

Modern Day Second Generation Military Filipino Amerasians and Ghosts of the U.S. Military Prostitution System in West Central Luzon's 'AMO Amerasian Triangle'

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Abstract—Second generation military Filipino Amerasians comprise a formidable contemporary segment of the estimated 250,000-plus biracial Amerasians in the Philippines today. Overall, they are a stigmatized and socioeconomically marginalized diaspora; historically, they were abandoned or estranged by U.S. military personnel fathers assigned during the century-long Colonial, Post-World War II and Cold War Era of permanent military basing (1898-1992). Indeed, U.S. military personnel are assigned in smaller numbers in the Philippines today. This inquiry is an outgrowth of two recent small sample studies. The first surfaced the impact of the U.S. military prostitution system on formation of the 'Derivative Amerasian Family Construct' on first generation Amerasians; a second, qualitative case study suggested the continued effect of the prostitution systems' destructive impetuous on second generation Amerasians. The intent of this current qualitative, multiple-case study was to actively seek out second generation sex industry toilers. The purpose was to focus further on this human phenomenon in the post-basing and post-military prostitution system eras. As background, the former military prostitution apparatus has transformed into a modern dynamic of rampant sex tourism and prostitution nationwide. This is characterized by hotel and resorts offering unrestricted carnal access, urban and provincial brothels (casas), discos, bars and pickup clubs, massage parlors, local barrio karaoke bars and street prostitution. A small case study sample (N = 4) of female and male second generation Amerasians were selected. Sample formation employed a non-probability 'snowball' technique drawing respondents from the notorious Angeles, Metro Manila, Olongapo City 'AMO Amerasian Triangle' where most former U.S. military installations were sited and modern sex tourism thrives. A six-month study and analysis of in-depth interviews of female and male sex laborers, their families and peers revealed a litany of disturbing, and troublesome experiences. Results showed profiles of debilitating human poverty, history of family disorganization, stigmatization, social marginalization and the ghost of the military prostitution system and its harmful legacy on Amerasian family units. Emerging were

testimonials of wayward young people ensnared in a maelstrom of deep economic deprivation, familial dysfunction, psychological desperation and societal indifference. The paper recommends that more study is needed and implications of unstudied psychosocial and socioeconomic experiences of distressed younger generations of military Amerasians require specific research. Heretofore apathetic or disengaged U.S. institutions need to confront the issue and formulate activist and solution-oriented social welfare, human services and immigration easement policies and alternatives. These institutions specifically include academic and social science research agencies, corporate foundations, the U.S. Congress, and Departments of State, Defense and Health and Human Services, and Homeland Security (i.e. Citizen and Immigration Services) It is them who continue to endorse a *laissez-faire* policy of non-involvement over the entire Filipino Amerasian question. Such apathy, the paper concludes, relegates this consequential but neglected blood progeny to the status of humiliating destitution and exploitation. Amerasians; thus, remain entrapped in their former colonial, and neo-colonial habitat. Ironically, they are unwitting victims of a U.S. American homeland that fancies itself geo-politically as a strong and strategic military treaty ally of the Philippines in the Western Pacific.

Keywords—Asian Americans, Filipino Amerasians, diaspora, military prostitution, stigmatization.

I. INTRODUCTION

ONE of the causes of high stigmatization and socioeconomic marginalization confronting military Filipino Amerasians is the persistent notion that a preponderant number of Filipina national women bearing biracial Amerasian children with U.S. military personnel fathers were engaged in the sex industry or prostituted behavior [1]-[4]. This was surely thought to be so among first generation Amerasian offspring. The targeted Amerasians, often in infancy were routinely abandoned, estranged even orphaned by U.S. military personnel. This widespread practice occurred during the nearly century long Colonial, Post-Independence, neo-Colonial and military basing era (1898-1992). Indeed, this topic holds agency and relevance today given the 2012 Obama-Biden administration pivot or rebalancing of U.S. forces to the Western Pacific Rim. The defense policy change, which means that more U.S. military personnel and corporate defense contractors will be returning to the islands in greater numbers, is driven in part by concern and high regional trepidation over the People's Republic of China Liberation Forces claim, encroachment and occupation

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of considerable expanses of islands and atolls in the South China Sea/West Philippine Sea [5].

As way of background, sex entertainment or military prostitution related origins (births) of either first or second generations of Filipino Amerasians has never been empirically enumerated or researched in any comprehensive, social scientific way. Hence, there is the basis for belief that the predominant military prostitution nexus is deficient in factual basis or considerably overstated [6]. There is also ample reason to conclude that an equally significant or much greater number of these liaisons - which almost certainly bore hundreds of thousands of mixed-heritage Filipino Amerasians dating to U.S. involvement in the islands in 1898 - were the result of normal socialization and non-military type prostitution fraternization. Such human encounters are bound to occur when foreign troops occupy a region. A literature review and case study evidence contained in a research paper entitled, "Filipina Military Amerasian Motherhood: Stigma, Stereotypes, Truths and Realities," [6] presented in South Korea in 2014 rebutted the common belief that most first generation Amerasians are children of Filipina sex workers and prostituted woman. "There is actionable evidence that a substantial number of Amerasian baby births were the result of normal 'boy-girl' or 'man-woman' relationships between U.S. military personnel and Filipina nationals... These flourished despite competition and enticements from a nefarious system of military prostitution that strangled the perimeters of many permanent bases dating to the U.S. Colonial and Commonwealth eras (1898-1946)" [6]-[8]. This being stated the focus of this paper, nevertheless, centers on second generation Filipino Amerasian progeny and their experiences and attachment to the sex industry in two respects. First, their direct recollection or the knowledge of family members of how or in what context the former military prostitution system was frequented by their U.S. military personnel grandfathers, and how this experience led to birth of Amerasian blood progeny within the family circle. Of further interest is their involvement, past or present, in the tourist and visitor oriented and/or nearly universal domestic prostitution apparatus that permeates the Philippine archipelago today. For instance, there is an absolute dearth of available empirical social scientific study and data on virtually all aspects of second generation Filipino Amerasians. Even news media accounts and anecdotal reports both in the Philippines and on the U.S. mainland are limited [9]. This is not necessarily unexpected given that second generation Amerasians have not been considered or accounted for even in the abbreviated amount of population data available for the Filipino Amerasians diaspora as a whole. For instance, news media dispatches and government reports have claimed or alluded that there were approximately "50,000 Amerasian children" left in the Philippines [7]-[10] when dozens of permanent military installations, including the sprawling Subic Bay naval complex and the huge Clark U.S. air base, were ejected from the former colony in 1992. But the 50,000 children figure is unscientific and not evidence-based. It has not been verified by official census data, population studies or independent

demographic data, either from the U.S. or Philippine governments [11]. Moreover, even if taken on face value the 50,000 figure never calculated first generation adults and elder Amerasians, and it omitted altogether second generation blood progeny. A seminal research paper presented at the 9th International Conference on the Philippines (ICOPHIL-2012) at the Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, USA [11] held that a truer estimate of Amerasians, including first and second generation living today, is 250,000 and possibly more. The paper claimed the numbers were robust enough, and cultural and social linkages between isolated Amerasians and the U.S. mainland deep enough, to classify military Filipino Amerasians as a genuine human diaspora in the classical sense of the definition [11]. Thus, the question at hand is to examine what impact military prostitution, and its successor - a hybrid of globalized tourist-visitor makeup and domestic, urban, barrio and street level sex entertainment and prostitution - has had on at risk second generation Amerasians? Reference [12] described the phenomena of the "militarization" of women's lives across the globe, fueled by the ongoing worldwide arms race of the late 20th and early 21st Century and the persistent requirements of the care and feeding of the military-industrial complex. Its tentacles have reached into the daily activates of more than a billion women. Particularly vulnerable and susceptible to its vicissitudes, feminist researcher Cynthia Enloe wrote, were Filipinas - women who were clearly exploited and victimized by the venal and unsafe sex industry dominated by masculine controls, crime syndicates and the underworld and predatory capitalist values [12]. Reference [13] asserted that the bedrock of U.S. military "prostitution colonialism" was so potent in the Philippines that the archipelago while under U.S. domination "created the model for U.S. military-prostitution in most parts of the world" [13]. Such locations, all long time U.S. troop garrison locales, included Japan, Puerto Rico, Okinawa, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, West Germany, Guam and the Western Pacific Islands. Indeed military and later tourist oriented, globalized prostitution contaminated Philippine culture helping to foster the cruel myth among impressionable Filipina women and teenager girls that one of the only routes out of poverty was to service, have an affair and someday marry a U.S. serviceman or wealthy foreigner [14].

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This small multiple-case study is essentially an offshoot of a pair of related abridged sample quantitative case studies conducted in 2007-2009 [15] and 2013-2014 [9]. Both pieces of research surfaced and described the apparently significant but patently unknown numbers or percentages of either first or second generation Amerasian children who were born to Amerasian mother sex toilers or prostituted woman; these births primarily occurred during the post-independence, neo-Colonial and modern big military bases eras (1946-1992). Mixed blood Amerasians include an array of ethnic and racial human origins on the U.S. mainland including Anglos (whites), African Americans (blacks), Hispanic, Latino or

Chicanos, Native Americans or American Indians and Asian and Pacific Islander Americans [4].

Reference [15] was a research paper presented at the Asian Center of the University of the Philippines-Diliman that refined and analyzed findings contained in a 266-page doctorate dissertation examining mental health, psychosocial and socioeconomic issues among Amerasians. [4] That original dissertation research first identified and described the presence of the "The Derivative Amerasian Family Construct," which held that an Amerasian child, siblings or family birthed in the world of a military prostitution scenario or lifestyle could facilely lead to disruptive and debilitating outcomes. Such outcomes could include loosely configured, dysfunctional and disorganized family structures, identity and bi-racial confusion and conflicts within the family unit itself with great potential to carry over into second, third and succeeding generations. Reference [15] field research resulted in identifying particular derivative family characteristics as:

- 1) Filipina mothers who had given birth to two or more children from two different U.S. servicemen or corporate military contractors of different racial or ethnic background. The mothers are usually engaged in some aspect of sex industry work or as prostituted women,
- 2) A mother who has given birth to a serviceman or military contractor mate of either different races, or ethnic background. Another feature is the same mother giving birth to a child sired by a Filipino father or other male partners such as another foreign national, usually a civilian such as a tourist or overseas worker.
- 3) A family with a severely dysfunctional/impaired household, often evidenced by lack of parental authority, impoverishment including housing insecurity, materially indigent lives and un-or-under-employment, drug abuse and dependency, sometimes physical and/or emotional violence, and neglect and abuse, possibly of a sexual nature.
- 4) Over the course of time some of these characteristics - including disorganized family lifestyles and engagement in activity in-and-out of the sex industry - would become inter-generational in scope, resembling in manner the contour that traditional cycles of socioeconomic welfare program dependency and mental health impairment transform from one generation to the next.

A second small case study (N=8) examined episodes of stigma, psychosocial risk and stress confronting second generation Filipino Amerasians in west Central Luzon. It unexpectedly turned up a fair share of narratives linking second generation Amerasians to the traditional military prostitution model. [9] Four out of eight of these participants, including three African Amerasian and one Anglo respondent admitted their mothers or grandmothers or were involved in meeting U.S. American or Amerasian parental figures in bar or club establishments of the antiquated military prostitution system, or latter day globalized or Philippine domestic prostitution network.. A striking finding in this study also indicated that virtually all eight of the second generation Amerasians chosen for the research - which used a quota

selection methodology - found a recurring problem of runaway or absentee fathers, whether they were Amerasians, Filipinos or foreigners. Virtually mimicking the abandonment behavior of the original first generation Amerasian military father, second generation child Amerasians were left to struggle in mostly impoverished households raised by an often un-or-under-employed Amerasian or Filipina national mother trying to cope with significant income earning limitations. "None reported either intimately knowing or being in some way guided (or mentored) by their father, a finding common in 1st (*sic*) generation families and possibly indicative of a legacy or curse originally planted by run-a-way or absentee military personnel grandfathers or fathers." [9]

References [2] and [16] reported findings of identity confusion, intense name-calling, and harassment based on antipathy over Amerasians and their status as often unwanted offspring of foreign military personnel. Concentrating on the Olongapo-Subic naval complex and Angeles (Clark air base) areas, the studies covered the negative and socially disruptive, exploitive and destructive human impact of the military prostitution system on Filipina women and their mixed-race Amerasian offspring. At an early age Amerasian children's differential skin color, variant bodily features and facial characteristics, particularly Africans, exposed them to heavy discrimination, prejudice and bias. Also recorded were high levels of intense name-calling, harassment and occasionally violence against these sons and daughters of foreign military personnel who were known to have been deserted or orphaned. [2]

One of two of the most contemporary and germinal studies on socioeconomic and health care issues facing Amerasians was performed during an extensive Women's Center, University of the Philippines-Diliman and Pearl S. Buck Foundation field study published in 1999 [3]. It featured a lengthy survey, open and close ended questionnaire items, and focus groups including an expansive national sample of (N=443) participants. Age levels ranged from children to the elderly. It also drew a sweeping geographical sample, not only from Luzon's AMO Amerasian Triangle, but also the Visayas (Central Philippines) including Cebu and Leyte provinces. There, U.S. camps, depots, harbor facilities and airfields dated to at least the World II, Korean and Cold War-Vietnam War eras, and earlier if one reaches back to the Philippine-American War.

Marked levels of discrimination and bias were found along with two well differentiated categories of stigmatization: 1) Classification of African Amerasians with dark skin and facial features emerged as one of the most crystallized objects of vilification, and 2) Many Amerasian mothers faced harsh stigmatization and ostracism as prostituted women or being thought to have engaged in sex labor. The results were that most Amerasians, particularly Africans, were often more impoverished than mean levels of mainstream, lowlander Filipino poor. Barriers to medical support, community health or women's reproductive services were commonplace. Also experienced were bouts of incessant name-calling, harassment and high levels of drug and alcohol abuse or dependency.

Young female respondents experienced verbal, physical, sexual and gender abuse, from care givers, relatives, neighbors and strangers. [3].

A most recent significant inquiry was [4], a three-year, modified mixed method qualitative multiple-case field study (2007-2009) with open-ended interviews examining stigma-related psychosocial physical and personal risk and mental health stress factors. The second instrument was the Australian-developed DASS-21 Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scales inventory that determines levels of fundamental mental health symptomatology. A purposive sample (N=16) from Amerasians living outside the former Clark air force base in Angeles, consisted of equal proportions of black and white race Amerasians, as well as equal portions of females and males, with an age spread ranging from late adolescence to borderline middle age adulthood. Among the findings were identification of numerous physical risk factors including un-or-under employment, alcohol and drug abuse, dependency or addiction, homelessness, debilitating poverty, low education attainment plus a formidable number of mental stress issues including abandonment despair, psychic grief, name-calling and harassment, derivative family upheaval and disorganization, identity conflicts, low self-esteem and social isolation. Over half the sample (62%) registered severe levels of anxiety, depression or stress [4]. Significantly, a nearly equal number demonstrated unexpectedly severe levels of psychosomatic complaints and illness or probable somatic disorder. [17]

III. THE STUDY

A. Paper Hypothesis

Based on previous anecdotal reports, but neither scientifically investigated or measured, it has been held - and this multiple-case study will attempt to demonstrate through contextualization - how a small but representative sample of second generation military Filipino Amerasians engage in sex labor or prostituted behavior of various genre and intensity. These tendencies may be related to past involvement by grandparent, parental or other family authority figures or members engagement in the former U.S. military prostitution system and its modern day successor. Historical analysis shows how this near obsolete system has since evolved into a tourist-oriented and domestic service apparatus which has contributed to the scourge of nearly ubiquitous prostitution and related sex entertainment activity throughout the islands.

B. Research Questions

- 1) What is your personal knowledge of your grandfather - either as a uniformed U.S. military member, private corporate contractor or civilian government employer - developed through your independent inquiry or what you have been told by family members or others?
- 2) Do you have knowledge that your grandmother, father or mother or any immediate members of the family having been engaged in some capacity of sex labor or related activity at any time in your memory? Such involvement may have included connection or association as a bar or nightclub hostess, entertainer, waitress, "door girl," massage parlor associate, agreeing to leave the club in a "bar fine" arrangement or independent related sex industry pursuit including laboring in the capacity of a prostituted woman defined as providing sexual favors for a fee? Have you yourself knowingly engaged in any such activity?
- 3) In your opinion what was the primary motivation(s) or reason (s), e.g., economic, social, cultural, historical, psychological, personal, etc. leading either yourself or a family member to enter into any of the activities described above?
- 4) What is your general level of personal and/or household monetary income on a monthly basis? How would you rate your level of personal/household income/status and general socio-economic status based on a 5-point random scale using the following measures:
 - a. Homeless or having no steady or permanent place to reside, relying on sporadic, intermittent, insecure food and nutritional needs including lack of adequate food and hunger; additionally, children do not attend school and there is little presence of steady or even sporadic employment function.,
 - b. Indigent household living standards characterized by marginalized or insecure housing, i.e. residing in *kubo*, shack or "squatter" type, physically insecure dwelling, at risk physical risk factors that may include no pattern of scheduled meals, intermittent episodes of hunger, poor nutrition, lack of access to in-house or reasonably proximate potable water, over-crowded living conditions, insufficient or wanting individual clothing, no access to medical service or drug prescription medications and danger due to high level of street or neighborhood crime. Traditionally there is significant un-or-under-employment or consistent lack of presence or erratic attendance in public school by youngsters.
 - c. General poverty-like conditions including permutations of the aforementioned indigent category. This status holds a slightly higher capacity of personal/household income allowing for some semblance of regular meals, marginal but somewhat permanent housing arrangements, intermittent access to medical care or drugs often on an emergency basis only, and minimal or scarce funds available to allow some but often not full participation of children in attending public school. There is some but restricted evidence of under employment function or regular job function.
 - d. Borderline poverty containing some features of generalized poverty but with increasing stable levels of income to allow for children to attend public school on a fairly routine basis. There is an often fragile employment income foundation for permitting some semblance of family household budgetary planning to allow for securing of basic food, housing, educational services and consistent or stable medical care,

- e. Above the poverty line. This category may include a generalized variety of statuses including lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class or above categories. There is a higher quality of lifestyle with capability for sustainment and nurturing of normal life functions and varying degrees of socioeconomic stability, permanency and comfort.

C. Methodology

- 1) This small case study presents a basically preliminary or pilot research study into the defined presence of sex industry involvement with either exploitation or voluntary characteristic features among second generation Filipino Amerasians.
- 2) A qualitative, multiple-case study approach, including a biographical data sheet, open-ended questionnaire, one-on-one interviews and direct observation were employed using a small sample (N=4). Data collection focused around the four research questions. Its purpose was to specifically identify 2nd generation Amerasian individuals who found themselves in one or more aspects of sex labor or prostituted behavior, either directly or marginally, and to describe this phenomenon. In the interests of participant confidentiality and research integrity names of participants and other personages mentioned in the narrative are pseudonyms. Additionally, some references to specific geographical locations are altered to further ensure personal identity protection.
- 3) Second generation Anglo (white) and African (black) mixed-race Filipino Amerasian participants, ranging in ages 19-to-31, constituted the sample. It was selected by the "Snowball" method, a non-probability technique, somewhat resembling the accidental or available sample. "The investigator starts with a few individuals who meet the study criteria and asks them to suggest the names of additional individuals who meet the criteria." [18]. Using this method the researcher performs the same procedure until an acceptable number of prospective respondents are identified from which final participants may be drawn. Reference [18] maintained that this sampling technique "...is particularly useful--sometimes essential-- when little is known about a phenomenon or potential subjects are difficult to locate." Such was the case in this inquiry given the publically scorned, brutal and demeaning, highly stigmatized, low status and often exploitive nature of sex labor and other debilitating social detractions accompanying the prostituted woman/ man lifestyle [19].
- 4) Participants were drawn from assorted locations inside the AMO Amerasian Triangle in west Central Luzon and the locus of two of the main, surviving remnants of the U.S. military prostitution architecture. Specifically, Olongapo City, adjacent to the former Subic Bay naval complex and Angeles, Pampanga, home of the former Clark U.S. Air Force base and headquarters of the 13th U.S. Air Force headquarters. All initial and primary screened sample candidates considered for the study were at least 18 years, the age of legal majority in the U.S. and the Republic of

the Philippines. Interviews were conducted in either Filipino (Tagalog) or English, one of the two official national languages or partially, if required or sought, in Kapampangan, a regional language of west Central Luzon.

- 5) Analysis of material gathered from interviews included cross-case and within-case analysis. Such a signature method is common in qualitative case studies coupled with explanation building from information derived from interview data and individual case observation. The final intent is to mine for meaningful patterns, themes, and proof or evidence of the paper's hypothesis and determine future avenues of information refinement with a view towards conducting further research if warranted. [20], [21].

D. Case Study Profiles

1. Jelly, Adult African Male/Female: Case 1

Jelly, age 23, is an African (black) transsexual residing near Olongapo City who now labors in a sex club setting. Most of her earnings go to support her seriously troubled family unit. She claims to have begun her experimentation with the cross dressing lifestyle in her early teens along with a close male friend in public high school days. Then she was known by her given male name - Jose. But she chose the alliterative feminine appellation "Jelly," a first name of pop Filipino origin and occasionally legally bestowed to infants or children of millennial or Generation Y parents, or self-acquired as a nickname by adolescents in Metro Manila and west Central Luzon. As it has occurred globally, the once dreaded and still much stigmatized transvestite public outing experience has exploded, There is wider acceptance now in the islands and the phenomena has outwardly appeared to have extended seamlessly in-and-out of the tourist clubs, discos and tenderloins of the AMO Amerasian Triangle. Jelly is somewhat of a regular in the "entertainment" classification of sex worker. Although not officially registered as such she manages to function in clubs known on the street to have a high number of trans women workers or customers who are seeking such connections. Being not officially recognized as a registered entertainer requiring weekly pap smears at a hygiene clinic makes Jelly's employment at any given club tenuous. She says she could be discharged for no cause at any time.

For the time being the money Jelly earns hustling drinks and often agreeing to a "bar fine," or house penalty arrangement which allows her to leave the establishment with a customer for paid sex. It provides an infusion of cash into an otherwise indigently stressed family household. Occupants include Jelly's invalid, 44- year old Filipina national mother, a one-time bar girl herself. Mom was the offspring of a club liaison between Jelly's grandmother and a black U.S. Navy petty officer whose Seventh Fleet mine sweeper craft regularly visited Subic Bay for repairs, servicing and R&R (rest and relaxation) crew rest during the Vietnam-American War (1959-1975). Today, Jelly's mom, a victim in part to the deadly high salt, sugar-laden and cracker and chips snack craze habits of poor Filipinos, is a bed-ridden diabetic and

moderately paralyzed stroke victim. She requires extraordinarily expensive medications and daily care from her sister, Jelly's aunt, who lives in the household along with Jelly's adolescent sisters. Jelly's Filipino Amerasian father and her mom's two former Filipino boyfriends, who sired her two younger sisters are long *wala* (gone) from the household. But not forgotten is the sexual molestation, abuse and rape Jelly withstood, first as a toddler at the hands of her Amerasian dad and later shortly after entering puberty by one of the two Filipino live in partners. Poignantly, in the face of absolute male family abandonment, it is the sole support that Jelly provides that allows the family to have fairly consistent but often meager portions of rice and *manok* (chicken), canned sardines or other subsistence level vittles. She struggles to ensure that sometimes erratically high monthly electric bills are paid. Other fixed expenses are the PHP\$1700 peso (USD\$43) rent and water bills for their humble, four-room cement block, ground level house inside a high, densely populated resettlement tract. Jelly's teenage sisters intermittently attend public school with an often forlorn goal of eventually graduating. The household subsistence level hovers somewhere between the general and borderline poverty levels. But this is only relatively recently and primarily due to Jelly's industriousness to contribute 20,000 Philippine pesos or about USD\$470 monthly to family and personal needs. Meanwhile, Jelly's daily occupational activities are replete with testimonials of fear, guilt, uncertainty, anxiety and stress. "This is a job, a gig *diba*, when you never really know where the customer, the person who shows interest in you in a sexual or emotional way, are going to react, or request...when you are with them alone." Jelly expressed fear and concern over a highly publicized incident in October, 2014 which resulted in an indictment of homicide against a U.S. Marine Private First Class from Massachusetts (Joseph S. Pemberton). The marine, on short term R&R shore leave from a U.S. Navy ship docked at Subic Bay, was charged by Philippine authorities with murder apparently by choking and drowning transgender bar worker, Jennifer Laude. The marine was accused of picking her up from a disco near the Subic Bay naval docks and attempting to have sex. The prosecution contended the Marine thought he was going to have sex with a biological woman when he encountered Jennifer. The marine supposedly became angry and violent. "These possibilities make me nervous." Jelly claims her stress inducing decision to change her sexual orientation and enter the sex industry was never her original intent. "I was reacting to my feelings and the way I felt as an emotional human when it all started...I was unhappy and unsure of myself as a boy...that's all it was." But the time came when Jelly realized she could earn something approaching a real salary in the clubs. She adamantly asserted a deep desire "to really help" her mother and family. That "was my driving force" to enter the club life - nothing more, nothing less. "How can a daughter look at her *Ina* (mother) lying still and suffering in bed, crying for help from the pain, and you can't help her? For now this is working for us. How long can it go on here... I do not know? Where will we be five years from now, *diba*?

2. Angelo, Adult Anglo Male: Case 2

Angelo is a 22-year old second generation Amerasian homosexual residing in San Fernando, the provincial capital of Pampanga and southeast of the Angeles city line. His grandfather was a U.S. Marine enlisted man stationed at Crow Valley Bombing Range in nearby Tarlac province. The marine met his grandma, a Filipina native of Leyte back in the 1970 at a club outside Camp O'Donnell. Grandma was apparently human trafficked to Tarlac under the guise of having been contracted for factory employment. But her journey from the Visayas (central Philippines) actually landed her in a strip and dance pick up club. Like one of Angelo's sisters did briefly on the Fields Avenue entertainment district in Angeles a few years, Grandma would parade around the strip stage topless until some patron seemed to be attracted to her. Then he would beckon her down tableside for a chat and drinks. The Anglo marine from Ohio developed a crush on Grandma asking her to sit with him whenever he came to the club. Eventually they became a couple and moved in together. Not long afterward Angelo's Amerasian dad was born. Eventually the young marine rotated back to the U.S. mainland sending her support money for about a year. But the grandmother returned to the entertainment circuit this time in Angeles where she eventually met and married a U.S. corporate contractor assigned at Clark who provided reasonable stability to the household for a couple of decades. Today, Angelo resides inside a stucco front, medium-sized and gated development tract home with his Ilocano-born mother, his grandma and two siblings. His contractor step-grandpa died some years ago but the family receives a sum of pension money and unlike many biracial Amerasian fathers, Angelo's dad has always been home to support the family larder. A dutiful son, Angelo contributes a stipend for his room and board from a job with a computer repair company, obtained after graduating with a computer science degree from a Manila technical college. But Angelo is anxious to leave the house and get his own apartment. "It's time" he says smiling loudly. Eventually he'd like a car or upgrade to a premium motorbike from the low horsepower Chinese made economy model he drives. For now the young man lives a relatively modest but near comfortable middle class lifestyle, clearly above the poverty line, a level not known to the other military Filipino Amerasian participants in this research.

The other side of Angelo's life is that of a serene, unassuming, attractive young gay male. Yet the 22-year old is also a confirmed play-for-pay hustler in an under-stated and non ostentatious way. He frequents hotel lobbies, restaurants and bars inside the Clark Economic Development Zone, the nearby Korea Town hotel, restaurant and night spot district, and the throbbing nightlife scene that dominates the Fields Avenue walking street entertainment district of Balibago, Angeles City. Angelo is an "independent operator" a non-obsequious if leisurely and smooth solicitor of sexual male attention primarily from older men in their 40s, 50s, 60s, even 70s. Western European, North American, South Korean, Japanese, Singaporean, Malaysian, and occasionally *Aussie* (Australian) and *Kiwi* (New Zealander) tourists, businessmen

and visitors are all potential targets for the handsome lad.. By his own admission Angelo claims he is a "niche player." Not all tourists or visitors flowing into the tenderloins of Pampanga are sex-hungry heterosexuals or pedophiles he relates sardonically. Though Metro Manila could probably be more lucrative with a known high concentration of gay clubs and hotel lobbies that Angelo was introduced to in his university days, he really prefers home town turf. Admittedly part but not his entire gay hustler avocation is driven by socioeconomic necessity. "A portion of it is psychological," he maintains. "I knew I was gay at 11-or-12 years old. My family would joke to me about it all the time. Filipinos are very open that way. In a way it is in the blood."

3. Jasmine, Adult African, Female: Case 3

Jasmine, a 31-year-old deeply impoverished second generation black Amerasian solo parent and one-time *casa* (house prostituted woman) spends long, grueling 12- hour days as a stoop wash laborer in Angeles City. She earns about PHP 250-300/USD\$6 per day, six days a week if she can get extra work, taking in household wash from barangay neighbors. With two adolescent children of her own Jasmine lives with her asthmatic mom who, like Jelly's mother, is an invalid, also suffering from high blood pressure, diabetes and possibly undiagnosed onset of dementia. There is never enough money in the house for medical needs and she complains every family member is always constantly ill. "Mom's memory is poor on so many everyday things; the house almost burned down the other week, It was because she left a frying pan red hot on the gas burner," reports Jasmine. One of Jasmine's minor-aged teenage girls recently gave birth to a female infant, the father of whom is a 21-year old jobless neighbor and now reported *wala*, or gone away, probably for good. Their *kubo* (often a description for a shack or "squatter" type transitional housing) is also shared with 11 other occupants from two separate families. By most standards it is a filthy, crowded, unsafe and unhealthy abode lacking running water or a lavatory. The household subsistence scale appears to score somewhere between homeless and indigent poverty levels since some of the occupants sleep outside the crowded rooms. But such a degrading scenario is not unknown to the ebony-skinned Jasmine whose penurious existence, virtually from birth, propelled her at an early age to a depraved life of street sex. Jasmine admitted to being sexually abused as a toddler and youngster by her mother's Filipino live-in boyfriend. There came a time when her mom, the Amerasian daughter of an African Clark U.S. air base airman, had no food on the table for days. Reluctantly, but with full consent, she forced Jasmine to accompany a neighborhood man. This Filipino man, known to many as a pimp took Jasmine to one of the numerous narrow streets off the Fields Avenue entertainment district known as "blow job" alleys. There, at first, sometimes in tears, the underage Jasmine would provide masturbation and fellatio services to foreign or even an occasional upscale looking Filipino male passing by. She was disgusted, outraged and obviously deeply traumatized. Later, it was this same man, who they would not describe in any

detail. who introduced Jasmine to the *casa* life, this one a home brothel near Diamond subdivision in Balibago, Angeles City. There, and in other similarly situated back street brothels for a period of well over three years Jasmine labored as a World War II era Imperial Japanese Empire style prostituted comfort woman. As is common she lived on the premises with other girls, and providing a broad assortment of sexual services for what would tabulate in developed and even undeveloped societies as a mere pittance. At one point Jasmine says she grew so desperate she thought about either running away or returning once again to Fields. But this time it would be as a steady entertainer in one of the clubs. Eventually she did leave, living in for some time with one of her "customers," a dark-skinned, middle aged man who himself mentioned several times he might be a mixed-heritage Filipino Amerasian. They had two children and for a long time the father had a steady factory production job. But when the plant shuttered there was no money, little love and lots of high tension at home. She eventually fled with her children. Today Jasmine, the sweat coming off her brow and pouring onto piles of soiled clothes and baby diapers to wash, obsesses about the fact that she was diagnosed more than 18 months ago as being HIV positive, probably from her years in street prostitution. She cries fearful tears that this death dealing malady may have been transmitted to her two children. But there is no money yet to even go to the neighborhood clinic and have the children tested. All the available coinage, and that's often all it is, usually goes to help Jasmine's ailing mom. "What will ever become of us?" she asks woefully.

4. Alma Marie, Adolescent Anglo Female: Case 4

Petite 4 foot, 11 inches tall Alma Marie is a club dancer, cocktail waitress and "bar fine" sex worker, age 19, at a Barrio Barretto strip club near Olongapo City. Her contacts and "customers" occasionally include U.S. Navy and Marine personnel assigned to the U.S. Seventh Fleet whose vessels are once again making more frequent servicing and R&R stops at the former Subic Bay naval complex. "This is okay right now" the 19-year old asserts, but her "dream" is to go overseas, possibly to South Korea, and obtain steady entertainment employment in one of the *gijichon* or camptown prostitution clubs. These clubs and discos surround more than a score of mostly U.S. Army, but some Air Force and Marine bases, supply depots and dock facilities based there since the Korean War (1950-1953). Alma candidly admits that chances of finding a U.S. serviceman or military contractor boyfriend and eventually marrying him are better than in the Philippines. In part that is because the R&R presence of servicemen and sailors these days is sporadic and unpredictable at the former Subic Bay naval port. With great certainty and assuredness in her voice, Alma explained "the chances of finding a permanent boyfriend who might eventually fall in love with you, care for you and eventually marry you are better in Korea no question." Indeed, the light skinned, attractive, pretty sculpture nosed and talkative Zambales province native seems to be perpetuating a prominent if resilient myth about Filipinas gravitating to the entertainment business. The accepted

wisdom is that under educated and sometimes fulsomely gullible Filipinas, usually from distant southern rural provinces, volunteer as sex laborers. This is because of the firm hope of coupling up permanently with a foreign visitor who by Filipino standards is "rich." Yet the well-spoken and seemingly determined Alma is not a dropout but a high school graduate and nor a Southern provincial girl unsure of speaking the predominant native tongue of Central Luzon - Tagalog. Rather, her American accented English is quite passable. She assuredly believes it is probably her "destiny" to meet a well-to-do foreigner, hopefully an American, and at best a U.S. soldier. Though offering a sketchy outline of details Alma proudly touts her military Amerasian background. Her grandfather, just like the dwindling number of Seventh Fleet sailors who pass through Barrio Barretto nightspots now, made that same journey sometime in the long ago distant past. And like so many U.S. personnel and defense contractors, this shadowy, father like hero figure who Alma never met or saw, eventually deserted Alma's grandmother cold and broke. Grandma was an apparently semi-illiterate East Samar province native, with no visible source of income then. She was left to struggle and cope with Alma's tiny Filipino Amerasian baby father with absolutely no visible source of income. Thrown into a downward spiral of impoverishment the family, or what is left of it today, has never recovered. In fact, Alma says she never really got to know her Amerasian father who left the household in Olongapo City when she was five years old.

Remaining behind today is her mom, who toils long hours for meager wages as a *tindera* (sales lady) at minimum daily wages, earning approximately PHP 250 or USD\$5.50 daily in a *palagke* (wet market). Alma also has two siblings, including a 14-year-old brother who dropped out of high school a year ago. He now works for meager pesos on Olongapo streets as a "car security checker," and occasional street food vendor or helper. Alma's second sibling, a sister, age 15, manages to hang on as a public high school student. But she frets and isolates when there is never enough money in the house for a decent lunch or snack during the long school day. And she cries for hours when there is no family funding for one of the many education "projects" public high schools in the archipelago force impoverished parents to pay for. Will Alma's sister follow her footsteps and get drawn into the entertainment morass? "I pray not. She is bright and I want her to go to college. She wants to be a nurse and go abroad, and become an OFW (Overseas Filipino Worker). I will help her with that. I'll keep working, that's why I really want to go to Korea - to help my family," Alma insists.

IV. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Case study profiles reflect a constellation of sex toiling/prostitution-related conduct indicating that discrete categories of the practice are activity engaged in by second generation military Filipino Amerasians. Behaviors described feature: A. A 23-year old African male/female transsexual male/female Angeles club worker (Jasmine/Jose), B; an Anglo male gay male prostitute from San Franando, Pampanga

(Angelo, age 22), C. An African ex-street walker and *casa* worker from Angeles (Jasmine, age 31), and D. 19-year-old Alma Maria, an Anglo Olongapo City club dancer, cocktail waitress and "bar fine" sex worker.

All respondents exhibited several common characteristics.. They exhibited uncommonly direct or specific knowledge of the U.S. military personnel grandfather whose association, however tenuous, eventually ended with devastating results historically for the remaining family circle. The loss contributed to or directly resulted in impoverishment, dysfunctional ramifications or degradation of these fragile family units usually transcending generations. [4] Such keen knowledge of the grandfather military patriarch has not been the general. In the few prior Filipino Amerasian case studies where family members were questioned, their understanding of their first generation origins had often been sketchy, muted, understated, not to be discussed or beyond the recollection or memory of respondents. This was so either by choice or genuine lack of knowledge of particulars.

At least two respondents, the trans female Jelly and former *casa* (brothel) worker Jasmine admitted to the presence of sexual abuse, rape and molestation in their lives. These are conditions and behaviors widely believed by researchers and observers, either in-or-out of the Philippines, to be a compelling factor in the voluntary decision or even forcible entry into the sex industry or prostitution [4], [9], [13], [14], [19], [22].

Significantly, the broader and near defining motive to engage in prostitution and the sex industry particularly in a developing country as the Philippines is primarily various gradients of poverty [1], [2], [4], [23], [24]. Three of four sample participants clearly verified these conditions. African Amerasian solo mother Jasmine appears to be the worse off managing to barely, but bravely cope as an overburdened scrub woman in a depleted existence somewhere between homelessness and extreme poverty. Jelly, the pragmatic transgender night club sex entertainer, who is riding a temporal spike in personal income, barely struggles to support a five-member family household including herself. Jelly's poverty index is somewhere behind the general and borderline areas, a tad above extreme poverty, but she asks rightly how long is her squirt of earning capacity sustainable in what is a notoriously unstable, human trafficking prone and predatory bar and nightclub business? [25]. Nightclub waitress, stripper and "bar fine" sex toiler Alma Marie, perhaps at a slight advantage because at age 19 she is without children, is clearly ambitious if not fearless. With an energetic, entrepreneurial work streak, she manages to survive athwart a general if highly marginalized poverty line. She is aided by her mom who labors as a less than minimum wage wet market vendor. Then there is Angelo, the outlier in the sample. As with the others he squarely engages in potentially lethal STD/HIV/AIDS prone conduct as a gay male prostitute offering sexual favors for pay to fundamentally an older if vulnerable clientele. Sometimes his clients are crippled geriatrics in wheel chairs who he claims are "very good payers". His lifestyle choice is reinforced by a comparatively

stable household and family support system. His socioeconomic household ranking lies somewhere in the middle class range.

Clearly three of the four sample respondents - Jelly, Jasmine and Alma Marie - remained cursed by one common denominator: a specter of abandonment or absenteeism clouding their lives and often spanning the generations - starting with the military personnel grandfather. The miscreants, if we also count the early family loss of Angelo's marine grandfather, include: 1. A black U.S. Navy Seventh Fleet chief petty officer (Jelly, 23), 2. A white U.S. Marine enlisted man stationed at the Crow Valley Bombing Range, Capas, Tarlac province (Angelo, 22), 3. a black Clark U.S. air base airman (Jasmine, 31), and 4. a white U.S. Seventh Fleet sailor (Alma Marie, 19). And clearly exhibiting the inter-generational characteristics and values outlined in the "Derivative Amerasian Family Construct" [15], the damages of abandonments coupled with other characteristics alluded to in the construct theory left a sustaining mark. For example, three of the four respondents (Jelly, Jasmine and Alma Marie) experienced the loss of either their Filipino Amerasian fathers, Filipino step fathers or the boyfriend breadwinner acquaintances of their mothers. Moreover, such losses of father or breadwinner figures in these households obviously contributed greatly to a cycle of poverty and indigence plaguing them for years. Jelly and her siblings sustained the loss of both her Amerasian father and two Filipino stepfathers or boyfriends of their mother. Jasmine reported a near similar set of personal circumstances. She was abandoned by her Filipino live-in boyfriend (who suggested that he himself was Amerasian) after setting up a household together for a number of years upon departing the *casa*. That man left her with two children including a minor teenage daughter who later gave birth to an out of wedlock infant while she was still living at Jasmine's home. Significantly, her man friend who sired two daughters with her abruptly skipped out on Jasmine to take up a relationship with a teenage Filipina virgin who he immediately impregnated. Jasmine later related in her interview. Victimized also by an errant male father figure was Alma Marie. She never really got to know her Amerasian Filipino father or the live-in father, who she used to call the "step daddy" of her two teenage sisters. That man also deserted the house years previously. This narrative is very typical of the convoluted and dysfunctional conditions found not only among Amerasians but mainstream Filipinos in the poorest barrios of the islands. Indeed, many single young mothers of children often never receive another centavo of child support from their husbands, common law or live in partners or boyfriends once they physically desert the home. One reason is that if there are any state or community child support mechanisms in place they are often poorly enforced by Philippine federal, urban or provincial authorities, or ignored altogether.

Breaking the mold among this troubled sample is Angelo's comparatively more secure family circle. Although his U.S. Marine grandfather clearly abandoned his grandmother after a year of support payments sent from the states back in the

1970s or so, the grandmother managed to eventually marry an unusually kind and generous U.S. corporate contractor who provided sustaining financial stability to the family for a generation. That coupled with the constancy of Angelo's Amerasian father who steadily supported the family larder and stayed beside his Filipina national mother through the years, were great boosts. These men apparently provided the measure of security to propel the family unit out of the repeat cycle of poverty that seems to dominate so many Amerasian lives in the islands.

V. CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, SUMMARY

A. Limitations

Clearly this is an abbreviated, restricted sample. As the hypothesis states it was intended primarily to provide a snapshot or short study of a particular behavior known to exist among second generation Amerasians in the Philippines today. Accordingly, it is and was not intended, nor is it capable of providing the basis for a sweeping vista or "universalized generalization" of the general state of existence of second generation Amerasians. However, qualitative research grounded narrative case study methodology represents a "contextualized usefulness" that social workers and researchers may sometimes find more utilitarian than the "de-contextualized statistical power" of brawny, big sample, mixed-methodology or purely quantitative statistical-based studies [26]. In this respect, and taken in this context, there remains much instructive value in the small case study narrative [26]. It therefore holds a stark potential to provide intrinsic value as a guide and direction as to where future research on this subject should proceed or may lead.

B. Conclusions

The implications of this case study are reasonably clear. There exists ample basis for a preliminary if logical conclusion that the same military prostitution enticements that may have lured or led to trafficking of innocent Filipina national women into this activity in the early years have simply been perpetuated by social environment, human circumstance and continuing grinding human poverty to second and succeeding generations of biracial Amerasians. In this respect we posit that the basic hypothesis of this research has been sustained. It held that the goal and challenge was to provide how and why a small "representative sample of second generation military Filipino Amerasians engage in sex labor or prostituted behavior of various genre and intensity," and to accomplish this in a contextualized or meaningful manner. The authors believe this has been accomplished. Yet we emphasize the point that there are barely any extant studies or reasonably conclusive anecdotal information that reflects what percentage or numbers of Filipina women have ever engaged and bore children as a result of involvement with the U.S. military prostitution network. While significant it may not have been dominant.

Deduction based on available anecdotal information, news media accounts and books and reports suggest that as many as

a significant minority to up to a plurality not exceeding 50 percent of Filipina national mothers bore Amerasian children under these distinct systems; the military prostitution apparatus and its nefarious permutation - tourist and visitor oriented global prostitution and the localized aspects of the same scourge. We preface this general estimation, however, with the firm corollary outlined in the 2014 research paper entitled, "Filipina Military Amerasian Motherhood: Stigma, Stereotypes, Truths and Realities" [6]. This being that there is equal or perhaps more compelling unverified evidence yet to be surfaced that the majority of first and many more second generation Amerasian births were consummated without involvement in the sex entertainment racket. Nevertheless, the case studies in this research provide indication that the prostitution and sex entertainment malignancy is active and a threatening if destructive element among second generation Amerasians. And its nature and impacts appear to be sophisticated, complex and deep seated. This is so given the relative ease in which the Philippine Amerasian Research Center, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Don Honorio Ventura Technological State University, was able to gather and interview at risk respondents for this study. A small but eclectic sample was recruited in relatively short order - within a month - using a relatively elemental "Snow Ball" sampling technique [18]. The tiny but inclusive sample covered a broad variety of dangerous and risky sex entertainment behaviors: a female woman sex worker appealing to heterosexual night club patrons, a trans gender woman soliciting attention and favor, possibly at the risk of great personal danger, in essentially the same type or related venues, a reluctant female street walker and *casa* (brothel) habituate seeking to attract willing and often indigent Filipino johns under deplorable working conditions and a young adult homosexual essentially praying on older or elderly gay liaisons, including disabled geriatrics.

C. Recommendations

The executive departments of the U.S. Government, the U.S. Congress, and in particular the Defense and State Departments above other agencies are chiefly responsible for the derelict outcome of at risk if not dangerous socioeconomic, mental health and physical welfare conditions of Filipino Amerasians in the Philippines today. For all intents and purposes this is a humiliating, tragic outcome unknown to young rising generations of U.S. Americans attaining adulthood since the 1992 bases departure. Moreover, this failure has now mostly receded in the minds of older generation American citizens whose memories are simply overcome or not refreshed as years pass by.

If the principles of the United Nations Declaration of Universal Human Rights of 1948 were observed in a responsible fashion by the U.S. Office of the President or the U.S. Congress - the human distinction over whether Amerasians are offspring or not of Filipina sex workers would be monumentally irrelevant. The moral truth is that, regardless, we are dealing with human beings, human souls, children, adults and the elderly who for better or worse are

America's blood progeny. They are the "abused American children" of U.S. military servicemen [27] who are sworn to uphold the American military code of conduct. These principles include defending America's historical ideals of freedom, being a fighter for democracy, embracing soldierly respect for the dignity of the individual and human freedom, trust in God and personal responsibility [27].

Yet for all intents and purposes the government, perhaps most poignantly symbolized by the U.S. Embassy, Manila, and Citizen and Immigration Services of the U.S. Department of Homeland Defense, continues to advance a *laissez-faire* or uninvolved policy posture with regards to easing interpretation of existing immigration policies and laws for Amerasians. Creativity, resourcefulness and reasonable accommodation are in order to foster immigration relief for first and second generation Amerasian blood progeny. As is the case in many examples of diaspora populations, many of these Amerasians are seeking to unite with their blood relatives in America or acquire reasonable emigration access to the mainland [11]. There are also a plethora of potential human services, mental health and governmental supported employment and job training services and related developmental services that could be provided. For starters, the State Department's Agency for International Development (USAID) - Philippines is uniquely configured to inaugurate a constellation of local and regional services assisting the prostrate Amerasian community.

Equally perplexing is that U.S. academia and particularly the elite private and major large state university research centers, social science oriented research foundations, corporate humanitarian cause donors, and NPO/NGOs of various types, have demonstrated scant interest in pursuing social scientific, mental health and socioeconomic research that could push the plight of Filipino Amerasians to public consciousness. This stillborn response is in reverse and tragic contrast to the worthy outpouring of mental health research activity, immigration legislation reforms and humanitarian social services concerns that greeted Vietnamese Amerasians victimized and traumatized during the Vietnam War [28].

D. Summary

The U.S. and Philippine governments signed a historic Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) in April, 2014. The EDCA now allows U.S. military personnel and private corporate defense contractors nearly unlimited access to Philippine forces installations [5]. The latest agreement reaffirms a long-standing U.S. commitment to defend the Philippines proclaimed in the U.S.-R.P. Mutual Defense Treaty of 1951. In short, this significant policy shift means more American troops should be on the ground in the coming years in the face of the rising geo-political and military threat in the region primarily from the People's Republic of China [5]. This reality prompts new interest and concern over many aspects of the neglected but considerable presence of the biracial military Filipino Amerasian diaspora. It is now reliably estimated to number at least 250,000+ [11]. This research has attempted to set forth one of many aspects of the Amerasian condition deserving of further social scientific

inquiry. It also attempts to demonstrate that a myriad of Amerasian human conditions in the Philippines remain unattended. As such, there are many geo-political conundrums, conflicts and challenges, not to mention powerfully compelling human needs, to be addressed before the fate of America's misbegotten blood progeny in the Philippines is brought to closure.

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