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## **No Way Out: The Tragic Transnational Sexual Exploitation of the Philippines**

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### **Abstract**

This paper reviews recent empirical research on conditions confronting mixed-heritage military Filipino “Amerasians” and links their historical formation to newer generation biracial progeny estranged in the Philippines by Japanese, South Korean and Chinese fathers. Sired with Filipina national women and abandoned by U.S. soldiers and corporate defense contractor fathers, Amerasians date to U.S. colonization in 1898. Their formation grew through post-independence, Cold War and military base closure eras (1946-1992) to the present. Filipino Amerasians are often stigmatized, impoverished and highly marginalized. Today, they number at least 250,000+ if 2nd generation are included. Such robust numbers alone qualify them for diaspora status. The recently researched term *Pan Amerasian* is used to describe other enclaves of Amerasians including those inhabiting Japan, Okinawa, South Korea and the Mariana Islands (Guam), where U.S. bases remain and unsupported infants continue to be born at reduced numbers from the past. This paper preliminarily surveys this human phenomena at the next level. Contemporarily, we see a continuum and pattern through the comparative formation of emerging mixed-blood and poverty-stricken smaller diasporas in the Philippines. These are begot by Japanese, South Korean, and more recently Hong Kong and mainland Chinese male tourists, businessmen, temporary workers and itinerants. Left behind are new clusters of “Japino,” “Kopino” and “Chipino” or “Sinopino” progeny reflecting the portrait of a destitute and exploited nation-state, unable, unwilling or incapable of halting a destructive and unrelenting human trend. What remains for the Philippines is the steady furtherance of transnational sexual victimization at the destructive hands of its own neighbors and allies.

**Keywords:** Filipino Amerasian, Asian American, Sex Tourism, Japino, Kopino

## Introduction

Former U.S. Ambassador Harry K. Williams explosive, widely contentious remarks that as many as 40 percent of male tourists visiting the Philippines, including U.S. citizens, travel for sex has been an enigma. The popular diplomat ignited a firestorm when he offered the straightforward observation following a speech before a roundtable on combating global human trafficking in 2011 in Manila. "An estimated 80 percent of transnational trafficking victims are women and girls" and its most venal end product - prostitution - is "nothing less than slavery, a form of slavery that predominantly targets women and girls [1]," Williams proclaimed. The envoy's 40 percent reference was excoriated by a tide of Philippine senators, politicians, the Departments of Justice and Tourism and the Manila news corps who obsessed over his source and the shameful nature of its implications, not its substance or veracity; foreign news media weighed in that the U.S. ambassador's remarks were probably hypocritical given, in great measure, it was the U.S. armed services who introduced *military prostitution* into the islands in the first place [2]. Demands for an apology, even resignation, were widespread. The diplomat's defense was left to embassy information officer Tina Malone who in an attempt at clarification declared his "statements (were) based on the work of U.S. officials working with the Philippine authorities to close clubs that cater to pedophiles [2]," and some non-particularized references to Philippine Department of Justice statistics. Engulfed by the storm Williams offered an ignominious apology a few days later.

Yet this snapshot illustrates much about historical despair, current conditions and future trends of transnational sexual exploitation in the Philippine. Nourished by a sordid combination of U.S. military, Japanese *Yakuza* and Chinese underworld formation of a thriving mid-and-late 20th Century sex industry, and fueled during the insatiably corrupt Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos martial law years (1971-1982) [3], it wasn't long before the Philippines rivaled Thailand as one of the prime sex tourism destinations of East/Southeast Asia [3.4,5]. The Russian state newspaper *Pravda* reports the current top world destinations for sex tourism belong to Thailand, Cuba and the Philippines respectively [6]. The real truth or a definitive research determination may be difficult if not impossible to determine but surely Ambassador William's frankness bolstered *Pravda's* claim.

This subject material is tremendously complex to fathom and most analysis prone to over simplification. This paper will demonstrate that vastly more evidence-based and academic research is needed on the entire issue. But there is strong evidence to conclude that modern prostitution and sex tourism rampant in many parts of East/Southeast Asia today have their taproots, at least in part, on the condition that most of the largely unwanted 2 + million biracial military Pan Amerasian children born to U.S. service members and corporate contractors who abandoned them [7], can be traced to the U.S. military occupation begun in the Philippines in 1898. But the origins are also deeper since other wealthier East Asian nation-states to be discussed in this paper, i.e. Japan, South Korea, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Hong Kong and Taiwan - who today rapaciously participate in Philippine sex tourism - have century long traditions as well as modern permutations of domestic prostitution (8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13,14) and cannot escape without some substantial modicum of responsibility themselves.

The *sub rosa* and often illegal nature of prostitution and hence many of its related human impacts render it a vastly understudied, unscientifically reported and widely misunderstood phenomena from an academic and establishment research institution perspective [15], if not society in general. This was held to be specifically so in the case of Filipino Amerasian children [16] and Pan Amerasian minors in other parts of E/SE Asia, the vast majority of which were often thought to be predominantly children of prostituted women [17, 18]. A research paper presented in Seoul in January, 2014 at a major social sciences conference averred that the mothers of military Filipino Amerasian children - and hence the offspring of transnational male tourists vacationing in the islands - are immediately categorized as children of prostitutes. This, the research paper maintained, is emblematic of stereotypical thinking and constitutes a damaging psychosocial stigma; in fact, no extant actionable empirical research to conclude children of all Amerasian mothers are prostituted women was known to exist anywhere in E/SE Asia or the U.S. its authors claimed [19]. This condition in and of itself demonstrates the utter paucity of reliable information on these topics. But we are running ahead of ourselves and will revisit Ambassador William's remarks at the conclusion of the paper.

### **The Military Filipino Amerasian Condition**

Incredibly there are no known reliable demographic statistics on the number of Filipino Amerasians in the Philippines today, nor for many of the decades of U.S. occupation which dated to the underreported Philippine American colonial war (1899-1902). The most widely reported figure is that 50,000 infants, children and adolescents were abandoned or estranged on the archipelago in 1992 [20]. Then, entrenched permanent U.S. bases were ejected from the islands by a historic vote of the Philippine Senate. But at best this dubious figure was an unofficial if not out-of-pocket guesstimate. Study of news dispatches and anecdotal reports show it is not even clear whether the 50,000 figure referred to Amerasian children in the general vicinity of a score of U.S. bases, airfields or installations of various sizes, or whether it was archipelago-wide in scope. Yet for nearly 2 ½ decades news media and the scant number of research documents on Filipino Amerasians uncritically reported the figure as fact.

A seminal paper presented at the Ninth International Conference on the Philippines at Michigan State University in October, 2012 [21] analyzed historical and demographic data and concluded as many as 250,000 and possibly many more Amerasians were scattered about the islands if adults, the elderly and second generation offspring were included. The paper made a strong case for diaspora designation by future scholars based on the Amerasian minority's sheer size, social ties to the U.S. mainland and unique circumstances of birth. Two other studies introduced the term *Pan Amerasian* to describe similar diasporic configurations in other parts of E/SE Asia [16,17,18].

What is clear is that aging 1<sup>st</sup> generation Filipino Amerasians overall remain a remarkably understudied if not widely ignored social phenomena by the world's academic and research community; the literature gap is striking given that the handful of evidence-based studies available on the population indicate clearly it was and remains mostly an impoverished and socioeconomically marginalized cohort prone to mental health psychopathology, especially

among its high numbers of African (Black) Amerasians. There are two primary extant studies of social science and mental health issues facing Amerasians. The first is the seminal Gastardo, Conaco and Sobritchea (1999) [22] quantitative study employing a probability survey, qualitative interviews, and focus groups including a muscular, national sample of 443 Amerasians ranging from childhood to the elderly. The findings showed marked levels of discrimination with two types of perceived stigma: (1) Many Amerasian mothers faced stereotypes as prostitutes or suspicion of having engaged in sexual labor, and (2) Categorization of African Amerasians with dark skin as one of the most negative and vilified features of all biracial Amerasians. Most Amerasians, particularly Africans, were as poor as or poorer than median poverty levels of mainstream Filipinos; they also had limited access to community health or women's reproductive services. They contended with intense name calling and high levels of drug and alcohol abuse. Young women experienced verbal, physical, sexual and gender abuse, from care givers, relatives, neighbors and strangers.

A second report was the Kutschera (2010, 2011) [16] 3-year, modified mixed method, qualitative multiple case study (2007-2010), employing open-ended interviews to uncover stigma-related psychosocial risk and stress factors. The second instrument was the Australian-developed DASS-21 Depression, Anxiety, Stress Scale inventory, a measure of core mental health symptomatology. A small (N=16) purposive sample drawn from Amerasians living outside the former Clark Air Base in Angeles, consisted of equal numbers of Anglo and Africans, both females and males, with an age range from late adolescence to young adulthood. The findings included the identification of numerous physical and personal risk factors (e.g., alcohol and drug abuse or dependency, homelessness, poverty, joblessness or under employment, along with low education levels and significant mental stress factors (e.g., name-calling, abandonment despair, identity conflict, derivative family upheaval, social isolation and low self-esteem). Over half the sample (62%) scored severe levels of anxiety, depression or stress and a nearly equal number showed unexpectedly severe levels of psychosomatic illness or probable somatization disorder.

Other smaller studies, international conference research papers and journal article inquiries published since the 2007-2010 Angeles dissertation study, by the Philippine Amerasian Research Center (PARC), sited at Systems Plus College Foundation (SPCF) in Angeles and its Albany, New York NPO research affiliate, the Amerasian Research Network, Ltd., have brought to light:

- 1.) Many Amerasian families still living near the former base entertainment districts are unwittingly trapped in a cycle of intergenerational sex industry related pursuits, i.e. *derivative family construct* as a way of desperately scratching out a living [23];
- 2.) the bulk of military Amerasians reside in a roughly triangular region of west Central Luzon, where many of the former bases were sited. It is nicknamed the *AMO (Angeles, Manila, Olongapo) Triangle* [24];
- 3.) The phenomena of the *Anglo Amerasian Paradox*. Many Anglo (White) Amerasian females, both 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation in their early adult and late teenage years found that their Caucasian features including light skin, Euroasian facial and bodily features and mixed-heritage *Mestiza* looks, so popular in mainstream Filipino mass culture, have resulted in distinct social and career advantages, in contrast to African Amerasian counterparts [25];
- 4.) The presence of aspects of intolerance and hate mongering among mainstream Filipinos in their historic treatment of minority Amerasians, particularly Africans [26];
- 5.) Adaptability of socioeconomic and psychological travail faced by Amerasians to formulating clinical social work and mental health

treatment paradigms through origination and development of course curriculum at Systems Plus College Foundation, Angeles, Pampanga, [27]; 6.) The presence and threat of somatic illness and somatization disorder among psychosocially stressed Amerasians in Central Luzon [28]; 7) Examination of the misleading and psychologically damaging stereotype that the overwhelming number of mothers of Amerasian were prostituted women or sex industry toilers, [19], and 8.) The elevated presence of psychosocial risk, abandonment stress and chronic impoverishment encountered among 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Amerasians in Luzon [30].

### **The Prostitution Nexus and Stigmata**

It is simplistic and dangerously misleading to accept the common stereotype that every Amerasian - or Japino, Kopino or Chipino/Sinopino for that matter - born to a Filipina national woman - is irredeemably the progeny of a prostituted mother or sex industry toiler. Clearly that is not the case [19]. In this respect, Ambassador William's remarks discussing the sexual predilections of visiting males in the context of human sexual trafficking may be misleading though probably unintended. Yes, 40 percent of male tourists coming to the islands may well be seeking sex, but not necessarily from sex entertainers, non-prostitutes who work the periphery of the sex industry for wages, or more specifically prostituted women. History shows, for example, a pattern with U.S. troops who shunned the prostitution scene surrounding their bases and encampments and naturally sought out normal *boy girl, man women* type romantic relationships with neighborhood Filipina nationals [19]. These local women who proved to be socially receptive, prone to attraction to foreigners who might lift them away from impoverished lives, and highly fecund often worked in and around military installations. They were attracted to the idea of developing a stable relationship with a soldier. Their comparatively high salaries made them a sound financial prospect [19, 34]. Yet despite this quite common, non-sexualized or prostitution oriented scenario, the overall record of foreign soldiers, businessmen and commercial contractors and tourists abandoning Filipina females they aggressively pursued and impregnated - whether they be women described as prostitutes, girl or women friends, social acquaintances, Internet date liaisons or chance encounters - is profoundly disturbing.

Historically, the basic military prostitution culture, coupled with colonial and neo-colonial oppression, emergence of the Filipino colonial mentality and the impact of poverty oppression all contributed to making Amerasians a clearly at risk and marginalized population [16, 30, 31]. Oppressive and exploitative conditions in developing nations herd many women into prostitution and particularly military prostitution. Contributing factors include severe socioeconomic marginalization, sexism and misogamy [32]. Military prostitution became a mainstay of the nearly 20<sup>th</sup> century long presence of U.S. troops and bases and clearly dated to the Philippine-American War (1899-1902). Historians described the headquarters of the U.S. expeditionary force in Manila in the early 1900s as a brothel *de jure*, authorized and provided security by American troops and medical services by U.S. Army surgeons [33, 34]. The situation progressed with various permutations throughout the colonial-commonwealth, post-

World War II and Philippine Republic Independence eras. But in the mid-to-late Cold War era the picture began to transform with tourism prostitution and military prostitution either conflating, developing their own identities and often functioning in either co-location or eventually independent fashion. (30)

Under the mercenary dictatorship of pro-U.S. President Ferdinand E. Marcos (1966-1986) the doors swung opening the islands to prostitution as an acceptable, though technically illegal method of bolstering domestic income. The archipelago became a notorious Rest and Recuperation (R&R) destination for nearly 1.5 million U.S. troops transiting through the Philippines or traveling there for R&R purposes during the protracted Vietnam American War (1955-1975). Marcos' staunch support of the conflict also ensured the Philippines and its mega-bases: Subic Bay naval complex, a home port of the 7<sup>th</sup> Fleet and Clark air base, headquarters of the 13<sup>th</sup> U.S. Air Force, would become a major military power projection platform for the war's duration [3, 31, 35, 36, 37]. The war buildup also resulted in an increase in the number of U.S. ground personnel garrisoned throughout the islands.

Most significantly, Marcos and "crony capitalist" associates, seeking cover behind the façade of running a nationalist, anti-communist, law and order administration, made the equivalent of clandestine covenants with a number of major subterranean players in the Western Pacific. Among the culprits were the Japanese and Chinese and to a lesser extent the South Korean and Taiwanese underworld. Gambling, prostitution (including sex tourism and the opening of hotels for purposes of providing in-house prostitution), drugs and money-laundering were handed over or divvied up as franchises or individual fiefdoms to international consortiums [3]. "Manila was the only major SE Asian city where the sex trade was run in partnership with the Japanese (including full participation of the notorious Japanese *Yakuza*), with the enthusiastic cooperation of Chinese entrepreneurs and Filipino gangsters and procurers," reported Sterling Seagrave in an expose of corruption and scandal *The Marcos Dynasty*. "Everyone was welcome to a piece of the pie." (3, p, 317) The clandestine pact opened the way for broad scale human trafficking of Filipina nationals for designated work as sex entertainers in Japan and Okinawa, known as *Japayuki-san*, and to a lesser but nevertheless significant number in Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul, Taipei and major cities of eastern PRC- China including Shanghai.

The new unofficial policy resulted in a full scale launch of group sex tours from Japan and other E/SE Asian destinations into the Philippines and a dramatic change in clientele dynamics as it affected the fabric of organized prostitution in the islands. By 1985, sex tourism and in-house hotel sex had easily surpassed revenues from standard military prostitution dens including the honky-tonks, discos, go-go club and massage emporiums of Olongapo City, Barrio Barreto, Angeles and the tenderloin Ermita-Malate Manila Bay waterfront district. Eighty-five percent of tourists visiting the country were thought to be unaccompanied men and sex tourism was aggressively enjoined by Japanese males stylishly attired with the latest *Izod* golfing shirts and designer wallets full of cash and credit cards courtesy of Nippon's post World War II "Japanese Economic Miracle" [30]. Indeed, it was feminist researchers such as U.S. American writer and Professor Cynthia Enloe who observed that while predominant focus on prostitution in the Philippines seemed to concentrate on the military variety, there were

many more women being exploited and victimized working as prostituted women in Metro Manila's tourist centers. [30]

Trendy twists and turns, however, cannot change the historical influences and transformational arc of the Philippine sex industry. Initially grounded in satisfying the needs of military service personnel it eventually transitioned to an essentially tourist dominated customer base. In 1967, the Philippine scenario was duplicated in Thailand, which hosted at least six major U.S. air force combat and support bases during the Vietnam American War on its Northern frontier. The year 1967 notched a significant force buildup benchmark for the war effort. To accommodate, a pro-U.S. government in Bangkok opened Thailand for R&R furloughs to the American military. The then relatively fledgling but nevertheless promotionally oriented Thai tourism industry saw the possibility of new profits and welcomed the change. The prospect eventually led to introduction and expansion of sex tourism, not only in Bangkok's established and raunchy red light districts, but the northern city of Chiangmai, the eastern coastal town of Pattaya City, and eventually the southern coastal resort of Phuket [5]. Pattaya was to become and remains a port of call and regular R&R destination for naval and marine personnel of the U.S. Pacific Fleet [38]. Ultimately Thailand came to be known as the world class "Brothel of Asia [4]." Might then it's poorer Pacific Rim cousin, the Philippines - with an exploitative 2011 annual nominal per capital gross domestic product (GDP) of USD\$2,230, [39] tragically qualify as E/SE Asia's second class, low end neighborhood bordello?

## **Discussion/Analysis**

Investigation and analysis demonstrate a number of comparisons between military and tourism prostitution and the formation of blood progeny produced from both military and tourist visitor liaisons. There are basic similarities among military personnel who befriended Filipina national women socially outside the stigmatized circle of sex industry prostitution and their Japanese, South Korean and Chinese visitor counterparts. The lesson here cannot be overstated: not all mothers of biracial minority diaspora are involved in the sex industry yet there is a powerful and hazardous predisposition on the part of society in general that they are. This presents enormous socioeconomic and psychosocial problems for the offspring of such unions, not to mention health care providers and the parents who may well seek to unite and live redemptive and respectable lives [19]. This juxtaposition and these dynamics cry out for intensive investigation by evidence-seeking researchers.

What clearly emerges in the Philippine transnational sexual exploitation experience is we are now entering our fourth chronological iteration of exploitative child abandonment by developed world powerhouses. This virtually unprecedented human phenomena is being accomplished in mercenary fashion. It appears to be the equivalent of an odd if bizarre admixture of mass molestation, severe psychological stigmatization and financial burdening hoisted in a wholly sexualized manner onto a needy, vulnerable and weak nation-state of convenience. The pattern and impetuous: from Amerasian-to-Japino-to- Kopino-to-Chipino now appears irredeemably in place with scant prospect of reversal. In actuality, the point of attempting reversal or even more miraculously a remedy, appears long past. This is particularly so as the Philippines appears to continue to plunge into a long term economic abyss, its recent economic growth resurgence successes notwithstanding.

A substantial amount of blame and responsibility for ultimately placing the Philippines in the quandary it finds itself in must fall to the one entity which might have avoided it – an honest, efficient and accountable central government. It might be a simplistic and fanciful exercise to fantasize about what might have been. Would the current outcome facing the Philippines been different, perhaps, if a revered President Ramon Magsaysay or Diosdado Macapagal been at the helm rather than the criminally challenged Ferdinand E. Marcos during the pivotal 1970s and 80s? Much of the blame and hence an important lesson learned in explaining today's dismal status quo must fall upon an incompetent and pliable Philippine government. An agency which rendered itself as a totally complicit participant in the rape of the Philippines during the Marcos years. Indeed the impact of the Marcos' corruption and carnage, and the failure to make take effective reform measures – including abating the tide of hotel and sex tourism in the subsequent administrations of Corazon Aquino and succeeding president's stand out. Symbolically, what does it say of Philippine resolve when we behold one of the primary perpetrators of the Marcos era excesses, former First Lady, Minister of Human Settlements and Ambassador Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary Imelda R. Marcos? Today, at age 84, she enjoys a Golden Years status of the highest public prestige. Having managed to evade numerous criminal indictments charging her with plunder and fraud, the former Malacanang Palace Number Two commands the respectable position of an elected congresswoman in the Philippine House of Representatives!

That solution or amelioration of the problems of Filipino Amerasians or other comparative national minorities including Japinos and Kopinos will be initiated or driven by the central, provincial or municipal governments is doubtful. There could possibly be some humanitarian relief within the context of worldwide, United Nations, feminist lobby-driven or philanthropic concern over human trafficking and particularly how it relates to prostituted or sex industry entrapped females and children. But human trafficking is only one of the many variables affecting what is a complicated overall issue.

The truth is that Amerasians, Japinos, Kopinos and the coming wave of Chipinos/Sinopinos, as history and analysis demonstrates, are a taboo subject, an embarrassment [7], a seemingly “off the table” human agenda concern of officialdom. Moreover, the United Nations, which traditionally has championed, befriended, sympathized or offered support and programs for stigmatized, isolated or exploited populations similar to military Amerasians, or that matter Kopino and Japino minorities, has been noticeably silent in their cause. In truth, the U.N. over the years has generally been inconsistent, ineffective, absent or non-forthcoming in any public discussion or dialogue over the entire issue of international military command irresponsibility and excesses in the areas of military troop fraternization with local females and unwanted children resulting from such liaisons. It has no coherent long term policy in this regard – opting instead to concentrate on high profile rape and violence abuses against battered women or sensational aspects of human trafficking - and has infrequently supported lower profile abandoned children unless in the most extreme straits such as cases of malnourishment or famine. After all, are there not many enclaves of abandoned children in every quarter of the world? So, therefore, the unpublicized or little reported existence of children from illicit liaisons between local women and military troops are not likely to gain the organization's attention. Yet, ironically, within the past 1 ½ decades, and much to its own embarrassment, the

U.N. itself has had to concentrate its efforts in this regard on the defense of its special Peace Keeping Mission Force units in developing world locations including Bosnia, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti and Sri Lanka. All of these diverse locations, where U.N. troops have been stationed in the past, have surfaced charges of female human trafficking, gender abuse and neglect, promotion and consorting of troops with prostituted women including rape and impregnation of local women. [40]

## **Contemporary Dispersals and Diaspora**

### **Japino or Japanese-Filipino Children (JFC)**

There are an estimated 200,000 mostly abandoned, estranged, indigent, orphaned or under supported biracial Japanese Filipino Children (JFC), adolescents and adults residing in the islands today [42]. These are essentially unofficial figures provided by NGO/NPO and humanitarian group estimates since there are no known or reliable government census figures. Nevertheless, there appears to be general agreement on the immensity of the number both in the Philippines and Japan [42, 43, 44]. They originate from two primary sources:

1. Japino/JFCs born to Filipina national mothers when hundreds of thousands of Cold War Era vacationing and pleasure-seeking Japanese male tourists converged on the islands beginning in the 1970s and continuing, though in markedly less intensity, today. By the end of the 1970s Japanese tourists, for instance, accounted for nearly 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of all tourists to the Philippines. In the 1980s, an astounding 80 percent of Japanese tourists were men [3]. This figure examined by itself suggests that large numbers of these visitors engaged in the sex, golfing and casino tours and excursions openly advertised at the time in Japan and standard fare today on the Internet. However many liaisons which led to the birth of Japino/AFPs in-country were also the result of so-called “mail order bride” social arrangements freely engaged in by foreign males and Filipina women until the late 1980s when they were technically declared illegal, chance social encounters and normal romantic relationships which potentially arise from any holiday experience.

- 2 Japino/JPCs born to Filipina sex industry workers, mistresses, girlfriends or social acquaintances who were permitted easy entry to Japan in an agreement by the Ferdinand Marcos and Japanese governments under a liberalized entertainment visa program known as the Overseas Performing Arts Program[43]. Some observers described it as a false front requiring young Filipinas many barely attaining the age of majority to train as so-called entertainers, i.e. vocalists, dancers, choreographers, models, guest relations officers, tourist guides, etc., when in reality they were being readied for work in Japan’s burgeoning big city sex entertainment districts. The Philippine government was reported as the only nation on the globe at the time explicitly exporting its young women for purposes of prostitution. [3, 36] Many of these women, often desperately poor and naïve provincial lasses, wound up being held against their will and became hapless victims of human trafficking for sex [30, 31]. They were often also eagerly sought after and impregnated by Japanese males where they were known popularly as *Japayuki-san* in Japan proper, and called *Japayuki* when they returned home to the Philippines. Indeed, unless they were fortunate enough to marry or remained, protected as a mistress or concubine by a Japanese national while toiling in or out of the entertainment sector, most of these women

especially when pregnant, were summarily sent home or deported to the Philippines where many were to live indigent, disadvantaged lives.

The vast majority of Filipinas in these two categories were summarily rejected or unrecognized by the fathers of their offspring and since they were unmarried had no legal claim to rights of any sort including child support payments, permanent residency or citizenship [43, 44, 45]. Their lifestyle scenarios and circumstances are remarkably similar to their Amerasian counterparts. Only relatively recently, in 2008, the Japanese Supreme Court ruled against a law that denied citizenship to children born out of wedlock to Japanese fathers and foreign mothers. It upheld several previous suits brought by Filipina mothers who proved the fathers of their children were Japanese, holding that the marital status of a Japino's parents had no relevance, and therefore denying the children citizenship violated constitutional guarantees of equality for all [46]. Some unofficial estimates claim that as many as 100,000 Japinos were born as a result of the Japayuki-san entertainment experience in Japan, and an apparently near equal number sired by mostly wayward Japanese fathers in the islands. The International Organization for Migration also reports that interviews with Japinos and their mothers show that they struggle with securing legal and parental recognition, Japanese citizenship, and also face issues related to national identity, among others. In recent years, organizations have noted alarming reports of Japanese-Filipino children in the Philippines being trafficked back to Japan [42].

### **Kopino**

Unofficial estimates place the number of Kopino or South Korean Filipino infants, children and young adults abandoned, estranged, child support deprived or orphaned in the Philippines at approximately 30,000 and growing exponentially [47, 47a, 47b]. In 2011 some estimates placed the number as low as 10,000, [48] the second year Koreans led the number of total tourists to the country, pointing to a dramatic upsurge in Kopino births in just the past half-decade. The near overnight explosion of this new diaspora-sized minority are the direct result of an avalanche of tourism and intense commercial development and investment by South Koreans in the archipelago since the mid-1990s. Then, the "Korean Miracle" came into its own as the diminutive peninsular nation-state carved its own mark in communications technology, auto manufacturing, ship building and steel fabrication production boosting itself to advanced economy status; it is today easily within the globe's top 20 largest economies [11]. Among the 30,000+ Kopinos are the children of teenage Filipina nationals impregnated out of wedlock by male South Korean college students. Many have also previously served in the Republic of Korea Armed Forces. College age South Koreans flock to the islands for hedonistic recreational pursuits each year and the chance to learn English as a second language offered by numerous Philippine universities as well as a mushrooming number of Korean language institutes [48, 48a]. Others are Kopino infants of minor age Filipinas sought out by sexually predatory Korean males who often search for younger Filipina sex industry toilers or trafficked Filipina teenagers in groups according to ECPAT (End Prostitution, End Pornography & Trafficking Children for Sexual Purposes) [48a], an international human trafficking watchdog agency.

Travel statistics for 2013 place South Koreans as the top tourist arrivals at a stunning 1.16 million or one-fourth of the total 4.7 million foreigners admitted in-country [49], a percentage rapidly approximating Japanese tourist rates in the 1970s and 1980s. The Korean tourists rose 13 percent above 2012 totals and have led total tourist arrivals in the islands since 2010. U.S.

tourists were second, 652,626, and Japan third, 412,474. It appears there is a definite correlation between the growing size of total tourist arrivals in the Philippines and correspondingly increasing number of at risk Kopino births. Indeed, there is no known official government data on this minority population. The Kopino Foundation in Metro Cebu is one of a handful of private NGO/NPOs attempting to address the travail of Kopinos in the wake of governmental inaction from Manila or Seoul. Yong Ji Hyun, president of the Kopino Foundation, likens their socioeconomic and psychosocial risk issues to Filipino Amerasians abandoned by U.S. troops a generation ago [48]. The majority of Kopinos appear to be concentrated in Quezon City where many of their mothers worked in the sex industry and nightclub entertainment sector in Metro Manila and were solicited by South Korean sex tourists according to the Kopino Foundation. Since many of the fathers never married Filipina nationals they impregnated Kopino progeny are not recognized as legal wards or entities, cannot gain entry or citizenship, and are essentially stateless under exclusionary South Korean laws [50, 51].

### **Chipino or Sinopino**

There are an unknown number, but possibly as many as 5000+ Chinese Filipino infants, children and young adults in the islands today essentially abandoned or estranged progeny of PRC-China, Hong Kong, Macau and Republic of China-Taiwanese male tourists, businessmen, technicians and mate, mistress and girlfriend seeking itinerants. These estimates are not based on official government figures of which there are none known to exist, but upon anecdotal and intermittent, scattered domestic news media reports. This formation is relatively recent and to date has managed to sweep “under the radar,” unnoticed and unrecognized. We introduce the new appellations – “Chipino” and “Sinopino” – with this paper to describe the comparatively nascent formation and anticipated volatile growth of fresh mixed-heritage, biracial minority Chinese Filipinos. This category discretely differs from the long standing, historical settlement of Chinese and Taiwanese migrants and assimilations in the Philippines (sometimes termed Chinoys, Tsinoy, Intsik, Sangleys Taga-Taiwan in Philippine lexicon). Some of these groupings date to the tenth century when Chinese traders were already steady visitors to the islands. Indeed, existing Chinese records make mention of a major island mass, Ma-Yi, or contemporary Mindoro as an initial landfall settlement [52]. Over centuries a virtual diaspora of Chinese Filipinos, many from the nearby southern provinces of Amoy, Fujian and Guangdong, grew into one of the archipelago’s largest ethnic population distributions. Despite early discrimination and prejudice, Chinese mestizo entrepreneurs and businessmen flourished during the Spanish colonial era; significantly, national heroes Jose Rizal and Emilio Aguinaldo were both Chinese mestizos [37], and there is palpable evidence that Ferdinand Marcos himself was secretly fathered by a Chinese student at the University of the Philippines [36]. Today, Chinese families in Metro Manila and throughout many of the archipelago’s major urban centers dominate banking, finance, retail commerce and real estate sectors (3, 36,37).

There are a number of factors driving what predictably appears a “perfect storm” scenario guaranteeing that the pending Chinese male strike on the Philippines will duplicate if not exceed the Japino and Kopino experiences:

1. PRC-China's "One Couple, One Child" mandatory family size social engineering policy, introduced in 1979 under Premier Deng Xiaoping's reforms embracing state run capitalism, and the State Family Planning Commission charged with implementing the edict, has significantly altered the society's woman-to-man demographic ratio and social fabric. This has substantially increasing the number of current and future marriageable age Chinese males [9, 53, 54, 55, 56]. This skewed if abnormal imbalance threatens to send untold millions of female seeking males, regionally if not globally, in search of wives, feminine companionship and sexual liaisons and release [53], now and in the coming decades. One of the most convenient and inexpensive destinations is the Philippines, not more than a two-hour plane ride from eight of PRC-China's 10 most populous urban expanses: Dongguan, Chongqing (Chungking), Guangzhou (Canton), Nanjing (Nanking), Shanghai, Shenzhen, Wuhan and Hong Kong.

2. PRC-China and Hong Kong have clearly eclipsed ROC-Taiwan as a sex tourism destination in the Philippines which was traditionally favored by smaller numbers of Taiwanese visitors along with other Southeast Asia destinations dating to the early 1990s. Then, Taiwanese businessmen and tourists followed the Japanese to the islands, often on group golfing and casino gaming expeditions. In the Philippines the sex industry was more blatant and exotic than the comparatively buttoned down Republic of China [57]. Today, PRC-China tourism is burgeoning with Chinese males taking to heart the "Its More Fun in the Philippines" slogan promoted by the Philippine Department of Tourism. In 2013, 426,352 Chinese tourists entered the Philippines, the fourth largest sector after South Koreans, U.S. Americans and the Japanese; Taiwan was seventh with 139,099 [49]. The number of Chinese arrivals rocketed by 70 percent in 2013 and vaulted by more than 40 percent in January and February, 2014, prompting officials to predict the year 2014 and beyond will be record-breakers [58] with no turning back. New found Chinese tourism interest in the Philippines is strengthening and is destined to remain robust. This despite the acrimonious geo-political tension over PRC-China's alarming expansionist claims to a huge swath of the South China Sea. Manila is resisting Beijing's aggressive stance by a challenge before the United Nations and has countered by provocatively re-naming the disputed water body the West Philippine Sea (41).

In 2007, PRC-China's State Population and Family Planning Commission reported that about 118 males were born compared to live births of 100 females in 2005, a ratio which has been increasing for decades; there were 37 million more males than females in China then. By its own estimates there would be 30 million more men than women of marriageable age by 2020 [53]. But central government estimates on demographic data concerning the One Child policy are notoriously unreliable or misleading [54,55], and implementation of the policy itself is fraught with secrecy, unfairness, duplicity and lack of uniformity [54, 55, 56], thus bringing into question the basic veracity of state reported data. The report admitted that a historic choice for boys and male family heirs is one of the driving forces behind the dilemma. Abortions on female fetuses have been reported over the years and in some instances in epidemic proportions, especially in country and agricultural areas; there is also significant misreporting of live female births [53,54,55,56], fueling speculation leading to some empirical data reports that the male marriageable age deficit is and will become far greater than officially reported.

In South China, such as Hainan and Guangdong, the 2007 report conceded there were as many as 130 boys to 100 girls in 2005 [53]. The shortage or lack of nubile young Chinese women and

girls will render it troublesome, especially for under educated, poor and low social mobility males from rural expanses to find wives or living companions– a condition which will lead to social disorganization and insecurity [53], prompting forays to foreign lands to seek wives, companions and sexual release. Domestic prostitution is rising and sustains a continuing presence in PRC-China which many observers attribute in part to direct impact from the One Child rule [9].

On the tourist front many Philippine-based and Southeast Asia airlines have doubled down on the number of international flights from PRC-China and Hong Kong to Manila, Metro Cebu and Clark International Airport - all international ports of entry. Indeed the contemporary Chinese tourist scene in Manila is reminiscent of scenarios from the 1970s when the Manila Mid-Town Ramada Hotel became a notorious haven for Japanese sex tourists seeking liaisons with prostituted women. In those days the hotel levied a USD\$10.00 key-club fee that qualified them to freely access their room with a call girl or escort in tow [3] Flash forward to a scene recently at Manila's Aquino International Airport. Then, a group of smartly dressed Chinese tourists disembarked from a private jet and fast-tracked through immigration and customs to a fleet of black vans waiting to take them to the Solaire Resort & Casino, a huge new luxury complex on Manila Bay catering almost exclusively to high end Chinese tourists seeking among other accoutrements feminine companionship from stylish Filipina hostesses. Several more Solaire type establishments are planned on Manila Bay catering to the same upscale Chinese clientele [58].

## **Recommendations**

Ideally, one permanent way out would be for the Philippines to emulate other E/SE Asian “Tigers,” i.e. Hong Kong, Malaysia, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea, and markedly improve its economic performance. On the plus side the Philippine economy has been expanding by five to seven percent in recent years and recently placed in the top half of the world's economically competitive nations by the World Bank [41]. Although it would defy odds, the Philippines may be able to lift itself by the proverbial “bootstraps” and improve its human condition; women entrapped in the prostitution nightmare in the islands would have much to gain. Instructively, a spiking economy was precisely the mechanism occurring in Korea which enabled South Korean women to eschew bargirl and sex entertainment jobs around U.S. bases in Seoul and Busan, and were replaced in many instances by Filipina and Russian women [59, 60]. The Manila financial press is giddy over the prospect of a seven percent economic expansion rate for 2014, predicting that the Philippines may yet turn the corner and move away from what some United Nations and Asia Development Bank reports have suggested may be the Philippines coming fate: an extreme, deprived, hybrid economy configuration similar to Bangladesh, characterized by crippling overpopulation, desperately crowded living conditions, collapsing infrastructure and an indigent mass population.

Given the apparent reluctance to date of international, national, domestic and regional governmental entities to promote Amerasian and related minority population solution initiatives in the Philippines, a more realistic immediate course aimed at solution may lie in action on other fronts:

1. New and enhanced evidence-based and scientific research initiatives in an effort to fill glaring research gaps and deficits relating to the Filipino and Pan Amerasian condition and ongoing and emerging needs of Japino, Kopino and Chipino populations. These include field research and grants from NGO/NPOs, academic institutions, research institutes and foundations dedicated to discovery of adverse human conditions and identifying humanitarian needs of these groups. Indeed, it is by the formation of evidence-based research data which today patently does not exist that will serve as a catalyst to awaken political and public awareness and spur governmental humanitarian organizations into action to address the malady.

2. Supplemental enquiry and investigation initiatives including a new research journal on this topic could provide helpful source documents for utilization by NGO/NPOs, foundations and nonprofit, community welfare, humanitarian, charitable and academic institutions.

3. Increased public awareness and traditional news media, Internet and social media coverage and promotion of Filipino Amerasian, Kopino and Japino grass roots organizations and anti-human trafficking organizations active in the AMO Triangle through support of such groups as the Amerasian Foundation, Bayanihan Foundation Worldwide, United Philippine Amerasians, Philippine Children's Fund of America, the Pearl S. Buck Foundation, Prada, Inc., Hanmi (Korean Amerasians), Vietnam (Amerasian) Babylift, Solidarity Philippines Australia Network, Buklod, Gabriella, Wedpro, the Renew Foundation, Father Founded.org, Asian Nation, the PAD Foundation for Japino or Japanese Filipino Children (JPC) in the Philippines, the Federation of Nikkeijin Kai Philippines (Japinos), the Kopino Foundation, Korean Children Association and the Daejeon Migrant Workers Support Center.

## **Conclusions**

For all intents and purposes the 40 percent sex tourist estimate advanced by former U.S. Ambassador Harry K. Williams was probably as accurate as such difficult to research or estimate figures, with high percentages of variables, may be. In fact, as numerous Internet bloggers tweeted in support, it may have constituted an under count. In addition to Amerasians, the ambassador was well aware of the Japino, Kopino and Chipino/Sinopino experiences in the Philippines. Their considerable size (Amerasians and Japinos), explosive growth (Kopinos), and incipient potential (Chipinos/Sinopinos) provide plausible evidence to strengthen his argument. Former Ambassador Williams deserves commendation for engaging in a public narrative that is long overdue in the Philippines and E/SE Asia.

Sadly, the prospects if not the fate of the "No Way Out" scenario for these entrapped, mixed-blood, minorities and diaspora of the Philippines – patently the victims of tragic transnational sexual exploitation – is clear. Its perpetrators include one of its original colonizers and benefactors, a long standing and modern day treaty ally – the United States. Hypocritically, the U.S. showers the world each year with its annual State Department Trafficking in Persons (TIPS) report castigating nation-states - many highly deserving of disfavor - for their dismal records relating to the scourge of human trafficking [61]. Nevertheless, in practice and paradoxically, the U.S. executive government and Congress has engaged minimally to alleviate human suffering, emotional travail, welfare compensation or immigration relief or reform for

abandoned military Filipino Amerasian progeny. In part, many first and second generation Amerasians have become innocent victims of human trafficking, and often found themselves being recycled into the prostitution system that originally ensnared their own Filipina mothers or grandmothers years ago (23, 29). Many are victims of outright child abandonment, neglect or abuse through failure of their own fathers or grandfathers to provide child support payments, parenthetically a criminal and/or civil violation in many of the 50 states of the United States. In extreme abandonment cases U.S. military commanders and line military personnel responsible for wayward Amerasian street children who died of neglect or perished in backstreet warrens and side allies [16, 29], or children, in the care of indigent Filipina mothers, who died of malnourishment or improper care may have either knowingly or unknowingly been complicit in a form of involuntary infanticide.

South Korea, another military ally whom the Philippines directly aided during the darkest hours of the Korean War (1950-1953), is uncontrollably acerbating the Kopino boom – a direct by-product of the *nouveau riche* spending excesses [11] of the over one million tourists who visit yearly. The Seoul government irresponsibly demonstrates little willingness to become involved. Japan, which to its credit provided the Philippines with many worthwhile human and capital improvement reparations projects in response to its inhumane and reprehensible treatment of Filipinos during the World War II Imperial Japanese Occupation (1941-1945), has provided limited foundational and charitable support to alleviate the Japino/JFC problem. Its courts have also commendably ruled for limited legal redress as it relates to Filipina mother (Japayukisan) infants, children and adults who have now earned technical citizenship rights if they were Japanese born [44, 45, 46]. Much, much more needs to be done by Tokyo to begin full redress.

A budding male tourism beachhead from PRC-China and Hong Kong and the potential to duplicate the comparatively rapid influxes of Japanese and South Korean sex tourists in Metro Manila [49, 58], and premium outlying destinations including Cebu and Palawan, is real and threatening. Given the alarming if conflicting numbers emerging from male-female gender imbalances created by the One Child Policy, and the sheer proximity of the Philippines to mainland China most populous cities, there is strong potential Chipino/Sinipino human dispersals could conceivably exceed Kopino and even Japino diaspora numbers by 2020-2025. Some authoritative U.S. political science writers have even warned of a potential geopolitical “Findlandization” or sphere control of the Philippines at the hands of PRC-China and People’s Liberation Army naval encroachment vis-à-vis Beijing’s threats and actions towards annexation of the South China Sea [41]. While upending the entire human, demographic, socioeconomic and geopolitical firmament of the Philippines, such a development, however implausible, would surely accelerate at risk Chipino/Sinopino population formation.

Finally, a litmus test lies with the Manila central government and whether it demonstrates the will, fortitude and capacity to defend in a multiple of dimensions its national sovereignty. Formation of beleaguered Amerasian and other E/SE Asian human dispersals in the Philippines represent no real social advantage for the country or its economy; indeed, they are costly, resource draining and contribute mightily to the nation’s already grinding poverty level. Among the challenges for Philippine leadership is to develop backbone and demand preventative aid and preemptive policies in the face of these periodic and invasive intrusions

from ally and neighboring nations alike. Another strategy is to strengthen control of the archipelago's huge 22,000 mile island sea border, regarded as one of the world's most porous and vulnerable to contraband smuggling, human trafficking and military challenge [3, 37, 41].

In conclusion, most needy and deserving Filipino Amerasians, whether African, Anglo, Chicano/Latino or Native American, are confronted today with enormous odds against them in terms of the prospects of a happy life outcome. This runs in contravention of the natural Filipino state of mind, which is optimistic in tone, idealistic by nature and hopeful in outlook. Yet many Amerasians, even those of the younger 2<sup>nd</sup> generation, are very familiar with the stark, closed door policy affecting their U.S. mainland immigration rights. This controversial measure, contained in the onerous 1982 Amerasian Immigration Act, provided favored immigration easements and a path to citizenship for the former Indo Chinese peoples (Cambodians, Laotians and Vietnamese), South Koreans and Thais - but specifically excluded Filipinos. A few years later the U.S. warmly embraced Vietnamese Amerasians by clearing the way for admission of approximately 80,000 Amerasians and their families. It came through passage of the generous Amerasian Homecoming Act of 1987 and implementation of the Orderly Departure Program [62] signed into law by President Ronald Reagan. When will a change of heart, public awareness and the historic American humanitarian impulse ring for misbegotten Filipino Amerasians? Or, are they and equally forsaken Japinos, Kopinos and Chipinos/Sinopinos, inevitably relegated to suffering with practices, policies and neglect guaranteeing a cruel destiny of "No Way Out?"

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