship with ourselves and with others and impacts how we interact daily with others. The literature and respondents imply that there is a recognizable and definable Latinx culture, and upon further probing, participants noted that there was not much difference between cultures. One thing that was noted was the importance of speaking Spanish and being able to connect to the identity through language. They used rather vague terms to describe the community (i.e. welcoming, warm, diverse etc.) that could be used to describe nearly any other panethnic group. This next section discusses the possibilities for a more inclusive identity. Participants noted that it was not their place to question the constructs of the identity, but if not them, then who? I explore how inclusion led by community members and officials can influence the construction of and access to the identity.

Suggestions for Social and Public Policy

While respondents in many ways relied on language as their identification tool their ambiguity shed light on the social implications of identification. Ethnic and racial constructions are beneficial when members of the group are needed to mobilize and unite. Groups that discover that their identity is being used as basis for decisions regarding their livelihood and opportunities are more inclined to see an importance in identity. They are likely to use identity as the grounds for how they interact with others and move throughout the world. Those who already have social solidarity are more likely to use identity as a differentiator in allocating resources and opportunities. It should be noted that these suggestions do not imply that one should feel obligated to make the switch from ethnocultural identifiers to Latinx panethnic identity. I suggest

that all Latin American countries are included when discussing the Latinx identity and community.

When students were asked to think about the best qualities of being Latino/a/x in the U.S. today, many noted that they do not know because they do not identify with the group. Undoubtedly, the intersections of language and identity played a large role in this sentiment. Latinx people are diverse and yet, when one generally thinks about what a Latinx person looks/acts like there is a certain image that is not inclusive of many, if not most, Latinos.

Some interviewees mostly noted the welcoming nature of the community when asked about the best qualities of being Latino/a/x. Noah, the Mexican American respondent, stated that the U.S. would not be able to function without “us” and also expressed that oftentimes the Latino/a/x community is ignored and not given recognition. A more expansive inclusion by U.S. Census officials of Latinx cultures allows for more Latin American and Caribbean countries to seek their commonalities and learn from each other’s differences. The U.S. Census defines an individual of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race as Hispanic or Latino. This definition completely leaves out members of the Caribbean, Indigenous identities, and denies Brazilians access to the Latin American community. This information is important because it can impact the resources that are developed in and allocated to communities. The U.S. Census does allow for people to self-identify as both Hispanic/Latino, Black, and/or Indigenous. However, Census data on Latinos is inaccurate and not reflective of Black and Indigenous Latin American populations since the Census defines an individual of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race as Hispanic or Latino and does not include non-Spanish speaking countries. This skews data, but also raises questions around

equity and social justice that beg to be explored. Due to this, there are individuals who straddle multiple identities that are not included in the classification and thus, may be denied access to certain opportunities or resources. Darius, a Belizean interviewee, expressed that he does not know how the rest of the Latin community would respond to him identifying as Latinx. At an ALAS meeting he asked the group “how can people who don’t feel like a part of this [Latinx/a/o] community feel included?” He received no response. There seems to be a lack of knowledge on both sides as to how to make the community more inclusive. At the joint ALAS/BSU meeting the Director of the Latino Center alluded to wanting to make the Latino Center a more inclusive space through understanding and acknowledging the historical and present Black and Indigenous narratives of Latin America. The director expressed that he holds on to the legacy of African and Indigenous people when running the center and stressed community by saying that Indigenous and Black people are who he sees as *his Latinx people*. I propose that with first understanding these complex histories by people on the inclusionary boundaries of the identity, it is possible that those on the exclusionary boundaries can be validated in claiming the Latinx identity if they do not presently feel comfortable in identifying due to social, racial, linguistic, or political reasons.

Abelino, a Brazilian interviewee, expressed that when it comes to having access to resources many individuals do not think they qualify simply because of identity. He expressed that with a more precise definition of “Latino/a/x” terms and labels, students who are on the exclusionary boundaries would have the potential to not miss out on opportunities like scholarships. He also implied that there could be a better understanding of who takes advantage of resources marked for Latino/a/x peoples. Darius expressed that who gets a scholarship is “up

to the scholarship people. [...] If the students feel like they can apply for it, by all means they can. The scholarship has just as much right to accept or deny as the student applying.”

For Abelino and Darius, scholarship committees have the ability to decide who is and who is not qualified for the scholarship they are providing. Therefore, scholarship committees have some institutional power and ability to structurally change the way Latinx identity is assigned and asserted. Subsequently, if they wish to service non-Spanish heritage speaking populations of Latin-American and Caribbean descent, then they have the ability to change the narrative around Latinx identity.

Many participants noted that they have been thinking about the Latinx identity and where they fit in. Near the end of her interview, Josephine, a Haitian participant, shared that,

I just like to say I appreciate this interview ‘cause this is something I've been thinking about for a while now and this is a good space to talk it out ‘cause we don't even have the chance to do things like this. This could be a whole class. I think more people need to have this conversation because me struggling through it is a reflection that I need to know more.

This was a common sentiment among some participants and implies that conversations around the intersectionality of these identities is wanted and welcomed. At Tufts, organizations and centers are coming together to show the commonalities across and within cultures. The Africana Center and Latino Center held an Afro-Latinx night in February 2020 to celebrate the Independence Day of The Dominican Republic. During the spring semester, CSO and ALAS were in the midst of planning a Carnival Celebration that was to take place in April 2020. These groups are already doing the work to come together, and it is suggested that this continues. More meetings, conversations, and events that bring together groups can subtly inform people on how

inclusionary boundaries can be pushed and expanded. In April of 2018, the Latino Center posted on Facebook that, “all seniors who identify as Latinx, Caribbean, Latin American, and multiracial are invited to reserve a FREE stole and participate in Tufts Latino Center stole ceremony and dinner reception.” This is a step in demonstrating and suggesting to others that one of the initial phases of building community is first making space for all identities to be included. While this step has not greatly changed how people may come to terms with their personal identifications, it does allow for students who would not typically identify as Latino to see that they are welcomed into the Tufts Latinx community—and perhaps in the future, the community as a whole.

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

This work sought out to uncover how Latin American and Caribbean individuals, of both Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish speaking heritage, come to understand and relate to Latino/a/x identity, in the U.S. context especially when their ethnic group is not perceived to be “Latino” by U.S. definitions. In this research, respondents from Spanish and non-Spanish speaking Latin-American and Caribbean countries, namely Belize, Haiti, and Brazil, express great uncertainty and ambivalence about their relationship to Latina/o/x terms and community in the U.S.

When it comes to self-identification, all participants used national origin and ethnocultural identifiers (i.e. Haitian, Peruvian, Cuban etc.). Out of 15 participants, eight considered themselves to be Latino/a/x or Hispanic. For a lot of interviewees, their perception of their self-identity was intrinsically linked with how they grew up and the communities they were surrounded by. For those reasons, they discussed how they feel close to their ethnic identities when they are home. They also expressed how they feel connected at Tufts, despite Tufts being a “whiter space” than they were accustomed to. For some of them, they noted that in coming to Boston/Tufts that they changed the way they identified as they were introduced to new communities. Through excursions to Boston with other members of the same ethnic group and spaces like the Caribbean Student Organization, Latino Center, and Brazilian Students Association they have been able to find new senses of community.

Haitian participants stressed how they do not identify as Latinx and some emphasized that while they cannot question other Haitians for choosing to identify as Latinx that they also would be confused by the identification. For Joanne she discussed how she tried to identify with the term and it never stuck, but she did not go into detail as to why. For Darius, a Belizean

respondent, he expressed interest in identifying as Latinx and exploring what that may look like, but he was hesitant because he does not know how he would be perceived by those on the inclusionary bounds of the identity. All Haitian and Belizean participants saw themselves as separate from the Latinx identity and culture. They emphasized their distinct cultural and linguistic origins and characteristics, plus a general separation from the Spanish language, which they continue to see as a defining feature of the community and group. Brazilian participants strongly affirmed that they are Latinx people and asserted that they are not Hispanic. Many of them were hesitant about considering Haiti to be a Latinx country because of the difference in language, though they all recognized that Haiti is in Latin America. For all non-Spanish and non-Portuguese speaking participants there was an overwhelming ambivalence and uncertainty associated with identifying as Latinx. This ambivalence can be heavily linked to the fact that identity is heavily influenced by enculturation and acculturation (Quintana and Scull 2009). The more interactions individuals have with Latinos and non-Latinos ultimately shapes how they view themselves in relation to other people. In recognizing this, it is undeniable that participants came to understand their own self-identification by way of practicing and being subjects of external identification.

Identities are experienced by many people as something deeper than labels or common interests which make them difficult to fully understand and conceptualize with specific markers. When looked at from the external viewpoint, participants identified that they were perceived by others in a particular light and they too had markers to identify others. Many external identifications were made without a solid definition of what it means to be Latinx. The ambiguity surrounding the panethnicity leads people to have misunderstanding about who claims the identity and who does not. External identifications were also mainly explored through race,

geography and language. When it came to geography, Haitian and Belizean participants were hesitant to describe themselves as Latinx even though geographically they are from Latin America. There was also great hesitation in including many Caribbean countries and the Philippines in the Latinx community because there was a lack of knowledge surrounding the various cultures. Meanwhile, Brazilians affirmed that since Brazil is in Latin America that they are Latinx people. Many people did not outwardly discuss race, but when identifying people as Latinx some people alluded to the fact that they would use skin tone to make such an identification.

Since Hispanic panethnicity uses analogies and suggests that “Hispanics [and by extension, Latinx people] are *not* Black” (Mora 2014), it was not unexpected for this sentiment to be expressed by respondents. They noted that there were many intersections between Blackness and Latinidad. They also expressed how their Blackness relates to their relation to the Latinx identity and how they are perceived by others. At the same time, members of the ALAS meeting expressed that to be Latinx means to be a part of an identity and culture that is inclusive, warm, multicultural, and diverse. In this capacity, there seems to be an acceptance from Tufts’ Latinx community members to be inclusive. Though they recognize the ways in which Latinx communities outside of Tufts may not be as welcoming to members who are on the exclusionary boundaries of the group. Many participants noted that they would not consider Haiti to be a part of the Latinx community because they associate Haitians with Blackness and by extension, Africanity. Darius commented on Afro-latinidad and stated that one must be “clear as day” Afro-Latino in order to claim Latinidad. There was no clarification as to what “clear as day” means and the subsequent description emphasized that one must be mixed with Black and a commonly accepted Latin American national origin in order to assert Afro-latinidad. These notions strongly

negated the historical implications of slavery. Starting as early as the 16th century, approximately 11.2 million enslaved Africans were brought to Latin America and the Caribbean. This explains how one can be born in a Latin American country and assert an Afro-Latinx identity without having to be “mixed” with a commonly accepted Latinx identity. When looking at a geographic definition alone, it is evident that location of birth may demonstrate if someone is Latinx and this concept was supported by many other participants. Many participants and members of an ALAS meeting confirmed that the Latinx community is very diverse, multiracially and multi-ethnically. Though as previously shown by the data, this was easily countered with notions that skin tone plays a large factor in who is included and excluded in the Latinx community and can claim Latinidad.

While many participants agreed that the Latinx identity can have more to do with location than race, there were many discrepancies surrounding the topic of language. While all participants noted that one does not need to speak Spanish in order to be a part of the Latinx community, many people demonstrated that they heavily associate Spanish with the identity. Even among Brazilian participants they stressed that Portuguese is a language that is left out of the conversation, but in talking about the Latinx identity and who it includes they would often refer to Spanish heritage speakers, and more specifically those who grew up in the U.S. as well. Since everyone had their own definition of what it meant to be Latinx and Hispanic, their understanding of who belonged in these categories greatly differed at times. For example, Marguerette stated that she would not consider Brazilians to be Latinx people because they do not speak Portuguese. Amelia also stated that she would not consider Jamaica because they speak English, but soon after realized that she was excluding people over language as has been done to Brazilians. She changed her statement and ultimately, decided to include Jamaicans as

Latinx people. Even with these changes and ideas, they still do not negate the fact that most participants associated the Spanish language with the Latinx identity in some way. Even with a lack of understanding as to exactly why Spanish language acquisition was important, they steadfastly held on to this boundary consciously and subconsciously.

Though the boundaries of the Latinx identity, in many ways, were imprecise among this sample they all participated in exclusion. This makes sense because creating social identities stems from understanding and identifying with what one is and is not. Many individuals expressed how they felt the Spanish language in particular was used as a tool of social distancing and othering. In the Latino Center, where Spanish was spoken primarily, individuals felt unwelcomed and therefore, stopped frequenting the space. Even though the Director of the Latino Center mentioned at an ALAS/BSU joint meeting that one does not need to speak Spanish in order to frequent the center, it is evident that a lack of Spanish speaking ability presents a barrier for some individuals. Ultimately, leaving them to feel excluded. One of the most poignant findings was the notion that one must gain permission in order to receive access to the Latinx panethnicity and same group identification.

While Darius is Belizean American, he expressed discomfort in applying for a scholarship that was designated for Latinx people. Though he acknowledged that Belize is a Latin American country, he had found community and social solidarity in his Black Belizean Kriol heritage and used his identity as differentiator to distinguish between himself and others (Cornell and Hartmann 1998). Additionally, he noted that he is consistently perceived as Black and Caribbean by others and not Latinx. Questioning someone's authenticity and belonging to an identity group was generally frowned upon by the participants, yet many of them suggested that one must be able to prove that they are Latinx. This was evident in the case of the series of

questions regarding the hypothetical scholarship for Latinx students. Interviewees were concerned about the validity of those who were not obviously readable as Latinx winning the award. Even in signifying that it was not their place to question the identities of others, some participants still implied the obvious signifier for someone who is Latinx was associated with Spanish language capabilities. It was apparent that even though participants do not believe that someone needs to speak Spanish in order to be Latinx, their methods of identifying who is a part of the inclusionary and exclusionary boundaries of the identity are heavily reliant on language.

Overall, my sample showed that they understand that there are nuances within the Latinx identity. These findings build on and challenge existing scholarship that has not included the voices of those who are on the exclusionary boundaries of the Latinx identity. My sample demonstrated that they were aware of how they came to identify with certain national origin and ethnocultural signifiers and formed their self-identification. When it came to external identification they pointed to the relevance of race, geography, and language as they pertain to their own identities and the larger Latinx identity. They even discussed the ways in which they were excluded by others and grappled with understanding the metrics by which they too excluded others from accessing group membership. The usage of “they” versus “we” pronouns was defended as demarcating that they were not granted membership to certain groups because of their upbringings. Still, overarching was the uncertainty and ambivalence towards relating to the Latinx community and identity. For some participants, claiming Latinidad was not easy and for others it is something they identify with strongly. For all participants expressing the relation of Spanish to the Latinx identity was difficult. Due to the lack of strong definitions at the onset of the creation of the Latinx panethnic identity, it is not surprising to see that participants had difficulty expressing what the Latinx identity signifies. Though participants were not able to say

who has the right or ability to define the inclusionary and exclusionary boundaries of the Latinx identity, for these respondents, language is still a central factor in shaping the Latinx identity, even though they demonstrate some ambiguity and discomfort in exactly how that is the case.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Though these conclusions were derived from a small sample of people of Latin American and Caribbean descent, and it is suggested to have larger range of participants, that does not negate the importance of these findings. This paper sheds light on how Latin Americans are experiencing and interacting with the inclusionary and exclusionary boundaries of Latinx identity.

It would also provide new and intriguing insight if Indigenous Latin American/Caribbean people and people without Latin American/Caribbean ancestry are interviewed to see what their take is on the boundaries around Latinx identity and who is and is not included. Their interpretation would add a nuanced perspective on what internal and external identification looks like in the present day. I suggest future researchers to attend BRASA meetings and events to see how they compare to ALAS and CSO meetings and events. Furthermore, I encourage future researchers to probe further into the dissonance between the Latinx community being welcoming and the fact that people feel excluded.

Finally, it would be beneficial to interview more people who are on the exclusionary boundaries of Latinx identity. In including more non-Spanish speaking Latin American populations in Latinx scholarship there is a chance to create a more complex and nuanced study of the Latinx identity.

AFTERWORD

I pursued this project for pure fun. Every time I told someone that my thesis was not a requirement for graduation they looked at me with a face of confusion and that made me laugh. This process was by no means easy. Many times it was trying, but what kept me going were the interviews, the conversations, and the changes of heart. I must note that during this process ALAS asked me to be the host for their annual culture show in March of 2020. Admittedly, I was hesitant because I myself did not know how the audience would perceive me —someone who has only recently started outwardly, hesitantly, and circumstantially identifying with Latina, is Afro-Haitian, and has never really spoken about the Latinx community with ownership and membership— as the host. What got me on that stage was this paper and knowing that I belong to this community as a Haitian-Ghanaian American, even if others may not agree or may express confusion over my self-identification. This paper was personal.

During the spring of 2020, a little less than two years after the initial conversation mentioned in the Introduction that sparked this interest, I was reminded by a friend, Daniela Sánchez (A20) to sign up for the Latino Center Graduation where we would receive our stoles. Signing up in itself was emotional and affirming. Though COVID-19 has delayed the official stole ceremony, this paper was a ceremonial process within itself that I did not know I needed but am glad to have experienced. Since I personally do not believe that one must speak Spanish in order to be a part of the Latinx identity I will end with this: *kapasite mwen pou m' pale español no determina meu latinidade*. As I continue to grow in this identity, I hope to see what changes come about in the future and continue having this conversation.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

Latin American Immigrants/First-Generation Interview Guide

Family History and Background

- 1) First, thank you for agreeing to do this interview. To get us started, I would first love to hear a little more about you, where you or your family is from, what brought you here to the Boston area, what you do here now -- your story, so to speak! Would you tell me a little bit just to start us off? [ICEBREAKER QUESTION]
- 2) Great, thanks. I'd like to know a little more about your family, too. What was your childhood like in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Can you describe to me what you remember?
- 3) What kinds of groups of people were there back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]?
And how would you say that you (and/or your family) identified back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? How did they and you fit into the different groups of community life there?
- 4) What kinds of groups did your friends come from? Were they similar to or different than you in any way?
- 5) Do you remember ever thinking of yourself as part of a certain group or category or identity when you were younger? Probe: Why or why not? If so, why do you think this is? And do you remember anything about how you might have come to learn that?
- 6) Did this change any over time? Probe: Why or why not? If so, when? And why do you think that change occurred?
- 7) What did or do you like most about being [X] back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Probe: Why?
- 8) Is there anything that's hard or maybe you didn't (or don't) like as much about being [X] back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Probe: Why?
Do you think your friends or family felt similarly or different in any way? Probe: Could you give me an example?

Settlement, Adaptation, and Identification

- 9) Now, I'd like to move on to talking more about the groups that are here in this area, and where you see yourself fitting in here. When did you arrive here to the Boston area -- what year or age?
- 10) Can you tell me more about what that experience was like for you -- anything you remember?
- 11) What was one of the best things, or things you liked, about here at the time?
- 12) What was one of the hardest things, or things you didn't like, about here at the time?
- 13) Have your experiences or feelings about living here changed in any way over time? Probe: Why or why not? And if so, why do you think that is?
- 14) So you already told me a little about what the groups of people were like back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Thinking about here now, what kinds of groups of people were (or are) there here in the Boston area?
And how would you say that you (and/or your family) identify here? How do they and you fit into the different groups of community life here?

15) What kinds of groups do your friends come from? Are they similar to or different than you in any way?

16) Do you think you have changed the way you identify here – in terms of being a part of any group or groups here – in any way over time? Probe: Why or why not? If so, when? And why do you think that change occurred?

17) What did or do you like most about being [X] in the Boston area? Probe: Why?

18) Is there anything that's hard or maybe you didn't (or don't) like as much about being [X] in the Boston area]? Probe: Why?

Do you think your friends or family feel similarly or different in any way? Probe: Could you give me an example?

Latinx Identity and Boundaries

19) Ok. So now I'd like to talk about the Latino/a/x community here a little more, if that's okay.

20) First off, have you ever heard the term "Latinx"? What do you think about that term? What does it mean to you?

21) How have you heard that term (Latinx) used around here? Who in your experience tends to use it, and what do they mean by it? Who do you think it includes? Who do you think it does not include?

22) Do you personally identify as Latinx? Probe: Why or why not?

23) Now, have you heard the terms "Latino", "Latina", or perhaps even Latinidad? What do those terms mean to you? Do they mean anything similar to, or different from, the term Latinx? Probe: Why do you think that is?

24) Do you know other people who identify as Latino, Latina, Latin? Probe: Can you tell me a little more about them, and why they might identify that way?

25) What characteristics or traits would you use to identify somebody as Latino/a/x? In other words, how would you know someone Latino/a/x? Why do you think this is? Can you give me an example?

26) Do you identify as Latino, Latina, Latin – or anything else? Probe: How come?

27) What is one of the best things about Latinos/as/xs here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

28) What is one of the hardest things about Latinos/as/xs here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

29) Now, have you heard the terms "Hispanic"? What does that term mean to you? Does it mean anything similar to, or different from, the term Latinx? Probe: Why do you think that is?

30) Do you know other people who identify as Hispanic? Probe: Can you tell me a little more about them, and why they might identify that way?

31) What characteristics or traits would you use to identify somebody as Hispanic? In other words, how would you know someone Hispanic? Why do you think this is? Can you give me an example?

32) Do you identify as Hispanic – or anything else? Probe: How come?

33) What is one of the best things about Hispanic here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

34) What is one of the hardest things about Hispanic here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

35) What languages do you speak, or have you spoken over your lifetime? Probe: How did you learn them?

36) In your view, how do you think the languages you speak relate to your identity, the way you think about yourself? Do they?

37) Do you have any trouble communicating with any groups of people? Probe: If so, does that make them feel farther away from you? Why do you think this is?

38) Do you think all Latinos/as/xs have to speak Spanish? Or, in a different way, do you think speaking Spanish as a language is a central part of being Latina/o/x? Why or why not? Can you give me an example?

39) Have you ever heard any of these terms – Latino, Latina, Latin, or even Latinx – in other countries, beyond the U.S.? What about in [HOME COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Why do you think this is? If yes: What do the terms mean there? Who do they typically refer to, and why? If not: Why do you think the categories are different there?

40) [SHOW RESPONDENT A MAP OF THE WORLD]. Please circle the regions and/or countries that you consider to be a part of the Latina/o/x community. Can you explain your choices? [IDENTIFY SOME PLACES THAT WERE NOT CHOSEN AND ASK RESPONDENT WHY DOESN'T CONSIDER THEM TO BE LATINO/A/X, FOR EXAMPLES:]

- Would you consider the Caribbean?
- Would you consider Puerto Rico, Cuba, or the Dominican Republic?
- Would you consider Haiti or Belize?
- Would you consider Guyana or Brazil?
- Would you consider other parts of the Caribbean?
- Would you consider Spain?
- Would you consider Portugal or Cape Verde?
- Would you consider the Philippines?

41) Have you ever met anyone who lives here who if from those countries? Probe: How do they identify? Do they identify as Latino/a/x or something else? Why do you think that is?

42) How separate or together do you consider immigrant groups who live in the U.S. from any of these countries to be to Latinas/os/xs here? How come?

43) Did you consider applying for a race/ethnicity-based scholarship when applying for college? If so, which one?

- Who do you think that scholarships that are ear-marked for Latino/a/x students are designed to reach, and why?
- How do you feel, let's just say hypothetically, about immigrants Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Now, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from Haiti, Belize, Guyana, or Brazil, applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Now, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from Spain applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Now, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from Portugal or Cabo Verde applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Finally, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from the Philippines applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?

- Picture that there is a hypothetical scholarship that covers full tuition for Latino/a/x students. You were a finalist and the award winner that year is a student whose family came here from Haiti. What thoughts come to mind?

44) Well, thank you so much for your time and energy. Those are just about all the questions I have for you. But I always like to end my interviews by asking you if there anything else that you would like to mention, or think is important for people to know more about, if I am writing about the Latino/a/x identity, what it means today, and who people think it includes or doesn't include?

45) Thank you. And do you have any final questions that you'd like to ask me in return? Or stories that might come to mind now that the interview is over?

Haitian Immigrant/First-Generation Interview Guide

Family History and Background

- 1) First, thank you for agreeing to do this interview. To get us started, I would first love to hear a little more about you, where you or your family is from, what brought you here to the Boston area, what you do here now -- your story, so to speak! Would you tell me a little bit just to start us off? [ICEBREAKER QUESTION]
- 2) Great, thanks. I'd like to know a little more about your family, too. What was your childhood like in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Can you describe to me what you remember?
- 3) What kinds of groups of people were there back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]?
And how would you say that you (and/or your family) identified back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? How did they and you fit into the different groups of community life there?
- 4) What kinds of groups did your friends come from? Were they similar to or different than you in any way?
- 5) Do you remember ever thinking of yourself as part of a certain group or category or identity when you were younger? Probe: Why or why not? If so, why do you think this is? And do you remember anything about how you might have come to learn that?
- 6) Did this change any over time? Probe: Why or why not? If so, when? And why do you think that change occurred?
- 7) What did or do you like most about being [X] back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Probe: Why?
- 8) Is there anything that's hard or maybe you didn't (or don't) like as much about being [X] back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Probe: Why?
Do you think your friends or family felt similarly or different in any way? Probe: Could you give me an example?

Settlement, Adaptation, and Identification

- 9) Now, I'd like to move on to talking more about the groups that are here in this area, and where you see yourself fitting in here. When did you arrive here to the Boston area – what year or age?
- 10) Can you tell me more about what that experience was like for you – anything you remember?
- 11) What was one of the best things, or things you liked, about here at the time?
- 12) What was one of the hardest things, or things you didn't like, about here at the time?
- 13) Have your experiences or feelings about living here changed in any way over time? Probe: Why or why not? And if so, why do you think that is?
- 14) So you already told me a little about what the groups of people were like back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Thinking about here now, what kinds of groups of people were (or are) there here in the Boston area?
And how would you say that you (and/or your family) identify here? How do they and you fit into the different groups of community life here?
- 15) What kinds of groups do your friends come from? Are they similar to or different than you in any way?

16) Do you think you have changed the way you identify here – in terms of being a part of any group or groups here – in any way over time? Probe: Why or why not? If so, when? And why do you think that change occurred?

17) What did or do you like most about being [X] in the Boston area? Probe: Why?

18) Is there anything that's hard or maybe you didn't (or don't) like as much about being [X] in the Boston area]? Probe: Why?

Do you think your friends or family feel similarly or different in any way? Probe: Could you give me an example?

Latinx Identity and Boundaries

19) Ok. So now I'd like to talk about the Latino/a/x community here a little more, if that's okay.

20) First off, have you ever heard the term "Latinx"? What do you think about that term? What does it mean to you?

21) How have you heard that term (Latinx) used around here? Who in your experience tends to use it, and what do they mean by it? Who do you think it includes? Who do you think it does not include?

22) Do you personally identify as Latinx? Probe: Why or why not?

23) Now, have you heard the terms "Latino", "Latina", or perhaps even Latinidad? What do those terms mean to you? Do they mean anything similar to, or different from, the term Latinx? Probe: Why do you think that is?

24) Do you know other people who identify as Latino, Latina, Latin? Probe: Can you tell me a little more about them, and why they might identify that way?

25) What characteristics or traits would you use to identify somebody as Latino/a/x? In other words, how would you know someone Latino/a/x? Why do you think this is? Can you give me an example?

26) Do you identify as Latino, Latina, Latin – or anything else? Probe: How come?

27) What is one of the best things about Latinos/as/xs here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

28) What is one of the hardest things about Latinos/as/xs here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

29) Now, have you heard the terms "Hispanic"? What does that term mean to you? Does it mean anything similar to, or different from, the term Latinx? Probe: Why do you think that is?

30) Do you know other people who identify as Hispanic? Probe: Can you tell me a little more about them, and why they might identify that way?

31) What characteristics or traits would you use to identify somebody as Hispanic? In other words, how would you know someone Hispanic? Why do you think this is? Can you give me an example?

32) Do you identify as Hispanic – or anything else? Probe: How come?

33) What is one of the best things about Hispanic here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

34) What is one of the hardest things about Hispanic here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

35) What languages do you speak, or have you spoken over your lifetime? Probe: How did you learn them?

36) In your view, how do you think the languages you speak relate to your identity, the way you think about yourself? Do they?

37) Do you have any trouble communicating with any groups of people? Probe: If so, does that make them feel farther away from you? Why do you think this is?

38) Do you think all Latinos/as/xs have to speak Spanish? Or, in a different way, do you think speaking Spanish as a language is a central part of being Latina/o/x? Why or why not? Can you give me an example?

39) Have you ever heard any of these terms – Latino, Latina, Latin, or even Latinx – in other countries, beyond the U.S.? What about in [HOME COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Why do you think this is? If yes: What do the terms mean there? Who do they typically refer to, and why? If not: Why do you think the categories are different there?

40) [SHOW RESPONDENT A MAP OF THE WORLD]. Please circle the regions and/or countries that you consider to be a part of the Latina/o/x community. Can you explain your choices? [IDENTIFY SOME PLACES THAT WERE NOT CHOSEN AND ASK RESPONDENT WHY DOESN'T CONSIDER THEM TO BE LATINO/A/X, FOR EXAMPLES:]

- Would you consider the Caribbean?
- Would you consider Puerto Rico, Cuba, or the Dominican Republic?
- Would you consider Haiti or Belize?
- Would you consider Guyana or Brazil?
- Would you consider other parts of the Caribbean?
- Would you consider Spain?
- Would you consider Portugal or Cape Verde?
- Would you consider the Philippines?

41) Have you ever met anyone who lives here who is from those countries? Probe: How do they identify? Do they identify as Latino/a/x or something else? Why do you think that is?

42) How separate or together do you consider immigrant groups who live in the U.S. from any of these countries to be to Latinas/os/xs here? How come?

43) Did you consider applying for a race/ethnicity-based scholarship when applying for college? If so, which one?

- Who do you think that scholarships that are ear-marked for Latino/a/x students are designed to reach, and why?
- How do you feel, let's just say hypothetically, about immigrants Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Now, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from Haiti, Belize, Guyana, or Brazil, applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Now, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from Spain applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Now, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from Portugal or Cabo Verde applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Finally, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from the Philippines applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Picture that there is a hypothetical scholarship that covers full tuition for Latino/a/x students. You were a finalist and the award winner that year is a student whose family came here from Haiti. What thoughts come to mind?

44) Well, thank you so much for your time and energy. Those are just about all the questions I have for you. But I always like to end my interviews by asking you if there anything else that you would like to mention, or think is important for people to know more about, if I am writing about the Latino/a/x identity, what it means today, and who people think it includes or doesn't include?

45) Thank you. And do you have any final questions that you'd like to ask me in return? Or stories that might come to mind now that the interview is over?

Brazilian Immigrant/First-Generation Interview Guide

Family History and Background

- 1) First, thank you for agreeing to do this interview. To get us started, I would first love to hear a little more about you, where you or your family is from, what brought you here to the Boston area, what you do here now -- your story, so to speak! Would you tell me a little bit just to start us off? [ICEBREAKER QUESTION]
- 2) Great, thanks. I'd like to know a little more about your family, too. What was your childhood like in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Can you describe to me what you remember?
- 3) What kinds of groups of people were there back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]?
And how would you say that you (and/or your family) identified back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? How did they and you fit into the different groups of community life there?
- 4) What kinds of groups did your friends come from? Were they similar to or different than you in any way?
- 5) Do you remember ever thinking of yourself as part of a certain group or category or identity when you were younger? Probe: Why or why not? If so, why do you think this is? And do you remember anything about how you might have come to learn that?
- 6) Did this change any over time? Probe: Why or why not? If so, when? And why do you think that change occurred?
- 7) What did or do you like most about being [X] back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Probe: Why?
- 8) Is there anything that's hard or maybe you didn't (or don't) like as much about being [X] back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Probe: Why?
Do you think your friends or family felt similarly or different in any way? Probe: Could you give me an example?

Settlement, Adaptation, and Identification

- 9) Now, I'd like to move on to talking more about the groups that are here in this area, and where you see yourself fitting in here. When did you arrive here to the Boston area -- what year or age?
- 10) Can you tell me more about what that experience was like for you -- anything you remember?
- 11) What was one of the best things, or things you liked, about here at the time?
- 12) What was one of the hardest things, or things you didn't like, about here at the time?
- 13) Have your experiences or feelings about living here changed in any way over time? Probe: Why or why not? And if so, why do you think that is?
- 14) So you already told me a little about what the groups of people were like back in [ORIGIN COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Thinking about here now, what kinds of groups of people were (or are) there here in the Boston area?
And how would you say that you (and/or your family) identify here? How do they and you fit into the different groups of community life here?
- 15) What kinds of groups do your friends come from? Are they similar to or different than you in any way?

16) Do you think you have changed the way you identify here – in terms of being a part of any group or groups here – in any way over time? Probe: Why or why not? If so, when? And why do you think that change occurred?

17) What did or do you like most about being [X] in the Boston area? Probe: Why?

18) Is there anything that's hard or maybe you didn't (or don't) like as much about being [X] in the Boston area]? Probe: Why?

Do you think your friends or family feel similarly or different in any way? Probe: Could you give me an example?

Latinx Identity and Boundaries

19) Ok. So now I'd like to talk about the Latino/a/x community here a little more, if that's okay.

20) First off, have you ever heard the term "Latinx"? What do you think about that term? What does it mean to you?

21) How have you heard that term (Latinx) used around here? Who in your experience tends to use it, and what do they mean by it? Who do you think it includes? Who do you think it does not include?

22) Do you personally identify as Latinx? Probe: Why or why not?

23) Now, have you heard the terms "Latino", "Latina", or perhaps even Latinidad? What do those terms mean to you? Do they mean anything similar to, or different from, the term Latinx? Probe: Why do you think that is?

24) Do you know other people who identify as Latino, Latina, Latin? Probe: Can you tell me a little more about them, and why they might identify that way?

25) What characteristics or traits would you use to identify somebody as Latino/a/x? In other words, how would you know someone Latino/a/x? Why do you think this is? Can you give me an example?

26) Do you identify as Latino, Latina, Latin – or anything else? Probe: How come?

27) What is one of the best things about Latinos/as/xs here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

28) What is one of the hardest things about Latinos/as/xs here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

29) Now, have you heard the terms "Hispanic"? What does that term mean to you? Does it mean anything similar to, or different from, the term Latinx? Probe: Why do you think that is?

30) Do you know other people who identify as Hispanic? Probe: Can you tell me a little more about them, and why they might identify that way?

31) What characteristics or traits would you use to identify somebody as Hispanic? In other words, how would you know someone Hispanic? Why do you think this is? Can you give me an example?

32) Do you identify as Hispanic – or anything else? Probe: How come?

33) What is one of the best things about Hispanic here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

34) What is one of the hardest things about Hispanic here in the U.S. today? Probe: Why?

35) What languages do you speak, or have you spoken over your lifetime? Probe: How did you learn them?

36) In your view, how do you think the languages you speak relate to your identity, the way you think about yourself? Do they?

37) Do you have any trouble communicating with any groups of people? Probe: If so, does that make them feel farther away from you? Why do you think this is?

38) Do you think all Latinos/as/xs have to speak Spanish? Or, in a different way, do you think speaking Spanish as a language is a central part of being Latina/o/x? Why or why not? Can you give me an example?

39) Have you ever heard any of these terms – Latino, Latina, Latin, or even Latinx – in other countries, beyond the U.S.? What about in [HOME COUNTRY/CITY/TOWN]? Why do you think this is? If yes: What do the terms mean there? Who do they typically refer to, and why? If not: Why do you think the categories are different there?

40) [SHOW RESPONDENT A MAP OF THE WORLD]. Please circle the regions and/or countries that you consider to be a part of the Latina/o/x community. Can you explain your choices? [IDENTIFY SOME PLACES THAT WERE NOT CHOSEN AND ASK RESPONDENT WHY DOESN'T CONSIDER THEM TO BE LATINO/A/X, FOR EXAMPLES:]

- Would you consider the Caribbean?
- Would you consider Puerto Rico, Cuba, or the Dominican Republic?
- Would you consider Haiti or Belize?
- Would you consider Guyana or Brazil?
- Would you consider other parts of the Caribbean?
- Would you consider Spain?
- Would you consider Portugal or Cape Verde?
- Would you consider the Philippines?

41) Have you ever met anyone who lives here who is from those countries? Probe: How do they identify? Do they identify as Latino/a/x or something else? Why do you think that is?

42) How separate or together do you consider immigrant groups who live in the U.S. from any of these countries to be to Latinas/os/xs here? How come?

43) Did you consider applying for a race/ethnicity-based scholarship when applying for college? If so, which one?

- Who do you think that scholarships that are ear-marked for Latino/a/x students are designed to reach, and why?
- How do you feel, let's just say hypothetically, about immigrants Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Now, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from Haiti, Belize, Guyana, or Brazil, applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Now, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from Spain applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Now, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from Portugal or Cabo Verde applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Finally, how do you feel, again let's just say hypothetically, about an immigrant whose family came from the Philippines applying for a scholarship that is ear-marked for Latino/a/x students?
- Picture that there is a hypothetical scholarship that covers full tuition for Latino/a/x students. You were a finalist and the award winner that year is a student whose family came here from Haiti. What thoughts come to mind?

44) Well, thank you so much for your time and energy. Those are just about all the questions I have for you. But I always like to end my interviews by asking you if there anything else that you would like to mention, or think is important for people to know more about, if I am writing about the Latino/a/x identity, what it means today, and who people think it includes or doesn't include?

45) Thank you. And do you have any final questions that you'd like to ask me in return? Or stories that might come to mind now that the interview is over?

APPENDIX B:

Latin America



This is a royalty free image that can be used for your personal, corporate or education projects. It can not be resold or freely distributed, if you need an editable PowerPoint or Adobe Illustrator version of this map please visit www.bjdesign.com or www.mapsfordesign.com. This text can be cropped off. © Copyright Bruce Jones Design Inc. 2011

When participants were given this map to circle, the heading “Latin America” was removed in order to see most accurately which regions and countries people considered without much prompting.

Bibliography

- Acuña, Rodolfo. 2017. *U.S. Latino Issues*, 2nd Edition. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.
- Bernal, M.E., Knight, G.P., Ocampo, K., Garza, C. and Cota, M. 1993. "Development of Mexican American Identity." In M.E. Bernal & G.P. Knight (Eds.) *Ethnic identity: Formation and Transmission among Hispanics and other Minorities* (pp. 31-46). Albany State University of New York Press.
- Chevalier, Michele. "El término fue inventado en Francia como forma de 'colonizar culturalmente.'" En *Revue de Races Latines 1857-1871*.
- Cornell, S. and Hartmann. 2007. "Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World." Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Emeka, A., and Vallejo, J.A. 2011. "Non-Hispanics with Latin American Ancestry: Assimilation, Race, and Identity among Latin American descendants in the U.S." *Social Science Research* 40, no. 6: 1547-1563. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2011.06.002>.
- Guardado, Martin. 2010. "Heritage Language Development: Preserving a Mythic Past or Envisioning the Future of the Canadian Identity?" *Journal of Language, Identity Education* 9, no. 5: 329-346. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2010.715699>.
- Guardado, Martin. 2008. "Language, Identity, and Cultural Awareness in Spanish-Speaking Families." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 40, no. 3: 171-181. <http://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2008.0000>.
- Guardado, Martin. 2002. "Loss and Maintenance of First Language Skills: Case Studies of Hispanic Families in Vancouver." *Canadian Modern Language Review* 58, no. 3: 341-363. <https://doi.org/10.3138/cmlr.58.3.341>.
- Marrow, Helen B. 2007. "Who Are the Other Latinos, and Why?" In *The Other Latinos: Central and South Americans in the United States*, 39-68. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies.
- Mazzotti, José Antonio. 2018. "The Historical and Imagined Cultural Geographies of Latinidad". In *The Cambridge History of Latina/o Literature*. Ed. By John Morán González and Laura Lomas. Chapter 10, pages 119-135: Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Mendoza-Denton, Norma. 1999. "Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Anthropology of US Latinos." *Annual review of Anthropology* 28: 375-395.
- McConnell, E.D., and Delgado-Romero, E.A. 2004. "Latino Panethnicity: Reality or Methodological Construction?" *Sociological Focus* 37, no. 4: 297-312. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.2004.10571248>.

- Mora, G.C. 2014. "Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats, and Media Constructed a New American." Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Nesteruk, O., Helmstetter, N.M., Gramescu, A., Siyam, M.H., and Price, C.A. 2015. "Development of Ethnic Identity in Young Adults from Immigrant Families: I Want to Hold onto My Roots, But I Also Want to Experience New Routes." *Marriage Family Review* 51(5): 466-487.
- Norton, B. 2001 "Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change." *TESOL Quarterly* 35, no. 3: 504. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3588036>.
- Ocampo, Anthony. 2016. *The Latinos of Asia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Quintana, S.M., and Scull, N.C. 2009. "Latino Ethnic Identity." In *Handbook of U.S. Latino Psychology: Developmental and Community-Based Perspectives*, edited by Villarruel, F.A., Carlo, G., Grau, J.M., Azmitia, M., Cabrera, N.J., and Chahin T.J., 81-98, Chapter xi, 466 pages: Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publications, Inc.