

The Exclusion of Filipino Amerasians
from the 1982 & 1987 Amerasian Immigration and Homecoming Acts

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By

William Ward

DocuSigned by:

Jennica Larrison

2B932C0F2B9749E...

Dr. Jennica Larrison, Chair

DocuSigned by:

Eleftherios Michael

C4B63A4C076D462...

Dr. Eleftherios Michael

DocuSigned by:

Sabrina Thomas

8A6A9E70215A45C...

Dr. Sabrina Thomas

College of Public Affairs
University of Baltimore
Baltimore, Maryland
March 2023

For Darlene, Alex, and Amaya

You all inspire me to be a better husband and dad.

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Abstract

Since the end of the 19th century, the United States has had a military, political and social presence in the Indo-Pacific Region, including the Philippines. US presence in Asia has produced offspring born from the union of US military and civilian personnel and the native women population. For the Philippines, these are the Filipino Amerasians, the abandoned children of American fathers who refused to acknowledge paternity and have relegated Filipino Amerasians to lives of marginalization and poverty.

The United States enacted the Amerasian Immigration Act (AIA) in 1982 and the Amerasian Homecoming Act (AHA) in 1987. Both Acts provided Amerasians from Thailand, Korea, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam preferential status to immigrate to the United States. Filipino Amerasians were not included in this legislation or any other subsequent Amerasian legislation. This research examines the reasons for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA using a mixed-method approach of both Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) and Bivariate Linear Regression (BLR). It is a comprehensive analysis looking into the convergence of race, gender, colonialism, The Cold War, and the Philippine Catholic Church in explaining the decisions and intent of policymakers, both in the United States and in the Philippines, to exclude Filipino Amerasians.

Although there is no singular cause for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA, this research does find that the Philippines and the US government purposefully excluded Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA to satisfy each country's political, economic and Cold War posture in the region.

Keywords: Amerasians, Filipino Amerasians, Amerasian Immigration Act, Amerasian Homecoming Act.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

INTRODUCTION

“I didn’t want the Philippines, and when they came to us, as a gift from the gods, I did not know what to do with them...there was nothing left to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God’s grace do the very best we could by them.”¹

President William McKinley
The White House
21 November 1899

President McKinley’s benevolent attitude towards the Philippines has always seemed a reasonable attitude on how the United States viewed the Philippines and other Asian countries. My dissertation on Filipino Amerasians comes from personal experience being both American and Filipino. It also comes through my professional experience working with immigration and immigrants within conflict regions as a public policy analyst, government advisor, military-political advisor, and former US Army veteran. As a bi-racial man born and raised in the Philippines to an African American US Air Force Airman father and Filipina mother, I was always aware of my status in the Philippines as both an American and Filipino in a country that could not fully accept my bi-racial status but was always accepting of all things American. I’ve always chalked up this type of dissonance in attitude by Filipinos to the Philippines’ long history as an American colony and its continued political and military alliance with its former colonial master. For Filipinos, the United States isn’t just a friend and ally, it was also their protector against a hostile Soviet Union and China which aimed to control and oppress the region.

¹ This quote attributed to President McKinley must be taken with some amount of reservation. Although it was a popular and well cited account at the time, according to General James F. Rusling, one of the visiting delegates to the White House, it occurred over a year after the White House event and during the heated debates of ratification of the Philippines into the treaty with the United States (Smith, 1985; Zelikow, 2017).

Growing up in Clark Air Base in the Philippines,² I was always appreciative of the role the US military played in securing the peace in the entire Asian region. My father and the fathers of all my friends worked long shifts and conducted numerous missions in and around the Philippines to ensure stability within the Philippine government and that US military might was always exercised against US enemies in the region. Life on Clark was like living in any other typical American city. We had our schools, restaurants, bowling alleys, movie theaters, pools, parks, soccer, baseball, and football fields. But there was always a clear division between life as an American on the base and those who looked just like me, who lived just outside the walls of the base, but were not considered to be like me. These were the children of American military and civilian men and Filipina women, abandoned and rejected by their fathers and left to lives of marginalization, destitution and oppression in a country that would not accept their illegitimate and bi-racial status. These were the Filipino Amerasians—America’s dirty secret and the Philippines’ hidden shame.

It was not until I began my studies as a Political Science major at the University of Southern California that I began to learn about the role of the United States in the Indo-Pacific Region. It was also during this time that I began to explore the political and policy implications of the Vietnam War on the United States and to our national security goals for the region. Vietnamese Amerasians were always a fascinating study and their role in discussions about the Vietnam War and US immigration policy were always complex. At the end of the day however, the discussions always focused on their marginalized and ostracized existence in a world that rejected their status as illegitimate and bi-racial children of Americans. I could not find many materials, whether books or media documents, or their existence, or their struggles, as was the

² Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base were the 2 main military installations for the United States Air Force and United States Navy in the Philippines.

case for Vietnamese Amerasians. I knew there were stories and research on Filipino Amerasians that did exist, and I knew I had to find them. Filipino Amerasians live in large numbers in the Philippines, and with the increasing US military presence in the region to counter Chinese, North Korean and Russian aggression, their marginalization and neglect had to be addressed. This is where my dissertation has taken me today. To look at Filipino Amerasians, The Philippines and the United States and to find the reasons for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from preferential immigration status by the United States.

Since its rise as a nation in 1783, The United States has followed a trajectory from colony to colonial power, to a superpower. With President McKinley's annexation of the Philippines in 1898 after the Spanish-American War (Ahern, 1992) through Korea, Vietnam, and the Cold War, US military presence in Asia has been continuous and significant to the overall geopolitical status of the region. Over the years, the continuous US presence in Asia has enabled the US military to achieve relative stability in this vital region and allowed countries such as Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines to pursue economic and political transformations that put them in close alliance with the Western economic world and democratization. The presence of the US military in the Indo-Pacific region is crucial to the national interest of the United States and to all its allies in the region.

The United States has maintained a military presence in the region for over 200 years. Its continued presence is critical in maintaining its role as a world superpower. The US military presence in the Philippines is the oldest of any Asian nation and is pivotal for the geo-political stability of the region. As in Japan, South Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, the American presence in the Philippines has inevitably resulted in Amerasians. The marginalization of Amerasians in each country has been a source of division amongst the local

population and with the United States government. Over 50 years ago, the Vietnam War highlighted the need for America to “rectify” its moral obligation towards Amerasians and to view them as Americans (US House of Representatives, 1982b). For this research, I will focus on the oldest and largest Amerasian population, Filipino Amerasians. Those overlooked and forgotten offspring of US military and civilian personnel and the native Filipina population have faced and continue to face significant ostracization, marginalization, and poverty since the arrival of the American expeditionary force in 1898. The American author, humanitarian, and philanthropist Pearl S. Buck used the term “Amerasian” to describe the mixed-race children born from the US military presence in Asian nations (Cheng, 2014; Gage, 2007).³ The continued presence of over 250,000 Filipino Amerasians since the United States’ permanent military presence in the Philippines (P. C. Kutschera et al., 2015) and the anticipated Filipino Amerasians that will be born as a result of increased US military personnel in the Philippines, will prove to be a destabilizing factor in the US-Philippine relationship as it faces a more aggressive and determined China in the region.

In 1982, the United States attempted to rectify Amerasians' moral neglect with the passage of the 1982 Amerasian Immigration Act (AIA). At the time, AIA supporters in Congress viewed it to be morally right to bring these children of American fathers “home” (Committee on the Judiciary, 1982). Later, to correct the deficiencies of the AIA in recognizing the “American” identity of Amerasians, financial obligations by the putative father, as well as preventing their immediate families from immigrating to the United States, the 1987 Amerasian Homecoming Act (AHA) was passed. Both Acts gave Amerasians from Thailand, Korea, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam preferential immigration status to come to the United States. Neither

³ Amerasian is a specific term used to identify these mixed-race children of American soldiers, sailors, marine or airmen, and their Asian mothers. It can also apply to the offspring of US civilians assigned to military bases in support of military operations.

Acts included Filipino Amerasians, and all subsequent Amerasian legislation failed to resolve this omission.

The exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA is not merely a policy decision by the United States to control immigration from Asia or to preserve current US immigration policies that favor legal migration into the country. Neither was the inclusion of Vietnamese and other Amerasians through the AIA and AHA a singular reflection of America's wartime guilt in Asia. Rather, the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians exposes the convergence of US immigration policy and US foreign policy. In approaching this analysis about US immigration policy, I was aware of the long and complicated aspect of the government's responsibility to immigrants through its stated immigration policy. Most Americans have strong feelings about immigrants and their numbers and roles in American society. In 2017, the US welcomed over 1,127,167 immigrants or Legal Permanent Residents (LPR) and 3.8 million non-immigrants (United States. Department of Homeland Security, 2017). Since the founding of this country, immigration has been the foundation of the American existence. From the European settlers escaping religious persecution to the latest Ukrainian refugees fleeing war and genocide, each immigrant group has left its indelible mark on US society. In fact, since World War II through today, immigration has consisted of immigrants, non-immigrants, refugees, and temporary workers (Violet, 1980).⁴

Embedded within these two policy paradigms of US immigration policy and US foreign policy are concepts of race, gender, colonialism, and religion. Together, they form the basis for Filipino Amerasians' exclusion from all preferential immigration rules and policies. The

⁴ The US government defines immigrants as foreign nationals seeking a permanent stay in the US. Non-immigrants are admitted into the US for a temporary period for a specific purpose (school, work, pleasure, performing arts, etc.). Refugees are foreign nationals who are outside their country of origin seeking safety in the United States. Temporary workers are here to work for a specific type of employment for a specific amount of time.

bureaucratic mechanisms of enforcing US immigration policies that have excluded Filipino Amerasians were made clear over the decades after the implementation of the AIA and AHA. In 1993, there was an attempt made by both the House of Representatives and the US Senate to rectify the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the previous 1982 and 1987 Amerasian Acts. House Resolution 2429 (H.R. 2429) was introduced on June 16, 1993, to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to extend preferential treatment in the admission of Amerasian children to children born in the Philippines (*H.R. 2429 (103rd): To Amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to Extend Preferential Treatment in the Admission of Amerasian Children to Children Born in the Philippines.*, 1993). On May 4, 1994, the late Hawaii Senator Inouye introduced Senate Bill 2072 (S. 2072) to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to facilitate the immigration to the United States of certain aliens born in the Philippines or Japan who were fathered by United States citizens. Other bills in Congress included 22 U.S.C. section 2201 (Assistance to Certain Disadvantaged Children in Asia), which provides some foreign aid for Amerasian children in Asian countries where the United States has had a military presence. However, the amount of money that was provided was far short of the money necessary to support tens of thousands of children (Montes, 1995). As late as 1999, late Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald put forth the American Asian Justice Act of 1999 that would have amended the INA to facilitate the immigration to the US of children born in the Philippines and Japan who were fathered by US servicemen (US House of Representatives, 1999, E447). This bill, as have so many other bills, never made it out of the committee and reinforced the narrative that Filipino Amerasians have no path toward preferential immigration status into the United States.

The United States is home to the highest number of immigrants of any country in the world, with just under 14% of the population being foreign-born, or approximately 45 million

people. Not only do immigrants compose a sizable population in the United States today, but it is estimated that they will account for 88% of US population growth, approximately 78 million people, through 2065 (Budiman, 2020). Ensuring US policies for implementation of US immigration are fair, transparent, and equitable is vital to a large segment of the US population. However, the AIA and AHA have shown that Congressional immigration reforms that benefit large segments of marginalized Asian populations have continuously failed to be fair or equitable and have not addressed America's past failures in Asian countries, especially the Philippines and Filipino Amerasians.

Statement of the Problem

As stated above, seeing it firsthand, I can attest that Amerasians born from America's military presence in Japan, Korea, Thailand, Cambodia, and the Philippines, have faced and continue to face prejudice, discrimination, intolerance, poverty, neglect, ostracization, and abuse in their birth countries (Gastardo-Conaco, C., & Sobritchea, 1999). Because of their mixed-race status and illegitimacy, Filipino Amerasians are relegated to 2nd class status within Philippine society. There were debates by legislators in the years immediately before the 1982 implementation of the AIA that Filipino Amerasian were a result of illicit and illegal sexual relationships between US Servicemembers and their prostitute Filipina women (Montes, 1995). This type of misguided and narrow thinking was not something new and has been a persistent stereotype of many Americans that the Asian woman was the "sexual predator" against US servicemembers (Bauermeister, 1982).

The relationship between the Philippines and the United States stretches the longest of any Asian nation, from the end of the 19th century to the present day. The US military has had an enormous presence in the Philippines since the end of World War II and through the Cold

War (Kutschera, PC, Elena C. Tesoro, Mary Grace Talamera-Sandico, 2015), with an estimated 52,000 Amerasians left behind after the last two US Military bases in the Philippines closed,⁵ Clark Air Base in 1991 after the eruption of Mount Pinatubo volcano and Subic Bay Naval Base the following year in 1992.

Like my initial research into US foreign policy in the Indo Pacific Region, there has been little to no research on the reasons or legislative intent of excluding Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA. Furthermore, subsequent bills by both Congress and the Senate to make amends to the AIA and AHA that would have included Filipino Amerasians have all died in session (Montes, 1995). Therefore, knowing the specific reasons and factors that help explain Filipino Amerasians' exclusion is crucial to our understanding of Amerasians. This understanding of Filipino Amerasians and their exclusion will shed light and expand our understanding of how race, gender, politics, and war influence US immigration and foreign policy objectives. In addition to looking at US actions towards Filipino Amerasians and how American laws and attitudes made such exclusion purposeful, no literature or research on the actions of the Philippines, both government and non-government entities, regarding the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and the AHA exists.

Purpose of the Study

This research seeks to generate knowledge that allows for a greater understanding of what factors caused the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from both the AIA and AHA. Scholars agree that issues involving Amerasians reveal America's historical biases against immigrants and Asians (Buraschi et al., 2018; Pryce, 2018; Young, 2017). Amerasians also reveal America's

⁵ Exact figures of Filipino Amerasians are difficult to find since there were no official Philippine Government records that identified Filipino Amerasians. The figure of 52,000 were from NGOs such as the Pearl S. Buck Foundation who estimated this to be the number of first generation Filipino Amerasians when Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base closed in 1991 and 1992.

reliance on stereotypically outdated ideas of race and gender. I seek to find out the underlying motivation and intent of legislators and government officials in both the Philippines and in the United States in excluding Filipino Amerasians from both Acts as well as any subsequent government actions that would benefit Filipino Amerasians.⁶ Therefore, this research will address the relationship between the Philippines and the United States in excluding Filipino Amerasians. It has always been a conundrum within Public Administration (PA) to understand what motivates PA administrators and policymakers in creating and enforcing policies that contradict public sentiment. Because we are part of a community of policy influencers charged with making our collective society achieve things together, we have an interest in bringing those less fortunate, less influential, into a society that is less stratified and more inclusive. With that, the interest in putting Filipino Amerasians in a place of acceptance should place individuals in line with stated community goals (Stone, 2012, pg. 25). For Amerasians, it was their American fathers as justification for their being Americans. This is the basis for one of the characteristics of the polis⁷ in that altruism allows the individual to do things not for oneself but for the betterment of others. As a community, Americans wanted to bring Vietnamese Amerasians “home”. Accordingly, supporters of the AIA and AHA made this desire of the American community a reality, to bring home our American children from Vietnam. This research will further guide current and future researchers and both the Philippine and United States governments to correct past wrongs in dealing with marginalized populations like the Filipino Amerasians in places where the United States has had a military presence. Specifically, the US

⁶ The Amerasian Immigration Act (AIA) was passed on October 22, 1982, which gave persons born in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea (Cambodia), or Thailand after December 31, 1950, and before October 22, 1982, and fathered by a US citizen, an opportunity to seek admission to the United States and adjustment of status to lawful permanent resident (LPR). In 1987, the Amerasian Homecoming Act (AHA) was passed and gave only persons born in Vietnam after January 1, 1962, and before January 1, 1976, the same opportunity under the AIA. (1982 *Amerasian Immigration Act*, 1982; *Public Law 100-202, Sec. 584--100th Congress Joint Resolution*, 1987)

⁷ Polis, the Greek word for city-state (Stone, 2012, pg. 19)

Departments of Defense, State and Homeland Security (through the United States Citizenship and Immigration Service) each have played a key role in interacting with the Philippines and the Filipino people. Furthermore, the US government has always been at the forefront of advocating for oppressed and marginalized peoples all over the world. With this advocacy comes the military deterrence the United States uses to enforce geo-political stability within the region. Having both the Philippine and US government fully addressing the status of Filipino Amerasians will prepare the US government in dealing with increasing Chinese, Russian, and North Korean aggressiveness in the Indo Pacific region where large populations of Amerasians remain.

Method and Research Question

This research uses a mixed-method approach of both Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) and a quantitative Bivariate Linear Regression (BLR) to answer the following questions:

"Why were Filipino Amerasians excluded from the 1982 and 1987 Amerasian Immigration and Homecoming Acts? Do the reasons for exclusion still prevail, and how can they be addressed? What are the potential implications of addressing the matter to national security and economic interests in the Indo-Pacific region?"

Significance of the Study

Using QCA and BLR, this research aims to show specific actions taken by both the United States and the Philippine government that contributed to the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians. The research will expose how race, gender, colonialism, the Cold War, and the Catholic Church in the Philippines played a significant role in their exclusion. QCA will enable the researcher to have a keen perception of what is not said in the data analyzed. Politicians and

bureaucrats on both sides of the discussion on Amerasians are adept in not saying openly what they do discreetly, and the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians is no exception. To date, no clear explanation or record links the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians to a specific reason. Rather, it appears to be an amalgamation of the reasons given above, the importance of which impacts current United States immigration, foreign and military policy, and humanitarian/human rights policy. In this research, my aim is not to find the “smoking gun” for the exclusion. Still, the aim is to aggregate the information gained over a wide range of records and artifacts to find a commonality amongst government leaders in the Philippines and the United States, that would indicate a deliberate process to exclude Filipino Amerasians.

I left the Philippines in 1991 at the same time the US military presence ended after almost 100 years. When Clark Air Base and later, Subic Bay closed in 1992, over 250,000 multi-generational Filipino Amerasians were left behind (P. C. Kutschera et al., 2015b). In the Indo-Pacific Region, what was old is new again. In 2023, Ferdinand “Bong Bong” Marcos, the son of the late Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos is now President, and the United States has signed an agreement with the Philippines to extend cooperation and use of Philippine bases by the US military. An aggressive People’s Republic of China (PRC) vying to be the dominant power in the region,⁸ both militarily and economically, is not just a throwback to old Cold War tensions, it is slowly and surely becoming a reality of the modern times.⁹ The Philippines is not only America’s “oldest ally” in Asia, but its location within vital shipping lanes and Taiwan make it strategically vital to the United States (Baviera, 2014).¹⁰ There is no clearer

⁸ The Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA--Government of the Philippines and United States of America, 2014).

⁹ China’s aims in the region are not only to undermine the United States, but to destabilize the US alliance with its allies, including the Philippines, Japan, South Korea and Thailand through coercion, political interference, disinformation, cyber-warfare, and outright threatening war with Taiwan (Bush et al., 2022; Winger, 2022).

¹⁰ Former President Obama announced in November 2011 that the US would “pivot” to Asia. This would ensure the United States would have a dominant military and diplomatic presence in the region (De Castro, 2014).

manifestation of the US commitment to the Indo-Pacific region than the US government's stated national strategy in the region:

This intensifying American focus is due in part to the fact that the Indo-Pacific faces mounting challenges, particularly from the PRC. The PRC is combining its economic, diplomatic, military, and technological might as it pursues a sphere of influence in the Indo-Pacific and seeks to become the world's most influential power. The PRC's coercion and aggression spans the globe, but it is most acute in the Indo-Pacific. From the economic coercion of Australia to the conflict along the Line of Actual Control with India to the growing pressure on Taiwan and bullying of neighbors in the East and South China Seas, our allies and partners in the region bear much of the cost of the PRC's harmful behavior. In the process, the PRC is also undermining human rights and international law, including freedom of navigation, as well as other principles that have brought stability and prosperity to the Indo-Pacific (Executive Office of the President of the United States, 2022, pg. 5).¹¹

Filipino Amerasians exist and their presence has always been minimized, rejected, or forgotten by both the Philippines and the United States. The same faces of these bi-racial children born during the 1960s through the early 1990s, who are now adults and who, reflect to me a sadder and more dejected image of my own American identity still exist in large numbers in the Philippines. The same arguments made in the 1980s for America to recognize its

¹¹ According to the White House, the United States is an Indo-Pacific power. The region, stretching from our Pacific coastline to the Indian Ocean, is home to more than half of the world's people, nearly two-thirds of the world's economy, and seven of the world's largest militaries. More members of the U.S. military are based in the region than in any other outside the United States. It supports more than three million American jobs and is the source of nearly \$900 billion in foreign direct investment in the United States. In the years ahead, as the region drives as much as two-thirds of global economic growth, its influence will only grow—as will its importance to the United States (Executive Office of the President of the United States, 2022, pg. 4)

“American” children from the Vietnam War also applied to the recognition of Filipino Amerasians as “American”, but such a recognition was never made by US policymakers.

Today, the world is more volatile than ever and as the United States continues to expand its presence in the Philippines. Maintaining the high road in being the beacon of democracy, human rights, morality and decency, the United States must make amends regarding its neglect of Filipino Amerasians. This research seeks answers from the past to ensure that both the US and Philippine governments create fair and equitable solutions for a marginalized population that were a direct result of America’s military presence in the Philippines.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

INTRODUCTION

Amerasians from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, South Korea, Japan, and the Philippines are marginalized, ostracized, and treated with disdain by most of the populace in their native countries for their mixed-race status and illegitimacy. However, only Amerasians from the Philippines were explicitly excluded from the preferential immigration status offered to other Amerasian groups¹² under the 1982 Amerasian Immigration (AIA) and 1987 Amerasian Homecoming Acts (AHA). This research is an analysis of the literature that describes the plight of Filipino Amerasians in seeking meaningful recognition of their American and Filipino heritage while looking at the historical, cultural, and social context Amerasians occupy within US society, US immigration, and US foreign policy. Ultimately, this dissertation aims to answer the gap in the literature as to why Filipino Amerasians were excluded from the AHA and AIA. Like all Amerasians, Filipino Amerasians occupy the nexus of: 1. Colonialism; 2. The Cold War (with specific relationships between Marcos and Reagan); 3. Race; 4. Gender; and 5. The Philippine Catholic Church's unique influence on the experiences of Filipino Amerasians.

The structure of this chapter will highlight each of the above five factors. Understanding why Filipino Amerasians were excluded from preferential immigration status under the AIA and AHA requires a comprehensive understanding of these five factors that form the basis for the existence of Filipino Amerasians.

¹² Japanese Amerasians were also the only other Amerasian group excluded from the AIA and AHA, but the focus of this study is with Filipino Amerasians for which the United States has shared a long history with the Philippines since 1898 to the present. The largest number of Amerasians are from the Philippines.

The US Presence and Amerasian Understanding

Since the turn of the century, the United States has had a military, political, and social presence in Asia. Beginning with the Philippines as a US colony in 1898 after the Spanish-American War (Ahern, 1992) through Korea, Vietnam, and the Cold War, US military presence has been pervasive in the region. With such a presence, especially in the Philippines, offspring are inevitably born from the union between US military and US civilian personnel and the native Filipina population. The American author, humanitarian, and philanthropist Pearl S. Buck used the term "Amerasian" to describe the mixed-race children born from the US military presence in Asian nations (Cheng, 2014; Gage, 2007). Furthermore, Cheng states that the Amerasian is a fatherless child whose American father had abandoned them or refused to acknowledge paternity. A clear distinction is made that the Amerasian is a specific and militarized term used to identify these mixed-race children of American soldiers, sailors, marines, airmen, as well as US civilians and their Asian mothers.

Scholars and researchers have made the marginalization and discrimination of Amerasians clear. Because of their mixed-race status, and the perception that their mothers were prostitutes, Amerasians have been relegated to the lower rungs of Asian society (Gage, 2007; Valverde, 1992). This marginalization and prejudice towards Amerasians, along with the poverty experienced by most Amerasians because of their marginalization and lack of educational and economic opportunity (P. Kutschera & Caputi, 2013), is the bind that connects their shared suffering. However, the reasons Filipino Amerasians were not part of the larger discussions for preferential immigration treatment by the United States in the 1980s remains absent from the literature on Amerasians. Furthermore, the role of the Philippine government under former President Ferdinand Marcos toward Filipino Amerasians has not been fully

analyzed. It is important to note that during the 1980s, when both the AIA and AHA were discussed and passed, the Philippines played a pivotal role in Asia as both a strategic and political ally of the United States. President Marcos was at the center of Filipino economic, political, and social actions throughout the 1970s and 1980s, and his minimal actions regarding Filipino Amerasians are illustrative of his role in the Asia Pacific region. By the time Marcos was first elected President of the Philippines, the country was the shining star of democracy in the region and had a reputation for having fair and honest presidential and local elections, a Congress that mirrored that of the United States and an independent and fair judiciary headed by graduates of the best law schools in both the Philippines and the United States (Youngblood, 1990, pg. 16).

The United States attempted to rectify the marginalized and lamentable status of Amerasians with the implementation of the 1982 Amerasian Immigration Act (AIA) and the 1987 Amerasian Homecoming Act (AHA) (Ahern, 1992) (*1982 Amerasian Immigration Act, 1982*)(*Public Law 100-202, Sec. 584--100th Congress Joint Resolution, 1987*). The AIA provided Amerasians from Thailand, Korea, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam preferential status to immigrate to the United States. The AHA was implemented to address specific deficiencies in the AIA towards Vietnamese Amerasians. However, Filipino Amerasians were not included in this legislation nor any subsequent Amerasian legislation despite over 50,000 Filipino Amerasians existing in the Philippines by the end of the 1980s. Since then, over 250,000 first and second-generation Filipino Amerasians remain in the Philippines as part of America's almost century-long military presence in the Archipelago (Ahern, 1992; P. C. Kutschera & Caputi, 2012). As such, the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the Amerasian Immigration and Homecoming Acts warrants further study. While perhaps instructive, looking at post-colonial

theory that reflects the long history of colonial consequences and its aftermath of occupation as a basis for the actions of one country towards another is far too limiting (Gandhi, 2019).

According to Gandhi, post-colonialism can enlighten one in revisiting, remembering, and, crucially, interrogating the colonial past (pg. 4). The past positions of the United States can influence its current efforts as a former colonizer and the Philippines as its former colony. Merely analyzing the relationship between the United States and the Philippines as a former colony and colonizer and the imbalance of power between the two could not, according to Gandhi, “fully reveal the discourse of hybridity and diaspora. Despite postcolonial attempts to foreground the mutual transculturation of colonizer and colonized, celebrations of hybridity generally refer to the destabilizing of colonized culture” (pg. 136). This hybridity, transracial and transcultural aspect of Filipino Amerasians warrants additional discussions of immigration, nativism, citizenship, racism, and conflict (Lee, 2015). From 1898 when the United States formally occupied the Philippines as a colony, to the present, issues of governance, self-governance, control, immigration, social inclusion, exclusion, and racialization and miscegenation towards Filipinos have been issues present in discussions concerning Filipino Amerasians.

The passage of the AIA follows a long history of what Nicholas Molnar describes in *American Mestizos, the Philippines, and the Malleability of Race*, as the “bachelor colonization,” which is the large influx of American men into the Philippines starting in 1898 (Molnar, 2017, pg. 14). Bachelor colonization was exacerbated over sixty years later by the Vietnam War and the overwhelming influx of American military personnel through the Philippines. Although research into some of the motivations and intent of legislators and policymakers in both the United States and the Philippines does exist, this research will broaden the understanding of the

specific political and personal motivations of specific legislators who were instrumental in the passage of both the AIA and AHA.

The American Imperial Expansion to the Philippines

In 1949, former President Truman would surmise that far too often and for far too long, the ideas of colonization have brought the underdeveloped world into believing its current and future success was due to the historical benevolence and guidance of its historical colonizer. The West tends to believe that Western culture and Western governance will bring progress to less developed lands (Gandhi, 2019). With the defeat of Spain in the 1898 Spanish-American War, the United States acquired the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba and established itself as a colonial power (Karnow, 1989). Looking beyond the atrocities of early colonization, Karnow explains the different economic impulses that distinguished European colonialism from American imperialism.¹³ With their limited domestic economies, the British, French, and Dutch looked at their colonies as a source of vital materials. The British used Malaysia as a tin and rubber supplier to its industrial revolution. The French were the new plantation owners of vast rice estates. These powers made the world European (or Western) by making their dominance over their colonies a cornerstone of their presence—economically, socially, and politically (Gandhi, 2019).

While the US focus in the Philippines was economic and political, like European powers in the region, the United States had the additional goal of continued and increased trade with Asia--China, Japan, and Korea. This need to increase additional trade with neighboring countries was in stark contrast to the British, French, and Dutch, who used their colonies to supply their

¹³ The concept of classic colonialism does not fully apply to US military expansion in the Asian region by colonizing the Philippines. G.L. Ulmen refers to colonialism in its purest sense as *nomos*, the beginning with land. That all colonial powers (especially Britain) made acquisition of land as the first step in expansion and control. For the United States, its acquiring of the Philippines was not for land and resources, but rather a means to project US power and control (Ulmen, 1987).

empire with raw supplies and finished goods. To accomplish this, the United States established military dominance in the region, specifically through the presence of military installations in the Philippines to project US military might and influence (Fujita-Rony, 2010). Furthermore, the United States continued to believe in Manifest Destiny, the imperialistic idea that the United States alone would determine its superiority over the West and the Asian regions through Anglo-Saxon superiority (Ngai, 2004). This belief that the United States was destined to rule over and spread American culture into Asia formed the foundation for its colonial expansion in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This domination of Asia by the United States was premised on the idea that its superiority was not only economic but ideological and political (Petras, 2020).

During the Cold War, the relationship between the Philippines and the United States typified a colonial relationship dependent upon a strong military and political alliance that maintained the region's stability and balance of power (Grinter, 1988). The actions of American legislators towards the Philippines in the 1980s, when both the AIA and AHA were proposed, is indicative of this Cold War mentality of stability and preventing communism from winning, but they do not fully explain excluding Filipino Amerasians. During debates over the AIA and AHA, Filipino Amerasians were excluded from the final legislation for preferential immigration status for Filipino Amerasians even though the Philippines was America's oldest ally in the region and its only former colony. The United States embraced the ideas of globalization throughout the Cold War, and its relationship with the Philippines was couched in terms of what Holger Apel calls "comparative advantage." To Apel, comparative advantage is the world economy structured so that increased market integration is geared to the advantage of developed nations while still providing some opportunity for developing countries that supply it with raw materials and labor to develop and become part of the world economy (Apel, 2016, pg. 11).

Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base represented a massive US presence in the Philippines from the beginning of the 20th century through 1992 and were advantageous to US foreign policy in the region. Their existence perpetuated the symbiotic geostrategic interest between the two nations. The United States benefited from having military bases in a strategically important part of the world. The notions of US military, political, and social supremacy over its former colony were always part of the US government's policies in negotiating with the Philippines on military bases agreements (Vine, 2019). For the Philippines, the US presence represented a source of military protection against more hostile and aggressive neighbors. The bases in the Philippines also afforded the Philippine government a significant source of employment and income for tens of thousands of Filipino workers (Grinter, 1988). Subic occupied almost 67,000 acres of land and water with a Filipino workforce of over 37,000 and injected about \$145 million per year into the Philippine economy by the early 1980s (Grinter, 1988). Clark was the largest US military base outside the United States, covering over 130,000 acres, and employed over 11,000 Filipinos while infusing the local government with over \$60 million annually in the early 1980s (Grinter, 1988).

Since the end of WWII, the Philippine and US governments reaffirmed the continuation of this mutual security by maintaining a Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT) signed immediately after WWII and reaffirmed in 1951 and a Mutual Bases Agreement (MBA) that provided the United States both Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base as the main military installation in the country (Grinter, 1988). The maintaining of both the MDT and MBA was the cornerstone of US foreign policy in the region during the Cold War, and the United States deemed these agreements necessary for the region's stability (US Information Service, 1988, pg. 332). The United States saw both Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base and a strong alliance with the Philippine

government critical with heightened Cold War tensions during the early 1980s, the increased Soviet presence in Cam Ranh Bay and Da Nang in Vietnam and over 700 Soviet naval ships ported in Vladivostok in the Sea of Japan. For the United States, having a strong alliance with President Marcos was indispensable to maintaining military and economic supremacy in the region (Tatad, 1984). The entire balance of the Indo-Pacific Region during this time was predicated on the continued alliance between the United States and the Philippines and the presence of US military personnel in the Philippines was critical to US national interests.

The Shadow of Vietnam and The Cold War

Discussion on Filipino Amerasians are best understood from the vantage point of the Vietnam War. The inclusion of Vietnamese Amerasians in the AIA and AHA also better highlight the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians. The passage of both the AIA and AHA was a result of US actions in Vietnam between 1955 and 1975. The presence of the United States in Asia was continuous since the start of the 20th century and was highly active during the Cold War. The actions of the United States in Vietnam through the 1980s are instructive to American policymakers' legislative efforts toward Amerasians. Initially, US policymakers declared that Amerasians in Vietnam were Vietnam's problem, only to later declare that they were America's children. This inconsistent understanding of Amerasians during and after the Vietnam War is also the best marker to compare US actions regarding Filipino Amerasians. The Vietnam War shaped US immigration policy in the 1980s, and America's past experiences as a colonial power color US policy towards Amerasians since their existence does not fit into the American narrative of white hegemony (Lee, 2015). To policymakers, the Amerasian was not fully American or Asian. Furthermore, American legislators viewed Amerasians as products of an illicit affair between military men and sexualized native women. In these cases, Asian women

were not the victims but were the immoral sex workers who preyed upon these men (Winslow, 2017). As a result, neither the United States government or American men bore further responsibility for such children.

The benevolence of the United States towards its Asian allies continued beyond the establishment of the Korean Armistice in July 1953 to the smoldering Cold War conflict in Vietnam that pitted the Western powers of France, Germany, Britain, and the United States against the communist forces of China and the Soviet Union. In *The Vietnam War: A Concise International History*, author Mark A. Lawrence used President Roosevelt's 1943 exclamation to Josef Stalin to justify a former colonial power's attitude towards its former colony, "After 100 years of French rule in Indochina, the inhabitants are worse off than they had been before" (Lawrence, 2008, pg. 30). In line with the thinking that France was not successful in its colonization of Vietnam, Vietnamese, and other "nonwhite" countries (this would include the Philippines) could not govern themselves independently but must be "trusted" slowly through "trusteeship" for eventual independence (pg. 30). Here, the seam of benevolence and self-governance for Asian nations explained as a means for containment and deterrence against Chinese and Soviet communism in the region (Lawrence, 2008). US involvement in Vietnam after the French was not simply a fight to retain and maintain a colonial foothold in Indochina, but rather, the result of the persistent Cold War view by both the United States and France that they were fighting communism. Therefore, as the world's strongest power, the United States felt obligated to wage war against communism in Vietnam (Lawrence, 2008).

United States involvement in Vietnam continued to increase and intensify beginning in 1955 with the number of US service members sent to fight and prevent communism from taking over (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010; Lawrence, 2008). At the height of the war in

1968, with the Tet Offensive and Operation Rolling Thunder, US Military personnel numbered over 536,100 (Boyle & Lim, 2016). US troop numbers remained significantly high throughout the conflict (475,200 in 1969, 334,600 in 1970, and 156,800 in 1971) (Boyle & Lim, 2016). It was not until the 1973 Paris Peace Accords on January 27 and the fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975, that the involvement of the United States in Vietnam ended (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010). Because of the Paris Peace Accords in 1973, the actions of the United States in Vietnam portend the eventual refugee crisis that occurred with its fall and the eventual massive migration of Vietnamese refugees, including a large number of Vietnamese Amerasians at the end of the conflict through the 1980s and 1990s (Fujita-Rony, 2010). Boyle & Lim, in *Looking Back on the Vietnam War: Twenty-first Century Perspectives* using Ayako Sahara's words, argued:

The "end" of the Vietnam War and its aftermath were the moments when the Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter administrations represented Southeast Asian refugees as the white man's burden, and the United States as the magnanimous rescuers, to facilitate national rehabilitation for the loss of the Vietnam War (Boyle & Lim, 2016, p. 18).

By 1980 with the creation of the Philippine Refugee Processing Centers, large groups of Vietnamese Amerasians transited through the Philippines on their way to the United States for permanent settlement (Sunga, 2021). Similarly, during the war, large numbers of military personnel were assigned and transited through the Philippines to directly support combat operations in Vietnam (Grinter, 1988). The gradual increase of US military personnel in Vietnam from 1955 to 1973 mirror significant increases in military personnel transiting and being stationed at Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines. In each case, the result was an increased number of both Vietnamese and Filipino Amerasians.

Nevertheless, Filipino Amerasians were never afforded the same consideration for resettlement or refugee status. The Marcos government in the Philippines extended refugee status to Vietnamese Amerasians in the early 1980s while ignoring the plight of its own Amerasians (Sunga, 2021). The difficult plight of Filipino Amerasians was not unknown to both the Philippine and United States governments; rather, their existence was overshadowed by the more visible images and media stories of Vietnamese Amerasians, whose images were shown with some regularity in American news stories in print and on television evidence of the horrors of America's continued fighting in Vietnam (Thomas, 2021; Winslow, 2017). During the Vietnam War and the years after the US withdrawal from Vietnam, the plight of Vietnamese Amerasians were the focus of American media outlets. In her book, *Scars of War*, Thomas highlights stories from 1952 in the *Saturday Review* on the need to adopt Korean Amerasian children as a moral prerogative of Americans towards American children, from 1971 in the *Washington Post* and the NBC prime time program *The Sins of the Fathers*, on the need to adopt Amerasians from Vietnam, and from *Newsday* in 1987 on the story of Le Van Minh, a severely crippled Vietnamese Amerasian boy begging on the streets of Hanoi and was later brought to the US by former Congressman Mrazek. These stories and media portrayals of the Vietnamese Amerasians as American children for whom paternal America had responsibility incited an overwhelming amount of American empathy for the plight of Vietnamese Amerasians (pg. 64). In these stories, the guilt of the American War in Vietnam from the lives lost and atrocities committed could somehow be redeemed through the humanitarian act of advocating for the Vietnamese Amerasian.

Still, for Filipino Amerasians, no such narrative existed. During the political debates on February 11, 1982, on the AIA, Senator Denton illustrated the unfortunate plight of Vietnamese

Amerasians by highlighting William Drozdiak's article in Time Magazine (*Strangers in Their Own Land*, December 14, 1981) as a reason to look at Filipino Amerasians as a success story in contrast to Vietnamese Amerasians. Senator Denton quotes from the article,

"In some countries where an American presence has been tolerated for generations, Amerasians have attained a measure of acceptance. In the Philippines and Japan, where they were scorned as "Madama Butterfly tots" or Souvenir babies," mixed descent children have capitalized on their exotic looks and gained success in the entertainment and fashion worlds. Two of the most popular Filipino movie stars, Hilda Koronel and Elizabeth Oropesa, are daughters of American fathers." (US House of Representatives, 1982a).

Such "positive" stories about Filipino Amerasians contrasted with the portrayal of poverty and marginalization of Vietnamese and Korean Amerasians. Articles from the mid-1980s in the Los Angeles Times (*Identity Doubts Linger: Amerasians at Home in the Philippines*) describe Filipino Amerasians as being venerated for their mixed-race status (Fineman, 1988). This article goes on to describe the success of Amerasian politicians and entertainers who have become instrumental in convincing Filipinos that Amerasians are accepted in Filipino culture (Fineman, 1988; Molnar, 2017). These articles and stories seemingly gloss over the fact that these very few "successful Amerasians" were half-white and had financial and social support from adoptive families. The same types of financial and social support were not seen with half-black Filipino Amerasians. The vast majority of Filipino Amerasians however were not so lucky and instead were left marginalized, stigmatized, and destitute (P. Kutschera & Caputi, 2013; Montes, 1995). Among Filipinos, the story of the former mayor of Olongapo, the main city outside of Subic Bay Naval Base, Richard Gordon, and his wife, was well known. Both Gordons were white Filipino

Amerasians. According to Fineman, they were prominent, rich, and powerful, and in the Philippines, these qualities were living proof of how rich and how deep American blood ran in the Philippines (Fineman, 1988). Gordon has won every election from mayor to Philippine Senator over the last 40 years because of his personal story of being a Filipino Amerasian whose family adopted other Filipino Amerasians and assisted the adoptions of over 60 Filipino Amerasians to other Filipino and American families. However, for the Gordons, it was their white American blood that was prized, not black. Gordon's political power comes from being viewed as a white Filipino Amerasian by Filipinos and the Philippine media (*Filipino Amerasians' Lifelong Fight Against Stigma* - New America Media, 2012; Fineman, 1988; Lichauco de Leon, 2012).

The fact that Filipinos view Filipino Amerasian whiteness as superior to any taint of "blackness" or darker complexion is deeply rooted in Filipino ideas of superior and inferior tribes before Spanish colonization. Alex Magno, a prominent Political Science Professor at the University of the Philippines, recalls numerous studies and papers on Filipinos by stating:

"We long ago considered the Malayo-Polynesian tribes superior and the Negrito tribes inferior," he says. "Hispanic culture merely reinforced that prejudice with its Eurocentric paradigm. Superimpose Hollywood. The standard of beauty is fair skin, tall nose, straight hair."(Lichauco de Leon, 2012)

The Negrito that Professor Magno mentions are a group of aboriginal people who arrived in the Philippines approximately 13,000 years ago from Borneo or Australia. They are from the direct lineage of the present-day aborigines of Australia. Negritos have the same features as Africans, with dark skin and what anthropologists describe as a "pygmy type" body frame (Sabino G. Padilla, Jr., 2013). Negritos are small in numbers today (approximately 15,000) and live

primarily in the rural mountainous regions of the big island of Luzon and the central archipelagos of Visayas.¹⁴ Every Filipino knows about Negritos; hence the name is derived from the Spanish word for “little black” person. The popular myth of the Negrito is that they are always small, have kinky hair, wear G-strings, live in a band, and roam around inside the forest to subsisting mainly by hunting or foraging (pg. 210). The way Filipinos have historically looked at Negritos is similar to the way American anthropologists in the early 1900s would look at primitive indigenous or African tribes, assessing their inferiority based on racial assumptions associated with their physical characteristics (Bean, 1910). The idea that Filipinos accepted mixed races or mestizos as scholars like Molnar would describe Filipinos of mixed Spanish, Chinese and American heritage, and white Amerasians did not translate to an equal acceptance of Filipino Amerasians of African-American heritage who were often viewed similarly to the Negritos, as inferior (Lichauco de Leon, 2012). For Filipinos, distinguishing between black and white Amerasians was easy. While Filipinos viewed being an Amerasian as a shameful existence, being black and Amerasian was not only shameful, but inferior to any other group within Filipino society. White Filipino Amerasians often have lighter skin tones than black Filipino Amerasians, and most often, black Filipino Amerasians’ hair texture and features reveal their African American paternity. Like the stereotypical view of Negritos as savages and inferior, Filipinos saw the black Filipino Amerasian as more inferior to white Filipino Amerasians and believed that being part white was better than being part black (P. C. Kutschera & Pelayo III, 2012).

¹⁴ For a comprehensive timeline of early migration into the Philippines from prehistoric times to the present, www.factsanddetails.com provides a detailed timeline of the early history of the Philippines using sources from New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Times of London, Lonely Planet Guides, Library of Congress, Philippines Department of Tourism, Compton’s Encyclopedia, The Guardian, National Geographic, Smithsonian magazine, The New Yorker, Time, Newsweek, Reuters, AP, AFP, Wall Street Journal, The Atlantic Monthly, The Economist, Foreign Policy, Wikipedia, BBC, CNN, and various books, websites and other publications.

The 1980s and the Expanded Role of the Philippines and Marcos in the Asian Region

The presence of Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines was the ties that bound the United States and the Philippines in the twentieth century.¹⁵ The existence of Filipino Amerasians were the manifestation of those ties that had a clear impact on the lives of over 50,000 individuals and their families (Montes, 1995b). Clark and Subic were America's largest overseas military bases and signified America's residual presence of colonialism in Asia. In 1946, the Philippines gained its independence from the United States, establishing the Philippines as a US ally and not a former colony, and a critical part of the mutually agreed strategy of peace and stability against communist aggression (Ma, 2011, pg. 104). Both bases in the Philippines supported American and allied strategic interests in the region and have continuously supported the US military strategy of containment of Russia and China (Oberdorfer, 1988). By 1986, the bases employed over 70,000 Filipinos and infused more than \$1 billion in revenues for the cash-strapped country governed by Ferdinand Marcos (Gaillard et al., 2009; Karnow, 1989). The United States' presence countered Soviet and Chinese dominance in the region and ensured the free flow of commerce for Japan and other Asian nations.

Since his election in 1969, President Ferdinand Marcos was a staunch ally of the United States. The importance of the Philippines in the military and political posture of the United States in Asia against the Soviet and Chinese influence in the region cannot be overemphasized.

Because of the close relationship between the countries, the actions of the Philippine

Government reflected a concession to US foreign policy and needs. The Philippines relied on US

¹⁵ After the expiration of the Military Bases Agreement between the United States and the Philippines, Clark Air Base was closed in 1991 and the land and facilities were returned to the Philippines. Subic Bay Naval Base was closed in November 1992 and returned to Philippine control. In May 1999, the Philippines and the United States signed a Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) that allows continued military cooperation between the two countries. The Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA), signed on April 28, 2014, supplements the 1951 Mutual Defense Treaty and the 1999 VFA by allowing the presence of US military personnel and assets in the Philippines on a rotational basis. (Tamayo, 2021)

aid and military assistance for its continued existence. Every significant political move for and against Philippine interests was made with the knowledge and influence of President Marcos, including any actions regarding Filipino Amerasians. Why then were the discussions of Filipino Amerasians not a part of the Marcos narrative on societal and economic reform? During the Marcos era and prior to the departure of Clark and Subic in 1992, it was established by the PSBF and other Filipino social welfare NGOs that at least 50,000 Filipino Amerasians were living in and around both Angeles City and Olongapo—the two cities outside of the former bases (Kutschera, PC, Elena C. Tesoro, Mary Grace Talamera-Sandico, 2015). Because no concrete data exists from Filipino government sources, this number is believed to be considerably low. The reality is that potentially 250,000 first and second-generation Filipino Amerasians lived in and around the former military bases (pg. 3364). There is no doubt that Filipino Amerasians existed in sizable numbers in and around Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base, and their marginalization within Filipino society was known by the Philippine Government (Gastardo-Conaco, C., & Sobritchea, 1999).

Marcos was aware of the destabilizing effects of his political opponents on his control of the Philippine government (Poole & Vanzi, 1984), and having a sizeable Amerasian population neglected by the Philippine Government would have a destabilizing effect on the Marcos regime and its relationship with the United States should his political opponents seize the narrative. That narrative against Marcos would be that tens of thousands of Amerasians existed because of the American presence at the US bases, and the Philippine government has neither acknowledged their existence nor provided any relief to their marginalized and oppressed status (pg. 578). As an example of this destabilization, when unknown assailants gunned down opposition leader Benigno Aquino Jr. as he exited his plane at the Manila International Airport on August 21,

1983, foreign investors withdrew nearly \$1 billion from Philippine banks, fearing a popular uprising against the Marcos regime and Marcos losing control of the Philippine military (Tarr, 1984). Foreign deposits had been used to finance raw material imports which kept factories running; they also helped the Philippine government make interest payments on a mountain of short-term debts. The Philippine Central Bank had to draw on its foreign exchange reserves to pay those bills in September and October. By mid-October, reserves stood at \$430 million, drastically lower than June's \$2.3 billion and scarcely enough to purchase a month's supply of imported commodities. Taking orders from the International Monetary Fund, the Central Bank imposed strict controls on foreign exchange, declared a ninety-day moratorium on principal payments on the nation's \$25 billion foreign debt, and devalued the peso by 21.4 percent (Tarr, 1984). The entire existence of the Marcos regime was predicated on control and stability of the economic, political, and social structure of the Philippines. This stability was what Marcos valued most in dealing with the United States, and it afforded him the stature to be a power broker in the region during the anxieties of the Cold War (Lawrence, 2008).

Filipino Amerasians were one of many potentially destabilizing forces within the Philippines that could prove problematic to Marcos if their marginalization and neglect became a focus of American and worldwide attention (Poole, Fred; Vanzi, 1984). To maintain economic, political, and social control of the Philippines and its position amongst Asian countries in the region, Marcos declared Martial Law on September 22, 1972, thereby putting the entire Philippine executive, legislative and judicial powers under his sole control and restricting the freedoms and liberties of the Filipino people (Espinosa-Robles, 2016).

From 1972 to Marcos's eventual ouster in 1986, the United States was forced to deal with President Marcos's government under the declaration of Martial Law and thus Marcos's control

of a free media, political foes, personal opponents, and critics (Espinosa-Robles, 2016). Filipino Amerasians and their Philippine and international supporters, including NGOs, Amnesty International, The Pearl S. Buck Foundation (PSBF), and local Filipino politicians who supported the plight of Filipino Amerasians, were silenced, ignored, or simply forced to report that Filipino Amerasians were not marginalized or faced prejudice within Filipino culture (Gastardo-Conaco, C., & Sobritchea, 1999; Pearl S. Buck House, 2021b; Shade, 1980). In turn, the United States and its legislative leaders presumed that Filipino Amerasians faced less discrimination than other Amerasians in Vietnam and Korea. Because there was no outward display of anti-American sentiment in the Philippines during the Marcos era and the historical aspect of mixed races in the Philippines since Spanish colonialization was an accepted reality, the true plight of Filipino Amerasians was unknown to most Americans (Kolby, 1995). Getting into the mind of Marcos, Raymond Bonner in *Waltzing With a Dictator* proclaimed:

The Marcoses were unrestrained in their efforts to present their Philippines as they wanted it to be seen. Potholes were filled, streets cleaned, buildings scrubbed, and whitewashed walls erected so that the visiting dignitaries wouldn't have to look at the slum poverty; other eyesores were camouflaged by coconut fronds (pg. 59).

Marcos had to control the narrative about the Philippines. His presidency was first amongst equals in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and promoted economic and politico-military solidarity amongst its member nations (US House of Representatives, 1982a, pg. 14712). Filipino Amerasians, like Vietnamese Amerasians at the time, would have been seen as a Filipino problem that required an American response for a resolution. This idea that Filipino Amerasians are an American matter to resolve stems from the Vietnamese Amerasian experience during the 1970s and 1980s, in which media coverage focused on the need to look after

Vietnamese Amerasians as a moral imperative of the United States (Gage, 2007, pg. 88). Unlike Vietnam, which openly advocated for the United States to step up and take responsibility for its Amerasian children, the Philippines took the opposite stance and minimized any discussions of Filipino Amerasians. Instead, Marcos spoke of the need to help refugees from Vietnam through the Philippine Refugee Processing Centers (PRPC) in the early 1980s to help process and prepare them for relocation to the United States (Thomas, 2021; Valverde, 1992). To Marcos, being seen as the Asian leader who was working for the betterment of fellow Asians would solidify his standing as a power broker in the region against Soviet and Chinese influence (Rempel, 1993; Sunga, 2021). Despite groups inside and outside of the Philippines advocating for the inclusion of Filipino Amerasians in negotiations with President Marcos and the United States on the continuation of US military alliance and compensation for US bases, the Philippine government intentionally did not address or make any public statement on the plight of Filipino Amerasians during the Marcos Administration and the Cold War¹⁶ (Gastardo-Conaco, C., & Sobritchea, 1999; Novio, 2016; Pearl S. Buck House, 2021a). It is important to note that during the early 1980s, when the plight of Vietnamese Amerasians was being discussed in the US Congress and in American media, President Marcos and his administration did make numerous mentions of refugees, specifically, the plight of Indochinese refugees (President of the Philippines, 1979; Wesolek et al., 1993). Although Vietnamese Amerasians were a part of the refugees fleeing from Vietnam, Marcos' focus was on refugees as a generic population. The PRPC was created with the insistence of President Marcos as both the leader of the Philippines and a founding member of ASEAN (Wesolek et al., 1993). Although the direct language in President Marcos'

¹⁶ Philippine Government records specific to Filipino Amerasians are difficult to find since most governmental agencies classified Filipino Amerasians as "other" or simply Filipino and their status regarding education, poverty, health, welfare, etc. were not highlighted. Specific figures obtained from available government records as well as comprehensive records from social workers and NGOs that worked with Filipino Amerasians will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3 and 4 of this dissertation.

Executive Order No 554 establishing the PRPC does not mention Vietnamese Amerasians, it is clear that the “simple humanity the Filipino people and their government are ready to render assistance...and to provide temporary lodging of such refugees prior to their final resettlement in other countries,” was a clear reference for all Indochinese refugees to include Vietnamese Amerasians who were part of the exodus from Vietnam at that time (Bon Tempo, 2008; President of the Philippines, 1979; Valverde, 1992). ASEAN countries were aware that all Amerasians were marginalized and faced prejudice, not only in Vietnam but in each country in which Amerasians existed. The Philippines had the largest number of Amerasians when Marcos created the PRPC, and yet, not one mention was made by the Marcos administration of their marginalization and discrimination. For Marcos, the PRPC was created for the processing of refugees, specially from Vietnam (*Executive Order No. 554: Creating A Task Force on International Refugee Assistance and Administration, Providing Funds Therefor and for Other Purposes*, 1979). Gastardo-Conaco and Sobritchea give the most comprehensive empirical data on the marginalization and discrimination of Filipino Amerasians under two facets: (1) the widespread belief that the bulk of Filipino Amerasians were a result of Filipina prostitutes and (2) different physical attributes, including the darker skin tone, non-fully Asian features, different hair texture as well as different or odd phenotypical and personal mannerism (Gastardo-Conaco, C., & Sobritchea, 1999). Later descriptions of Filipino Afro-Amerasians were more affected by prejudice and ostracization - by almost twice that of white Filipino Amerasians (P. Kutschera & Caputi, 2013). Ahern notes that all Filipino Amerasians face severe economic distress with no access to social, educational, and medical care after abandonment by their mothers (Ahern, 1992). Those Filipino Amerasians who are not abandoned by their mothers face a bleak future of poverty and minimal prospects of economic success (pg. 108). Furthermore,

Filipino Amerasians face continued psychological abuse through ostracization by Filipinos who view them as illegitimate products of prostitution (pg. 109).

For Philippine President Marcos during the Cold War, "modernization" benefited foreign-owned multinational corporations, foreign creditors, and the Marcos clan and its cronies (Tarr, 1984). Filipino Amerasians did not benefit Marcos or his business cronies; therefore, the Philippine government's minimizing discussions of Filipino Amerasians, despite advocacy by the PSBF and local Amerasian activist and politicians, only showed the stability of the Philippines in tackling its social ills. Marcos created the impression that he was working with the United States for the Filipino people to better their lives and create a society of acceptance and fairness (Rempel, 1993). As Tarr so presciently argued, under martial law (which lasted from 1972 to 1981), Marcos successfully dismantled critical elements of a once-powerful oligarchy but simultaneously created economic fiefdoms for a much smaller, more pliable clique of wealthy political supporters. This continued the symbiotic relationship between the Philippines and the United States through the 1980s. In Marcos' belief, the United States could and should deal with a Philippine government that was as economically viable and socially responsible as the United States (Rempel, 1993). It is important to note that President Ronald Reagan was a friend of the Marcoses. He first visited the Philippines in 1969 as a guest of US President Richard Nixon to open the Philippine Cultural Center in Manila. He and the Marcoses remained close friends and allies (Karnow, 1989). In 1986 with the People Power Revolution that ushered in Corazon Aquino as the new Philippine President, Karnow said that Reagan distrusted Aquino and always considered Marcos a friend and ally to the end (Rosca, 1984). During Aquino's address to the joint session of Congress on September 18, 1986, she avoided speaking of the US military bases in the Philippines and decided to shelve such discussions so as

not to anger anti-American nationalists in government in the Philippines. This starkly contrasts with the Marcos era when US bases were always at the forefront of any discussion with the United States. During the 1980s, the role of US military bases was paramount to the continuity of US military and economic dominance in the region and ensuring that the Philippine government, no matter who was in charge, saw the United States as an ally who was going to support the Philippine government¹⁷ (Grinter, 1988). Filipino Amerasians were kept from being a part of the larger discussions on their marginalization and welfare (Executive Office of the President of the United States, 1994).

Politics of Filipino Amerasians

The United States and Philippine governments were aware of the existence of Filipino Amerasians as a product of the military relationship between both countries. The language of the AIA and AHA clearly indicate the existence of Amerasians in Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, and South Korea. Nearly every study on Filipino Amerasians recognizes their marginalized status within Filipino culture (P. Kutschera, 2012; P. Kutschera & Caputi, 2013). Still, this has failed to explain their exclusion from the AIA and AHA for preferential immigration status (Montes, 1995). It was always the priority of the Marcos Administration to maintain strong military and economic ties with the United States, and the military bases of Clark and Subic provided that bond between the two nations (Grinter, 1988).

The Filipino Amerasian was one of the outcomes of that relationship and was purposefully minimized by the Philippines and wrongfully overlooked by the United States as not being as marginalized and ostracized as other Amerasians. The question for the Philippines becomes whether the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians furthered Marcos' political aims with the

¹⁷ The term Marcos Doctrine will be used in Chapters 3 & 4 of this dissertation to describe the Marcos presidency and how his approach in dealing with the United States during the 1970s through 1986 reflected his desire for a "New Society Movement". This is a term constructed for this dissertation research.

Reagan Administration by supporting Marcos' need to appear to be a humanitarian in the face of increasing numbers of Indochina refugees including Amerasians from Vietnam in the 1970s and 1980s? For the United States, it was a question of whether preserving the Cold War status of its allies in the Asian region (Overholt, 1986) was more important than offending the Marcos government? Debates on the inclusion of Filipino Amerasians occurred in both Manila and Washington before the introduction of the AIA in 1982 (Montes, 1995; US House of Representatives, 1982; Valverde, 1992). During the 1980s, the focus was on the ideas of Cold War humanitarianism, including the status of all Amerasians. As Thomas described Vietnamese Amerasians suffered psychological and physical marginalization because of their mixed-race status, and so did Filipino Amerasians. Like Filipino Amerasians, the approximately 30,000 Vietnamese Amerasians after 1975 were marginalized and deemed worthless in the eyes of the homogenous Vietnamese society (Valverde, 1992, pg. 144). The intention of American legislators and government entities in the early 1980s was to help Amerasians with the politics of paternity and the legalities of citizenship (Thomas, 2021, pg. 13). Unfortunately, the AIA did not acknowledge Filipino Amerasians within the context of Amerasians who needed preferential treatment as children of Americans. Issues of citizenship and race within American and Filipino immigration policy showed that the status of Filipino Amerasians still suffered the same stigmatization so prevalent in our historical prejudices against Asians and biracial children (Thomas, 2019). In the Philippines during the early 1980s, US support of the Marcos regime caused the most consternation among Marcos opposition forces within the Philippines and those in the United States (Tatad, 1984). Control of all facets of the Philippine government was always Marcos's important and continuing objective (Tarr, 1984). His support by the United States was predicated on the status that he had control of the Philippines' political, military, and

economic structures and contributed to its economic growth and social equality (Overholt, 1986, pg. 1141). Marcos was weary of Filipino Amerasians and never wanted Filipino Amerasians to be viewed as an issue that required government intervention and assistance. By avoiding a recognition and discussion of Filipino Amerasians with the United States during military bases negotiations, Marcos believed he maintained his control and power in the Philippines and within ASEAN and avoided having the United States address Filipino Amerasians as an American problem—like the question with Vietnamese Amerasians during discussions on the creation of the AIA that Vietnamese Amerasians were Vietnam’s problem. Like Vietnamese Amerasians, the United States could have resolved this “American problem” in the Philippines by extending the same preferential status given to Vietnamese Amerasians in the AIA to Filipino Amerasians but failed to do so. (Gage, 2007).

Race, Gender, and The Filipino Amerasian Conundrum

In Asia, race is a dividing mechanism in which one group separates itself from another group based on their racial makeup and determines to whom rights and privileges are granted (Lee, 2015, pg. 12). The benefits of being marked “racially white” conferred rights that were denied to Asians upon arrival in the United States (pg. 12). The concept of “white on arrival” was bestowed upon European immigrants while Asian immigrants were deemed to be ineligible for citizenship due to their race (pg. 12). This privileging of “white” European immigrants over Asian immigrants was further applied to Amerasians and pronounced during the debates over both the AIA and AHA. During the early 1980s, the denial of US citizenship for Vietnamese Amerasians revealed the racism that denied citizenship to all Amerasian, including Filipino Amerasians. Compounding existing racism was the fact that both the AIA and AHA determine an Amerasian’s “Americanness” through physical appearance. Therefore, prejudiced notions of

race and how a “true” American should “look” were revealed. Such determinations “depended upon subjective, preconceived, and racialized notions of what an American and non-American actually “looked like” (Thomas, 2019, pg. 65).

The citizenship status of children born to American parents outside the United States is governed by a complex set of statutes (Collins, 2014). Collins argues that the belief in a hierarchy of races also informed the federal government’s response to questions concerning the citizenship status of indigenous residents of America’s “insular territories”, places like Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, which were controlled by the United States but were not given statehood or a path to statehood (p. 2555). Filipino Amerasians are unique in discussions of Amerasians since the history between the United States, and the Philippines goes back to 1898 with colonization through WWII and the Cold War. In the past, the Philippines experienced mixed race citizens who were accepted as Spanish and Chinese mestizos (mixed race Spanish and Chinese with native Filipina). This acceptance was upended with the introduction of Americans at the turn of the 20th century (Molnar, 2017) and later with the influx of US military personnel assigned to Clark Air Force and Subic Bay Naval Base from the Vietnam War through the Cold War. Molnar was straightforward in his assessment as to why Filipino Amerasians were excluded from the AIA. To Molnar, the racial imposition of Filipino Amerasians as not American mestizos and therefore removing the potential of a “flood” of people who would be considered Americans from coming to the United States (pg. 155) was motivation enough for US legislators not to include Filipino Amerasians in both the AIA and AHA.

For Filipino Amerasians, not only is race a complicating factor in their exclusion from the AIA and AHA because of a long history in the Philippines of mixed races, but gender is as well. Collins details the racialized foundation of *jus sanguinis*, or “the right of blood,” in

determining one's citizenship through one's parents (Collins, 2014). Collins analyzes the 1864 Maryland Court of Appeals case, *Guyer v. Smith*, in which the court looked at race in determining whether two brothers born in the French West Indies to an unmarried white American father and mulatto mother could inherit their father's property. In the *Guyer* case, Collins makes clear that US immigration laws were based on the "subordinate place of women in the family" and the "nonwhite persons' subordinate place in polity" (2014, 2167 & 2219). Before *Guyer*, the granting of American citizenship was based on *jus soli* (birth on American soil) and *jus sanguine* (birth by American blood). Thomas put it simply, "To be American meant to be white, and to be nonwhite most often equated to non-American." (Thomas, 2021a, pg. 25). Under *Guyer's* understanding, American fathers gave American citizenship to their legitimate white children. Prior to *Guyer*, this meant a white father married to a white mother and having white children. Historical patrilineal descent in the United States ensured that mixed-raced children would be considered "other," slave, black, mulatto, half-breeds, or quadroons (pg. 26). The law did not impose a marriage requirement between the father and mother. After *Guyer*, the court required that the father be married to the mother if the child was to gain US citizenship if born abroad to a non-US mother. Collins explains that under *Guyer*, fathers could not confer US citizenship to their illegitimate children. Illegitimate children became the burden and responsibility of the mother. This gender-based discrimination against Amerasians was a continuation of gender-based discrimination perpetrated against foreign women and their offspring to American men. From America's presence in the Philippines in the late 19th century through the Vietnam War and on to the early 1990s. American soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen fathered children overseas and could not confer US citizenship due to official military policies that disfavored relationships with nonwhite foreign women (pg. 2232).¹⁸ US

¹⁸ Department of Defense Directive 1344.3 "Paternity Claims and Adoption Proceedings Involving Members and

policymakers further blamed Amerasians for their marginalization on the belief that they were fathered by an American and a prostitution-sullied woman (Winslow, 2017). Again, this implication for Filipino Amerasians as illegitimate and that their mother was a prostitute with the sole responsibility for bearing an illegitimate and unwanted child was a stereotype used throughout 19th and 20th century US culture (pg. 186). Asian women were viewed as “sexually dangerous...dragon ladies.” (pg. 187). Winslow reflects that the white majority in America viewed Asian women as threats to innocent males (pg. 187). It was these types of ideas about gender and Filipino morality that went against the views Filipinos have about Filipino Amerasians.

The Catholic Church and Filipino Morality

First came Spain and then the United States—or, as the neat summation of Philippine history goes: “Three centuries in a Catholic convent and fifty years in Hollywood.”

Stanley Karnow

In Our Image: America’s Empire in the Philippines

The role and influence of the Catholic Church in the Philippines has never been explored or discussed in detail in any of the literature on Filipino Amerasians. In every other aspect of Filipino life, including politics, the role of the Catholic Church has been pervasive and one of the foundations of Filipino identity (Cruz, 1997). Since the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in 1521, the Philippines has been the only predominantly Catholic country in Asia, with a unique perspective and acceptance of moral and religious codes specific to Catholics. By the end of 2021, in this country of 110 million people, 80% profess to being Catholic, making the Philippines the third largest Catholic country after Brazil and Mexico (De Guzman, 2022).

Former Members of the Armed Forces” makes the obligation of the father of his moral and legal rights as a matter to be “encouraged”. Furthermore, the directive allows a putative father to simply provide a sworn statement that he is not the natural father of the child (US Department of Defense, 1978).

Seventy-three percent of Filipinos today consider their Catholic faith very important in their lives, and that figure has remained consistent since the 1970s and through the Marcos era (Social Weather Stations, 2020). With Catholicism being important to Filipinos, Filipino Amerasians occupy a unique nexus in Filipino society as they are both a product of mixed races but also, for the most part, a result of a union between a Filipina and an American GI outside of wedlock (whether by prostitution, consensual agreement or rape, the result is that the father was not married to the mother and has not accepted paternity for the child) (P. C. Kutschera et al., 2015; Montes, 1995). Being born out of wedlock to a foreigner and an assumed prostitute mother is an affront to Filipino Catholic belief. Hence, to marginalize Filipino Amerasians is not morally incongruous to many Filipinos but accepted as a part of one's moral duty to live by good Christian beliefs (Cruz, 1997). For most Filipinos, the sins of the mother flow directly to her children. These Filipino Catholic beliefs stem from the church's teachings and unique Catholic teachings through the Catechism for Filipino Catholics, which complements the Vatican's universal teachings of the faith (Cruz, 1997). Filipinos believe in the sanctity of the family, with both a father and mother raising a child (sec. 35), just like a precocious but obedient little Jesus was raised by a caring and devout Joseph and Mary (sec. 36). Therefore, to have an illegitimate child out of wedlock is against the teachings of the Catholic Church. It truly is an accepted fact that the Catholic Church is a part of the everyday lives of all Filipinos and the national psyche (Rufo, 2013) or, as Philippine author Aries Rufo would say, "from womb to tomb." (pg. 13). The presence of Filipino Amerasians is a clear manifestation of a social and religious illness within Filipino society, many Filipinos choose to ignore their plight or continue perpetuating their marginalization because they are a product of moral turpitude (Dungca, 2012; Gastardo-Conaco, C., & Sobritchea, 1999).

Filipino Amerasians were present when Marcos was elected President in November 1965, and their existence as a marginalized population was known to Filipino society and the church. The basic tenet of Catholic teaching is to look out for the poor, sick, and the least amongst us (Cruz, 1997). Because 85% of Filipinos identified as Catholics during the Marcos era, the moral authority of the Catholic Church and its leaders was always a power that Marcos understood and worked to contain during his presidency (Bonner, 1988; Shoesmith, 1979). Marcos had the strategy of “divide and rule,” in which he pitted conservative and liberal church reformers against each other to ensure that the church focused on moral and spiritual areas and stayed out of political matters, which Marcos believed to be his and only his to control (Shoesmith, 1979). Marcos ensured the church’s compliance with his political will by arresting radical-thinking priests and nuns, deporting missionaries to the Philippines that he viewed as subversive, controlling liberal seminaries and convents, and closing church radio and tv stations and church newspapers and magazines (pg. 248). Not only were church-related press and media outlets censored, but the mainstream Philippine press was also severely restricted and censored to ensure only "accurate" news that reflected positively on the government and the military (Youngblood, 1990). Marcos's control of the Philippine press was complete. Days after the declaration of Martial Law in September of 1972, Marcos's Letter of Instruction 1 for the Press Secretary and Minister of National Defense made clear that “all materials for publication and broadcast” and “foreign dispatches and cables” be cleared by the ministry and set forth stringent guidelines for media performance (pg. 50). In the end, the Archbishop of Manila, Jaime Cardinal Sin, would accept the church's role within the Marcos era as a working compromise (Easton, 2005). This compromise ensured that the church and its leaders were insulated from Marcos's further intrusion into moral and societal matters that the church deemed to be within its evangelical

mission (Cruz, 1997). With over 85% of Filipinos having a spiritual allegiance to the Catholic Church and the church being present in so many aspects of their lives, Filipinos respected the Catholic Church but either feared or respected Marcos (Espinosa-Robles, 2016). For Marcos, ensuring the church did not become a force against his rule was of paramount importance to his leadership. For the Catholic Church, its survival depended on not becoming a repressed entity relegated to the control of Marcos. This collaboration between the church and Marcos existed from the start of Martial Law in 1972 through his ouster in 1986 (Cornelio, 2016; Pilapil, 1992; Tarr, 1984). Ironically, the Catholic Church, the institution that Marcos feared most and that enabled Marcos to avoid social and economic responsibility for Filipino Amerasians, galvanized the Filipino people to overthrow the Marcos regime in 1986 (Espinosa-Robles, 2016; Neher, 1980).¹⁹

It is important to note that during the mid-1970s, the world was experiencing turmoil from Asia to South America. The United States had pulled out of Vietnam, and the plight of Vietnamese Amerasians was highlighted in the media. Politicians were making legislative inroads to provide Amerasians from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and South Korea preferential immigration status to the United States (Thomas, 2021; US House of Representatives, 1982b). Although concerns of citizenship and paternity were debated for Amerasians during this time, the continued exclusion of Filipino Amerasians remained constant. As Valverde explains, “This marginal situation is not one Amerasians accept or want, but without an “Amerasian voice” to empower themselves, they continue to struggle.” (Valverde,

¹⁹ In February 1986, President Marcos called for a snap election in the Philippines. This election was fraught with fraud and voter intimidation. Manila Archbishop Cardinal Sin sent a letter to all priests and churches condemning Marcos for his fraud and corruption for the election. After the results, Philippine Defense Secretary Enrile and Philippine Military Chief of Staff Ramos asked for Cardinal Sin for protection against Marcos loyalist in the military and police. Cardinal Sin went on the public radio stations and asked Filipinos to support the opposition against Marcos. Over 2 million Filipinos followed the church’s call and faced down Marcos forces in the bloodless coup known as the People Power Revolution.

1992, pg. 145). After the United States pulled out of Vietnam, the Communist Vietnamese government continuously insisted that Vietnamese Amerasians were America's children, and that Americans were responsible for taking care of them. American leaders in Washington insisted that these Amerasians were Vietnamese, and thus, both countries used Vietnamese Amerasians to settle more significant issues between the two countries (Lamb, 2009). For the Philippines, the same socio-economic and political turmoil in other parts of the world existed during the Marcos presidency and under his Martial Law. Yet, Filipino Amerasians had no significant "Amerasian voice"—those vocal advocates within the Philippine government, Philippine media, American legislators, and American media to highlight their plight in the 1970s and 1980s.

There was hope for Filipino Amerasians during the early years of Marcos' Martial Law. By the mid-1970s, many liberal/radical priests and the youth of Manila and other urban cities began campaigning against US bases, international organizations, the IMF, and Marcos cronyism and corruption (Ofreneo, 1987). The Catholic Church in the Philippines was starting to address poverty, repression, human rights violations, and persecution of politically active Church people (pg. 325). Church leaders were discussing Filipino Amerasians within the context of a larger child poverty initiative, and the PSBF was making sizeable inroads in having the church assist Amerasians to find their biological fathers or adopt them into American families. (Pearl S. Buck House, 2021b; Shade, 1980). However, such attention given by the church and NGOs to Filipino Amerasians was seen by Marcos as undermining his ability to work with the United States on the continued usage of Clark and Subic Bay in the Philippines. Furthermore, the Catholic Church's more proactive role in criticizing the Marcos regime's corruption and human rights violations was not lost on Marcos (Neher, 1980). By the late 1970s, President Marcos had made numerous

crackdowns on opposition forces, including the Catholic Church. Neher made Marcos' sentiments clear on the need to have the Philippines be the beacon of stability and prosperity in the region by highlighting Marcos' words, "Let this be a fair warning to each and everyone, that although I would like to remove martial law, I would not hesitate to use the powers of martial law to neutralize the enemies of the state, and these peddlers of falsehoods." (pg. 158). This was the sentiment that brought about the "critical collaboration" between the church and the Marcos regime where the church accepted martial law and the Marcos vision for the Philippines as a "necessary expedient in weeding out the evils in government and society." (pg. 161). By the early 1980s, Marcos was silencing the more proactive voices of the Church in support of humanitarian relief for marginalized population, including Filipino Amerasians and the work of NGOs like the PSBF were being restricted and limited to very basic subsistence assistance and education—no advocacy for Filipino Amerasians (Pearl S. Buck House, 2021a).

The church's moral and spiritual authority over Filipinos in the 1970s and 1980s, when Marcos was at the height of his power, permeated every aspect of Filipino life. The church was the only national body outside the direct control of Marcos. Still, it worked in concert with Marcos to effectuate its moral imperatives and Marcos' political and economic prerogatives (Shoesmith, 1979). Despite Marcos' promises to end poverty and help the underprivileged, including those marginalized in Filipino society, his presidency did not do anything to end those conditions that make up most of the Filipino people (Nadeau, 2002). The Church knew it had to work with Marcos if it had any autonomy from the political aims of the regime and allow itself to meet its pastoral responsibility for social change. By the mid and late 1970s, the moral reasons for addressing the needs of Vietnamese Amerasians were gaining headlines in American newspapers. The Catholic Church was also aware of the need to help Amerasians. In Korea,

Father Keanan, a Franciscan priest of St. Vincent's Home for Amerasian Children in South Korea, spoke of Korean Amerasians being marginalized and mistreated by Koreans and neglected by the United States (Thomas, 2019). Because Marcos and Martial Law ensured no dissent to his rule, the Catholic Church in the Philippines was highly political and became a de facto political arm of the Marcos administration. Because Filipino Amerasians constitute a large, marginalized population amongst the poor, the church chose to avoid specific assistance and attention specifically to Filipino Amerasians. Although Filipino Amerasians were poor, rejected by society, marginalized, and mistreated—the very people the church was supposed to look after and provide support for, the church in the Philippines focused on the poor, the landless, and the oppressed Filipinos without a focus on just Filipino Amerasians (Cartagenas, 2010). By silencing discussions on Filipino Amerasians, the Philippine church was able to keep a clearly “American” problem, excluded from any talks with the United States on the bases and thus enabling Marcos to negotiate and gain concessions from the United States without having to make concessions to the United States (Connell et al., 1977; Tatad, 1984).

US-Philippines Interests Today and the Filipino Amerasians Tomorrow

Although the Cold War has been over for decades, threats continue to exist to the United States and its Asian allies, especially with an expanded and more aggressive China making incursions into already established islands and waterways of the Philippines and its neighbors building and maintaining military outposts in the region (Tamayo, 2021). Coupled with a more aggressive China, a more volatile North Korea emerges with its growing regional nuclear and missile capabilities (Sen, 2020). The same reasons for US vigilance in the region against these threats in previous decades continue, and close cooperation with US allies, including the Philippines, remains vital. In November 2011, former President Obama pivoted from a European

posture against the Soviet Union to making Asia a cornerstone of his foreign policy to counter China's military and economic influence in the region (De Castro, 2014, pg. 427). China's influence in Asia, especially against the Philippines, has continued to grow over the past decade. China has 15% of the world's market share and wants its second-largest naval force to be the leading military power by 2049 (Milot-Poulin et al., 2021). China continues to play the "Asian Big Brother" role to other Asian countries, including the Philippines, embracing the ideas of Asian Nationalism and the rejection of globalism (Mohan, 2021). In response, the United States has pursued strong economic, political, and military ties with its Asian partners in the region through the doctrine of globalization with the acceptance that independent nations have the duty and the right to self-governance (Gutner, 2017). On April 28, 2014, the United States and the Philippines signed the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) as a means of closer military cooperation between the two countries (EDCA--Government of the Philippines and United States of America, 2014) to rebalance the power structure in the region. The EDCA grants US military personnel and equipment access to Philippine military bases on a continual but rotational basis, thus ensuring continued US military presence in the region (Baviera, 2014). The long colonial history between the United States and the Philippines makes it susceptible to the influences of China and nationalistic ideas over the decades since independence (Winger, 2022). The existence of over 250,000 Filipino Amerasians (including first, second, and third generations) (P. C. Kutschera et al., 2015a) is one of the unresolved manifestations of America's presence in the Philippines. Former Philippine President Duterte has entrenched pro-Filipino and pro-Asian nationalism into the country's political, bureaucratic, and social makeup (Mohan, 2021). For Duterte, the United States was too controlling of Filipino sovereignty, and China was a better partner in the region (Kelly, 2020). For Duterte, China was helping the Filipino people

by financing infrastructure projects, something that the United States was not actively doing when he became Philippine President (pg. 2). China has been adept at exploiting Asian nationalism since it relies on nationalism—not communism—to sustain its hegemony over domestic politics. Over the past decade, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), for which the Philippines was one of its founding members, has been confronted with China’s territorial aggression and muted ASEAN’s collective voice against this rising tide of nationalism (Mohan, 2021). It is not a stretch for China to connect the dots with America’s presence in the Philippines to those tens of thousands of Filipino Amerasians neglected during the Cold War. With the recent increase in the US military presence in the Philippines, China has already begun making statements of America’s manipulation of the Philippines and forcing them to become America’s colonial puppet again (Gomez, Jim; Knickmeyer, 2023). China has already begun to drive a moral and social wedge between Filipinos and Americans to argue that EDCA will continue America’s colonial dominance and moral neglect, adding thousands more Amerasians to a population that has always marginalized them. Mohan has argued that China has and will continue to paint the United States as a meddling outsider and continue the narrative of “Asia for Asian,” a useful tool for “legitimizing the effort to replace Washington’s primacy with Beijing’s regional hegemony” (pg. 6).

The literature is comprehensive on the historical relationship between the United States and Asian countries and how the United States has treated the Philippines differently than its Asian neighbors. Officially, US immigration policy prioritized family reunification, skilled and highly educated workers, and the continued presence of foreign-born immigrants representing all countries, nationalities, and groups from every corner of the world (History Office, 2012; USCIS, 2019). However, the reality of US immigration has never been as idealistic and altruistic

as its rhetoric. In the years after 1965, US immigration policy was not always based on a rational understanding of international migration but instead enacted to fulfill domestic political purposes such as increasing the availability of cheap labor from Central and South American countries (Massey, 2013). “Admission to citizenship is viewed as the normal sequel to admission for settlement.” (Ngai, 2004, pg. 5). Ngai further elaborates that with citizenship comes the benefits of being an American. Still, citizenship is not freely given to everyone because of racial differences. The exclusion of certain immigration groups, especially Asians, was due to race and gender (pg. 6). The reality of Asians, and ultimately Amerasians in US immigration, is the intersection of race, gender, xenophobia, imperial expansion, and war (Thomas, 2021). Filipino Amerasians and their exclusion from the AIA and AHA is a clear example of the complicated history of US immigration and US government attitudes towards Asians and mixed-race individuals that result in the treatment of Amerasians that is neither fair nor adequate.

During the discussions of the AIA and AHA in 1982 and 1987, respectively, the Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan administrations proclaimed that the Acts furthered the immigration policy of the United States by providing preferential immigration status to Amerasians, whom they would promote as Americans because of their American paternity. According to Thomas, during his push for members of Congress to accept the AIA, Rep. Steward McKinney believed that saving the Vietnamese Amerasian was moral. “We must recognize their status as American children, bring them home to America. This would be evidence that America was good, moral, and humane (pg. 89).” But, without US citizenship for Amerasians, claiming that they are Americans is merely empty rhetoric that does not entirely correct the wrongs of American paternal responsibility (Thomas, 2019). One of the tests for becoming an American is becoming a US citizen and participating in American life. Citizenship is both political and cultural (Lee,

2015). Not including citizenship for Amerasians manifested this disconnect with American rhetoric on being an American without the real benefits of citizenship. Like Vietnamese Amerasians, Filipino Amerasians became victims of this type of politicization and orientalizing of Asians (Lee, 2015; Winslow, 2017).

During the AIA and AHA debates, Senator Simpson, Senator Denton, Senator Levin, Congressman McKinney, Congressman Mrazek, and other Committee Members were aware of Filipino Amerasians, and their exclusion was not an oversight (Levin, Carl M., 2015; Shade, 1980). When Congressman McKinney introduced HR 808 and later the final AIA, he excluded the Philippines with preferential status for Amerasians from Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam (US House of Representatives, 1982b). During hearings for S. 1698, the companion legislation in the Senate for the AIA, the Philippines was part of the bill's introduction on June 21, 1982. Still, it was later removed in committee under Amendment 1306 (Committee on the Judiciary, 1982). The exclusion of Filipino Amerasians warrants further scrutiny. However, no literature has analyzed the policymaking intent at the time to understand the motivations for the policies and why Filipino Amerasians were explicitly excluded from all Amerasian bills. The literature is replete with scholars and activists who hypothesize that US immigration was already highly favorable to Filipinos in the 1980s and 1990s (Juan, 1994). Nicholas Molnar specifically addressed the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA as the “Philippine problem” in which allowing Filipino Amerasians to come to the United States under preferential status with the AIA would “let in floods of people.” (Molnar, 2017, pg. 155). It must also be stressed that this aversion to the “flood of people” are mixed-race Asians who are not “real” American citizens, but Asians relegated to the status of “other.” In 1993, a class action lawsuit (*Acebedo v. United States*) was filed on behalf of Filipino Amerasians and their mothers against the US Navy

for compensation and relief for not acknowledging the acts of its sailors and abandoning their children. The court rejected the arguments in the lawsuit and, like other members of Congress who were not supportive of the preferential status of Filipino Amerasians, made references to their Filipina mothers as being prostitutes and part of a consensual relationship outside of an active war zone (Montes, 1995).

These varied views of what Filipino Amerasians are—whether they are true Filipinos, Americans, unfortunate children, illegitimate, children of prostitutes, or unwanted, continue to relegate Filipino Amerasians to the outskirts of Filipino society and continue to suffer marginalization and poverty in the Philippines. The literature on Amerasians clearly showed their marginalization and exclusion from the greater Asian society they were born into. The majority of literature on Amerasians reflects a focus on the plight of Vietnamese Amerasians, with Korean, Filipino, and Japanese Amerasians rounding up any other discussions on Amerasians. During the debates on the passage of both the AIA and AHA, discussions on why Filipino Amerasians were excluded when all Amerasians who were similarly situated suffered from the same marginalization, ostracization, prejudice, poverty, and opportunity to seek American citizenship. The literature and Congressional record fleetingly reference Filipino Amerasians as being products of consensual relations between Americans and Filipinas in a non-war zone or were not really “suffering” like Vietnamese Amerasians. In all the literature presented, there has been no definitive reason cited by members of Congress, the US government, or the Philippine government as to a specific legal reason for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA or AHA. The literature on Filipino Amerasians addresses the historical nature of Filipino culture from Pre-Spanish to Post-American colonization and its history of mixed races. It speaks of the historical role of Filipinos in American society, both

economically and socially. The literature exposes the historical impact of the United States both as the Philippines' colonial master and later as its military ally in the Cold War.

Discussions of the importance of the US military bases in the Philippines are extensive, and the US-Marcos relationship is discussed in detail by numerous scholars and researchers. The exclusion of Filipino Amerasians and the underlying reasons brought about by US attitudes on race and gender, especially towards Asians and Filipinos are well documented. These American notions of what it means to be an American and who can become an American had a direct impact on US attitudes towards Filipino Amerasians in the 1970s and 1980s. However, there continues to be a gap in the literature that pieces all these disparate ideas, attitudes, opinions, and motivations about Filipino Amerasians into a cohesive understanding of why they were excluded and for what and for whose benefit. Furthermore, the legislative intent with the passage of the AIA and AHA on the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians has not been definitively addressed in any of the literature. Pretending that one did not know about Filipino Amerasians' suffering no longer applies. The same arguments made for America to bring home Vietnamese Amerasians can and should be made about Filipino Amerasians. What makes the case that Filipino Amerasians should now be considered for preferential immigration status is that their exclusion was deliberate not only by the US government and US political leaders but also by the Philippine government. Having the understanding and the reasoning for their exclusion from the AIA and AHA can spur action in both the Philippines and the United States to do what is morally right. This research seeks to fill a gap in understanding as to why Filipino Amerasians were excluded from all preferential immigration status—to seek answers by looking at the role of Marcos and the Philippine government, the Catholic Church, colonialism, and the role of US race and gender politics towards Filipinos and Filipino Amerasians.

Chapter 3: Methods

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will describe the methodology used to determine the causes for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the 1982 AIA and 1987 AHA and how Filipino Amerasians were not part of any substantive discussions by both the United States and the Philippines on their marginalized status. It is important to restate the research question that has been the foundation of this dissertation:

“Why were Filipino Amerasians excluded from the 1982 and 1987 Amerasian Immigration and Homecoming Acts? Do the reasons for exclusion still prevail, and how can they be addressed? What are the potential implications of addressing the matter to national security and economic interests in the Indo-Pacific region?”

This study’s methodology aims to address this question from both the US Legislative and Philippine Government perspectives based on policy grounded in colonialism, US Asian foreign objectives and cold war politics, race, gender, and the Catholic Church in the Philippines. These large themes, which are inherent in the discussion of Filipino Amerasian exclusion, will be further refined and broken down to reveal more specific themes that provide a more thorough understanding of the commonalities between all the themes that help explain the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians.

Identification of Filipino Amerasian and Amerasian Focused Data

This research study will use a mixed methods approach, employing Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) as the qualitative methodology and Bivariate Linear Regression (BLR) as the quantitative methodology to address the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the 1982 AIA

and 1987 AHA. In social sciences, especially within public administration, content analysis is potentially one of the most crucial research techniques (Krippendorff, 2004). QCA is a systematic understanding of texts, images, and symbols, making replicable and valid inferences from texts or other "meaningful" matter (Krippendorff, 2004). QCA has become popular and has expanded rapidly in quantitative and qualitative research (Neuendorf, 2017). With the data used for this research spanning numerous archival documents in several national, presidential, agency, non-profit, and international archives, content analysis views these sources as texts, images, and expressions that are created to be seen, read, interpreted, and be analyzed together (Krippendorff, 2004). Over time, looking at and analyzing patterns and trends, coupled with traditional interviews and questionnaires, will yield a stronger methodological approach and significant outcome (Miller, 1978). At its core, QCA looks, analyzes, and describes qualitative materials orderly and systematically (Schreier, 2012, pg. 1). This is done by categorizing information into a coded structure or frame as the written word does not have meaning, but rather its texts and words are given meaning by those that interpret it (pg. 3). This type of interpretation is the heart of QCA, in which meaning is not easily seen or interpreted.

The interpretive aspect that Schreier describes for QCA falls under three aspects. First, QCA aims to understand symbolic data that is not standardized, thus requiring a degree of interpretation by the researcher (pg. 29). With this research study, the vast number of references relating to Amerasians is not standardized. As such, determining the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians, is not always obvious and the researcher's interpretation of relevant data must be presented and analyzed.

In addition to symbolic data, QCA's second interpretive aspect involves its concern with the personal and social meaning of the data (pg. 29). The historical aspects of Amerasians are

couched in ideas of race, gender, and politics and their effect on both the Amerasian and the people touched and concerned by Amerasians are both personal and social. QCA applies to such public sources as public memorandums, reports, ads, news, and media or internet postings or to personal meanings found in interviews, surveys, bios, and personal vlogs, to name a few (pg. 29).

The last most consequential aspect Schreier ascribes to the interpretive aspect of QCA is its acknowledgment that different interpretations of the same material can be equally valid (pg. 30). For this QCA, the interpretive aspect of the research study can be described as:

You can use QCA to categorize and describe your material on any number of features, i.e., main categories. But for each feature, you have to decide on one meaning; you have to code one out of the various subcategories for a given main category, and subcategories are meant to be mutually exclusive. The main strength of QCA is that it helps you analyze and describe the most important characteristics of large amounts of qualitative data. It does so precisely because it reduces and summarizes your material, and this comes at the 'cost' of losing the potential multiplicity of meanings of your material. (Schreier, 2012, pg. 30)

To further solidify the importance of Schreier's interpretive aspects of QCA, Krippendorff states that content analysis is an empirically grounded method, exploratory process, and predictive or inferential intent. The data (printed, video, recordings, etc.) examines and interprets what they mean to people. Second, QCA goes beyond the traditional ideas of symbols, contents, and intents. Therefore, analyzing vast quantities of documents allows the researcher to objectively observe how messages are conveyed and for whom they were conveyed, and their intentions. Third, QCA is a methodology in which the researcher plans, executes,

communicates, reproduces, and critically evaluates their analysis (Krippendorff, 2004). QCA is systematic, flexible, and reduces data (Schreier, 2012, pg. 5). According to Schreier, specific steps are to be taken to achieve reliable results in QCA. In moving forward, the steps to be addressed are: 1. Creating the research question for the issue that must be addressed; 2. determining and gathering the materials and data to use; 3. creating the coding framework; 4. dividing the materials into workable units for the coding frame; 5. testing the coding framework; 6. analyzing and evaluating the coding framework; 7. analyzing the main issue and the data gained from the research; 8. interpreting and presenting the findings of the research.

Because this research study encompasses such a wide array of documents from many disparate sources, to include government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the media, using QCA allows the researcher to examine the data specifically from the angle of the research question—the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA. Schreier gives the specific steps in QCA which lends itself to how this research study is conducted. First, the research question of the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians is established. Second, the researcher gathers materials that attempt to answer the research question. Third, the coding frame is created that involves several main categories, with each having subcategories. Fourth, all the information, coding, and refining leads to the interpretation of the findings (pg. 5-6). Furthermore, QCA allows the researcher to see the entire study from multiple perspectives, not just through one's individual perspective (pg. 6).

Legislative Intent Analysis

Because QCA is the systematic understanding of texts, images, and symbols and making replicable and valid inferences from texts or other "meaningful" matter (Krippendorff, 2004), it becomes rational that the best way to interpret the reasonings for a legislator's decisions is by

looking at their intentions at the time of the drafting of legislation (Ekins, 2012). According to Ekins, this legislative intent can be analyzed by looking at “signs”—those words, context, subject matter, and reasons for such a decision (pg. 17). After the passage of the 1982 AIA, Congress did make amends to the Act by eventually passing the 1987 AHA. Since then, several attempts have been proposed by different members of both the House and Senate to rectify the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians, and each have failed to pass.²⁰ This research aims to analyze the committee’s written records during discussions and written papers, interviews of staff members, and the reasons for not advancing such legislation.

Excluding Filipino Amerasians from any preferential immigration legislation can best be analyzed through legislative intent and QCA. When Congress passed the AIA in 1982 and the AHA in 1987, the public was aware that Congress and the President intended the statute to be enacted (Canale & Poggi, 2019). Still, as Canale & Poggi (2019) argued, statutes do not always convey the normative content most of the legislators wanted with their enactment (pg. 126). Legislators and policymakers all provide their control within the deliberative process, and their own biases and desires come into play with exercising control over the agenda (Ekins, 2019, pg. 150). It is troubling to think that there are members of Congress who either do not know of the existence of Filipino Amerasians or have chosen to exclude them from relief under the 1982 AIA and 1987 AHA. The intent of these legislators is central to the question of why. The Filipino Amerasian was similarly situated as other Amerasians in South Korea, Japan, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam, and all faced the same marginalization, abuse, and neglect in their

²⁰ House Resolution 2429 (H.R. 2429) was introduced on June 16, 1993, to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to extend preferential treatment in the admission of Amerasian children to children born in the Philippines (*H.R. 2429 (103rd): To Amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to Extend Preferential Treatment in the Admission of Amerasian Children to Children Born in the Philippines.*, 1993). On May 4, 1994, Senate Bill 2072 (S. 2072) to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to facilitate the immigration to the United States of certain aliens born in the Philippines or Japan who were fathered by United States citizens. In 1999, The American Asian Justice Act of 1999 would have amended the INA to facilitate the immigration to the US of children born in the Philippines and Japan who were fathered by US servicemen (US House of Representatives, 1999, E447).

countries (Dungca, 2012; P. . Kutschera & Caputi, 2013; P. Kutschera & Caputi, 2012; Novio, 2016; Yang, 2018).

This research will use qualitative data analysis software (QDAS), specifically NVivo software.²¹ The use of NVivo allows the researcher the ability to manage data by organizing the volumes of documents to be analyzed; manage those conceptual and theoretical frames gained from the analysis of data; critically look at questions about the data by retrieving that information; to look and visualize the data in an interpretive process, and to present the data in a comprehensive and well-developed form (Bazeley, Pat & Jackson, 2013). Bazeley states:

Qualitative methods will be chosen in situations where a detailed understanding of a process or experience is wanted, where more information is needed to determine the boundaries or characteristics of the issue being investigated, or where the only information available is non-numeric (e.g., text or visual) form. Such investigations typically necessitate gathering intensive and/or extensive information from a purposively derived sample (pg.2).

Because this qualitative research involves information spanning a wide range of documents and numerous archival areas, NVivo provides the ability to synthesize and systematically code the data. NVivo is a critical element in my research to ensure a complete understanding of the analyzed information (pg. 22).

To supplement QCR, a Bivariate Linear Regression (BLR) analysis was performed using IBM's Statistical Package for the Social Sciences software (SPSS).²² SPSS is designed to perform a wide range of statistical procedures (Cronk, 2018; Frost, 2019; McCormick, Keith & Salcedo, 2015). Although SPSS can be used for a wide array of statistical analyses, including

²¹<https://lumivivo.com/products/nvivo/>

²² <https://www.ibm.com/products/spss-statistics-gradpack>

summaries, inferential tests, crosstabs, chi-square, t-test, and linear regression, to name a few, it is the bivariate linear procedure that the researcher uses to analyze the aspect of immigration policy regarding Filipino Amerasians focused on their exclusion due to a policy of ensuring Filipinos are not overly represented in the United States with additional visas being issued for Filipino Amerasians.

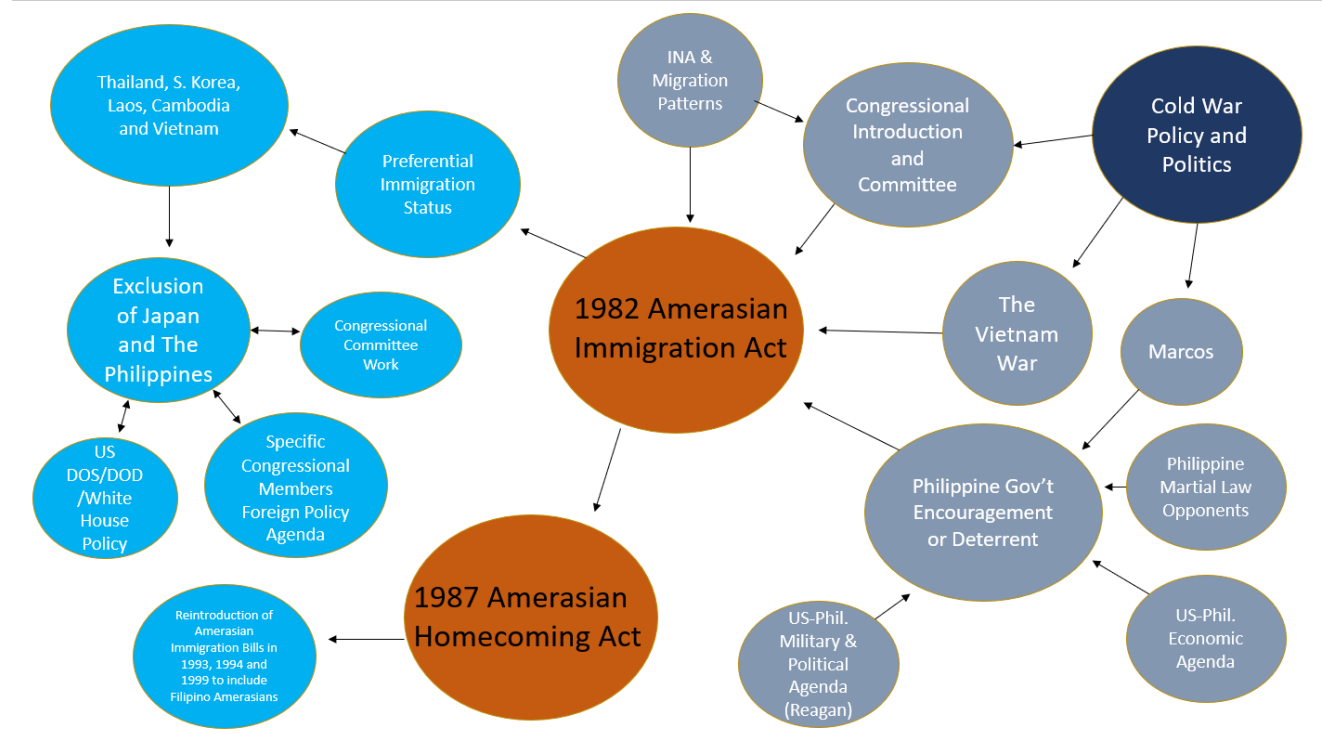
Although most of this research study will use QCA as a foundation for analyzing the reasons for Filipino Amerasian exclusion, an important cause for their exclusion was consistently revealed in the literature review, and researched data sources warranted a BLR methodology to supplement the QCA. This revealing argument put forth by some scholars and politicians was that allowing Filipino Amerasians to enter the United States under preferential immigration status would open a “flood gate” of immigrants and that Filipino Amerasians would put an undue burden on current immigration quotas for other immigrant populations (Lee, 2015; Molnar, 2017; Senate, 1999; US House of Representatives, 1982a). A BLR was used to address the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians for not receiving preferential immigration status (legal permanent residency (LPR)). Because in a BLR, the assumption is that both variables are interval or ratio-scaled, with the dependent variable generally distributed around the prediction line. A BLR in this research study is used to determine if any statistically significant factors in the issuance of LPR visas for Filipinos and other Asian countries in the 1970s and 1980s during the implementation of the AIA and AHA.

The purpose of BLR in this research study is to create solid figures/numbers of key factors and to measure the variables within those cases or categories. Note that the quantitative parts of a content analysis study (in this case, the BLR of immigration policy towards Filipino Amerasians) have the goal of a numerically based summary of a chosen message set (Neuendorf,

2017, pg. 44). Within regression analysis, the associative factors between two variables are the foundation of the analysis (Babbie, 2013). In this research study, the $Y = f(X)$, or that Y is a function of X and that the values of Y can be explained in terms of variations in the values of X (pg. 465). This association involves the dependent variable of LPRs from 1980-1989 (the decade within the AIA and AHA) and the independent variable of US LPRs who identify as foreign born (in ascertaining the population of those considering themselves Asian, Filipino, Amerasians and Filipino Amerasians).

To determine what textual material exists within government, non-government, and media entities, the researcher, gathered files, records, memorandums, recordings, films, and printed materials spanning the late 1970s through the early 1990s to analyze information relating to Filipino Amerasians. Figure 3.1 is a visual representation of the AIA and AHA and the relationships it has with concepts and ideas of race, gender, politics, immigration, and foreign policy. Each of the circles identifies specific ideas, policy and actions and are structured in a hierarchical pattern and connected with arrows that help to explain their interconnectivity with each other.

Figure 3.1 Concept Mapping



Data²³

The following records, reports, memorandums, media articles, and studies were used to identify potential causes for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA.

1. The deliberations of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Affairs before and during the drafting of the AIA and AHA are vital in this research (Committee on the Judiciary, 1982, 1982 Amerasian Immigration Act, 1982, Public Law 100-202, Sec. 584--100th Congress Joint Resolution, 1987).
2. Data on the 1982 Amerasian Immigration Act and the 1986 Amerasian Homecoming Act are within the Congressional Record and all accompanying committee records. Furthermore, detailed information can be ascertained by:

²³Appendix 2 has the full listing and locations of documents and papers from the Reagan Library, Levin Papers, NARA records and Congressional Records.

3. An analysis of the historical trends in United States and Philippine immigration. Focusing on historical figures from World War II to the present includes political-military relations between the United States and the Philippines.²⁴ (History Office, 2012; United States. Immigration and Naturalization Service, n.d.).
4. Archival research and QCA of relevant public records. The focus will include the Congressional Record for legislative intent for the 1982 Amerasian Immigration Act & 1987 Amerasian Homecoming Act.²⁵ H.R. 2429, S. 2072, and the Amerasian Paternity Recognition Act of 2016 were introduced to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to extend preferential treatment in the admission of Amerasian children to children born in the Philippines. The research will also identify Filipino and International immigrant groups advocating for the Amerasian populations.²⁶ Furthermore, a comprehensive search of the Pearl S. Buck Foundation Archives will analyze communications between the foundation and the Philippine Government regarding Filipino Amerasians during the early 1980s (Pearl S. Buck House, 2021). In addition to the Congressional Record and the Pearl S. Buck Foundation archives, research of the Reagan Archives on the US Military Bases Agreement, Reagan and Marcos interactions during the 1980s, Amerasian repatriation from Vietnam, and Filipino Amerasian status in the Philippines will be vital.
5. Interviews and surveys (telephonically, written, and via email) of legislators and Congressional staff involved (including bill sponsors) in the 1982 Amerasian Immigration Act & 1987 Amerasian Homecoming Act. To understand and discover the intent and reasoning for

²⁴ Referencing each of the years from 1982 through 2000 within the INS Yearbooks (United States. Immigration and Naturalization Service, n.d.) Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service US INS, 1982-2000.

²⁵ 1982 Amerasian Homecoming Act Congress, PL 97-359 (*1982 Amerasian Immigration Act*, 1982).

²⁶ Some of these immigrant groups include the Bayanihan Foundation Worldwide (<https://fdnbayanihan.org/current-projects/filipino-amerasian/>); The Women's Education Development, Productivity, & Research Organization (WeDpro) (<http://wedprophils.org/>); and the People's Recovery, Empowerment and Development Assistance (Preda) Foundation (<https://www.preda.org/>).

excluding Filipino Amerasians, the questions will include their opinions on immigration, Asian-specific immigration, historical understanding of the Philippines, military service, and experiences, especially during wartime (Korea & Vietnam). Furthermore, these interviews and surveys will help ascertain if there is a bias against Filipinos by legislators that does not manifest itself against Thais, Vietnamese, and South Koreans.

6. US Census data from the years preceding the Amerasians Acts and years afterward after full implementation (Gibson, Campbell and Jung, 2006).²⁷

7. Immigration statistics of the United States, Philippines, and the Asian region to ascertain migration trends. The Pew Research Data Center Immigration Statistics from 1940-2019 (Center, 2021) is a non-partisan organization that compiles immigration data from USCIS, US Census, and international migration agencies²⁸ and is vital in this analysis. In addition to these immigration statistics, the research will further analyze data from Amerasians who immigrated to the United States from Vietnam under the 1987 Amerasian Homecoming Act. This will allow a more comprehensive look at the economic and educational success or failure rates, including public assistance and other government benefits and attendance of higher education institutions (General Accounting Office, 1994) of admitted Vietnamese Amerasians during the AIA and AHA. This will provide a baseline for the success or failure of Filipino Amerasians if given preferential immigration status.

In addition to gathering data within the Congressional Records, National Archives, and personal legislative writings, papers, and documents in the United States, a large body of archival documents from the 1980s regarding Filipino Amerasians and government negotiations

²⁷ American Community Surveys (ACS) 1982-2011 (US Census Bureau, 2012).

²⁸ The Pew Research compiles extensive lists of immigration patterns from all countries identified by the USCIS (Center, 2021). Pew Research Data Center Immigration Statistics 1940-2019.

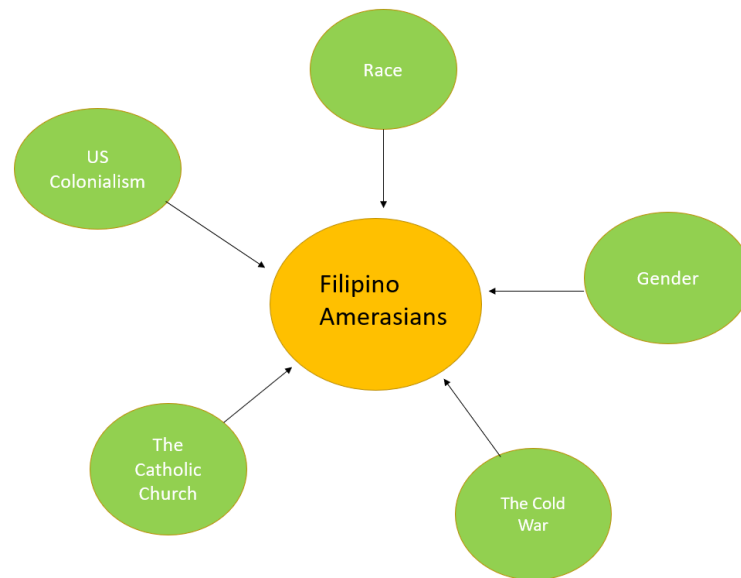
between the United States and the Philippines relating to US military bases exist in the Philippines. These documents regarding US foreign policy involve discussions about Filipino Amerasians. This research had an academic research assistant in the Philippines who conducted extensive archival research at the Philippine National Archives (including Presidential Archives) and the Department of Foreign Affairs to gather relevant documents relating to Filipino Amerasians from 1980 to the present. These vital records exist at the Philippine National Archives, the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs archives, and the Pearl S. Buck Foundation.

Identification of Asian and Filipino Amerasian Immigration Policy Cases & Themes

Because of the large volume of documentation from government agencies (US Congress, GAO, US State Department, USCIS, Department of Defense, Presidential Library Archives, and former politicians' papers and writings), NGOs and media sources (newspapers, magazines, and video transcripts), an inductive approach was first initiated by the researcher as opposed to a deductive approach. A deductive process for gathering data would involve a set of themes, phrases, and words to gather data that are relevant to the researcher's study (Bazeley, Pat & Jackson, 2013). This is a different approach from inductive in which no preset or standardized measures are made in massing information; thus, inferences are made from this resulting "free flow" of data (Babbie, 2013; Schreier, 2012). The preliminary literature review for Filipino Amerasians yielded several themes that were common among numerous scholars, government agencies, and NGOs. The researcher was focused on the resulting themes articulated at the beginning of this research study: 1. US colonialism; 2. Race; 3. Gender; 4. Cold War Policies in Asia of Philippine President Marcos and President Reagan; and 5. The Philippine Catholic

Church. Each of these five themes directly impact the understanding of the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 Major Common Themes



Within those five themes, the researcher refined the search to focus on US colonial attitudes towards the Philippines and vice versa to gain a greater understanding of the historical pinning of US-Philippine attitudes towards each other during the establishment of the AIA and AHA. In conjunction with ideas of US colonialism, searching for cases that met the themes of race allowed the researcher to focus the search on ideas involving white and black Amerasians and the historical attitudes of both Asians and Americans with racial differences and the acceptance of mixed-race identities. Gender was further elaborated and defined by the researcher by looking for documentation that focused on the role of paternity in the discussion of Amerasians and how this affected women and their status of being second to the desires of traditional male-centered policies allowing paternity, citizenship, and identity of Filipino Amerasians be codified in US law. Although not always blatant, the gender-based discrimination faced by mothers of Amerasians can be inferred from the identified texts and

themes in these documents, which show a continued pattern of historical discrimination by a predominant white-male majority against Asian women and Asian peoples.

In addition to the themes of US colonialism, race, and gender, a very expansive theme of cold war policies in Asia of Philippine President Marcos and President Reagan and the Philippine Catholic Church offered additional avenues for the researcher to further refine his search for relevant cases. To gather as much data relating to the Marcos-Reagan relationship with the Cold War, and thus the possibility of determining the reasons for Filipino Amerasian exclusion, references to Marcos, Reagan, US Military Bases Agreements, Amerasians, Vietnamese Amerasians, Vietnam War, Philippine Martial Law and ASEAN amongst other terms were used to consolidate vast volumes of documents into manageable categories. For the Philippine Catholic Church, like the Cold War relationships, the researcher further refined the search of relevant documents that involved discussions of martial law, Marcos, poverty, instability, enemies, and religious devotion, amongst other categories that provided a more focused view of the role of the Catholic Church in the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians.²⁹

Key Word Search

The researcher performed a comprehensive keyword search on the primary Congressional records, which led to complementing records and writings that supplemented the discussions of Amerasians for both the AIA and AHA. The keywords used to search were: Amerasian Immigration Act, Amerasian Homecoming Act, Amerasians, Vietnamese-Amerasians, Filipino-Amerasians, Vietnam War, and Asian immigration. These large themes within these preliminary keywords search yielded additional word searches that covered additional relevant themes. These additional words and themes are later described in the coding section of this chapter.

²⁹ Chapters 4 and 5 will provide more detailed analysis of these themes.

Case Coding and Framework

For QCA to effectively analyze data, it must have valid and reliable inferences gained from systematic and transparent procedures for processing data (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, pg. 3). Once keyword searches were conducted to gain relevant documents regarding the AIA and AHA and its implications in Amerasians and specific exclusion to Filipino Amerasians, the research must then narrow the breadth and scope of the vast raw data into themes based on reasonably valid inferences and interpretations (pg. 2). As indicated earlier, this research study approached the gathering of data using inductive reasoning, meaning, the cases analyzed created the themes and categories to compare different cases and data points. With the cases gathered, the coding work of the volumes of documents was commenced in a systematic and methodical manner in NVivo.

QCA has three approaches to analyzing the data, and coding forms the foundation of this analysis. Hsieh and Shannon explain that there are three (3) types of inductive reasoning in conducting a QCA (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The first is the traditional QCA, in which raw data is used to produce coding categories. The second is a summative approach that “counts” the frequency of words or content which would be used in an inductive manner. The third and the one approach the researcher uses is the directed QCA. According to Hsieh and Shannon, this approach begins with coding based on a theory or relevant research finding. During the analysis of the data, the researcher immerses themselves in the data and allows themes to emerge from the data. Hsieh and Shannon further state that “this approach usually is to validate or extend a conceptual framework or theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).” Understanding this approach, an appreciation is made that codes are “most often a researcher-generated word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a

portion of language-based or visual data.” (Saldana, 2016, pg. 292). Therefore, coding is not just the identification of keywords or phrases within a document but a “way of relating your data to concepts (Schreier, 2012, pg. 39). The coding of each case was done line by line in which the researcher looked at both specific references to words and the concepts inherent to the overall meaning being made by a particular author in a particular textual material. For codes to be effective in QCA, a coding framework was established by the researcher in which a set of 54 codes were created, and the description of each of those codes was given to ensure consistency in their application to each case.³⁰

Case Gathering and Coding Implementation

Once the coding framework was established, the researcher began a methodical process of reading each of the cases relevant to the research study. Note that the literature review provided the basis for the themes of race, gender, colonialism, the Cold War, and the Catholic Church when it comes to addressing the question of the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians. From those five (5) overarching themes, the research study began focusing on materials that reflected aspects of Filipino Amerasians that were common within the literature review. The three (3) main areas that contain relevant documents related to Filipino Amerasians can be found in 1. Government sources; 2. Non-governmental entities such as NGOs and humanitarian organizations; and 3. Media sources such as newspapers, magazines, and news-type reels. Those three (3) sources for cases yielded over 142 files encompassing over 200 individual and unique cases and thousands of individual pages that were analyzed.³¹ The documents were limited in scope to cover the years just prior to the enactment of the 1982 AIA and the decade ending the 1980s after the passing of the 1987 AHA. Within this decade, documents spanned both

³⁰ See Appendix 1 for full list of the coding framework.

³¹ See Appendix 3 for a full list of coding references by each file and case.

Philippine and US sources and involved data involving US-Philippine relationships that had an impact on Filipino Amerasians.

Government Files and Records

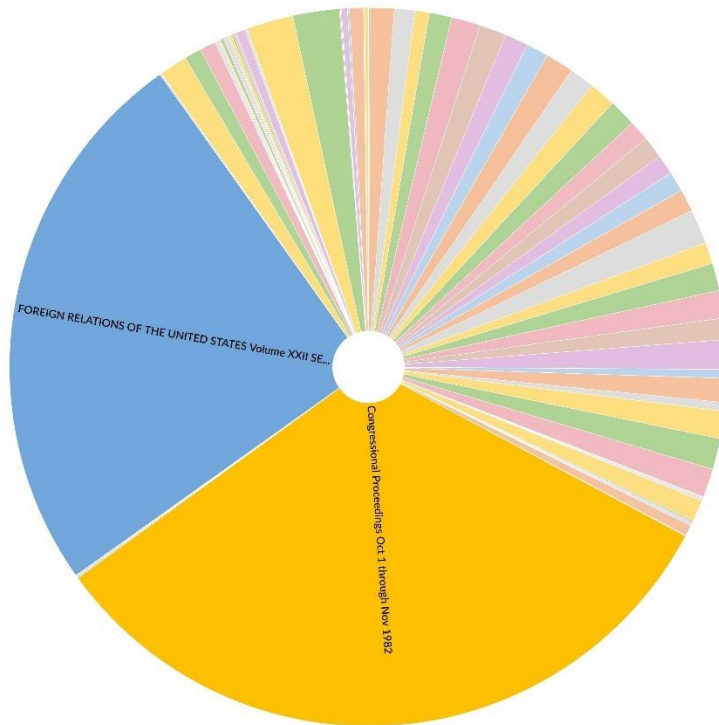
Government-sourced files made up most of the files and cases for the research study. A total of 84 files were part of the analysis. Not each file was one document or case; rather, most of the documents contain multiple files on multiple topics. For example, one file from the Ronald Reagan Archives on the signing of the AIA, which contained notes and memorandums from 1982, may contain two (2) dozen different letters and memorandums from several secretaries and aides referencing the AIA and or the legislators involved in its creation. A keyword search was done by the researcher to gather relevant government information for analysis.³²

The US Department of State

Memorandums, foreign cable telegraphs, and reports from the State Department were analyzed, including The Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977-1980, Volume XXII, SE Asia, and the Pacific. Furthermore, the researcher looked at cables and memorandums from the US Embassy in Manila to Washington DC during the 1980s with references to Marcos, Reagan, US Military Bases, Philippine humanitarian aid, human rights, and martial law. Figure 3.3 below shows the number of codes for each of the government files. Each color is a file and the larger the sliver, the more codes are attributed to that file.

³² See Appendix 1&2 for full listing of keyword and source searches.

Figure 3.3 Coding Division by Number of Items Coded-Government Files



Non-Government Files and Records

The next classification of files involved non-government entities such as the PSBF, Philippine Catholic Church and charities, Philippine Aid Agencies, UNICEF, UNHCR, Amnesty International, Philippine NGOs such as Wedpro, ACTWA, and PREDA. The keyword search was identical to government cases, and the coding framework involved the already established 54 codes. Figure 3.4 shows the approximate number of codes for each of the files. Each colored square is a file, and the size of each square represents the number of codes attributed to that file.

Figure 3.4 Coding Compared by Number of Items Coded-Non-Government



Media Sourced Data

Cases from media sources accounted for the second largest group of cases with 52 individual files, which covered several hundred pages and approximately an hour of newsreel footage. The keyword search was identical to government cases, and the coding framework involved the already established 54 codes. Figure 3.5 shows the approximate number of codes for each of the files. Each colored square is a file, and the size of each square represents the number of codes attributed to that file.

Figure 3.5 Coding Compared by Number of Items Coded-Media



Quantitative Immigration Policy Analysis of Filipino Amerasians

Stemming the tide of large numbers of immigrants, specifically Asian immigrants, was a reason given by scholars and politicians, who were both critics and supporters of Amerasians, as a reason for not providing Filipino Amerasians the same preferential immigration status given to Vietnamese Amerasians. Unlike the more subtle reasons of race and gender discrimination, which are not overtly touted in Amerasian discussions, the argument for restrictive immigration policies against Filipinos and Filipino Amerasians was more overtly expressed as a means of fairness towards all other immigrants within and coming into the United States. Because these arguments are quantitative in nature and rely on historical numerical analysis of immigration

trends, a bivariate linear regression (BLR) was conducted to see any statistically significant factors in issuing LPR visas for Filipinos and other Asian countries in the 1980s and 1990s when both Amerasian Acts were implemented. The collection and analysis using BLR was conducted by the researcher to supplement the QCA analysis.

Data for BLR of LPR Status

There are no specific data sets for immigrants into the United States who are identified as Filipino Amerasians. The researcher's collection of data had to extrapolate information from several data sources that made references to Filipinos, Asian migration, Amerasian status, paternity, and recognition of foreign-born status in the United States. The researcher analyzed statistical figures of Asian immigrants into the US who are considered foreign-born, including those from Amerasian countries, US Census data from the years preceding the Amerasians Acts, and years afterward after full implementation (Gibson, Campbell and Jung, 2006)

Because paternity is determinative of Amerasian status under the AIA and AHA, data from the Global Citizenship Observatory³³ was essential to analyze data from all countries that acknowledge paternity and citizenship acquisition. Furthermore, the researcher analyzed data from Amerasians who immigrated to the US from Vietnam under the 1987 Amerasian Homecoming Act to look at the rate of economic and educational success or failure, including the use of public assistance and other government benefits and attendance of higher education institutions (General Accounting Office, 1994). This would provide a baseline for the success or failure of Filipino Amerasians if given LPR immigration status similar to Vietnamese Amerasians.

In conducting a BLR, it is important to state a Null and Alternative Hypothesis:

³³ For additional information on how the Global Citizenship Observatory tracks country specific data, go to: <https://globalcit.eu/>.

Main Hypothesis 1:

The first hypothesis is that US immigration was already highly favorable to Filipinos in the 1980s and 1990s. Allowing Filipino Amerasians into the US under LPR status would disadvantage other Asian countries not as fully represented in the US.

Main Hypothesis 2:

The second hypothesis is that Filipino immigrants are viewed as an advantaged immigrant population due to the colonial history of the US and the Philippines and that granting preferential LPR status to Filipino Amerasians was putting an undue burden on current immigration quotas in place for all other immigrants.

Null Hypothesis:

There is no difference in the number of Legal Permanent Residence (LPR) Visas issued to a specific country (Philippines and Asia) compared to US LPRs considered foreign-born from those countries.

Alternative Hypothesis:

As the number of LPRs who identify as foreign-born increases (Filipinos), the higher the number of LPR visas issues.

The bivariate linear regression model for this research study is as follows:³⁴

$$y_i = \alpha + \beta x_i + \epsilon_i$$

Where y is the dependent variable of the LPR years from 1980-1989 and x is the independent variable for US LPRs who identify as foreign-born.

³⁴ SPSS performed all required data analysis. This is a simple linear regression that assumes both variables are interval or ration scaled. In addition, the dependent variable should be normally distributed around the prediction line. This, of course, assumes that the variables are related to each other linearly. Typically, both variables should be normally distributed. Dichotomous variables (variables with only two levels) are also acceptable as independent variables. (Cronk, 2018, pg. 56)

Limitation

The context of the materials forms a significant foundation for QCA, and one uses context to understand the data analyzed (Schreier, 2012). However, because QCA aims to summarize the data explored, the relevance of the data to my research question becomes essential, and the coding matrix and frame become necessary to compare data across a broad spectrum of sources (pg. 31). Because the depth and breadth of documents to be analyzed spans numerous archival sources over multiple agencies, libraries, and repositories, the context of the meaning of the data is essential. One's inherent assumptions and biases must be realized, and the coding should be socially shared and understood (pg. 32).

In addition to QCA, understanding legislative intent must also rely on the context of the semantic content of the statutory text (Ekins, 2012, pg. 12). Because there have been so many legislators involved in the promulgation of the AIA and AHA, what is put in writing may not necessarily have the contextual meaning that it should have based on the background and experiences of each legislator. Therefore, it becomes important that any analysis of what is said, shown, or done fits the audience's accepted understanding and avoids misinterpretation (Ekins, 2019, pg. 158).

Understanding why Filipino Amerasians were excluded from the AIA involves a keen perception of what is not stated in the data analyzed. Politicians and bureaucrats on both sides of the discussion on Amerasians are adept at not saying openly what they do discreetly, and the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians is no exception. To date, no clear explanation or record shows that the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians is because of a specific reason. This research does not aim to find the "smoking gun" for the exclusion. Still, the aim is to aggregate the information gained from a wide range of records and artifacts to find a commonality between government

leaders in the Philippines and the United States. (Marcos and Reagan) that would indicate whether a deliberate process to exclude Filipino Amerasians existed. With these limitations presented, the QCA results are presented in this research study in Chapter 4, with the discussion of the results in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Results and Findings

INTRODUCTION

This research study uses QCA as a method to understand and explain the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the 1982 and 1987 AIA and AHA. QCA, at its foundation, is a systematic understanding of texts, images, and symbols and making replicable and valid inferences from texts or other “meaningful” matter (Krippendorff, 2004). Over time, looking at and analyzing patterns and trends in an unobtrusive manner will yield a more robust methodological approach and significant outcome (Miller, 1978). In addition, a quantitative method of regression analysis was used to supplement the main QCA of this research study and to add a layer of depth to the discussion of US immigration policy that specifically aimed at excluding Filipino Amerasians from preferential immigration status through the restriction of LPR visas.

QCA aims to provide themes, patterns, and categories important to social reality (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, pg. 5). Zhang goes on to explain that to properly present a QCA, the researcher must report their decisions and practices based on the coding framework, including an establishment of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Zhang using Lincoln and Guba (1985)). The trustworthiness of this research study was accomplished by having a transparent coding framework based on relevant data using clear meaning and understandable procedures. This coding process that provides the adequate basis for the construction of the “social world under study” is part of the credibility of QCA (pg. 6). The idea of transferability simply applies to the researcher’s data being able to be used by other researchers to replicate the analysis in a different context (pg. 6). The dependability of this

research study confirms the researcher's adherence to an internal process that accounts for any changing conditions (pg. 6). The data has been consistently confirmed through multiple sources and often duplicated in other sources having the same materials relating to Filipino Amerasians.

Results: Identification of Asian & Filipino Amerasian Policy Cases and Themes

This section of the research study presents the results of the first inductive analysis for QCA, which is the identification of relevant documents and textual elements to extract meaning, themes, and patterns (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). The researcher needed to perform the following analysis to determine the causes for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians. First, the researcher conducted a literature review to gather background information on the fundamental causes for current attitudes about Amerasians. An understanding of the status of Filipino Amerasians and an analysis of available literature on the AIA and AHA was the first step in building further analysis of Amerasians and then of Filipino Amerasians within the context of race, gender and politics emerged. Through continued analysis of the available literature, the researcher was able to have a solid theme that bound Filipino Amerasians with all other Amerasians and ultimately Asians as a whole—race, gender, prejudice, and politics. However, the addition of US Cold War policies in Asia and towards the Philippines, along with the role of the Philippine Catholic Church, has shown a unique perspective that makes the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA more revealing. Once the researcher had focused on the main themes relevant to Filipino Amerasians, the second analysis under QCA required further gathering and identification of relevant textual documents to supplement and add to already established themes. A keyword search was vital in gathering preliminary sources for data analysis. The third vital part of QCA requires the creation and implementation of an effective coding framework that enables the researcher to fully analyze the data by identifying

common ideas and themes that are common amongst the different sources. The fourth part of QCA is the actual grouping of the different cases and implementing codes that accurately reflect the context of those themes. The fifth and final part of QCA for this research project includes an additional non-qualitative method, a BLR, to fully address the immigration policy argument that excludes preferential immigration treatment for Filipino Amerasians even though Vietnamese Amerasians were given this under the AIA and AHA.

Key Word Search

In QCA, the term keyword is analogous to using the term code to identify those themes within cases that allow the researcher to make inferences on their meanings. Ferdinand Marcos made the highest number of references within the cases assembled, followed by economics, the Catholic Church, Ronald Reagan, and then Human Rights. The preliminary keyword searches were also referenced in sizable numbers using gender, race, Cold War, Amerasian Immigration Act, and Amerasians. Table 4.1 shows the keywords used with the number of files associated and the number of references within all the files.

Table 4.1: *Coding of Relevant Keywords and Their References*

Codes	Files	References
Ferdinand Marcos	53	137
Economic	37	94
Catholic Church	38	86
Ronald Reagan	34	82
Human Rights	35	73
Media	59	73
Marcos Enemies	40	71

Military Bases Agreement	23	67
Amerasians	44	64
Immigration Policy	44	62
Humanitarian	32	47
Corazon Aquino	22	52
Amerasian Immigration Act	42	49
Gender	32	47
Elections	25	42
Vietnam War	28	41
Race	31	39
US Citizen	28	36
Marginalization	26	35
Cold War	18	29
Martial Law	20	28
Permanent Resident	18	26
Colonialism	14	21

Identification of Files and Cases

The researcher did an exploratory analysis in NVivo to create several diagrams of identified files relating to specific themes. Table 4.2 shows the major themes that were matched with the original five (5) themes during the initial analysis of data for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians. Each of these themes shows a considerable number of relevant cases showing a

relationship with the theme and separate files and cases that discuss the specific theme as well as the number of codes and references made for each major theme.

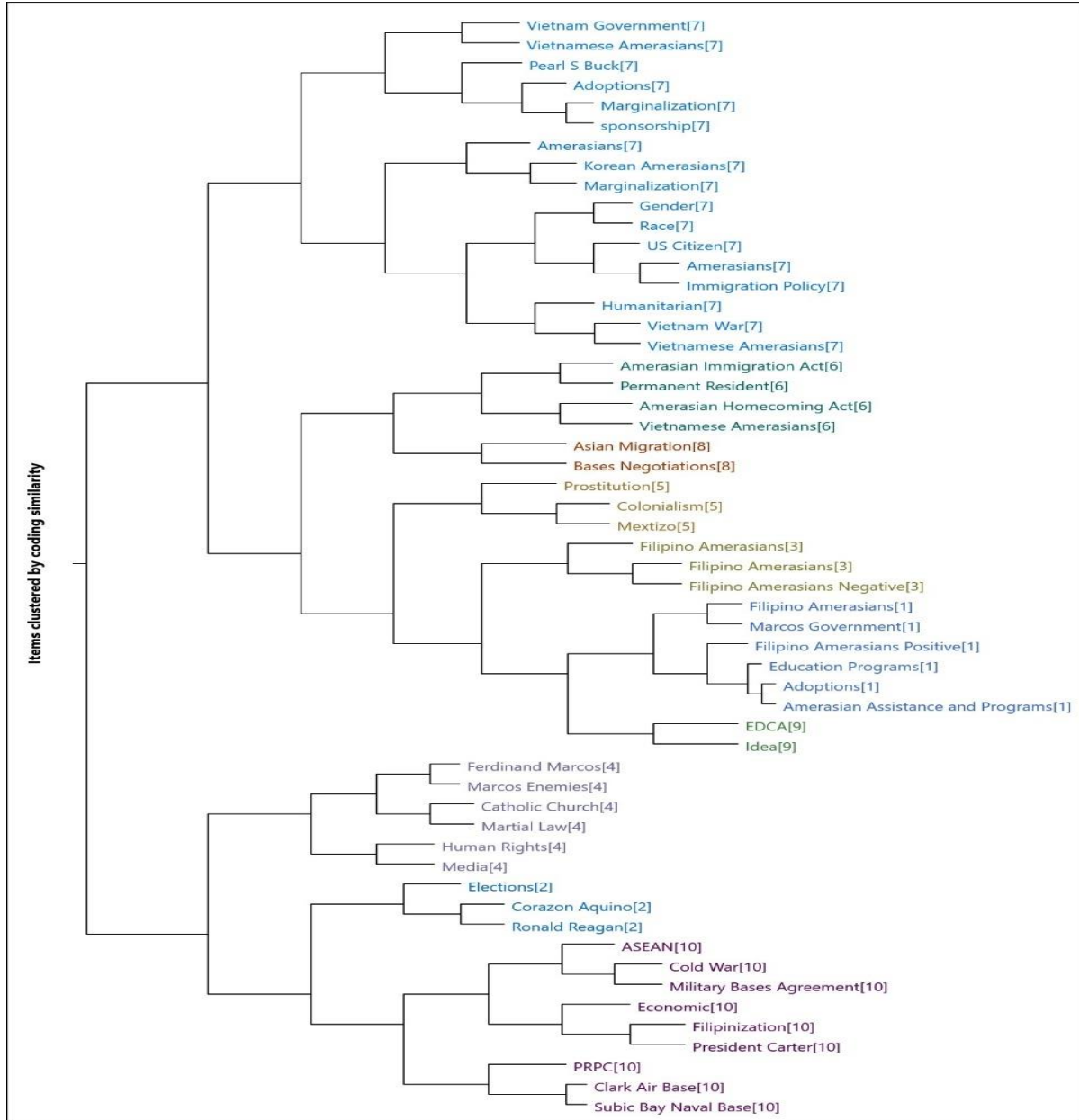
Table 4.2: *Major Themes and Associated Files and References*

Theme	Files	References
Amerasians	44	64
AIA	42	49
AHA	8	9
Filipino Amerasians	14	25
The Catholic Church	38	86
Gender	32	47
Race	31	39
Colonialism	14	21
Cold War	18	29

Analysis of Case Coding and Framework

After the researcher analyzed the assembled cases and applied the codes based on the coding framework, the 54 codes demonstrated similarities to each other and referenced substantial common cases, as seen in Figure 4.1a.

Figure 4.1a: Similarity Coding Cluster



This coding cluster analysis indicates strong correlations between several codes that have a substantial relationship with the established themes. Within the NVivo analysis of coding clusters, a Pearson correlation coefficient was established to indicate a statistical relationship between the two codes. According to Frost, Pearson's correlation coefficient is represented by the rho (ρ) for the population parameter and r for a sample statistic. This coefficient is a single

number that measures both the strength and direction of the linear relationship between two continuous variables. Values can range from -1 to +1 (Frost, 2019, pg. 16). A coefficient of .5 or higher indicates a statistically significant positive correlation. There exist significant coding similarities between two interconnecting codes that address commonalities between different cases and can be significantly analyzed with the current set of codes. Figure 4.1k shows the statistically significant comparison of coding similarities from one set of codes (A) to another set of codes (B).

Figure 4.1b: Coding Cluster Correlation

Code A	Code B	Pearson correlation coefficient
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Amerasian Assistance and	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Adoptions	1
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Education Programs	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Adoptions	1
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Education Programs	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Amerasian Assistance and	1
Codes\\Subic Bay Naval Base	Codes\\Clark Air Base	0.905929
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marginalization	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Adoptions	0.813575
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marginalization	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Amerasian Assistance and	0.813575
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marginalization	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Education Programs	0.813575
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\sponsorship	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marginalization	0.813575
Codes\\Marcos Enemies	Codes\\Ferdinand Marcos	0.779128
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marcos Government	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Adoptions	0.704595
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marcos Government	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Amerasian Assistance and	0.704595
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marcos Government	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Education Programs	0.704595
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marcos Government	Codes\\Adoptions\\Filipino Amerasians	0.704595
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\sponsorship	Codes\\Adoptions	0.704595
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\sponsorship	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marcos Government	0.704595
Codes\\Race	Codes\\Gender	0.653396
Codes\\Immigration Policy	Codes\\Amerasians	0.637755
Codes\\Immigration Policy	Codes\\Amerasian Immigration Act	0.633513
Codes\\Media\\Filipino Amerasians Positive	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Adoptions	0.625643
Codes\\Media\\Filipino Amerasians Positive	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Amerasian Assistance and	0.625643
Codes\\Media\\Filipino Amerasians Positive	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Education Programs	0.625643
Codes\\Media\\Filipino Amerasians Positive	Codes\\Adoptions\\Filipino Amerasians	0.625643
Codes\\Marcos Enemies	Codes\\Catholic Church	0.611631
Codes\\Pearl S Buck	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marginalization	0.601258
Codes\\US Citizen	Codes\\Amerasians	0.586527
Codes\\Ronald Reagan	Codes\\Corazon Aquino	0.580691
Codes\\Martial Law	Codes\\Catholic Church	0.578366
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marginalization	Codes\\Adoptions	0.573241
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marginalization	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marcos Government	0.573241

Codes\\Martial Law	Codes\\Marcos Enemies	0.556544
Codes\\Amerasians\\Vietnamese Amerasians	Codes\\Vietnam War	0.550789
Codes\\Marcos Enemies	Codes\\Human Rights	0.550025
Codes\\US Citizen	Codes\\Immigration Policy	0.548252
Codes\\Marginalization	Codes\\Amerasians\\Korean Amerasians	0.544251
Codes\\Amerasians	Codes\\Amerasian Immigration Act	0.533411
Codes\\Permanent Resident	Codes\\Immigration Policy	0.522835
Codes\\Military Bases Agreement	Codes\\Cold War	0.521922
Codes\\Immigration Policy	Codes\\Gender	0.513357
Codes\\Military Bases Agreement	Codes\\Filipinization	0.513253
Codes\\Media\\Filipino Amerasians Negative	Codes\\Amerasians\\Filipino Amerasians\\Filipin	0.503314
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Marginalization	Codes\\Media\\Filipino Amerasians Positive	0.503314
Codes\\Amerasians\\Filipino Amerasians\\Mexti	Codes\\Amerasians\\Filipino Amerasians\\Filipin	0.503314
Codes\\Human Rights	Codes\\Catholic Church	0.503235
Codes\\Military Bases Agreement	Codes\\Colonialism	0.495788
Codes\\Race	Codes\\Amerasians	0.493775
Codes\\Adoptions\\Filipino Amerasians	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Adoptions	0.492857
Codes\\Adoptions\\Filipino Amerasians	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Amerasian Assistance and	0.492857
Codes\\Adoptions\\Filipino Amerasians	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Education Programs	0.492857
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\sponsorship	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Adoptions	0.492857
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\sponsorship	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Amerasian Assistance and	0.492857
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\sponsorship	Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\Education Programs	0.492857
Codes\\Pearl S Buck\\sponsorship	Codes\\Adoptions\\Filipino Amerasians	0.492857

Within these codes and their statistically significant similarities, the existing coding framework for this research study covers the necessary themes that are interconnected with the data that show significant commonalities. The figures above show all the major themes that have a direct effect on attitudes towards Filipino Amerasians. Furthermore, the coding commonalities show that already established themes common with Amerasians do have a strong correlation, such as the code for “race” and “Amerasians”; “immigration policy” and “gender”; “military bases agreement” and “colonialism”; “marginalization” and “Amerasians”; “Pearl S. Buck” and “Filipino Amerasians”; “Marcos” and “Filipino Amerasians”; and “Catholic Church” and “human rights.”

Comparison of Cases and Analysis of Common Themes

Because the process of analyzing all the cases involves an inductive process by the researcher, a comparative analysis was done between two themes to analyze common

discussions and cases that involved both compared codes. This was necessary to determine if there were discussions, files, texts, etc., that were common with the two different codes/themes and help the researcher to answer the questions of what factors contributed to the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians. The researcher did the following comparative analysis to determine common themes between different codes. These comparisons were made between:

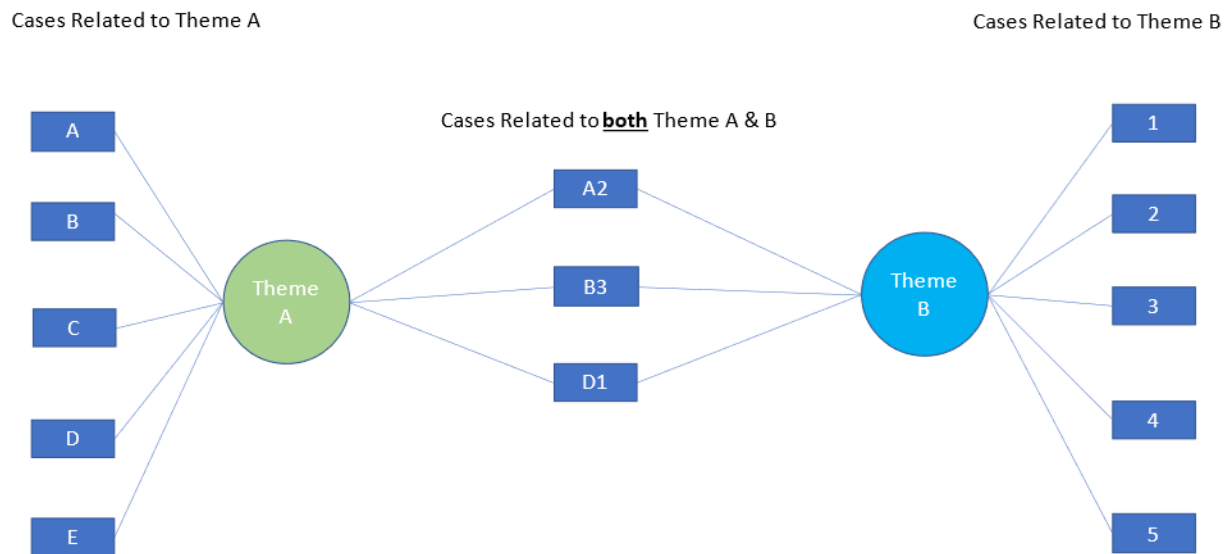
1. Humanitarian and Vietnamese Amerasians vs. Filipino Amerasians
2. AIA and AHA vs. Amerasians vs. Filipino Amerasians
3. Ferdinand Marcos and Ronald Reagan
4. Marcos and Cold War
5. Media and Amerasians vs. Vietnamese Amerasians vs. Filipino Amerasians
6. Marcos and Military Bases vs. Human Rights vs. Amerasians
7. Filipino Amerasians and Marcos
8. Catholic Church and Marcos vs. Human Rights vs. Humanitarian vs. Filipino Amerasians

The Comparison Diagram

NVIVO allows the researcher to utilize comparison diagrams to show what two items have in common and where they differ.³⁵ Figure 4.1c illustrates a comparison, with one side of the diagram showing all cases and files related to the first theme while the other side of the diagram has all the files and cases related to the other theme. The middle reflects what files and cases reference both themes; therefore, the more cases between the two themes or codes, the more connected the two codes or themes.

³⁵ According to NVIVO, comparison diagrams allow the comparison of two project items to reveal information such as: Which files have been coded to particular codes, when two cases have talked about the same topic, what two project items have in common, and what is unique to each item.

Figure 4.1c: *Comparison Diagram Description*

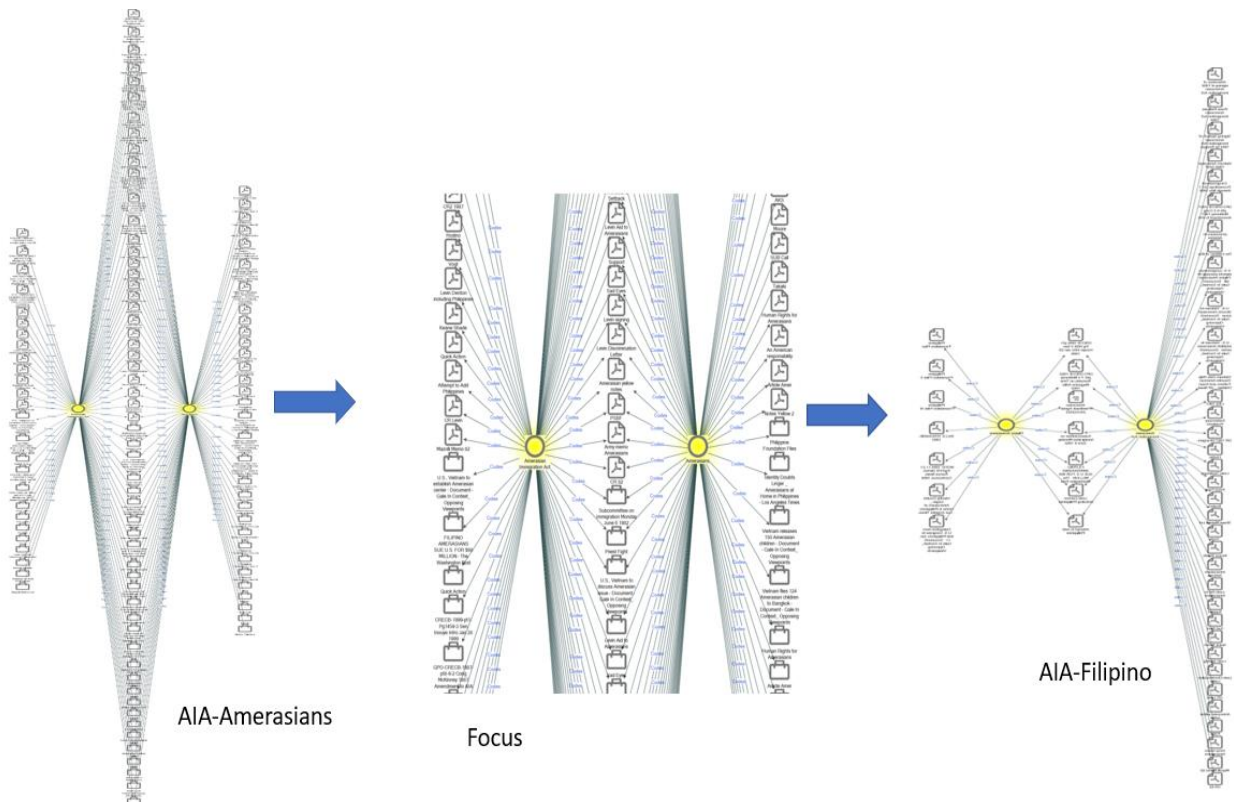


Comparison of Amerasians and AIA

As a matter to baseline the understanding of comparing different themes within the cases, comparing the AHA and Amerasians shows that both themes share many substantial cases. This indicates that when discussions about the AHA and Amerasians occur, there are considerable cases and files that reference both the AIA and Amerasians while discussions referencing both the AIA and Filipino Amerasians are considerably smaller. These considerably smaller linkages between Filipino Amerasians and overall discussions of Amerasians within the context of the AIA indicates Filipino Amerasians were purposefully excluded when identifying Amerasians overall. It also highlights the misconception that Filipinos and ultimately Filipino Amerasians were already given preference towards overall Asian immigration to the United States.

Figure 4.1d: Comparison of AIA-Amerasians and Filipino Amerasians

**Figure on the left is the full representation*



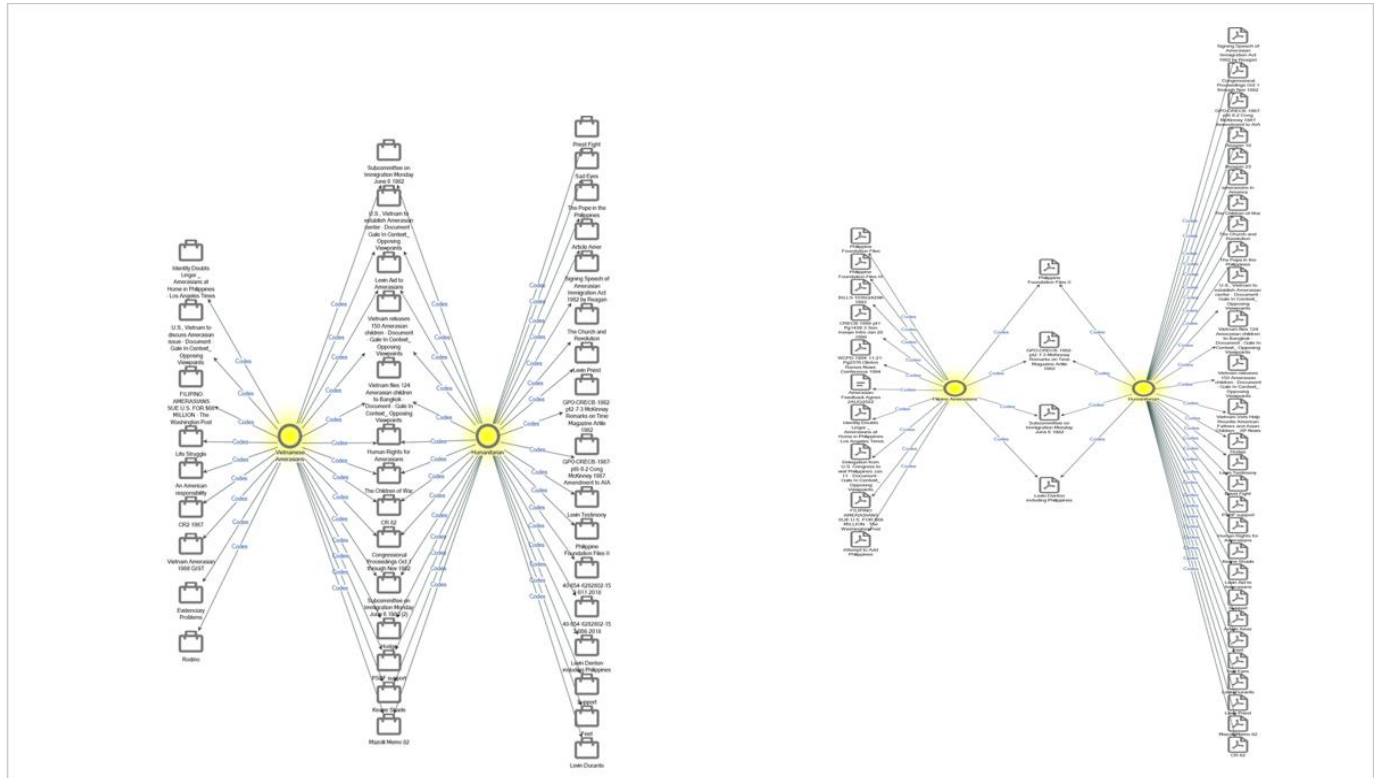
Within those themes involving all Amerasians, the far-left diagram shows numerous cases and files related to the AIA and Amerasians with a large number of cases referencing both the AIA and Amerasians. The far-right diagram shows both AIA and Filipino Amerasians and the number of cases that comprise both the AIA and Filipino Amerasians totals seven (7) cases, a substantially smaller number of common discussions compared to AIA and Amerasians.

Humanitarian, Vietnamese, and Filipino Amerasian Comparison

Within all the discussions on Amerasians from the debates on the AIA and AHA through their implementation, statements on the humanitarian aspects of these acts towards Amerasians were an important factor for its passage and implementation. Figure 4.1e shows that in discussions where the topic involves humanitarian themes and Vietnamese Amerasians (left), the

number of cases and files were almost 4 to 1 when compared to discussions on Filipino Amerasians (right), where humanitarian themes are discussed.

Figure 4.1e: Comparison of Humanitarian vs. Vietnamese and Filipino Amerasians



The Comparison of Marcos and Reagan

During the entire discussion and passage of the AIA and AHA, Philippine President Marcos and President Reagan shared a close bond. Because both countries were deeply involved in the politics of the Cold War in the region during the 1980s, there were considerable common themes when discussions during this time involved Reagan and Marcos.

Figure 4.1f: Marcos and Reagan Comparison

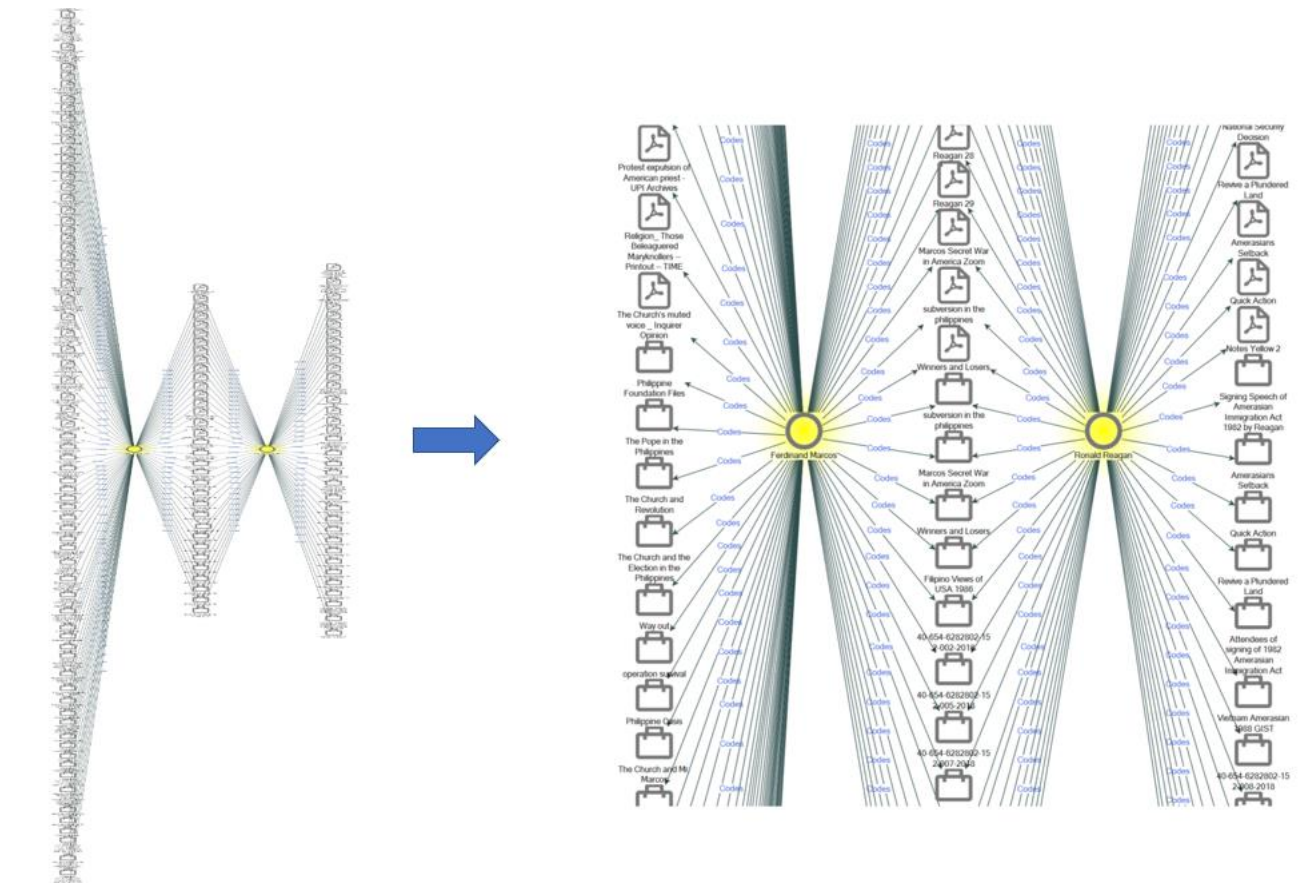
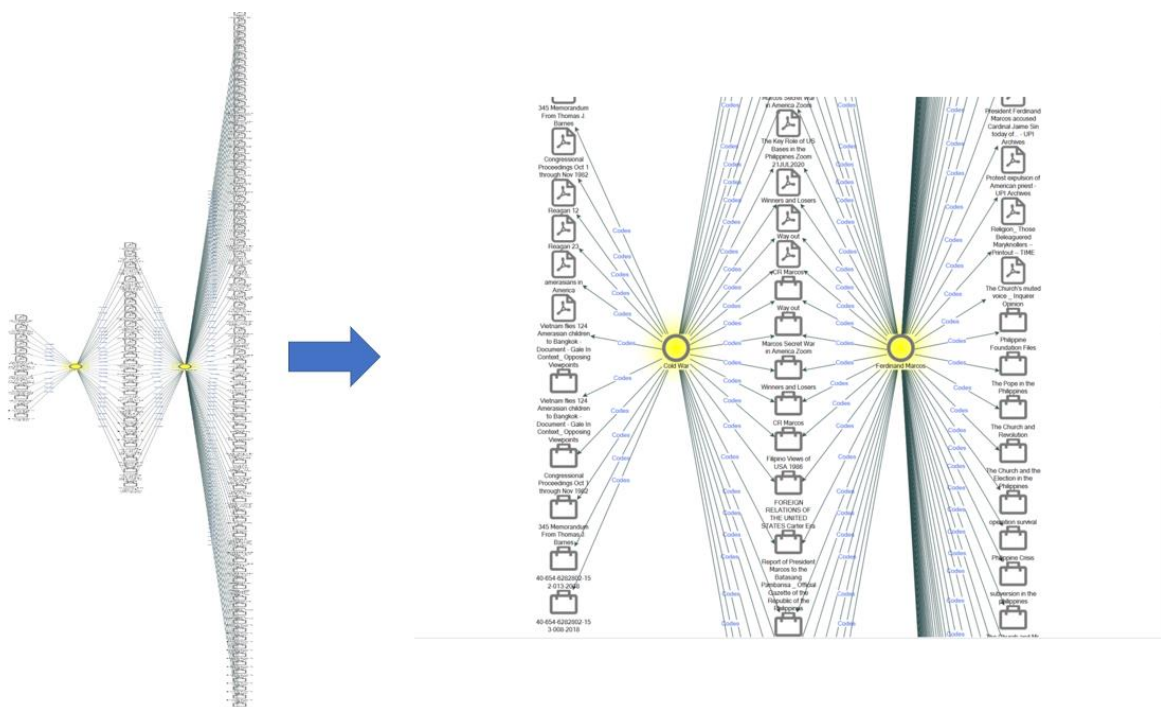


Figure 4.1g: Ferdinand Marcos and Cold War



Comparing Marcos to Cold War themes shows a large common source of cases that reflect Marcos's relevance to discussion during this time on issues affecting the Cold War.

Comparative Analysis of Marcos and Reagan Towards Amerasians

With the politics of the Cold War prevalent in the Asian region during the 1980s, the need to absolve the United States' guilt of Vietnam and to do the right thing for marginalized Amerasians was one of the advocacy points of those advocating for the AIA and AHA (Congress, 2003; Thomas, 2021; US House of Representatives, 1982b; Winslow, 2017). The researcher then compared both Marcos and Reagan to see how much each involved discussions related to Amerasians and Filipino Amerasians.

Figure 4.1h: Reagan and Amerasians

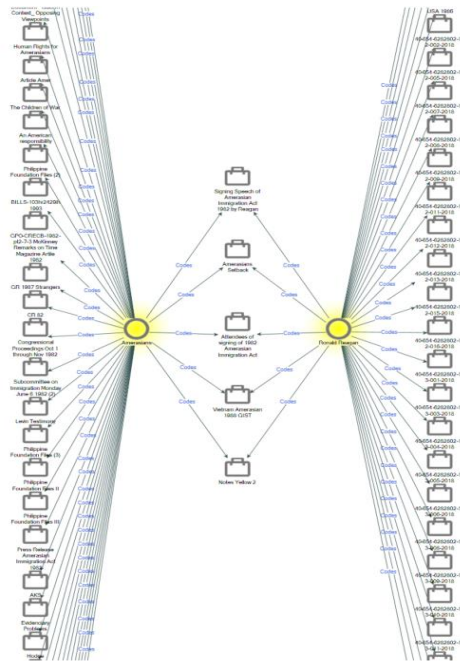


Figure 4.1i: Marcos and Amerasians

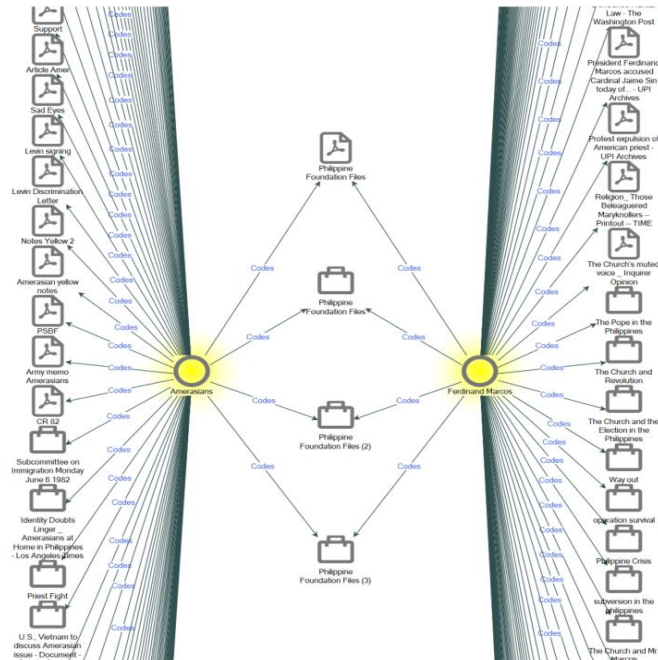


Figure 4.1j: Marcos and Filipino Amerasians

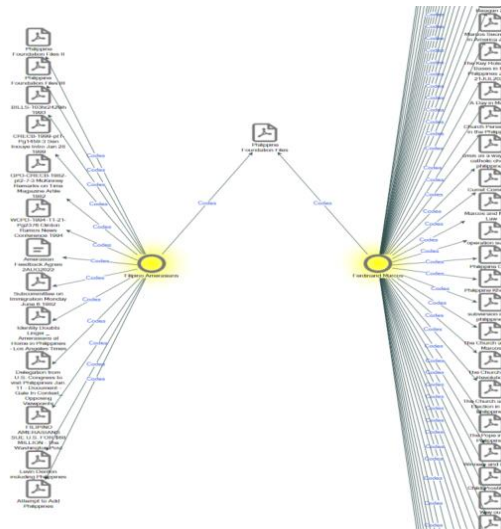
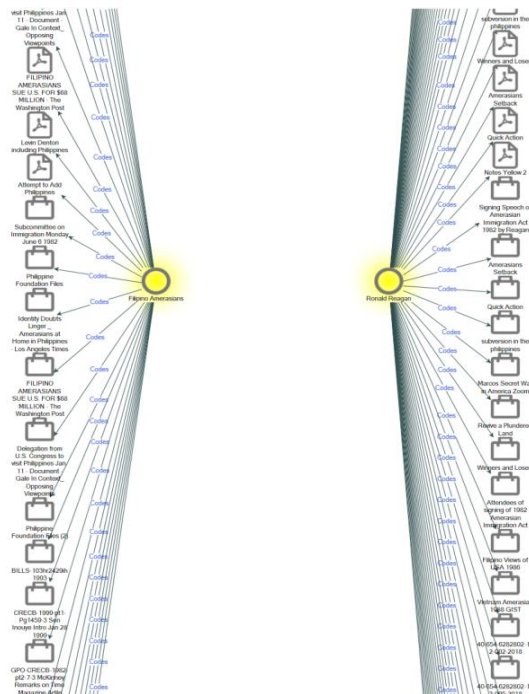


Figure 4.1k: Reagan and Filipino Amerasians



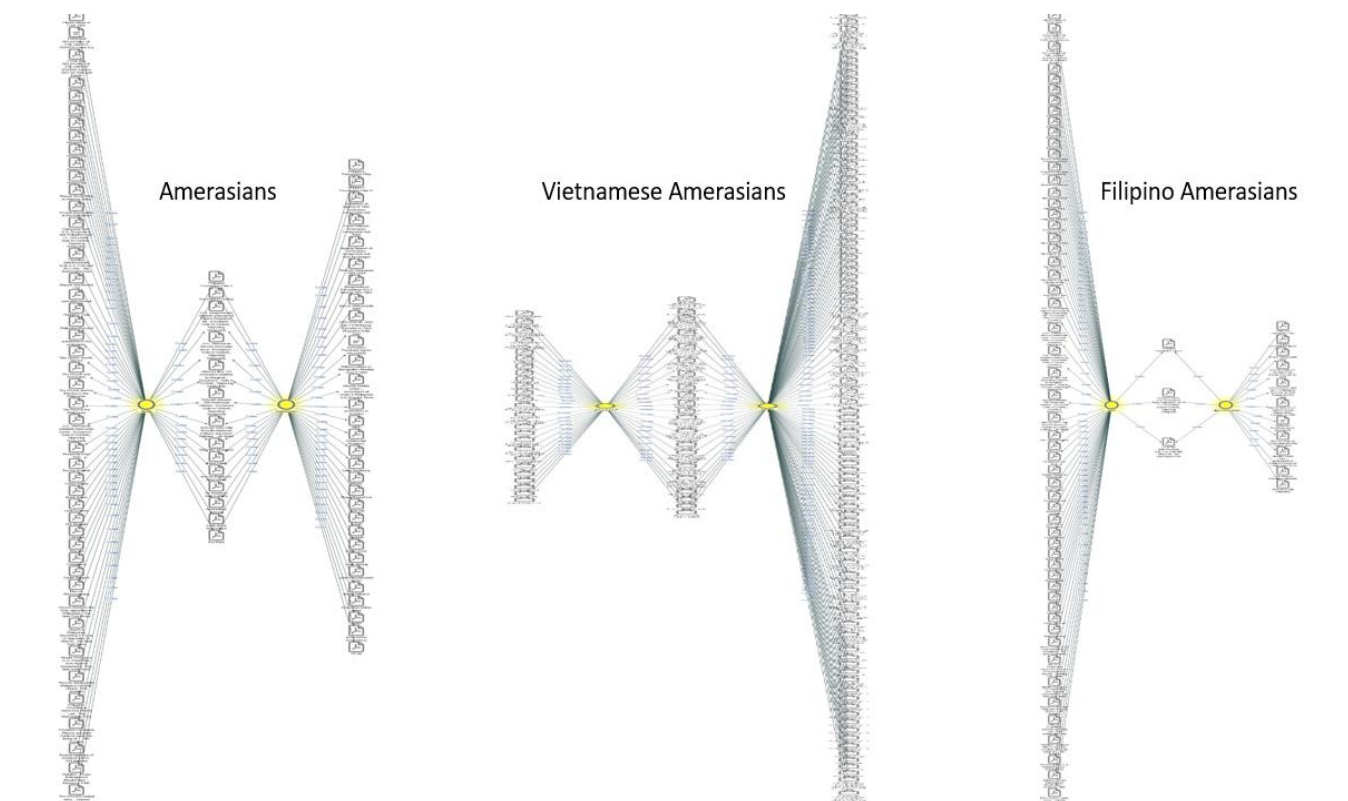
These comparisons show that during the 1980s, specific attention from both leaders shows a lack of engagement specific to Amerasians and a complete lack of acknowledgment of Filipino Amerasians. For Reagan, instances that show mentions of Amerasians were within the context of his signing the 1982 AIA. For Marcos, it was the one mentioned statement during the establishment of the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (PRPC) in 1980, and it was Marcos's comment of his commitment to Amerasians from Indochina, especially Vietnam. There is no mention from Marcos or Reagan of Filipino Amerasians in any of the data sources.

Analysis of Media, Marcos, and the Catholic Church

So far, in the literature review and the QCA for this research study, it is accepted that race, gender, and historical prejudice against Asians were contributing factors in the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians. In addition to those themes, the actions of the media, President Marcos,

and the Philippine Catholic Church further contributed to a gap in understanding and addressing the plight of Filipino Amerasians and their subsequent exclusion under both the AIA and AHA.

Figure 4.11: Media and Amerasians

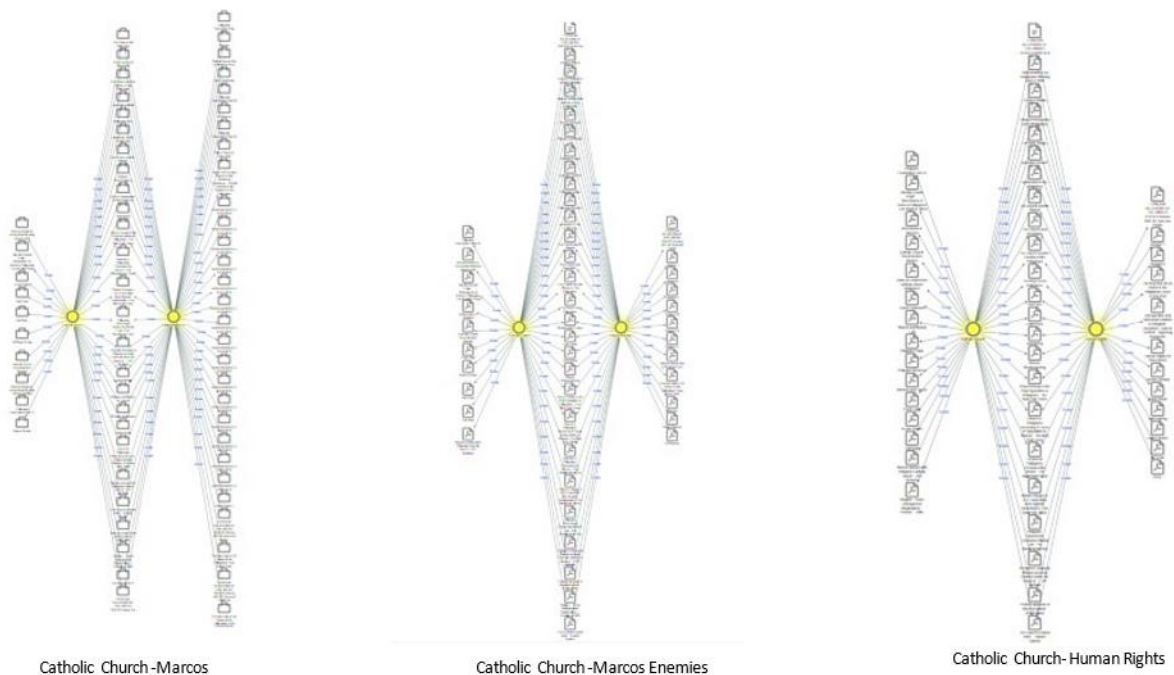


The figure above shows the left diagram of the media and Amerasians referenced in general terms (media on the left and Amerasians on the right). The middle diagram shows the common references of Vietnamese Amerasians in the media (Vietnamese Amerasians on the left and media to the right). The last diagram on the right represents media references to Filipino Amerasians during this same time span. The comparison shows a clear preference of the media to portray Amerasians in general terms or as Vietnamese-Amerasians to the public. Filipino Amerasians, who existed in greater numbers than any other Amerasian group (Kutschera, PC, Maria Pelayo III & Grace Talamera-Sandico, 2012) during this time, received almost no media coverage.

Analysis of the Role of the Philippine Catholic Church

The Philippine Catholic Church has a prominent role in the lives of the Filipino people. During the Marcos Martial Law years, 1972 through 1983, and to his overthrow in 1986, leadership within the Philippine Catholic Church made increasingly fewer moves against Marcos. The following figures demonstrate the common themes that affected the relationship between the Catholic Church, Marcos, and ultimately Filipino Amerasians.

Figure 4.1m Comparison Marcos, Church, and Human Rights



Within Figure 4.1m, the picture on the far left represents a comparison between the Catholic Church and Marcos in which robust common files exist that tie themes between the church and Marcos. This shows an active discussion between both the Catholic Church and Marcos when considering overall matters in Philippine discussions during the 1980s. The

middle graph shows the common files shared between the Catholic Church and the theme of Marcos's enemies. This shows a clear commonality with textual materials that discuss the actions and role of the Catholic Church and the ideas and discussions relating to those entities deemed subversives and enemies by Marcos. The far-right diagram shows the common data materials when comparing the Catholic Church and the human rights theme. Like the other two (2) diagrams, there are considerable commonalities when comparing the church and its work and impact on human rights causes.

Figure 4.1n Comparison Marcos, Human Rights, Enemies and Economy

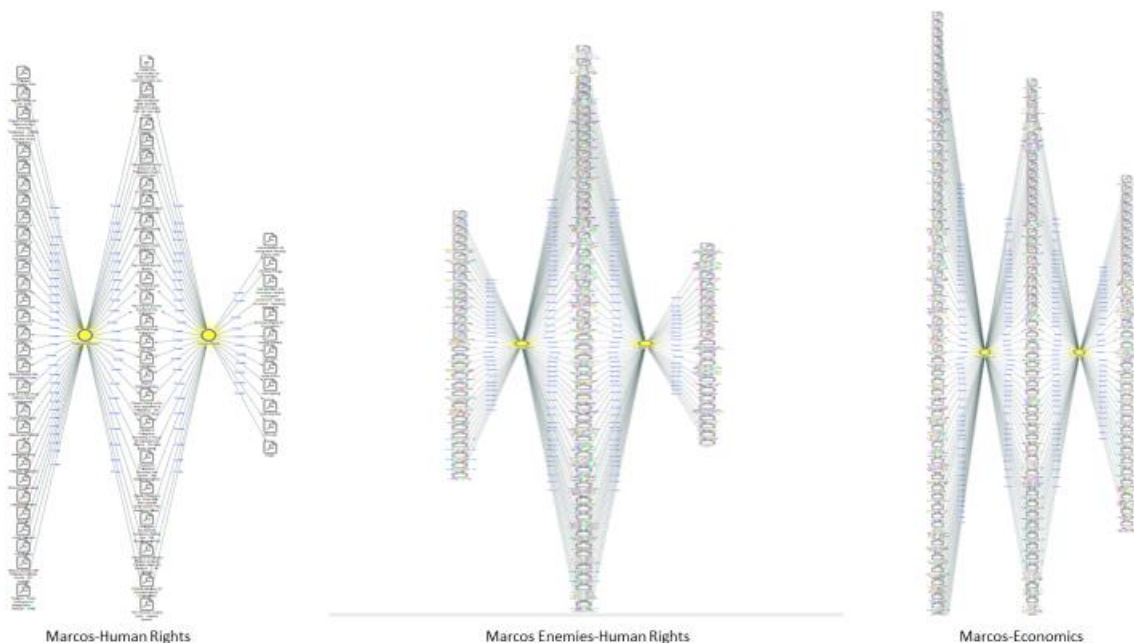
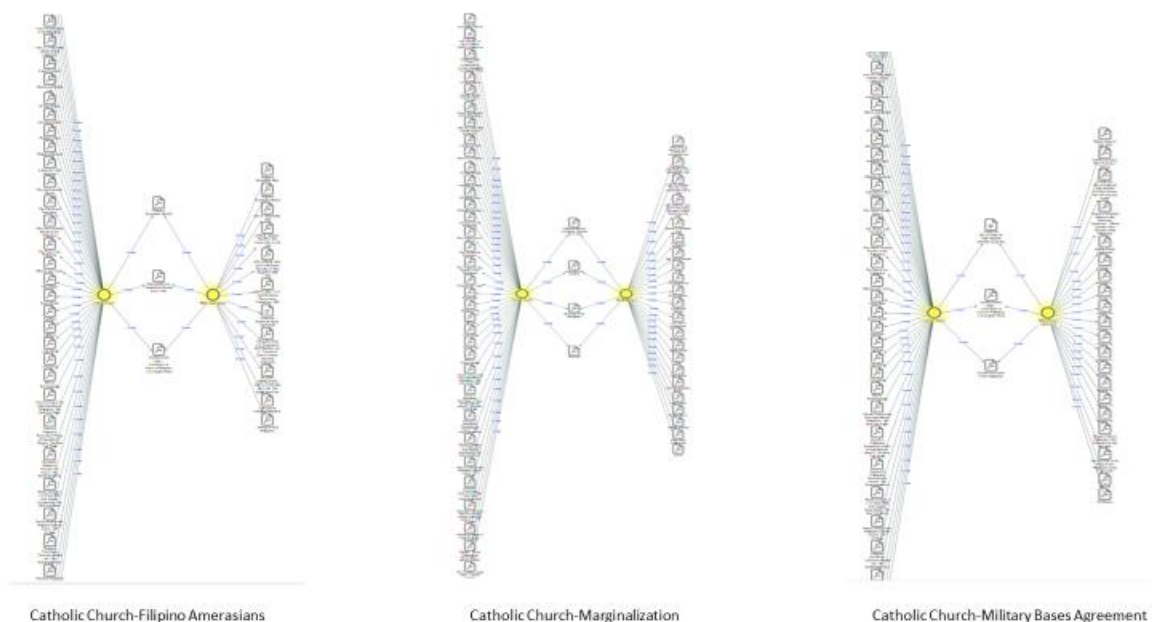


Figure 4.1n shows that comparisons between themes of Marcos and human rights along with Marcos's enemies and human rights have considerable commonalities. During Martial Law, Marcos was consistently accused of human rights violations (Neher, 1980; Tarr, 1984). The diagram to the far right shows the common cases when comparing the theme of Marcos and economics. The economy was one of the areas in which Marcos touted his greatest achievement.

It is also one of the areas in which the United States focused on improving during his presidency to ensure stability in the region during the Cold War (Youngblood, 1990)

There are many common cases between Marcos, the Catholic Church, and Marcos's enemies, Figure 4.1o shows three (3) main comparative diagrams that compare the Catholic Church to Filipino Amerasians, marginalization, and the military bases agreement. In each of these diagrams, the lack of common cases between the two compared themes shows less involvement by the Catholic Church against Marcos.

Figure 4.1o Comparison Catholic Church, Filipino Amerasians, Marginalization and MBA



Quantitative Analysis of Filipino Amerasian Immigration Policy

Advocates, opponents, and scholars of the AIA and AHA continuously made arguments against allowing preferential immigration status for Filipino Amerasians. Immigration policy against Filipino Amerasians was couched in the idea that allowing Filipino Amerasians into the United States was unfair to current immigration allotments for other Asian countries. To

opponents, this would cause an imbalance and gives undue preference to a former US colony or simply cause a flood of Filipinos into the United States. A bivariate linear regression was conducted to see any statistically significant factors in issuing LPR visas for Filipinos and other Asian countries in the 1980s and 1990s when both Amerasian Acts were implemented. The findings were as follows:

1980s Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.557 ^a	.310	.257	120306.7260

a. Predictors: (Constant), Foreign-Born in US 1980s

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	8.461E+10	1	8.461E+10	5.846	.031 ^b
	Residual	1.882E+11	13	1.447E+10		
	Total	2.728E+11	14			

a. Dependent Variable: Year 1980 to 1989

b. Predictors: (Constant), Foreign Born in US 1980s

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	63356.497	41179.518		1.539	.148
	Foreign Born in US 1980s	.314	.130	.557	2.418	.031

a. Dependent Variable: Year 1980 to 1989

The dependent variable of the LPR years from 1980-1989 and the independent variable for US LPRs who identify as foreign-born show the R square of .310. Therefore 31% of the variation in LPR visas can be explained by differences in the identification of foreign-born. In the ANOVA and Coefficients, the significance is .031, which is a significant linear regression result.³⁶

A bivariate linear regression was done to predict LPR Visas issues for Asian countries (including the Philippines) in the 1980s based on whether LPRs current in the US identifies as foreign-born. A significant regression equation was found that the higher the foreign-born LPR identity, the higher the issuance of LPR visas for the country. As a result, the null hypothesis which states, “There is no difference in the number of Legal Permanent Residence (LPR) Visas issued to a specific country (Philippines and Asia) compared to US LPRs considered foreign-born from those countries” is rejected.

1990s Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.754 ^a	.568	.535	106851.5585

a. Predictors: (Constant), Foreign-Born in US 1990s

³⁶ A p-value less than 0.05 is typically considered to be statistically significant, in which case the null hypothesis should be rejected. A p-value greater than 0.05 means that deviation from the null hypothesis is not statistically significant, and the null hypothesis is not rejected.

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	1.951E+11	1	1.951E+11	17.092	.001 ^b
	Residual	1.484E+11	13	1.142E+10		
	Total	3.436E+11	14			

a. Dependent Variable: Year 1990 to 1999

b. Predictors: (Constant), Foreign Born in US 1990s

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	52998.763	36275.929		1.461	.168
	Foreign Born in US 1990s	.252	.061	.754	4.134	.001

a. Dependent Variable: Year 1990 to 1999

The dependent variable of the LPR years from 1990-1999 and the independent variable for US LPRs who identify as foreign-born show the R square of .568. Therefore 56% of the variation in LPR visas can be explained by differences in the identification of foreign-born.

In the ANOVA and Coefficients, the significance is .001, which is a significant linear regression result. Therefore, the null hypothesis which states, “There is no difference in the number of Legal Permanent Residence (LPR) Visas issued to a specific country (Philippines and Asia) compared to US LPRs considered foreign-born from those countries” is rejected.

A bivariate linear regression was done to predict LPR Visas issues for Asian countries (including the Philippines) in the 1990s based on whether LPRs current in the US identifies as foreign-born. A significant regression equation was found that the higher, the higher the foreign-

born LPR identity, the higher the issuance of LPR visas for the country. The null hypothesis is rejected.

Analysis of Philippine Visa Issuance and Immigration Policy

Based on the model, the higher the number of US LPRs who consider themselves foreign-born, the higher the number of LPR visas issued to that corresponding country. This is true for LPRs in the US who consider Filipino foreign-born and other Amerasian countries. This is statistically significant and shows that the number of LPR visas issued to the Philippines is proportional to the number of LPRs in the US who identify as Filipino-born. This would not correlate with any argument that the issuance of LPR visas to Filipino Amerasians would put other Asian countries at a disadvantage in the number of visas issued or that the Philippines was overly represented in the US with LPRs. Furthermore, Filipino-born LPRs as a share of overall Asian immigrants has declined since the 1980s (Stoney, Sierra; Batalova, 2013).

Table 4.3. Filipino-Born Share of All Asian Immigrants. 1960-2011.

Year	All Immigrants	Immigrants from Asia	Filipino Born		
			Number	Percent of All Immigrants	Percent of All Asian Immigrants
1960	9,738,091	490,996	104,843	1.1	21.4
1970	9,619,302	824,887	184,842	1.9	22.4
1980	14,079,906	2,539,777	501,440	3.6	19.7
1990	19,767,316	4,979,037	912,674	4.6	18.3
2000	31,107,889	8,226,254	1,369,070	4.4	16.6
2010	39,955,673	11,283,574	1,777,588	4.4	15.8
2011	40,377,757	11,562,022	1,813,597	4.5	15.7

Source: U.S. Census Bureau's 1960-2000 decennial censuses, 2010 and 2011 American Community Survey (ACS). Available online .]

The data and the model show that there should be no statistical reason why Filipino Amerasians were excluded from preferential LPR status. At the same time, Vietnamese Amerasians were afforded the same preferential treatment despite having a proportionally higher number of LPR visas issued than those who responded as being Vietnamese-born. Higher numbers of LPR visas issued across all countries were not restricted based on whether a higher

number of current LPRs were already in the country. The data show that visa issuance per country increased as more LPRs in the US identified as foreign-born. Furthermore, an analysis of the available data from USCIS and The Office of Refugee Resettlement, Annual Report to Congress FY 2007,³⁷ shows that since 1983, almost all Amerasians admitted into the US under Amerasian status or refugee status were from Vietnam (at approximately 76,024).

*Table 4.4. Asian Country LPR, Citizenship, Asylee and Amerasian Status*³⁸

	Country	LPR80	LPR90	LPR2000	LPR2010	Paternity Citizenship	DualCitizenship	USMI	ForeignBorn US1980	ForeignBorn US1990	ForeignBorn US2000	GrantedAsylee 1980	GrantedAsylee 1990	Amerasian Status
1	China	170897.0	342058.0	591711.0	67634.0	1	2	2	956497	1784702	988857	7928	7121	0
2	Hong Kong	112132.0	116894.0	57583.0	3263.0	2	2	2	286120	529837	203580	1916	575	0
3	India	231649.0	352528.0	590464.0	66185.0	1	2	2	206087	450406	1022552	0	2078	0
4	Iran	98141.0	76899.0	76755.0	9078.0	1	2	2	121505	210941	283226	46773	23357	0
5	Israel	43669.0	41340.0	54081.0	5172.0	1	1	1	44916	86048	109719	0	171	0
6	Japan	44150.0	66582.0	84552.0	7100.0	1	2	1	221794	290128	347539	110	20	0
7	Jordan	28928.0	42755.0	53550.0	9327.0	2	2	1	66961	31871	46794	0	323	0
8	Korea	322708.0	179770.0	209758.0	22022.0	1	1	1	289885	568397	864125	120	20	0
9	Philippines	502056.0	534338.0	545463.0	56399.0	1	1	1	501440	912674	1369070	0	946	0
10	Syria	14534.0	22906.0	30807.0	7424.0	2	1	2	22081	36782	54561	2145	1976	0
11	Taiwan	119051.0	132647.0	92657.0	6785.0	1	2	2	75353	244102	326215	0	0	0
12	Turkey	19208.0	38687.0	48394.0	7435.0	2	1	1	51915	55087	78378	1896	531	0
13	Vietnam	200632.0	275379.0	289616.0	30065.0	2	2	1	231120	543262	988174	324453	201281	76024
14	Australia	16901.0	24288.0	32728.0	3077.0	2	1	1	36120	42267	60965	0	7	0
15	New Zealand	6129.0	8600.0	12495.0	1046.0	2	2	2	11413	15415	22872	4	0	0

³⁷ Office of Refugee Resettlement, Annual Report to Congress FY 2007

Refugee, Amerasian, and "Entrant" Populations Admitted to the United States Between 1983 and 2007(US Department of Health and Human Services Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2007).

³⁸ All the information for the columns were derived from the extensive statistical reports from the Census Bureau, Office of Refugees and INS (Gibson, Campbell and Jung, 2006; United States. Immigration and Naturalization Service, n.d., 1989, 1990, 1991, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988; US Census Bureau, 1980).

Asian countries are the first column examined.

LPR columns indicate the number of Legal Permanent Resident Cards issued for each of the Asian countries for the specific year.

Paternity Citizenship indicates whether the country recognizes citizenship by paternity (2) or by being born in the country regardless of paternity (1).

Dual Citizenship recognizes citizenship of both the father and country of birth. Yes being (2) and No being (1).

USMI indicates a formal agreement between the US and the country. (1) being Yes and (2) being No (EUI, 2022; Global Citizenship Observatory, 2021).

Foreign Born US 1980/1990/2000 indicate the number of US LPRs from the identified Asian countries.

Granted Asylees 1980/1990 show the number of visas issued to asylees for the identified Asian countries.

The final column for **Amerasian** show the number of visas granted to Amerasians from 1983 to 2007.

The quantitative study of migration patterns of Filipinos, Vietnamese, and other Asian countries into the US does not show a disproportionate granting of LPR visas to the Philippines or any other Asian country. Migration patterns and visa issuance over the 1980s and the present show an Asian population that is statistically growing and becoming more prominent in American culture.

The 1982 Amerasian Immigration Act and the 1987 Amerasian Homecoming Act gave LPR preferential immigration status to Amerasians from South Korea, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Still, they did not extend that status to Filipino Amerasians. Therefore, the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians must be explained by adding a layer of qualitative analysis to determine if factors caused the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the immigration acts. Having done both the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the research into excluding Filipino Amerasians, a strong pattern emerges that shows a deliberate and purposeful exclusion of Filipino Amerasians. The final chapter of this research will enable a better understanding and explanation for such exclusion and will enable stronger economic, political, and social ties between the US and the Philippines and strengthen the alliances between all Asian countries affected by the presence of Amerasians.

Chapter 5: Discussion

INTRODUCTION

The main goal of this analysis was to better understand the factors that could have impacted the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the 1982 AIA and 1987 AHA from both the United States and Philippine perspectives. The analysis showed that this exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from any substantive preferential immigration act was an intentional act by the Philippine and US governments to maintain a strong military and economic presence in Asia though continued ties with President Marcos. The study used Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) as the qualitative methodology and Bivariate Linear Regression (BLR) as the quantitative methodology to analyze and address the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians. The dissertation employed government, non-government, NGOs, media sources, and personal accounts showing the plight and status of Filipino Amerasians from the late 1970s through the end of the 1980s when both Acts were enacted.

To understand the value of the assembled documentation and textual materials in highlighting the US Legislative and Philippine Government perspectives, QCA and BLR were used to show similarities and differences in the approach of both the Philippines and the United States towards Filipino Amerasians based on policy that is grounded in colonialism, US Asian foreign objectives and Cold War politics, race, gender, and the Catholic Church. The QCA method allows us to understand texts, images, and symbols and make replicable and valid inferences from texts (Krippendorff, 2004). Overall, both the QCA and BLR yielded substantial information spanning 142 files encompassing over 200 individual and unique cases and

thousands of individual pages. The results of this analysis show a clear link between the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the 1982 AIA and 1987 AHA to those themes of race, gender, colonialism, Cold War politics, and the Philippine Catholic Church. In the aggregate, the significance of the findings paints a clearer picture of the reasons for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians.

This chapter will discuss the importance of the research findings in understanding the reasons for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from any meaningful immigration act or policy that grants preferential immigration status, such as those given to Vietnamese Amerasians. It provides scholars, practitioners, and government representatives with an understanding of the racial, social, economic, political, and historical biases in previous legislation. The research also looked at government policies that affect Filipino Amerasians and similarly situated marginalized populations³⁹ and the need for reforms to rectify such purposeful exclusion. This chapter will show the nexus between those government policies and their direct effect on Filipino Amerasians. Finally, the chapter will discuss the importance of the findings of this research on future research on Amerasians and a focus on Filipino Amerasians and how this research will have a significant impact on public administration and US immigration policy in the Indo-Pacific region.

Significance of Findings

The overall reasonings for this research were to determine the causes for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA and to ultimately provide a roadmap to rectify this

³⁹ The US Department of State has clearly articulated the US approach to marginalized populations such as Filipino Amerasians. According to Secretary of State Anthony Blinkin: “*Inequity is a national security challenge with global consequences. The systematic exclusion of individuals from historically marginalized and vulnerable groups from full participation in economic, social, and civic life impedes equity globally, while fueling corruption, economic migration, distrust, and authoritarianism. That is why the Administration pledged to “defend and protect human rights and address discrimination, inequity, and marginalization in all its forms” in its interim national security strategy*”. April 14, 2022.

exclusion using lessons learned from past actions of both the Philippine and United States governments, including US Congressional bodies. As anticipated at the beginning of this research, the findings revealed six (6) significant conclusions: 1) the promulgation of both the AIA and AHA were based in part to historical gender bias, 2) like most immigration policies, race played a major role in the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians, both in the United States and in the Philippines, 3) deep seeded ideas of colonialism informed the attitudes of both the United States and the Philippines towards Filipino Amerasians, 4) the politics of the Cold War and the economic-social-political-military role of the United States with its ally, the Philippines, was key to its attitudes towards Filipino Amerasians and the Philippine government, 5) the significant role of the Philippine Catholic Church in minimizing the plight of Filipino Amerasians and its purposeful absence in advocating for Filipino Amerasians was consequential in the lack of attention given to Filipino Amerasians and thus, their exclusion from any preferential immigration policy by the United States, and 6) the media during the end of the Vietnam War through the 1980s and into the 1990s did not showcase the plight of Filipino Amerasians, and thus, the struggles and the need to help Vietnamese Amerasians were what Americans and the world saw and read about, not those of the much larger, but as marginalized Filipino Amerasians. These factors together address the reasons for the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA. The next sections will discuss each finding and the implications of this work.

Gender Role and the Filipino Amerasian Exclusion

As a key organizing principle of society, The United Nations states, “Gender is central to any discussion of the causes and consequences of international migration, including the process of decision-making involved and the mechanisms leading to migration” (Longino & Bradley, 2006). The movement of Amerasians from Asia to the United States follows the pattern of all

other migration of marginalized people. To escape one's existence from poverty, war, natural disasters, and persecution has been a driving force for those seeking a better life in the United States. The AIA and AHA was the mechanism that enabled the migration of Vietnamese Amerasians into the United States. The QCA analysis suggests that gender played a significant role in the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from both the AIA and AHA. Furthermore, historical gender bias towards women and the role of paternity in determining citizenship and status always undergirded immigration policy towards Amerasians (Thomas, 2019), and Filipino Amerasians were no exception. The coding analysis showed that over 32 files had over 37 references to paternity, Amerasian mothers, the role of women in having unwanted children, prostitution, or the role women played in the marginalization of Amerasians, Filipino Amerasians, and Amerasian legislation. QCA analysis of Congressional committee discussions for the AIA and other debates regarding Amerasians were replete with references to their marginalized status and being fathered by an American and a Vietnamese or Filipina prostitute. Again, the analysis of the materials showed a common theme that Filipino Amerasians were illegitimate and that their prostitute mother should take sole responsibility for raising their non-American illegitimate and unwanted child. The significance of gender as a basis for relegating Filipino Amerasians to a non-US status due to being born out of wedlock to a Filipina mother is embedded in US law that attaches recognition of US citizenship to the US status of the father and his recognition of the child. The father makes the determination whether his Filipino Amerasian child is officially his child and whether that child will be afforded the rights and benefits of legitimization and ultimately US citizenship. Absent that or the mother not being a US citizen herself, the responsibility of the Filipino Amerasian is with the Filipina mother.⁴⁰ The analysis

⁴⁰ INA 301(g), formerly INA 301(a)(7), the requirement of being born in wedlock with a US citizen father and alien mother was in effect during the enactment of the AIA and AHA. Under US immigration law, for an Amerasian to

reinforces those gendered biases against Filipino Amerasians with the same references to already established US immigration law that places restrictions on who can be allowed to immigrate into the United States from Asian countries and how the United States recognizes citizenship. The discussions during the literature review were replete with references from scholars who articulated the inequities of US immigration law against mothers towards their illegitimate children (Gage, 2007; Lee, 2015; Thomas, 2019; Valverde, 1992). Thomas discussed gendered notions of filiation and parental responsibility being embedded into US law. The analysis clearly showed this to be the case and each debate regarding the enforcement of US immigration laws toward Amerasians revealed that lawmakers had a preference to revert to notions of paternal privilege in deciding legitimacy and ultimately the benefits of citizenship. These biases were made clear in the language of the AIA and AHA as well as the references of politicians on preserving current immigration laws. The analysis showed that the addition of race into the notions of gender bias added to the further exclusion of Filipino Amerasians.

Racial Attitudes Towards Filipino Amerasians

References to race were almost in parity with references to gender and contributed to the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians. References and discussions about race were present in at least 31 files across all levels of government, NGOs, and the media, with at least 39 direct references to an Amerasian's Americanness, Asianness, blackness, or whiteness which played a factor in their treatment and acceptance. The Pearson Correlation Coefficient (PCC) for the coding

be recognized as a US citizen, the requirements were: A blood relationship between the child and the father is established by clear and convincing evidence.

A. The child's father was a US citizen at the time of the child's birth.

B. The child's father (unless deceased) has agreed in writing to provide financial support for the child until the child reaches 18 years of age; and

C. One of the following criteria is met before the child reaches 18 years of age:

a. The child is legitimated under the law of his or her residence or domicile.

b. The father acknowledges in writing and under oath the paternity of the child; or

c. The paternity of the child is established by adjudication of a competent court.

cluster of race and gender was .653, thus showing a statistically significant correlation that both race and gender play a significant role in determining outcomes when discussing Filipino Amerasians in the context of immigration policy. Amerasian women dealt not only with classism and sexism, but also with racism. However, the generalized notion of racism highlighted the general attitudes towards Filipino Amerasians as a whole. Racism towards Filipino Amerasians, like racism towards all Asians, would not always be blatant and was reflected in more subtle ways (Valverde, 1992, pg. 158). Even the acceptance of “face and skin color” to establish parental citizenship for the AHA was not an outright admittance of race as a determining factor to one’s identity as an Amerasian (Thomas, 2019, pg. 71), it was nevertheless made to further the more altruistic goal of accepting Amerasians as part of the American citizenry.⁴¹ It was this reliance on race to determine one’s Amerasian uniqueness which became the basis for many of the arguments in favor of the AIA and AHA in Congress (including Mrazek, McKinney, Denton, Mazzoli, Levin, and Simpson). For many in Congress as well as scholars who were opposed to the provisions within the AIA and AHA, racial stereotypes of whiteness and blackness as a determining factor for immigration officers to validate an Amerasian’s “Americanness” through physical appearance based on “looks”, “appearance”, and “skin color” would inevitably cause an increase in fraud and thus a “flood of Amerasians into the United States” (General Accounting Office, 1994; Kolbyt, 1995; Thomas, 2021). It was a misguided belief, but it was a belief that formed part of the racial bias against Filipino Amerasians.

In numerous accounts of Vietnamese Amerasians who have come to the United States after the passage of the AIA and AHA, descriptions of their “American” features were both a

⁴¹ A good read on the Vietnamese Amerasian experience on race can be found in *Children of the Vietnam War* by D. Lamb in the *Smithsonian Magazine* (2009). Former Congressman Mrazek discussed using “physical appearance” to determine a Vietnamese Amerasian’s paternal relationship with his or her biological father (Lamb, 2009).

blessing and curse in their journey to the United States. Race was the Vietnamese Amerasian mark of exclusion and marginalization in Vietnamese society, but it was also the mark of acceptance after the AHA to immigrate to the United States.⁴² For Filipino Amerasians, there was no reason to go beyond the exclusion and marginalization because no acceptance followed. The analysis showed a common theme among Amerasians, including Filipino Amerasians, that being an American, and coming to America was synonymous to being home (Bauermeister, 1982).

What made the analysis of race with Filipino Amerasians important is the unique history of Filipino relations with its colonial elites of the past and its own relationship with indigenous peoples that predate the formation of the Philippines prior to the Spanish occupation (Bean, 1910).⁴³ Colonialism will be discussed later in this chapter, but to reference race within the context of Philippine attitudes towards Filipino Amerasians must be addressed by looking at the history of race in the Philippines before the Spanish.⁴⁴ Race and the role of black and white identity and superiority during American colonialism in the Philippines was also analyzed. Finally, an analysis of race and the racial attitudes of Filipinos towards Filipino Amerasians in a post-colonial world that was dominated by cold war allegiances with the United States was made. For Filipinos, race was not black or white, native versus foreign, it was Filipino or mestizo (Molnar, 2017). The QCA showed that references to mestizos as being Filipinos were always within the identification of Filipino Amerasians who were white. There were no

⁴² Public Law 100-202—Section 584 (3)(b)(1) (Dec. 22, 1987) states that the consular officer or the INS officer would make the determination of who truly qualifies as an Amerasian after a face-to-face interview.

⁴³ The 1910 study in the *American Anthropologist* by Robert Bean titled, *Types of Negritos in the Philippine Islands*, gives a comprehensive look at the different types of indigenous tribes who migrated to the Philippines thousands of years before the arrival of Filipinos we identify as those of Malaysian descent. Bean asserts that there exists a close relationship between the Negrito of the Philippines and the African Negro (Bean, 1910, pg. 233).

⁴⁴ The Philippine Negrito myth was: Small in size, sporting kinky hair, wearing a G-string, living in a band, and roaming around inside the forest to subsist mainly by hunting or foraging. This was the myth aimed to either scare Filipino children or instill in the minds of the lowland population how lucky they were to be civilized and Christianized (Sabino G. Padilla, Jr., 2013, pg. 210).

references in any of the governmental records of the Philippine government, news and media sources or interviews with Philippine government social workers and church leaders that black Filipino Amerasians were both Filipinos and Americans or even true Filipinos. Those Filipino Amerasians who were white were often depicted positively in the analysis and their success in the Philippines was due to their status as mixed-race in a country that valued the diversity of being a mestizo. However, it is still the illegitimacy and racial stereotypes of being a Filipino Amerasian that still do not equate all Filipino Amerasians to being considered a mestizo. The entire span of documents, including congressional records, debates, media reports and interviews never made a positive reference to any black Filipino Amerasian during the entire 1980s.

American legislators tended to look at the Philippines as a close ally whose former colonial past with the United States gave it and its people advantages that other Asian countries did not have with the United States. Through their public comments and writings on the record, legislators showed that they believed Filipino Amerasians were not disadvantaged and marginalized because of their mixed-race illegitimate status as were Vietnamese Amerasians; therefore, preferential immigration status was not warranted towards them. In fact, Filipino Amerasians were lauded by some members of Congress and American newspapers as examples of how Amerasians have succeeded in a country that values their mixed-race status and the analysis clearly showed this distorted view.

Not only were Filipino Amerasians not considered disadvantaged by certain Congressional leaders, but it was also believed that Filipinos, as a whole, benefited from immigration policies into the United States because they were Filipinos. Instead, many Congressional members, including the late Senator Simpson from Wyoming, believed that all Asian groups should be treated equally and fairly to allow preferential immigration into the

United States and singling out Filipino Amerasians would put Filipinos at an unfair advantage in migration into the United States as Legal Permanent Residents (LPR) (Committee on the Judiciary, 1982). Furthermore, this would unfairly disadvantage Filipinos waiting for visas to come to the United States and reunite with their families.⁴⁵ It was the same racist approach towards Asian migration into the United States that used language and arguments pursuant to already established immigration policy as a justification to not yield or make any adjustments that would be equitable to non-European migration. The BLR analysis confirms the assumption within the literature review that no statistical reason exists on why Filipino Amerasians should have been excluded from preferential LPR status within the context of fair immigration numbers from Asian countries. Meaning, granting additional visas to Filipino Amerasians would create a flood of Filipino Amerasians and additional Amerasians into the United States (Ahern, 1992; Molnar, 2017; Montes, 1995b). The BLR analysis continued to show that higher numbers of LPR visas issued across all Asian countries were not restricted based on whether a higher number of current LPRs were already in the United States. The quantitative analysis showed that visa issuance per country increased as more LPRs in the US identified as foreign-born. Furthermore, an analysis of the available data from USCIS and The Office of Refugee Resettlement, Annual Report to Congress FY 2007, showed that since 1983, almost all Amerasians admitted into the US under Amerasian status or refugee status were from Vietnam (at approximately 76,024). The argument that the United States could not let additional Filipino Amerasians, or any other additional Amerasian groups, enter under preferential immigration status is based on those deep-seated notions of race. It is important to note that arguments to justify favoring one group over another in immigration policy were couched in the ideas of

⁴⁵ For Filipinos to apply for a general visa, they must visit the US Consulate office in the Philippines, where the Consul issues a visa at its discretion. Filipinos face fierce competition for these visas as over 300,000 await the chance to emigrate the US (Ahern, 1992).

equality and fairness. However, the reality does show that immigration into the United States did not disproportionately favor the Philippines. The AIA and the AHA would not have unfairly increased the number of Filipino Amerasians or any other Filipino immigrant into the United States. Instead, the data showed that governmental policies favoring Vietnamese Amerasians over all other Amerasians was a factor in increased immigration from Vietnam. Quantitative analysis of the data showed no reason to justify restricting immigration into the United States for Filipino Amerasians or any other mixed-race Asians.

Colonialism of the Past and Attitudes of the Present

Race and gender played a factor in attitudes towards Filipino Amerasians, prior, during, and after the enactment of AIA and AHA. Those attitudes were present, although not always blatantly made, prior, during and after the enactment of the AIA and AHA. However, the third leg of any discussion of Filipino Amerasian exclusion must look at US colonialism in the Philippines. The US-Philippine relationship is vitally important in the analysis of Filipino Amerasians from both the Filipino and American perspectives. References to a colonial relationship in the QCA revealed an extensive historical reliance on the goodwill⁴⁶ shared between the United States and the Philippines. Unlike the US role in Vietnam prior to the AIA, the presence of the United States in the Philippines was that of an ally and former colony. The QCA showed that in almost every discussion on Filipino Amerasians, whether from the Philippine government or from the Reagan Administration, references to America's colonial past in the Philippines were never mentioned within the context of Filipino Amerasians. The analysis of the available data show that tying Filipino Amerasians negatively to US colonialism would be detrimental to Filipino's overall positive view of the United States during the 1970s through the

⁴⁶ Goodwill in regard to the definition of friendly attitude from one country to another.

end of the 1980s (Reagan et al., 1986).⁴⁷ The analysis showed that US involvement and eventual withdrawal from Vietnam created an ethical, moral, and humanitarian crisis with Vietnamese Amerasians. Discussions about how to right America's wrongs in Vietnam were front and center during discussions on the AIA and AHA. The Vietnamese government since the departure of American forces from Vietnam used Vietnamese Amerasians as pawns in asserting American obligation to its neglected children of war. Even references to the French occupation of Vietnam were made by Vietnamese government officials and some popular media publications that the French allowed the children of French soldiers to return to France and eventually gain French citizenry. Something that the United States was unwilling to do with its Vietnamese Amerasians. The QCA showed that colonialism produced Filipino ideas of inferiority, dependence on US military power, acceptance of American economic superiority, adherence to democratic ideas and alignment with western values in a hostile Cold War Asian region. For Filipinos, colonialism was many things, but there was no reference at this time that would signify that this colonial association by the Philippines with the United States yielded Filipino Amerasians. For both the United States and the Philippines, colonialism produced a strong bond between both countries, and from it, a strong military alliance and critical economic cooperation.⁴⁸ For the United States, the Philippines was now a strong ally against a hostile and aggressive communist

⁴⁷ On March 20, 1986, the US Information Agency provided a report and found that widespread favorable views of the US in late 1985 matched those in the Spring of the year. Favorable opinions of Japan also were widely held (by 70% to 5% in late 1985), and in both surveys half of the public expressed a favorable view of China. In contrast, Filipino opinion of the USSR was much less favorable. Furthermore, 76% of Filipinos surveyed supported closer relations in general to the United States.

⁴⁸ On June 4, 1986, Secretary of State Schultz spoke to the Foreign Policy Association on the Philippine-US relationship. Although it was after the AIA, it was made prior to the AHA and reflects the US expectation it had with the Philippines and what the Philippines viewed as most important to its relationship with the United States. In the speech, Schultz said, "What happens in the Philippines makes a difference for Americans. Our mutual defense arrangements are of critical strategic importance, not only for US and Philippine security, but for peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. We are the leading trade partner and investor in the Philippines, a country blessed by a rich growth potential within a Pacific region already distinguished by dynamic economic advances. But above all else, our two peoples have come to share fundamental values, including a strong commitment to democratic self-government. Americans can never be indifferent to the fate of a people whose values and aspirations so closely mirror our own (Richburg, 1986).

foe that was asserting military dominance in the region. For the Philippines, the United States was not just a partner, it represented a world superpower that had its back, both militarily and economically. Filipino Amerasians would be a glaring negative aspect of this post-colonial relationship and would have produced a negative aspect in maintaining close military and economic ties between the Philippines and the United States. Note that during the 1970s during the Vietnam War through the 1980s with Cold War tensions in the region, the Philippines was always regarded as a close ally of the United States and that this alliance was always beneficial for both countries. To add Filipino Amerasians into any official discussion between the Philippines and the United States would have added a negative imbalance to the “beneficial” and “equal” relationship between the two countries and would have highlighted yet another moral, social, and economic neglect by the United States towards another former ally, South Vietnam.

The Cold War—The United States and Philippines Relationship

The entire discussion on Amerasians falls within the time immediately after the end of World War II through the dissolution of the USSR on December 26, 1991. The Cold War in Asia pitted the United States and Western allies against the Communist Russians and Chinese. QCA makes clear that the presence of Amerasians was the direct result of US involvement in the Asian region during the Cold War. For Japan, this engagement was at the end of World War II through the occupation of a defeated Japanese Empire (Leavitt, 2015; Masuda, 2012). For Korea, the US presence was during the United Nations' employment in South Korea against the Chinese and North Korean incursion in the summer of 1950 (Pembroke, 2018; Yang, 2018). For the Indochinese region, “military advisors” were sent to Vietnam in 1961 (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010; Lamb, 2009; Lawrence, 2008). QCA has shown that Filipino Amerasians have existed much longer than any other Asian country in which the United States has had a

presence. Specifically, US military presence has been in the Philippines since 1898 and remains there today. Although the Cold War was a major subject in the discussion of Filipino Amerasians, Marcos and the close military and economic ties between the two countries were the paramount reasons for the US presence in the Philippines. To Marcos, Filipino Amerasians were not directly related to military matters between the United States and the Philippines nor were they an economic problem that required the United States to address. For both countries, it was politically beneficial to believe that the marginalization of Filipino Amerasians just did not exist and thus, did not require attention.

In contrast, Vietnamese Amerasians proved to be divisive for US-Vietnamese relations. Analysis showed the hesitancy of the Vietnamese government to fully trust the United States in helping Vietnamese Amerasians to leave Vietnam and immigrate to the United States. The United States was wary of Vietnamese promises to fully assist the US government in identifying and locating Vietnamese Amerasians and allowing US government officials to properly process Vietnamese Amerasians and their families under the AIA and AHA. Furthermore, the literature review showed how Vietnamese Amerasians were used by the Vietnamese government to force the United States in pushing preferential immigration status for Vietnamese Amerasians (Winslow, 2017). Time and time again, the QCA showed the divisive nature of addressing Vietnamese Amerasians to both the Vietnamese and US governments during the Cold War, even without a formal diplomatic relationship, Vietnam was able to dictate major actions in getting Vietnamese Amerasians out of Vietnam.

If the Cold War was one of the drivers of US immigration policy towards Vietnamese Amerasians, the need to maintain good relations with Philippine President Marcos during this time was the engine that powered the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA.

The analysis showed clear actions by American and Filipino government officials, both in their actions and writings that the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from any substantive preferential immigration act was intentional to maintain a strong military and economic presence in Asia though continued ties with President Marcos. Both Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base formed the foundation of US relations with the Marcos Administration.⁴⁹ The comprehensive analysis of materials from Philippine government and non-government sources revealed an awareness that Filipino Amerasians would be destabilizing to the relationship with the United States, as it was made clear with Vietnam and Vietnamese Amerasians. As the 1970s drew to a close and the transition to the Reagan Administration in the 1980s, official US government policy towards Marcos and the Philippines began to stress the importance of stability of the Philippines under Marcos' Martial Law.⁵⁰ The analysis showed that the United States was focusing not only on the military bases, but also human rights in Asia and how the United States was making human rights part of its foreign policy in the region (Grinter, 1988). Within the Cold War, references to Marcos and the actions of the US government in the region were considerable. When discussing Marcos and the US Cold War policy in the region, he is addressed in over 53 files with over 137 references. Furthermore, military bases were within 23 files and referenced over 67 times while Ronald Reagan was in 34 files with over 82 references.

⁴⁹ Letter from President Carter to Marcos on April 27, 1978. To deepen US-Philippine bilateral relations, Carter informs Marcos that base negotiations were of the utmost importance to the United States. Furthermore, Carter specifically mentions that the United States is going to stay in the Philippines.

⁵⁰ Vice President Mondale, after expressing his sincere appreciation for Marcos and his Administration in meeting with him in Manila in the spring of 1978, explained the essence of the new approach being taken by the Carter administration is to bring traditional American values into the conduct of foreign policy. He cited due process, supremacy of law, and independence of judiciary as examples of the type of values or institutions which have served so well the growth of American society. He noted that one reason President Carter and he had been elected was the fulfillment of certain human or political rights by an important minority in the United States. He then briefly explained some of the steps taken to bring human rights into foreign policy (e.g., an Assistant Secretary of State in the human rights field,² a procedure for reviewing loans in relation to the human rights record,³ etc.). He stressed that the effort is a pioneering one, no one is sure which elements of the effort will prove successful and which ones may have to be altered. It is, however, a fundamental and long-term change in American foreign policy.

Discussions between interactions between Marcos and Reagan were always friendly and respectful. Compare this to discussions about Amerasians and the Vietnam War that spanned 28 files with 41 references. In addition to having Marcos present in the discussion about US foreign policy in the region during the Cold War, correlation between Marcos and Amerasian specific topics were also statistically significant.⁵¹ When humanitarian and human rights were included in the analysis within the context of Marcos and the Cold War, references expanded to 73 and 52 within 35 and 32 files respectively. There was a clear connection within the QCA that Marcos was aware of Filipino Amerasians and their marginalized status within the Philippines and their recognition would bring to light his own issues with human rights, marginalization, opposition forces against his Martial Law, and economic instability. Marcos deflected any mention of Amerasians to the creation of the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (President of the Philippines, 1979).⁵² The analysis showed no mention or reference to Amerasians and Filipino Amerasians by Marcos, even though numerous references were made during this time to Filipino Amerasians from Congressional legislators during the promulgation of the AIA, as well as by the Pearl S. Buck Foundation in the Philippines (Pearl S. Buck House, 2021b). The analysis confirmed the literature that Marcos purposefully excluded any discussion or mention of Filipino Amerasians (or any Amerasians) as to not bring the divisive nature of the subject to the attention

⁵¹ PCC for Marcos and Marcos Enemies at .779, Marcos Government and PSB Foundation Amerasian Adoptions at .704, Marcos Government at Amerasian Assistance at .704, and Marcos Government and Filipino Amerasians at .704.

⁵² Executive Order 554 (August 21, 1979)—Creating a Task Force on International Refugee Assistance and Administration, Providing Funds Therefor and for Other Purposes. Even in this order, President Marcos makes no mention of Amerasians, but alludes to them under the “refugees” from Vietnam. WHEREAS, in accordance with simple humanity the Filipino people and their government are ready to render assistance in the processing of refugees specially from Vietnam. WHEREAS, as a responsible member of the United Nations, this country has supported UN efforts to assist refugees provided such support is consistent with international law and practice and the Philippines’ national laws and interests. WHEREAS, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees has sought the cooperation of the Philippine government in the temporary lodging of such refugees prior to their final resettlement in other countries and the Philippines has agreed to set up such a processing center provided that costs shall not be borne by the Philippines and there will be no residual refugees left in such processing center.

of the United States and to maintain the image of control in the Philippines. Within the analysis, documentation from the Pearl S. Buck Foundation (PSBF) in the Philippines showed a pattern of intimidation towards the organization by the Marcos government, which attempted to remove its tax status and ability to operate in the Philippines in the early 1980s. The PSBF was the only major international organization advocating and working with Filipino Amerasians during this time, so their targeting by the Marcos government was rather blatant. There was a significant lack of discussion of themes common with other Amerasians (marginalization, poverty, racism, etc.) when discussions of Filipino Amerasians were made in the context of the Catholic Church and Media. The conclusion based on the analysis would indicate Marcos and his suppression of this information on Filipino Amerasians and their marginalized existence in the Philippines was complete and encompassing with no detrimental information about Filipino Amerasians coming out during this time.

With Marcos' suppression of detrimental matters to his control of the Philippines, including Filipino Amerasians, the United States continued its role as a staunch ally and partner against Soviet and Chinese aggression in the region during the Cold War. Nearly every NGO report or scholarly articles and analysis on Filipino Amerasians show a clear acknowledgement by the United States that Filipino Amerasians did exist and that their marginalized existence was like every other Amerasian group. What made Vietnamese Amerasians noticed, and their plight acknowledged during the AIA and AHA was the attention given to Vietnamese Amerasians both by Congressional advocates and the American media⁵³. Even the Vietnamese government pushed for better treatment of Vietnamese Amerasians. Reagan was forced to acknowledge the Vietnamese Amerasian, even though he was not a believer in affording preferential immigration

⁵³ Including major media outlets at the time, including ABC, CBS, NBC, UPI, NY Times, The Washington Post, Time, and US News and World Report.

status (Thomas, 2021), he nevertheless signed the AIA for political purposes and to assuage critics that America was now acknowledging its obligation to Amerasian, and thus, American children (UPI, 1982). The comparative analysis of Reagan and Amerasians showed that in over 50 files that discussed Reagan and Amerasians during the Cold War, only 5 files mentioned both Reagan and Amerasians, and it was Amerasians as a whole and not specific to any specific Amerasian group.⁵⁴ For Filipino Amerasians, there would be no pressure put on the Reagan Administration by Marcos despite South Korea and Vietnam making very public pronouncements on the plight of their own Amerasians.

By 1982, The Philippines had been under Martial Law for over 10 years, and all levels of the Philippine government were under the full and total control of Marcos. Analysis showed that Marcos' human rights abuses were known and documented by the international community. Marcos' reliance on US military and economic aid were necessary to his continued control of the Philippines. The United States needed Marcos to remain in power if it was to maintain its military presence in the Philippines. Filipino Amerasians were not acknowledged or addressed by the Marcos government and the United States did not pursue or address the matter because it was not in America's best interest to confront Marcos on this humanitarian issue.⁵⁵ An issue known and addressed with other Amerasian groups through the AIA and AHA and for which

⁵⁴ The remarks of President Reagan on the signing of AIA on October 22, 1982, makes direct reference to Southeast Asia and Korea where Amerasian Children were born. This was due to Vietnam and Korea as the focus of discussion during Congressional hearings for the AIA. It was an aspirational notion that Amerasian children have a rightful claim to American citizenship (Reagan et al., 1989).

⁵⁵ In a secret DOS telegram to the White House on December 23, 1977, the US Ambassador articulates the US approach to Marcos—"The task will not be easy. Marcos will only go so far. His ultimate conditions for continuing our bases could yet turn out to be unreasonable. Marcos' critics in the United States will maintain their campaign. Some are undoubtedly genuinely seeking a return to democracy; others are probably more interested in removing Marcos than in promoting human rights. While I believe Marcos will take steps to eliminate the inhuman treatment of those under arrest, we may have to present and defend a bases agreement important to our national strategic policies against a Philippine human rights background that in other respects may be less than perfect." (Carter Library, National Security Affairs, Brzezinski Material, Cables File, Far East, Box 11, 12/77)

Reagan had made a public pronouncement that Amerasians were Americans and that their return “home” to the United States was the right thing to pursue.

The Catholic Church and Filipino Amerasians

With gender, race, colonialism, and Cold War politics playing a significant role in understanding and acknowledging the factors that contributed to the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians, the analysis confirmed the role of the Catholic Church in the Philippines and how the church’s actions and inactions played a contributing role in the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians.⁵⁶ The QCA showed that the church’s lack of advocacy for Filipino Amerasians was not merely an oversight, but intentional to appease the aims of the Marcos government for control of Philippine society. Church leaders wanted to ensure Marcos did not fully control the church. By limiting Marcos’s attention away from the church’s activities, the church would ensure that Marcos did not accuse them of advocating for political and social change. A comparative analysis of the Catholic Church and human rights showed considerable correlation between the two. The analysis reflects over 38 files with over 86 references to the Catholic Church and 35 and 32 files discussing human rights and humanitarianism with 73 and 52 references respectively. In the comparative analysis of the Catholic Church and human rights and humanitarianism, a considerable commonality in associating both of those codes were shown in the analysis. Likewise, comparing the Catholic Church with Marcos and Marcos's enemies showed considerable commonality between the two codes. The analysis indicates that the Catholic Church was associated with both human rights and humanitarianism but was also

⁵⁶ According to The Pew Research:

1. The Philippine has the 3rd largest Catholic population in the world at roughly 75 million.
2. Many Filipinos have conservative views on social issues, some of which are strongly in line with Catholic Church teachings. For example, two-thirds (67%) say that getting a divorce is morally unacceptable – three times the share of Americans who say this (22%). Filipinos overwhelmingly view having an abortion as immoral (93%); no country among the 40 surveyed is more universally opposed to abortion on moral grounds. (Lipka, 2015)

associated as an enemy of the Marcos government. The comparison analysis further indicates considerable commonality with Marcos and violations of human rights, and Marcos's enemies and human rights. Therefore, when looking at the Catholic Church, it not only represents human rights and humanitarianism, but also an enemy of Marcos who is closely associated with threats to human rights and humanitarianism. The analysis indicated that the Catholic Church did do the bidding of Marcos, and Marcos allowed the church to function in areas of religion and spiritual well-being without fully participating in areas that have traditionally been a focus of the church—poverty, oppression, human rights, and religious freedom. The Catholic Church walked a fine line with continuing its traditional advocacy for human rights and humanitarian causes but was very careful not to go against the Marcos regime that put political, social, and economic stability above all things in its governance of the Philippines. Furthermore, there was tremendous commonality between discussions of the Catholic Church and Martial Law, thus indicating the prominent role of the church during Marcos's presidency. At the same time, QCA comparative analysis showed a high degree of commonality when looking at Amerasians and human rights, Amerasians and humanitarianism, and Amerasians and marginalization. All these have a high degree of commonality—human rights, humanitarian and marginalization were all associated individually with the Catholic Church, but when compared to Marcos and with Filipino Amerasians, there was little to no commonality. This would indicate the Catholic Church purposefully removed itself from discussions or advocacy with matters Marcos deemed “subversive”.⁵⁷ During the time of Marcos in the late 1970s and early 1980s, strong controls on

⁵⁷ By the late 1970s, Marcos had solidified his control of the Philippines under Martial Law and suppressed any opposition to him and his programs. On August 15, 1977, the New York Times published an article title, *Church Group is the Only Opposition in the Philippines*. In the article, Bernard Weinraub states, “MANILA, Aug. 9— Nearly five years after imposing martial law, President Ferdinand E. Marcos and his wife, Imelda, have cemented their control in a nation where virtually all political opposition has been silenced except for an emerging and vocal movement within the Catholic hierarchy. The Government has quelled dissent, eliminated press freedom, and placed in the posts of political and economic power a group of relatives and friends of the Marcoses.

the Catholic Church were enforced to ensure their support for his government. The region was gripped by Cold War tension and the Philippine's economic stability was being hit with inflation, communist insurgency and government corruption was rampant by Marcos and his cronies. Being the one entity that had the power to sway Filipino sentiment for or against the Marcos government, the Catholic Church had to be controlled (Weinraub, 1977). The reports and articles are replete with information on church newspapers being shuttered, church radio stations being closed, priests and nuns being jailed for advocating an end to Martial Law or support for Marcos's opponents, and church leaders not being allowed preach or allowed to return to the Philippines from overseas missions.

The analysis of government records and media sources referencing the Catholic Church in the Philippines revealed knowledge and solidarity with the work of the Catholic Church in advocating for Amerasians in Indochina and Korea. The work of Father Keane on behalf of the Maryknoll Society in advocating for Korean Amerasians was known to Marcos. In fact, there was a sizable Maryknoll presence of priests in the Philippines in the early 1980s who also were working to uplift the lives of the poor and marginalized, including Filipino Amerasians. During the debates on the AIA and with the heightened awareness of the American public to the plight of Amerasians, especially with Father Keane's work with Korean Amerasians, Marcos began to systematically exile Maryknoller priest from the Philippines and prevented other Maryknoller priests and nuns from returning.⁵⁸ The Maryknollers were very much active in the Philippines

In the absence of vocal opposition among politicians, an aggressive minority within the Philippine Catholic Church is denouncing martial law and publishing newsletters that cite allegations of torture of political detainees. Moreover, the minority—composed of 24 of the 76 bishops in the Philippines—is arguing that the role of churchmen and nuns is to effectively spur “social justice” in a poor nation where 75 percent of the people are Catholic.”

⁵⁸ In 1981, Marcos ordered Maryknoll Father Edward Shellito out of the Philippines for fomenting political unrest. (Richard N. Ostling, *Religion: Those Beleaguered Maryknollers*. Time Magazine, July 6, 1981.)

--Maryknoll Rev. Tom O'Brien of Davao City was denied protection by the Philippine police when threats were made by government operatives and was not permitted to return to the Philippines after a mission trip from the US.

against Marcos and their activities were closely monitored by Marcos to ensure that they, along with the rest of Catholic leadership was not subverting his control of the population.⁵⁹ The analysis showed that for Marcos, the Catholic Church and its leaders were there to ensure peace and stability to the majority catholic population. For Marcos, ensuring the “peace” required torture of Maryknoll priests and nuns when necessary. In fact, local Filipino activists through local newspapers and radio broadcasts at the time highlighted the inhumanity inflicted on priests and nuns.⁶⁰ For the church, Filipino Amerasians were not marginalized. Despite Marcos’ cruelty and oppression of Church activists and leaders, some Church leaders advocated to their priests and nuns that caring and working with Filipino Amerasians was working for the poor and needy and that their status as Amerasians was no different than any other Filipino. Again, this was the fear the church had that any advocacy towards the poor and marginalized would run counter to the Marcos narrative that there was no large marginalized Amerasian population that needed attention. Furthermore, viewing Filipino Amerasians as poor and needy and not products of illicit affairs between Filipinas and Americans allowed the church to avoid addressing the moral issues surrounding Filipino Amerasians’ illegitimacy status. The church pushed for adoption of Filipino Amerasians as opposed to advocacy for their marginalized status and preferential migration to the United States.⁶¹ In every area of analysis of church action during

(Ab Tan, *Catholic Clergy Targets of Violence on Philippine Island of Mindanao*, The Washington Post, May 3, 1981).

--Maryknoll Rev. Ralph Kroes was arrested upon his return to the Philippines after a 2-month furlough from Wisconsin. Marcos accused him and his church members of subversion. (UPI, Sept. 20, 2022, *Protest Expulsion of American Priest* by Romy Chan).

⁵⁹ A good recitation of the work of the Maryknoll priests and nuns in the Philippines during the Marcos era can be found in the Positively Filipino Magazine titled *Helen Graham, MM, Fighting Nun*, by Maria Carmen Sarmiento. (<http://www.positivelyfilipino.com/magazine/helen-graham-mm-fighting-nun>)

⁶⁰ Sister Helen Graham was an active Maryknoller nun in Manila in the early 1970s and founded the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines. Sister Graham was able to identify detainees (including other church clergy) and help families and communities identify those that were tortured and missing (Orante, 2016).

⁶¹ Local nuns in both Olongapo and Angeles City who worked with Filipino Amerasians publicly advocated for the adoption of illegitimate Amerasian offspring to Americans through adoption agencies and private entities. (Fineman, 1988)

the Marcos era, the church made a conscious decision not to advocate or even acknowledge the existence of Filipino Amerasians despite their existence being well known to both Filipino and American governments. The church's tremendous influence on the Filipino people was a fact that Marcos was keenly aware of, and he did everything within his power to tamp down their opposition to his rule. The Catholic Church has shown that it chose to assuage Marcos by removing itself from the advocacy that it can and should have had the greatest influence on—marginalized people, human rights, military bases (Philippine independence and security), freedom, democracy, and the poor. Filipino Amerasians were not a group Marcos wanted to be known, and the Catholic Church chose to keep them unknown during the Marcos presidency.

Towards the end of the Marcos regime, the Catholic Church's silence on matters relating to poverty, human rights, and its neglect of the plight of marginalized groups, including Filipino Amerasians, became more obvious when it began having a more vocal and assertive role in toppling the Marcos regime. The research showed reports and newspaper articles that the Archbishop of Manila, Jaime Cardinal Sin, fomented resistance against Marcos (Del Mundo, 1984; Easton, 2005b; Orante, 2016). The exact actions Marcos feared would happen if Catholic Church leaders were not silenced or forced to adhere to his authoritarian impulses. The focus of articles and media reports leading up to 1986 clearly showed teachers, priests and nuns from Philippine Catholic schools and universities were prominent protesters against the Marcos regime. Not only were Maryknoll priests and sisters actively protesting in 1986, so were the Benedictine Sisters and Jesuit Order who moved to protect ballots and election stations (Orante, 2016).

The Media and Filipino Amerasians

With race, gender, colonialism, the Cold War, and the Catholic Church bringing all the factors together in fully describing the state of Filipino Amerasian exclusion, the last and final factor that puts the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians in a position to be fully understood is the media. The literature review demonstrated the importance the media played in bringing the plight of Vietnamese Amerasians to the American public. It sparked discussions by members of Congress to do more for Amerasians and to correct the wrongs of America's Vietnam past. With the QCA of Filipino Amerasians, there was very little attention given by the media for Filipino Amerasians during the 1980s. Coding for media was the highest in the analysis with over 59 files yielding over 73 references to Amerasians. However, in all those files and references, only 8 files referenced Filipino Amerasians with 12 making a positive reference and no negative reference to Filipino Amerasians. Comparative analysis with the QCA of Marcos and the media show that Marcos had a total grip on Philippine media.⁶² There would be no significant influx of news stories from the American or foreign press on Vietnamese or Korean Amerasians that would bring attention to the Philippine's own Amerasians and colonial history.⁶³ In return, Marcos ensured that no negative stories about Filipino Amerasians would appear in the Filipino press or be allowed to be reported out of the Philippines. The comparative analysis showed that looking at the media and Filipino Amerasians, of the 57 media sources analyzed, only 5 sources made any reference to both Filipino Amerasians and Amerasian media stories. The record showed a clear deference to Vietnamese Amerasians and highlighting their plight throughout the

⁶² Human Rights. Measures stifling political activity, muzzling the press, controlling the judiciary and suppressing dissent—although not as harsh as in many other countries—have attracted unfavorable American attention. Critics of Marcos in Congress and among the public desire a more distant official relationship with him. Marcos, in turn, has been irritated by what he regards as American interference in Philippine domestic affairs. (Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977-1980, Volume XXII, pg. 957)

⁶³ The owners or majority stockholders of the four English-language newspapers in the Philippines were relatives of aides, former aides, or close friends of Marcos (Weinraub, 1977).

1980s through the 1990s. The United Press International (UPI), one of America's largest news service with over 200 news bureaus in over 92 countries constantly produced articles on Vietnamese Amerasians and their need to be brought back to the United States.⁶⁴ Articles touting the work of Vietnam and the United States in setting up Amerasian Centers for processing Vietnamese Amerasians were a regular feature in UPI news articles.⁶⁵ The AP and US News would produce stories that highlight the search of Vietnam veterans for their lost Vietnamese Amerasian children and how they eventually would be reunited and allowed to live in the United States.⁶⁶ News articles from numerous Christian organizations, including the Jesuit's America tout the need to help Amerasians, but it was always Vietnamese Amerasians or Korean Amerasians.⁶⁷

Implications

Amerasians are not historical vestiges of America's military past in Asia. All Amerasians, especially Filipino Amerasians, exist in large numbers today and with their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, those numbers may well exceed 250,000 (P. C. Kutschera et al., 2015a). They live on the margins, poor and ostracized from the greater Filipino society. The lives of Filipino Amerasians in the Philippines are no different than the lives of Vietnamese Amerasians in Vietnam. Continuing to exclude Filipino Amerasians from any preferential immigration action as those afforded to Vietnamese Amerasians in the AIA and AHA have and will continue the cycle of marginalization for Filipino Amerasians. Those same arguments in support for Vietnamese and Korean Amerasians in the enactment of the AIA and

⁶⁴ Vietnam flies 123 Amerasians children to Bangkok. UPI International-July 25, 1985; Vietnam releases 150 Amerasian children. UPI International—June 27, 1985.

⁶⁵ U.S., Vietnam to discuss Amerasian issue. UPI International--Apr. 11, 1988; U.S., Vietnam to establish Amerasian center. UPI International-Dec. 2, 1988.

⁶⁶ Fathers and Asian Children. Wilstein, S., US News & World Report—Jan. 30, 1987.

⁶⁷ The Children of War. America—Oct. 23, 1982; Amerasians in America. America—Nov. 27, 1982.

AHA are as valid today for Filipino Amerasians as they were in 1982 and 1987. The United States has continued to expand its presence in the Asia region against continued Russian, Chinese, and North Korean aggression with ASEAN countries. Both the Philippines and the United States still abide by the 1951 Mutual Defense Treaty as well as the 1998 Visiting Forces Agreement. The addition of the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA)⁶⁸ in 2014 has once again put US presence in the Philippines in the spotlight on military posturing and security stability in the Asian region (EDCA--Government of the Philippines and United States of America, 2014).⁶⁹ With the increase in US military personnel present in the Philippines on extended deployments, having new Filipino Amerasians are an inevitability. It would be in the best interest of both the Philippine and United States governments to have a fair and adequate process in place that will address the marginalization of current and future Filipino Amerasians.⁷⁰ Filipino Amerasians' marginalized status has been divisive to Filipinos. For a country that continues to align itself with its former colonial master, Filipinos have always had favorable views of America and Americans. However, there has and continues to be a vocal minority that object to having such close ties with the United States (Gomez, Jim; Knickmeyer, 2023) and they have used Filipino Amerasians as a reason to reject American military presence in the country. This racial prejudice against Amerasians is deeply rooted but was strengthened by the country's colonial past (Lichauco De Leon, 2012). Having additional Filipino Amerasians with an increased US military presence will continue these divisions within Filipino society and the

⁶⁸ EDCA gives American forces strategic rotational presence in Philippine territory. In effect, it allows American forward-deployed forces in East Asia the most extensive access to Philippine military facilities since the United States vacated its vast air and naval installations at Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base in the early 1990s.

⁶⁹ In November 2011, the Obama administration announced a strategic pivot to Asia. This move entails a gradual shift from the current US campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan to a deeper diplomatic and military involvement in the Asia-Pacific region.

⁷⁰ On February 2, 2023, the Philippines and the United States signed an agreement to increase US presence in the Philippines by enlarging the number of bases the US can operate from to 9 installations (Gomez, Jim; Knickmeyer, 2023).

Philippine government. Stability within the Philippines along with a strong military and political alliance with the United States is necessary for the Indo-Pacific region, and simply ignoring and not fully resolving the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians is a recipe for future chaos in the region. With the stakes in the region this high for the United States, and with the increased ability for news to travel the world in almost real-time, pushing America and American public opinion to help its Amerasian children will not be done just by a Vietnamese government or small group of Catholic priests, but now, it would be from the Russian, Chinese and North Korean government. Each of these three countries all have a stake in dominating the Indo-Pacific region and removing American military, political and economic influence.

Future Research

Although this research on Filipino Amerasians has yielded a tremendous amount of information to help explain the factors that resulted in the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA, more research should be done on the continued exclusion of Filipino Amerasians after the Marcos presidency in 1986, through the Aquino presidency and after the departure of both Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base in 1991. Future research can use QCA to look at race, gender, and the relationship between the United States and the Philippines, but without the Cold War, doing an analysis on EDCA, US Asian foreign policy or DOD Force Protection Policy would be warranted to analyze the continued exclusion of Filipino Amerasians. Furthermore, because of changing social attitudes in both the Philippines and the United States since the end of the Vietnam War, an analysis to determine to what extent have both countries moved away from the desire to help Filipino Amerasians. The Catholic Church in the Philippines remains prominent in Filipino lives in this overwhelming predominantly Catholic country, so further research on how the church now views Filipino Amerasians and whether it

has taken a more active role in addressing marginalization, poverty, and illegitimacy in the Philippines. Lastly, since the early 1990s, both the Philippine government and the United States government have begun discussions on addressing the status and marginalization of Filipino Amerasians.⁷¹ To date, there have been no substantive and tangible actions that benefit Filipino Amerasians. The gap between the promises for action for Filipino Amerasians and the lack of action needs further research.

Conclusion

The plight of Filipino Amerasians is one of marginalization, ostracization, neglect, and exclusion. At the start of the 1980s with the implementation of the AIA and through the middle of the decade with the passage of the AHA, the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians brought forth the question of why. Why were Filipino Amerasians excluded from both the AIA and AHA and what would have caused their exclusion for these and any other subsequent acts benefiting Amerasians who were similarly situated? The question was not a simple inquiry on specific actions by both the Philippines and the United States in excluding Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA, instead, it required an analysis on the factors that would help explain the intent of those who wanted to exclude Filipino Amerasians. The research required an analysis of the historical factors that guided actions which ultimately resulted in the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians from the AIA and AHA. The resulting factors emerged in the research to explain the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians: race, gender, colonialism, the Cold War, and the Philippine Catholic Church. QCA and BLR analysis for this research confirmed the literature review on the state of Filipino Amerasians and filled in the academic gap in the research as to why were Filipino Amerasians excluded from both the AIA and AHA. The resulting analysis

⁷¹ On November 13, 1994, both Philippine President Ramos and President Clinton declared during their news conference in Manila that assurances have been made by both countries will work hand in hand to promote the welfare of Amerasians in the Philippines.

put the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians as the direct actions of both the United States and the Philippine government, something that no other research into Filipino Amerasians has done. There are over 50 million immigrants living in the United States today, making up 14% of the American population (Center, 2021). If the United States wishes to remain the beacon of hope for all immigrants, it must acknowledge its shortcomings regarding the over 250,000 Filipino Amerasians who have the lineage of any American child born to an American father. It must right the wrongs of the past and not seek blame for the marginalization and neglect of the Filipino Amerasian, but rather, seek to recognize their existence and provide them a pathway to American recognition. If the United States aims to remain a reliable partner to its allies in the Indo-Pacific Region, it must ensure that Filipino Amerasians do not become a means for China, North Korea, and Russia to put a wedge between the United States and the Philippines.

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Appendix 1

Coding Framework

Code	Description
Adoptions --Amerasians, Filipino, Korean, and Vietnamese Amerasians	References to adoptions of Amerasians regardless of country. Further broken down into Filipino, Korean, and Vietnamese Amerasians
Amerasian Homecoming Act	The AHA and its implementation in 1987.
Amerasian Immigration Act	The AIA and its implementation in 1982.
Amerasians --Filipino, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese	Any of the Amerasians from Vietnam, Thailand, Korea, Japan, and the Philippines
ASEAN	References to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, in which the Philippines was a founding member
Asian Migration	References to Asian immigration patterns from Asia into the United States
Catholic Church	The Philippine Catholic Church, specifically, the role of the church in social, economic, and political life in the Philippines during the 1980s when the AIA and AHA were discussed and passed.
Clark Air Base & Subic Bay Naval Base	Two of the largest military bases outside the

	United States and vital to the overall US foreign policy in Asia and with the Philippines.
Cold War	The US-USSR-China military and economic policy in the Indo-Pacific region guided US foreign policy towards the Philippines and all Amerasian countries before, during, and after the Vietnam War.
Colonialism	The US-Philippine relationship since 1989 when the Philippines was acquired from Spain. References to a colonial relationship to the present in which the Philippines is viewed as inferior to the United States.
Corazon Aquino	Philippine President after President Marcos was ousted in 1986 by the People Power Revolution in the Philippines. Continuation of US policy towards the Philippines before the passage of the AHA.
Economic	References to the economic impact of the US-Philippine relationship. Looking at discussions of Marcos, Reagan, and the military bases and the minimization of the Filipino poor and marginalized (such as

	Filipino Amerasians).
EDCA	The Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement. Allowing the United States continued access to the Philippines after the expiration of the 1991 Military Bases Agreement.
Elections	Because the US-Philippine relationship was intertwined with the success of the Marcos Presidency, references to election fraud and the sensitivity of Marcos to this created a dynamic between the United States and the Philippines that minimized its effect on US-Philippine cooperation during the 1980s.
Ferdinand Marcos	References to the Philippine President during the 1970s and 1980s reflect his full control of all levers of the Philippine government and his control of all aspects of Philippine life—politically, socially, and economically.
Filipinization	The way the United States allowed aspects of the United States control of the military bases and certain aspects of colonial control to be made more Filipino or controlled by the Philippines.

Gender	References to paternity, Amerasian mothers, the role of women in having unwanted children, prostitution, or the role women played in the marginalization of Amerasians.
Human Rights	References to basic recognition of human rights, whether in the context of the Vietnam War, the Cold War, or recognition of the plight of Amerasians. It is also used to measure the violations of human rights by Marcos and his approach to marginalized populations, including Filipino Amerasians.
Humanitarian	References to the humanitarian reasons for assisting Amerasians. Furthermore, the basis for recognition of Vietnamese Amerasians was based on ideas of humanitarianism, and the plight of all Amerasians, including Filipino Amerasians, is framed in the humanitarian context.
Immigration Policy	During the debates on both the AIA and AHA, changes to US immigration policy were used to justify the acceptance of Vietnamese Amerasians. The exclusion of Filipino Amerasians falls within references to

	current and past immigration policy that excludes or allows Asians and Filipino Amerasians into the United States.
Marcos Enemies	Those wishing to overthrow or replace Marcos were always a concern for the Philippine President. References to these enemies formed the basis for Marcos' policies that silenced dissent and prevented the exposure of poverty and marginalization of Filipino Amerasians to be seen by the world. Marcos also considered Filipino Amerasians as enemies.
Marginalization	References and discussions of Amerasians, including Filipino Amerasians and their marginalized status.
Media --Positive or negative on Filipino Amerasians	Print, radio, and film reference all Amerasians from the 1970s through the end of the 1980s. Further broken down to determine positive and negative portrayals of Filipino Amerasians.
Military Bases Agreement	The main reason for the physical presence of the US military in the Philippines during the cold war. Any discussion of this agreement

	and how it plays with the US relationship with Marcos.
Pearl S. Buck --Adoptions, Amerasian Assistance and Programs, bases negotiations, educational programs, Marcos government interactions, marginalization, and sponsorship programs.	The main NGO in the Philippines during the Marcos era was committed to the advocacy for Filipino Amerasians and other Amerasians.
Permanent Resident	This goes hand in hand with immigration policy in those references to legal residency, US residency, allowing to come to the United States under specific visa preferences other than as US citizens.
President Carter	Prior to Reagan in the late 1970s, Carter and Marcos continued a relationship based on the cold war mentality that the Philippines remain a stable democracy in the region.
Prostitution	References to Amerasian mothers being prostitutes or that Amerasians were a result of prostitution or an illicit affair.
PRPC	The Philippine Refugee Processing Center was created in 1980 by President Marcos to allow the processing of Indochinese refugees, including Vietnamese Amerasians, in the

	Philippines prior to their relocation to the US.
Race	Race has been a factor in US immigration policy and political attitudes, and any reference to an Amerasian's Americanness, Asianness, blackness, or whiteness plays a factor in their treatment and acceptance.
Ronald Reagan	Any discussion on Amerasians during the 1980s involved President Reagan. His relationship with other countries in Asia determined the level of US government involvement in Amerasian issues. His relationship with Marcos set the stage for the Philippines to neglect and suppress the plight of Filipino Amerasians and all Filipinos suffering economically, politically, and socially.
US Citizen	References of being a US citizen if you are an Amerasian. What it means to be a US citizen and the role of US citizens in accepting and acknowledging Amerasians.
Vietnam War --Actions of the Vietnamese government	The foundation of discussions on Amerasians and the main driver of the AIA and AHA. References to the Vietnam War precipitate

	discussions of Amerasians, including Filipino Amerasians, as well as the role of all Asian countries in promoting Amerasians. In this study, the exclusion of Filipino Amerasians is tied to the US experience in Vietnam.
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Appendix 2

Keyword Search

PL 97-359, Amerasian Immigration Act, Amerasian Homecoming Act, Amerasians—

Philippines, H.R. 3171

S. 601 – Amerasian Homecoming act

- Legislative Intent research

Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Affairs

Sources

US Congress Bioguide

Amerasian Immigration Proposal at HathiTrust

NARA Legislative Archives

- Search Senate Judiciary Subcommittee records on immigration
 - <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/guide/senate/chapter-13.html#CmtJudiciary>
- Search for Robert J. Mrazek
- Search for Jeremiah Denton
- House Judiciary Committee
 - <https://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/233.html#233.16>

Digital Public Library of America

Congress.gov

- <https://www.congress.gov/bill/100th-congress/house-bill/3171?s=1&r=24>

Worldcat.org results on Amerasians in the Philippines

Stewart McKinney Papers

Ronald Reagan Archives:

Extensive documents were gathered from the library that encompassed the years before, during, and after the implementation of both the AIA and AHA.

Amerasian Children⁷²**White House Staff Office Files:**

Cooksey, Sherrie: Files; OA 11736; SMC/Preferential Treatment Amerasian Children - S. 1698;

McGrath, C. Dean: Files; CFOA 1135; Amerasian Children-2

Executive Clerk

Executive Clerk, White House Office of the: Records Box 23

10/22/1982 S. 1698 [Preferential Treatment in Admitting Amerasian Children to the United States]

Media Relations

Media Relations, White House Office of: Box 7

Amerasian Immigration Act of 1982

Office of the President

President, Office of the: Presidential Briefing Papers

10/22/1982 (casefile 103642)

Press Secretary, Press Briefings

Box 41

10/22/1982 #3279 – Fact Sheet – The Amerasian Immigration Act of 1982

Speechwriting, White House Office of Research

⁷² WHORM Subject File: CO172 casefile 104722; FG017-05 casefile 087203; HU013-20 casefile 441422; IM casefiles 070522, 091679, 091930, 092173, 098216, 102118, 105505, 114481, 161533, 225312, 318283, 485297, 524317, 541476, 555040, 580521; MA020 casefiles 137942, 189381; ME001 casefile 110491; WE001 casefiles 051828, 067555, 110551, 134045; WE001-01 casefiles 070838, 178961

Box 63

10/22/1982 Signing Ceremony for Amendment for Amerasian Children

Box 58

The signing of Bill Amending the Immigration & Nationality Act (For Amerasian Children)

(Rohrabacher) 10/22/1982

National Security Council Records

Childress, Richard T.: Files

Box 9

Amerasians

National Archives Search (NARA)

This search yielded not only relevant committee reports but most of the subsequent proceedings, debates, and extension remarks related to both the AIA and AHA.

Bill	Record Group	Record Group (RG)	Legislative Session	Congress
S. 1698 PL 97-359, Amerasian Immigration Act	Records of the United States Senate, Records of the committee on the judiciary, and related committees	46.15	1981-1983	97th
H.R. 3171, Amerasian	Records of the United States	233.16	1987-1988	100th

Homecoming Act	House of Representatives, Records of the judiciary committee, and related committees			
H.R. 2265, Amerasian Immigration Amendments of 1987	Records of the United States House of Representatives, Records of the judiciary committee, and related committees	233.16	1987-1988	100th
S. 1601, Amerasian Homecoming Act	Records of the United States Senate, Records of the committee on the judiciary, and related committees	46.15	1987-1988	100th

Carl M. Levin papers 1938-2015, 1964-2015

A. Security assistance 1979-1980

Call Number 2014150 Aa 2

Volume/Box 586

B. Amerasian children-S.1698 1975-1982 (6 folders)

Call Number 2014150 Aa 2

Volume/Box 791

C. Philippines-US military aid 1979

Call Number 2014150 Aa 2

Volume/Box 593

D. US military presence 1984-1986

Call Number 2014150 Aa 2

Volume/Box 588

E. Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs 1980

Call Number 2014150 Aa 2

Volume/Box 633

F. Asia January-February 1979

Call Number 2014150 Aa 2

Volume/Box 113

Pearl S. Buck Foundation, Pearl S. Buck House, Pearl S. Buck International.

Organizational Files, Philippines Foundation Records I, II, and III

Various dates from January 1, 1973, through December 31, 1999.

Appendix 3

Compared by number of coding references.

Files	Number of coding references	Number of codes coding
Files\\FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES Carter Era	172	16
Files\\Subcommittee on Immigration Monday June 6 1982	105	24
Files\\Philippine Foundation Files	59	16
Files\\Philippine Foundation Files II	33	14
Files\\FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES Volume XXII SE Asia and Pacific	32	11
Files\\Congressional Proceedings Oct 1 through Nov 1982	29	13
Files\\Filipino Views of USA 1986	27	10
Files\\Reagan 23	26	10
Files\\Identity Doubts Linger _ Amerasians at Home in Philippines - Los Angeles Times	25	16
Files\\Reagan 21	23	9
Files\\Reagan 6	21	5
Files\\Reagan 10	20	8
Files\\Reagan 20	20	7
Files\\Reagan 2	19	9
Files\\Report of President Marcos to the Batasang Pambansa _ Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines	19	8
Files\\Reagan 9	17	8
Files\\Signing Speech of Amerasian Immigration Act 1982 by Reagan	17	8
Files\\Philippine Crisis	16	7
Files\\Reagan 12	16	8
Files\\The Key Role of US Bases in the Philippines Zoom 21JUL2020	16	10
Files\\Amerasians in America	15	13
Files\\Reagan 28	15	5
Files\\U.S. congressman expects passage of Filipino Amerasian bill - Document - Gale In Context_ Opposing Viewpoints	15	12
Files\\Church Group is the Only Opposition in Philippines - The New York Times	14	6
Files\\operation survival	14	7
Files\\Philippine Foundation Files III	14	9
Files\\Priest Fight	14	12
Files\\The Church and Mr. Marcos	14	7
Files\\U.S., Vietnam to establish Amerasian center - Document - Gale In Context_ Opposing Viewpoints	14	11
Files\\Way out	14	8
Files\\Levin Testimony	13	11
Files\\Reagan 25	13	8
Files\\The Church and the Election in the Philippines	13	8
Files\\Vietnam Amerasian 1988 GIST	13	10

36	Files\\Attendees of signing of 1982 Amerasian Immigration Act	12	6
37	Files\\GR 1987 Strangers	12	11
38	Files\\Levin Aid to Amerasians	12	11
39	Files\\Reagan 1	12	9
40	Files\\Sad Eyes	12	11
41	Files\\The Church and Revolution	12	8
42	Files\\U.S., Vietnam to discuss Amerasian issue - Document - Gale In Context_ Opposing Viewpoints	12	11
43	Files\\Vietnam Vets Help Reunite American Fathers and Asian Children _ AP News	12	12
44	Files\\Amerasian yellow notes	11	7
45	Files\\Reagan 15	11	5
46	Files\\Reagan 27	11	5
47	Files\\subversion in the philippines	11	7
48	Files\\The Pope in the Philippines	11	9
49	Files\\Vietnam releases 150 Amerasian children - Document - Gale In Context_ Opposing Viewpoints	11	10
50	Files\\Amerasian Feedback Agnes 2AUG2022	10	7
51	Files\\Church Persecution in the Philippines	10	6
52	Files\\CR Marcos	10	8
53	Files\\Evidenciary Problems	10	6
54	Files\\FILIPINO AMERASIANS SUE U.S. FOR \$68 MILLION - The Washington Post	10	9
55	Files\\GPO-CRECB-1982-pt2-7-3 McKinney Remarks on Time Magazine Article 1982	10	9
56	Files\\Human Rights for Amerasians	10	9
57	Files\\Life Struggle	10	8
58	Files\\Manila Charges a U.S. Priest With Acts Against Government - The New York Times	10	6
59	Files\\Quick Action	10	8
60	Files\\Support	10	9
61	Files\\Vietnam flies 124 Amerasian children to Bangkok - Document - Gale In Context_ Opposing Viewpoints	10	9
62	Files\\Army memo Amerasians	9	8
63	Files\\Article Amer	9	9
64	Files\\Call Boys	9	6
65	Files\\Hodge	9	9
66	Files\\Marcos Warmongering	9	7
67	Files\\Notes Yellow 2	9	8
68	Files\\PSBF	9	8
69	Files\\Reagan 16	9	3
70	Files\\Reagan 18	9	4
71	Files\\Amerasians Setback	8	8
72	Files\\Church in Philippines Becoming A Focus of Opposition to Marcos - The New York Times	8	5
73	Files\\CR 82	8	8
74	Files\\crisis as a way of live catholic church philippines	8	4
75	Files\\Ferment in Philippines Pressures the Church - The Washington Post	8	6
76	Files\\Levin Discrimination Letter	8	7
77	Files\\Marcos and Marital Law	8	5
78	Files\\Marcos Secret War in America Zoom	8	5
79	Files\\Reagan 29	8	6
80	Files\\Reagan 5	8	6
81	Files\\Revive a Plundered Land	8	5
82	Files\\Winners and Losers	8	5
83	Files\\CRECB-1999-pt1-Pg1459-3 Sen Inouye Intro Jan 28 1999	7	4
84	Files\\Feet	7	7
85	Files\\Philippine Churchmen Denounce Martial Law - The Washington Post	7	6
86	Files\\President Ferdinand Marcos accused Cardinal Jaime Sin today of... - UPI Archives	7	6
87	Files\\Reagan 14	7	4
88	Files\\Rodino	7	6
89	Files\\The Children of War	7	7
90	Files\\Carter Support	6	5
91	Files\\Denton Survival	6	5
92	Files\\Father Keane	6	6
93	Files\\Insurgency	6	6
94	Files\\Levin Denton including Philippines	6	6
95	Files\\Levin Durante	6	6
96	Files\\Levin signing	6	6
97	Files\\Mazolli Memo 82	6	6
98	Files\\Philippine Khomeni	6	4
99	Files\\PSBF support	6	6
100	Files\\Reagan 17	6	3
101	Files\\Reagan 19	6	5
102	Files\\Reagan Policy to Philippines 1985 National Security Decision	6	4
103	Files\\345 Memorandum From Thomas J. Barnes	5	3

104	Files\A Day in Manila	5	5
105	Files\An American responsibility	5	5
106	Files\CR Levin	5	5
107	Files\CR2 1987	5	5
108	Files\GPO-CRECB-1987-pt8-6-2 Cong McKinney 1987 Amendment to AIA	5	5
109	Files\Keane Shade	5	5
110	Files\Levin Priest	5	5
111	Files\Marcos clashes with Philippine Catholic church - UPI Archives	5	5
112	Files\Protest expulsion of American priest - UPI Archives	5	5
113	Files\Religion_ Those Beleaguered Maryknollers -- Printout -- TIME	5	4
114	Files\Takaki	5	5
115	Files\The Church's muted voice _ Inquirer Opinion	5	5
116	Files\Catholic Church Discrimination Women	4	3
117	Files\Childl Prostitutes	4	4
118	Files\Of Many Things	4	4
119	Files\Reagan 24	4	3
120	Files\Reagan 7	4	4
121	Files\AKS	3	2
122	Files\BILLS-103hr2429ih 1993	3	3
123	Files\Curret Comment	3	3
124	Files\Delegation from U.S. Congress to visit Philippines Jan. 11 - Document - Gale In Context_ Opposing Viewpoints	3	3
125	Files\Evidenciary Problems 2	3	3
126	Files\Invisible Success Story	3	3
127	Files\Moore	3	3
128	Files\Press Release Amerasian Immigration Act 1982	3	3
129	Files\Prosperity From Asia	3	3
130	Files\Reagan 11	3	3
131	Files\Shays Mazzoli Let	3	3
132	Files\WCPD-1994-11-21-Pg2376 Clinton Ramos News Conference 1994	3	2
133	Files\Attempt to Add Philippines	2	2
134	Files\Reagan 13	2	2
135	Files\Reagan 26	2	2
136	Files\Reagan 3	2	1
137	Files\Reagan 8	2	2
138	Files\SUB Call	2	2
139	Files\Reagan 22	1	1
140	Files\Reagan 4	1	1
141	Files\Refugees	1	1
142	Files\Visiting Forces Agreement	1	1
143	Files\Vogt	1	1