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Publication Date

2016

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

**RACIALIZED BODIES AND PHANTOM LIMB CITIZENSHIP:
THE CASE OF THE FILIPINO WORLD WAR II VETERANS**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

SOCIOLOGY

by

Jimiliz Maramba Valiente-Neighbours

September 2016

The Dissertation of Jimiliz M. Valiente-Neighbours is
approved:

Professor Steven McKay, Chair

Professor Dana Takagi

Professor Deborah Gould

Professor Catherine Ramirez

Tyrus Miller
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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ABSTRACT
RACIALIZED BODIES AND PHANTOM LIMB CITIZENSHIP:
THE CASE OF THE FILIPINO WORLD WAR II VETERANS

By Jimiliz M. Valiente-Neighbours

The United States recruited more than half a million Filipino soldiers and guerrillas in the Philippines during World War II with the promise of American citizenship in return for their wartime service. Even after the official victory of the United States and its allies in 1945, the United States government continued to recruit Filipinos to serve under the American flag for post-war reconstruction and the development of American military bases in the Pacific. But in February 1946, the United States government signed the 1946 Rescission Act, which classified the Filipino veterans' service as inactive and denied them recognition and rights as American veterans. Paradoxically, despite this denial and non-recognition from the United States on racial grounds, many Filipino veterans who have never stepped on U.S. soil continued to *feel* like Americans and identified as American veterans, and fervently believe that they deserve the same treatment and rights as their U.S.-born counterparts.

Drawing from in-depth interviews with 83 Filipino World War II veterans in the Philippines and the United States, I analyze how the lack of formal citizenship does not obstruct feelings of belonging towards a nation, especially for a population who has already performed the ultimate duty a nation asks of its citizens: to fight, kill, and die in its name. This dissertation examines the intertwined politics of race,

empire, and citizenship, with special attention to the body as a central analytical component. I argue that the formation of citizenship as belonging among the Filipino veterans, while first initiated by the United States through colonization, recruitment, and legislation, was sustained by their bodily experiences as military soldiers under the American flag. By bodily experiences, I am referring to: (1) the interactions between Filipino and American World War II soldiers that built solidarity and conviviality among them, facilitated by their proximity to each other; and (2) the performances and practices of quotidian activities in an American military habitus.

Thus, I propose a theorization of citizenship as embodied that attends to the material contexts of Filipino veterans' identification and feelings as Americans before or without entry into the host state, and before or without naturalized citizenship. I consider not only the body and its experiences, but also its physical and social location in relation to other bodies. Since racial formation and citizenship formation are not separate processes, citizenship theory must consider how the state produces racialized bodies in its efforts at nation- and empire-building, as well as how racialized populations perceive their bodies as belonging to the state. My theoretical analysis proposes the concepts phantom limb citizenship, embodied community, and differential belonging to augment the standard approach to citizenship as a static category in opposition to non-citizenship.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am humbled by all of the people who helped me with this dissertation. My diligence in finishing is, in part, because I hope to honor all of them. I would first like to express my gratitude for the Filipino World War II veterans and their families for opening their doors to me. Their stories have given me much to reflect on, beyond my potential scholarly contribution to the discipline of sociology. In particular, their stories have encouraged me to think about what democracy looks like, how to make “family” work when laws keep them apart, the challenges and rewards of community-building, and how to stay hopeful when the odds are stacked against us.

To my dissertation committee, I am extremely grateful for all of the guidance and encouragement you have given me throughout this journey. Thank you for having been patient with my process, while simultaneously challenging me, sharpening me, and refining me as a scholar. To my dissertation chair Steve McKay, you have been with me from the very beginning. You were the one who called me in Spring 2008 to say that I had been accepted to the doctoral program in the Sociology Department at UCSC. I feel very fortunate that you took me on as an advisee, and I look forward to commencement in June 2017 for when you “hood” me. To my qualifying examination chair Dana Takagi, thank you for exploring with me the possibilities of the veterans’ stories during your office hours. Thank you also for asking me whether I’m keeping up with my rock climbing. To Debbie Gould, thank you for all of your thoughtful

feedback on my drafts. I am so glad that I took your course on affect in Winter 2010. To Cat Ramirez, thank you for sharing your enthusiasm with me about immigration and assimilation, and for encouraging me to present my dissertation work at the University of Glasgow in Scotland in September 2014. All of you, in your unique ways, inspire me to continue thinking about the possibilities of research and the significance of quality mentorship. I may have never told you this before, but I have described your collective as the Dream Team for my committee.

I also want to acknowledge all of the people who helped me with getting things moving along, particularly with the administrative aspect of research. Barbara Laurence helped with interview correspondences; Tina Nikfarjam helped with paperwork for my research assistants; Colleen Massengale also provided general support in the office and also as a friend; Mizuki Hisaka was helpful in answering all of my questions from a distance now that I live in San Diego; our custodian Everardo Zarate generously offered his mother's delicious tamales and supported me by reminding me to get some rest because he often caught me in my office late in the evening during his work hours. My thanks also go to my wonderful undergraduate research assistants for their hard work with transcriptions and asking thoughtful questions: Josephine Aviado, Katrina Pantig, Earvin Villaflor, and Isabella Garcia. I am also grateful for the generosity of all of the university donors. My graduate studies and research received financial support from the University of California (UC) President's Dissertation Fellowship, the UC Center New Racial Studies, the Eugene

Cota-Robles Graduate Fellowship, and the Sociology Department. I was able to meet these deadlines and fill out all of the necessary paperwork for these opportunities with the help of Ann McCurdy and Marilyn Chapin.

The amazing thing about having attempted to talk with 100 Filipino veterans is that there are literally over 100 people to thank for helping me conduct my interviews. I express my thanks to the organizations and community members who helped open doors for me, particularly Uncle Fred Basconcillo in Daly City and Arturo Garcia, Jr., the National Coordinator for Justice for Filipino American Veterans (JFAV), for being patient with all my e-mails, phone calls, and visits.

And then, there are the people who literally helped me knock on doors! I am grateful for all of the people who helped me during my fieldwork visits to the Philippines. I thank my interview team members: Uncle Larry Toledo, Uncle Roland and Auntie Vilma Maramba, Uncle Dan Maramba, Uncle Jay and Auntie Marisa Maramba, Herald Toledo, Paul Tamayo, Uncle Billy and Auntie Bella Gervacio, and Gibelyn Orduña. The interview trips to over 50 homes altogether was no cake-walk in the Philippines. We faced typhoons and floods during my first visit there in 2012, and we braved the hot, hot sun in 2013. Even though it was not easy taking me around several towns on motorcycles, tricycles, jeepneys, and buses, they made it happen. I also want to acknowledge the kindness of all of the people in the various neighborhoods and towns who helped me find my way to the veterans' homes when sometimes all I had was a name. I didn't have GPS during my fieldwork there, but I

didn't need it because of all their help! I want to express my gratitude, too, for the family members who housed and fed me during these fieldwork trips: my maternal grandmother Lola Mercedes Maramba, my late paternal grandmother Adelina Valiente, her late live-in helper Mercy Bulosan, Uncle Doming Bulosan, Auntie Mina Toledo, Auntie Josie Maramba, Ritchel and Allan Punay, and Harvey Toledo. Thanks also to all of my younger cousins who kept me company during my breaks!

I also thank the following folks in Hawai'i who hosted me for the month of May 2013: Uncle Cirilo and Auntie Menchie Legaspi, Melanie Legaspi, and Uncle Eddie and Auntie Gloria Valiente. I especially want to thank Mr. Domingo Los Baños, who not only warmly introduced me to other veterans in Hawai'i but also invited me to join the veterans during the Waikiki Memorial Day Parade, drove me and Robert to visit the Hawai'i Veterans State Cemetery in Kaneohe, and called me at the UCSC Sociology Department to ask me how I'm doing, wish me well on my work, and pray for me over the phone.

I am also grateful for the friendships I have made through the Sociology Department and the affiliated departments at UCSC who have been part of this journey. Much thanks to the following people who directly helped my writing and revising this dissertation: Shannon Gleeson for having agreed to host an independent study with me when I worked on my field statements and prospectus for this dissertation; Anthony Villarreal, Maya Iverson, Raven Davis, Leah Sicat, and Tina Togafau for being great company and writing buddies at the McHenry Library or in

various cafés all over town; Megan McNamara for offering help as I was wrapping up my dissertation; and Alexis Kargl for her enthusiasm about looking over my paper and support for my work.

Time away from work was rejuvenating because of all the help from friends who hosted me when I needed shelter, laughed with me, commiserated with me, prayed for me, shared meals with me, climbed with me, took walks with me, and sang karaoke with me: Mark and Maya Mora, Lyn Gatchalian, Joje Reyes-Alonzo, Anthony Kim, Bernadette Villaluz-Winter, Desiree Magsombol, Will Butcher and Darlynn Nebril, Maricar Camaya, Courtney Leaver, Rhonda Kinard, Tina Togafau, Maria Romero, Alexis Kargl, Rev. Dave and Kate Grishaw-Jones, Mary Male and David Brick, Natalie Blackburn, Tom Wages, Pegatha Hughes, Veronica Daley and Bernie Zaleha, Melissa and Dennis Nievera-Lozano, Chesa Caparas, Fritzie De Mata, Stephanie Chan, Leah Sicat, Claudia Lopez, Maya Iverson, Raven Davis, Justin Obcena, Kati and Gustavo Barahona-Lopez, Tracy Perkins, Ruben Espinoza, and Bethany Stairs-Almquist. Thanks also to the following sweethearts for their hugs and kisses and helped remind me that there is more to life than school: K.N., Rosie, JV, Orion, Opal, Mateo, Danté, Gavin, and Roman.

I am also grateful for my brothers Francis John and Chris Ian, who have always rooted for me, encouraged me when I feared not finishing, and supported me through texts, phone calls, Snapchat, the Netflix account, and even snail mail. I am such a lucky sister to have both of these men as my brothers.

I am deeply grateful to my parents Jimmy and Lisa Valiente, who tell me that they pray for me every night. They have cheered me on throughout my graduate studies, and never once doubted me. They asked their friends for veterans I could potentially talk to, and they also helped me translate some of the interviews. I also thank Auntie Florida Reyes, who also asked around her networks for me and even accompanied me to some of the interviews with veterans I conducted in Long Beach because she worked for them as a house cleaner. I am so proud that my family members who do not come from academic backgrounds have their fingerprints all over this work.

I also want to thank my in-laws, Nan Neighbours and Chick Curtis in Riverside, Catherine Walker and David Neighbours in San Bernardino, Sarah and David Duncan in Monterey, and the late “Gramma” BJ Neighbours. Their love for me and Robert have sustained us during our first eight years of marriage, which coincidentally, have also been the eight years I was working towards my Ph.D. They have also encouraged me to talk about my dissertation work with them, but also gave me the space when I wasn’t ready to.

And to Robert Valiente-Neighbours, you are a quality partner. It is incredible that you said to me this past June: “I deserve to read a copy of your entire dissertation!” Who says things like that? Thank you for taking the time to listen when I needed to think about this dissertation out loud. You are my best friend, and I could not have asked for a more loving, supportive, patient, courageous, and encouraging

person with whom to share life and adventures. These past eight years have stretched us and pushed us to what we thought were our limits, and we learned that the challenges we faced and will continue to face are opportunities for more growth and depth in our love for God, the world, and each other. Thank you for your faith in God and in me. I am excited to continue supporting you, too!

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The United States recruited more than half a million¹ Filipino soldiers and guerrillas in the Philippines during World War II with the promise of American citizenship in return for their wartime service.² Even after the official victory of the U.S. and its allies in 1945, the U.S. government continued to recruit Filipinos to serve under the American flag for post-war reconstruction and the development of American military bases in the Pacific. But in February 1946, the U.S. government signed the Rescission Act, which classified the Filipino veterans' service as inactive and denied them recognition and rights as "American veterans." Among the U.S. military veterans from 66 foreign countries, only the Filipino veterans experienced this discrimination (Nakano 2000). Despite the denial from the U.S. on racial grounds, Filipino veterans, whether or not they possess American citizenship, continue to identify as American veterans and fervently believe that they deserve the same treatment and benefits as their U.S.-born counterparts. This brings us to the research question: Why do the Filipino veterans feel they belong despite their exclusion?

¹ Arturo Garcia, the national coordinator for Justice of Filipino Americans (JFAV), reported that the United States government only recognized 250,000 Filipinos who served under the war. The count actually amounts to more than half a million (position statement, November 11, 2012).

² Satoshi Nakano distinguishes the Filipino recruits from the Philippines as "Filipino veterans" from the Filipino recruits from the United States. Nakano combines the latter group with the Filipinos born in the United States—veterans of the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments—under the term "Filipino-American veterans," whether the Filipino recruits living in the United States naturalized their American citizenship or not (2000). I maintain these distinctions in this paper since I primarily examine the sense of belonging among the Filipino veterans who identified as "American citizens" or "American veterans" before they arrived or without having migrated to the United States.

I would like to take a moment here to define and distinguish from each other the veterans' "feelings of belonging" and the "claims of belonging." The Filipino Veterans Equity Movement (FVEM), and their various strategies to win full recognition, rights, and benefits, demonstrate that the veterans claim to belong to the U.S. as American veterans and deserve the same treatment as the American soldiers with whom they fought alongside during the war. Because of the lack of recognition and their exclusion from the title and the benefits, it is likely that they do not feel a sense of belonging now. This feeling of exclusion, however, was not the focus of my discussion from my fieldwork. What emerged from my study and analysis is their insistence on having felt a sense of belonging to the U.S. as Americans *during* their military service, vis-à-vis their shared experiences with American soldiers and/or in American military bases. Their references to their feelings of belonging from their time of service, in part, provide the basis for their claims to be recognized as American veterans. Moreover, and this is important to my argument, their feelings of having felt a sense of belonging to the U.S. during their military service is contingent on their bodily experiences. This emphasis on the body's connection to identity and citizenship formation, has thus far been missing from citizenship theories.

Some might argue that the Filipino veterans may be claiming that they felt American and/or that they were already Americans simply as a movement strategy in their pursuit of equitable benefits. To some degree, this is true. I recognize that their movement may, in part, be driven by material benefits, particularly since the value of

the Philippine peso plummeted after World War II, from 2 pesos against 1 U.S. dollar in the 1950s and 50 pesos to 1 U.S. dollar in 2001. Currently, the exchange rate is 47 pesos to 1 U.S. dollar. Moreover, the Filipino Veterans Equity Bill, if passed, would provide full military benefits for the remaining 70,000 Filipino veterans who are currently receiving only a third of the benefits received by their fellow American veterans.

While the material benefits are of course important, that is only one aspect of the Filipino veterans' demands. They also demand recognition and respect as American veterans. The veterans and their allies invoke the "classic republican frame" (Krebs 2006): that their sacrifice for the U.S. means they have met the expectation of American citizenship, and that having fought for democracy means that they deserve equal treatment as Americans. This republican frame is voiced by both the Filipino veterans who claim to have felt American during WWII (discussed in Chapters 3 and 4) and also those who did not (discussed in Chapter 5).

My findings, however, also provide examples of Filipino veterans who felt American during their military service *and* who were neither actively looking for compensation nor active FVEM participants at the time of our interview. Of my interview participants in the U.S., including both those who live in California and Hawai'i, 20 out of 27 were, at varying degrees, active in the movement through membership or leadership in organizing for their cause, or at least showing up for the organizing meetings. These veterans were involved through organizations such as the

Justice for Filipino American Veterans (JFAV) in Los Angeles, and the Veterans Equity Center in San Francisco. On the other hand, none of the veterans in the Philippines, who comprise 56 of the total 83 interview participants, shared with me that they have an active organizing agenda or involvement in any organizations for the equity movement. This is not surprising as most of the organizing around veteran recognition and benefits emerged in the U.S. after the influx of Filipino WWII veterans who arrived in the U.S. after the 1990 Immigration and Nationality Act which facilitated the opportunity for them to naturalize as American citizens because of their wartime service.

Ernie Sombrero, veteran of both the USAFFE and the recognized guerrilla Hunters ROTC exclaimed: "I'm not asking for money. I'm asking for honor, not for a knight in a shining armor, no, no, no. I just want them to recognize who I am. That's all I want, see?" The Filipino veterans' interests go far beyond material interest. I discern a deep sense of betrayal among the veterans about the struggle for equity. In the words of USAFFE veteran Alfredo Abad: "There is no anger. There is only pain. We are wounded in our hearts." Guerrilla veteran Marne Yasay, on the other hand, expressed a complex combination of indignation and hope. Speaking to the recording device as if he were talking directly to the U.S., he said: "I will continue lobbying despite the fact that I don't expect your love. I will die loving for freedom. Thank you so much for giving me the privilege to serve when I was still at the prime of my youth. That time was the best way to enjoy life because I was healthy. I was strong

then, compared to now, that I can no longer see, I can no longer enjoy the grandeurs of life. Thank you, America, for rejecting me of benefits.” It is my understanding that the Filipino veterans tasted what it was like to be treated as an American, as belonging to the U.S., through their military service and, for some, through their connection with their fellow American soldiers, and that the refusal of the U.S. to recognize and respect as American veterans is “uncharacteristic” of the country they were serving during the war. In my attention to the role of their bodies and their bodily co-presence with the American soldiers, the question for the Filipino veterans is: “we belonged as Americans then, why not now?”

The problem of the Filipino World War II veteran identity has been primarily discussed by scholars in Asian American history and scholars and critics of U.S. and Spanish colonialism, who highlight the structural and legal contradictions of U.S. immigration and citizenship policies. They have largely elided the subject formation and subjecthood among Filipino veterans. It is noteworthy that although in loose confederation, Filipino veterans think of themselves as a movement to gain full recognition, after the fact of their exclusion, from the U.S. state. This desire, and the claims that emerge from this desire, is my starting point in the dissertation. I build here an extended argument for thinking about the veterans’ claims not as a vehicle for indicting U.S. state policies around citizenship but rather as a launching point for theorizing the varieties of *belonging*, and the importance of embodied and affective belonging.

Theories of citizenship are relevant here, and there is a wide range of theoretical perspectives that begin principally with the work of T.H. Marshall and extend forward with more recent theories of citizenship that draw on transnationalism and colonialism. While the literature on citizenship is vast, there is an underlying current across the field that, either tacitly or explicitly, works at the at the level of state policy and its impact on subjecthood. On this, most theorists agree that citizenship closely neighbors sentiments of belonging. In this dissertation, I reverse the focus to examine how theoretical inquiries in citizenship may be strengthened by empirical studies of belonging. The case of the Filipino veterans is, in many ways, an ideal negative case: they represent a group who is excluded from belonging, and yet persists in their claims of belonging.

Literature Review

T.H. Marshall's citizenship model and critiques

In this section, I provide a review of both T.H. Marshall's (1950) foundational work on citizenship and race and immigration scholars' critiques, as these critiques provide an opening for the Filipino World War II veterans' claims-making based on the U.S. government's promise of full citizenship in return for their military service under the American flag.

Citizenship signifies a contract between the state and its people, bestowing to individual both rights as well as responsibilities. Marshall (1950:8) defines

citizenship as a status: “a claim to be accepted as full members of the society.” Marshall’s focus on national citizenship rests on what he claims is the universalization of local rights and duties in the formation of the nation-state. According to Marshall, there is a linear progression of the acquisition of rights: from civil rights, to political rights, and then, finally, social rights. Civil rights encompass the freedom of speech, thought, and faith; the right to own property; and the right to justice and equality. Political rights refer to participation in the establishment and administration of the government. Social rights concern economic, social, and cultural rights, such as the right to education, housing, and healthcare. Marshall believes that this progression leads to social equality, recognizing how class inequality and poverty can impair individuals from effectively practicing their rights. Marshall’s conceptualization of “social citizenship” recognizes that the state has social responsibilities to its citizens, providing economic and social safety nets, and that differential class positions can influence one’s acquisition and exercise of rights, and thus, their full membership into the state.

There are several serious limitations to Marshall’s model of citizenship. For one, critics underscore that there are sources of inequality regarding citizenship beyond class. Because Marshall based his arguments on white, working-class males in England, he misses out on how struggles for citizenship, in addition to class inequality, also concern differences based on ethnicity and race, gender, sexuality, religion, and ability (Yuval-Davis 1997; Mann 2002; Benhabib 2002; Alba 2005).

Moreover, marginalized populations who possess formal citizenship can experience having their rights taken away. For example, Mae Ngai (2004) and Natsu T. Saito (2005) point out how, during the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, Japanese immigrants with naturalized citizenship and their children born in the U.S. lost their citizenship rights, and were identified as the “non-alien enemy.” Another example includes Leti Volpp’s (2001) observation that after 9/11, U.S. citizens who practice the Muslim faith were re-categorized as “terrorists” and as enemies of the state (see also Rodriguez 2008). Thus, to fill the gap, Marshall’s critics have studied citizenship to include the subjectivities of women, children, gay and lesbian folks, racialized minorities, and people with disabilities.

A second critique is that Marshall’s progressive and linear model of rights acquisition is not generalizable to all people. The process—from civil, to political, and then social—is not linear for others and, perhaps more interestingly, does not happen only for those who possess citizenship status. For example, Yasemin N. Soysal’s (1994) study explores the integration of Turkish immigrant guest workers in Europe through provisions of civil rights, social rights, and some political rights. Countries such as the Netherlands, Sweden, and New Zealand allow non-citizens political rights by allowing them local voting privileges (Bauböck 2005; Hayduk 2006). Scholars offer novel terms in order account for these non-citizen populations with citizenship rights: “post-national” citizen, for the people in a state who still participate in its civil society despite having no formal citizenship (Sassen 2002), and

“denizens” or “common market citizen” (Brubaker 1989), for those who are long-term residents in an area without naturalized citizenship, but enjoy secure, continued access to the labor market.

Third, Marshall’s conceptualization of citizenship as a status leaves out the experiences of people who claim to belong or experience belonging without official recognition from the state. In other words, people without legal or formal citizenship who claim to belong to a state pose a challenge to Marshall’s conceptualization of citizenship as a status. Scholars have identified how “citizenship” is something that even non-citizens can articulate as they seek to cultivate a sense of belonging and membership where they are marginalized (Rosaldo 1994, 1997; Ong 1996; Coll 2010). In the “cultural citizenship” model (Flores and Benmayor 1997), cultural processes and cultural practices—not legal status or documentation—form the basis of this citizenship. For example, Kathleen Coll’s (2010) study of the Latina immigrant women’s activist organization *Mujeres Unidas y Activas* (MUA) in San Francisco demonstrate how non-citizens, whether documented immigrants or not, can shape the community’s political claims on the state. Like denizenship, cultural citizenship allows marginalized communities to experience “membership without citizenship” (Brubaker 1989:162). Cultural citizenship asserts that official recognition from the state vis-à-vis legal status is not a prerequisite to one’s claim to belong.

The last critique that I discuss in this section is that theorization of citizenship as a discrete status disregards the *process* of citizenship formation. Hiroshi

Motomura's (2006) concept of "Americans in *waiting*" and Sukanya Banerjee's (2010) model of "*becoming* imperial citizens" (both my emphases) highlight the transitions into the political status of citizenship. Building on Dipesh Chakrabarty's (2000) suggestion, "waiting room of history," Banerjee (2010) argues that the "waiting room" is a significant site to the study of citizenship. It is in this "waiting room" where claims to recognition and rights generate for people from whom these are withheld. Banerjee thus contends that a more complex analysis of citizenship must include the transition points between lack and possession, particularly in her case study of the Indians as British imperial subjects. She critiques Marshall's citizenship model's rights as discrete civil, political, and social units, proposing instead the dynamics among legal history, social processes, politics, and the "cultural and affective imaginings" (2000:192) of citizen-hopefuls.

The critiques in this review help provide the context for my dissertation research on the Filipino World War II veterans. The U.S. revoked its promise of full American citizenship on racial grounds, thus denying the Filipino recruits recognition and rights as American veterans. But the Filipino veterans continue the struggle for full recognition and rights because they claim to belong to the American body politic as American veterans. In this dissertation, I investigate the basis on which the veterans make these claims.

Citizenship and the critical transnational perspective

Imagine my surprise and confusion during an interview with a Filipino World War II veteran in the Philippines when a non-migrant claimed he was a U.S. American citizen. I asked politely whether I could see his citizenship papers, and he said he had none. I asked him when he had immigrated to the U.S., and he said he had never been there. “*Bakit po sabi ninyo na kayo ay Amerikano, Lolo?*” I asked, perplexed. Why do you say you are American, Grandfather³? Hermogenes Reyes replied with a proud smile: “Because I fought for the U.S. during the war.”

Citizenship theorists primarily base their debates and questions regarding immigrant status and rights within a national framework of state boundaries. The paradigm has been on the mobility of people from one state to another, from the “home” or “sending” state to the “host” or “receiving” state. The reliance on the national framework limits the discussion of becoming a citizen and developing feelings of belonging within state boundaries, and would not be useful in explaining the case above. In contrast, my discussions of citizenship claims, citizenship formation, and subjecthood emphasize the critical transnational perspective. This perspective underscores not only the mobility of people but also the *mobility of states*. The intent is not to indict the state, but to show how the border-crossing of the “host” state, which in my case is the U.S. colonization and empire-building efforts in the

³ The interviewee was not my grandfather by kinship. In the Filipino culture, one calls elder males “*Lolo*”—or “grandfather”—as a sign of respect.

Philippines, sets up the context for subject formation among eventual migrants or non-migrants (Banerjee 2010).

In the scholarship on immigration, the macro perspective is helpful towards challenging the limits of the national framework (Sassen 1991, 2002; Stoler and Cooper 1997). For example, Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974) "world systems theory" points to the role of capitalist economic relations between developed and developing countries in stimulating out-migration from the latter into the former, such as capital investments as well as colonial and present neocolonial linkages (Massey et al. 1993). Building upon Wallerstein's theory, Saskia Sassen (1989) points out how migration flows and patterns are connected to the global economy. For example, expanding U.S. political and economic investments abroad are closely related to the out-migration patterns of sending states, as is the case with the North American Free Trade Agreement and its correlation to the economic devastation and displacement of people en masse from Mexico (Hill 2007).

Critical transnationalists point to the role that states play in inducing migration flows, or much more poignantly, how well-known host states such as the U.S. are in fact the first "border crossers" (Espiritu 2003). The statement "We did not cross the border, the border crossed us" (Luna-Firebaugh 2002) denaturalizes the idea of national borders that often dictate discussions and restrictive policies regarding international migration. Moreover, the statement also underscores U.S. colonization of the territory now called "United States" and the resulting displacement as well as

genocide of the territory's indigenous population (Luna-Firebaugh 2002; see also Anzaldúa 1987). In helping explain this perspective when I was in my first year of undergraduate studies, the professor (Dr. Victor Bascara) had written on the board for his Asian American Literature students: "*I am here because you were there.*" Like Lolo Reyes, however, some people who make claims on citizenship never get to say "*I am here.*"

In order to analyze the claims of citizenship and the process of citizenship formation among non-migrants, a critical transnational perspective is crucial to be able to examine claims of belonging in the context of empire. The study of citizenship with attention to empire has demonstrated that colonization instigates the formation of citizenship—the identification as citizens and feelings of belonging—among the empire's subjects (Banerjee 2010), before or even without migration into the metropole. Thus, a useful place to begin an inquiry into these claims among non-migrants is to examine the state's practices and promises of inclusion during its empire-building efforts.

The key is to view the state's interconnected practices of racialization and colonization as not simply or only exclusionary. In her ethnographic study of Filipinos in San Diego, Yen Le Espiritu (2003) argues that the U.S. commits not outright exclusion but "differential inclusion." According to Espiritu, the term describes how the U.S. deals with the tension of desiring to integrate non-white populations into its economic and political sphere alongside the preference of

maintaining a white supremacy culture. Thus, with policies that mean neither full inclusion nor full exclusion, she defines the term as: “the process whereby a group of people is deemed integral to the nation’s economy, culture, identity, and power—but integral only or precisely because of their designated subordinate standing” (47).

This practice of differential inclusion is exemplified in how the U.S. incorporated Filipinos as “U.S. nationals,” neither citizens nor aliens. As nationals, Filipino immigrants to the U.S. were not subject to race-based restrictions other racialized non-European groups faced in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Moreover, as nationals, Filipinos were eligible to fight under the American flag during World War II. The differential inclusion of Filipinos into the U.S. nations as it soldiers utilized American citizenship, along with the rights and recognition fit for American veterans, as a promise, but one that remains unfulfilled. The message this differential inclusion sends is that Filipino recruits were “American enough” to *die* for the U.S. but not quite enough to *live* in it. And as I focus on the various claims of citizenship among veterans like Lolo Reyes, I attend to the state not simply to critique it, but to analyze *how* the state has, in fact, shaped these claims of membership in the first place. In my interviews with the Filipino World War II veterans, I focus on the subjects and *their* rendition of their own subjecthood, against the context of differential inclusion. In doing so, I am decentering state policy and placing it under dynamic examination among a number of factors, and thus encouraging readers toward understanding the complex nature of personhood (Gordon 2008[1997]).

Citizenship and nationalism

In the paragraphs that follow, I examine how the state helps shape feelings of belonging through nationalism. My particular interest in nationalism is its role in the process of citizenship formation among non-citizens, in the context of empire-building, muddling and making messy the supposedly discrete conceptualization of citizenship as a mere status.

How are citizenship and nationalism linked? Benedict Anderson (1983) describes nationalism as “national consciousness,” while Steven Grosby (2005) calls it “collective self-consciousness.” For Anderson, print-capitalism, which created mechanically reproducible languages, linked “fraternity, power and time meaningfully together” (1983:40). What he calls “print-languages” laid the foundation for national consciousness by standardizing language that reached a wide audience. Anderson states: “the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation” (1983:49).

On the other hand, Grosby (2005) defines “nationalism” as a set of beliefs about the nation (5). In his text he discusses “nation” more than “nationalism,” but from his definition of the former as a “social relation of collective self-consciousness” (10), I understand his interpretation of “nationalism” as that of shared self-awareness

among individuals who identify as belonging to the nation. For Grosby, “*the nation is a community of kinship, specifically a bounded, territorially extensive, temporally deep community of nativity*” (14, emphasis in the original). He emphasizes nation as form of kinship due to the intergenerational transmission of culture, including language, as in families.

How are newcomers incorporated into the nation? Anderson (1991) explains that through nationalism, the nation-state organizes its citizens and subjects, and thus actively constructs solidarity among them, creating an “imagined community.” According to Anderson (1991), the process by which newcomers can be “invited into the imagined community” (145) is through naturalization. This process reflects civic nationalism as opposed to ethnic nationalism (Ignatieff 1993). In ethnic nationalism, only people who share common ethnicities cultivate belonging towards each other, while in civic nationalism, people who want to belong to the nation, regardless of ethnicity, can develop feelings of attachment towards each other and thus “naturalize” into the national identity. Anderson’s uncritical look at naturalization, however, misses out on how this process involves stratification on the basis of social categories such as race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability. For example, Anderson views race as absorbed into the ideologies of class and nation (149), instead of race as a central analytical concept in and of itself (Omi and Winant 1994[1986]). For Anderson, naturalization automatically provides full inclusion into the nation-state. This has not

been true in the stories of racialized populations, both those born in the U.S. and among its immigrants.

Rogers Brubaker (2004) critiques Anderson's sweeping overgeneralization of nation as an "imagined community." He states that: "Not only are *different* nations imagined in different ways, but the *same* nation is imagined in different ways at different times—indeed often at the same time, by different people" (122, emphasis in the original). Brubaker highlights, however, that the relative openness of imagining the nation as "joinable in time" (ibid) makes possible the integration of immigrants. In defining the "nation" not as an "ethnodemographic or ethnocultural fact" but as a "political claim" (116), nationalism can be a host state strategy to integrate its immigrants and provide a sense of belonging for the newcomers. However, in both Anderson and Brubaker's focus on nationalism among people who occupy the same territory, I find their theories lacking in explaining how the sense of belonging and membership can develop among populations before they migrate into the host state or even among those who never arrive. They miss out on the possibility of how citizenship can be embodied, and how feelings and claims of belonging are not contingent on migration.

Again, I apply a critical transnational perspective to nationalism in my case of the Filipino veterans. In his study of Philippine nationalist discourse, Vicente Rafael (2000) acknowledges the role of colonialism and imperialism in shaping nationalism. He states: "The Philippines and Filipinos are thus permeated with foreign origins,

their historical realities haunted by the ghosts of colonialism. Nationalist revolution and counterrevolution have sought to lay these ghosts to rest with uneven success and unsettling effects” (2000:9). For Rafael, nationalism is an unstable production, a process inseparable from the racial and class hierarchies structured by its colonizers—the “mother country, Spain” (ibid) and the U.S.—but which have also been employed by the Filipinos (Kramer 2006). Additionally, Theo Gonzalves’s (1995) study of Filipino World War II veterans in the U.S. demonstrates that citizenship formation does not happen in a vacuum but is entangled in nation-building, not only *within* but *outside* state boundaries. Gonzalves offers the term “pluralist citizenship” as a challenge to classical notions of citizenship as obligation to one state. Instead, his study reveals that citizenship can mean “multiple valences of belonging” (167), and that nationalism and citizenship overlap.

The question of belonging is, at best, a slippery concept in nationalism. In Rafael’s (2000) words: “Loving the nation has never been a simple matter” (9). And perhaps it is exactly the “impalpability” of belonging that we need to reconsider. What tools do we have to analyze feelings of nationalism and commitment to a state? How can we provide substance to the concept of “belonging”? And more specific to my case, where and with what do we begin to understand how non-migrants without formal U.S. citizenship identify as an American? In the following section, I discuss how attention to the role of bodies is helpful in my study of citizenship claims among non-migrants.

Citizenship and the body

The existing literature on citizenship leaves unanswered the following questions apropos to my case: If citizenship was meant to be a contract between the state and its people, how can we theorize the feelings of belonging people feel toward the nation to which they have never been, but for which they have already fought, killed, and sacrificed their lives? What then is the basis of their claims and articulations of belonging to the U.S.? And how do these feelings persist despite their denial? To move towards answering these questions, I propose that we need to expand the theorization of citizenship to encompass the body as a key factor the claims-making among citizens and non-migrants alike.

Some veterans, like Abraham Gepulle, identified as an American during his service in the Philippine Scouts between 1946 and 1949 because of his daily life, living and working on an American military base. “Yes, I felt American because there were no Philippine flags there. We only had the American flag. During flag ceremony, we saluted an American flag because we were Americans.” Like Gepulle, Rustico Tandoc is also a post-1946 Philippine Scouts veteran. He said, laughing: “It was as if I was an American, of course, because the Filipinos at that time, all we saw were Americans.” But later during the interview, he said with much more seriousness: “I was American in my heart because I was obeying Americans.” For Tandoc, his

military service and labor for an American officer, his superior, under the American flag, were what made him identify as an American.

As I think through my interview participants' stories, and finding existing literature on citizenship unable to explain and analyze their experiences, I turn to affect theory. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (2010) describe affect as “[arising] in the midst of *in-between-ness*” (1, emphasis in the original) in the spectrum of “the capacities to act and be acted upon” (ibid). Gregg and Seigworth highlight the body as the medium for these capacities, or also “forces or intensities” (ibid). While Gregg and Seigworth note that the “body” in affect theory can be “human, nonhuman, part-body, and otherwise” (ibid), I focus on the corporeality or materiality of veterans' bodies and the role these bodies played in substantiating their claims as “American veterans.”

I underscore the role of the body in citizenship for very important reasons. First, the state awards or withholds citizenship based on a racial hierarchy, which often involves the racialization of people based on their bodies. The study of populations who have formal but lack substantive citizenship (Nakano Glenn 2010) and of those who possess the status but lose their rights when the state views them as threats to national security (Volpp 2001; Ngai 2007; Rodriguez 2008) have been helpful in exploring and exposing the workings of the state in the way it determines who belongs and who does not. The state has proved to be unstable in its relationship to citizenship, and we need new theory that acknowledges this instability.

Second, the body is important to the study of citizenship because it highlights the power of the state not only in the classification of these bodies, but also over its regulation of *physical bodies*. I have in mind how Angela Davis (1998) has described the bodies of the men and women of color who have become entangled in the “prison-industrial complex” as “raw materials” (Gordon 1999). In conceptualizing the prison-industrial complex, Davis (1998) underscores how the state’s penal system has become involved with corporations making profit through prisoners’ slave labor. This slave labor is possible through the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery and involuntary servitude “except as punishment for crime.” In addition, Michelle Alexander’s (2010) take on the War on Drugs exposes that what were seemingly “colorblind” policies, in fact, have deeply racialized effects. Both Davis (1998) and Alexander (2010) argue that the mass incarceration of racialized populations is a means for the state to assert control over non-white bodies since after the abolishment of slavery and Jim Crow laws.

The theorization of bodies as “raw materials” intrigues me, especially in the case of the Filipino World War II veterans. What role did their physical bodies play in the war towards the victory of the U.S. forces and the defeat of the Japanese Imperial Army, and subsequently, in the Filipino veterans’ claims as American citizens? It is perhaps much easier to view how the U.S. *used* the Filipino bodies as “raw materials” for the war. Using Espiritu’s (2003) “differential inclusion,” one can argue how the U.S. included the Filipinos into its “*military body politic*” as soldiers who are not-yet

citizens. The recognition and rights as citizens would not yet be available for these soldiers who were already fulfilling the (albeit quite romanticized) “duty” or “responsibility” of a citizen: to sacrifice one’s life for the nation. The Filipino soldiers were fighting for the promise of citizenship, which, for many, did not materialize for almost half a century because of their lower status in the global racial hierarchy. In this view, the state had the ultimate power over the bodies of its colonized peoples. Also in this view, the state seems to have complete power over who can claim to be its citizen. In the following paragraphs, I argue that such an approach to bodies, as well as citizenship claims, circumscribes power only to the state and neglects to consider two important elements: the *agency* of those who claim citizenship and the role of the *body* in citizenship formation.

I argue that the formation of citizenship as belonging among the Filipino veterans, while first *initiated* by the U.S. through colonization and legislation, was *sustained* by their bodily experiences as military soldiers under the American flag. By “bodily experiences,” I highlight, first, the interactions between Filipino and American World War II soldiers that built solidarity and conviviality among them, facilitated by their proximity to each other, or more specifically, the proximity of their bodies to each other. Second, I point to the performances and practices of quotidian activities or rituals in an American military habitus that effected the embodiment of American-ness among the Filipino veterans.

The body in the military is an important site of analysis for citizenship formation, because it is entwined in projects of nationalism, or of who belongs and who “deserves” to belong in the nation (Rosenberg and Fitzpatrick 2014). This body is involved in acts of violence on other bodies for the sake of the nation. Additionally, what happens to the body while in the military strengthens individuals’ connection to the nation. For example, Joanna Bourke (1996) has found that the British soldiers’ loss of limbs during World War I generated for the soldiers a deeper bond to both the nation as well as with their fellow soldiers who hail from different ages and class backgrounds, with whom they did not originally feel deep connection. The soldiers’ feelings of belonging to the nation—as in the Filipino veterans’ claims to be “Americans” and “American veterans”—thus provoke a closer look at how bodily experiences play a role in creating and sustaining membership, even if only as perceptions thereof and not recognized by the state.

Beyond *what* the individual body experiences is *with whom* these experiences are shared. Jasbir Puar (2007) suggests the term “assemblage” to describe the “affective conglomeration” of bodies in a physical and social place (211). The concept of “assemblage” is akin to Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) conceptualization of the “bodily auxiliary” in his phenomenological approach to the body. Merleau-Ponty describes how when a blind man relies on his cane to move through space, the cane is no longer a mere object but becomes incorporated into the blind man’s body as an “organ of perception” (Salamon 2006). From the perspective

of the Filipino soldiers, their shared experiences with American soldiers, of moving through space together—or as a number of Filipino veterans pithily put it: “side by side”—they became as if one body. This process of “becoming” seemed to translate for the Filipinos their equality and sameness with their American counterparts, whether or not the American soldiers felt similarly. I find these two concepts, Puar’s “assemblage” and Merleau-Ponty’s “bodily auxiliary,” helpful in analyzing how the veterans began to identify *with* and *as* their fellow American soldiers, viewing American-ness as a shared identity.

I also utilize Pierre Bourdieu’s (1977) concept of “habitus” in my analysis of what bodies do, what happens to bodies, where bodies are, and with whom. Bourdieu’s “habitus” concept was influenced and inspired by Marcel Mauss’ (1973) work on “body techniques” as well as Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) emphasis on the “centrality of embodied practice to everyday experience” (Appelrouth and Desfor Edles 2016). Bourdieu conceptualizes habitus as a system of dispositions—a way to perceive and act in the world—that becomes manifest in the body, in how it moves, for example. Bourdieu emphasizes, however, that individuals acquire these dispositions: an “internalization of externality” (Bourdieu 1990, cited in Appelrouth and Desfor Edles 2012). Bourdieu (1977) attends to the physical as well as the social environments in which bodies are embodied, including the daily practices bodies perform and in which they participate, as well as the other bodies with whom they interact. This is key to my study because the habitus influences not only how one

moves about in the physical world, but also shapes how one perceives the social world and what is possible in it.

The case for “phantom limb citizenship”

This dissertation as an empirical study of belonging employs the analysis that bodies are significant in the study of citizenship beyond the Marshallian status-then-rights paradigm. To understand why and how it is that Filipino veterans formed feelings of belonging during their military service, it is necessary to understand how their bodies were often agents and instruments of the American flag. Moreover, it is imperative to examine the effects of the Filipino bodies’ commingling, cohabiting, and suffering alongside “American” bodies; being immersed in American military culture; wearing American military uniforms; sweating, bleeding, starving, and scarring as a soldier under the American flag, in the Philippines or in American military bases there or elsewhere.

The attention to bodies as central in this study is important in another way: what role the Filipino bodies served in the U.S. military. The development of the military in the process of building the nation-state relies on armed forces, or bodies. The military and war-making are significant to national unification, state modernization, and nation-state formation (Giddens 1985; Mann 1992). Moreover, fighting for the nation and one’s sacrifice of body and life have been linked to the fight for citizenship status, full inclusion, rights, and recognition, especially among

racialized people living in the U.S., such as the Irish and the African Americans during the Civil War (Samito 2009; see also Mershon and Schlossman 1998 and Krebs 2006), the Japanese during the First World War (Salyer 2004), and the indigenous populations even before there was a “United States” (Burk 1995; Taylor 2010).

The U.S. government has made a similar promise to beneficiaries of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act first introduced in 2001. DREAMers gain citizenship status and recognition as Americans in exchange for two years of U.S. military service. In some cases, posthumous citizenship has been awarded to non-citizens killed in combat (Amaya 2007). For the recruits, the promise of citizenship is an opportunity for upward mobility and assimilation, a reward that seems worth the risk for communities of color considered inassimilable by many Americans (Alba and Nee 2003). Embedded in the U.S. military institution, these racialized populations’ sense of belonging does not remain unaffected by their military service. It is not difficult to see how the Filipino veterans’ military service for the U.S. facilitated their claims as Americans.

My attention to the body’s relationship to citizenship and subject formation is far from a suggestion that the state is no longer relevant. The state, after all, even in this allegedly “post-race” era, still uses race to determine membership and as a basis for citizenship. This dissertation offers a more nuanced look at how the state withholds or revokes citizenship on racial grounds. Concepts like “second-class

citizenship” and “alien citizenship” (Ngai 2004) rightly highlight how the state does not fulfill its contractual relationship to its citizens based on its subscription to a national racial hierarchy. In this dissertation, the Filipino World War II veterans offer a case with which to examine and analyze how the U.S. does similarly—fails to fulfill its promise of citizenship—in the context of empire-building and subscription to a global racial hierarchy.

I offer the concept “phantom limb citizenship” to fill this gap in the citizenship literature. The phenomenon of the phantom limb is the sensation that an amputated or dismembered limb is still attached to the body, and is still moving in coordination with the rest of the body. I use this imagery to further underscore my analysis that the body has a significant role in the process of citizenship formation, particularly in the military. In the case of the Filipino veterans, the U.S. made possible the recruitment of more soldiers into the U.S. military during World War II with the 1942 Second War Powers Act, which promised citizenship to its recruits in its colony, the Philippines. This Act increased in strength, size, and reach of the U.S. armed forces through its greater number of bodies. Second, the Filipino soldiers were not unaffected by their proximity to and solidarity with American soldiers. Their shared bodily suffering and strenuous efforts for survival shaped the Filipino soldiers’ perception of their one-ness and same-ness with them. In addition, the Filipino soldiers experienced continued inclusion into the U.S. military for post-war reconstruction, which meant daily life in American military bases and wearing

American military uniforms. Their daily practices in the military bases signified to them their “becoming American.” Finally, after these *Americanized* bodies were no longer needed for war and reconstruction, the U.S. rescinded its promise to recognize the Filipino soldiers as “Americans” and as “American veterans” through 1946 Rescission Act based on race.

I make the case that “phantom limb citizenship” aptly demonstrates how the claims of citizenship and feelings of belonging among non-citizens is a result of *lived* experiences as “citizens” among a population to whom citizenship is never actually fully granted, or granted only partially. The Filipino veterans are a population possessing memories of having lived, having been labeled, and having been identified as “Americans” but their access to citizenship as full recognition and rights has been cut off. Anderson’s concept “imagined community” falls short in this case because the Filipino veterans did not just imagine a community: they *embodied* it. The conceptualization of citizenship that is a “phantom limb” can help explain why and how it is that marginalized and racialized populations can sustain their struggle for full recognition despite the state’s resistance to and rejection of these claims.

The concept “phantom limb citizenship” also speaks of the U.S. state’s very undemocratic approach to citizenship. Through legislation offering the promise of citizenship to the Filipinos for military recruitment purposes, the U.S. performed “inclusion” of racialized populations into its armed forces. But after the state’s requirement for more soldiers—for dispensable bodies—had been fulfilled, the U.S.

performed an “incision” to cut off its responsibilities for the Filipino soldiers who have already done the work the state asks of its citizens. The concept “phantom limb citizenship” is thus not only the embodiment of the Filipino recruits’ experiences as “American citizens” during their service, it is also the embodiment of the state’s practices of differential inclusion.

Through their bodily sacrifice and labor as soldiers in the U.S. military, Filipino veterans viewed themselves as an extension of the American body politic, as if they were already part of and belonging to the U.S. But their experience of dismemberment facilitated by the 1946 Rescission Act, the promise broken, produced a sense of membership that did not materialize. The concept “phantom limb citizenship” thus encompasses attention to the global racial hierarchy in the process of empire-building, a critical transnational perspective to citizenship, and recognition of how bodies live out, respond to, and remember what has passed.

Methodology

The central research question for this dissertation is: Why do the Filipino World War II veterans feel they belong despite their exclusion? To begin to find answers to this question, I thus set out to conduct qualitative interviews with Filipino World War II veterans in both the Philippines and the U.S. Data for this research thus come from semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 88 Filipino veterans. Depending on the veteran’s ability or willingness to proceed with the process, the interviews

ranged from twenty minutes to two hours. I conducted the interviews in an open-ended manner to capture the sentiments the veterans felt in the past and their feelings now, in their late 80s and 90s. The semi-structured interview method allowed the Filipino veterans to highlight what they believed was most significant regarding their military service, as well as their life before and after the war. The exploratory questions I asked pertained to the circumstances of their recruitment or enlistment, experiences during the war, including interactions with fellow Filipino soldiers, or with Japanese and American soldiers, if any, and expectations after the war regarding recognition and rights.

The goal to obtain a wide range of experiences among as many Filipino World War II veterans as possible proved challenging in various ways. I actually interviewed 90 veterans, but two of them were no longer able to complete their sentences or were no longer able to hear me for having become deaf. In fact, I had set out to interview 100 veterans, but I was turned away by the veterans' families, who served as the gatekeepers, for various reasons. For one, they were concerned that my questions would bring up traumatic memories about the war. More common, however, was that they were suspicious of strangers coming to talk to them. Apparently, by the time I was conducting interviews in 2012 and 2013 in the Philippines, there had already been many unfortunate occurrences of fraud: individuals approached veterans offering "legal" help to navigate the bureaucracy and obtain their lump sum payments, but instead swindled the veterans and their families of thousands of pesos.

These individuals were referred to as “fixers.” These incidents had become so common that the Philippine Veterans Administration Office (PVAO) sent notices to veterans and their families to help prevent this for other veterans and families. I had to learn to be patient with the veterans and their families who would literally refuse to open the door as I was knocking. For the most part, many veterans and their families agreed to welcome me into their home and share with me what they could.

The primary means of contacting veterans was through communication and collaboration with community organizations that serve the veterans’ needs. In the Philippines, I worked with PVAO in the northern and central regions of Luzon (Ilocos Norte and Pangasinan, respectively), the Filipino War Veterans Foundation in Metro Manila, and the Department of Social Welfare Development in Pangasinan. In California, I collaborated with the organization Justice for Filipino American Veterans and its national network, as well as local community centers, such as the West Bay Pilipino Multicultural Center in San Francisco. In Hawai’i, I connected with the Filipino American National Historical Society and the Filipino Digital Archives and Historical Center. The organization leaders directly introduced me to veterans with whom they are in touch or gave me a list of names of veterans to contact.

Other ways I was able to contact veterans were: (1) through my own social networks’ families and relatives, and (2) through the snowball method, when a veteran directly introduced me to another veteran or gave me the name and contact information of a fellow veteran. In these various ways, my fieldwork was able to

yield conversations with veterans from the various military branches and with diverse stories regarding citizenship and their pre-war, wartime, and post-war expectations and experiences.

Before I move forward to describing who my interview participants are and their military backgrounds, I would like to share about my research process in the paragraphs below. First, I always tried to introduce myself to the Filipino veterans and their families primarily as a granddaughter of a Filipino World War II veteran, my Lolo Kiko, as a way of opening up the communication lines. I had hoped that they would see me as someone who might be a “worthy witness” to their stories (Winn and Ubiles 2011, cited in Paris and Winn 2014). According to Django Paris and Maisha T. Winn (2014), to be a “worthy witness” is to conduct research that humanizes their research subjects. I wanted to listen to their stories, however they might diverge from my interview questions, so that they would feel that I truly cared about where they have been and what they have been through.

And I do care, but there was a daunting task in front of me: to gather as many stories as I could because, in many of the places I searched for veterans to interview, I was often only a traveler passing through. I lived in Santa Cruz in the U.S., where there was not a large population of Filipinos, and I found no Filipino WWII veterans in my immediate vicinity there. Thus, I conducted my research elsewhere: in Northern California, Southern California, Hawai'i, and the Philippines. And even though I spoke Filipino (Tagalog), a handful of veterans I interviewed in the

Philippines were more comfortable using their native language, which was either Pangasinan or Ilocano. I am Pangasinan from my mother's side and Ilocano from my father's side. I am far more familiar with Pangasinan than Ilocano, but I practiced neither in the U.S., where I moved as a ten-year old. This meant that I relied on translators whenever the veterans felt that it was better for them to tell their story in either Pangasinan or Ilocano. And I encouraged this, because I wanted to make the veteran and their families feel that they can tell their stories more frankly and fully in their own language, not in the language I, the researcher, was more knowledgeable about.

But not only was I a traveler, I was also a graduate student with the hard task, to say the least, of completing a dissertation. So I also presented myself to the veterans and their families as a doctoral student who is collecting data for research with the University of California in Santa Cruz in the Department of Sociology. I even showed or gave away my graduate business cards to some veterans and families. When I felt I needed to, I also shared that my research was funded by a prestigious funding source in the system of the University of California (the UC Center for New Racial Studies). The times I really had to establish my authority was in the Philippines, where the veterans did not know me and I was not part of the communities where they lived. It had been to help convince the families that I was not on a leisurely trip and that I would not waste their time. Unfortunately, because I did have the goal to interview up to 100 veterans, I did not feel that I could spend more

time establishing camaraderie with the veterans as I wanted. At this closing stage of my dissertation, I am very grateful for the camaraderie that many of the veterans and I were able to form. They opened up their homes to me, shared with me their stories, and showed me their documents, their grandchildren's photos, their emotions, and even their scars. In honor of all them, and because the veterans insisted on the correct spelling of their names when I was writing them down, I decided not to assign pseudonyms.

The Filipino World War II Veterans

The Filipino World War II veterans served in the U.S. Armed Forces in several ways. My interview participants represented each of the following four units: The early (pre-World War II) Philippine Scouts (or the "Old Scouts"), the U.S. Army Forces of the Far East (USAFFE), guerrilla units recognized by the U.S. ("recognized guerrillas"), and the post-World War II Philippine Scouts ("New Scouts"). Before I delve into the profiles of my interview participants, I provide a brief description of each unit to better distinguish them from each other.

The early Philippine Scouts ("Old Scouts")

The first Philippine Scouts were Filipino soldiers organized by the U.S. in 1901 to quell the Filipinos who, led by General Emilio Aguinaldo, resisted American colonization and fought for independence instead. The U.S. later integrated the Scouts

into the U.S. Army, and they became the front line troops in the Pacific. The Philippine Scouts became the first soldiers who fought in the U.S. Army to fight during World War II.

The United States Army Forces of the Far East (USAFFE)

While the 1934 Philippine Independence Act, or the Tydings-McDuffie Act, promised aid to the Philippines in its transition to an “independent” nation within ten years, it also allowed the U.S. to maintain control over the Philippines’ foreign affairs and national defense. Thus, when the U.S. decided to forego its initial isolationist policy during World War II and prepare instead for defense, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was able to call the Philippine Army into service for the American flag on July 26, 1941, creating the U.S. Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE) and placing them under the command of General Douglas MacArthur. The USAFFE comprised both Filipino and American soldiers from the mainland. After the bombing of both Pearl Harbor and Manila on December 7 and 8, 1941, respectively, the U.S. headed to war.

The USAFFE military branch, however, was unprepared for the arrival of the Imperial Japanese Army in the Philippines on December 8, 1941. Due to lack of arms and resources, General Douglas MacArthur left Corregidor and was flown to Australia as ordered by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He was—and still is—famous among the Filipinos for his words: “I shall return.” After his departure,

General Jonathan Wainwright replaced him as the new commander. Without more reinforcements from the U.S., the USAFFE soldiers fought an uphill battle. When the Japanese Army attacked the American and Filipino troops in Bataan on April 3, 1942, the troops were forced to surrender in less than a week. The Imperial Japanese Army took the American and Filipino troops as prisoners of war (POW) and forced them to walk 60 miles without food and water towards the POW prison camp in Camp O'Donnel, located in Capas, Tarlac. This is referred to as the Bataan Death March. An estimated 10,000 Filipino and American prisoners died during the march and in the prison camp.

Recognized guerrillas

When General Jonathan Wainwright surrendered all the American and Filipino forces in the Philippines in Corregidor on the day known as the Fall of Corregidor, the last American and Filipino troops surrendered in Mindanao less than a week later. Even with this “official” surrender, there were Filipino and American officers or soldiers who escaped the Bataan Death March who helped form or joined guerrilla units that were already active. The guerrilla units became the intel for the preparation of the U.S. to regain control of the Philippines. American troops, with the help of the guerrilla soldiers, conducted air raids at the Clark Air Base in October 1944, and the American Allied Forces landed in Leyte, which was headed by General Douglas MacArthur.

The New Philippine Scouts (“New Scouts”)

When the guerrilla units and General Douglas MacArthur’s forces defeated the Imperial Japanese Army, the U.S. set up the New Philippine Scouts units (“New Scouts”). These units fought the remaining Japanese Army soldiers in the Philippines, and served as occupation troops in American military bases in the Pacific. Some of the New Scouts were all-Filipino units, while some were integrated Filipino and American units, with the caveat of continuing American segregation policies. Some of the Filipino veterans I interviewed recounted stories of interacting with African American soldiers. Unsurprisingly, white American officers held the highest positions. For some of my interview participants, their status in the New Scouts was peculiar in the sense that when the Philippines received its independence on July 4, 1946, the New Scouts were soldiers in the regular U.S. Army but were still considered Philippine citizens. Some of my interview participants recalled President Manuel Roxas describing the New Scouts, disparagingly, as “men without a country.” As a resolution, the U.S. offered the New Scouts formal American citizenship. Perhaps 1,000 Filipino soldiers accepted this offer and went on to continue their military careers in other U.S. wars in the Pacific. For the majority, however, the New Philippine Scouts was disbanded in December 1948 and the Filipino veterans I interviewed reported finishing their service and returning to the Philippines in 1949.

The interview participants' profiles

I conducted fieldwork from July 2012 thru August 2013. During my first visit to the Philippines in July and August 2012, I interviewed ten veterans. In fall 2012, I interviewed twelve veterans in California: three in Vallejo, four in San Francisco, and five in Los Angeles. During my second visit to the Philippines in February and March 2013, I interviewed 46 veterans. When I went to Hawai'i in May 2013, I interviewed thirteen veterans. During the summer in August 2013, I interviewed six veterans in Long Beach and San Diego. In the course of eighteen months, I interviewed a total of 87 veterans in the Philippines and the U.S., four of whom are Filipino veterans who were born in the U.S.

Due to their relatively later adult age during World War II, I could not find living Filipino veterans who were born in the Philippines but residing in the U.S. upon enlistment and who helped form the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments. These veterans were the Filipino immigrants who came to the U.S. as farm and cannery workers and were well into their adult years at the time of the war. These regiments emerged from a campaign by these Filipino immigrants for an all-Filipino military unit in December 1941, after they heard about the bombing of Manila. Filipinos born in the U.S. eligible to join the U.S. military during World War II also enlisted in the First and Second Regiments. Unlike the Filipinos in the Philippines, however, the Filipino immigrants in the U.S. were unable to enlist as volunteers for military service due to their status as "nationals" (see Revilla 1996 and

Baldoz 2011). They organized a fierce campaign for the right to fight, including rallying to change the age restrictions on military service on the Selective Service Act: from 21 through 36, to 18 through 65 (Baldoz 2011). President Franklin Delano Roosevelt thus revised the Selective Service Act to allow the Filipinos living in the U.S. to join the U.S. Army and gave them the ability to naturalize. As many as 1,000 soldiers participated in the naturalization ceremony at Camp Beale on February 20, 1943, before they headed to the Philippines for battle. When the 1946 Rescission Act revoked the benefits promised to the Filipino veterans, this was not the case for the Filipino veterans who enlisted in the U.S. They received full American veteran benefits (Nakano 2000).

I interviewed four U.S.-born veterans. Three of them were U.S.-born Filipino veterans who served in either the First Filipino Infantry Regiment or the Second Filipino Infantry Regiment. One was in a hospice during our interview, while the other had dementia and could not answer the majority of the interview questions, even with the help of his wife and son next to him. The only other First Filipino Infantry Regiment Filipino veteran I interviewed was Domino Los Baños, who referred to himself as “the last of the Mohicans.” He was 18 when he first enlisted, the youngest one can serve in the US military. Two years ago in 2014, he called to tell me that his fellow comrade who was in the hospice had passed away. The fourth veteran was a unique case in that he was born in the U.S., considered an American citizen, but happened to be in the Philippines when the war erupted there. He also

happened to be 16 years old and served unofficially in a guerrilla unit in the town where his parents were born and raised.

At this time, I focus primarily on the research data I collected from the Filipino veterans who were born in the Philippines and enlisted to fight during World War II there. I have access to U.S.-born Filipino veterans' personal archives and would like to compare and contrast their perspectives on citizenship with those of the Filipino veterans born and recruited in the Philippines at another time. For the purpose of this dissertation on belonging prior to or without entry into the U.S. and naturalized American citizenship, I will base my analysis on the 83 interviews I conducted with Filipino veterans who were born and recruited in the Philippines. These 83 veterans experienced their military service for the U.S. in various ways (see Table 1). Two veterans served only in the Old Philippine Scouts. Ten veterans served as members of only the USAFFE, while five first served in the USAFFE and then

Table 1. Filipino WWII veteran research participants' diverse military experiences

Military service	Number of veterans (n=83)
Old Scouts only	2
USAFFE only	10
USAFFE + recognized guerrilla	5
Recognized guerrilla only	20
Recognized guerrilla + New Scouts	29
New Scouts only	17

volunteered to fight in a recognized guerrilla unit after the surrender of General Wainwright in 1942. Twenty veterans served only in the guerrilla, while twenty-nine first served in the guerrilla and then enlisted in the New Philippine Scouts after the victory of the U.S. and the allies in 1945. Seventeen served in only the New Philippine Scouts. The diversity of their experiences present an interesting array of claims on citizenship, feelings of belonging, and subject formation.

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation examines the intertwined politics of race, empire, and citizenship, with attention to the body as a central analytical component. I propose a theorization of citizenship that attends to the material and ideological role of the body in explaining why and how Filipino veterans feel they were, have become, or already are “Americans” before or without entry into the U.S., and before or without naturalized citizenship. I argue that bodily experiences play an important role in the formation of citizenship as belonging, particularly when those experiences are grounded in the shared national project of war against a common enemy. In addition to bodily experiences, I also consider the physical and social location of the body and its environment, in relation to other bodies. Or in short, what and who else surround the body. I acknowledge the role of the state in facilitating the incorporation into its body politic of populations it has racialized, but I primarily underscore what happens and what develops among Filipino and American soldiers that contribute and shape

the former's feelings of belonging despite the state's exclusion. In the paragraphs that follow, I explain the organization of my dissertation.

The second chapter offers historical background regarding the colonial relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines. I focus on how the U.S. has defined and redefined citizenship, which has structured the experiences of the Filipino World War II veterans and contextualized their claims as Americans and American veterans. I pay particular attention to the practices and policies of "differential inclusion" (Espiritu 2003) by the U.S. towards the Filipinos in order to set the stage for the diverse experiences of Filipino veterans during their military service under the American flag. I end the chapter with the notion of *differential belonging* as I transition to the stories of the Filipino veterans in chapters three and four.

In chapter three, I focus on the bodily experience of proximity among Filipino and American soldiers. I underscore that this proximity facilitated conviviality and solidarity among them, which further strengthened the perception among Filipinos that they, too, were "American soldiers." In my emphasis on proximity, particularly during wartime, I complicate the racial hierarchies discussed in chapter two by adapting the new materialist, or corporeal feminist, approach to race (Grosz 1994; Puar 2007; Slocum 2011). Corporeal feminists have begun to discuss how something significant happens to bodies when they congregate together in a physical space. For the Filipino and American soldiers, these physical spaces include jungle battlefields, military bases, foxholes, war prison camps, and mess halls. Slocum (2011) suggests

that racial formation is not only about the “*other-ing*” of bodies (Omi and Winant 1994[1986]), but also about the “becoming” or “emerging” of phenotypically different bodies during their encounters.

What about the Filipino soldiers who did not experience close contact and conviviality with American soldiers, but who still identify as American veterans? This is the topic of chapter four, which analyzes the role of daily rituals Filipino soldiers performed in the U.S. military and in American military bases to their claims as Americans and American veterans. I examine how their bodies *perform* “American” as well as what the U.S. performs through their bodies. I also explore how their bodies *circulate* in the military bases, what circulates in their bodies, how the Filipinos *consume* “America,” and how the U.S. consumes their bodies. In both chapters three and four, I draw from the theories on the body, particularly from the field of anthropology (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Mauss 1973; Bourdieu 1977) and the now growing literature on it in the field of sociology (Cregan 2006; Shilling 2007, 2012).

Out of the total 83 Filipino veterans I interviewed, there were fourteen who explicitly claimed that they did not feel American during their military service for the U.S. during World War II. Chapter five focuses on these stories: What was different about their experiences in the U.S. military that did not lead to their shared identification with American soldiers? The veterans in this chapter, who did not identify as American during their service, reported having rare to no interaction with

American soldiers. In contrast to the veterans in chapters three and four, the lack of proximity and opportunities for shared moments of suffering or conviviality among these thirteen veterans did not facilitate the development of a shared identity with the American soldiers. Racism was also a key issue. USAFFE veteran Ernie Sombrero discussed racist, hurtful interaction with Americans that has contributed to his *dis-*identification with them, which offers insight as to how direct and salient experiences of racism affect one's sense of belonging and subject formation as citizens.

In the concluding chapter, I offer a brief review of the Filipino Veterans Equity Movement (FVEM) and provide an update as to where the claims of the veterans, their families, and community advocates stand. Current literature on the Filipino veterans and the FVEM (Gonzalves 1995; Nakano 2000; Raimundo 2010) do not yet highlight the centrality of the body to the claims-making of veterans. Here, I call attention to how the veterans' bodies in fact played and continue to play a meaningful role in their fight for recognition. I provide stories of how the veterans used their *physical bodies* during actions, such as hunger strikes, chain-ins, mock funerals, and others, in protest to the lack of recognition, response, and action from the U.S. government. I underscore the Filipino veterans' bodies in their movement, particularly because their bodies were instrumental to their military service, and it is this *service of their bodies* which provides the basis of their claims-making as American veterans and citizens.

CHAPTER 2: THE COLONIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PHILIPPINES

Introduction

In this second chapter, I present an overview of the U.S. relationship between the United States and the Philippines to set the context for the puzzle I discuss in the following chapters: how and why Filipino World War II veterans feel a sense of belonging to the U.S. as Americans and American veterans. I focus on particular U.S. state practices and policies on citizenship, race, immigration, and empire-building efforts in the Pacific, which have structured the subject formation of Filipino veterans. The history I present here is a “view from the top.” After this chapter, I proceed to look more closely at how these structural arrangements and rearrangements are experienced by the veterans in order to analyze *their* understanding and embodiment of citizenship.

The intent for the first section of this chapter is to demonstrate how American citizenship has been linked to whiteness. The three race-based citizenship naturalization restrictions in the U.S. I discuss are: the Naturalization Act of 1790, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and the Immigration Act of 1924. The 1790 Act was the first legislation regarding national citizenship in the U.S.; the 1882 Act was the first to restrict a specific ethnic group into the U.S.; and the 1924 Act was the first immigration quota restriction based on a global racial hierarchy. Scholars from

different fields have emphasized the importance of race for understanding social processes of inclusion, exclusion, and institutional and structural arrangements (Crenshaw 1991; Lowe 1996; Gossett 1997; Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Gilroy 2013 [1991]). For example, Michael Omi and Howard Winant's (1994) racial formation theory posits that race is not a biological category but a social construct which actors shape and reshape for their benefit. In these instances of rearticulation (Omi and Winant 1994[1986]), race then becomes a process. Furthermore, race is not ahistorical and must be understood within a framework of economic relations (Hall 1980, 1986; also see Holt 2009). And, in connecting race to economic relations and also to structures of power, the state is an actor which also partakes in racial rearticulation (Omi and Winant 1994[1986]).

Thus, the second section of this chapter delves into thinking through the question of how the U.S. utilized race as it was emerging as a global power. U.S. empire-building and involvement in other territories abroad are not unaffected by its racial structures at home (Espiritu 2003; Kramer 2006). For example, while the Immigration Act of 1924 included an "Asiatic Barred Zone" clause, it facilitated the entry of Filipinos into the U.S. because Philippines was a U.S. territory not included in the "Asia" region of the clause. Moreover, the U.S. had to deal with the issue of how the racial state (Goldberg 2002) would or would not incorporate into its body politic its newly colonized peoples. Below, I discuss how "differential inclusion" and "racial naturalization" are how Yen Le Espiritu (2003) and Devon W. Carbado (2005)

describe how the state simultaneously includes and excludes certain populations according to the state's needs. In particular, I am interested in how U.S. policies of “differential inclusion” towards Filipinos served as the backdrop for Filipino veterans' belonging to the U.S.

Race-based citizenship naturalization restrictions in the U.S.

The Naturalization Act of 1790

The Naturalization Act of 1790 is the original and the first legislation regarding the provision of national citizenship in the U.S. It restricted naturalization to immigrants who were “free white person[s]” of “good character.” The narrow definition of who could be an “American citizen” thus excluded Native Americans, indentured white servants, Asians, slaves, and also free Black people. This Act utilized the most basic and crudest conception of race, skin color—white—as a primary determinant of one's identification as an “American.” Citizenship was linked to biological racialism, prevalent from the late 16th to the 20th century, when race was associated with physical traits, intelligence, and predisposition to behavior. Race was perceived as an essential and natural category linked to heredity, destiny, and civilization (Grant 1916; Stoddard 1920). Eugenicists widely accepted as true the idea of white superiority over non-white populations. They believed that craniology (the study and measurement of skulls), as well as blood quantum (the measurement of blood) were useful tools in placing where groups of people belonged in the U.S. racial

hierarchy. In turn, this racial hierarchy determined whether one was eligible or ineligible for citizenship and inclusion into the American body politic.

Changes to the racial basis of citizenship naturalization legislation since the 1790 Act were slow to come. It was only after the American Civil War from 1861 to 1865 that the U.S. passed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1868, which granted citizenship to people born in the U.S., regardless of their parents' race, citizenship, or place of birth, including former slaves. Two years later, the Naturalization Act of 1870 extended the citizenship naturalization process to "aliens of Africa nativity and to persons of African descent." However, other non-white populations, including Native Americans, Latina/os, and Asians, born and living in the U.S., remained ineligible for citizenship naturalization.

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882

The late 19th and early 20th centuries marked the increasing power of the federal government to regulate immigration (Ngai 2004). The Chinese Exclusion Act was the first federal law to impede the immigration of a specific ethnic group. It was first signed into law in 1882 by President Chester A. Arthur, and renewed ten years later in 1892. In 1898, when the Supreme Court decided to grant citizenship to an American-born child of Chinese parents in *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark*, it would seem that the influence of biological racialism as a determinant for citizenship was falling away. But this was simply not the case. The Chinese Exclusion Act was made permanent in

1902, at the start of the U.S. empire-building in the Pacific, until its nullification in 1943.

Whiteness very much remained a determining factor for citizenship naturalization in the U.S. But, as the Supreme Court cases *Takao Ozawa v. U.S.* (1923) and *U.S. v. Bhagat Singh Thind* (1923) show, whiteness was elusive. The justices never defined the term “whiteness” in these two cases, as described in the film *Race: The Power of an Illusion* (2003). In the former case, Takao Ozawa filed for U.S. citizenship in 1915, claiming that Japanese people were classified as “free white persons.” He did not argue against the racial biologism of the existing citizenship legislation as unconstitutional. Instead, he made the following case: (1) that his skin was “as white as any so-called Caucasian, if not whiter,” and that (2) as a Christian man with a strong work ethic, “at heart I am a true American.”⁴ In the end, the Supreme Court ruled that Ozawa was ineligible for citizenship since he was not Caucasian, and therefore not white. The justices used what they perceived as sound science as evidence for their ruling: Ozawa was not white because he was of the Mongolian race.

Bhagat Singh Thind, just three months after, used the Court’s reliance on science to fight his case for citizenship. As a South Asian immigrant and U.S. Army veteran, he argued that Indians were of the Caucasian or Aryan race. He claimed, therefore, that he was white and has a claim on U.S. citizenship. But the Court denied

⁴ Retrieved from <http://newsreel.org/transcripts/race3.htm> on January 19, 2016.

his petition, claiming that: “It may be true...that the blond Scandinavian and the brown Hindu have a common ancestor in the dim reaches of antiquity, but the average man knows perfectly well that there are unmistakable and profound differences between them today.”⁵ The judges constructed what they believed “whiteness” was, and they maintained strict boundaries on who can become citizens based on this social construct of race. These two cases exemplify the continuing influence of eugenics to determine who can be an American citizen in the early 20th century.

The Immigration Act of 1924

The Immigration Act of 1924, also known as the Johnson-Reed Act, placed restrictions on the number of immigrants allowed into the U.S. with the establishment of a national origins quota. Since the quota calculations used the 1890 national census, which is based on the number of immigrants in the U.S. at the time, the result was favorable for Western Europe, and that immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe was limited. These restrictions on the latter regions of Europe were supported by the Act’s proponents, who believed in the superiority of the Nordic races, according to eugenicist Madison Grant (1916) in his book *The Passing of the Great Race*. Moreover, in accordance to the goal of maintaining “ideal U.S. homogeneity,” the Act completely excluded immigrants from Asia with the “Asiatic Barred Zone” clause. In fact, it is also known as the Asian Exclusion Act. Mae Ngai (2004)

⁵ Ibid.

describes this Act as the “nation’s first *comprehensive* restriction law” because it “established for the first time *numerical limits* on immigration and a *global* racial and national hierarchy that favored some immigrants over others” (3, emphasis in the original). In barring Asians, Southern Europeans, and Eastern Europeans, the Act “solidified the legal boundaries” of who was considered white (Ngai 2004:7).

The race-based immigration quota restrictions established in the 1924 Act remained at work until the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act. The 1965 Act, also known as the Hart-Celler Act, ended the use of the national origins formula since the 1920s, effectively opening the “gate” to the formerly excluded populations. In its place, the 1965 Act established a preference system that emphasized immigrants’ skills and family reunification for U.S. citizens. This means that for about 175 years, from 1790 to 1965, race and white supremacy were explicit in U.S. immigration and citizenship naturalization laws. While the 1964 Civil Rights Movement remains a key contender for why there was a shift towards antiracist immigration legislation (Chin 1996), critical race scholar Derrick Bell’s “interest convergence theory” (1980) proposes that U.S. changed the legislation in order to win the support of Asian nations during the Cold War.

Since the Philippines was a U.S. colony at this time, the Filipinos were U.S. nationals and were not restricted from immigration to the U.S. under the 1924 Act. Thus, labor recruiters from the U.S., particularly from the west coast, Hawai’i, and Alaska focused their recruitment efforts in the Philippines. But the Filipinos’ status as

U.S. nationals did not exempt them from racism and anti-Asian prejudices. The oncoming Great Depression only exacerbated anti-Filipino sentiments, culminating to the inauguration of the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act, which I discuss below. This Act, guised as the benevolent promise of eventual independence for the Filipinos, was in fact a restrictive immigration policy towards a U.S. colony.

The U.S. in the Philippines

The Philippine-American War and the Benevolent Assimilation Policy

Filipino revolutionaries and American forces defeated Spain during the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. A month later, on June 12, 1898, General Emilio Aguinaldo declared the Philippines an independent nation. This declaration came after two years of armed military conflict between Spanish colonial authorities and the Filipino people, since the Spanish authorities learned about the Filipino anti-colonial secret organization Katipunan in 1896. Instead of celebrating the several years' efforts of the Filipino's struggle for independence against the Spanish empire, the U.S. denied to recognize the Philippine government and instead paid \$20M to Spain for the islands in the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898. President William McKinley, on December 21, 1898, declared in the "Proclamation to the Philippine People" that:

“[W]e come, not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends. [...] Finally, it should be the earnest wish and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect,

and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the U.S. is one of *benevolent assimilation* substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule” (my emphasis).

The “Benevolent Assimilation” policy of the U.S. towards the Philippines was enforced with violence. While the First Battle of Manila was fought by the Filipino forces in cooperation with the American forces against the Spain, the Second Battle of Manila was fought with the Filipinos and American in opposition to each other. Less than a year after Aguinaldo’s declaration of Philippine independence, the Philippine government declared war against the U.S. on June 2, 1898. Reports of Filipino casualties—from combat, but also disease and hunger during the war—ranged from 34,000 to 220,000. While the U.S. government declared the war over on July 4, 1902 under President Theodore Roosevelt, Filipinos continued to fight for their independence.⁶ For many years to come, the U.S. government did not see the Filipino people capable or “fit” for self-rule. In other words, the U.S. believed that the Filipinos could not yet be their own “citizens.” The U.S. thus enacted legislation to establish and maintain its power and authority over the Philippine peoples for over

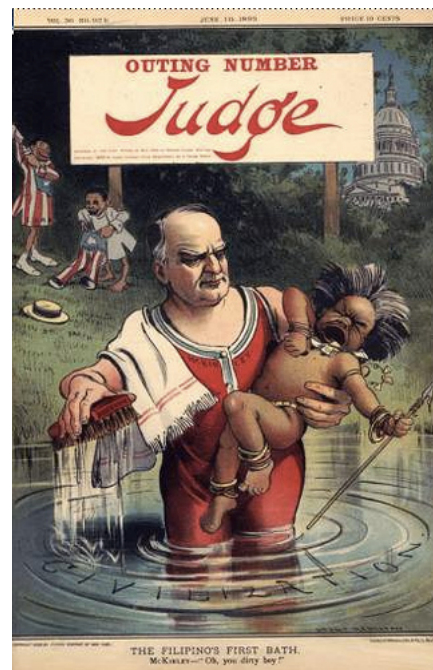
⁶ The pro-independence movement included *Katipunan* members led by General Macario L. Sakay who established “Tagalog Republic” after the Americans had captured and imprisoned Aguinaldo, as well as the Moro people in Mindanao and the religious group *Pulahanes* from Visayas (Agoncillo 1990 [1960]; Constantino 1975).

four decades, until the U.S. finally granted recognition of Philippine independence in 1946.

Paul Kramer (2006) argues that racial formation in the U.S. did not remain static in the context of empire. He maintains how after the Spanish-American War in 1898, the U.S. imperialists justified their brutal conquest of the newly established Philippine government by creating and recreating racial ideologies, adapting those they knew from the U.S. into various contexts they encountered with their colonized subjects. He identifies this racialization as “transnational racial formation,” which is a way that the U.S. simultaneously included and excluded a diverse Filipino population into its “imagined community” (Anderson 1991). The U.S. created a racial hierarchy among the Filipinos, putting the “civilized” Christians at the top, and placing the “less civilized” or even “savage” Muslims and animists at the bottom. In this way, the U.S. identified which Filipinos were more like the Americans, who were able to *carry on* the “white man’s burden” (Kipling 1899) and *carry out* the civilizing mission among the other(ed) Filipinos.

How did the American public view the colonization of the Philippines? Did they view the Filipinos as embodying good and moral character, which are necessary requirements for U.S. citizenship? Did they view Filipinos’ nonwhite skin as assimilable or worthy of assimilation into the white supremacist U.S. nation? According to Abe Ignacio, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, and Helen Toribio, in their collection of political cartoon images titled *The Forbidden Book: The*

Philippine American War in Political Cartoons (2004), for the most part, the political cartoonists and the American public viewed the Filipinos as “unfit” for U.S. citizenship. The portrayals of Filipinos in political cartoons included depictions as children, savage, animals, and helpless feminine figures. In addition, political cartoonists likened Filipinos to other racialized and marginalized groups in the U.S. at the time: Black people, Native Americans, and the Chinese. Ignacio et al. (2004) further argues that the comparisons were “direct” and that the depictions of African Americans were “re-applied to Filipinos” (81): as “a wild beast,” “buffoons,” as “commodities,” and “as pickanninies or diminutive black savages” (ibid). But to justify the differential inclusion of Filipinos to the narrative of the U.S. as “exceptional,” the Americans had to claim that the Filipino people were not completely “incorrigible.” The Filipino might be a “dirty boy,” but can *become* a grown man.



The 1904 St. Louis World's Fair

To demonstrate the Filipinos' inability for self-rule, the U.S. facilitated opportunities to show the Filipinos as “uncivilized.” To showcase their “primitivity” (Espiritu 2003:58), the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, in which more than

1,000 indigenous Filipinos were displayed in a 47-acre enclosure—named the Filipino Reservation—for seven months, became an opportunity for the U.S. to justify its colonial rule in the Philippines. Benito M. Vergara (1995) states that: “The objective of the Reservation’s physical layout was quite obvious: to contrast the more civilized city in the center with the primitive villages at the periphery” (120). The Philippine Exhibit was the largest exhibit at the fair, and was the most expensive, costing \$2M to build. The total ticket count for the Philippine Exhibit ranged from \$3,000 to \$5,000 on a *daily* basis, with each ticket costing twenty-five cents each. Nancy J. Parezo (2004) in the *Gateway Heritage Magazine* of the Missouri Historical Society provides a thorough description of the Philippine Exhibit. I include an excerpt below (2004:2-3):

“The Philippine exhibit was a gigantic undertaking, with about 10,250 exhibitors and tribal representatives. [...] It took more than two years to collect the 75,000 objects from the one thousand islands populated by one hundred different tribes. The outcome was a small city near the Agricultural Pavilion surrounded by a green, moss-covered wall with antique Spanish guns mounted on parapets. Visitors entered the area via the ‘Bridge of Spain’ and walked into the Walled City area. Here they immediately encountered the U.S. War Department’s fort, where photographs of recent American military victories were exhibited. In the adjacent museum, ethnographic and historical weapons were seen in an evolutionary arrangement. [...] The villages were arrayed in an evolutionary scheme, beginning with the ‘lowly’ and ‘wild’ Negritos from the forests of Luzon, followed by the more advanced but still ‘primitive’ Igorot, the Lanao Moros...and finally the Visayans, the

‘highest type’ of tribal peoples who dressed like Europeans and wove silk.”

The reference to “evolution” is telling of the exhibit’s biological racialism. And as with Vergara’s (1995) arguments about the photographs of Filipinos and Philippine scenes in the early 20th century—that they helped portray the Filipinos as racially inferior—the exhibit, was also a “powerful [bearer] of colonial ideology” (14). The Louisiana Purchase Exposition President David R. Francis, stated that the exhibit: “shows the condition of the savage tribes; it shows what the U.S. has accomplished during its rule of the archipelago; and it shows the nature of the Philippine problem in all its phases” (Parezo 2003). As “primitive” people, the Filipinos were viewed as “biologically unfit” for the privilege of U.S. citizenship (ibid) or for their own independence. But the narrative was that the Filipinos can be changed into civilized peoples, with the benevolence of the U.S. To demonstrate the positive effect of U.S. colonial rule in the Philippines, the exhibit included the Philippine Constabulary (PC) and the Philippine Scouts (Scouts), both of which were established by the U.S. at the turn of the century in 1901. The PC was an armed police force, the first of four service commands of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, while the Scouts⁷ was a military organization of the U.S. Army.

⁷ In the later sections of this chapter, I refer to the early 20th century Philippine Scouts as “Old Scouts” because after World War II, the U.S. military formed a post-war Philippine Scouts branch to serve in military bases during reconstruction. I refer to the post-World War II Scouts as the “New Scouts.”

The Americans' perception of Filipinos' "biological unfitness" for U.S. citizenship also encompassed what the Igorots ate, what they consumed in their bodies. From the American public's perspective, the Igorots' custom of eating dogs makes the Igorots *inhumane*, denoting cruelty, or perhaps, even *inhuman*, which signifies savagery or monstrosity. The characterization of "dog-eaters" as well as the act of dog-eating elicits an emotional and a bodily response from Americans. Parezo (2004) shares this response from Missouri Congressman John T. Hunt when he learned of the Igorot tribe from Bontoc eating six dogs to celebrate their safe arrival to St. Louis: "a sad spectacle which the U.S. never witness before. I could not bear it; neither could any other of *our Caucasian party*, and we retired, leaving *the little brown boys* alone in their bamboo stockade" (8-9, my emphases). Hunt demarcates a line, separating him and his "Caucasian party" from "the little brown boys" to note their biological difference from each other, not just by skin color or even stature, but also on the basis of diet.

The 1904 St. Louis World's Fair was an opportunity for the U.S. to justify how it included itself in the Filipino people's journey towards independence, as the U.S. justified including Filipinos into its story of American exceptionalism. Historian Julian Go (2007) argues that the language the U.S. used when it justified its rule over the unincorporated territories acquired after the Spanish-American War is of "liberal exceptionalism." In contrast to the "tyrannical and exploitative" rule of the European empires, the American empire perceived its colonization (and conquest) as

“beneficent and selfless”: “While European empires suppressed liberty, rights, and democracy, American’s empire has been aimed at spreading them” (Go 2007:75)⁸. McKinley justifies colonization in this way: “The Philippines are ours not to exploit, but to civilize, to develop, to civilize [sic], to educate, to train in the science of self-government” (Go 2007:76). McKinley’s “Benevolent Assimilation” narrative found a home among the hearts of Americans with the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair. The “transformation” narrative popularized by the fair and the Philippine exhibit was that: the savage Filipinos needed to be civilized, and the civilized Filipinos, with the help of the Americans, became clothed, non-dog-eating, English speakers, and trained to behave in the manner of the Americans.

Regarding the behavior of the “civilized” Filipinos, an exhibit visitor’s comment on the Scouts calls attention to American power over Filipino bodies:

“When the Philippine Scouts, 400 in number, marched down the plaza, headed by the Scout band, there were exclamations of admiration from thousands of spectators. It was a very impressive sight—this long line of Filipinos in blue. It shows the real work accomplished in the Philippines—the bringing of law and order and discipline out of insurrection and ignorance—the lesson of good government” (Parezo 2004:3).

⁸ Julian Go argues further that American liberal imperialism (or liberal exceptionalism) was carried out in the Philippines and in Puerto Rico, but not in Guam or Samoa, where American rule echoed European colonial rule. This variation, Go argues, is due to the characteristics of the nations the U.S. intended to rule, *not* due to American exceptionalism (2007:77).

This comment regarding the Scouts brings to mind Michel Foucault's (1997) discussion of biopower, when bodies become an extension of state power, or I suggest, of state territory. Foucault, in his seminal work *The History of Sexuality Volume I* (1990 [1978]) on biopower and biopolitics, argues that the state power utilizes: "an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations" (140). "Benevolent Assimilation" policies, enforced by a bloody war and the containment of over 1,000 Filipinos in the Philippine Exhibit closure, are clearly practices of a racial-colonial state power over its colonized peoples.

In the Scouts' case, and in what the U.S. desires of the Igorots, the regulation and control of Filipino bodies is the U.S. assertion of biopower in the context of colonial rule. In contrast to the Igorots, who ate dogs and who wore only loincloth, and were perceived as savage and uncivilized, the Scouts marched in line and wear blue uniform, and were thus "disciplined." McKinley's intent of "Benevolent Assimilation" of the Filipinos produced disciplined bodies, for the benefit of the U.S. empire in both its self-view of the magnanimous paternalism over the "little brown boys," ego of white superiority, as well as economic, political, and *military* power in the Pacific.

The Insular Cases

The U.S. became involved in the war against Spain in the mid-1890s due to its popular support for Spanish colonies' freedom from the empire. In addition, American expansionists were not reticent about making known their economic interests overseas. In particular, the U.S. was interested in the Cuban sugar industry as well as access to the sizable market and military power in Asia with Philippines as the "stepping stone." The explosion of the U.S. battleship *Maine*, sent by the U.S. to Havana to protect American citizens from the guerrilla war, provided the catalyst for the U.S to declare war on Spain on April 25, 1898. The Spanish-American War ended less than eight months later, on December 10, 1898, after the signing of the Treaty of Paris. Under this agreement, Spain surrendered control of Cuba to the U.S., ceded Puerto Rico and Guam, and received \$20 million in payment for the Philippines. The question became for President McKinley and for the American people: how should the U.S. incorporate into its nation-state these newly acquired territories? Should the U.S. recognize these territories' populations as American citizens, or not?

Congressional debates surrounding the status of Filipinos occurred from 1900 to 1916 (Cabranes 1979, cited in Espiritu 2003), culminating in the 1916 Philippine Autonomy Act (or 1916 Jones Act). This Act granted the Filipinos not American citizenship but the status of "U.S. nationals." As U.S. nationals, Filipinos were exempt from the restrictions on Asians, under the 1924 Act, and were thus allowed to work and reside in the U.S. without restrictions.

But what about Filipinos becoming incorporated into the U.S. as American citizens? In U.S. Representative Thomas Spight's words, Filipinos were "Asiatics" and "Orientals." He claimed that the Filipinos were too unlike the American people who are "of Caucasian blood" and the Filipinos were also "ten thousand miles away" from the U.S. In his statement, Spight offered the explanation of both *blood* and *distance* as justification for why Filipinos should not be granted American citizenship. Spight's reference to "Caucasian blood" as superior is unsurprising, demonstrating how blood quantum and biological racialism were still very strong determinants of citizenship, even 100 years after the 1790 Naturalization Act.

Interestingly, Spight also mentions physical distance as justification to withhold American citizenship from Filipinos. This reference suggests that the proximity or remoteness of Filipinos from Americans contributed to their racial *dissimilarity* from each other. In other words, the distance of Filipino bodies to American bodies was a factor in the racialization of Filipinos as low-ranking in the racial hierarchy.

In contrast, the Puerto Ricans received U.S. citizenship in 1917, a decision by the Supreme Court in the Insular Cases. But the U.S. citizen status of the Puerto Ricans was equality only in name. In the Insular Cases, the Supreme Court maintained that the U.S. "Constitution did not follow the flag," meaning that full constitutional rights do not automatically apply to the inhabitants of all territories under American control. For example, the Constitution applied fully in Alaska and

Hawai'i, both of which were not actually given statehood until 1959, but not in Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. The Court viewed Puerto Rico as “domestic in a foreign sense” and “foreign in a domestic sense” (Burnett and Marshall 2001): “domestic” in that the U.S. considers Puerto Rico as its own, but “foreign” as in not its equal. The Court’s designation of Puerto Ricans as “foreign” and unequal was based on white superiority (Monge 2001 in Burnett and Marshall 2001), an idea that has dictated over a hundred years of naturalization laws, since the 1790 Naturalization Act.

At the turn of the 20th century, the designation of who could be a full U.S. citizen was still deeply influenced by biological racialism. For the Puerto Ricans and the Guamanians who received the title “U.S. citizens,” in 1917 and 1950 respectively, American citizenship signified that they *belonged* to the U.S., but as possessions. Juan R. Torruella (2001) argues that the granting of U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans was more of an imposition, in order to provide the U.S. with a large pool of men who can be drafted as soldiers for future wars. Citizenship for non-white people in this case, outside the continental U.S. and during U.S. imperial projects in Asia and Caribbean, was granted for the economic and military benefits of the U.S. To this day, neither Puerto Ricans nor Guamanians can influence the American government despite their status as “American citizens” for almost a century and a half-century, respectively. The Insular Cases culminating in “U.S. citizen” status for Puerto Ricans and the congressional debates culminating in the status as “U.S. nationals” for

Filipinos demonstrate U.S. experiments and practices of Espiritu's (2003) "differential inclusion" regarding citizenship.

The result of the Insular Cases demonstrate that U.S. articulations about race and citizenship towards their colonized populations, although varying in degree, were still exclusionary. According to the U.S. state and its racial hierarchy, the colonized populations were not equal to the idealized (white) American citizens. But the 1942 Second War Powers Act, unlike the Insular Cases, offered an opportunity for the Filipinos to work for and prove their "worth" and "fitness" as Americans. The U.S. offered citizenship in exchange for wartime military service, and to the Filipino recruits, this Act was a form of a contract—one that Filipinos did not expect to be reneged on by their "benevolent" colonizer.

The 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act

Since U.S. colonization at the turn of the 20th century, the Filipinos were classified as "U.S. nationals." As nationals, the Filipinos were exempt from the "Asian Exclusion" clause in the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act and were permitted relatively free entry into the U.S., but did not receive naturalization rights. The 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act, or the Philippine Independence Act, granted the Filipinos independence from U.S. colonial rule after a period of ten years, of eventual self-governance, which was in reality not granted until twelve years later. Again, although in name it seemed that the Philippine nationalists gained some ground in their long

struggle for independence, the Act in fact granted the U.S. government the ability to control the military forces in the Philippines, including the right to call Philippine military forces into U.S. military service as needed. Secondly, the Act reclassified the Filipinos as “aliens” and thus restricted their annual immigration visa allotment to fifty per year. The Filipinos who served as U.S. Navy recruits were, however, exempt (Espiritu 2003).

The 1942 Second War Powers Act

The U.S. colonization of the Philippines at the turn of the 20th century meant that the U.S. has had four decades of control of the Philippine military. In fact, in preparation for a potential attack from the Japanese, under President Franklin Roosevelt, the U.S. established the U.S. Armed Forces of the Far East (USAFFE) on July 26, 1941. On the same day, Roosevelt also put into place Executive Order 81, which “[incorporated] the Philippine Commonwealth Army into the U.S. military command...placing more than one hundred thousand Filipino troops (an estimated 200,000-250,000 eventually served) at MacArthur’s disposal” (Baldoz 2011:218). This was in addition to the 12,000 Filipino soldiers in the Philippine Scouts, which was already part of the U.S. Army.

The promise of U.S. citizenship in the 1942 Second War Powers Act was not unclear or ambiguous. Section 701 states that:

“[Any] person not a citizen, regardless of age, who has served or hereafter serves honorably in the military or naval forces of the U.S. during the present war and [who] shall have been at the time of his enlistment or induction a resident thereof and who (a) was lawfully admitted into the U.S., including its Territories and possessions, or (b) having entered the U.S., including its Territories and possessions, prior to September 1, 1943, being unable to establish lawful admission into the U.S. serves honorably in such forces beyond the continental limits of the U.S. or has so served may be naturalized upon compliance with all the requirements of the naturalization laws except that (1) no declaration of intention, no certificate of arrival for those described in group (b) hereof, and no period of residence within the U.S. or any State shall be required; (2) the petition for naturalization may be filed in any court having naturalization jurisdiction regardless of the residence of the petitioner; (3) the petitioner shall not be required to speak the English language, sign his petition in his own handwriting, or meet any educational test...”

The only requirement was that the petition or application for naturalization be turned in by December 31, 1946. The *promise* may have been clear, but the *process* for these petitions were not without challenges for the Filipinos, as demonstrated in the Supreme Court case⁹ *U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service v. Marciano Haw* (1973).

Filipino WWII veteran Haw argued that there was an “affirmative misconduct” on the part of the U.S. government in the opportunity for naturalization

⁹ Accessed on February 5, 2015 from the link: <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/414/5>.

because: (1) there was no authorized naturalization officer or representative in the Philippines until August 1946, four months until the deadline; and (2) the U.S. denied the means for naturalization due in part to not having informed the petitioner (and perhaps other Filipino recruits) that he had the right to be naturalized during his service in the U.S. Army. Haw was discharged from the U.S. Army in December 1945 and thus lost his right to claim citizenship under Section 702 of the amendment to the 1940 Act. Section 702 required that overseas naturalization would only be approved during active service in the Armed Forces. The court decided that Haw's effort to file his lawsuit against the U.S. and to claim his naturalization right "more than 20 years before he filed his lawsuit must therefore fail."¹⁰ In their dissenting opinion, Justice Douglas, Justice Brennan, and Justice Marshall writes: "The Court's opinion ignores the deliberate—and successful effort on the part of the agents of the Executive Branch to frustrate the congressional purpose and to deny substantive rights to Filipinos such as respondent by administrative fiat, indicating instead that there was no affirmative misconduct involved in this case."¹¹

The First (1941) and Second (1942) War Powers Act were expansive in its inclusion, but this inclusion was incomplete. The inclusion is incomplete because, according to the aforementioned dissenting opinion, the U.S. did not actually inform

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Accessed on February 5, 2015 from the link: <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/414/5>.

the Filipino recruits that they were able to apply for naturalization during their service. Yes, there was concern from the Philippine government about potential out-migration of Filipinos en masse in 1945 after Japanese occupation. Even so, between 1943 and 1946, the U.S. Congress had appointed naturalization officers to travel throughout England, Iceland, North Africa, and in the Pacific with the sole purpose of “naturalizing thousands of foreign nationals pursuant to the mandate of Congress”¹²—with the exception of the Philippines¹³.

The 1946 Rescission Act

The 1946 Rescission Act deemed the Filipino soldiers’ service in World War II as inactive. It declared the Filipinos ineligible to receive the full benefits traditionally accorded to American war veterans, which the Filipinos were promised upon recruitment in the Philippines. The Rescission Act targeted the Filipino soldiers out of the soldiers from 66 other nations who fought alongside the U.S. during WWII. Satoshi Nakano (2004) argues that even though the Philippine government may have relayed its concern to the U.S. Department of State regarding the possibility of mass emigration of Filipinos, the U.S. government had “discouraged Filipino veterans naturalization in every possible way imaginable, like refusing to accept applications,

¹² Ibid.

¹³ The Philippine government under President Ramon Magsaysay “allegedly” became concerned about the potential mass out-migration of Filipinos after the granting of American citizenship, which revoked the authority of the American vice-consul to naturalize the Filipino servicemen in the Philippines (Nakano 2004).

not sending officers in charge to confer citizenship, not publicizing information about the nationality act” (5).

The Act’s Section 107 states that:

“(a) Service before July 1, 1946, in the organized military forces of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, while such forces were in the service of the Armed Forces of the United States pursuant to the military order of the President dated July 26, 1941, including among such military forces organized guerrilla forces under commanders appointed, designated, or subsequently recognized by the Commander in Chief, Southwest Pacific Area, or other competent authority in the Army of the United States, shall not be deemed to have been active military, naval, or air service for the purposes of any law of the United States conferring rights, privileges, or benefits upon any person... (b) Service in the Philippine Scouts under section 14 of the Armed Forces Voluntary Recruitment Act of 1945 *shall not be deemed to have been active...*” (my emphases).¹⁴

Five months after the denial of recognition for the Filipinos’ military service to the U.S. during World War II, the U.S. granted the recognition of Philippine independence, which had been first declared by General Emilio Aguinaldo in 1898. This recognition, however, came with many strings attached. First, the U.S. maintained control of many military bases in the Philippines. The Military Bases Agreement granted the U.S. the use of 23 military bases rent-free for 99 years in the Philippines. There is also the 1946 Bell Trade Act, or the Philippine Trade Act, which

¹⁴ Accessed on January 20, 2016 from: <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/USCODE-2011-title38/html/USCODE-2011-title38-part1-chap1-sec107.htm>.

specified the U.S. conditions of this recognition, namely control over the Philippine economy and equal access to the natural resources in the Philippines. Additionally, the U.S. Congress offered post-war rebuilding funds in the amount of \$800M in exchange for the approval of the Bell Trade by the Philippine government. The Philippines conceded on July 2, 1946.

I suggest that what at first seems to be the “inclusionary” 1942 Act and the “exclusionary” 1946 Act are *not* polar opposites in terms of the U.S. policies in the Philippines. If viewed with Bell’s (1980) “interest convergence” lens, the 1942 Second War Powers Act’s promise of eventual citizenship actually benefited the U.S. much more substantially than the Filipinos in the Philippines. Filipino recruits signed up to serve in the U.S. military by the hundreds, ranging from a total of 250,000 up to an estimated half a million soldiers. The key word in the 1942 Act is “eventual.” The power to decide when—or whether at all—remained in the hands of the U.S. colonizer.

Applying Bell’s (1980) “interest convergence” theory to the 1946 Act, ultimately, the U.S. meant to say that they were no longer interested in absorbing the Filipino veterans into their body politic as citizens. Race did not just become a factor in 1946. Race had always been a factor in how the U.S. treated its Philippine colony and its inhabitants. Race, as we recall, remained an important and explicit determining factor for full and substantive rights and recognition for its citizens and hopeful immigrants until the 1960’s. Filipinos, even Filipino veterans in the U.S.

military, however *Americanized* as they were, still occupied the lower strata of the U.S. global and national racial hierarchy. And it seemed that their incorporation into the U.S. as “American citizens” were not meant to happen. The “not-yet” was never meant to come.

Conclusion

The state can simultaneously include and exclude certain populations according to the state’s needs. Yen Le Espiritu (2003) and Devon W. Carbado (2005), respectively, introduce the concepts “differential inclusion” and “racial naturalization” to describe this process. Espiritu uses the term “differential inclusion” to describe how the U.S. deals with the tension of desiring to integrate nonwhite populations into its economic and political sphere alongside the preference of maintaining a white supremacy culture. Differential inclusion is similar to Carbado’s (2005) racial naturalization in that racialized populations are incorporated into the national body politic on the basis of their difference from the dominant group. He characterizes racial naturalization as “[producing] inclusionary forms of exclusion” (2005:638). In this way, Carbado (2005) undermines the two equivalencies people often perceive about the possession of citizenship status: inclusion does not necessarily come with equality, and similarly, exclusion does not automatically mean unequal relations to the dominant group. Carbado’s disaggregation of inclusion from

equality, as well as of exclusion from inequality, helps steer a discussion on citizenship that does not view inclusion and exclusion as two separate processes.

Espiritu's (2003) complication of the inclusion-exclusion dichotomy and Carbado's (2005) disaggregation of American citizenship from American identity provide a starting point for analysis and answers to my central questions regarding how exclusion makes perplexing feelings of belonging among the Filipino veterans, and similarly, how inclusion as citizens or promise of citizenship does not necessarily mean full acceptance into the state. On the one hand, Carbado's negation of the inclusion-equality and exclusion-inequality equivalences helps explain how Filipinos can feel included (or belonging) into the American body politic even without the formal citizenship status. On the other hand, Espiritu's (2003) differential inclusion explains how the U.S. can include the Filipinos into its military service (although as subordinates), effecting feelings of belonging and American-ness among the Filipinos, and yet exclude them from recognition and American veteran benefits.

Both Espiritu and Carbado turn to racialization as grounds for differential inclusion and racial naturalization, focusing mainly on the "othering" of racialized bodies as inferior or antithetical to the dominant (read: white) bodies. This chapter emphasizes the linkages between citizenship and race, particularly how the U.S. state determines which racialized populations belong and do not belong to the American body politic, *and to which degree*. Because of the "transnational racial formation" (Kramer 2006) that occurred in the Philippines upon U.S. colonization,

U.S. narratives and practices of inclusion among the Filipinos were not uniform. I posit that “transnational racial formation” and “differential inclusion” has produced *differential belonging* among the Filipino veterans.

I offer the term *differential belonging* to describe the varying expressions of feelings of belonging among among the Filipino veterans towards the U.S. Many of the veterans I interviewed expressed feelings of belonging, even now in their 80s and 90s, but cite various reasons for it. I explore these reasons further in chapters three and four, in which I highlight the role of the *body* to *belonging*. In chapter three, I discuss how some Filipino veterans expressed having fought alongside—in their words, “side by side”—the American soldiers as their reason for why they identify as Americans and American veterans. They claim that their bodily proximity to American soldiers, with whom they shared wartime experiences, made them equal to their comrades. In chapter four, I explore and analyze the stories of the Filipino veterans who served in the post-war reconstruction and occupation as New Scouts. They point to their daily military life on U.S. military bases as the reason for their claims as Americans and American veterans. In particular, I delve into the Filipinos’ occupation of the American military habitus, as well as the U.S. occupation of the Filipino soldiers’ bodies.

CHAPTER 3: “SIDE BY SIDE”: SHARED BODILY EXPERIENCES AND CITIZENSHIP FORMATION

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the experiences of the pre-World War II Philippine Scouts (“Old Scouts”), the Filipino recruits in the United States Army Forces of the Far East (USAFFE), and the guerrilla soldiers who fought alongside the Americans against the Imperial Japanese Army during World War II. I examine their claims of how and why fighting “side by side” with the Americans became the basis for their identifications as Americans and American veterans without or before U.S. recognition and without or before entry into the U.S. Moreover, I analyze how despite social inequalities between the Filipinos and Americans—the former as the colonized and the latter as the colonizer—the corporeality of being alongside each other and sharing similar bodily experiences during the war, produced among the Filipinos feelings of belonging to each other as *equals*. How might this have been possible? How did these particular Filipino veterans come to view themselves as Americans and American soldiers even in the context of unequal political statuses and social relations? How did their sense of shared self with the American soldiers form? In sharing the veterans’ stories, I illustrate how the close physical proximity of the Filipino and American soldiers to each other and their shared bodily experiences during wartime conditions produced among the former a sense of belonging to the

latter and a shared identity as Americans. I conclude with a discussion of how attention to bodies in relationship to citizenship formation is generative towards understanding the subjectivities of populations who are excluded or denied recognition by the state.

The Filipino veterans' stories assert that their identifications as Americans are based on having been together with the American soldiers during the war. They shared similar experiences of suffering at the hands of the Japanese soldiers. They also shared experiences of conviviality that nurtured their bodily and emotional needs. The Filipino soldiers' *togetherness* with American soldiers facilitated feelings of *oneness* with them. This, in turn, seems to have produced the common perception among Filipinos of *sameness* with the Americans. However, this "sameness" or equality was not reciprocated by the U.S. government. After the war, the U.S. revoked the promise of naturalized American citizenship for the Filipino recruits, denying them the recognition and benefits they earned for their military service. I thus propose the term "phantom limb citizenship" to conceptualize the "absent presence" of American citizenship for the Filipino veterans. The Filipino veterans insist they have been or become Americans since and during their military service—the presence—but that this has been "erased" from the official records of the U.S. government—the absence—by the lack of recognition. By focusing on the material (body) based on the Filipino veterans' recollections of their World War II military service under the U.S.

flag, I am invested in making palpable what has been abstracted from official U.S. history.

The state, the body, and citizenship

In the previous chapter, I focus on the state's approach to bodies, specifically to the U.S. practices of racialization by attaching value to certain bodies. In the creation of a racial hierarchy, those in power based these values on skin color but also blood, skull sizes, as well as what the body wears, where the body is located (or its proximity or distance to other bodies), and what the body eats. Michel Foucault's (1997) concept "biopower" describes how the state's assertion of power over bodies transforms those bodies as an extension of state power. According to Foucault, the state creates value and constructs meaning on bodies in order to control them. This Foucauldian analysis on discourse and bodies says much about how the state chooses to simultaneously include and exclude certain racialized populations as the state pleases and as it sees fit. Yen Le Espiritu (2003) offers the term "differential inclusion" to describe the state practices of integration of racialized populations into the state precisely because of the state's classification of them as subordinate. The focus on the state in these analyses depict the bodies of racialized populations as state property, or in other words, that these bodies belong to the state.

These theories lead me to think about race, bodies, belonging, and the state, but they do little to explain the case of the Filipino veterans who feel they belong to

the U.S. as American citizens despite the state's denial of this identity. Moreover, Foucault's unidirectional approach—from the state to the body—emphasizes how the state discourse has shaped or manipulated the body, but misses analysis on how the body may also influence discourse. For example, this unidirectional approach of state-to-body provides an incomplete picture regarding citizenship: it becomes merely a state apparatus. My attention to how the body affects discourse, particularly around citizenship begins to demonstrate how citizenship is not merely a status but also a process (Motomura 2006; Banerjee 2010), and one that encompasses feelings of belonging, and how this process can happen extraterritorially or before emigration. To better analyze how the body affects discourses on citizenship, I focus on the Filipino veterans' embodied experiences that have led to their articulation of their identity as Americans.

The body, belonging, and nationalism

Canonical citizenship literature has not yet put at the forefront the importance of the material body in the formation of citizenship as feelings of belonging, but it is key to my dissertation. When the Filipino veterans claim their citizenship, despite the state's denial of recognition, they rely in part on the promise of the 1942 Second War Powers Act, but they underscore their experiences with their fellow American soldiers. In their work on cognitive neuroscience, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1999, 2002) argue that no meaning exists outside what the body encounters and

experiences: “meaning is grounded in our sensorimotor experience” (2002: 245). Lived experiences shape one’s perceptions of the world, language, and imagination. In thinking through language, Lakoff and Johnson say: “You cannot simply peel off a theory of conceptual metaphor from its grounding in embodied meaning and thought” (2002: 245). Instead of the more canonical Cartesian dualism of mind versus the body, Lakoff and Johnson assert that there is a strongly linked relationship between the mind and the body, that the “human body structures experience and knowledge” (cited in Shilling 2012: 114).

Additionally, in Chris Shilling’s (2012) comprehensive review of social theories on the body, he points out R.W. Connell and G.W. Dowsett’s (1992) insistence on the centrality of the material body to how one experiences and perceives the world. Connell and Dowsett (1992) address the social construction of sexuality, its relation to the state, the methods researchers use to study it, including issues of AIDS and contraception. I thus include in my analysis the materiality of bodies, paying attention not only to the skin and skin-to-skin contact but also of bodily fluids such as blood, sweat, tears, bile, as well as the insides of the body, including intestines. The corporeality of the body cannot be left out in the interpretation and analysis of citizenship as feelings of belonging among the Filipino veterans, especially because it is through the body that the state carries out its projects of nationalism in war (McSorley 2012).

Building upon the analysis of the social theorists on the body, I propose a theorization of citizenship that attends to the material, or “embodied citizenship.” The material serves as a context for why and how Filipino veterans feel they were, have become, or already are “Americans” before or without naturalized citizenship. Benedict Anderson (2006 [1991]) has coined the term “imagined community” in which all of its members feel such a strong sense of belonging that they would defend the nation with “self-sacrificing love” (141), facilitated by a “horizontal comradeship” in spite of unequal class relations. Sallie Westwood (2000) suggests a different means to understanding belonging through national identities. Westwood focuses attention on popular culture, arguing that through the television, “individual subjectivities” share in a “wider national preoccupation” (Westwood 2000 in Westwood and Phizacklea 2000:14). Offering the term “correlative imaginary,” she characterizes how national sentiments are not fixed but are produced in specific moments and sites, and enacted through the “practices of everyday life” (41). I thus re-envision Anderson’s (2006[1991]) understanding of nationalism, from an “imagined community” to an “embodied community.” I place the body as central to the feelings of belonging to and love for the nation to refute: (1) that citizenship is only the realm of the state, and (2) the Cartesian dualism of “body versus the mind.” Instead, I show how citizenship as feelings of belonging are contingent on bodily experiences and practices.

Nationalism is key to my study of citizenship in several ways. First, I incorporate into my work Anderson's definition of nationalism as "self-sacrificing love" because of the Filipino veterans' willingness to fight, kill, and die as soldiers under the U.S. flag during World War II, especially when the U.S. promised American citizenship to Filipino soldiers upon recruitment. Secondly, I confront the sense of "horizontal comradeship" that war and fighting together seems to generate among fellow soldiers. I am particularly interested in whether and to which extent "horizontal comradeship" is possible among soldiers who occupy a different strata from each based on class but also race. Thirdly, I am interested in looking at both nationalism and citizenship as processes, and specifically as processes inextricably linked to the material body.

As I discussed in the previous chapter, citizenship—as a nation-state's apparatus to demarcate who belongs and who does not belong in a nation-state—has been explicitly and implicitly based on the nation-state's production of racial categories and racial hierarchy. Anderson (2006[1991]), does not adequately discuss race and nationalism. He absorbs race into the ideologies of class and nation (149) instead of as a central analytical concept in itself (Omi and Winant 1994[1986]). The Filipino veterans, as "U.S. nationals" immersed in American culture and schools before and during the time of their military service for the U.S., are enmeshed in the web of nationalism and citizenship as discourses of belonging as a racialized population in the context of U.S. empire. In my examination of the sense of

“horizontal comradeship” (Anderson (2006[1991])) among the Filipino World War II veterans in relation to the American World War II veterans, the words “we,” “fought,” and “side by side” alert me to the significant role of the body in the identity formation of the Filipino veterans as “Americans.” Thus I argue that the sense of camaraderie the Filipinos experienced with their fellow American soldiers was embodied. Anderson’s “imagined community” is thus not enough.

Bodies, belonging, and social flesh

The focus so far, however, of these aforementioned social theories about the body, embodiment, and the mind-body connection has been on individual subjects. In this dissertation, instead I intend to highlight the collective or social body in my proposed concept “embodied community.” What does it mean to embody the community? What does it mean to feel in the flesh the sense of “horizontal comradeship” (Anderson 2006 [1991])? I find useful Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) concept of “bodily auxiliary” here, which signals the possibility of external objects becoming attached to the body.

Merleau-Ponty (1962) provides a phenomenological perspective of how subjectivity or consciousness is formed: proprioceptively, through daily encounters and quotidian practices in the world (Salamon 2006: 98). Proprioception concerns the position and movement of the body in its environment. According to Gayle Salamon (2006), proprioception can bring about the demarcation of what is inside and outside

of the body, but that it can also “[blur] the distinction between them altogether” (98). Salamon uses Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) phenomenology of the self to explore ambivalence in the embodied experiences of people who identify as transgender or transsexual. She explores the idea of one’s “felt sense” of her or his body that is non-material, and that which exceeds social definitions and even of one’s senses via the sensory organs.

As Merleau-Ponty (1962) argues in *Phenomenology of Perception*, the significance of the body is not limited to its corporeality or materiality. Rather, its significance is located where physiology and the psyche meet. In other words, subjectivity is embodied, and thus, the figure of the embodied subject becomes manifest (Salamon 2006: 99). Merleau-Ponty attends to how objects external to the individual body can become perceived as so integral to the body’s structure and ability to move in the world that it becomes attached to its identity. He illustrates this by describing how a blind man’s cane—necessary for the blind man to experience and move about in the world—becomes a part of or an extension of his body, or what Merleau-Ponty terms as “bodily auxiliary” (1962: 152). At the same time, the cane ceases to be merely a cane as a stick but becomes the person’s “organ of perception” (Salamon 2006:99): “To get used to a hat, a car, or a stick is to be transplanted into them, or conversely, to incorporate them into the bulk of our own body” (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 143, cited in Salamon 2006). The transplantation is more than a material incorporation of the object into one’s space but also a psychological

one because of the meaning and value that the individual subject creates or constructs around it (Salamon 2006).

In my case of the Filipino veterans' "felt sense" of American-ness, I analyze the formation of this identity as linked to shared embodied experiences with Americans. I highlight the extent to which Merleau-Ponty's (1962) "bodily auxiliary" applies to the case of the Filipino veterans and the American veterans as a collective body, and that the physical proximity, including skin-to-skin contact, of these soldiers during combat has generated a sense that they were each other's "organ[s] of perception" (Salamon 2006:99). They helped guide each other's movement and positions: to avoid the line of fire, to defend or to attack, to stay along the line of march, to obtain the best of line of vision, and through the physical terrain of the battleground in the Philippines.

I also view that the proximity, contact, and parallel or "side by side" movements—the bodily co-presence—of the Filipino and American soldiers contributed to the former's view of being connected to or bonded with the American soldiers, and by extension to the U.S. itself, and so see themselves as Americans. The shared moments and emotions of fearing for one's life, for example, do not leave fellow soldiers in combat on the battlefield together unaffected. Émile Durkheim's (1995[1912]) theory of "collective effervescence" comes to mind. According to Durkheim in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1995[1912]), collective

effervescence is a highly emotional and excitable state shared by a group of people, which serves to unify single individuals into a cohesive group.

Chris Beasley and Carol Bacchi (2000, 2007) offer the terms “citizen bodies” and “social flesh” in their conceptualization of “flesh” as a collective, rather than individualized or atomic, *and* as situated and shaped by context, instead of a free-floating concept. “Social flesh” underscores the “shared embodied reliance” or mutual interdependence among people, challenging the neoliberal, autonomous individual (Beasley and Bacchi 2000:197). Following Beasley and Bacchi (2000, 2007), I move beyond citizenship as membership status and formal rights given by the state. In addition, Beasley and Bacchi (2000) endorse corporeal feminism’s acknowledgement of the body as both a symbol and material, in the work particularly of Elizabeth Grosz (1994), but critique that corporeal feminism tends to “privilege the body as a metaphor” and lacks analysis on its physical materiality (Davis 1997:15, cited in Beasley and Bacchi 2000:346). Instead, Beasley and Bacchi (2000) emphasize the material body, and aim to bridge feminist analysis on *both* the body and citizenship.

This “bridging” work of the body and citizenship literature is to which I aim to contribute. I focus on how shared embodied experiences contribute to a collective social identity, but I also analyze the limitation of this shared “social flesh” due to unequal social conditions, based on race in the context of empire among the Filipino veterans. Beasley and Bacchi’s (2000) assertion of the “flesh” as *social* signals how

physical bodies are not immune from or irrelevant to social conditions, particularly social conditions that mark which bodies belong to society and which bodies do not. The Filipino veterans developed feelings of belonging to their fellow American soldiers, and, by extension, to the U.S. state, based on their shared corporeal experiences on the battlefield during the war. Whether or not the American World War II veterans felt similarly is beyond the scope of this dissertation, and I do not intend to make an argument for what and how they felt towards the Filipinos during the war. The empirical data I present here, however, provide some sense of the American soldiers' and officials' camaraderie towards the Filipinos during the war and immediate post-war reconstruction. But due to the colonial relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines, the U.S. did not affirm the Filipinos' sense of belonging as Americans. Instead, the U.S. government rescinded their promise of American citizenship to the Filipino recruits, and denied them recognition for their military service under the U.S. flag and the proper benefits for American veterans. How then does one view the sense of citizenship as membership or belonging that the Filipino veterans claim to possess?

Phantom limb citizenship

The 1946 Rescission Act as well as the 1990 Immigration and Nationality Act demonstrate that the U.S. did not validate the sense of equality the Filipinos felt they shared with the Americans through their collective wartime experiences. The U.S.

maintained that the Filipino soldiers were unequal to, and even unlike, their American counterparts on the basis of race. My attention to the body's relationship to citizenship is not a suggestion that the state should no longer be included in the discussion. The state has and still uses race—even in what is allegedly the “post-race” era since the election of President Barack Obama in 2008—as a means to determine belonging. Instead I offer the analysis that citizenship, not as a discrete status but as feelings of belonging, is an *embodied* process that encompasses even the period of official “non-citizenship.”

While my interview questions for the Filipino veterans did not explicitly ask about their bodies and bodily experiences, the veterans often conjured them as their explanation for why they felt American during their military service and why they continue to struggle for full equity as American veterans seventy years after their honorable discharge. The veterans' references to their bodily experiences signal to me the *centrality* of body and embodiment to citizenship, to which scholars often do not attend (Beasley and Bacchi 2000). For the Filipino veterans, citizenship meant the reward from the nation for whom they were willing to fight, kill, and die, which the U.S. promised in the 1942 Second War Powers Act but did not deliver. But it also meant something more. Because despite the lack of promise fulfilled, the Filipino veterans claim to be Americans because they also perceive citizenship as the result of their embodied experiences alongside the Americans with whom they fought.

In chapter two, I showed how citizenship is a state apparatus of inclusion and exclusion based on its policies and practices of racialization. In this chapter, I demonstrate that citizenship does not just belong to the state: that marginalized and excluded populations can claim it, as feelings of belonging based on their bodily experiences. In recognizing the dynamic, seemingly alchemic relationship between the state and the people around the issue of citizenship, I propose the term “phantom limb citizenship.” I make the case that phantom limb citizenship aptly demonstrates how the claims of citizenship and feelings of belonging can be a result of *lived* and *embodied* experiences as “citizens” among a population to whom citizenship is never fully granted, or granted only partially. I demonstrate that the Filipino veterans possess memories of having lived, having been labeled, and having been identified as “Americans”—all as components of the U.S. state’s practices of differential inclusion (Espiritu 2003)—but that their means and access to citizenship as full recognition and rights have been cut off. The conceptualization of a citizenship that is a “phantom limb” can help explain why and how it is that marginalized and racialized populations can sustain their struggle for full recognition despite the state’s resistance and rejection of these claims.

In the rest of this chapter, I analyze the Filipino veterans’ stories that contribute to the formation of their perception as American veterans. Focusing on the stories of the Filipino veterans who fought alongside or “side by side” with American soldiers, comprised of the Old Scouts, the USAFFE veterans, and the guerrillas, I

analyze their shared bodily experiences of *violence* and *conviviality* that contributed to the process of what the Filipino soldiers came to view as shared a shared identity with their fellow American soldiers. In terms of *violence*, I discuss the Filipino and American veterans' experiences of suffering during the Bataan Death March and their imprisonment at the hands of the Japanese Imperial Army. Regarding *conviviality*, I examine the Filipino veterans' stories of experiencing life together with the American soldiers, such as the act of eating together, and of eating American food in particular, as well as the development of their friendship and even familial connections, not only due to shared hardships, but due to the shared participation in overcoming these hardships.

Shared bodily experiences of violence

In this section, I analyze the effects of shared bodily experiences of violence on the formation of shared identity and “social flesh” among the Filipino and American soldiers. Because of their physical proximity to each other, the soldiers experienced violence not individually but collectively. During my interview with the Filipino veterans, they highlighted in particular the experiences of violence they underwent during their capture at the Battle of Bataan, the ensuing death march and imprisonment, and being subjected to torture, disease, and starvation. In my exploration of the formation of the “social flesh” (Beasley and Bacchi 2000), I analyze *how* physical violence on the bodies of the Filipino and American soldiers in

the hands of the Japanese Army soldiers brought the Filipino and American soldiers closer together.

The Old Scouts, the USAFFE veterans, and the guerrilla soldiers who experienced the Bataan Death March recounted their stories of enduring this shared suffering with the Americans. After the defeat of the Filipino and American soldiers, the Japanese Army rounded some 60,000-80,000 Filipino and American soldiers as prisoners of war. In groups of about 100, the Japanese soldiers forced the prisoners to march 60 miles from Mariveles, Bataan to San Fernando, Pampanga.

Old Scouts veteran Isabelo Torio was 93 years old at the time of our interview in San Diego, California in August 2013. In addition to our face-to-face interview, he elected to have me read through his autobiographical accounts of his wartime experiences during World War II. A section of his accounts describes his suffering during the Bataan Death March in this way:

“In Mariveles, the Japanese soldiers herded us, along with other war prisoners who were already in the town, like cattle. We were ordered to march down the road toward San Fernando. Guarded by very mean Japanese soldiers, under the scorching summer heat, we were made to march without food or water. During this tortuous walk, we were all suffering from hunger, fatigue, extreme thirst, and dehydration. A lot of soldiers succumbed to heat stroke and died. [...] For our survival, we drank contaminated water from ponds along the road; sometimes those ponds had bloated bodies floating [in] them. [...] Some of the prisoners

became insane, tried to create trouble and fought the Japanese guards who would either bayonet or shoot them. These made the Japanese guards more strict and cruel that they began to kill prisoners for no reason or for slight infraction of the rules.”

Even when the Filipino and American soldiers survived the strenuous Bataan Death March, the survivors still had to struggle against starvation, thirst, disease, and torture during their imprisonment at Camp O’Donnell. Cecilia Gaerlan, daughter of a Filipino World War II veteran, is a well-known author and speaker among the veteran community for her advocacy in bringing the Filipino veterans’ stories to official history books in the K-12 level. She gives presentations all over the U.S. of the Filipino veterans’ military service during the war in her efforts to garner support from the general public and the politicians for her cause. Gaerlan estimates that 10,000 Filipinos and 750 Americans died during the march, and as many as 20,000 Filipinos and 1,600 Americans died during imprisonment at Camp O’Donnell.¹⁵ According to Gaerlan and the veterans with whom I interviewed, including Torio mentioned above, during the march and at the prison camp, soldiers often contracted diseases such as beri-beri and malaria, for which they received no care or medicine, and died during their imprisonment.

¹⁵ The death toll reports vary because historians cannot account for how many prisoners escaped and blended with the civilian population.

Shared experiences of suffering and near-death encounters on the battlefield produced among the Filipino soldiers the perception that the Americans and Filipinos belonged to each other, particularly because of how their bodies often had to *stick together* for survival. During the Bataan Death March, USAFFE veteran Anselmo Bataoil said: “Many soldiers died. [...] If you were too weak to walk, the Japanese killed you. That was why I walked in the middle. I was always in the middle.” Bataoil was integrated into the USAFFE as a soldier from the Philippine Army when he was 21 years old. Before the Japanese Army captured him and his fellow USAFFE soldiers (comprised of both Filipinos and Americans), his job had been to help load the canon. Because the Japanese soldiers would kill the weak and slower soldiers who would lag behind the group during the march, he tried to stay in the middle of the line in order keep from falling. He relied on his fellow soldiers’ bodies to stay upright, and to stay alive. Even though he had never been to the U.S., he identified as an American during the war: “because they were in prison like me.”

Rafael Augustin, another guerrilla veteran, was recruited by American soldiers when he was 17 years old to fight on the firing line alongside other American soldiers in the Ipo Dam battle. Due to a water shortage to Manila’s water supply but also the danger of a breakout of severe epidemics, the U.S. Army sent the 43rd Division troop to Ipo Dam. The Ipo Dam provided one-third of the capital city’s water supply. According to my Filipino veteran interview participants, their mission had been to protect the dam from being poisoned by the Japanese Army. In this battle, the

Japanese Army was defeated by the 43rd Infantry Division in mid-May of 1945. During our interview, Rafael Augustin recalled how he contracted malaria during the war, and how he used his helmet just to catch rain water to have something to drink. Augustin said: “*Amayamay ya Amerikano inatey, ya inatey. Naniningning mo amay Amerikano ya inatey.* (There were so many American [soldiers] who died, who were being killed. You can see the Americans who were being killed.) [...] There were so many Americans who died there. We were still young men. We thought we would never go home. We suffered.”

When I asked Augustin whether he felt American during the war, he responded in his native language: “*On siyempre niman guerra, siyempre singamet Amerikano ipapasi mi ta kakaiba mira.*” This translates to: “Of course, during the war, of course we felt like Americans because we were fighting together.” In his native Pangasinan language, he used the phrase: “*Kakaiba mira.*” He shared that being together, suffering, and fighting alongside his fellow American soldiers made him feel as if he were at one with them, and that he too was American, even if he never came to the United States. Augustin highlighted his near-death experiences, such as fighting on the firing line and contracting malaria, alongside American soldiers and having witnessed “so many” of his American comrades die and being killed. These experiences facilitated his feelings of belonging towards his fellow Americans, and by extension, to the U.S. as an American.

Feelings of oneness were not only nurtured by and among the Americans and Filipino soldiers—it was also reinforced by the Japanese soldiers. Because of the brutality and harsh conditions in the prisoners of war (POW) camps, Filipinos and Americans often tried to escape. To contain this problem, the Japanese Army instituted the “blood-brother” edict. Paul Calloway, a nephew of a late half-Filipino, half-Irish World War II veteran (“Uncle George Cook, Jr.”) approached me after my presentation at the Filipino American National Historical Society in August 2014 to acknowledge my attention to the centrality of the body to the Filipino veterans’ claims to citizenship. In an e-mail he sent later that month, he shared: “the term ‘blood brothers’ refers to the [prisoners of war] captured by the Japanese during World War II and put in a POW camp. They were made up of both Americans and Filipinos. [...] The Japanese would put the POWs in groups of ten called blood brothers. If [any one person] in that group tried to escape from the POW camp, all nine would be rounded up and shot dead...”¹⁶ He expressed to me, that according to his Uncle George, the Filipino and American soldiers became “blood brothers.” Because one man’s escape attempt would mean the death of him and nine other men, the edict succeeded in that other men tried to talk others out of escaping.¹⁷ The penalties for escape attempts

¹⁶ Paul Calloway, e-mail message to author, August 5, 2014.

¹⁷ This description is on page 60 of the excerpt titled “Ramón Villa Remembers: As told by Ramon Villa to Luella Elde” in the collected stories titled “War Stories” in *American Ex-Prisoners of War: Non Solum Armis, Volume 3* (1995) printed by Turner Publishing Company, edited by Gardner N. Hatch, John S. Edwards, and W. Curtis Musten.

included tying the blood brothers to fence posts and be subjected to being slapped and kicked, being targets for bayonet practice, and the worst was being beheaded. The shared identity—and a filial connection at that, as “brothers”—was underpinned by the basis of collective suffering or death. The Filipino and American soldiers needed to stay together to avoid being killed. Thus, the oneness was also not only filial, but concretely based on the very physicality or materiality of their bodies.

Bataan Death March survivor Juliano Pascal described a significant memory of his experiences during his imprisonment at Camp O’Donnell:

“After three days in prison, I was pulled out of my group and placed in the burial team. I had a partner. We had to carry dead bodies into a hole. One hole was able to hold up to fifty dead bodies. It had been raining hard. I had to place my dead bodies [*“iyung mga patay ko”*] in this hole, but then they would float. We had to step on the dead bodies to get them to stay, but then they would tear open and the intestines would burst out. The intestines would get tied up. The bodies smelled. Another time, we carried more bodies. They smelled so badly. The blood had been dripping. Even their intestines were already poking out. [...] You couldn’t remove the smell of the dead (off you). Jesus, it reeked! And there was no soap (at the camp). (*Hindi mo maalis ang amoy ng patay na tao. Ay ‘Sus, mabaho! Atsaka walang sabon doon.*)”

Pascal, with another Filipino soldier as his partner, was assigned to carry the bodies of dead fellow soldiers, both Filipinos and Americans, away from the living

quarters of the survivors. But the separation of the dead from the living was not completely possible. When the soldiers carried the rotting bodies to a nearby canal, not only did their bodies touch, the smell of decay permeated their skin—the commingling of bodies in life and in death. Pascal’s sensory descriptions—of the smell, of the dripping blood, of the exposed intestines—illustrated the extent of the physical contact between the Filipino and American soldiers that marked for the Filipino soldiers their shared suffering as prisoners on the brink of death at Camp O’Donnell.

Teodoro Dagumboy, a guerrilla soldier, witnessed the same act of burying the dead, but among Filipinos and Americans outside the Camp O’Donnell prison. He was 20 years old when he enlisted to fight, and he was stationed in Baguio and was assigned to the firing line. He described the Americans as “kind”: “the Americans helped bury the bodies of Filipinos. When there’s a Filipino who gets hurt, the Americans are the ones who took us to the hospital.” Even though Dagumboy has no official American citizenship and never came to the United States, he, did not hesitate to say “yes” when I asked him he felt American during the war. He explained that it was because the Americans treated them *as if they were equals*. At the time of our interview in 2013, he still felt as if he was an American. He expressed: “really, whenever I think about it, it’s hard to separate the Filipinos and Americans from each other because *we were in it together*.” It seems from Dagumboy’s statement that the

Filipino and American soldiers were inseparable and indistinguishable during the war based on their shared bodily experiences during a war in which they fought as allies.

I suggest that this characterization of indistinguishability is part of the formation of the social flesh, which resonates with Rachel Slocum's (2008, 2010) argument that phenotypically different bodies can come together because of what they do. Here, in a similar manner, I suggest that phenotypically different bodies can "emerge" as one because of shared corporeal experiences in a shared social space: that they become one "social flesh." For Dagumbay and Pascal, it seemed that the act of burying dead bodies together with the American soldiers, the weight of each other's corpses on their shoulders, and the permeation of smell into skin, shaped the intersubjectivity of Filipinos: they felt and perceived themselves as equal with their fellow American soldiers.

The veterans' emphasis on togetherness demonstrates how physical proximity nurtured in their hearts and minds shared identity with the Americans. Domingo Ventenilla, a guerrilla veteran, explained that he felt American because they walked together in rhythm during their drills. He said: "Yes. We chanted while we walked. *Sabay sabay namin iyung mga Amerikano...para hindi delikado.* (We walked at the same time alongside the Americans...to be safe.)" The Tagalog phrase Ventenilla used is "*sabay sabay*," which translates to "simultaneously." While this phrase is similar in meaning and homophonically to the American expression "side by side," "*sabay sabay*" not only conveys proximity, it indicates *synchronicity*. Ventenilla's perspective

captures not only how Filipino and American soldiers shared space but also how they moved through it. The Filipino and American soldiers, as if one body, marched together during their practice drills, coordinated with each other on the battlefield to prevent from getting themselves and each other killed by the enemy combatants, or even walked altogether during the Bataan Death March in hopes of staying alive, according to Bataoil's story mentioned above. Physical proximity facilitated shared bodily experiences, making possible bodies sticking together, which was often a matter of life and death.

I draw from the discipline of anthropology, particularly Merleau-Ponty's (1962) concept of "bodily auxiliary" in my analysis of "sticking together" as a survival mechanism among the Filipino and American soldiers. Merleau-Ponty describes how when a blind man becomes dependent on a walking stick to move about in his physical environment, the stick becomes incorporated into the blind man's body as an organ of perception and interpretation. The stick helps the blind man make decisions when, where, and how to move forward. In addition, the stick provides the blind man a sense of safety and security regarding his physical terrain. Due to the Filipino and American soldiers' reliance on each other's physical bodies for survival and for safety, the Filipino veterans believed that they have become attached to each other, as if one flesh. Beasley and Bacchi (2000) uses the concept "social flesh" to highlight the "shared embodied reliance" among people, but I find Merleau-Ponty's (1962) "bodily auxiliary" better explains why and how the Filipino

veterans felt “at one” with their American counterparts because of how their bodies occupied shared spaces.

Shared bodily experiences of conviviality

Thus far, I have demonstrated how the proximity of bodies in physical spaces such as the battlefield or the prison camp became a condition of belonging for the Filipino veterans to their fellow American soldiers and to the U.S. In this section, I focus on the physical proximity of the Filipino soldiers to their American counterparts in the context of *conviviality*. Shared experiences of violence were only one part of the feelings of belonging Filipino veterans developed towards the American soldiers. The other significant part was also sharing life-giving or life-saving experiences, including moments that remind one to appreciate being alive. Filipino and American soldiers provided each other protection from the line of fire. The Filipino soldiers also received from the Americans medical aid from injuries and diseases, and supplies such as food rations. They also shared moments of laughter, amidst wartime conditions. These feelings of “closeness” and a sense of equality with the American soldiers would not have been possible for the Filipinos if it were not for their proximity to each other. I emphasize how these shared experiences are important to the Filipino veterans’ well-being, and why the materiality of food, of aid, of comfort is central to their feelings of belonging to their fellow American soldiers and their identification as Americans.

The act of eating is undoubtedly a corporeal and sensorial experience. One smells the food, brings it to one's lips, teeth, and tongue, and tastes it. I suggest that this bodily experience of eating together, and especially eating American food together, facilitated the Filipino soldiers' identification as "Americans." First, the act of eating together made possible and easier the development of close friendship among the Filipinos and Americans. In addition, the U.S. military's provision of nourishment signified to the Filipino soldiers the kindness of Americans, which they measure against their experiences of being subjected to hunger and thirst by the Japanese soldiers. Furthermore, the act of eating together signified for the Filipinos an invitation to the table, either literally or figuratively speaking, as comrades or close friends. Even though the Americans were the Filipinos' commanding officers—dubbed by the Filipino veterans as their "officials"—the Filipinos regarded eating together in the same tent or headquarters as an equalizing experience.

For example, Filipino veterans often recalled the times they shared meals with fellow American soldiers in their explanation of feeling "American." USAFFE veteran Pastor Calimquim said that he felt oneness in the barracks with the Americans because they ate together, and that they ate the same thing together: "*Kung ano ang kinakain nila, iyun rin ang kinakain namin.*" (Whatever they ate, that's what we ate, too.) In my assertion of a formation of the "social flesh" in the Filipino veterans' experiences of conviviality with the American soldiers over food (Beasley and Bacchi 2000), I also suggest that a shared "sensory sociality" (Pink 2008) emerges when

people taste, chew, and swallow food and drinks together. Food scholars have attested to “the social and emotional significance of food” (Locher et al. 2005), as well as how food can signify home and close relations (Marte 2007).

Moreover, as a soldier on the firing line with the Americans as his officials, Calimquim explained that he carried a backpack with food rations such as canned goods, which came from the Americans. The provision of food from the U.S. Army and eating the same food as the Americans gave Calimquim the feeling of being “one” with his fellow soldiers. Calimquim also emphasized the company of the Americans as helpful and pleasant: “the Americans would tell us to be careful [on the firing line]. I always prayed for God to keep me from harm. We would tell stories to each other to keep our minds off the war.” He also used the words *masaya*, *kuwentuhan*, and *tawanan* when he recalled his memories with the Americans. These words translate in English, respectively, as: “happy,” “sharing stories,” and “merriment” or “laughter.” Calimquim claimed that even though he had never been to the U.S., he felt that he became an American in the Philippines during World War II.

Guerrilla veteran John Aspiras explained in greater detail his accounts with American food. Below is an excerpt of our conversation about the American provisions he received.

Me: You said you were 18. You were being taken care of. Your lodging, your food...

Aspiras: Oh yeah, everything.

Me: Army rations.

Aspiras: Yeah, the usual American. We have C-rations.

You know all that. They call it C-rations composed of breakfast, lunch, and dinner. [...] And then we are given a 24-ounce beer.

Me: What kind of beer?

Aspiras: Oh that time it was Budweiser already!

Me: Budweiser?

Aspiras: But I don't drink, you know. So you know what I did...

Me: You sold them.

Aspiras: I sold them! (Laughter.)

Me: Is it American beer?

Aspiras: Yeah, American beer.

Me: And what were your food? Were they American food, too?

Aspiras: Yeah, they call it C-ration at that time.

Me: What was in the C-ration?

Aspiras: You know, dehydrated food...because it will last for months especially if you're in the jungle. And you have instant coffee. They already have it at that time. And instant juice. You know, you just mix it with water at that time.

Me: Did you like the food?

Aspiras: Oh yeah, same as what we have here [in the U.S.]. At that time, it was so advanced. It's all, what you do you call it, dehydrated. Like, we also have soup. If you want soup, we have small noodles and meat. We have, what do you call it, corned beef.

Me: *Delata*?

Aspiras: *Delata*. Yeah, small like that. You open it. It's very small but it opens. [...] It's very efficient. It's all there in one pack. Every week we are given a pack.

And it's good for one week or one month. And sometimes we have hot meals. They serve hot meals.

Me: You shared hot meals with—

Aspiras: In the headquarters. If you are assigned to that army detachment, you have to eat there. And mostly, they have hot meals.

Me: Who did you share your hot meals with, the Americans?

Aspiras: Yeah. Yeah, they like us.

He continued the conversation by talking about the mess kit the soldiers received, including the canteen and the coffee cup he was provided. After a moment, I decided to continue asking questions about his interactions with the American soldiers.

Me: In that camp, how were your interactions with the Americans?

Aspiras: Oh, they were all very good. Because they know that the Filipinos...can speak English. And Filipinos are very friendly, you know. Americans, they tell you to please do that like that. They interact because they know we are helping them and they're also helping us. What did we do? We were the point men in the jungle. We told them where to go.

Me: So it was mutually respectful?

Aspiras: Uh-huh.

Me: You had only good relations?

Aspiras: Oh yes, we had to. They cooperated with us, because we also became, you know...there's what we call "kitchen police." We had to work to clean up cooking.

Me: Together? All the Americans and Filipinos were
kitchen police?

Aspiras: Yeah.

After a few more moments again discussing what the mess kit entailed, as well as some of the rules in how the kitchen needed to be cleaned up, I asked him whether he felt like he was already American during his military service.

Me: I'm wondering, in that space, did you feel American
already? Did you already feel like you belonged, like you
felt American already?

Aspiras: Oh yeah, we are, of course.

When I followed up with the question: "Would you say it's like a family already? Would you say you felt like family?" Aspiras responded with: "Yeah, oh yeah. [...]" You become a part of them because everyday, if you interact with them in the army, you become brothers and sisters, or you become brothers. Every day you eat the same food, you sleep in the same area." Then I asked him: "Let me rephrase my question. Did you already feel like you were already part of America?" He said without hesitation: "Oh yes. Because we were helping each other." He emphasized the process of developing a shared identity with the American soldiers because of the "same" food they ate, their proximity to each other, as well as their working together that was, according to him, was respectful and cooperative.

For guerrilla veteran Teofilo Agdeppa, who explained that even though the Americans and Filipinos slept in separate tents in his infantry, having eaten together, played cards together during breaks, and fought alongside on the battlefield still made him feel as if he too were an American. He said: “*Wen ah! Ta may-maysa kami! [...] Kadwa mira ditan!*” (Yes, of course! We were as one! [...] We were there altogether!) Agdeppa felt that their commensality facilitated his identification as American. In the words of Aspiras, the Filipinos “became a part” of the Americans, referring to their unification to the same body, the institution of the military, but also to each other because of their interactions with each other everyday.

Bernardo Isorena, a recognized guerrilla and New Scouts veteran, emphasized not only that the Filipino and American soldiers ate together, but also *what* they ate: “the Americans treated us nicely, especially when we reached a rest camp, we didn’t eat canned goods anymore. They gave us hot meals at the rest camp.” “Cooked, hot meals” were important for the Filipinos and their conviviality with the Americans. Filipino immigrants have attested to “cooked, hot meals” as part of what makes one feel at home (Valiente-Neighbours 2012). In fact, during my fieldwork in both the U.S. and the Philippines, veterans and their families often offered me to eat at least a snack with them to show their hospitality. For example, in Hawai’i, all but one of the thirteen veterans insisted I eat with them either before or after the interview. The only veteran who was unable to share a meal with me was in hospice care at the time of

our interview. For Isorena, the provision of hot meals was what made him feel at home with the Americans.

For others, the Filipinos' sense of American-ness developed from actually sharing American food together with their fellow American soldiers. For example, Filipinos and Americans ate turkey together on special occasions. Turkeys are native to the Americas, mainly in Mexico and the U.S., and eating turkey during celebrations and holidays are viewed commonly as an "American" thing to do. But during World War II, eating turkey became something in which the Filipino soldiers participated during the war and post-war occupation, further reinforcing the cohesion between Filipinos and Americans, and the Filipino soldiers' sense of American-ness. For example, guerrilla veteran Sameniano Olpindo described his experiences with American food in this way:

Olpindo: *Maganda silang kasama. Parang close kapatid. Kung ano ang kinakain nila, kinakain rin namin.* (They were great company. We were like close siblings. Whatever they ate, that's what we ate, too.)

Me: What did you eat?

Olpindo: When I was in the artillery, we had a kitchen. Someone is cooking in the kitchen. *Pag kumakain na kami, binatingting na ang bell, 'yan na.* (When it was time to eat, when someone rang the bell, that's it.) We ate mixed Filipino and American cooking. Sometimes we ate American food.

Me: Did you eat together, the Americans and the Filipinos?

Olpindo: Yes!

Me: What did you eat? Do you still remember?

Olpindo: *Marami!* (Lots of things!)

Me: American food?

Olpindo: Yes, American food. When we directly hit the Japanese, a Japanese camp, we would eat turkey.

Galing lahat sa America! (All of it came from the U.S.!) When we directly hit a Japanese camp, we celebrated with turkey!

According to Olpindo, this commensality and conviviality over food, specifically American food such as turkey, helped bring the Filipino and American soldiers closer together. Even more, they ate together as a result of success in combat against a common enemy. They “all came to eat together” and this action, in his words, made him feel as if: “they were great company” and “we were like close siblings.” In addition to conviviality over food, Olpindo’s proximity with the American soldiers while hiding from the Japanese soldiers in foxholes also facilitated his sticking together with them: “When we served as primary guard, we had a foxhole. Four Filipinos and two Americans would be in one foxhole. In one canyon, four perimeter guards, guns and barbed wire. If the barbed wire was run into, it would ring, and we would hit whoever or whatever is there, even if it was a pig or a cow.” Olpindo and his fellow Filipino and American soldiers protected each other from enemy fire, and they celebrated the defeat of their common enemy by eating “American” food together.

Furthermore, the Filipino veterans referenced the provision of food as part of their convivial relationship with the American soldiers. USAFFE veteran Hermogenes Reyes, mentioned in the first chapter, said that his relationship with the Americans was like that of siblings (“*agkakabsat*” in his native language Ilocano) because the Americans fed them with rations they called the “10-in-1 box,” which included canned goods, milk, and biscuits. Similarly, guerrilla veteran Marcelino Martinez described the Americans as very kind (“*mabait na mabait*”). When I asked him why, he said with emphasis: “because they fed us well!” (*Pinakain kami ng maganda, eh!*) I asked him to clarify what they fed him and his response was:

“They fed us well! Whatever they were feeding us, if we didn’t like them anymore, they would give us rice. California rice. We looked for rice. [We would say] we can’t do this anymore, sir, if bread is all we were eating. Then they gave us rice. Even if there were no other dishes (*ulam*), as long as there was rice, we were like pigs when we ate. [...] Yes, they really became our friends (*naging kaibigan talaga*). The Americans were really kind. They watched out for us if we were eating only bread. If we didn’t like bread as much anymore, they asked us: ‘what do you really want to eat?’ Rice. [So] they gave us rice. We won’t fight at all if all you fed us was bread. If you fed us rice, wherever [the fight is], even if you no longer joined us, we would go [fight].”

He laughed during the portion of the conversation when he recalled how he and his fellow Filipino soldiers shared with the Americans about how important rice

was for them. What he underscored in our conversation was how the Americans wanted to know what to feed them, and that they would give the Filipinos what they wanted to eat. Thus, even if the food was not necessarily “American food” like turkey, Martinez associated his “comfort food” of rice with the kindness of the Americans who provided that for him and other Filipino soldiers. Martinez even highlighted how he and his fellow Filipino soldiers were able to joke around with the American soldiers about how if there was always rice, the Filipinos would have the power to defeat the enemy without the help of the Americans on the battlefield. Martinez’s story demonstrates how food—whether eating together, eating the same thing, or the provision thereof—was a key aspect of the Filipinos’ relationship and identification with the American soldiers. This identification was not simply as “soldiers” on the field, but as friends. When I asked Martinez whether he already felt he was American during the war, he said “yes, because *we were together.*” This underlines how physical proximity to each other, or sharing space together, in an atmosphere of safety and conviviality, contributes to a sense of shared identity.

The sense of friendship was also marked by their use of informal names and informal conversations together, as with the sharing of jokes. The familiar names instead of the formal “Private [last name]” among some of the guerrilla soldiers demonstrate feeling “at home” with one another. For example, the name “Joe” was common among the guerrilla units because guerrilla soldiers had not yet been officially inducted into the American military in the way that the Old Scouts or the

USAFFE soldiers had been before the war. The nickname “Joe” was used by both Filipinos and Americans to each other if they were not familiar with each other’s names, according to guerrilla veteran Mariano Gallarde and Maximo Arce. Maximo Arce shared that the Americans proved their kindness to them because of the complete rations they were provided, and more importantly: “*Kapag manlalalaban kami, Pilipino at Amerikano, sika may mangnenengden da. Sinasabi nilang...* (Whenever the Filipinos and Americans fought together, they would watch out for us. They would say...) ‘Safety first, Joe! Safety first, Joe! Safety first! Advance! Safety first!’” He laughed saying English words, paused, and then added more: “Safety first, Joe! Advance! Retreat! Safety first, Joe!”

However, the shared name of “Joe” among each other also provided a sense of familiarity with each other. Mariano Gallarde said: “*Kasi parang Amerikano rin sila.* (Because it is as if we were already Americans, too.)” In fact, the use of the name “Joe” for Gallarde facilitated a sense of friendliness among the Filipino and American soldiers that prompted joking around with each other.

Me: Did you joke around with the Americans?

Gallarde: Yes.

Me: Do you still remember the jokes? Can you give me an example?

Gallarde: (Laughter.) Joe, I hope you get hit [with a bullet]. He said, Goddamn. (Joe, *sana matamaan ka. Goddamn, sabi niya.*)

Me: (Laughter.) When you said it to him, was it in Tagalog or English?

Gallarde: English.

The friendliness, the calling each other “Joe,” and the ability to joke around about life and death along the firing line were all occurring and facilitated by their near-ness to each other during war, a time and matter of life and death. Earlier during our interview, I asked Gallarde whether he already felt like an American during the war, before he even naturalized as a citizen in the 1990s, as made possible by the 1990 Immigration and Nationality Act. He said: “*Parang Amerikano din. Oo, kasi iyung katabi mo Amerikano, hanggang mamatay ka.* (I felt like an American, too. Yes, because the person next to you is American, until you die.)” He used the Tagalog word “*katabi*” to describe how proximate he was to his fellow American soldiers on the firing line, which in English literally translates to “adjacent,” or “next to,” and even “touching.” In Gallarde’s case, what one soldier called a fellow soldier, then, is tied to their collective sense of identification and identity, particularly due to their physical closeness in a shared space.

Old Scouts veteran Isabelo Torio, mentioned above, emphasized how his Americanized nickname “Bill” among the Americans signified to him close friendship.

Torio: “We were companions! We fought together!”

Me: “Were they your friends?”

Torio: “Yes, they were our companions when we fought.”

Me: “What did they call you? PFC Torio?”

Torio: “They called me Bill!”

Later during our interview, he mentioned in particular his comrade—a “good friend”—he called “Mr. Johnson.” When I asked him why Mr. Johnson was a good friend, Torio responded:

“Because we were together fighting the Japanese. And we *saw* the same things. When you are at war, your buddy *next to you* is your good friend. Because he either lives or dies, so you have to help. [...] When you fight, your buddy *next to you* is your friend who will protect you or you will protect him” (my emphases).

I draw attention to how he experienced “American-ness” in conjunction with his proximity to Americans, which enabled his being called an Americanized version of his name, from Isabelo to Bill, and his becoming friends with Americans because they were “next” to each other. In addition, I want to highlight his specification that the shared sights during wartime also solidified his closeness and friendship with the Americans. Here, the process of becoming good friends including shared sensory experiences of sight as well as touch.

USAFFE veteran Hermogenes Reyes, mentioned previously, even termed the relationship among the soldiers casually: as “buddy-buddy,” which further demonstrates that they did not just share life-threatening moments on the battlefield, but also lighthearted ones. He still identified as American at the time of our interview, when he was 96 years old, even though he does not possess naturalization papers and

he never traveled to the United States. Even more, Reyes shared how at his camp during the war, the American and the Filipino soldiers sometimes had to sleep in the same place on the battlefield. He felt accepted by the Americans, that their company is what made him feel American.

For guerrilla veteran Domingo Ventenilla, the friendship he shared with American soldier James Craig leaned towards intimate familial-ness.

Ventenilla: There was an American who became like a brother to me. [His name was] James Craig. (*May parang kapatid among Amerikanong isa, si James Craig.*) [...] We were together in Baguio, when they were here. They were our companions. [...] When [James Craig] went back [to the U.S.], I wish I had gone with him.

Me: Why did he become like a brother to you?

Ventenilla: Everywhere he went, he would bring me. [...] He was a good companion. [...] He wanted to bring me [to the U.S.] with him. [...] He said that once we arrived in the U.S., we would go together. You would have a car, you would have a house, even land, he said. I said to myself, this is a good person. He said [...] he would make me his son.

Me: James Craig wanted to make you his son?

Ventenilla: Yes, I was only 14 years old then! [...] He went to my house. But my mother, she cried and cried. If it weren't for my mom, I would have gone with him. Too bad. (*Sayang.*)

This relationship between Ventenilla and Craig demonstrates that, at times, the promise of citizenship was not simply an official recruitment policy by the United

States government and its military. Individual Americans like Craig felt that some Filipinos belonged in America with them. This special relationship was not uncommon. According to Ventenilla and several other Filipino veteran interviewees, other American soldiers invited Filipinos, both veterans and civilians, to come to the U.S. after the war was over. Guerrilla veterans Teofilo Agdeppa and Mariano Gallarde also received personal invitations from American soldiers to come to the U.S. with them, although they did not share in great detail how these invitations were given to them as Ventenilla shared with me. These invitations made Filipinos feel that they, too, were American. This form of familial and intimate friendship could not have come without the proximity and conviviality that the Filipinos and Americans shared during their military service. As Ventenilla said, he and Craig became like a family because they were each other's company.

Note that Craig viewed Ventenilla like a son, while Ventenilla first articulated his view of Craig as a brother. This difference in perspective of familial-ness between Craig and Ventenilla serves as a reminder of the unequal social relations among Filipinos and Americans, both in the U.S. and in the Philippines. As discussed in great detail in chapter two, the U.S. colonized the Philippines at the turn of the 20th century, even after General Emilio Aguinaldo had already declared the Philippines victorious and free from their former colonizer Spain. Because neither Spain nor the U.S. viewed the Filipinos as capable of self-governance, the U.S. justified their colonization of the Philippines as a means to train them towards independence.

While Craig may not have viewed Ventenilla as a sibling or “brother” in the way that Ventenilla felt towards him, it is not hard to miss that there is a sense of mutual camaraderie between them. Craig’s constant invitation for Ventenilla to ride along with him whenever he needed to travel around or outside the military base demonstrates that he felt comfortable sharing “space” with him. This comfortability seems to have developed into deep affection for him, in his visiting Ventenilla’s parents to ask permission to take him to the U.S. as his son. Craig’s actions seem to say that he *felt* like Ventenilla could belong to him, and that Ventenilla could belong in the U.S. as an American. Even if Ventenilla did not actually go to the U.S. after all, Craig’s treatment of him engendered the feeling in Ventenilla that he was an American too, that he was equal to Craig. For Ventenilla, American citizenship was not a political identity but a sense of belonging he felt and experienced with Americans because of the time he spent together with Americans like Craig.

Impossibility of sticking to the Japanese

The experiences of physical suffering, injury, or torture do not easily fade, neither on the mind nor the body. The Filipino veterans’ experiences of harm at the hands of the Japanese Army further contributed to the sense of shared “social flesh” among the Filipinos and the Americans. For example, Feliciano Villanueva, a guerrilla and a New Scout veteran, recalled two forms of harm he experienced from the Japanese Army when he was an undercover guerrilla soldier. One was being

stomped on by a Japanese soldier, and the other was being forced to bow to the Japanese to avoid being stomped on again, or worse. Both forms of harm connect humiliation with the body: the Japanese Army soldier asserted his dominance by positioning the Filipino soldier's body on a lower plane than his. The feeling of humiliation then became enacted and embodied by the Filipino soldier, particularly from the view of the Japanese Army soldier looking down on him. For Villanueva, this humiliation is an embodied experience that distanced him from the Japanese Army soldier.

I also find that, in addition to the material flesh (or the skin) and its wounds, bodily movements, too, were significant to the embodied intersubjectivity of Filipino veterans. For example, Franco Arcebal is another guerrilla veteran who experienced imprisonment and torture at the hands of the Japanese soldiers. While on the way to a mission, he and his partner were arrested by the Japanese Army soldiers and brought to prison. Arcebal experienced two rounds of interrogation and torture in two days. Arcebal shared:

“At first, they burned me (here) with a cigar. My goodness, it burned! Then they put salt. (Laughter.) The cigar, it has a thing that's big. If you do that, my goodness, that hurts! They did it to me twice. Then they'd put it on me again. I was like this on that thing. Then they'd ask you, all kinds of questions. [...] They wouldn't believe me. Then they heated a piece of metal like that, then they slapped it here. Here on me, my goodness. Until now, I have them. Even now, I still

have them. [...] Even now, it's not going away. [...] When they came back to me, it was different. My feet had been tied up, even my back. They put a piece of bamboo stick...between my arms and back. [...] Then a Japanese soldier sat on me. Here. When he sat on me, the Japanese soldier made a (piece of cloth). The piece of cloth from the Japanese soldier, it was tied like this and like that, then like this, there. He did that, then he put it on my face. Then he poured water into my mouth—like that. I couldn't breathe. When I started to turn blue, they did that quickly (exhaled loudly), then they did it again, they'd (put more water again). [...] What it's called here, that's water-boarding. The gun, one of the Japanese soldiers, he'd press it there. He'd do this (making noises), my goodness, it hurt!"

Arcebal continued on to describe how he had been locked in what he referred to as the “monkey house,” which is a 4-by-5 meter shack, with fellow guerrilla soldiers. He recalled that he had been wearing only a pair of shorts, and when he had to relieve himself, he had no choice to but to do it right where he stood and thus soaked his shorts with his urine. They also repeatedly poked him with their guns, struck him with a baseball bat on his lower back while he was made to kneel, and exposed him to electric shock through his feet.

During the portions of our interview when Arcebal described his experiences of torture, he reenacted the positions to which he was subjected by the Japanese soldiers and the movements his body made. Instead of describing the actions and items used during the torture more specifically, he often used the words “like this,”

“like that,” and “here.” He patted his belly where the Japanese soldier sat on him during the water torture. He knelt on the ground when he described being struck with the stick, and he slapped his back where he was struck. He also spread his body on his chair, his knees and feet pulled up, his hands up in the air, and he shook his body to demonstrate his body’s response to the electric shock. He also showed me his scars on his legs and said in Tagalog: “*Hanggang ngayon, hindi naaalis.*” (Even now, it’s not going away.) This poignant statement perhaps most demonstrates how bodily experiences—such as the impact of an explosion, the boot of an enemy, of extreme hunger, and of near-death pain—leave an impression regarding with whom one belongs and identifies, and with whom they do not.

Bernardo Isorena joined the guerrilla in 1944 and enlisted in the New Scouts in 1946. He said that his primary reason for joining the guerrilla was because of the “cruelty” of the Japanese:

“The Japanese soldiers, especially the Korean soldiers¹⁸, they were much more cruel. [...] The people in my village thought that if we evacuated to the mountains, we would be safe until the Americans

¹⁸ Several of the Filipino veteran interviewees spoke about the presence of Korean soldiers in the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA), and particularly how they were more cruel than the Japanese soldiers. The presence of Korean soldiers in the Philippines may not actually be exact. There were Korean soldiers in the IJA after the annexation of Korea by the Japanese empire in 1910, but the primary task of the “Japanese Korean Army” (or simply “Korean Army”) was to guard Korea against the Soviet Union. In 1945, when Japan was increasingly losing its foothold in the Pacific, the Korean Army was transformed into the Japanese Seventeenth Army and was ordered to oppose the Soviet Red Army in the State of Manchuria. In this paper, I will use the term “Japanese soldier” except when the Filipino veterans explicitly say they interacted with Korean soldiers to maintain the integrity of the veterans’ statements.

arrived. People thought that they were safe in the mountains, but when the Americans arrived, the Japanese retreated to the mountains where the people were hiding. Even when women were pregnant, the Koreans bayoneted them. And the children, the Koreans tossed the babies and caught them with bayonets. Every time they met a Filipino, they would kill them.”

Agapito Villanueva, also a guerrilla and a New Scouts veteran, shared what he witnessed: “During the three and a half years the Japanese controlled the Philippines, they did so many horrible things. The way they treated the women—they picked the women they wanted to be with. They also went to the *baranggay* (village) and asked the men if they were guerrilla soldiers, and if the Japanese can prove that the men were, they chopped heads off the men.” Villanueva was a young man in high school when the war broke out in the Philippines, and his white American teacher had announced “there is war!” He joined the guerrilla and fought in Ipo Dam to protect the region’s source of water. For his service in the New Scouts, he was assigned to the United States military base in Angeles, Pampanga to work in the replacement depot. He shared how during the three and a half years of Japanese rule over the Philippines (1942-1945), all of the houses had caves where women and girls hid to evade rape and abduction by the Imperial Japanese Army soldiers. He emphasized that the Japanese mistreatment of the women was “what was wrong with the Japanese.”

“What was wrong with the Japanese,” according to many of the Filipino veterans, was what was “right” with the Americans. The Filipino veterans often

referenced their discussion of the Japanese soldiers in contrast to their ideas of the American soldiers and the U.S. government. For example, New Scouts veteran Esteban Andres said: “the Japanese disturbed the peace and order in the Philippines.” This period of “peace and order” to which he referred was during the American colonization of the Philippines. For Andres, Japanese rule equated wartime chaos and suffering for the Filipino people, which is why he was angry and felt aggressive towards the Japanese. He did not live through the Philippine-American War at the turn of the twentieth century, when the American soldiers committed the same or similar atrocities towards the Filipinos. The Philippines into which he was born and raised was shaped by the Americans’ “benevolent assimilation” policies (detailed in the second chapter). This “historical amnesia” (Ignacio et al. 2004) was prevalent among many of my interview participants, most of whom were born in the mid- to late 1920s, two decades since the violent war between the Filipinos and Americans. For Andres, the American soldiers felt like brothers because they helped each other fight against their common enemy, and due to their shared values of peace, order, democracy, and freedom.

The inculcation of the value of “American freedom” among the Filipinos through American education proved durable. Alberto Marquez, who was a guerrilla soldier, explained his reason for fighting in this way: “we wanted to help the Americans because you, you are a free country. Even more, the Japanese were different. The Japanese, they were different—whatever their leader wanted... they did

not have freedom (*wala silang* freedom).” Marquez’s statement is a very interesting articulation of freedom as something to possess (“have”) and not just believe. Marquez referred to how the Japanese did not embody freedom in the way they behaved and acted during the war, towards Filipino and American soldiers and Filipino civilians. Marquez identified as “American” during the war because he suffered alongside with them, even witnessed some of his fellow American soldiers get killed by the Japanese soldiers. In his words: “All that [we] experienced (*naranasan*), [we] experienced together. We were close.” His identification with the Americans and as an American is inextricably linked to his aggressive *dis-*identification with the Japanese (and Korean) soldiers.

Saturnino Palada, a guerrilla and New Scouts veteran, pithily put it in this way when I asked him if he identified as an American during the war: “I felt like an American, of course!” He looked at me, eyes wide open with a hint of incredulity when he retorted with a question: “Would you join the Japanese who were your enemies?” He was sitting on his bed in his pajamas during our interview in May 2013, recovering from a severe cold. He was 93 at the time of our interview, and he was nearly completely bald. However, even though he felt weak, he was quite animated when he posed the question, and he laughed a little, perhaps thinking I had been silly to ask my question. His reaction suggested that he identified as an American because he did *not* want to be associated at all with the Japanese. For

Lactaoen, the *sticking together* of Filipino and American soldiers was due to their shared objective of expelling a shared enemy from a “shared space,” the Philippines.

The descriptions and reactions of the Filipino soldiers towards the Americans and the Japanese during the interviews were physical, their emotions obvious through their voice intonations, facial expressions, gestures, and even glandular, in the form of tears, as with Bernal mentioned earlier in this chapter. The physical proximity with the Japanese Army soldier under conditions of harm brought the Filipino soldiers emotionally “closer” to their American counterpart, from whom they received and also provided protection from the line of fire, as well as medical aid from injuries and diseases, in addition to supplies such as arms and food rations.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated how bodies are central to the formation and development of citizenship as an identity and as feelings of belonging. The Filipino veterans’ stories highlight how their physical proximity to the American soldiers facilitated their solidarity and affinity towards each other. In addition, the feelings of togetherness or one-ness among the Filipino and American soldiers were made easier by the experiences of physical and emotional hardship in the hands of the Japanese soldiers.

This chapter focused primarily on the experiences of the Filipino soldiers who served in the Old Scouts, the USAFFE soldiers, and the guerrilla soldiers who base

their feelings of belonging to the U.S. and identity as “Americans” and “American veterans” on their physical proximity to American soldiers. In fact, these Filipino veterans who fought alongside the American soldiers during the war often distinguished themselves as “more” of an American veteran from the post-1946 Philippine Scouts, or “New Scouts,” who served the needs of the U.S. government in the post-war reconstruction and occupation of military bases in the Pacific. If the New Scouts did not have substantial physical and face-to-face interactions with Americans during the war, how then did they come to feel that they too were “American soldiers” and thus deserve the same rights and recognition to belonging as American veterans?

In the next chapter, I analyze how bodies are still central to the New Scouts’ insistence on their belonging to the U.S. While the New Scouts did not often experience firsthand the physical and emotional grouping together with fellow American soldiers on the battlefield, they underscored their practices, performances, and rituals as an official member of the U.S. military, while living on an American military base. The following chapter concerns how the embodiment of the American military habitus served as the New Scouts’ condition of belonging.

CHAPTER 4: THE EMBODIMENT OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY

Introduction

This chapter continues to argue that the body contributes to the formation of citizenship as belonging. While the previous chapter focuses on the significance of Filipino and American soldiers' shared bodily experiences to the Filipino veterans' identification as Americans and American veterans, this chapter focuses on how the Filipinos experienced an American life during their service in the Philippine Scouts. In other words, I explore and analyze how American-ness "touched" Filipino bodies and how American-ness was embodied by the Filipino soldiers. In this chapter, I discuss the experiences of the New Scouts veterans, who did not necessarily fight alongside American soldiers during the war. Thus, instead of solidarity in pain and shared conviviality—facilitated by proximity and shared bodily experiences—with American soldiers, the New Scouts referenced to life in the U.S. Army on the American military bases as the basis of their identification and feelings of belonging to the United States.

I argued in chapter three that proximity and shared bodily experiences facilitated the formation of "social flesh" (Beasley and Bacchi 2007) among the Filipino and American soldiers. Proximity to the American soldiers is also a factor in the New Scouts' identification as Americans, but the context of the physical proximity for the New Scouts is different from that of the Old Scouts, USAFFE, and

the guerrilla veterans who fought the Japanese Army alongside or “side by side” with American soldiers, suffered through the Bataan Death March and even imprisonment together, and shared convivial times together or on the battlefield. With the exception of the New Scouts who also experienced combat, capture, or imprisonment, or any combination of the three, alongside American soldiers, most of the New Scouts who signed up after the war or during “peacetime” were recruited for “mop-up” operations in territories occupied by the U.S. military after World War II. This means that the Filipinos’ proximity to the American soldiers were limited and hierarchically structured, as in how the Americans were the Filipino soldiers’ high-ranking officers, or how fellow Americans who shared similar or equivalent ranking were often segregated from them.

My analysis of my interviews with the New Scouts demonstrates that while proximity to American soldiers was a necessary part of their embodiment of American-ness, it was not enough. In addition, and more often, they referenced their institutional affiliation to the U.S. as their basis for their identification as Americans. Firstly, they referred to their training by Americans to do what was required of them as U.S. Army soldiers. They also pointed out how the New Scouts *is* U.S. Army, and thus, they were Americans. Furthermore, the New Scouts also often identified their “American life” (“*buhay Amerikano*”) on the military bases and being treated like an American as to why they identified as Americans during their service, and why they still identify as American veterans now.

Thus, I focus on their embodiment of American-ness in the American military habitus in this chapter. Teofilo Espilita pithily articulated his life in the U.S. military this way: “The habits of the Americans, those are our habits, too.” His statement conjures Pierre Bourdieu’s (1977) concept of “habitus,” which describes the values and customs of a social group that shape one’s expectations and inclinations in life. The habitus is formed or acquired through quotidian life: what one does or encounters in their physical and social environment. In closely examining the Filipino veterans’ habitus, I analyze their daily activities on American military bases during their post-war occupation in the Philippines and elsewhere. I bring to the forefront of my analysis the materiality of the Filipino veterans’ bodies and their daily experiences towards a theorization of the embodiment of citizenship as belonging.

My analysis of the Filipino veterans’ habitus and bodily experiences to their sense of belonging to the U.S. builds on the French tradition of practice theory informed by Émile Durkheim (1995[1912]), Marcel Mauss (1979, 2006), Pierre Bourdieu, and Loïc Wacquant (2005). Practice theorists believe in “procedural models” of learning, as opposed to “container models” (Lizardo 2012). Container models of learning view sensory experience as disembodied information, prominent

after the “cognitive revolution” of the 1950s and 1960s¹⁹ (Ignatow 2007), while procedural models view sensations and perceptions (corporeal experiences) as central in knowledge production. In short, procedural models view knowledge as *fundamentally embodied*. Practice theorists believe that people understand their interactions with others “at an implicit, bodily level” (Lizardo 2009). According to Omar Lizardo and Michael Strand (2010), “strong” practice theorists in the sociology discipline define culture as a set of “socially learned, intertwined bodily, cognitive, and linguistic *skills*” (Ignatow n.d., emphasis in the original) instead of as an abstraction. This shift from container models (or epistemological models) to procedural models learning represents what is commonly referred to as the “bodily turn.”

How is the “bodily turn” useful in my study of Filipino veterans and their sense of citizenship as belonging? The shift from epistemological models of knowledge as an abstraction toward a view of knowledge that is embodied, sensorial, and experiential (phenomenological) helps me analyze the Filipino veterans’ insistence of belonging to the U.S. as Americans and American veterans despite without having migrated, without naturalized and official citizenship, and without the

¹⁹ In the 1950s and 1960s, in what is to be known as the “cognitive revolution,” “amodal” theories of knowledge emerged, developed by cognitive scientists in the areas of applied mathematics, statistics, and computer science. Amodal approaches view knowledge as separate from sensations (such as vision, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and emotions). The conceptualization of knowledge as embodied is commonly referred to as the “bodily turn” or “somatic revolution,” and has been acknowledge in sociology, as well as in anthropology, linguistics, and philosophy (Ignatow 2007).

recognition of the U.S. Or more precisely, the Filipino veterans still claim belonging despite the outright denial by the U.S. to recognize their service during World War II through the 1946 Rescission Act and the continuing lack of full recognition and rights as American veterans. The Filipino veterans, particularly those who served in the New Scouts, learned how to be or behave as an American soldier in the U.S. Army. Thus, American citizenship was not an abstraction, but an embodied knowledge, experienced on a daily basis in the most ordinary and quotidian aspects of their lives, forming their American military habitus, or in veteran Espilita's words "American habits."

Background: The Philippine Scouts, "Old" and "New"

As discussed earlier in chapter one, the United States established the Philippine Scouts in 1901 when they inducted Filipinos into the U.S. Army to fight against the Filipinos who resisted American colonization after the Spanish-American War. The term Philippine Scouts was applied to both the enlisted Filipino men and their American officers. After World War I, the U.S. Congress approved the incorporation of the Scouts into the regular U.S. Army. The regiments were stationed at Forts McKinley and Stotsenburg, Camp John Hay, and the Harbor of Defenses of Manila in Luzon, and Petit Barracks in Mindanao. When the Japanese Army attacked the Philippines in 1941, the Scouts were the first to face the attack.

When the Filipino and American soldiers were forced to surrender after the Fall of Bataan in April 1942, the Scouts, the USAFFE soldiers, and the American soldiers marched together and were put in the prison camp (Camp O'Donnell) together. However, due to harsh conditions at the camp, the Filipino and American prisoners died at the rate of four hundred per day.²⁰ Thus, after about three months, the Japanese Army replaced the camp commander, relocated the American prisoners, and released the Filipino prisoners on parole to their families and the mayors of their hometowns. After their release, however, the Filipino soldiers joined a strong guerrilla movement operated by escaped American and Filipino prisoners and their new recruits.

In 1944, when General MacArthur's forces began to arrive in the Philippines, the Scouts and USAFFE soldiers, some of whom had joined the guerrilla movement, rejoined the U.S. Army. Some of the Filipino guerrilla's new recruits also joined the U.S. Army. Altogether, they comprised the New Philippine Scouts, or the "New Scouts." Some of these New Scouts participated in combat action against the Japanese Army in northern Luzon, but their primary task was to safeguard the American military bases in the Philippines and in other U.S.-occupied territories in the Pacific after World War II. My Filipino veteran interview participants described their work as "mop-up operations." The New Scouts' tasks included capturing any

²⁰ From the History Channel's discussion of the Bataan Death March, found on: <http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/bataan-death-march>.

Japanese stragglers who refused to surrender, as well as cleaning up at the battle sites, and guarding the American military bases.

After the U.S. granted the Philippines its independence on July 4, 1946, the New Scouts possessed a unique and paradoxical citizenship status: they were regular U.S. Army soldiers who were citizens of a foreign country, the newly independent Philippines. The U.S. thus offered the New Scouts full American citizenship to resolve this paradox. The New Scouts who accepted the American citizenship were then transferred to other units to complete their military careers after the unit was disbanded in 1946.²¹ However, some of the veterans I interviewed reported having enlisted in 1946 and being discharged in 1949. According to my New Scouts veteran interview participants, because they were in the U.S. Army, they were already American citizens. In fact, some of the New Scouts had to apply for Philippine citizenship after their honorable discharge from the New Scouts. For all of the New Scouts, this was a common belief: their enlistment into the New Scouts meant they were granted American citizenship. Whether this was a misconception or not, the Filipino veterans believed that their service to the U.S. made them Americans.

²¹ Retired Colonel John E. Colson (USA) and Chris Schaefer identify 1946 as the year the Philippine Scouts disbanded, but the 57th Infantry Regiment of the Philippine Scouts were not deactivated until 1949. Most of the New Scouts veterans I interviewed also referred to 1949 as the year they were discharged. Colson's narration can be found at the following link: <http://www.philippine-scouts.org/history/history-of-the-scouts.html>. Schaefer's link can be found at: <http://www.philippine-scouts.org/history/the-philippine-scouts.html>.

In the latter section of this chapter, I expand on the stories of the New Scouts Filipino veterans who insist on their American citizenship during their military service and American veteran status based on their institutional affiliation in the U.S. Army and American provisions given to them by the U.S. Army.

“We were under the U.S.”: Institutional affiliation as Americans

The New Scouts identified as having been Americans during their service because they were serving in the U.S. Army. The phrase “we were under the U.S.” was often repeated as their justification for their identification as American veterans. Dominador Bautista, who was in the army band and was stationed in several places such as Guam, Saipan, Okinawa, responded to my question about whether he already felt American during his service before receiving his U.S. citizenship with: “Of course! (*Ah, siyempre!*) We were there! We were under the U.S., so of course we went with the U.S.!”

But what did it exactly mean to be “under” the U.S.? For Bautista, his being “there” signified his presence and labor for the Americans. While Bautista referenced his work in the army band, Gregorio Ferrer shared the more difficult aspect of his physical labor as a New Scout.

“During training, we walked. We walked real far. It was hard walking, with a full pack, too! I regretted becoming a soldier. It was hard being a soldier. We camped, too. Where we laid our things to go to sleep, it

was all rocky. It hurt the back. It was really difficult. I thought to myself, if only I had been assigned as a driver, I wouldn't have been walking this much. After training, I was assigned to Camp O'Donnell. There, I was in the anti-tank company, 45th infantry. It was also part of the 12th division. My position was gunner, or cannoneer. After being in the anti-tank, after having practiced shooting the canon, I was transferred to the 57th infantry. At the headquarter of the 57th infantry, I was given the opportunity to be transferred abroad. They sent me to Guam. I was sent to the quarter master in Guam in 1948. I worked there at the quarter master. I endured working there. (*Pinagtiisan kong magtrabaho doon*). That's why we were hired as Philippine Scouts: wherever the U.S. Army fought, whichever country, after they fought, they left all their things wherever (*kung saan saan*). The army made a mess (*nagkalat*), and we cleaned it. We were hired as occupational troops, so we cleaned everything. We were sent where we were sent, and we cleaned there. We fixed things. (*Kami ang nag-ayos*.) [We cleaned] whatever mess the army left behind: tanks, cannons. Whatever they left behind where they had combat, there. Wherever they left their guns and trucks. We were the ones who suffered (*naghirap*). [...] We were the ones who guarded the depot because we collected the equipment there. Wherever the depots were, we went there. We fixed up everything. That's what it meant to be Philippine Scouts. The others, they brought to Korea and Vietnam for combat. The others, they left in the Philippines to clean up. Then we were sent to Guam. Before they sent us to Guam, we had to clean up in the Philippines.”

Ferrer's references to having endured walking, camping, and cleaning suggests that his being "under the U.S." meant subjecting his body (or being subjected) to physical labor, specifically under the command of his American officials and for the U.S. military. Fausto Abulencia, who was stationed in mainland Japan, linked his institutional affiliation and his bodily labor in this way: "You were really a [U.S. Army] soldier. [...] You were serving them. Your duty was for them." Similarly, when I asked Pepito Villanueva if he felt American during his service, he answered: "Of course! Under *kami ng mga Amerikano. Amerikano na rin ako.* (We were under the American government. So yes, I was already an American, too.)" Villanueva was recruited in 1946 by an American officer, was trained at Camp O'Donnell, and then was sent to Okinawa for his service. His task was primarily to clean the guns and tanks that he described had been "buried in mud."

Their training from and by Americans mattered to the veterans in two ways: (1) their physical proximity to Americans, and (2) that their training was in the U.S. Army, *not* in the Philippine Army. Regarding the first point, as I mentioned above regarding Villanueva's response, proximity to American soldiers facilitated working *for*—not necessarily alongside—American soldiers. Angelicio Pagar, who was stationed in Okinawa, also justified his feeling American during his service in this way: "Because we were at the Americans' camp. We were working there. We were trained by the Americans, so I felt my side to be an American, too. What I felt was that I was already American."

Rustico Tandoc made specific references to this embodiment in his explanation for why he felt American as a New Scout: “Of course the Filipinos were already like the Americans then because we always saw Americans. [...] You would think you were in the U.S. because you would see Americans all the time.” He added: “*Amerikano na sa dibdib ko kasi sinusundan ko ang mga Amerikano.*” (I felt in my chest that I was already American because I was following the Americans.) For Tandoc, his sight—seeing Americans everywhere—was a factor in his feeling like an American. His sight seemed to be a site of the circulation of American-ness, which did not leave him unaffected. In addition, Tandoc referenced his “*dibdib*” as the “inside” part of him where he located his American-ness. The Filipino word “*dibdib*” can mean chest, breast, or heart.

Both Agapito Villanueva and Angelicio Pegar pointed to their being proximate to or being with American soldiers, but this proximity was structured by their hierarchical order, hence the word “under.” Villanueva illustrated this hierarchy regarding his description of salutations among the Filipinos and Americans: “we would see each other, that’s all. If you see an officer, you need to salute him. If you don’t, you will be struck with lightning (*malilintikan ka*). You will be disciplined.” This statement is in contrast to the veterans from the previous chapter about viewing the American soldiers as their close friends or even brothers.

Teofilo Espilita, who also served in Okinawa, stated regarding his having felt American during his service: “because we were under the Americans, we were

supposed to follow all [their] orders. We were no longer in the Philippines.” Dominator Bautista’s insistence on their physical location that “we were there” and Angelicio Pegar’s indication of “we were there at the Americans’ camp” indicate how their body’s physical location, having followed the Americans to where they were stationed mattered to the Filipino veterans’ identification as Americans.

However, in addition to physical location, Espilita highlighted following the orders of their American officials and living the American lifestyle on the base as having become part of the Filipino veterans’ habits and American-ness. New Scouts veteran Gerardo Flores felt the same way about his work as a *kusinero* (cook) and a bartender at the officer’s club in Okinawa, from 1946 to 1949. When I asked him he already felt American during his military service, he said in a combination of Tagalog and English words:

“Oo, ganyan dahil sa mga kausap-usap mo din ay ang mga Amerikano, mga colonel. Pero mixed up. Marami ring Pilipino, kasi ang unit, ang regiment ay Pilipino. Pilipino lahat pero may mga sundalo na Amerikano. Ang mga leader at senior ay Amerikano. [...] Ang nasa puso ay Pilipino, pero you are dealing with American people, kaya siyempre parang Amerikano ka na rin na halfway. Dahil siyempre, sa trabaho iyong pinapakain namin ay Amerikano eh! Atsaka officer’s club, officer’s mess, Amerikano at Pilipino.” (Yes, it is that way because you would be talking with Americans, the colonels. But it’s mixed up. There are many Filipinos, because the unit, the regiment is Filipino. All are Filipino, but there are soldiers who are Americans. The

leaders and seniors are Americans. [...] In my heart, Filipino, but you are dealing with American people, so of course, it is as if you were American, too, half-way. Because, of course, at work, I was feeding Americans! And at the officer's club, the officer's mess, [there were both] Americans and Filipinos.)

Espilita shared a more complex or even ambiguous identification as half-Filipino and half-American. On the one hand, he identified as Filipino because of where he was born. On the other hand, and in addition, he also recognized that his work in the military as having cooked for Americans somehow affected his identification as also an American. He pointed out that his American-ness is contingent on his daily interaction with the American soldiers.

Through training or performing one's duty for the U.S. military or in service of Americans, the Filipinos learned to "behave" as an American soldier: how one marched; how one disassembled, cleaned, and reassembled their guns; how one saluted their American officials or the American flag, etc. The Americans taught the Filipinos how to *move* their bodies in the way the U.S. military saw fit. While this training needed proximity to few American officers, this proximity was not during wartime or in a life-or-death situation, in which Filipino and American soldiers needed and relied on each other's bodies for survival, as discussed in the previous chapter. Instead, this proximity was during peacetime and occupation, in a

hierarchical or chain-of-command situation, in which the Filipinos received punishment for deviating from the standards expected of U.S. Army soldiers.

Moreover, having American officials training them mattered because it meant that the Filipino soldiers were in the U.S. Army, *not* in the Philippine Army. The veterans who eagerly pointed out this distinction underscored not only the significance of the American military's provision of their uniform, wages, as well as food, but the difference of these provisions from what the Philippine Army provided their soldiers. I discuss this in greater detail in the following section.

“The U.S. is the one supporting my life”: American provisions for the Filipino soldiers

I begin this section of the chapter with the stories of the two Filipino veterans who were in the Old Scouts: Primitivo Cuenca and Isabelo Torio. As mentioned above and in chapter one, the Philippine Scouts can be divided into the “Old” and the “New,” the latter being those who enlisted or reenlisted into the U.S. Army after General MacArthur's return to the Philippines. Cuenca was in the 1st Battalion, 57th Infantry Regiment, and had fought in Bataan (and experienced the death march, as discussed in the previous chapter). After World War II, he was stationed at the headquarters in Dagupan, Pangasinan and helped recruit Filipino soldiers into the New Scouts. He described the Philippine Scouts (“Old Scouts”) as distinct from the Philippine Army: “We had no part of the Philippine Army.” This distinction was

crucial for his claim as an American—he described as having *felt* American even before World War II:

“Of course, we are Americans because we belong to the American Army, the U.S. Army. [...] In Fort McKinley, I already felt like an American citizen (*parang* U.S. citizen *na*) because everything was there. It was like life in the U.S., not like in the Philippine Army where their food was limited. Four or three pieces of bread (*pan de sal*) in one day. With us (*doon sa amin*), our food was unlimited. [...] Other examples, our health benefits, that’s one. Uniforms, that’s number one. Our lives were really like the lives of Americans at Fort McKinley. We are Filipinos but our livelihood is like the livelihood of Americans because everything we got came from the Americans: our food, our clothes, our health benefits.”

Torio felt the same way. He was based in Fort Stotsenburg in Pampanga as a member of the 26th Cavalry in the Old Scouts. He also experienced being captured by the Japanese Army soldiers, but escaped during the Bataan Death March. He joined the guerrilla after recovering from his illness, and rejoined the U.S. Army at the beach in Lingayen, where the Americans landed. As a member of the 26th Cavalry, once again, he helped fight with fellow Filipino and American soldiers until the defeat of the Japanese Army. When I asked him whether he felt like an American during his military service, he said in English: “when I was in the Philippine Scouts, I was treated like an American because we were being fed, we were given our wages in dollars, and everything came from the Americans.”

Below, I expand upon Cuenca and Torio's statements about life in the Philippine Scouts, but from the stories of the New Scouts who did not necessarily have experience fighting "side by side" or "alongside" Filipino soldiers. Without these experiences of shared solidarity and conviviality, I suggest that the Filipino veterans' identity formation as American citizens was largely based on living an American life ("*buhay Amerikano*") and being treated like an American in the New Scouts. The aspects of this "American life" were not limited to their needs for food, shelter, clothing, and wages, but also their recreation and other American leisure goods such as cigarettes and chocolate (imported from the U.S.). Furthermore, I discuss the significance of speaking in English. The veterans identified English as part not only of their having lived an American life and having been treated as an American, but also what was required of them as soldiers in the U.S. Army.

"American chow"

First, there was the aspect of food, or more specifically, being provided with food during service in the U.S. Army. The Filipino veterans regarded this provision as *being fed* by the American military. In the words of Gregorio Ferrer mentioned above: "Real U.S. Army *na nagpakain sa lahat. Maganda ang trato nila sa amin noon.* (The U.S. Army fed us all. They treated us well.)" Feliciano Villanueva, mentioned above, indicated that in addition to being trained by American officers, he felt American because of the food he ate:

Me: *Paano po ninyo naramdaman?* (How did you feel American?)

Villanueva: Even with food, there was no problem. Especially during Thanksgiving and Christmas, our food was delicious!

Me: In Japan?

Villanueva: Yes, even at Camp O'Donnell.

Me: What kinds of food?

Villanueva: During Thanksgiving and Christmas, we ate turkey.

Me: Where did the turkey come from?

Villanueva: From the headmaster's quarter.

Me: Turkey! So, it's as if you already became an American?

Villanueva: Of course! (*Siyempre!*)

While Villanueva's first response to the question of whether he felt American during his service regarded his being trained by American officials in the New Scouts, he also quickly referred to the provision of what he perceived as commonly American food—turkey—as a significant reason. He pointed to consumption, or *ingestion*, of American food. In the previous chapter, I highlighted how the convivial manner in which Filipinos and Americans shared their meals made the Old Scouts and the USAFFE and guerrilla soldiers feel a sense of belonging to their fellow American soldiers. In this chapter, especially in Villanueva's case, I want to highlight the materiality not only of the Filipinos' bodies but also the materiality of the American food itself. This emphasis on the food is due to the fact that mealtime conviviality with the New Scouts' American officials was not easy or sometimes possible due to

the hierarchical relations between them, including the policy of segregation. When I asked whether Villanueva considered the Americans as his friends, he hesitated: “Of course we were shy. (*Siyempre nahihya kami.*) They were our officials, not our peers. If they called you, of course you should approach them. (*Pag tawagan ka, siyempre lalapit ka.*)” In contrast to the Old Scouts, the USAFFE soldiers, and the guerrilla veterans, the New Scouts did not easily refer to their relationship with the Americans as a friendship. Thus, I argue that the bodily experience that is more important in the New Scouts’ case is not how or with whom they ate their meals, but *what* they ate during their military service. Eating American food provided by the U.S. Army is what mattered more to their identity formation as American citizens.

American food was part of the American military way of life. The provision of food was especially important among the Filipino soldiers because they lived on the military base, where they shared the kitchen and the mess halls with Americans. Emiliano Aficial, who entered the New Scouts in 1946 and stationed in Guam for two years, explained that: “we were integrated (*halo halo*) in Manus Island. We had one mess hall where we ate American food like mashed potatoes, bread, and no rice.” Like Aficial, Felix Sison, who was stationed in mainland Japan, already felt American during this service. He said: “When we were there, even our food was *American chow*.” He also shared that both American and Filipino cooks were present in the kitchen. Sison reported that the Filipino cooks in the kitchen cooked rice, while the American cooks did not. Then, he listed a couple of the “American chow” he and his

fellow soldiers ate on the base, such as broccoli and cauliflower. Pedro Sarmiento also added to this list of what he called “*pagkaing Amerikano*” (American food): canned food and turkey. Juanito Velasco, who spent two years in Okinawa, cooked potatoes *and* rice in the kitchen, with mostly Filipino but also a couple of American soldiers.

In addition to the food eaten in mess halls, Filipino veterans also mentioned eating foods such as donuts, sandwiches, and juice during their recreation. For example, Catalino Siapno shared that on Saturdays, there would be stage shows with bands and American women dancers. In addition, there were opportunities for playing instruments as well as roller skating. During weeknights, they had movies, which were either war films or training films in English. Siapno said that he felt American because he and Americans were all together on the base and that they were good company: “the Americans felt like my friends.” He emphasized that the American officials’ and fellow soldiers’ treatment of him are what made him feel American. The acknowledgement of the “friendship” he experienced and in the sharing of convivial times together on the military base can be interpreted as contributing to his identification as an American soldier, and by extension, as American. He also said: “*Maganda silang kasama, kasi maganda pati pagkain.* (The [Americans] were great company because even the food was great.) Siapno’s description of the recreational services offered by the New Scouts to its Filipino and American soldiers were the most similar to the convivial experiences shared by the Old Scouts, the USAFFE

veterans, and the guerrilla veterans discussed previously. A significant difference, however, is that the New Scouts experienced these convivial moments during “peacetime” or post-combat. Siapno hints at this difference when he described his relationship with the Americans as something “like” friendship. Because he did not share wartime combat experiences with the Americans, he did not refer to his relationship with the Americans as “close friendship” or “brotherhood” in the same way as those who fought alongside with the Americans against the Japanese did. In fact, Agapito Villanueva described the differences in their relationships with the Americans this way: “When we went to the United Service Organization in Angeles, Pampanga, everything was free for us, *just like it was for the Americans*. We did not hang out with them.”

Despite the hierarchical context of the relationship among Americans and Filipinos, some of the Filipino veterans viewed their American provisions as a basis for their feeling American. From their perspective, and important to this analysis, they experienced the *same treatment* as American soldiers. For Agapito Villanueva, the USO services and their free food was an invitation into the American military life, or American life, in general. When I asked him whether he felt like an American (“*Parang Amerikano na po kayo?*”) as a New Scouts soldier, he replied: “Yes, after the war, they encouraged us to go to Angeles, at the USO, and we went to the PX. Everything was free for us [at the USO]. [...] So yes, we were already like Americans because we were U.S. Army.” Similarly, Catalino Siapno equated his good

companionship with the Americans—and his feeling like an American—with the American food he ate and the American goods at the “PX.” The term refers to the Army and Air Force Exchange Service. The PX served as a store for servicemen, and are available at all military bases, whether in the United States or abroad. The PX provide service and sell items that make American servicemen feel at home, or as if they were still in the United States, while living in military bases abroad. The ability to buy and consume American goods from the PX was one way the Filipino servicemen were acculturated into and felt invited to participate in American life during their military service.

This section of the chapter emphasized the presence of Americans in the Filipino soldiers’ lives through the means of American food. While there is a clear distinction between the atmosphere of mealtimes among the Filipino veterans discussed in chapter three and those in the New Scouts, with the former as primarily convivial set during wartime and the latter in a hierarchical setting, the most important aspect for the New Scouts is that the U.S. was feeding them *and* that the U.S. was feeding them “American chow.”

U.S. Army wages in dollars and the wage gap

There is also the aspect of receiving their wages in dollars that was significant to the Filipino veterans’ feelings of being an American during their service in the New Scouts. When I first asked Felix Sison, mentioned above, whether he already felt

American during his service, he answered: “Yes, because we were already under the U.S. The Philippine Scouts is under the U.S. government. That’s why our wages were in dollars, too. (*Kaya ang suweldo namin ay dollar din.*)” Sison was comparing his wages to those received by the Americans, indicating that their wages were similar—in dollars—and implied that it was the reason why they, too, were American soldiers.

Similarly, Emiliano Aficial, also mentioned above, pithily stated: “We are Americans because our wages were in dollars.” Without a sense of irony, he described to me that the white and black American soldiers in his camp received \$75 monthly wages and that the Filipinos received \$25. The \$50 difference or wage gap had not been an issue for him. What was most significant to his identification as an “American” was that he received American dollars at the end of every month, just as his fellow American soldiers did. And thus, Aficial wonders why it is that his fellow American veterans receive benefits and pension, but he and other Filipino veterans do not when, in this perspective, Filipino soldiers in the U.S. Army were also American soldiers.

In fact, the American dollars the veterans received for their wages were so important to their identification as Americans, that they even used it to dis-identify from their fellow Filipinos in the Philippine Army. Patrick Zamar, who was stationed in Angeles, Pampanga and worked as a technician during his service, emphasized this distinction.

Me: How much did you earn?

Zamar: *Ngayon, nag-complain kami kasi ang 18 na yan, sa mga Pilipino yan, eh.* (At first, they gave us 18 pesos [per month]. But then we complained because the 18-peso wage was only for Filipinos.) So then we started receiving 50 pesos at the end of every month after that.

Me: So, at first, it was only 18 pesos. Then some of you complained.

Zamar: Then they made it 50 pesos.

Me: Please explain. How did you know that 18 pesos was too low?

Zamar: That's the monthly wage of the soldiers of the Philippines (*sundalo sa Pilipinas*). That's what they followed. Then, someone complained, saying 'why are you following the wages of the Filipinos when we are Scouts of the U.S. Army?' So then they made it 50.

Me: How long was it 18 pesos for? When did it become 50 pesos?

Zamar: Only for three months.

Initially, I thought he meant that 18 pesos was too low in comparison to other American privates in the military base where he worked, but I remembered that he explained earlier in the interview that all the "privates" were Filipinos, and that their higher-ranking officials were made up of both Americans and Filipinos. He also explained that it took six months before Filipinos became high-ranking officials. Thus, the key distinction, for Zamar and his fellow Scouts, was *between* the Filipinos in the Philippine Army and the Filipinos in the U.S. Army. Later during the interview he repeated this point: "Why would they make the wages of the Philippine Scouts that

of the Philippine Army? They're different." Moreover, when Zamar said that the "18-peso wage was only for Filipinos," he suggested that Filipino soldiers in the New Scouts were Americans. The claim to be American soldiers instead of as Filipino soldiers became important to Zamar and his fellow soldiers' pursuit of the 25-peso wage, which perhaps lends credence to the argument that Filipino veterans now in their fight for equity are only claiming to have *felt* American in order to gain more benefits. What is crucial in this story, however, is that Zamar and his fellow soldiers' obtainment of the 25-peso wage then further reinforced for them that they were recognized as American soldiers. And what is key to my analysis is that Zamar and his fellow soldiers felt and identified as American soldiers even *before* the increase of their wages from 18 pesos to 25 pesos.

Wages were also important because it was another means by which the Americans supported the well-being of Filipinos in the U.S. military, in addition to food, "American" or otherwise. Aficial and Sison, stationed in Guam and Japan, respectively, received their wages in dollars, which is how they justify being American soldiers. Zamar, on the other hand, was stationed in Pampanga in the Philippines and talked about receiving his and his fellow Filipino soldiers' wages in pesos. Even though their wages were not in dollars, Zamar explained that his status in the U.S. Army was an American soldier, and thus deserving American soldier wages, by stating: "*Amerikano na rin kami kasi U.S. Army ang nagti-training sa amin.*" (We were also already Americans because the U.S. Army were the ones training us.) This

claim that he was U.S. Army fueled his and his fellow Filipino soldiers' protests against their wages, which they argued were too low for American soldiers. The institutional affiliation of being in the U.S. Army, including performing labor under the American flag as well as receiving training from American soldiers, facilitated Filipino veterans like Zamar to feel American. Whether in pesos or in dollars, the most important aspect for the Filipino veterans' claims as Americans and American veterans was that they were receiving their wages *from* the American military. In the section that follows, I discuss the significance of another American provision to the Filipinos' subject formation as American soldiers and as Americans: the U.S. Army uniforms.

U.S. Army uniform

Above I discuss the circulation of American-ness in Filipino soldiers' bodies through their consumption of American food. Here I point out how Filipino soldier's bodies are "covered" by American-ness through the New Scouts' military uniform. Old Scouts veteran Primitivo Cuenca, mentioned above, described how wearing U.S. Army uniforms was the "number one" example of why he felt like an American soldier.

Guerrilla and New Scouts veteran Eugenio Barboza, who is still waiting for recognition for his wartime service at time of our interview in 2013, referred to the American military uniform as significant to his identification as an American.

Barboza enlisted into the New Scouts after the war in 1946 and was stationed at an American military base in Marianas, Guam. His job in Guam was to help build and guard buildings. Even though there were Americans on the base, he was in an all-Filipino company and, due to segregation policies implemented in his military base, he ate and slept only among fellow Filipino soldiers. When I asked him if he had ever become a U.S. citizen, he replied: “Yes, by their patch that was given to us by the U.S. to put on the uniform.” I did not believe what I first heard that I kept asking him to clarify. He said more than a couple of times that the patch helped him feel American because the Americans gave it to him in the U.S. Army. He even touched his arm where the patch would have been located on his military uniform. Barboza, who never came to the U.S. and never naturalized as an American citizen, said that he became an “American citizen” in the Philippines when he entered the U.S. Army, on the basis of his uniform.

The insignia of the Philippine Scouts varied, and the ones worn by Old Scouts veteran Cuenca were not necessarily the ones worn by New Scouts veteran Barboza.

Cuenca’s Philippine (Old) Scouts insignias may have included: (1) a silver and blue shield with a Philippine sea lion and a silver star within a wreath (Figure 1), and (2) the shoulder sleeve insignia (patch) that is of a white Philippine sea lion on a blue oval (Figure 2). The latter insignia belongs to the



Figure 1. Philippine Scouts 57th Infantry Regiment Insignia.

Figure 2. Philippine Department’s Insignia

Figure 3. Philippine Division’s Insignia

Philippine Department, which was a regular U.S. Army unit comprised of American officers, American generals, and enlisted Filipinos in the Philippine Scouts. The *Philippine Division* units, assembled during World War II and to which Barboza belonged, wore their own insignia of a golden carabao head on a red shield (Figure 3). The Philippine Division, also known as the 12th Infantry Division from 1944-1945, was the core infantry division of the U.S. Army's Philippine Department.

The American military uniform is important to the Filipino veterans' identification as American veterans. The insignias depict Philippine animals such as the sea lion and the carabao, but these insignias were associated with enlistment into the U.S. Army, thus carrying with it what the Filipino veterans' viewed as the honor of being an American soldier. Barboza emphasized the importance of his U.S. Army patch to his "U.S. citizenship" because the patch on his body signified for him his body's incorporation into the U.S. In addition, uniforms are essential aspects of military life: the Scouts wore their



Figure 4. Photo taken from website of the Philippine Scouts Heritage Society on December 12, 2014. Photo description: "4th, July 2009, Saturday, Fort Stotsenburg Museum, Philippine Scout exhibit behind."

uniforms with the “U.S. patch” everyday. The Scouts received their wages based on their everyday performance of their work duties, including the necessary aspects of “clothing” oneself from head to toe (Figure 4). The Filipino soldier would not have received his American wages if he did not put together his ensemble, and thus for three years, from enlistment to discharge in the New Scouts, Barboza put on his military outfit and went to work. This is akin to Jasbir Puar’s (2007) description of a Muslim putting on his hijab everyday, as if it were an appendage to the body. Without the uniform, the gun, and the head gear, he would be incomplete. For the Filipino veteran, his American military uniform became a daily part of his body, as if it was his second skin. The uniform facilitated the Filipino soldiers’ ability to move in the world as representatives of the U.S. Army, off and on the American military base. For the Filipino World War II veteran, the New Scouts uniform helped form the sense that he is an American and gives grounds for his claims as an American veteran, despite the denial of the U.S. in the 1946 Rescission Act and the U.S. state’s continued lack of recognition for them as such.

Embodiment of American soldier life

In the section above, I focused on what it meant to be “under the U.S.” on the basis of institutional affiliation, including their bodily labor, and the provisions that the Filipino soldiers received from their military service in the U.S. Army. Here, I illustrate how the New Scouts further embodied American soldier life by what they

did on a daily basis in American military bases in the Philippines and elsewhere. I will first discuss the significance of the American flag, and then to the crucial role of the English language in their roles as New Scouts.

The American flag was significant to the Filipino veterans' identity formation as Americans and their belief in having been American soldiers during their service in the New Scouts. Like the uniform, the American flag was also part of the New Scouts' daily life. Abraham Gepulle, who was stationed at Camp Murphy in the Philippines from 1947 to 1949, gave an account of his daily routine, which he explained as the reason for how and why he felt American during his service:

“We had no Philippine flags at the base. They were all American flags. During flag ceremony, we saluted the American flag because we were Americans ever since we enlisted. We woke up at 4am to do the flag ceremony, and we saluted the American flag. All my officials at Camp Murphy were all Americans (white). They trained us in bayonet combat, gun combat, and how to disable guns. The lectures were in English. In the mess hall, we ate fish, chicken, pork, and beef. For breakfast, we had coffee, milk, and bread. Lunch is at 1pm, and then we cleaned. Then we would lower the flag at sunset, and then we would go to sleep. That was everyday.”

This account demonstrates the structure in which the New Scouts lived that helped shape their habitus. The soldiers *saw* American flags everyday. They started their day by saluting to it. They positioned their body in salutation to the flag to

demonstrate discipline of the mind and body as soldiers. And at the end of each of their workday, the Filipino soldiers lowered the flag. This daily practice signified to the Filipino soldiers that all of their bodily labor were in service for the American nation.

Moreover, what the New Scouts did in between the raising and the lowering of the flag, were also part of what was expected of them as soldiers in the U.S. Army. They watched, listened to, and learned from their officers and instructors for hours in the mornings and afternoons. Most of their superiors in the New Scouts were white Americans. But even for the New Scouts whose commanders were Filipinos, there were always white Americans who held the highest positions. Thus, they *spoke* in English everyday on the military base. As having been colonized by the U.S. from the turn of the 20th century, the Filipino veterans began learning English in primary school from white American teachers or Filipino teachers educated by Americans. All of the veterans I interviewed reported having been taught English in their schools in elementary and high school, before World War II. But learning it in school is quite distinct from *vocalizing* it daily to their commanders and fellow soldiers while on duty, and while their wages were dependent on their work performance. The English-only policy for the Filipino soldiers in the New Scouts during their lectures and training, and when communicating with American soldiers and officers, became not only a symbol but also a practice of American-ness. Speaking in English helped make the New Scouts feel American.

For example, Rufino DeVera, when I asked him whether he felt American during his military service, responded:

“Yes, because when we were in basic training, all of our supervisors were Americans. For example our commander was a white guy. Everyday we spoke in English in the company. Everyday we had lectures. Our lecturer is our commanding captain. He always spoke in English—no other languages, just English.”

While these lectures served as spaces that facilitated proximity for the American and the Filipino soldiers in the New Scouts, I distinguish it from the kind of proximity that the Old Scouts, USAFFE soldiers, and guerrilla units experienced. The latter facilitated shared bodily experiences of suffering and conviviality during wartime, while the former underscored the power structure and difference between the American commander and the Filipino soldiers.

The power structure, or the hierarchy, in military life was explicit: the Filipinos were to follow the orders and complete their assignments, given to them by their officials in English, whether or not the officials were Americans or Filipinos.

New Scouts veteran Felix Sison put it this way:

“Our company commander was American, his name was Captain Brady. Our platoon sergeant was American, his name was Sergeant Moore. Our vice commander was Filipino, and our first sergeant was also Filipino. But all of our lectures were in English.

We couldn't speak Tagalog because we were with Americans.”

The Filipino veterans did not actually interpret the English-only policy as necessarily harsh. In fact, some veterans often interpreted it as an invitation to actively participate in the “American” way. Sison also remarked: “yes, they treated us like Americans because when they spoke to us, they spoke in English.”

Pedro Sarmiento, a former guerrilla soldier who enlisted in the New Scouts after the war, did not just have to speak in English, he also had to sing in it. “I am not bragging, ok, but I was assigned in the entertainment unit,” he chuckled. He continued: “wherever the company was assigned, we would sing there.” I asked him in which language he sang the songs: “English or Tagalog?” And he replied: “Of course, we sang in English. They were Americans!” When I asked him for some song titles, he listed: “‘No Place Like Home’, ‘Old Virginia’...” and while claiming in Tagalog that he had already forgotten them: “*nakalimutan ko na ang mga kanta’ng iyon.*” (I already forgot those songs.), he began to sing excerpts of a song in the middle of our interview. There he was, sitting on a chair in a community hall in San Francisco during our interview, recalling them, like muscle memory. I suggest that singing in English for Sarmiento is learned behavior that has become almost instinctual, like a body reflex, because English was not simply a language learned: it was an integral aspect of his daily life during his military service. Speaking and singing in English was the way *to be*, that it was part of his American life.

Conclusion

The formation of American habitus, or “American habits” as New Scouts veteran Teofilo Espilita put it, by way of how one moves, as well as what one sees, hears, speaks, and eats, is evident in the Filipino veterans’ stories above. I suggest that the sense of belonging can be understood not only in what one performs but in what one embodies. The New Scouts experienced the embodiment of American-ness through various aspects of their American military life in a U.S. military base. In this chapter, I discussed how institutional affiliation as U.S. Army instilled among the Filipino soldiers their status as Americans. For the most part of this chapter, however, I emphasized how one’s institutional affiliation was marked by the daily practices that facilitated the Filipino veterans’ claims that they are also American veterans and deserve recognition and treatment as such.

In addition to training one’s body how to move in the American military, the embodiment of U.S. Army is also based on what one consumed, what covered, and what circulated in the body. Some Filipino veterans pointed to the provision of “American chow” to their identification as an American during their service in the New Scouts. Some even linked the provision of American food to the kindness of the American soldiers, which they then perceived as an *invitation* to “American life” and to being an American. Sometimes these provisions of American goods occurred in the context of recreational services provided by the USO: musical and dance performances by American women, skating, and American films. Moreover, the

Filipino soldiers often received their wages in dollars, facilitating their ability to purchase and consume goods from the PX stores, which were meant to provide American goods to the U.S. military forces outside the U.S. wherever they were stationed.

The provisions that signified to the Filipinos that they, too, had become Americans included their American military uniforms. In contrast to the guerrillas who wore plain clothes during the war, the New Scouts were provided their military gear from head to toe. This provision literally covered the bodies of the Filipino soldiers, which signified their incorporation into the U.S. Army and, by extension for some of the veterans, the American body politic. This uniform guaranteed their belonging in their American military base, signifying security and safety under the American flag, as well as service to the U.S. Wearing their uniform was also a requirement to receive their wages, and was thus an inseparable aspect of their daily life in the New Scouts. Put in another way, their uniform served as their second skin, an appendage to the body (Puar 2007). The uniform facilitated the Filipino soldiers' ability to move in the world as members and representatives of the U.S. Army in an American military base.

Not only did it matter what the Filipino soldiers wore on their bodies in order to move around or circulate in the American military base, *what* circulated in the body of the Filipino soldier also contributed to the Filipino veterans' identification as part of the "American military social flesh." I suggest that the English language is an

“item” that circulated in the body of the Filipino soldier, from hearing it spoken and by vocalizing it in return. Similarly, I also argue that the quotidian sights of the American flag and of American officers are also “items” that circulated in the body of the Filipino soldier through vision. Both speaking in English and seeing Americans and American flag everyday are processes that are not separate from the Filipino veterans’ sense of identification as Americans. In this chapter I have argued that through the embodiment of American-ness in the Filipino soldiers’ bodies in the U.S. Army, or “under the American flag” as the Filipino veterans had described, the material body is a site of Americanization.

The material body of the Filipino soldier became a medium for U.S. military power, especially because the New Scouts were the American occupational forces in American territory outside the U.S. The Old Scouts, the Filipino soldiers given “American citizenship” to quell nationalist resistance to U.S. colonization in the Philippines at the turn of the 20th century, became the “presence” or the “arm” of the U.S. in the Philippines. Half a century later, the New Scouts who received official American citizenship after 1946, signified the U.S. presence in their post-WWII territories. Citizenship—or even just the promise of it—became the “tie” that bound the bodies of Filipino soldiers in the U.S. military’s operations outside the U.S. The material body then, cannot be inseparable from the Filipinos’ perceptions and feelings of belonging to the U.S., whether backed by official American citizenship or not.

CHAPTER 5: THE FILIPINO WORLD WAR II VETERANS ON CITIZENSHIP AND NOT BELONGING

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the stories of the fourteen Filipino World War II veterans who did not feel American or identify as an American during their military service for the U.S. How do their stories contrast with the Filipino veterans who did identify as Americans during their service, before or without citizenship naturalization? What contributed to their non-identification or feelings of not belonging to the U.S., even as they were part of the U.S. military or under the American flag? In my analysis of their stories, I find that the main thread running through their stories is their lack of interaction with American soldiers. The correlation between non-identification and lack of experiences of proximity, shared suffering, and shared conviviality, which I discuss in this chapter, strengthens the

Table 2. Filipino WWII veterans who did not identify as American during military service

Military service	Number of veterans (n=14)
Recognized guerrilla only	8
Recognized guerrilla + New Scouts	4
New Scouts only	1
USAFFE + Recognized guerrilla	1

thesis that the body plays a significant role to the formation of citizenship, feelings of belonging, and subject hood.

I begin my analysis of the Filipino veterans who served as part of the recognized guerrilla units for two reasons. First, they make up over half of the veterans who did not identify as Americans during their service. Second, the claim among them is not surprising for the following reasons: (1) they do not have institutional affiliation as “U.S. Army” and (2) recognized guerrilla soldiers did not necessarily have interaction with American soldiers on the battlefield. In fact, Filipinos often initiated guerrilla fighting in their hometown because of their frustration with the Imperial Japanese Army’s treatment of them. Below I share the stories of the following veterans: Ruperto Abrigo, Marcelino Barrozo, Teofilo Apostol, Wenceslao Eugenio, Josefiniano Cavalteja, Alfonso Bangsal, Gaudencio Dawal, and Quirico España. Their explanation for why they did not feel like Americans during their service include: the acknowledgement of differential citizenship rights for Americans; the understanding of citizenship primarily as where one was born; the instrumental understanding of citizenship primarily or only as a legal status; and rare to no interaction with American soldiers.

Next, I will discuss the stories of the six veterans who did have institutional affiliation as soldiers in the U.S. Army, but still did not claim to be Americans during their service. First, I will discuss the four Filipino veterans who were first soldiers of recognized guerrilla units and then enlisted in the New Scouts. These veterans are:

Catalino Camorongan, Gregorio Estrada, and Presiliano Flores, and Eduardo Sobrepeña. Their reasons include the understanding of citizenship primarily or only as a legal status; the understanding of citizenship primarily as where one was born; and rare to no interaction with American soldiers. The section after will discuss the story of New Scouts veteran Saturnino Lactoen who did not identify as Americans, despite his service in the U.S. Army. Finally, I will go over the story of USAFFE and guerrilla veteran Ernie Sombrero who, despite having fought “side by side” with American soldiers during World War II and having the institutional affiliation in the U.S. Army, shared that he did not identify as an American, in contrast to his fellow USAFFE veterans.

Filipino World War II veterans who only served in recognized guerrilla units

Ruperto Abrigo

Ruperto Abrigo fought in a recognized guerrilla unit with Americans. He was next to them in foxholes and he ate C-rations provided by the U.S., but did not claim to be or feel American during his military service. When I was chatting with Abrigo, we were on his front patio and he sat on a rocking chair. This was in the Philippines, and my Uncle Roland was with me for the interview. Abrigo was 89 years old at the time of our interview and was turning 90 in a few weeks. To help get the conversation going, I asked him why he joined the guerrilla. He said: “*Siyempre, para lumaban ng mga Hapon. [...] Kasi ang mga USAFFE at ang mga Philippine Scouts, na-kaptura*

na sila. Gusto kong lumaban.” (Of course, to fight against the Japanese. [...] Because the USAFFE and the Philippine Scouts, they were already captured. I wanted to fight.) I asked him: “What were you fighting for?” He replied with: “*Ang victory ng Pilipinas.*” (The victory of the Philippines.)

A few minutes later, I asked him whether he fought alongside Americans. He said that his unit did have Americans with them. He said: “*Oo, katabi tabi namin sila. Kasama sa foxhole.*” (Yes, we were next to them. We were together in foxholes.) But before the Americans came, he said that there were already Filipinos who were organized guerrilla units. Where he lived, he and other Filipinos joined guerrilla units after General Douglas MacArthur landed in Lingayen, Pangasinan in 1945. He enlisted when he was in San Fabian, 21.75 miles away or a 1-hour drive from Lingayen.

Abrigo did not talk for too long on his experiences as a guerrilla soldier, and I did not prod, in case he did not want to talk too much about it. He shared that after the war, he worked as a company security guard for 40 years. Then I asked him how and when he came to the U.S. He said that he got a letter sometime in the 1990s and he was encouraged to come (he did not remember the date). He did remember that he was interviewed on October 17th and two days later, he was already on his way to Hawai’i. He performed his oath-taking as a naturalized citizen there. He said he enjoyed his time in Hawai’i, as there were many Filipinos where he lived.

After some time discussing when he received his citizenship, I segued to my question: “*Gusto ko po sanang tanungin sa inyo, diba noong lumaban kayo kasama ninyo ang mga Amerikano, parang naging Amerikano na rin po ba kayo? Sa isip po at sa damdamin ninyo?*” (I would like to ask you, when you were fighting alongside the Americans during the war, did you feel like you became an American as well? In your mind and in your heart?) He said, with much reticence, “*oo*” (yes), but with more assurance: “*pero Pilipino pa rin.*” (But still Filipino.) His son tried to speak for him, but I clarified with directly with Abrigo:

Me: “*So sabi po ninyo Lolo, wala po sa isip ang naging Amerikano kasi po sa inyo Pilipino lang po kayo, ganoon?*” (So you said, Lolo, that it wasn’t on your mind that you became an American because you felt that you are solely Filipino, is that it?)

Abrigo: “*Oo. Hanggang ngayon, Pilipino. Kahit sabi nila Amerikano.*” (Yes. Until today, Filipino. Even though people say I am American.)

Me: “*Kahit U.S. citizen po kayo, sa damdamin po ninyo, Pilipino pa rin po—*” (Even though you are a U.S. citizen, in your heart, you are still Filipino—)

Abrigo (laughing): “*Ah, siyempre ah! Ano ka?*” (Of course! What are you?)

Me: “*Bakit ganon po, Lolo?*” (Why do you say it’s like that, Lolo?)

Abrigo: “*Bakit ako magpapalit?*” (Why would I change?)

Abrigo shared that he went to the U.S. so that he would be able to get benefits, especially because he was invited to come to the U.S. based on the 1990 Immigration and Nationality Act. I told him that his answer was something different from what I have heard from other veterans, and that I was wondering why. He began to explain his ideas about citizenship: “*Atsaka doon ang mga nag-naturalize, hindi naman sila purong citizen. Ang U.S. citizen, ang mga pinanganak doon. Ganun talaga. Puwedeng magkandidato iyon. Iyong na-naturalize, puwedeng mag-boto pero hindi mag-kandidato.*” (There [in the U.S.], those who have naturalized [citizenship], they’re not pure citizens. Pure U.S. citizens are those who were born there. It’s really like that. They can run for candidacy. Those who naturalized, they can vote, but they can’t run for candidacy.) His understanding of citizenship was based primarily on where was born. Even though he was ambiguous at first about my question regarding whether he felt American, when I repeated my question and repeated back to him his initial response, he emphasized instead how he identified as Filipino then, when he was a soldier, and now, at the time of our interview even though he possessed American citizenship.

Marcelino Barrozo

Marcelino Barrozo joined a guerrilla unit in 1943 because he wanted to fight against the Imperial Japanese Army. In 1943, there were not yet any American soldiers where he lived in Binmaley, Pangasinan. A Filipino soldier had recruited him

to join the guerrilla, and his role was to pretend to be a civilian to watch the Japanese Army's activities. When the Americans arrived in Lingayen in 1945, he was relieved. Their arrival drove the Japanese Army north to Baguio, about 58 miles away. The Americans gave the Filipino guerrilla soldiers guns, ammunition, uniforms, shoes, food, and for the first time, they were able to hold an "open camp" and train in Lingayen, instead of staying hidden. Barrozo described the Americans as "mabait" (kind). He also shared: "*Gusto 'ng gusto kami!*" (They really liked us!) He described that the Americans were thankful for the guerrilla soldiers' work. He shared how he and his fellow guerrilla soldiers would steal the guns of the Japanese soldiers, and that the Americans applauded their work.

Later, I asked Barrozo when and how he arrived to the U.S. He said that the American government sent him a letter to come to the U.S. in 1992, and he decided to come in 1994. He lived in Los Angeles, California for 19 years, thru 2013. At the time of our interview in March 2013, we were sitting on his front porch with his wife in his hometown in the Philippines. At 87 years old, he said that he was no longer going back to the U.S. When we returned to the topic of citizenship, I asked him if he felt like an American during his military service as a guerrilla soldier. He said: "*Hindi ko alam na makapunta ako diyan. Ang ginagawa namin ay mahinto ang mga loko loko ng mga Hapon.*" (I didn't know that I was going there [to the U.S.] What we were doing was to stop the wrongdoings of the Japanese.) He viewed the Americans only as aides to the Filipino guerrilla's mission to defeat the Japanese Army. In fact,

instead of continuing the discussion about the Americans, he focused on what he experienced with the Japanese soldiers:

“Inakyat ko pa ang mga puno. Akala ko mamamatay na ako. Puta’ng ina. Ngayon, yasi yasi ang sabi nila. Iyon pala, ang gusto nila ay niyog. Ang ginawa namin ay nakabandera ng mga Hapon. Siyempre kung hindi ka nakabandera ng Hapon, wala, puputulin ang ulo mo. Ganyan. Kung wala kang bandera, talagang papatayin ka. Maraming Pilipino ang napatay. Kawawa naman.” (I even climbed a tree. I thought I was going to die. [Expletive Filipino word] Then, the [Japanese] said: ‘yasi, yasi.’ What they were actually telling me was that they wanted coconuts. What we did, is we wore Japanese flags on our clothes. Of course, if you weren’t wearing one, they will cut your head off. Like that. If you didn’t have one on you, they would really kill you. There were a lot of Filipinos who died. I pity them.)

When I asked him why he chose to become a citizen, he said he was highly encouraged by his peers because of all the benefits he told he would receive. He added: *“Maski U.S. citizen ako, Pilipino pa rin.”* (Even though I am a U.S. citizen, I’m still Filipino.) He described all the benefits he was glad he was able to receive as a U.S. citizen, including being able to travel back and forth the U.S. and the Philippines. His primary understanding of citizenship is the benefits and not necessarily as part of his identity and feelings of belonging.

Teofilo Apostol

Teofilo Apostol joined the guerrilla in his hometown Isabela in 1943. He shared that he and his fellow Filipino soldiers would dig foxholes at night, and in the morning, they would fight against the Japanese Army soldiers. I asked him whether his unit was composed entirely of Filipinos and if there were no Americans.

Apostol: *Merong isa. Nakalimutan ko na ang pangalan.*

(There was one. I already forgot his name.)

Me: *Ano ang ranko?* (What rank?)

Apostol: *Sargento.* (Sergeant.)

My uncle²²: *Akatungtungan niyo?* (Did you talk with him?)

Me: *Andi. Amay kaibak.* (No. Those who were with me [did].)

My uncle: *Anta yuy English?* (Do you know English?)

Apostol: *Atalusan ko.* (I understand it.)

Me: *Hindi po kayo nagkausap?* (You did not talk with him?)

Apostol: *Hindi.* (No.)

My uncle: *Anto'y ugali to?* (What was his attitude like?)

Apostol: *Maong met.* (He was good.)

Me: *Anto'y igawa to? Akin maong?* (What did he do? Why 'good'?)

Apostol: *Asikasuan to kami.* (He took care of us.)

My uncle: *Antoy iiter to?* (What did he give you?)

Apostol: *Ibaga to kun wala'y Hapon.* (He would tell us when there are Japanese soldiers.)

²² During my interviews in the Philippines, I was always accompanied by a relative. When the veteran felt more comfortable speaking in their native language, my relatives would help facilitate the interview by translating my questions, asking probe questions, and also helping make the veteran more comfortable with the process.

Me: *Ipinaglaban rin po kayo?* (Did he fight for you?)

Apostol: *Oo.* (Yes.)

As our conversation above shows, Apostol did not have much interaction with Americans. There was one American sergeant in his unit, but because Apostol was only able to understand English but not speak it, he left it to his peers to talk with him.

Later, I asked Apostol whether he went to the U.S. after the 1990 Immigration and Nationality Act. He said he was invited to come to the U.S. but he said he did not want to come to die in the U.S. His family, my uncle, and I joked around with him, asking him if he wanted to come with me when I fly back to the U.S. Apostol resisted, saying: “*Ambetel diman! Labay ko’y mambilay.*” (It’s cold there! I still want to live!) He is not a U.S. citizen and he only received the \$9,000 lump sum payment after the 2009 American Reinvestment and Recovery Act.

When I asked Apostol if he felt American during his military service, he responded with: “*Siyempre, Pilipino. Mas matapang pa ang mga Pilipino kaysa sa mag Amerikano eh!*” (Of course, Filipino. The Filipinos are much braver than the Americans!) When I asked him to clarify, he said that the Filipinos had much more gusto fighting against the Japanese Army than the Americans did. Interestingly, he described Filipinos as embodying more courage and valiance than Americans. What seemed to be at stake for him in distinguishing Filipinos as braver than Americans during battles is that his pride for being Filipino and having fought off the Japanese as a guerrilla soldier.

Wenceslao Eugenio

Wenceslao Eugenio joined the guerrilla in his hometown Alcala, Pangasinan in 1944. He described his experiences in the guerrilla in this way:

“Pinakamahirap ang buhay ng guerrilla. Doon lang kami sa bukid tago tago. Wala pa kaming gamit paglaban. Dito kami nag-training sa Alcala. Ang nag-training sa amin ay iyong USAFFE. Meron rin yung sundalo na galing sa Camp O’Donnell. Siya ang nag-organize sa guerrilla. Siya ang naging commander. Pilipino rin, si Victor Esteban. Punta kami sa labanan. Iyun ang mahirap. Punta kami sa bundok. Pagod, gutom, puyat, yung C-ration ang pagkain namin ay delata. Iyung eroplano ang naghuhulog ng C-rations.” (The life of the guerrilla was the hardest. We were only hiding in the fields. We didn’t have things to fight with. We trained here in Alcala. Those who trained us were the USAFFE. There was also a soldier who came from Camp O’Donnell. He was the one who organized the guerrilla. He became the commander. He was Filipino, too, Victor Esteban. We went to where the combat was. That was what was hard. We went to the mountains. We were tired, hungry, sleepless, the C-rations, our food were canned foods. It was the airplanes who were dropping the C-rations.)

He went on to describe how he joined the Philippine Army, and that he fought against Filipinos who were members of the *Hukbalahap*²³. He and his fellow soldiers in the Philippine Army trained at Camp McKinley, where Filipino officers trained him.

When we began discussing his immigration story and citizenship status, Eugenio talked about getting called to come to America and that he went to the U.S. in September 1993, but he did not become a U.S. citizen. Before I asked him about whether he felt like an American during the war, I first asked him for his reasons for fighting.

Me: *Bakit po kayo sumali sa guerrilla?*

Apostol: *Ang hirap namin dito. Ang kinakatuhanan, yang naranasan ng mag babae dito, pinipilit ang gustong gawin ng mga Hapon. Iyun ang primero. Ang hirap namin. Maniwala ka, tuyong tuyo ang palayan. Walang pala. Kaya itong ginagawa ko sa hirap ng mag babae. Kami naman, masaya kaming sumali. Kahit walang tanggapin. Makabawi lang kami sa pinapahirap ng Hapon. Ang kinakain lang namin ay iyong mga kinakain ng baboy!* (We were struggling. The truth is, the women here, they were being forced to do what the Japanese wanted. That's the primary reason. We were poor. Believe me, the rice fields

²³ The *Hukbalahap* is the short version for "*Hukbong Bayan Laban sa mga Hapones*," which in English translates to "The Nation's Army Against the Japanese Soldiers." An even shortened version is "Huks." The Huks was a Communist guerrilla movement comprised of peasant farmers in Central Luzon. Originally, they formed to fight against the Japanese, and even collaborated with the Philippine and U.S. governments during World War II by sharing intelligence, equipment, and supplies. However, because the Huks were reported as having attempted to derail the efforts of the guerrilla groups with USAFFE soldiers, the Huks did not receive recognition or benefits at the end of WWII. The Huks' Marxist ideals also clashed with the post-war plans of the Philippines and the U.S.

were dry. There was no fortune. That's why I did what I did because of the women's suffering. For us, we were happy to join. Even though we were going to receive nothing. As long as we get back at the Japanese for how they made people suffer. We were only eating what the pigs were eating!)

Regarding having felt like an American during the war, he said: “*Ay hindi. Kasi noon hindi mo alam na merong Amerikano na dumating dito sa Pilipinas. [...] Pumunta kami sa Rosario, akyat kami sa bundok, hindi sa isip namin na merong Amerikano.*” (Oh, no. Because you didn't know back then that Americans were going to arrive to the Philippines. [...] We went to Rosario, we climbed the mountains, it was not on our minds that there were Americans.”

Josefiniano Cavalteja

Josefiniano Cavalteja was happy to join me and my aunt and uncles in his patio area for the interview but he was not particularly talkative that afternoon. I basically ended up having to ask him questions in a row because his answers were short and did not expand on them unless I prodded further. I did learn that he fought as a guerrilla soldier for four years from 1942 to 1946 in Alcala in order to, in his words, “*ipagtanggol ang bayan,*” or defend the nation. He said that the American gave the guerrilla soldiers guns and that his guerrilla unit was attached to them. He described the Americans as “*mabait*” (kind) and: “*Parang kaibigan din. Kasi matiisin*

din sila.” (They were like friends. Because they were also patient.) The Americans trained him and his fellow Filipino guerrilla soldiers in Pugo, La Union, but he did not fight alongside the Americans.

Cavajteja did not go to the U.S. and did not pursue U.S. citizenship. He said: “*Ayaw ko dahil hindi mahirap ang buhay dito.*” (I did not want to because my life here was not hard.) After the war, he worked in the fields, but after he studied and graduated, he worked as an elementary school teacher. When I asked him whether he felt American during his service, he said no, and this was how our conversation panned out:

Cavajteja: “*Basta Pilipino. Pilipinong tunay.*” (Only Filipino. Truly Filipino.)

Me: “*Ano pa po ang gusto ninyong sabihin?*” (What else would you like to say?)

Cavajteja: “*Lahat ng pagkain ng Pilipino, kinakain. Lahat ng gawa ng Pilipino, ginagawa. Ganyan.*” (All that Filipinos eat, I eat. All that Filipinos do, I do.)

His response surprised me, and I had not yet come across another Filipino veteran who used those words to describe why one did not identify as an American during the war and during their military service. As he did not seem too energetic to continue the interview much longer, I tried to wrap up by asking him if he had any more stories he would like to share with us. He ended up sharing two more stories of interest. First, he shared that the Japanese Army soldiers would line up the Filipino men they captured, and those with bad luck would be tortured (water torture). Secondly, he

shared that in the evenings, he and his fellow Filipino soldiers would pass the time through storytelling. They were all Filipinos and there were no Americans by their side, and so the stories were told in Ilocano. There were Americans who also fought in the mountains, but they were not together in the foxholes with the Filipinos in his experience.

Alfonso Bangsal

Alfonso Bangsal joined in 1942 and fought in Binmaley, Pangasinan, when he was only 15 years old. He was in grade school then. Since the older guerrilla members could not work as spies and risk being caught, they recruited younger members who would not be suspected by the Japanese Army. Bangsal said: “*Ang duty ko noon, di ba ang mga Japanese nasa munisipyo namin, so ang trabaho ko kasi bata pa ako, kunyari nagtanim ako ng petsay sa tapat ng munisipyo.*” (What my duty was then, the Japanese took over the municipality, so my work was, because I was still young, I pretended to plant *petsay*²⁴ across the municipality.) He said that when the war was over, and the Americans arrived, they were given discharge papers in Tarlac, and they became civilians. He did not join the New Scouts and instead went back to high school, then went to college, and then took a government job.

I asked Bangsal about his interactions with the Americans when they arrived, and if they were kind to him. He said: “*Aba, oo. [...] Ang masungit ay ang mga*

²⁴ *Petsay*, or *pechay*, is a leafy, green vegetable similar to cabbage or *bok tsoy*.

Hapon. Ang mga Amerikano ay mabait. Binigyan kami ng magandang treatment.” (Oh, yes. [...] The Japanese were hot-tempered. The Americans were good. They gave us good treatment.) When I asked him whether he interacted with them, he answered: “*Siyempre! Kasama namin eh. Marunong akong mag-English.*” (Of course! We were together. I know how to speak English.)

Bangsal received his U.S. citizenship in 1998. He shared that: “*Lahat ng guerrilla, pinapunta sa Manila para mag oath-taking.*” (All of the guerrilla soldiers were encouraged to go to Manila to partake in oath-taking.) He became an American citizen in Manila at the U.S. Embassy in the Philippines. When I asked him whether he already felt like an American citizen during the war, he said: “*Noong guerra, wala pa. Talagang Pilipino. [...] Noong tinawag kami sa Manila to do the oath-taking, doon na ako naging American.*” (During the war, not yet. [I was] really Filipino. [...] When they called us to Manila to do the oath-taking, that was when I became American.)

Gaudencio Dawal

Born in August 1923, Gaudencio Dawal was 90 years old at the time of our interview in Hawai’i. He cooked for me a Filipino meal, a hot pork soup dish complete with rice, and he insisted that I eat first before our interview. I learned that this hospitality was not unusual for all of the veterans in Hawai’i who were able to

participate in the interview. All of the veterans in Hawai'i fed me either before or after the interview.

When we finally got down to the interview, we started with biographical details about Dawal. He was born in Leyte and his father moved the family to Davao in 1940. He was in Davao when the war started. During the war, his family ate sweet potatoes and bananas to get by, and there was a month when there was no salt. He joined the guerrilla in 1945 when he was 22 years old and his guerrilla unit leader was Ilocano. He chose not to join earlier because he said there were no guns. When the guns finally arrived in 1945, provided by the Americans, then he joined. He said: “*masaya na nung may armas!*” (We were happy when there were [finally] guns!) I asked Dawal why he wanted to join the guerrilla: “*Para maglaban sa aking bayan. Para ma drive-away ang Japanese sa aking bayan. Hindi mabuti ang mga Hapon. Hindi mabuti!*” (To fight for my country. To drive away the Japanese from my country. The Japanese were not good. Not good!)

He joined in patrolling the Japanese, and all his fellow guerrilla soldiers were Filipinos, comprised of Ilocano, Visayas, Ilonggo, among others. He said that he had no interaction with the American soldiers. He said that: “*para lang magkatinginan lang kami. Wave lang, kasi umalis na sila papunta sa Davao.*” (We just saw each other. We just waved, because the [American soldiers] were already leaving to go to Davao [another town].) When I asked him if he felt as if he was an American during the war, he said: “*Wala pa. Hindi, wala. Hindi ko pa alam kung makapunta ako dito*

sa America.” (Nothing. No, not yet. I did not know yet that I was coming to America.) In stark contrast to the majority of my interview participants, Dawal understood being or feeling American as connected to being physically in the U.S. Because he did not have institutional affiliation as a USAFFE soldier or as a New Scouts soldier, Dawal did not perceive himself as an American until after he moved to the U.S. and obtained naturalized citizenship status.

Discussion of the guerrilla veterans’ stories

The eight veterans who served as guerrilla soldiers had varying definitions for citizenship, which influenced their non-identification as Americans during the war. In contrast to some of his fellow veterans in chapters three and four, Abrigo, even though he had experienced being “side by side” with Americans in foxholes, did not consider himself to have felt American during the war. He discussed being an American as linked to citizenship as a status and not as feelings of belonging. In addition, he acknowledged the differences in rights—running for candidacy versus voting—among U.S. citizens, and thus did not consider himself to be fully American (he used the word “pure”) even though he already possessed naturalized American citizenship at time of our interview. And because he recognized that the ability to run as a presidential candidate in the U.S. requires being born in the U.S., he emphasized how he did not feel American because he was born in the Philippines. Similarly, Barrozo viewed citizenship as primarily instrumental. He highlighted how he forced

himself to become a U.S. citizen in the 1990s only so that if he did go to the U.S., he would receive benefits. From Abrigo's story, it is clear how the "differential inclusion" (Espiritu 2003) and "racial naturalization" (Carbado 2005) that happen in the U.S. among its citizens has influenced how naturalized American citizens, such as Abrigo, Barrozo, and Bangsal, view citizenship primarily as instrumental and only as a status, not necessarily linked to feelings of belonging.

The remaining seven of the veterans shared how they had rare to no interaction with American soldiers. Barrozo said that there were not yet any Americans in his town during his time in the guerrilla; Apostol said there was one American during his service but could not remember his name and that they did not interact with each other; Eugenio, Cavalteja, Dawal, and Españo shared not having any interaction at all with Americans, or even knowledge of the Americans' presence where they were fighting. This lack of co-presence with Americans did not facilitate the development of the Filipino veterans' feelings of belonging as an American.

Filipino World War II veterans who served in recognized guerrilla units and New Scouts

Catalino Camorongan

Catalino Camorongan was born in December 1920, and was 93 years old at the time of our interview in the Philippines. (He elected not to be recorded during our interview.) He joined the guerrilla in October 1943 and was discharged in January

1946. As a guerrilla soldier, he worked as a spy. He was recruited by the mayor of his town because they knew each other personally. He then served in the New Scouts from December 1947 thru January 1949. He served his duty in Okinawa in the area of building maintenance. By December 1949, he started his service with the Philippine Constabulary and worked there until he retired.

When the U.S. government invited the Filipino World War II veterans to come to the U.S., he applied to become a U.S. citizen in hopes of coming to the U.S. Unfortunately, his wife had passed away, and he decided not to come to the U.S. after all. At the time of our interview, he said he is a dual citizen, but that he does not feel American at all. He also said that he did not feel like an American during his military service.

Gregorio Estrada

Gregorio Estrada was born in October 1923 and joined the guerrilla when he was 20 years old. He served as a guerrilla soldier from 1943 thru 1946. He said he joined the guerrilla because he wanted to help the country (Philippines). He described guerrilla life as “*mahirap*” (difficult). After he was discharged from the recognized guerrilla unit, he enlisted in the U.S. Army and served in the New Scouts from 1946 thru 1949. He was stationed in Okinawa and worked there first as a driver, and then he became a cook. When I asked him whether he had interactions with Americans, he said that the Americans were “*mabait*” (kind). However, he shared that the New

Scouts unit he served with in Okinawa was comprised of all Filipinos. Finally, after his New Scouts unit was disbanded, he joined the Philippine Army and worked there for 30 years and retired at the age of 56.

After the passage of the 1990 Immigration and Nationality Act, he was able to take the oath to become an American citizen in Manila at the U.S. Embassy. Then he went to Los Angeles, California in May 1994. There, he was again interviewed by immigration officers. At the time of our interview in 2013, he was 90 years old and was living in Alcala. When I asked him whether he already felt like an American during the war, he said: “*Hindi pa. Hanggang nag-apply ako sa Pilipinas. Gusto kong maging American citizen para madagdagan ang aking benefits.*” (Not yet. Not until I applied [for it] in the Philippines. I wanted to be an American citizen to add to my benefits.)

Presiliano Flores

Born in January 1927, Presiliano Flores was only about 16 years old when he joined the guerrilla in June 1943. The first guerrilla unit he joined was comprised of all Filipinos. His tasks were to observe and report the movement of the Japanese Army in the Dagupan area. He explained that, starting July 1945 thru March 1946, he then became part of a guerrilla unit that was recognized by the U.S. called the Filipino-American Irregular Troops, or commonly referred to as Fil-American Irregular Troops (FAIT). Even though he had been fighting against the Japanese

forces since 1943, only his eight months of service with FAIT is recognized by the U.S. In May 1946, he joined the New Scouts. Upon enlistment, he was brought to Manila, was trained in Angeles until February 1947, and then he was assigned as a driver in Manila. But from March 1948 thru March 1949, he was sent to Guam, also to work as a driver there. By March 1949, he was sent back to the Philippines where he was finally discharged.

His interactions with Americans varied between his service in the guerrilla and his service in the New Scouts. When he was in the guerrilla, even in FAIT, he did not see any Americans. When he was a truck driver in Guam, he said: “mixed *na yan*. *Halo halo. Ang nasa kompanya namin ay 100-plus. Ang mga Filipinos, 30-plus lang kami. Mga Amerikano ang kasama namin.*” (We were mixed. Integrated. In our company, there were over 100 of us. The Filipinos, there were only 30 of us. The Americans were with us.) When I asked him how they were treated, he said: “*Maganda ang ugali ng mga Amerikano talaga. Siyempre, ni-re-respeto ang foreigners na kasamahan nila. Respetado kami.*” (The attitudes of the Americans were good, really. Of course, they respected the foreigners. We were respected.)

Me: *Parang kaibigan, kapatid, o kilala niyo lang, o matatalik na kaibigan.* (Were they like your friends, like siblings, or just acquaintances, or best friends?)

Flores: *Marami akong kaibigan.* Black or white or *mga Mexicano*. [...] *Ang mga black at Mexicano, mga kabigan namin iyon.* (Laughter.) *Sila ang malapait sa amin. Iyung mga white, parang kung kwan sila.* [Indecipherable word.] *Aywan ko kung bakit malapit*

sila sa mga Pilipino, ang mga black at Mexicano. (I had a lot of friends. Black or white or Mexicans. [...])
The black people and the Mexicans, they were our friends. They were the ones who were close to us. The white people, they were like...I don't know why they were close to the Filipinos, the black people and the Mexicans.)

Me: *Paano po kayo naging kaibigan?* (How did you become friends?)

Flores: *Siyempre sa barracks namin, ang ginawa nila sa amin ay Pilipino, Amerikano, Pilipino, Amerikano, parang ganon. Para maging kaibigan kaming lahat.* (Of course, in our barracks, what they did was Filipino, American, Filipino, American, like that. So that everyone would be friends.)

Me: *Sa tulugan?* (For the sleeping arrangement?)

Flores: *Sa isang barrack...* (In a barrack.)

Me: *Ang kama...* (The beds...)

Flores: *Pilipino, Amerikano, Pilipino, Amerikano. Ganoon ang cot namin. Siguro kaya ganyan ang ginawa nila, para hindi sila mag-away away, para maging kaibigan. (Filipino, American, Filipino, American. That was how our cots were. Maybe they did that, so that there would not be fighting, so that we would be friends.)*

Flores also discussed what it was like during meal times. He said:

“Iba ang mga kitchen ng mga Pilipino. Siyempre, alam mo naman—rice. Pero maraming mga Amerikano na pumupunta sa kitchen namin para maki-ambush. Siguro kumakain rin sila ng rice. Hindi rin maramihan. Hindi naman araw-araw. Dalawa, isa, ganon. Pero kahit na isa ang kitchen namin, iba ang menu namin, iba rin

ang menu nila. Pero pareho kainan.” (The kitchen of the Filipinos were different. Of course, you already know—rice. But there were a lot of Americans who came to our kitchen to ambush. Maybe they eat rice. There weren’t many of them. It wasn’t everyday. Two, one, like that. But even though we had one kitchen, our menu was different, their menu was different. But we ate in the same area.”

We then moved on to how he received his American citizenship. He said that he applied to go to the U.S. in 1996. He did his oath-taking in Manila at the U.S. Embassy in March 1996, and then he went to the U.S. in April 1996. He went to live in Spring Valley, California. He left in 2001. He wanted to come back to the Philippines because he had no family in the U.S. He said that he knew many veterans who returned to the Philippines, so he did, too.

Then I asked him whether he already felt like an American during his service in the New Scouts. He answered with a laugh: “*Sa dibdib? Hindi, bihira. Siyempre, kaibigan mo na sila, eh, pero hindi mo maalisin pagka-Pilipino mo talaga. Aalisin mo ba iyung original? [...] Mahirap isipin, mahirap rin iyun. Pilipino ang origin mo. [...] Kahit na nag-pledge ka sa America, Pilipino ka pa rin.*” (In my heart? No, not really. Of course, they are your friends, but you really can’t remove your Filipino-ness. Would you remove the original? That’s hard to think about. That’s hard. Your origin is Filipino. Even though you already pledged allegiance to the U.S., you are still Filipino.) He said that he wanted to become a citizen because he thought he could

bring his whole family to the U.S. to give them a better life, but he learned that he couldn't use his Social Security Income for his family and to petition them to the U.S.

Eduardo Sobrepeña

I conducted my interview with Eduardo Sobrepeña in Hawai'i on the front patio of the house where he lived in Hawai'i, with another veteran roommate. They took turns talking with me, and Sobrepeña agreed to talk with me after his roommate, also a recognized guerrilla and New Scouts veteran Angelicio Pagar. They both talked to me primarily in English.

Sobrepeña was born in October 1924. First, he joined the guerrilla for five months. When I asked him more questions about his service with the guerrilla, he said it was not a good experience for him and he did not want to remember. He only shared that they took cows, carabaos, and goats from civilians. He looked angry and disturbed recalling it, and I did not want to press him any further. After his discharge from the guerrilla, he got malaria and it took him seven months to heal. After he was healed, he joined the New Scouts in June 1946 and was discharged in May 1949. He went to Capas, Tarlac at Camp O'Donnell for his training, which lasted eight months.

Sobrepeña wanted to work abroad in Okinawa, but was told by his American commanding officer to stay in Manila as a truck driver. His job had been to drive the guns to the shop to get fixed. He drove a six-by-six truck for three years until he was discharged. He said that Americans and Filipinos were integrated in his camp. When I

asked him whether he had good interactions with the Americans during his service, he said: “yes, because I can drive a big truck and tank. They treated me well. When they needed me, they would tell me ‘you’ll be my driver tonight?’ and I’d say ‘yes, sir!’ And then they gave me cigarettes and sometimes they bought me beer, too.” However, he did say later in the interview that during inspection of the trucks, if he did not clean his equipment properly, the commander would take the oil and smear it on his face.

About half an hour into our conversation, I asked Sobrepeña whether he felt like an American during his service. Due to his congenial experiences in the New Scouts, I expected him to say yes. I was surprised when he did not identify as being or having been American as a New Scouts soldier, especially after he had spoken at length about how kind the Americans were to him and his fellow soldiers, in stark contrast to his experiences with the guerrilla members with whom he served. Even when he received his citizenship in July 1992 in the U.S. after he was able to migrate as an “American veteran” due to the 1990 Immigration and Nationality Act, he still identified as Filipino.

Sobrepeña: *Hindi pa. Hindi pa kami Amerikano. [...] Hindi pa, kasi wala pang balita. Wala pa namang nasabi sa amin na kami ay U.S. citizen na. [...] Pagnatanggap na [ang balita], masaya kaming lahat. (No, not yet, because we haven’t received any news about it yet. There was no news telling us that we became Americans. When they called us [in 1990], then we all became happy.)*

Me: When you became a citizen in July 1992, did your perspective of yourself change?

Sobrepeña: *Pareho. Bakit Amerikano? Kumain kami ng kamin, pare-pareho. Hindi tinapay.* (No, I feel the same. Why American? I'm not American. We ate rice, not bread. [Laughter.])

Discussion of the stories from both the recognized guerrilla and the New Scouts

The four veterans above, Camorongán, Estrada, Flores, and Sobrepeña, define citizenship as a legal status and as where one was born, similar to Abrigo in the earlier section. Both Camorongán and Estrada worked in Okinawa; both Sobrepeña and Flores worked in Manila, but Flores was also sent to Guam, while Sobrepeña was assigned to stay in Manila even though he had asked to be sent abroad. Estrada described his unit in Okinawa as comprised of all Filipinos, and so he did not have a lot of chance to become friends with Americans, though he did describe them as kind. Camorongán did not talk at length about his experiences in Okinawa as a New Scouts, but I imagine that he shared similar experiences with Estrada who also served in Okinawa in the same period: they spent most of their time with fellow Filipino soldiers and not with their American officers.

Flores and Sobrepeña's stories were more involved. Flores said that he had no interaction with Americans in Manila, though he did have interaction with white, black, and Mexican soldiers in Guam. In fact, they shared integrated barracks. He primarily described them as friends, however, and not like brothers, as other veterans

in the previous chapters. Flores did not identify as American during his service, insisting instead that he identifies as Filipino because it is his “origin” even though he already obtained his American citizenship. Sobrepeña’s justification for why he did not feel American during his service was comical, but it highlighted the importance of the body and embodiment to his identity. He said: “We ate rice, not bread.” This is similar to Cavalteja’s statement above: “All that Filipinos eat, I eat. All that Filipinos do, I do.” Sobrepeña and Cavalteja highlighted their preferred staple, a nod to the embodiment of their Filipino identity.

The Filipino World War II veteran who served in New Scouts only

Saturnino Lactaoen

I interviewed Saturnino Lactaoen in Hawai’i, in a room he was renting along with another veteran (Teofilo Sobrevilla) and his wife. Lactaoen was recovering from a cold, and he sat on the edge of his bed in his pajamas during our interview. For a moment near the end of our conversation, he referred to his wife as my mother and called me his child. He had a faraway look in his eyes, and he sounded sad when he shared that a fellow Filipino veteran had passed away before the equity bill was passed in 2009.

Lactaoen joined the New Scouts in September 1946 and was discharged in May 1949. After three months of training in Marikina Rizal, he was sent overseas to Okinawa. He worked in the anti-tank company and he referred to his role as the

“ammo bearer.” He said that the commanding officer was American, but the officials were all Filipinos from different parts of the Philippines, such as Pampanga, Ilocos, and Pangasinan. He described his daily schedule as full: he had lectures, drills, and then work as a guard from 6pm to 12am or from 12am to 6pm. He said that the lectures from the American commanding officer were in English, but those from the Filipino officials can be in other Filipino languages.

He then shared how the living situation was in Okinawa. He described the Filipinos as living together, and that the American officers lived separately.

Me: *Ang buhay ninyo sa Okinawa, iyung mga Pilipino dito po, ang mag Amerikano dito po. Separate kayo.* (Your life in Okinawa, the Filipinos were here, and the Americans were there. You were separate.)

Lactaon: *Oo separate. Pero ang kuwan namin... Pilipino lahat. Ang mga official namin, may independence ang buhay nila. May mga asawa sila. Iyan ang guwardiya namin, ang mga bahay ng mga independent na officials na Amerikano.* (Yes, separate. But our what do you call it...were all Filipino. Our officials, they had independent lives. They had spouses. That’s what we were guarding, the homes of the independent officials who were Americans.)

Me: *Iyung pamilya ng mga amerikano, nandiyan rin sa Japan. Ginaguwardia niyo sila?* (The families of the Americans, they were there too in Japan. You were guarding them?)

Lactaon: *Doon sila sa Okinawa rin. Pero may ibang lugar na may bahay sila na para sa mga official lang.*

(They were in Okinawa, too. But they had a different place for their homes that are for the officials only.)

Then we got to talking about when and how he came to live in Hawai'i. He said that he received a letter from the U.S. Embassy in the Philippines to be interviewed in Honolulu. He arrived in Hawai'i in July 1992 for his interview on the 15th. Two days later, he took the oath for American citizenship. Then I segued to asking him about whether he felt like an American during his service in the New Scouts. He did not answer the question immediately. He said he wanted to be an American G.I. immediately after his service in the New Scouts because there was no work for Filipinos in the Philippines. He was a farmer, but that he did not own land. When I asked the question again, then he answered: "*Hindi naman. Pero may balita noon na kapag nakatrabaho kami sa U.S. government, puwedeng mag-apply.*" (Not really. But there was news a long time ago that if we worked for the U.S. government, we would be able to apply.)

Discussion

Lactaen's story highlights the segregation that he and his fellow Filipino soldiers experienced in Okinawa. He shared how his work, in addition to being an "ammo bearer," included being a guard for the homes of the American officers, where they and their families live. This "separation" marked for him the hierarchy between the American officers who have the "independence" to live outside the military base,

and the Filipino soldiers who had to guard these homes. While Lactaen was not emphatic about his embodiment of Filipino-ness for his reason not to have identified as an American during his service, in the way that Cavalteja and Sobrepeña did, when Lactaen said “no,” he emphasized citizenship not as a feeling of belonging but as a legal status.

The Filipino World War II veteran who served in USAFFE and a recognized guerrilla unit (Hunters ROTC)

Ernie Sombrero

Ernie Sombrero was gracious to interview with me. When I called to set up an appointment with him, his daughter talked with me first to get to know me and my work. She was cautious at first because Sombrero has post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). When I arrived in their home, they made me feel welcome and they had set out a generous plate of snacks and drinks on the table in the living room. During the interview, Sombrero spoke almost completely in English, and he had a lot to share.

The excerpt below is within the first ten minutes of our conversation.

“I was not in the Bataan Death March because I was inducted in 1943 during Japanese occupation. All I did was observation and then I would report it to MacArthur. [...] I was in the Philippine Commonwealth

Army²⁵ first, but it was disbanded because it was already Japanese occupation. So we formed our guerrilla unit, the Hunters ROTC. [...] During the guerrilla times, the Japanese were not our only enemies. It was the mosquitoes, leeches, flies, and mother nature. (Laughter.) They're our first enemy, the second was the Japanese. We are an airborne organization. I was wounded before. I have PTSD that's why I do not always want to be interviewed, but you are Filipina. (Pause.) But I'm sorry I don't want to narrate what happened to me because it's really unfair. I'm the one wounded and I don't get nothing (sic), you see? But now I got something, it's just a few dollars, but I don't care so much about that. I just want to help them recognize who I am! That's all! I'm not asking for money. I'm asking for honor, not for a knight in a shining armor, no, no, no. I just want them to recognize who I am. That's all I want, see? Because in that time, when..."

There was a long pause, and I reassure him to only talk about what he's comfortable with. When he continued, he said: "I've seen plenty of death, you know." At this point, he started tearing up, so I changed the subject for a moment. We got to talking about his birthday, and we had a laugh over how he shared the same birthday as my husband Robert.

²⁵ The Philippine Commonwealth Army was under the control of the United States, and it was under the umbrella of the United States Army Forces of the Far East (USAFFE).

Without my prodding, he tried talking about the war some more. But when it was clear that he was having a hard time trying to stay calm recalling what happened, I changed the subject again. I asked him: “After the war, how did you end up where you are now?”

“The first thing they did was give us 54 pesos to discharge because the Japanese surrendered and we were going home, all of us. [They said] “thank you for your service” and they gave me 54 pesos. Only 54 pesos. For four years! Could you imagine, just 54 pesos? So they told me that if I want to re-enlist, they told me to go to Fort McKinley. I said ‘no’. I wanted to go back to school, you know.”

Sombrero attended the Philippine Institute of Technology, but it had been challenging because he worked in the daytime and went to school in the evening. When his cousin told him about an opportunity in Guam, Sombrero joined him and got a job as an aircraft mechanic. He lived there from 1947 to 1949, and then left to find work in Okinawa in 1949, where he met his wife. In 1972, he and his wife moved to Guam, and lived there until 2006 for a total of 35 years. He described himself as a Guamanian and as a “stranger in [his] own country” whenever he visited the Philippines. He obtained his U.S. citizenship in Guam in 1974.

I began to ask him questions about his interactions with Americans and whether the Filipinos and Americans were integrated during his service. He replied with:

“No, we had our own company. The white people were separated from us. They lived in the 11th Airborne Division. You are talking about the Japanese occupation and the liberation? I was Hunters ROTC. I belonged to Company A, 3rd platoon, 3rd squad. In our company, [we were] all Filipinos, not with the Americans. We were just attached to the 11th Airborne Division. They were all white. Because at that time, the black and white were not together yet.”

He mentioned segregation briefly, but then moved on to describe the roles of different soldiers in the ROTC guerrilla. The Hunters ROTC was an all-Filipino guerrilla unit that was active during Japanese occupation of the Philippines, and was critical to helping the Americans return to the Philippines in 1945. Sombrero also talked about how the Filipino soldiers were being trained to be part of the 11th Airborne Division eventually, but that “the war ended because of this atomic bomb.”

Then I began a conversation about whether he already felt as if he was an American during his service. In the quotations to follow, I keep the same tenses that Sombrero used, in order to illustrate how raw his emotions and memories may have been during our interview. He said: “No, I’m still a Filipino. I feel I’m still Filipino because we are not [citizens] yet. We have our own outfit because the Americans were separated from us.” Later, he shared more regarding his response about not having felt like an American during his service:

“No, I don’t because I’m still a Filipino. To tell you the truth, when I was in Okinawa, I was mistreated by the

whites²⁶ while I was serving. And also in Guam. You know what they call us? Flips. In a bad way. So either way, like what I said, I will never ever salute that flag, the American flag. I don't want to say 'hate' but I have hard feelings, but when I became a U.S. citizen, that's it. I had to salute the flag. [...] I was not a citizen yet, that's why I said I will not respect anybody because of the way they treated us. We had our own kitchen, you know. Every time they gave us some things, that was when I was in the Army. That's why I said [that] when somebody asked how's my life during the American occupation and liberation, I just say I don't want to mention it. But I could tell you right now. The reason why I cannot sleep is because I kept a promise to a member of my squad. He died in my arms because of a sniper. He said 'sir, sir, give me some water'. I cannot give him water because it would not hold. The water would just come out, so I didn't give him [any]. 'Would you promise to keep to give my body to my family?' But I never asked him 'where his mother and father' (sic). I thought that my commander has the information. Sometimes when you die, they just leave you in one place. They forget all about it. Aside from that, when they gave us this benefit, they are all forgotten. If you're in the Army, your name is in the record, but this guy who died, they are not in the record, so it's really a pity. That's why when I promised him, I was crying. I see them, my platoon sergeant, all dead."

Discussion

²⁶ While I do not use the word "whites" in both written and spoken English, I include it here as part of Sombrero's quotation to keep the integrity of his statement.

Despite his institutional affiliation as a U.S. Army soldier and as part of the recognized guerrilla unit Hunters ROTC from 1943 to 1946, Sombrero did not feel as if he was an American during his service. Sombrero, however, did not actually highlight how the Hunters ROTC was an all-Filipino unit or that he did not interact with Americans at all during the war, besides providing intelligence for General MacArthur. The primary reason for his *dis*-identification with Americans was the racism he experienced from “whites” when he was living in Okinawa and Guam, as a civilian after the war. In addition, he highlighted his pain for the lack of recognition from the U.S. for his fellow guerrilla soldiers who died on the field. Sombrero’s lack of proximity to American soldiers and, thus, lack of shared or “side by side” experiences of violence and conviviality with them, did not nurture in him feelings of belonging towards the American soldiers during WWII. And because of his racialization as “Flip” by Americans when he was a civilian, even outside the U.S. or the Philippines, further distanced him from them.

Conclusion

The stories of the fourteen Filipino World War II veterans who did not identify as Americans during their military service help strengthen the thesis that the body plays a key role in citizenship formation, as feelings of belonging and as an identity. First, the interviews from the recognized guerrilla veterans demonstrate that the lack of experiences, whether life-threatening or life-giving, *alongside* American soldiers

did not bring about the shared identity as Americans fighting under the same flag. Instead, they emphasized that they joined the guerrilla in order to defend their Philippine nation. While this was true for the other guerrilla veterans in chapters three and four, in contrast, the veterans in this chapter did not experience sustained contact with American veterans. Thus, their conceptualization of American citizenship is that of a legal status, and one that is provided differentially among American citizens. In the end, in their 80s and 90s, they identify as Filipino, then during their service, now, and even among those who have already acquired their U.S. citizenship.

Similarly, the four veterans who did serve in both recognized guerrilla units and the New Scouts, but did not identify as Americans at the time of their service, focused on American citizenship as a legal status. Flores linked his identity to where he was born, or where he was originally from, while Sobrepeña linked his identity to what he ate and preferred to eat—rice instead of bread—during his military service.

For Lactaoen and Sombrero, both of whom I interviewed in Hawai'i, the issue of global racial hierarchy, manifest in segregation and name-calling, contributed to their identification as *not* American during their military service. Additionally, and specifically, Sombrero named the lack of recognition by the U.S. for his fallen fellow soldiers in the guerrilla that contributed to his crying at the time of our interview. Lactaoen embodied his sadness for his fellow veterans who passed away in their old age before they received their lump sum payment, and for the continued lack of recognition and lack of benefits for him and his fellow surviving veterans. He sat on

his bed, hunched, willing and happy to chat with me, but often looked down and about his room, which seemed clean but not entirely well kept—he had piles of flyers and newspaper clippings strewn about his bedroom. He was keeping up on the news about his and his fellow veterans' situation, as well as keeping track of the organizations who were advocating on their behalf. Sombrero, on the other hand, moved about his daughter's house and in his room with much more vigor than Lactaen. Sombrero's body shook when he expressed his anger; his tears fell freely when he expressed his pain for himself and for his fellow veterans. He also pointed out to me his scar from when he fought during the war as part of his proof in pursuit of the recognition he has been denied. He said at the tail end of our interview: "I told you that I would like to show to you my records so that you would not think I am lying. This is on the record here now, ok? This is on the record. I still have the scar from that shrapnel."

The veterans who have physical scars often pointed them out to me. But there are many veterans who say that their wounds were caused more so by the lack—or for the more optimistic ones, lateness—of recognition and rights for them and their late fellow Filipino veterans as American veterans. In the last and concluding chapter, I provide some of the highlights of the Filipino Veterans Equity Movement (FVEM). I attend to the veterans' emphasis on their bodies in their strategies to garner attention and support for their demands. Finally, in piecing together the puzzle of why the Filipino World War II veterans feel belonging as Americans and American veterans

despite the denial of the U.S., I offer the concepts differential belonging, embodied community, and phantom limb citizenship—terms that take seriously the body politics of the state and individuals.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Filipino Veterans on the News, 1997

On Saturday, June 14, 1997, 75-year old Aniceto Montaos and as many as forty other Filipino World War II veterans began a sit-in at the General Douglas MacArthur Park in Los Angeles, California.²⁷ Angel de la Cruz, at 72 years old, also vowed to do a hunger strike as part of his protest. *Los Angeles Times* reporter Joe Mozingo quoted Cruz saying: “I am hungry for that bill.” He was referring to the Filipino Veterans Equity Bill, which would provide full military benefits for the estimated 70,000 living Filipino veterans who are receiving about a third given to their fellow American veterans.

The following Monday, on the 16th, Montaos, Cruz, Dalmacio Austria, also 72 years old, and seven other veterans chained themselves to the statue of their former commander at the park. They sat in a semicircle of lawn chairs with the American flag and chains draped on their backs, shoulders, and chest. When Richard Riordan, mayor of Los Angeles at the time, and Antonio Villaraigosa (now also a

²⁷ ²⁷ I weaved together the stories from the following news reports: (1) “Filipino Veterans Chain Selves to Statue in Protest” by Joe Mozingo for the *Los Angeles Times* on June 17, 1997; (2) “Filipino Veterans Get Riordan’s Backing in Benefits Protest” by Hugo Martin for the *Los Angeles Times* on June 22, 1997; (3) “Filipino Veterans Plan Caravan to Washington to Press for Benefits” by Joe Mozingo for *Los Angeles Times* on July 27, 1997; “Filipinos Press Claims For U.S. Aid As Veterans” from *The New York Times* on August 24, 1997; and “Filipino-American Vets Earned Benefits” by Emil Guillermo for *Knight-Ridder/Tribune News Service on The Ledger* on September 8, 1997.

former mayor of Los Angeles), arrived at MacArthur Park on June 21st, a week since day one of the sit-in, the veterans, their families, and their supporters stood up, clapping and singing MacArthur's famous farewell address "old soldiers never die, they just fade away." During that visit, Riordan, a Korean War veteran, addressed the crowd of fifty people, saying: "Our duty to our country is to treat our soldiers with equity." On the same day, *Los Angeles Times* reporter Hugo Martin quoted 71-year old veteran Orencio B. Salem saying: "We are ready to die of starvation if we must. We will win. God will give us the victory."

By July 26, 1997, the number of Filipino veterans and supporters protesting at MacArthur Park reached 200. They had dubbed their sit-in area the "Equity Village." The organizers had begun plans for a a cross-country caravan—the "Equity Caravan"—to Washington, D.C. for a scheduled arrival on September 9th. Meanwhile, on the same day at the Capitol, about 300 Filipino Americans, veterans, their families, and advocates altogether, marched outside the White House. Fifteen demonstrators, including Representative Bob Filner from San Diego, California, and Franco Arcebal from Los Angeles, CA, chained themselves to the White House fence (see Figure 1). When the police came to arrest the demonstrators and placed in a paddy wagon, the crowd sang the same MacArthur lines, echoing the voices from the MacArthur Park a month before: "old soldiers never die, they just fade away."

On August 22nd, fifteen more demonstrators were arrested at the Capitol. They had sprawled their limp bodies on the sidewalk to evoke the Bataan Death

March while others clung onto the fence around the White House. On this occasion, *New York Times* quoted 76-year old Max Lorentino, a USAFFE veteran who suffered the Bataan Death March, saying: “We were treated like Americans during the war. But afterward, we were treated like traitors. We are dying. We can’t wait for 5 or 10 years for help.”

On September 4th, the Equity Caravan had arrived from its long trek from Los Angeles to Washington, D.C. In protest of Veterans’ Affairs Committee Chair Representative Bob Stump, dozens of Filipino veterans stood on the Capitol, their mouths covered shut with masking tape. His policy of blocking committee hearings on the Equity Bill had “silenced” them. And again, after arriving at Washington D.C.,



Figure 1. Franco Arcebal is standing in front of the White House fence, to which he and fourteen others are chained, in the summer of 1997.

veteran Cruz resumed his hunger strike at the beginning of the overnight vigils in front of the White House. He lasted fifteen days on the strike in Los Angeles, and had only stopped because he had been hospitalized due to dehydration. At the Washington protest, reporter Emil Guillermo of *Tribute News Service* quoted 79-year old Arcadio Calabas saying: “We were side-by-side with the Americans, together in the death march and the concentration camp. So I feel the bond between the Americans and the Filipinos is so close. And yet on the benefits we are being discriminated against, treated like second-class citizens.”

Discussion

I began this final chapter with a compilation of reports from various newspapers in the summer of 1997 regarding the Filipino World War II veterans’ demonstrations in Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. While most scholars of the Filipino Veterans Equity Movement focus on the strategies of naturalization lawsuits and Congressional hearings, I wanted to pay closer attention to the strategies in which the veterans put their bodies on the line. The strategies of marches, sit-ins, chain-ins, and hunger strikes are not new. But while compelling on their own, I argue that the veterans’ actions ought to be contextualized by their experiences during their military service for the U.S. Taken together, it becomes clear how the veterans’ bodily experiences are crucial to their identification as Americans and American veterans.

This dissertation has examined the puzzle of the Filipino World War II veterans' claims of belonging as Americans and American veterans before or without citizenship naturalization, before or without having moved to the U.S., and despite their exclusion by the U.S. government. My data suggest that the basis of their claims is their bodily experiences during their military service for the U.S. The veterans' stories illustrate how citizenship formation necessarily encompasses the body—not only what the state does to individuals' bodies, as I discussed in chapter two, but also what individuals come to perceive about their sense of belonging based on what their bodies experience and with whom, which I covered in the remaining chapters. The Filipino veterans' case challenges us to reconsider citizenship as primarily a discrete, legal status that comes from the state, instead of an often contentious process that hopeful citizens or would-be citizens actually negotiate (Motomura 2006; Banerjee 2010). Immigration and citizenship scholars, however, have not yet explored the role of the body in this process. That is the contribution I hope to make.

In this final chapter, I expand on the concepts differential belonging, embodied community, and phantom limb citizenship, all of which bring attention to the body politics of the state and individuals. First, I will go over differential belonging, distinguish it from the state's practice of differential inclusion (Espiritu 2003), and link it to racial naturalization (Carbado 2005). Both the latter concepts create the opening for differential belonging, which is a theoretical tool to examine feelings of belonging in the context of what states do. But I extend differential

belonging beyond a discussion of feelings by also attaching it to the body. With the term “embodied community,” the intent and hope is to reconsider Anderson’s (2006[1991]) “imagined community,” how one feels love for one’s country, as something that is not only envisioned but also embodied, particularly because fighting, killing, and dying for a country is lived in the flesh. Finally, I conclude with my contribution to the intersecting fields of immigration, race, and citizenship: phantom limb citizenship. I hope that the Filipino veterans’ stories have clearly illustrated this concept—the sense of belonging to a state that has been taken away, but lingers, and quite strongly for some, as a phantom limb.

Differential belonging

The intent for this dissertation is to examine the stories of the Filipino World War II veterans, regarding their experiences during their military service, and how they can claim to belong to the state that denies them their recognition and rights as American veterans. The terms “differential inclusion” (Espiritu 2003) and “racial naturalization” (Carbado 2005) do well in describing how the state can simultaneously include and exclude populations to serve its needs, particularly non-white populations who are racialized and marginalized in a white supremacy culture. Both complicate the dichotomy often set up between inclusion and exclusion. Espiritu (2003) says that states regard certain people as integral to its national identity because of their lower position in the global racial hierarchy.

In a similar vein, Carbado (2005) argues that inclusion and exclusion are not actually two separate processes, meaning that inclusion into the state, such as citizenship status for example, may not actually mean equal recognition and rights. And, that exclusion does not necessarily mean unequal relations to the dominant group. And it is this theoretical opening that allows me to make the case that the Filipino World War II veterans already lived life as an American citizen, whether in the battlefield alongside American soldiers, or on American military bases, or both, in the Philippines—before or without having migrated to the U.S. The Filipino veterans’ case illustrate that the citizenship status does not necessarily precede the treatment as Americans—at least in the perspective of the Filipinos—and feelings of belonging to the state. The term differential belonging provides a theoretical tool for scholars to consider subject formation, in the context of the state’s actions, but also beyond.

If we limit our analysis on the diverse ways the U.S. recruited and inducted Filipino soldiers to fight during World War II, we would assume that Filipinos would feel differently towards the U.S. according to which military units they served: the pre-World War II Philippine Scouts (“Old Scouts”), the U.S. Army Forces of the Far East (USAFFE), the recognized guerrilla units, and the post-World War II Philippine Scouts (“New Scouts”). After all, these various units were formed at different times, and for different purposes or needs, as discussed in chapter two. However, as I demonstrated in chapters three and four, the Filipino veterans in each group similarly claimed being American soldiers under the U.S. flag. In fact, the USAFFE veterans in

my research, all of whom received their lump sum payment as part of the 2009 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, claimed that they were more “American veterans” than the Philippine Scouts because the phrase “U.S. Army” was already in the name of their military unit. The New Scouts veterans, however, often pointed out to me that they received discharge papers with the same phrase: “U.S. Army.” But the recognized guerrilla veterans also claim to be American veterans, despite having no institutional affiliation that says “U.S. Army.”

As I have shown in chapters three and four, the common denominator among the Filipino veterans from the various military units is that their claims are based on what their bodies have done or gone through. For example, as I have shown in chapter three, the pre-World War II Old Scouts, the USAFFE veterans, as well as the recognized guerrilla veterans talked about having experienced shared experiences of violence as well as conviviality with American soldiers. They fought “side-by-side” together, suffered through the Bataan Death March together, and went through torture together by the Imperial Japanese Army. In the words of veteran Francisco Ladia²⁸, who participated in the MacArthur Park sit-in protest at 73 years old in August 1997: “We were on the same battlefield. The bullets did not choose between Filipinos and Americans.” Moreover, the USAFFE and recognized guerrilla veterans also talked

²⁸ Francisco Ladia is quoted in the article “Filipinos Press Claims for U.S. Aid As Veterans” dated August 24, 1997 in *New York Times*.

about eating the same meals—in the form of C-rations—as the American soldiers, and perhaps more importantly, sharing meals together on the battlefield.

Likewise, the New Scouts also identified as American veterans, even though they may not have experienced violence or conviviality alongside the soldiers who are from the U.S. and have American citizenship by birth. As I discussed in chapter four, they emphasized their quotidian life in American military bases and receiving their wages in dollars. There were some veterans who did not or receive their wages in dollars but in Filipino pesos instead, but they pointed out to me that they were providing their labor for the U.S. and that their wages were coming from the U.S. military. Veteran Patrick Zamar shared how he and his fellow New Scouts protested their 18-peso wages, which were the wages of the soldiers from the Philippine military. They insisted on their service for the U.S. Army and demanded that they be paid accordingly. These were some of their explanations for their identification as Americans and their feelings of belonging to the U.S.

Embodied community

The stories of the Filipino World War II veterans and their identification as Americans and American veterans are why I intended to expand upon Anderson's (2006[1991]) concept of "imagined community." I acknowledge the contribution of Anderson's term: that when it is not always possible to know all of the people in one's community, imagining or envisioning a shared belonging with them may be all that

one can do to foster nationalism. But in addition, I also wanted to come up with a theoretical concept to highlight the material or bodily experiences of the surviving veterans, the experiences of their comrades who passed away on the battlefield, as well as those who never received the benefits accorded by the 2009 Act, precisely because the materiality of their bodies further intensify their feelings of belonging. Moreover, even if the U.S. state did not actually want or mean to include the Filipinos into its pre-Civil Rights, white supremacist “imagined community,” the U.S. could not have stopped the Filipinos from imagining being part of it, particularly because they were already either fighting next to American soldiers, or living as a soldier in the U.S. Army.

Sallie Westwood (2000) suggests that belonging, through national identities, is not fixed but is instead produced by what people practice from day to day. In addition, I explicitly link these practices to the material body. I have highlighted, however, not only the individual body but also the collective, the “embodied community.” Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) concept of the “bodily auxiliary” as well as Chris Beasley and Carol Bacchi’s (2000, 2007) concept of “social flesh” are useful for analyzing the case of the Filipino veterans because of the emphasis on what their bodies have gone through in company of the other.

I have illustrated in chapter three how the proximity of bodies in shared spaces became a condition for the Filipino veterans’ citizenship formation as Americans, both in times of violence and conviviality. This proximity not only

facilitated shared experiences as discussed above, it also facilitated the dependence on each other's bodies for safety and for survival. For example, some veterans relied on staying alive by not falling out of the pack during the Bataan Death March, which they prevented by staying close to each other's bodies in order to hold each other up. In fact, in veteran Domingo Ventenilla's words, they walked "*sabay-sabay*," or synchronously. Another example is that the concept "blood brothers" was applied to the Filipino and American soldiers who were bound together in groups of ten, and that if anyone from that group tried to escape, the rest of the group would be shot dead. These reliance on each other's physical bodies brought about feelings of "horizontal comradeship" (Anderson (2006[1991]), but in a material and intimate manner. The reliance on each other's bodies—in the form of physically sticking together—to stay up, safe, and alive, has made the Filipinos and Americans each other's "bodily auxiliar[ies]" (Merleau-Ponty 1962). The physicality of sticking together has facilitated, for the wartime veterans, their oneness. In veteran Teodoro Dagumboy's words, "it's hard to separate the Filipinos and Americans from each other because we were in it *together*." His discussion of Filipinos and Americans having buried each other's bodies at the prison camp conjures much more than a metaphorical togetherness but a material one.

In chapter four, I talked about the experiences of the post-war New Scouts and how they embodied American-ness. Even though the New Scouts did not have the same quality of proximity to American soldiers as the Old Scouts, USAFFE, and

guerrilla soldiers did, they relied instead on the embodiment of American citizenship through wearing their U.S. Army uniforms, speaking in English, and the daily salutes to the American flag. The daily practice of putting on the uniform, speaking in English in classes and with American officers, as well as raising and lowering the flag requires the training or the disciplining of the body. The body “structures experience and knowledge” (Shilling 2012:114), and not only its shape, size, or abilities, but what it does repeatedly. The New Scouts’ daily lives on the American military bases were the embodiment of an American soldier, which, according to the Filipino veterans, connected them to the larger American community.

Phantom limb citizenship

On one of my long drives from a set of interviews in 2012, I was mulling over how to name the phenomenon of the Filipino World War II veterans’ claiming to have been Americans during their military service, even without the official status as citizens. At first, I thought to call what they were describing as phantom citizenship, because obviously, they were only promised a path to citizenship in the 1942 Second War Powers Act, not actually granted it. But I thought to myself, “they could not have just imagined it, right?” The veterans were so insistent. It could not be just a case of false consciousness or simply Filipino colonial mentality (Constantino 1970).

As I thought back to their reasons for identifying or feeling as if they were already Americans during World War II, they kept pointing out their experiences in

the *material* sense. They discussed what they ate, where they slept, what they wore, how they talked, what they talked about, how they moved, what injuries and pain they sustained, what kept them going, and with whom. The social contexts of war and post-war military occupation structured their lives. I realized that they linked their identifications as Americans during their military service because they embodied American soldier lives. Their physical scars, their muscle memories, the physical manifestations of their post-traumatic stress disorder, their visceral reactions when talking about memories of their fellow American soldiers, even the postures they take on the issue of their lack of recognition and rights—they demonstrate having lived an embodied community.

But with the 1946 Rescission Act, the U.S. reneged on its promise of citizenship status because it deemed the Filipino soldiers' service as "inactive." To this day, in 2016, the main struggle for the Filipino World War II veterans, their families, and supporters is to overturn this Act so that the U.S. would recognize the service and sacrifices of the Filipino soldiers under the American flag. The point for the ongoing fight, and the point why the veterans say they are "still fighting," is for that *equal* recognition as American veterans. According to the veterans, that recognition is what has been cut off.

The words "cut off" and the image of dismemberment brought up for me the image of a phantom limb. I first heard of the concept in an undergraduate Psychology course at UC San Diego taught by Dr. Vilayanur S. Ramachandran. Dr.

Ramachandran is a neuroscientist who has been writing about the phantom limb since the late 1990s. The phantom limb is the sensation that an amputated limb is still attached to the body and is still somehow responding to and moving in coordination with other body parts. People who experience phantom limbs can feel itchy on one of their missing limbs and would need to scratch a part of their face to help relieve the itch. I have made the case that the phantom limb sensation applies to the Filipino World War II veterans' experience. I argue that the term "phantom limb citizenship" demonstrates how the claims of citizenship and belonging can be a result of *lived* experiences as citizens among a population to whom the recognition and rights are never fully granted, or granted only partially. Throughout this dissertation, I demonstrate how the Filipino veterans possess memories of having lived, having been labeled, and having been identified as Americans, but as the "preface" section of this chapter demonstrates, their means to full recognition and rights have been severed. The conceptualization of a citizenship that is a "phantom limb" helps explain why and how it is that marginalized and racialized populations can sustain their decades-long struggle for full recognition despite the state's resistance to and rejection of these claims.

Conclusion

I have argued throughout this dissertation that scholars need to attend to the body regarding matters of citizenship. This dissertation on the Filipino World War II

veterans provides an empirical study of belonging that points to the gaps in citizenship scholarship. First, citizenship is not just about the status, of whether one is or is not a citizen, but that it is instead a process that includes the period of non-citizenship and waiting. Second, the study of citizenship must not be associated solely to when there is immigration into the host state. Third, I intended to contribute to the expansion of the very important concept of “second-class citizenship” by linking race to body and embodiment. And finally, by offering the Filipino veterans’ stories and experiences that highlight their bodies and embodiment, vis-à-vis their identification as Americans without and/or before immigration or naturalization, I am adding to the literature that links the body and the body’s physicality to citizenship.

Citizenship scholars have made the point that citizenship is a process and that theoretical inquiries into citizenship must consider the waiting period for citizenship (Motomura 2006) as well as the language people use in their petitions and strategies to claim or argue their citizenship (Banerjee 2010). I add, however, that citizenship formation is also an experience, and a bodily experience at that. I have discussed at length how the bodily experiences of the Filipino veterans contributed to their ideas and feelings about themselves as Americans, without the official status. Their experiences in the military under the American flag linked their bodies to their military service, to their interactions with and perceptions of their fellow American soldiers, and, by extension, to their feelings of belonging to the U.S. The Cartesian dualism that separates the body from the mind is not an acceptable model in the study

of citizenship. Citizenship scholars need to consider how people experience in and with their bodies the process of citizenship formation.

Moreover, my case challenges the idea that citizenship only becomes an issue after the immigrant moves into the host state. The Filipino veterans identified as Americans and feelings of belonging to the U.S. even before they had any idea that they might one day come to the U.S. Race scholars have argued that citizenship scholars need to attend to how the U.S. state brings its beliefs about race abroad, and how people all over the world are ranked in the global racial hierarchy (Espiritu 2003; Kramer 2006). Attention to the body in both race and citizenship matters in the global sense, as in the Filipino veterans' case, sheds light on how the global racial hierarchy is *lived*. Race is a social construct (Omi and Winant 1994[1986]; Gossett 1997) and so are boundaries or borders, but these constructs have material impacts on the bodies. I aimed to contribute to the literature that encompasses the material body in matters of race and citizenship in the global scale, particularly in the context of empire and colonization (Rydell 1984; Arnold 1993; Anderson 2007).

I also urge citizenship theorists to consider seriously how citizenship is experienced differently by people based on their race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, religion, ability, etc. (Collins 1991; hooks 1991; Morris 1993, 1996; Wendell 1996; Simmonds 1997; Seymour 1998; Ahmed 1999, all cited in Beasley and Bacchi 2000), as well as how gaps in citizenship and rights impact the body or become manifest in the body. The scholars who already do this include those who

have looked at how second-class citizenship, in the form of lack of access to equitable health care as well as the higher concentration of toxins in certain communities, impacts the health of racialized people in the U.S. and worldwide. But in addition, I consider not only the citizenship-to-body relationship, but also the body-to-citizenship connection: how citizenship, subjecthood, and feelings of belonging emerge from what the body experiences, or what bodies experience together. In this way, we can expand our understanding of citizenship not only as a matter of a legal term but as an experience that can be matters of life and death.

Scholarship on the body has been growing since the 1990s and 2000s. But the scope so far has not yet included attention to how race is lived out across national borders, or borders in general. This is important and relevant today, considering the increase in patrolling the U.S.-Mexico borders since the 1980s and the continuing neocolonial linkages the U.S. fosters abroad, both in terms of the economy and military, but also the effects of these on the environment and the quality of life for people who live outside the U.S. My aim, and what I hope I accomplished in this dissertation, is to infuse into the body and citizenship scholarship the history and persisting legacies of colonization and empire.

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