

# ANTI-SINICISM IN THE PHILIPPINES

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The Filipino people are in a manner of speaking of the Occident. They dislike being taken for Oriental Chinese and Japanese for whom they have little feeling of brotherhood.<sup>1</sup>

... probably every mature person carries some generalized hostility toward the milieu, hostility which cannot find a legitimate object on which it may be vented. It is suggested that when society does indicate an object like the Negro [in America] whom one may detest with a good conscience, much of this irrational effect is drained off.<sup>2</sup>

## Prologue

Sino-Filipino interaction in the past has been characterized by massacres, communal rioting, severe legal restrictions, expulsions, and legally imposed ghettos. At present the Philippine government is engaged in an extensive but not consistent campaign to bar "aliens" (i.e., Chinese) from a considerable portion of the economic life of the country. Yet, while anti-Chinese feeling has always been marked, there has always been widespread intermarriage among Chinese *men* and Philippine *women*. A large proportion of the Filipino population is of Sino-Filipino ancestry. Estimates of "ethnic Chinese" range from 300,000 to 700,000 in a total Philippine population of more than 31,000,000.

## Nature of Anti-Sinicism

This paper attempts to describe the specific content which Sino-phobia tends to manifest in the Philippines. Historically it should be recalled that the seemingly anti-Chinese legislation of the Spanish Colonial government was intended to Christianize the Chinese, to amalgamate them into Philippine society, and to encourage them to be farmers. The chief "problems" of the Chinese to the Spaniards were that the Chinese were viewed as posing a constant political, economic, and socio-religious threat to the small Spanish colonial population whose control of the Philippines was often quite tenuous. The compounding of religious disdain and evangelical zeal, of political fear, and economic dependency contributed to the Spanish ambivalent attitude toward the resident Chinese.

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<sup>1</sup> George A. Malcolm, *American Colonial Careerist*, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, p. 443.

In the early centuries of Spanish rule, the Filipinos were still overwhelmingly bound to their local ruler (*datus*) in a feudal-like system. Hence, they did not actively participate in the formulation of colonial policy toward the Chinese. But early in the seventeenth century, certain Filipinos had already taken part in the incidents leading up to and involving the massacres of 1603 and 1639. The initial area of Sino-Filipino conflict (to be distinguished from Hispano-Chinese rivalry over trade and commerce) was the economic threat of the Chinese in Philippine agriculture.

While the Spanish colonial government always sought in its somewhat erratic fashion to encourage Chinese development of agriculture, the native Filipinos vigorously resisted. As early as the mid-seventeenth century, Chinese agricultural penetration was encouraging violent opposition in the southern Tagalog areas. They were forcefully barred from certain areas of Batangas. Sanciano could write in 1881 of a long established practice:

There are towns in the province of Batangas, for example Taal, where the natives rose up and slew most of the Chinese: until this date there are no Chinese in that area (Taal region).<sup>3</sup>

Even today the Taal area of Batangas is "famed" for having no Chinese. Other parts of Batangas have Chinese shopkeepers who, to gather from Filipino informants, lead a somewhat unenviable life.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) ... the most hated are the Chinese. Retail stores, hotels, hardware, restaurants, bakeries, rice mills—all of these controlled by the Chinese... We stone them, spit on them, cheat them, insult them, but still they cling to the town people like lice sucking blood—the life of the town.
- (2) I can still remember what my mother told me once. She narrated that there was once a Chinese man who attempted to establish a small store in Bauan (Batangas). But because the people, especially the children, hated Chinese during that time, they thought of some possible ways of driving the Chinese out of their place. So, the following nights, the Chinese was surprised to see that his cooking place was full of human waste and his kitchen tools were scattered around the place. Poor Chinese!! A time when he can [*sic*] no longer stand such sufferings. He at once packed and went back to his former place where Chinese men were allowed to build stores... At present there are still no Chinese people living in Bauan, Batangas.

The old Philippine fears of agricultural competition from the Chinese found expression in the exclusion of aliens from agriculture in the Commonwealth Constitution in 1935. Nevertheless, with the possible exception of Batangas, the agricultural, village-oriented, self-sufficient Filipinos were long indifferent to the commercial activities of the Chinese.

<sup>3</sup> Gregorio Sanciano y Goson, *El Progreso de Filipinas*, pp. 120-121.

<sup>4</sup> From students' essays at the University of the Philippines.

The rapid economic development which followed the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) led to a rapid influx of Chinese, at the same time that the Filipinos (natives, *mestizos*, and *crollos*), began to play a more important role in commerce. Both Spaniards and Filipinos took alarm at the growing size and wealth of the Chinese community. Jordana, who viewed the Chinese as "social parasites," decried their tendency to return to China after five to eight years with "capital created in the Philippines."<sup>5</sup> The Spanish colonial press for two decades argued of "el grave peligro" (of the great risk). *El Comercio* was said to be the only Chinese champion while *El Boletín de Avisos*, *El Diario de Manila* and *La Océania Española* urged more vigorous restrictions.<sup>6</sup> The rapid growth of the alien community caused alarm. Toda wrote in 1887 that "every three or four days a ship leaves Amoy for Manila with two or three hundred Chinese."<sup>7</sup> The Spaniards grew apprehensive about the greater difficulty of absorbing both the Chinese and their *mestizo* offspring into Philippine society. Schneidnagel, a Spanish military officer, described the Chinese *mestizos* as "the group least sympathetic to our rule" in the colony and felt that they and the Chinese constituted a "bad moral example to the native."<sup>8</sup> He saw the conversion of the Chinese as without merit since they viewed Christianity as a mere trapping to be abandoned along with their Filipino wives upon their return to China.<sup>9</sup> Recur echoed Schneidnagel in viewing the Chinese as a greater enemy to Catholicism than Philippine Islam and decried the tendency of the Chinese to form a "state within a state."<sup>10</sup> Recur, as with many Spanish writers, joined the criticism against the lucrative but corrupt "opium farming" system in the Philippines.<sup>11</sup>

Yet, these were still Spaniards voicing century-old fears and antipathies. By the 1880's, a group of Filipino intellectuals (mainly Spanish and Chinese *mestizos*) who had been trained in Europe began to agitate for the expulsion of both the Spaniards and the Chinese. More clearly than any Spanish writer did they perceive that Spanish colonial rule depended upon an uneasy alliance of the friars and the Chinese money-lenders and traders. Both anti-Chinese as well as anti-Spanish friar sentiments are found in the two famous novels of Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*. Now a new dimension was added to the ethnic animosity. The Chinese were not only to be viewed with suspicion because they were traders (traditionally disdained), infidels,

<sup>5</sup> Ramon Jordana y Morena, *La Inmigración China en Filipinas* (Writer's translation) p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Eduardo Toda y Guell, *La Vida en el Celeste Imperio*, p. 275.

<sup>8</sup> Manuel Schneidnagel, *Las Colonias Españolas de Asia; Islas Filipinas*, pp. 198-199 and p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>10</sup> Carlos Recur y Corazo, *Filipinas: Estudios Administrativos y Comerciales*, p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

and a possible agrarian rival, but also because they were not politically loyal and were opposed to the politico-economic advancement of the Filipinos.

Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere*,<sup>12</sup> his earlier and less embittered novel with its more gentle satire about the foibles of the Chinese and the Filipinos, provides some insights into the amused disdain of educated Filipinos toward the Chinese:

(the dirty Chinese)

... the Pasig which is known to some as the Binondo River and which like all the streams in Manila, plays the varied role of both sewer, laundry, fishery, means of transportation and communication, and even drinking water if the Chinese water carrier finds it convenient. (p. 2)

(the crafty, dishonest Chinese)

From it [town] sugar, rice, coffee, and fruits are either exported or sold for a small part of their value to the Chinese, who exploit the simplicity and vices of the native farmers. (p. 72)

(degradation of contact with Chinese)

"Don't be angry sir," stammered the pale and trembling gravedigger. "I didn't bury him among the Chinamen. Better be drowned than among the Chinamen, I said myself, so I threw the body [of an accused heretic] into the lake." (p. 89)

(religious opportunism of the Chinese)

They had purchased a greater number of tapers wherefore the Chinese dealers had reaped a harvest and in gratitude were thinking of being baptized, although some remarked that this was not so much an account of their faith in Catholicism as from a desire to get a wife. (p. 225)

(Christmas bribery)

"No, it was nothing of the kind," answered the man who had asked the first question. "It was the Chinaman who had rebelled." With this he shut his window. "The Chinaman!" echoed all in great astonishment. "That's why not one of them is to be seen!" "What a pity!" exclaimed Sister Ruja. "To get killed just before Christmas when they bring around their presents! They should have waited until New Years." p. 427

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<sup>12</sup>The quotations are drawn from the translation of Charles E. Derbyshire entitled *The Social Cancer*. It is a truism to say that any literature loses something in translation. This is particularly true in the novels of Rizal where the inability of *mestizos*, *provincianos*, and *chinos* to speak correctly Spanish and Tagalog constitutes a good share of the humor and local color. Accents, puns, and play-on words even today constitute a large part of Philippine humor.

By the time Rizal had written *El Filibusterismo*, he had grown more bitter and was convinced that his hopes for a peaceful, gradual development of the Philippines as an integral province of Spain with full equality for Filipinos and Spaniards would be blocked by the friars and their Chinese allies.<sup>13</sup> (Let it be recalled that Rizal's ire was directed specifically against the Dominicans, the spiritual mentors and champions of the Chinese.) The industrious, socially maladept, slightly amusing but somewhat less than human Chinese who had provided some of the local color of the social background of the *Noli Me Tangere* figured more prominently and negatively in *El Filibusterismo*.

(contempt for the Chinese)

"No, gentlemen," observed Pecson with his clownish grin, "to celebrate the event there's nothing like a banquet in *panciteria*, served by the Chinamen without *camisas*, I insist without *camisas*!" "The sarcasm and grotesqueness of this idea won it ready acceptance. (p. 224)

(Chinese opposed to Filipino aspirations)

"There were even high officials (besides the friars) who were opposed to our project, the Head Secretary, the Civil Governor, Quiroga the Chinaman—'Quiroga the Chinaman! The pimp of the—' (p. 136)

(Project involved attempt to spread Castillian among the natives.)

(Chinese fears of a native revolt)

Truly the news that seditious *pasquinades* had been found on the doors of the University not only took away the appetite from many and disturbed the digestion of the others, but it even rendered the phlegmatic Chinese uneasy, so that they no longer dared to sit in their shops with one leg drawn up as usual, from fear of losing time in extending it in order to put themselves into flight. (p. 273)

Probably nowhere else in Philippine literature is there a more pithy and accurate description of the normative behavior between Filipino customers and Chinese peddlers than in *El Filibusterismo*:

... their blows generally falling sidewise upon the shoulders of the Chinese peddler who was there selling his outlandish mixtures and indigestible pastries. Crowds of boys surrounded him, pulled at his already disordered queue, snatched pies from him, haggled over the prices, and committed a thousand deviltries. The Chinese yelled, swore, forswore, in all the languages he could jabber, not omitting his own; he whispered, laughed, pleaded, put on a smiling face when an ugly one would not serve, or the reverse.

He cursed them as devils, savages, *no kilistanos*, but that mattered nothing. A whack would bring his face around smiling, and if the blow fell only upon

<sup>13</sup> The quotations are drawn from the translation of Charles E. Derbyshire entitled *The Reign of Greed*.

his shoulders, he would calmly continue his business transactions, contenting himself with crying out to them that he was not in the game, but if he struck the flat basket on which were placed his wares, then he would swear never to come again, as he poured out to them all the implications and anathemas imaginable. Then the boys would redouble their efforts to make him rage the more, and when at last his vocabulary was exhausted and they were satiated with his fearful mixtures, they paid him religiously, and sent him away happy, winking, chuckling to himself, and receiving as caresses the light blows from their canes that the students gave him as tokens of farewell. (pp. 127-128)

The *Noli* and the *Fili* (as they have been so nicknamed) are important in understanding the nature of Philippine Sinophobia not only because through content analysis they provide some insights into Sino-Filipino interaction in the last decades of Spanish rule, but also because of the position they now occupy in Philippine intellectual life. By a Congressional Act in 1956 they were made required reading for all college students. They are ideally to be taught not as mere novels or even as social history but as a "bible of the race" (to quote a Batangas senator). Admittedly, the act was inspired by a wave of nationalism and by a desire among certain politicians to embarrass President Magsaysay and to curb the alleged power of the Catholic Church. However, as more and more poorly equipped college students are taught this "bible of the race," one cannot but expect Sino-Philippine relations to be affected.

The agitation of Rizal and other "propagandists" laid the foundation for the insurrection of 1896 and 1898. During the upheaval, the Chinese suffered physically and economically. The restoration of peace and authority by the Americans brought the greatest era of economic prosperity and social development that the Philippine Chinese community had ever known. Little was done, however, to dissipate the growing ethnic tensions. Indeed, the process of assimilation was, during the American period, dramatically slowed or perhaps even reversed. Since the time of the Commonwealth (1935), the Chinese have been increasingly subject to legislation and administrative decrees designed to curtail their socio-economic life.

That Filipino anti-Sinicism has many parallels with the Western anti-Semitism has been noted by many social scientists. And a comparative consideration of these parallels offers many possibilities of understanding both the specific Philippine situation and the general dynamics of intergroup relations. However, there are three *crucial* differences between Western anti-Semitism and Filipino anti-Sinicism that must be noted and remembered: (1) the unique religious and historic role of the Jews in Western civilization, (2) the differentiated nature of prejudice in the Philippines, and (3) the homeland of the Jews, long non-existent, numbers less than two million while that of the Philippine Chinese numbers over 900 million. Keeping the implications of these differences in mind, one may now turn to a study of the nature of Filipino anti-Sinicism.

The physical appearance of the Chinese and Filipinos are often very similar since they are both subgroups of the Mongoloid race and since many Filipinos, in addition, are of relatively recent Chinese ancestry. This, of course, is comparable to the position of the Jews in Western countries, who are not distinguishable from the majority in a racial sense. Nevertheless, one can—given practice and keen observation—be remarkably accurate in distinguishing Chinese, Chinese *mestizos*, and Filipinos. These “clues” to observe are naturally cultural rather than physical: gestures, movement, dress, and accent. Yet even the cultural differences are not as numerous as some might imagine, although both Chinese and Filipinos regard their own cultures as superior and distinct. The amount of cultural diffusion (in both directions) is impressive. As a utilitarian device in commerce, most Chinese soon learn at least one Philippine dialect. The Filipino styles of clothing and house design are readily adopted. In turn, Filipino agricultural methods, family systems,<sup>13a</sup> foods, handicrafts, and fishing techniques all show Chinese influences.

Yet, despite all this ethnic amalgamation and cultural borrowing, “even the wealthy Chinese are stigmatized as socially undesirable and third generation *mestizo* descendants are often themselves the most bitter Sinophobes. From the standpoint of ethnic origin, Filipinos regard the Chinese as Mongolians and themselves as part of the ‘Malay’ race.”<sup>14</sup> How then to explain why two peoples so alike and so dependent upon one another harbor such mutual animosity?

The jealous particularism of both communities supplies part of the explanation. To the extent that the Chinese are marginal, they regroup themselves into national minorities which accentuate the cleavage, or try to establish a greater number of contacts with the Filipinos. This greater “familiarity,” coupled with Chinese subordinate politico-social position, explains the ambivalent character of the Filipino reaction to them—rather close contact which often does not exclude contempt. This contempt born of familiarity embodies itself in the Filipino disdain for the oriental and preferences for the occidental. There are many Filipinos who are severe critics of the Philippine way of life and pride themselves on their ability to speak Spanish or English, to eat nothing but imported Western foodstuffs, to wear the latest Western fashions, to use American slang expressions, and to try to associate with Westerners. As Hunt has noted, “The result of three hundred years

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<sup>13a</sup> Both the patrilineal Chinese system and the Filipino bilateral systems are characterized by a traditional emphasis upon the ascribed status conferred by birth order. Deference to older siblings—both male and female—is found in all these systems. Of great interest is the fact that the Tagalog language like the various Chinese languages has terms for the entire birth order sequence. Indeed, Tagalog uses the terminology borrowed from Hokkien (Fukienese).

<sup>14</sup> Chester L. Hunt, “The Americanization Process in the Philippines,” *India Quarterly*, VII (April-June 1956), p. 126.

of Spanish rule and somewhat less than half a century of American political and cultural domination has been to produce a Filipino attitude which is oriented away from the culture with which it is in territorial propinquity and towards the standards of the West."<sup>15</sup> Perhaps as a form of "group self-hatred," the Chinese are rejected as a symbol of the Oriental elements in the Filipino culture and physique. Instead of a direct form of self-hatred, this emotion is displaced to a convenient minority which is similar in culture and physical type, yet definitely Oriental. On this point, some comments of informants may prove pertinent.

- (1) "As far as I can remember, even if we were not taught to dislike the Chinese, we were expected to do so."
- (2) "I have always heard them being called *bebo* and whenever I was dirty, I was called *bebo*, so that it had been impressed in my mind that they are dirty. . . . (as a child) in their stores I heard people scolding the Chinese and I thought that they must be bad for I saw this happen quite often. My mother would scold me only if I had done something wrong."
- (3) "We were told that a Chinese is dirty, stingy, or *kuriput*, and one who has no future . . . . To us, the Spanish, Americans, Swiss, etc., are very much better than the Chinese in all respects."
- (4) (European and American) *mestizos* have higher prestige than we do because of their lighter color.
- (5) These foreigner (Western) groups are far more respected by the native groups than the Chinese.
- (6) The personal opinions of my parents about the undesirability of Chinese have influenced me very much. My attitude towards the Chinese is one of hostility and sometimes hatred. This might be due to the different culture possessed by the Chinese. Their physical make-up also appears undesirable. And then their unintelligent language. Hearing it makes me feel sick.
- (7) The Chinese are very well known for their business acumen but wherever they go—they are constantly exposed to ridicule. Their inability to keep their surroundings clean, their funny language, and their peculiar customs have not failed to evoke remarks from the masses.<sup>16</sup>

Filipinos, traditionally a rural people, have a suspicion coupled with admiration for the urban life. Often when they come to Manila, they encounter bitter disillusionment: slums, unemployment, vice, crime, and a way of life in sharp contrast with that of the *damay* society (*Gemeinschaft*) they left back in the barrio. For these abuses, the Chinese—politically weak, typically urban—are blamed.<sup>17</sup> As a symbol of urban capitalism, the Chinese draw additional hostility from special groups. Coller has written,

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>16</sup> From students' essays at the University of the Philippines.

<sup>17</sup> In 1899, 58 per cent of the Chinese lived in Manila. This declined to 39 per cent in 1939, but then rose to 63 per cent in 1948. (But such registration figures have always been largely imaginative. Still, far more than half of the Philippine Chinese must be in the Manila area.)



There is a new rising Filipino middle class which regards the Chinese as direct rivals. They make no secret of the fact that they want to occupy the positions of the Chinese. For representatives of the old Spanish-type landed aristocracy, the Chinese symbolize the hated new capitalism and industrialization which will reduce their purchasing power and, worst of all, their social status . . . For the urban proletariat the Chinese becomes the convenient person to blame for the great difficulty in upward social mobility or even in securing a decent level of living. The middle class Chinese becomes a target of envy and hate generated by the relatively rigid social stratification of Philippine society.<sup>18</sup>

Recent research studies reveal that these tendencies are still only potentials, but they do seem to loom high on the social horizon.<sup>19</sup> Of these growing stresses and strains in the economic development, Hunt has commented:

Foreigners are apt to explain lags in Filipino activity as due to a culture which directed ambition towards agriculture and the professions while placing little prestige on business success. Filipinos invariably diagnose the situation as due to a Chinese monopoly which discourages local businessmen.<sup>20</sup>

Appropriate for such sentiments was the float of the Filipino National Patriotic League in the Independence Parade of 1952 which proclaimed, "The Filipino misery can be solved by the mass deportation of the Chinese."

The old idea of the Chinese as "licentious infidels" and "sodomists" is still quite current in the Philippines. The "double standard of morality" still holds sway in the Philippines. Women are held to be chaste, while men are expected to demonstrate masculinity in prestigious lovemaking and sexual exploits. This results in a paradox common to any such system where each male tries to seduce all non-kin females while jealously guarding his own female relatives. To preserve social order, this must be cloaked in the appropriate forms. Thus, it is not the Filipino but that sly old infidel, the *intsik baboy* (literally "Chinese pig"), who threatens the purity of Filipino womanhood. Given the marked imbalance of the Philippine-Chinese sex ratio and effective control of vice by certain Chinese, there is enough substance in the charge to insure a long continuation of this stereotypical image.

Coupled with the image of the sexual licentiousness of the Chinese is the image that in his business and political dealings the Chinese is dangerous and unethical. As previously noted, the business activities of the alien Chinese are so severely restricted by law and administrative rulings that it be-

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<sup>18</sup> Richard W. Collier, "Social-Psychological Perspective on the Chinese as a Minority group in the Philippines." *Philippine Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, Nos. 1-2, 1960, p. 54. Dr. Collier gave me full and unconditional access to the notes used in preparing this paper as well as the rough draft of it. Our close collaboration has necessarily produced some overlap and parallelisms, so that due acknowledgment is hereby made of this fact.

<sup>19</sup> See G. H. Weightman, "A Study of Prejudice in a Personalistic Society," *Asian Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1 (April 1964), pp. 87-101.

<sup>20</sup> Chester Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

comes mandatory for him to practice bribery, and engage in "sharp" trade practices. The Filipinos can then point to such evasions and cite them as evidence that the Chinese are unscrupulous and unethical. Officials often go one step further and ask the Chinese for a bribe so that his illegal activities will go unreported, and then later, after receiving the bribe, denounce the Chinese again for corrupting officials. On their part, the Chinese tend to classify Philippine officials into: (1) "honest"—the ones who stay bought and who accept bribes only to permit illegal activities; and (2) "dishonest"—those who won't stay bought or who demand bribes or gifts even for legal activities.

As the most obvious representative of the economic system and as a politically weak minority besides, the Chinese became a convenient scapegoat to blame for all the ills of the country. The practice of haggling over every purchase is a classic example of "antagonistic-cooperation." The stereotyped identities of buyer and seller are continually being validated and re-enforced by this commercial interaction. It also is productive of a situation in which all Sino-Filipino contacts are expected to produce haggling behavior. An arrest of a Chinese often becomes a "business deal" with the two parties bargaining over the amount of a bribe or *regalo* (literally, "gift") necessary for the police to forget the offense. It is popularly believed that legislators will dicker with leaders of the Chinese community over the "price" necessary for tabling restrictive legislation. Filipinos often state a preference for shopping at a Chinese store because they like to haggle with them but would be "ashamed" to do so with another Filipino:

- (1) In Manila, the Filipino servants of a friend with whom I was visiting told me that they preferred to go half a block to a Chinese store rather than to a Filipino store close by. When I asked why, they said that while the prices were the same, "the Chinese don't get angry when you insult them."<sup>21</sup>
- (2) Chinese are very patient and have a very good understanding . . . . Sometimes their customers will shout just to buy a very small thing on credit, and they serve the customer calmly. Sometimes when they are engaged in a fight with a customer, you will find out later that the Chinese is the one to ask an apology even though it is the customer's fault. Sometimes the *canto-boys* (street corner delinquents) in our town will raid the Chinese stores and ask for anything, and the Chinese will give them without a single word. But in spite of all these things, still the Chinese are the targets of robbery and murder.<sup>22</sup>

It would appear that the Sino-Filipino interaction displays the common human desire to dominate others. John Dollard has noted "extorting deference from other human beings is probably one of the things the human being will do if he gets a chance, unless his culture is so built as to make such an

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<sup>21</sup> John Scott, *Asian Journey*, p. 112.

<sup>22</sup> From a student essay at the University of the Philippines.

extortion impossible.<sup>23</sup> In a culture where "teasing" is a prime mechanism of socialization,<sup>24</sup> where aggression against one's superiors and kin is vigorously suppressed, and where the Western and *mestizo* elite occupy an unassailable position of socio-economic power, the Chinese storekeeper becomes a crucial channel for the release of socially sanctioned aggression. In such a light one may detect the unconscious irony in the following remarks:

- (1) They are closely associated with the people that half of their sales a day are on credit.
- (2) (The town people prefer to patronize the Chinese stores) 'this holds true because the Chinese remain dumb whatever is said to them.'
- (3) They are very friendly though they are the subjects of jokes and ridicule. . . . But they are very friendly and cooperative especially if our community will sponsor a charity drive. They are the ones who give the biggest contributions.<sup>25</sup>

Increasingly have Filipinos come to resent the success of the Chinese in business. Filipinos often concluded that Chinese shopkeepers are easier to deal with—because of "trickery." Rather than admiring the success of the Chinese in a hostile environment, Filipinos take their continual success as an affront to Philippine society. While intermarriage is still widely contracted, there is growing verbalized disapproval of such a practice among the more nationalistic and "modern" Filipinos. "Sanglaya" and "hopia" (a Chinese cake) are popular terms of derision for any Filipino married to a Chinese. When a Tagalog girl marries a Chinese, it is often said that she and her family have only done this for money involved. It is becoming more common to use the same terms of opprobrium for the Chinese *mestizos* as for the Chinese. As a Filipino with marked anti-Sinic sentiments expressed it:

We despise Filipinos intermarry with Chinese for frequently it was the shine of gold that attracted her to him and led her to oppose society—us.

If such sentiments continue to spread as the Chinese sex ratio approaches a more normal balance, one can predict a decline in the number of intermarriages that will take place. Already most of the politico-economic advantages resulting from such an alliance have been lost.

Another element operating in the Philippine anti-Sinicism, is the concept of the Chinese as a dangerous enclave—Red Trojan horse. While the individual Chinese is viewed as less than dirt, the collective group is perceived as a vanguard of atheistic communism. Deep in the background, perhaps,

<sup>23</sup> John Dollard, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. William F. Nydegger, *Tarong: A Philippine Barrio*.

<sup>25</sup> From students' essays at the University of the Philippines.

lurk vague apprehensions about the heirs of Lim Ah-hong and Koxinga.<sup>26</sup> Both the American and Philippine governmental apparatus have promoted this potential hysteria. Even during the dark days of Bataan in 1942, Quezon is reported to have said, "My great fear is the Chinese. With their increasing militarism and aggressive tendencies, they are the great Asiatic menace." But Quezon was a Spanish *mestizo*, and there are other Filipino leaders who envision some rapprochement. However, a student noted the hysterical attitude of the barrio folk when he wrote,

Often people disgustingly say that if and when the communists take over this country, all the Chinese will side with them and even help the Commies massacre the Filipino people, as what we saw with the Japanese during the war.<sup>27</sup>

In conclusion, one might note that the Chinese is disdained and resented for being "Asiatic" and for approving of such a pattern. While serving as an outlet for the frustrations of the masses, he is further resented for his facility in making so successful an adaptation. Although individually counted as nothing, his collective group is increasingly feared. Increasingly there is a tendency to identify socially the Chinese *mestizos* as Chinese; this is in line with parallel political and economic development. Among the Filipinos there is a growing reluctance to contract intermarriage with the Chinese.

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<sup>26</sup> Lim Ah-hong was a semi-legendary Chinese adventurer-pirate who led a daring attack upon Manila in the early period of Spanish rule. Koxinga (Chen Ch'eng kung), a Ming supporter based in Taiwan, threatened the Spanish Philippines with invasion unless the restrictions on Chinese were curtailed.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*