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Military Filipino Amerasians in Central Luzon,  
Philippines

A Multiple-Case Study

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# Episodic Stigma, Psychosocial Risk, and Stress Confronting Second-Generation Military Filipino Amerasians in Central Luzon, Philippines: A Multiple-Case Study

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*Abstract: Military Filipino Amerasians, an unrecognized yet significant mixed heritage, biracial diaspora, abandoned by U.S. military personnel fathers during the protracted colonial-commonwealth period and post-World War II-Cold War Era of permanent military bases (1898-1992), are acknowledged victims of stigmatization and discrimination. Some Amerasians developed psychopathology-based significant depression, anxiety, and stress. Approximately 200,000-250,000 or more 1st and 2nd generation Amerasians, ranging from infants to the elderly reside in the archipelago today. Many are socioeconomically marginalized and psychologically at risk. However, virtually few if any studies exist on 2nd generation Amerasians, a sizeable part of the diaspora. This multiple- case study involved a sample (N=8) of Anglo and African, female and male, second-generation, adolescent and adult Amerasians, residing in the Angeles-Metro Manila-Olongapo City "AMO Amerasian Triangle," reputedly the highest concentration of military Amerasians in East/Southeast Asia. The six-month study was to determine personal experiences with stigma, ostracism and psychosocial risk (i.e., name-calling, verbal harassment, impoverishment and familial organization quality). Results revealed presence of an "at risk," troublesome, socioeconomically marginalized and stressed population, but with a comparatively limited experience with baser conditions of the level or intensity encountered by first generation Amerasians.*

*Keywords: Asian Americans, Filipino Amerasians, Diaspora, Military Prostitution, Psychosocial Risk*

## Introduction

Second-generation biracial U.S. military Filipino Amerasian progeny, whose total numbers in the Philippine archipelago are virtually unknown, are a significant, unstudied human phenomenon. Some 50,000 Amerasian children were left abandoned in 1991-1992 (Levi, 1993). News media, researchers and the literati used this unofficial figure as authoritative for more than two decades. However, Kutschera and Caputi (2012) maintained this figure to be a guess, not based on scientifically derived demographic data. The researchers maintained the number of Amerasians including 2<sup>nd</sup> generation to be 200,000-250,000 or more. Excluded in the 1992 count were adult, elderly first generation, and all second generation Amerasians. Second generation Amerasians, grand children of long-departed U.S. servicemen and corporate defense contractors remain in contemporary news accounts (deLeon, 2012, 2013) and an acclaimed film documentary *Left By the Ship* (2010). Anecdotal accounts, news media reports and limited empirical research reflect some widely-reported stigmatization, discrimination and stress issues among their parents (i.e., 1st generation counterparts).

Significant research (e.g., Gastardo-Conaco and Sobritchea, 1999; Kutschera, 2010, 2011; Kutschera and Talamera-Sandico, 2013) validated chronic marginalized socioeconomic status and mental health issues. The Conaco-Gastardo and Sobritchea (1999) study of first generation Amerasians (i.e., minors to middle-age adults) (N=443) revealed marked levels of discrimination with three distinct biases or claims that (a) Most Amerasian mothers were thought to be

prostitutes; (b) High levels of ostracism were prevalent against African Amerasians, and (c) Inflated incidence of sexual (gender) harassment and name-calling targeting adolescent girls was underscored.

Kutschera (2010, 2011) intensively examined Anglo and African Amerasians (N=16), ages 13 to 39, including equal numbers of females and males from the Angeles, Pampanga site of the former Clark Air Force Base. The mixed methodology findings included numerous stigma and bias psychosocial physical and personal risk and mental stress factors. Severe levels of anxiety, depression, and stress (measured by the DASS-21 scales) existed with evidence of poverty, drug and substance abuse, joblessness, under-employment, housing insecurity, disorganized or dysfunctional family issues, social isolation, identity issues, unresolved grief and psychic loss and low self-esteem. Kutschera and Talamera-Sandico (2013) found an inordinate number of psychosomatic illness complaints, particularly "several diagnoses of somatization disorder" (192).

## Literature Review

Given the dearth of research about 2nd generation Filipino Amerasians, researchers must rely on scattered news media, Internet website, and hearsay. The historical basis for inter-generational stigma, prejudice, and bias against mixed blood military origin Amerasians (e.g., the Filipino experience) is better documented in other East/Southeast Asian nations, including South Korea (Cho, 2008; Doolan, 2012; Moon, 1997) and Vietnam (Bass, 1994; McKelvey, 1999). However, one of the very few reported or documented Philippine experiences is a media version by DeLeon (2013), who described the despair of Jennifer, a 2nd generation African Amerasian whose grandfather was a black U.S. air force pilot and her Filipina national grandmother, laboring at a nightclub near Clark airbase. The offspring of a "derivative Amerasian family" (Kutschera and Talamera-Sandico, 2012, 1) with her African Filipino mother, working as a sex laborer, was inter-generational in character. The family appeared trapped in a dysfunctional lifestyle, typical of Amerasians raised in the shadows of pervasive institutional military prostitution (deLeon, 2013, n.p.).

A 2nd generation Amerasian street child profiled in the *Left by the Ship* film documentary was Margarita, 13, and her aging African Filipino Amerasian father, Alfred. The remnants of this sad fragment of a family circle were homeless, eking out an impoverished existence in the shadow of the former Subic Bay naval complex. Alfred, the abandoned offspring of a U.S. serviceman during World War II, was old enough to be her grandfather. Margarita survived by foraging for basura (garbage) and plastic disposables, collecting, sorting and selling with her ever-present pal "Jepoy" for a fist full of peso change. The film traced Margarita's life on Olongapo City's mean streets until she is taken into custody and referred to a family home. However, failing to adjust, she returns to the streets. As the film ends, she is shipped off to a more structured religious home, where she stays on for about one month. "She returned to the Triangle and has been there since October, 2011" (*Left by the Ship* website). By 16 she became a mother to a baby girl, later taken away by Social Services and left to live on the streets. "The tragedy in her situation is that having lived in the streets for so long, she no longer knows how to live what we call 'an ordinary life,' spent around the house among family. It doesn't take a lot of imagination to see what life has in store for her down the road, if she can't do something to get her out of there - or find people who will help her (*Left by the Ship*, website blog spot)." "She returned to the Triangle and has been there since October, 2011" (*Left by the Ship* website). By 16 she became a mother to a baby girl, later taken away by Social Services and left to live on the streets. "The tragedy in her situation is that having lived in the streets for so long, she no longer knows how to live what we would call 'an ordinary life,' spent around the house among family. It doesn't take a lot of imagination to see what life has in store for her down the road, if she can't do

something to get her out of there - or find people who will help her (Left by the Ship, website blog spot)."

Other Southeast Asian and East Asian nations, harboring Pan Amerasian diasporas (viz., Vietnam and South Korea), historically exhibited institutionalized propensity to stigmatize biracial, mixed heritage Amerasians well beyond the first generation progeny. Bass (1996) noted: "Amerasians in Japan are known as *Hanyo*, half-people; in Korea they are called *panjant*, half breeds; in Thailand they are *farang*, foreigners; and in Vietnam they are *con-lai*, mixed blood."(40) Throughout Asia Amerasians have not attained personhood and as such historically and even contemporarily cannot gain access to basic life resources. Their social status and personal circumstances are beneath other South Vietnamese refugees, viewed as "the enemy" fleeing the country at the end of the Vietnam American War (1964-1975). "Their mothers are castigated as whores. Their fathers are long gone. They are unloved, unwanted, the rotten fruit of bad seed. *My den, My do, dem bo, chu-ong heo*, kids yell at them on the street, *Black American, red American, put them in the pig sty*" (Bass, 122).

McKelvey (1999) analyzed the impact of structural rigidity, ethnic intolerance, and xenophobia pervasive in communist Vietnam in the 1990s. The reality boded destructively on already fragile biracial Anglo, African and Latino Amerasians growing up without a father or as orphans. Amerasians routinely "experienced extensive prejudice and discrimination" (36).

A similar pattern prevailed in South Korea, where U.S. involvement and permanent basing dated back to the Korean War (1950-1953). Shade (1980) reported Nobel Laureate and humanitarian Pearl S. Buck estimated the number of Amerasians born at the war's end probably exceeded 25,000 (29). Kutschera (2013) observed the gravity of this early estimate within the context of the 60 year U.S. military presence. No definitive way exists in knowing the size of 1st and 2nd generation African, Anglo, Latino, Native American Indian or other ethnic U.S. military Amerasians born, perished or residing in Korea (7), in part because many South Korean news media reports are historically speculative or deliberately distorted (Breen, 2004, 4).

Biracial Amerasian status was socioeconomically and culturally marginalized due to widespread Korean intolerance of mixed-racial populations (Choe, 1997). Historically, patriarchal views of chastity and morality permeate the social environment fabric with an absence of candor about sex that deeply traumatized Korean comfort women. Forcibly recruited into prostitution by the Imperial Japanese military during World War II, these women "often kept their shame secret for decades...and suffered severe mental anguish which could not find release in an open acknowledgement of the wrong done to them" (Hicks, 1995, 125). When they did, they faced stigmatization similar to mothers of Amerasians in the Philippines, almost universally believed to be prostitutes or sex laborers despite the lack of empirical basis (Kutschera, Caputi, and Talamera-Sandico, 2014, 1). Importantly, Shade (1980) reported that discriminatory practices against Amerasians in South Korea were among the severest in East Asia.

In assessing the rapidly transitioning Korean societal norms, Doolan (2012) reported that younger generations of South Koreans, often differed with older cohorts, by readily accepting mixed-race, English-speaking, white identities, and embracing a phenomenon called *white privilege* (67). Such recalibrated societal attitudes may auger well for younger or future generations of military Amerasians, but not necessarily for African Amerasians. "African Americans or Amerasians with Black fathers are regarded as lower than White Amerasians. We can see this in the way that mixed race White/Korean celebrities land mainstream roles in Korean dramas and movies, whereas African American/Koreans are never present in films" (Doolan, 2012,75).

Significantly for 2nd generation diaspora, Pan Amerasian strains (e.g., Filipinos), Teng (2013) described the emerging acceptance of contemporary hybridity or "mixed blood" enclaves in mainland China, Hong Kong and the Republic of China (Taiwan), enveloping other East/Southeast Asian regions. "By the turn of the new millennium hybridity had gained cachet -

as a theoretical concept, a marketing strategy, and as a political issue. No longer taboo: hybridity was now in vogue” (xvi).

## The Study

### *Research Questions*

1. What is your personal knowledge of your grandfather - either as a uniformed member of the U.S. military, a private corporate contractor or civilian U.S. government employee - developed through your contact or what has been told to you by others?
2. Have you ever been subject to stigmatization, discrimination, ridicule, exclusion, rude, violent behavior, or been denied a job promotion, not hired, lost a scholarship, received a lower grade or related conduct on the part of others that you attributed to your mixed-blood background?
3. Compared to neighbors, friends, acquaintances and other family members, how do you personally ascribe your own socioeconomic status and social standing in Philippine society and to what extent do you believe this may or not be related to your being Amerasian?
4. Do you have knowledge that your grandmother or mother may have been a prostitute or worked in some capacity as a bar or nightclub hostess, entertainer, waitress, "door girl" or some other role thought to be associated with sex labor? Have you ever in any way been criticized or held up for ridicule or embarrassment because of such claims?
5. Have you or any members of your immediate family have a history of any type of mental disorder, illness or symptoms of mental illness (i.e., anxiety, depression, stress)? Have you or they ever been diagnosed with any type of mental disorder?

### *Methodology*

This study included short interviews, fashioned into case studies to evaluate feasibility for full-scale research with a substantially larger sample (Hulley, 2007, 168-169). Its purpose was to explore military 2nd generation Amerasian racial identity to determine the presence of stigmatization, discrimination, and psychosocial risk and stress factors related to their identity.

Anglo and African Amerasian participants constituted the sample selected by the quota method, a non-probability technique (Fortune and Reed, 1999). Like accidental sampling, it "takes any subjects at hand (and) tries to take into account diverse or segments of the population that may be important for purposes of the study. To accomplish this one divides the population into segments or strata based on selected characteristics, then samples from each stratum." (213). While Grinnell and Unrau (2005) maintained set quotas are proportionate to sample characteristics reflective of the population, such precision is unlikely, given the limited Amerasian demographic data. Hence, similar to the Kutschera (2010, 2011) study, the sample reflected the predominant racial makeup, gender, and age of participants (N=8) with equal numbers of Africans (blacks) and Anglos (whites), two age groups (adults, 20-39; adolescents, 13-20) with equal numbers of females and males.

Participants drawn from the AMO Amerasian Triangle, holding the preponderance of former U.S. bases and installations, engaged in semi-structured, open-ended interviews in English, one of the archipelago's two official languages. Each had options for interviews in either Filipino (Tagalog), the second national language or Kapampangan, a regional language of west Central Luzon.

Data collection included a brief, biographical data gathering section with 5 to 10 question multiple sections posed orally on topics covering Amerasian background, life experiences as 2nd generation progeny, episodes of stigmatization and discrimination due to Amerasian racial ethnicity and psychosocial risk, including mental health issues.

## Case Study Profiles

### *Jane, Adolescent Anglo Female: Case 1*

Jane, a comparatively well-adjusted, acculturated 14-year-old private high school student, lived with her parents and two Amerasian brothers in housing at Clark provided by the Philippine Air Force. Her Filipino father was a career service Non-Commissioned Officer with the rank of sergeant. His salary and benefits provided for a relatively stable family household. Jane's Caucasian skinned grandfather was a senior U.S. Air Force NCO chief master sergeant. Jane's light-skinned Amerasian mother, a housewife, had always been with the same man, since her teenage years. The family's annual net income was at Philippine Piso 300,000 (equivalent to approximately US\$7,700) in their view making them "middle class."

The U.S. career NCO, now deceased, left Jane's Filipina national grandmother and her child-aged mother for reassignment. Her mother told her about the books he read, the music and food he liked. The couple lived a solitary existence and their relationship was not connected to military prostitution. Jane escaped the serial name-calling and harassment targeting her mother. Jane admitted to labeling as a "Tisay," translated in some Filipino vernaculars as a negative (i.e., "half white" or "pale skin"). As a 2nd generation Amerasian, Jane maintained that lighter skin or Caucasian facial and slim body features actually eased her acceptance among peers. "Having Amerasian roots has been more of a plus for me. I consider myself lucky." This remark echoed themes and patterns of white advantage covered in the Kutschera and Pelayo (2013) *Anglo Amerasian Paradox* study.

### *A.C., Adolescent Anglo Male: Case 2*

A. C., 13, his dry, sun beaten skin belied abundant Caucasian features of street children (viz., *Batang kalye*) living on the streets in Angeles City. Speaking in a rapid fire admixture of Taglish, and Kapampangan, he described living in a bamboo, plywood and metal sheeting hovel underneath a bridge since 7. His impoverished, solo Amerasian mother abandoned him during a monsoon because she could no longer pay rent, electricity, or buy food. He never saw her again. A collector, sorter and cycler of *basura* and sundry trash by night, A.C. hustled in the early evening as a car security boy and ad hoc traffic director on busy MacArthur Boulevard, assisting anxious drivers backing their cars onto the congested thoroughfare. He earned tips only if no police were around. The police, A.C.'s ever present enemy and nemesis, could bring him to the city Social Services for begging.

A.C. was conscious of his American blood: "Part Americano, diba?" He played on his American identity in a standard pitch of "Take me back to America, man" to any white skinned foreigner he suspected may be from North America. He really knew little of his family background. He never really knew his two other siblings, a younger brother and a baby sister, who were Filipino and probably came from a different "papa." He spoke little of his Amerasian mother and shrugged his shoulders when asked to elaborate more on family origins. He had a first grade education in the settlement zone elementary school. His memories were of a poverty-ridden, dysfunctional, home life. A.C. seemed to be an anxious, intense working child totally focused on the origins of his next meal or stash of recyclable trash. Should luck strike, a kind foreigner might buy him a micro waved cup of noodles from the 7-11 or Mini-Stop store. Fellow Filipinos generally ignored or shooed him away, and if pestered might even alert the cops. Consumer conscious South Korean visitors and tourists were to be avoided, as they are known to slap, bat or kick street kids, and alert the police. "Koreans are shit," he remarked in English emphatically.

### ***Cherry Mai, Adolescent African Female: Case 3***

Cherry Mai, a 16-year-old African American, recent graduate from public high school, knew she was mixed-blood Amerasian and her grandfather was an African American. Because of her darker skin color and bodily features, people usually identified her as Amerasian. "All I know is my grandmother met a black American (military service personnel) in Manila and lived together. My mother is their daughter. I do not know what happened, but my grandfather left when my grandmother got pregnant. He never saw her again, and we had no communication with him at all." Her 1st generation Amerasian mother would tell her to make a life different from hers, because *we are a broken family*. My father now has his own family in America (her mother would say), so I should study well. Life is not that good...We have no house, we rent a small place, and my mother alone works for us because my stepfather has sickness and cannot work." Cherry can read, write, and speak English fairly fluently. She listens to U.S. American music popular with her peers and knows a few and occasionally socializes with Amerasians. Her mother said that many 1st and 2nd generation Amerasians live in Metro Manila. Indeed, many believed Amerasians (i.e., African, Anglo and Latino) tended to coalesce in urbanized areas of the Philippines. "Being a second generation Amerasian affects me because of my unique color and kinky hair. I am different from the others. My friend and classmates used to call me *Negra* - when I was young, I felt sad, but then I accepted that *panunukso* (ridicule), because it's true." Cherry witnessed other Amerasians being treated badly. "Maybe because they (the accusers) were young and liked shouting *Negra*."

Philosophically and spiritually speaking, Cherry Mai stated that physical features are highly personal and "God's gift," which she accepts. She described herself as sociable; not socially isolated. "I have many friends, and sometimes we hang out, but my mother and father are strict, checking with me from time to time. I am still young, and my mother always reminds me to finish first my education and get a good job." Her mom is seeking help from a charitable foundation in order for her to enter college. "I'm hoping."

### ***Juan Robert, Adolescent African Male: Case 4***

Juan Robert, 14, was a 2nd generation African American in late grade elementary school (middle school in U.S.). Living with his Amerasian mother and three siblings, his poverty-stricken family rented a small house for Piso 2,000 (U.S. equivalent \$50.00), barely enough to accommodate all six family members. His natural parents separated when he was seven. He and his siblings opted to remain with their mother, an office secretary. After two years she chose to live with another man and had another child. Juan did not inherit the shorter, squatter bodily structure and lighter skin of his mother. He was slender, blacker and tall for his age and admittedly gay.

Juan knew of his 2nd generation Amerasian origins. "My mother has American blood and my grandfather was an American" serviceman. He gave an account strongly suggesting his grandfather played a key role in his grandmother's exposure to human trafficking. Apparently her stepfather abused Juan's Filipina national grandmother in Mindanao. When taken, possibly involuntarily to Angeles City, she became a bar sex laborer and ultimately pregnant. At some point she was "sold" to the grandfather. "Together with my Americano grandfather, they escaped to Manila and lived as a couple." At some point later, the father eventually left the grandmother and Juan's child-aged mother, never to see them.

Juan was the target of name-calling, verbal harassment, and even overt slights and disappointments because of his being African with very dark skin and different hair and facial features. However, being Amerasian had distinct advantages: "They said I do not look like an American, but instead an *Ita* or *Negrito*," referring to the black indigenous mountain people of Western and Northern Luzon. Identified as an Amerasian and a black American helped him to hone his talents to become a more appealing persona. His skin color had international appeal and his knowledge of American dialect English was a plus.



***Dovie Jean, Adult African Female: Case 5***

A 36-year-old widow, Dovie Jean was a *tindera* (sales lady) earning a subsistence level daily stipend in the *palengke* (wet market). A high school graduate, she had an early marriage to a fellow black Amerasian, who died leaving her with a son (age 11). "I knew that I was a 2nd generation Amerasian even though I am not as black as the others." Her Filipina national mother was from Leyte, but left at age 16 and eventually at 23 became a "floor manager" in a night club outside Subic Bay naval base. There she met Dovie's first generation Amerasian father. Abandoned by a father she never saw or knew her, Dovie never learned the true story of her Amerasian father's whereabouts because her Filipino stepfather raised her. Her mother told her father's surname, but few other details. "My mom passed away never telling me anything more about my father or his family."

Dovie's family lived in an Olongapo City *kubo* or shanty. "Life is too bad for us; we live in a small shack together with my four siblings. My mother did not go back to the bar after my birth. She (had) no job, and my stepfather (worked) as a carpenter off and on. I married early - age 16 - so I (could) have a family of my own and would not add to my parents' problems. But I was wrong. I still live in a *kubo*." "Why do I have this kind of life? I am just hoping now that our living situation would increase from very poor to *sakto lang* (exact only) needs." She always felt deep sadness, tension, unexplained physical pain - headache, pain in her entire body, feeling sick, signs of somatic illness or a somatization disorder. Episodes of depression and stress, symptoms of possible psychopathology, never prompted her to seek mental health services, because of unaffordable costs and her belief in her ability to cope.

Dovie noted that many black Amerasians, like herself, lived in extreme poverty. In her view most mainstream Filipinos natives did not mind them or paid no attention. She socialized with some 1st and 2nd generation Amerasians, who experienced stigmatization, discrimination, verbal harassment, and name calling that she never experienced. The downtrodden worked at menial, street side pursuits (i.e., car parker, vendor, trash collector or street sweeper). She considered herself fortunate: "I was accepted by my Filipino stepfather who considered me as his own child. I was lucky because I never really experienced bad treatment. They usually tell me that I am a beautiful *Negra*, and black is beautiful. I am proud of my color."

***Sheryl, Adult Anglo Female: Case 6***

The product of a typically impoverished and loosely dysfunctional Amerasian family, Sheryl (age 24) was the mother of three boys (ages 3, 6, and 7) residing in a substandard housing unit in Metro Manila. Sheryl admitted to being *poor*. However, her impoverishment may be rooted in being *Filipino poor* - rather than *Amerasian poor*. She worked many grueling hours to supplement her meager household income by taking in wash or working as a house maid. Her common back pain was from stoop work laundering involving long hours with wear and tear on the body (e.g., skin, nerve, bone and cartilage damage to hands; fingers reddened and bruised from scrubbing and slap cleaning garments on a concrete floor). With her Filipino husband's restricted income as a contract construction laborer, the family remained marginalized, stressed and at risk, but managing to get by.

Similar to other interviewees, Sheryl's inter-generational Amerasian moorings were murky and incomplete. She knew virtually nothing about her Anglo American grandfather or her 1st generation Filipino Amerasian father. Like so many Filipino and Filipino Amerasian working and poverty class men, her father sired a child with a woman - her mother - out of wedlock and then abandoned her. Her mother met her father, an off duty Philippine Army soldier in a nightclub where she worked as a waitress/entertainer. She became pregnant with Sheryl and estranged from the father. When Sheryl attempted to ask her mother for basic details of her father, she was continually rebuffed.

Unlike so many 1st generation Amerasians (viz., Africans who had consistently complained of venal name-calling, verbal harassment, even physical violence, stigmatization and discrimination), Sheryl claimed to have encountered few racial problems. In fact, Sheryl claimed her distinctive Caucasoid features, white skin and slim, attractive legs, and comely *Mestiza* look facial features brought her an invitation to work as a dancer and entertainer in strip clubs/honkytonks. "My mother stepped in and wouldn't let me." Sheryl admitted to sometimes feeling depressed and anxious to learn any details about the whereabouts of her Amerasian father, but never sought any type of mental health counseling. Overall, she claimed to love her husband and despite their substandard living assignments was an "optimistic persons who always tries to manage a smile."

### ***Daryl, Adult African Male: Case 7***

Daryl, 25, was a single African Amerasian with a thick strain of U.S. and Filipino mixed blood with both his grandfather and father African American military personnel and his mother, an African Amerasian. Technically and atypically, he is a part of an uncommon genre - both a 1st and 2nd generation Amerasian. The relatively easy going Daryl with pronounced African features (i.e., black skin, kinky hair, above average height and muscular legs) nicknamed himself "Black Dog." He never saw or knew his African American grandfather or father, one U.S. Navy and the other U.S. Army respectively. He believed his father always "rejected" him because of the circumstances of his conception, the result of his mother, a 2nd generation Amerasian sex industry laborer, being "presented as a gift for a "one night stand"" to his father by a mutual friend.

Daryl's biracial, mixed-heritage background had characteristics of what Kutschera and Talamera-Sandico (2012) termed the Derivative Amerasian Family construct (1). Properties included: parental origins of military U.S. American parentage, military prostitution linkages, disorganized and transient family features, with inter-generational characteristics. At age 16 Daryl's mother began her years employed in the Olongapo sex industry and left the business in her late 30s. Daryl recalled a similar story about his maternal grandmother She left home at 16 and headed for a bar life in the Subic Bay honkytonks rather than face the prospect of taking care of her aging parents. In a disco she met Daryl's granddad, assigned to the U.S. Navy's Seventh fleet. That union resulted in Daryl's Amerasian mom, who during her over 2 1/2 decade career in Olongapo clubs went on to have children with a total of three different American, Filipino or foreign men.

Daryl had an elementary school education and made a living as a sound technician at fiesta celebrations, birthday celebrations, and laboring at construction sites. He worked at the fishing port, as a *Kargador* or transporter of fresh fish from pier to sales point. Daryl believed being black Amerasian was a distinct advantage by providing him a sure identity, which appeared to be gaining more acceptance as younger generations emerge. "Many people know about us. They know that some of us can speak fluent African American language. We can sing and dance well, and (are) active in sports like basketball." As such African Americans have earned a sense of identity; "I respect a person that respects me, too," he observed.

### ***Pedro Carlos, Adult Anglo Male: Case 8***

Pedro Carlos, 27, a white Amerasian, lived marginally in Metro Manila with his Filipina wife and her two children (6 and 7). He forged a meager existence as a "trike" or Tricycle driver (i.e., passenger conveyance vehicle consisting of a small two space compartment attached to a motorcycle). The trike job was a step above previous gigs (i.e., car washer, gardener and janitor). Like many 1st and 2nd military Amerasians, Pedro never knew his Amerasian father or his Anglo American grandfather whom his mother described as a U.S. Army service member transiting through or the Philippines during the early years of the Cold War Era (1946-1991).

Pedro's Filipina national mother, abandoned by the Army man when Pedro was three, managed to keep the family together (viz., Pedro's Amerasian sister and two younger Filipina stepsisters from a later marriage with a Filipino).

Pedro earned approximately peso 300 ( U.S. equivalent \$8.00 daily) Though technically above the extreme poverty level of \$2.00-\$2.50 daily projected by the World Bank, such income was insufficient to adequately clothe, feed, and shelter the household. He readily admitted to being in the *poor class* and struggling. Realistically, he felt little chance of ever climbing out of a cycle of poverty, apparently still affected by his grandfather's abandonment of his mother and his small Amerasian sister all these years later. Pedro lived at a *squatter* poverty level since childhood, migrating from one *kubo* to another. When he briefly attended elementary school, he recalled being verbally harassed and abused because he was *tisoy* (white skinned). Yet, he regarded himself as a fully acculturated or assimilated Filipino Amerasian without any linkage to either Anglo or African Amerasian local enclaves.

## Discussion

Levels of stigmatization, discrimination, and ostracism directed against 1st generation Africans approached neither the intensity nor impact for 2nd generation progeny [e.g., Gastardo-Conaco and Sobritchea (1999); Kutschera (2010, 2011)]. Participants reported generalized, often unfocused descriptions of discriminatory specific incidents. None had direct knowledge of any incident, resulting in an individual job loss or promotion. Milder name-calling appeared less provocative than many venal epithets experienced by 1st generation Amerasians. Participants were unable to recall specific incidents of discriminatory victimization. In fact, not one was able to offer an incident, provoked or prompted by prejudice or bias against denial of a higher grade in school.

Yet, these mostly deeply impoverished 2nd generation military Amerasians reported broader feelings of having been symbolic targets of stigma or discrimination. They observed other Amerasians, experiencing such incidents over being an Amerasian. Nevertheless, all asserted they had experienced or witnessed generalized anti-Amerasian stigmatization and discrimination.

Among the positive reaffirmations of the *Amerasian Paradox* (Kutschera and Pelayo, 2012) were that white Amerasians, particularly entering late adolescence and early adulthood tended to leave behind assaults to their Amerasian biracialism (i.e., verbal harassment, stigmatization and discrimination) and enter a beneficent stage. The "ready acceptance of an expanding segment of female Amerasians have gained easy social acceptance, rapid acculturation, and greater material promise and gain as they entered mature adulthood. This status is in...contrast to the mass of remaining Amerasian diaspora that continues in varying degrees as a largely economically disadvantaged and socially marginalized population cohort" (6). Anglos Jane and Sheryl personified properties of the paradoxical phenomenon, while Africans, Daryl and Dovie Jean, reflected a high degree of positive acculturation and assimilation. Both claimed to be easily accepted by the Filipino mainstream with expressed pride for their acceptance of their atypical African physique and demeanor. However, more participants admitted to parental or ancestral backgrounds mired in the morass of military prostitution and aspects of the sex industry persisting to this day.

Kutschera and Talamera-Sandico (2012, 4) originated and identified the presence of the "derivative Amerasian family" construct, including:

A pattern of Filipina mothers bearing children of servicemen, civilian employees or private defense contractors of different racial or ethnic extraction, mothers often but not always engaging as prostituted women or in casual sex industry liaisons, and passing or attempting to pass such life style choices onto children in inter-generational fashion. Derivative Amerasian families also exhibited various aspects of severe social

disorganization found in traditionally dysfunctional families including parental absenteeism or total abandonment, lack of consistent authority at the helm, housing insecurity or a history of homelessness, transient and itinerant lifestyles, physical and mental violence, neglect and abuse, possibly of a sexual nature, and generally materially impoverished lives (5).

Notably, at least half of participants, including African Amerasians (i.e., Daryl, Dovie Jean, Juan Robert) and Anglo Sheryl reported their mothers/grandmothers were involved in meeting American or Amerasian parental figures in establishments of the military or civilian prostitution system.

A number of other salient themes emerged or were reconfirmed from previous research from interviews:

1. Impoverishment and socioeconomic marginalization. In sharp contrast to the developed world and the U.S., this group reflected a majority of military Amerasians residing in the Philippines (Kutschera, 2010, 2011). As such, 2nd Filipino Amerasians may be treading a fine line between stigmatization and discrimination suffered as much by being poor as being biracial Americans, a subject of possible future comparative research.
2. A recurring pattern of 2nd Amerasians living in households, inhabited, often raised and nurtured by Amerasian mothers. Strikingly, no sample participant lived in a household under the care of their 1st Amerasian generation father. Moreover, a majority reported being told their fathers disappeared, abandoned households, or had cohabitation arrangements with their mothers. None reported either intimately knowing or being in some way guided in their upbringing by their fathers, a finding common in 1st generation families and possibly indicative of a legacy or curse originally planted by run-a-way or absentee military personnel grandfathers or fathers.
3. Second generation Amerasian households subject to multiple psychosocial physical and personal risk and mental health stress factors identified among 1st generation Amerasians (Kutschera, 2010, 2011). Physical risk factors identified in both included: permutations of abandonment by the father, low income and poverty, homelessness or housing insecurity, joblessness, underemployment, low education levels and restricted access to medical/mental health services. Concomitant mental stress factors included: claims of experiencing, witnessing biracial or hearsay of stigmatization and discrimination, name-calling or verbal harassment, psychosomatic complaints or possible somatic illness and derivative or disorganized family issues.
4. Half the sample (1 Anglo, 3 Africans) sought out or naturally had Amerasian social acquaintances. Africans exceeded Anglos in that their darker skin and distinct African physical features yielding a propensity to form clearer racial or ethnic bonding. The remainder expressed neither a particular predilection to seek Amerasian company, nor a claim of being socially isolated from fellow Amerasians.

Despite the number of risk and stress factors reported among the poverty-stricken sample, they did not disclose difficulties with mental health. Only Africans Amerasians, Daryl reported a number of somatic type complaints (e.g., bodily aches, unexplained bouts of tension and stress, diarrhea, insomnia and profuse sweating), Dovie Jean with feelings of depression and stress and also related a number of somatic illness symptoms, as did Juan Robert. In a mental health setting these symptoms might reveal a propensity towards somatic illness or somatization disorder, a frequent finding among the 1st generation Amerasians (Kutschera and Talamera-Sandico, 2013).

Only one Anglo Amerasian, Sheryl, reported episodes of depression and possible unresolved grief issues, particularly when obsessing on her long gone father.

Some earlier problems affecting 1<sup>st</sup> generation Amerasians underwent cultural and geopolitical dilution over time. Generally, the sample demonstrated a high degree of assimilation and acculturation into the mainstream culture. The lack of any structural sense of an Amerasian community or sense of cultural collectivity (i.e., aspects of diasporic formation) did not coalesce with this sample. For example, describing themselves as being wholly a part of Filipino culture, yet in the next breath, embracing a distinct Anglo Amerasian (viz., "black is beautiful" African identity).

## **Conclusions, Recommendations, Summary**

The purpose of this study was to address socioeconomic, psychological, cultural, and specifically anecdotal reports that 2nd generation military Amerasians encountered stigmatization and discrimination resembling their 1st generation counterparts. While this thesis was partially supported, the question remains how does institutionalized general poverty and the historical scourge of military prostitution in the Philippines continue to plague the troubled past of Amerasians? This population, similar to older 1st generation Amerasian progeny, may be as troubled and at risk to justify further study both inside and beyond the parameters of the AMO Amerasian Triangle. A significantly larger sample to determine valid and reliable generalizability is an imperative.

While a handful of participants claimed to be targets of generally discriminatory or stigmatizing behavior on the part of mainstream Filipinos, a majority witnessed other Amerasians marked for generalized stigmatization. More significantly, collateral and unanticipated findings uncovered that 2nd generation Amerasians, like 1st generation parental Amerasians, also suffered both socioeconomically and psychologically from abandonment or estrangement as a result of missing patriarchal roots.

The inordinate and unequal burden that women (mothers) of 2nd generation Amerasians bore in bringing up their children is important if not crucial and needs further study. Many Amerasian households continue to be affected negatively by the former military prostitution system now subsumed in the omnipresent Philippine sex industry and sex tourism trade. The institutionalized consequences became destructive and manifest themselves in unrelenting levels of chronic poverty, housing insecurity, familial disorganization and dysfunction, and lack of access to adequate medical/mental health preventative care and treatment services. These deeply traumatizing conditions continue to confront unknown and demographically uncounted numbers of 2nd generation Amerasians.

## **Action Suggestions**

With the signing of the new 2014 Republic of the Philippines-United States Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) comes the possibility for progress affecting long neglected Amerasians. While EDCA will mean more U.S. troops and civilian defense contractors on the ground, it may also provide opportunities to revisit U.S. government policy of Filipino Amerasian neglect. The U.S. academic research community, international and domestic NGOs, NPOS, and research foundations, assisted by the U.S. government, the Asia Development Bank or the United Nations could be advocates by exerting a high degree of leadership to this cause by underwriting initiatives to bring to light this humanitarian plight. Finally, the U.S. State Department, U.S. Embassy-Manila, Agency for International Development-Philippines, and the Department of Health and Human Services are potential leaders to marshal forces to re-examine the reprehensible conditions faced by abandoned U.S. American military blood progeny.

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