

INTER-ETHNIC IMAGES BETWEEN FILIPINOS AND CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINES¹

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WHILE A NUMBER OF RESEARCHES HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED ON Philippine Anti-Sinoism as reviewed by Tan,² studies on inter-ethnic images between the two groups have started only recently with Peabody's research.³ The following is a brief but hopefully informative study on inter-ethnic images between Filipinos and Chinese in the Philippines.

METHOD

In this study we confined ourselves to measuring the evaluative judgments of the Chinese subjects to the concept "Filipino" and "Chinese in the Philippines" through the use of the semantic differential.⁴ In essence, the semantic differential technique consists of presenting the subject with a number of bipolar rating scales that he uses to rate one or more specified concepts. Each scale has seven possible response categories ranging from extreme unfavorability to extreme favorability. In a pre-test of the semantic differential scale, national images were used as concepts (e.g., Philippines, China, Japan, etc.). This however, resulted in much evasiveness on the part of the subjects; hence the concepts were changed to ethnic images like "Chinese in the Philippines", "Filipinos", "Japanese", etc. This, to a great extent, eliminated evasiveness on the part of the subjects. The findings were then compared to a similar study conducted by Willis.⁵

In Willis' study, both ethnic images and national images were used as concepts. He found significant differences in the ratings of the two concepts. His data on the Filipino ratings of ethnic images was the one used in this paper.

¹ Part of these data have been presented in Allen L. Tan, "Attitudes of Filipino-Chinese Towards Nationalist and Communist Chinese." *The U.P. Research Digest*. Vol. 6, No. 2, (January 1967), pp. 19-22.

² Allen L. Tan, "A Survey of Studies on Anti-Sinoism in the Philippines." *Asian Studies*. Vol. 6, No. 2, (August 1968), pp. 198-207.

³ Dean Peabody, "Group Judgments in the Philippines: Their Evaluative and Descriptive Aspects," in W. F. Bello and A. de Guzman (eds.), *Modernization: Its Impact in the Philippines, III*, (*Institute of Philippine Culture Papers*, 6, 1969), pp. 114-128.

⁴ Charles Osgood, George Suci, and Percy Tannenbaum. *The Measurement of Meaning*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957), pp. 1-496.

⁵ Richard Willis, "Ethnic and National Images Among Filipino University Students." Paper read at the Philippine Sociological Society Annual Convention, Manila, May 1966.

For our study proper, we used twenty bipolar scales selected on the basis of a strong consensus on the part of the favorable as opposed to the unfavorable end. In a preliminary factor analysis of all the semantic differential scales used, all the twenty were found to be highly evaluative in nature. To reduce response bias in our sample, the positive ends of the bipolar scales were alternated. All 20 scales, however, were scored in the same direction. All responses at the unfavorable end got 1 point and all responses at the favorable end 7. Of the twenty scales, however, only 16 scales were used in the analysis in order to make our data comparable to Willis.

Our sample consisted of 25 males and 25 females all of whom were students of the University of the Philippines. All subjects were either in their junior or senior year at the time of the study. These Chinese students were either born or raised in the Philippines; they were all able to speak at least one Chinese dialect. This sample may not be fully representative of the Chinese here in the Philippines but it should be quite comparable to the Filipino sample.

The Filipino sample utilized by Willis on the other hand, consisted of 101 undergraduate of the higher division, i.e., juniors and seniors, of the University of the Philippines. Of these, 50 were males and 51 were females. This sample may likewise not be representative of the total population or a cross-section of it but there is evidence that their responses were consistent with those from other social, economic, and educational strata. A questionnaire was given to them consisting of 16 bipolar rating scales. They rated the concepts "Filipino" and "Chinese in the Philippines" among others. The semantic differential responses were scored from 0-6 in this sample as opposed to the Chinese data which was scored from 1-7. For purposes of comparison, however, correction was done on the Filipino data by adding 1 point to every score in the individual scales. All analysis done on the Willis' data in this paper are based on the corrected values. The ratings of both groups can be compared point by point in the scale since both studies used the same 16 scales.

RESULTS

Table I summarizes the mean ratings of both the Chinese and Filipino subjects to the concepts "Filipino" and "Chinese in the Philippines" along the 16 bipolar scales. The column Means presented in the table serve as favorability indices. Careful inspection of the table shows that a mean rating of 4.99 was attributed by the Chinese subjects to the concept "Chinese in the Philippines" while a mean of 40.7 is given to the concept "Filipino." The Filipino sample also gave a mean of 4.95 to the concept "Filipino" and they rated the concept "Chinese in the Philippines" a mean of 4.23. In

TABLE I
Mean Ratings for the Concept

	Semantic Differential <i>Scales</i>	"CHINESE in the Philippines"	"FILIPINO"
by CHINESE Ss	lazy-industrious	6.04	2.96
	unscientific-scientific	4.26	3.30
	suspicious-trusting	4.24	3.90
	uncultured-cultured	5.04	4.18
	dirty-clean	4.80	3.48
	hostile-friendly	5.22	5.72
	cowardly-brave	3.78	4.36
	wasteful-thrifty	5.86	2.80
	childish-mature	4.92	3.52
	weak-strong	4.22	4.26
	uncooperative-cooperative	4.40	4.52
	dishonest-honest	5.02	3.48
	stupid-intelligent	5.82	4.16
	aggressive-peace-loving	6.12	4.56
	ugly-attractive	4.90	4.68
cruel-kind	5.30	4.68	
	Means	4.99	4.07
by FILIPINO Ss	lazy-industrious	6.32	3.75
	unscientific-scientific	3.87	3.59
	suspicious-trusting	2.96	4.66
	uncultured-cultured	3.86	4.88
	dirty-clean	2.62	5.24
	hostile-friendly	4.71	6.12
	cowardly-brave	3.49	5.58
	wasteful-thrifty	6.24	4.27
	childish-mature	4.28	4.30
	weak-strong	4.04	4.74
	uncooperative-cooperative	3.89	4.83
	dishonest-honest	3.51	5.01
	stupid-intelligent	4.57	5.26
	aggressive-peace-loving	5.15	5.70
	ugly-attractive	3.75	5.37
cruel-kind	4.44	5.93	
	Means	4.23	4.95

both cases we can see that the subjects rated their ethnic group more favorably than the other group.

To illustrate the differences in the subjects' ratings of the two concepts, profiles on the semantic differential scales were drawn for both samples. Figure 1 shows the ratings of the Chinese subjects on the two concepts. We can see from the figure that "Filipinos" were rated more negatively than the concept "Chinese" by the Chinese subjects on all scales except four: *hostile-friendly*, *cowardly-brave*, *weak-strong*, *uncooperative-cooperative*. To test whether the Chinese Ss ratings of the two concepts were significantly different, the Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs signed-Ranks test⁶ was applied. The test yielded a T value equal to 10 (T=10), significant at $p=.01$. Hence, the Chinese' ratings of the two concepts differed significantly; of course rating themselves more favorably.

Figure 2 gives us the profiles drawn by the Filipino sample. General inspection of the profile reveals that the Filipino subjects rated themselves more favorably than the Chinese on all scales except three: *lazy-industrious*, *unscientific-scientific*, *wasteful-thrifty*. The difference in the rating of the two concepts, when tested for significance gave a T=30 in the Wilcoxon test, significant at $p=.01 < \text{level}$. This allows us to conclude that Filipinos rate themselves more favorably than they do Chinese.

Figure 3 illustrates the profile ratings of the Chinese subjects and the Filipino subjects on the concept "Chinese in the Philippines". There is a general agreement between the ratings of the two samples as shown by the similar directions in the profiles. This agreement, when tested with a Spearman-Rank correlation, gave an $r=.79$ which was significant at the $p=.01$ level. Not surprisingly, the Chinese consistently rated the concept more favorably than the Filipino Ss. To test this difference in the ratings of the two samples a median test was performed, yielding a $\chi^2=4.5$ significant at the $p=.05$ level. We can, therefore, conclude that the Chinese view themselves more favorably than do Filipinos.

Figure 4 shows the profile ratings of the samples on the concept "Filipino." The profile shows that in all cases the Filipinos rated themselves more favorably than the Chinese Ss would rate them. There is, however, a general agreement in the direction of their ratings as indicated by an $r=.78$ which is significant at $p=.01$ level. To test the difference in the way the two samples view the concept, a median test was performed resulting in a $\chi^2=8.0$, significant at $p=.01$. Hence, the Filipino sample viewed the concept "Filipino" significantly more favorably than the Chinese did. These interesting findings call for more comment.

⁶ Sidney, Seigel, *Non-Parametric Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), pp. 75-83.

Fig. 1. PROFILES OF CHINESE SUBJECTS
Rating the Concepts "Filipino" and "Chinese"

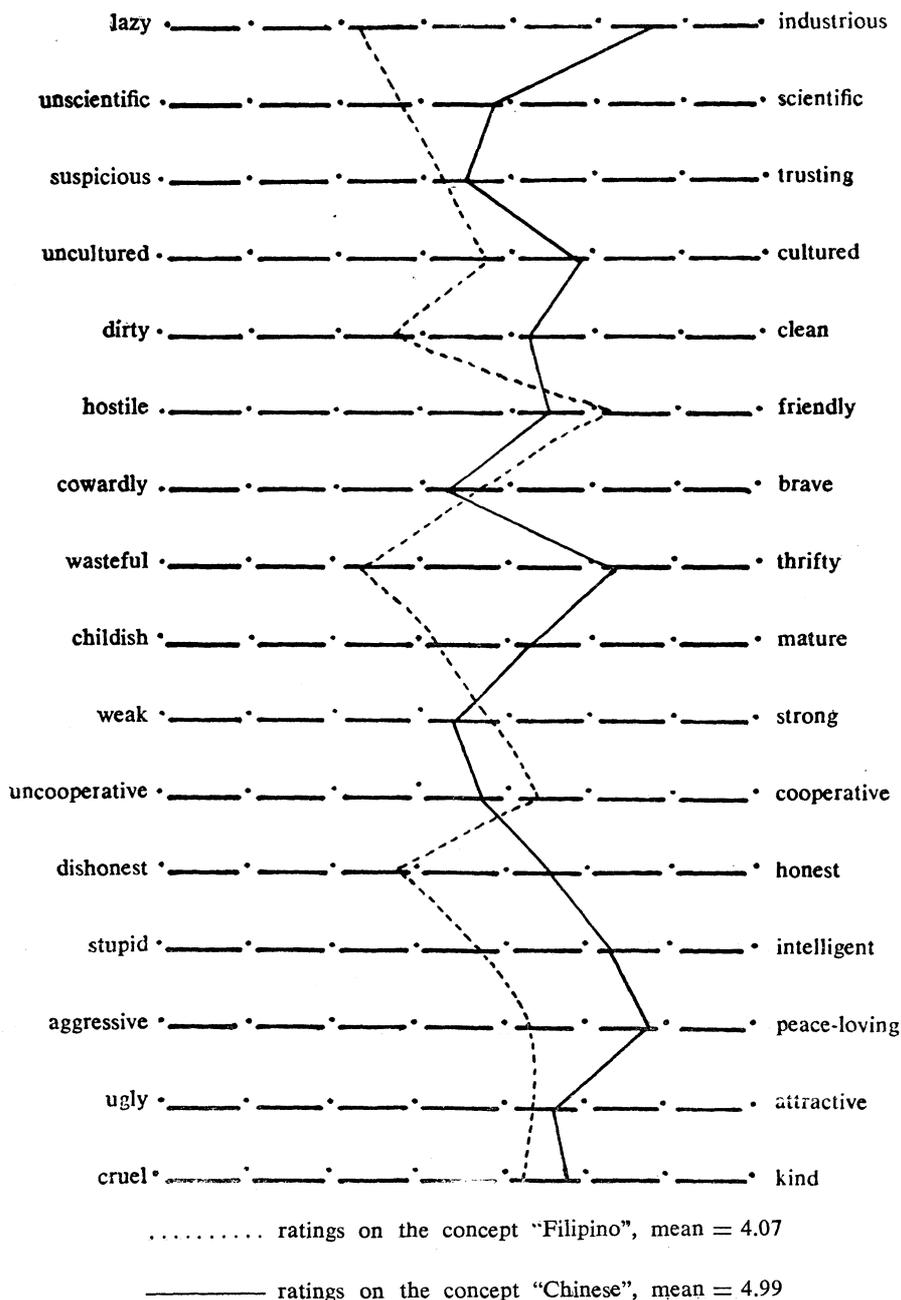


Fig. 2. PROFILES OF FILIPINO SUBJECTS
Rating the Concepts 'Filipino' and 'Chinese'

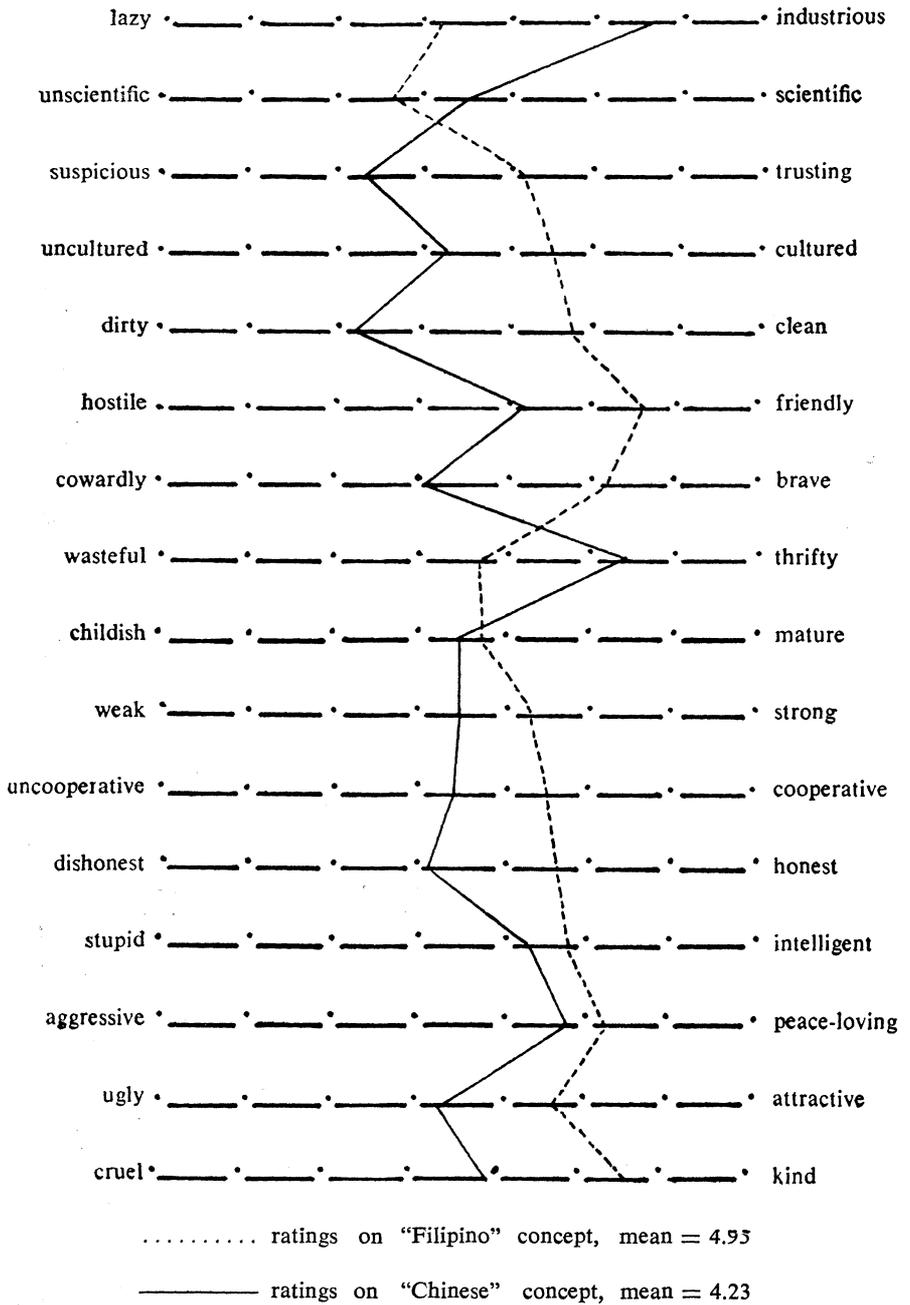


Fig. 3. PROFILES OF THE CONCEPT "CHINESE"

As rated by Filipino Ss and Chinese Ss

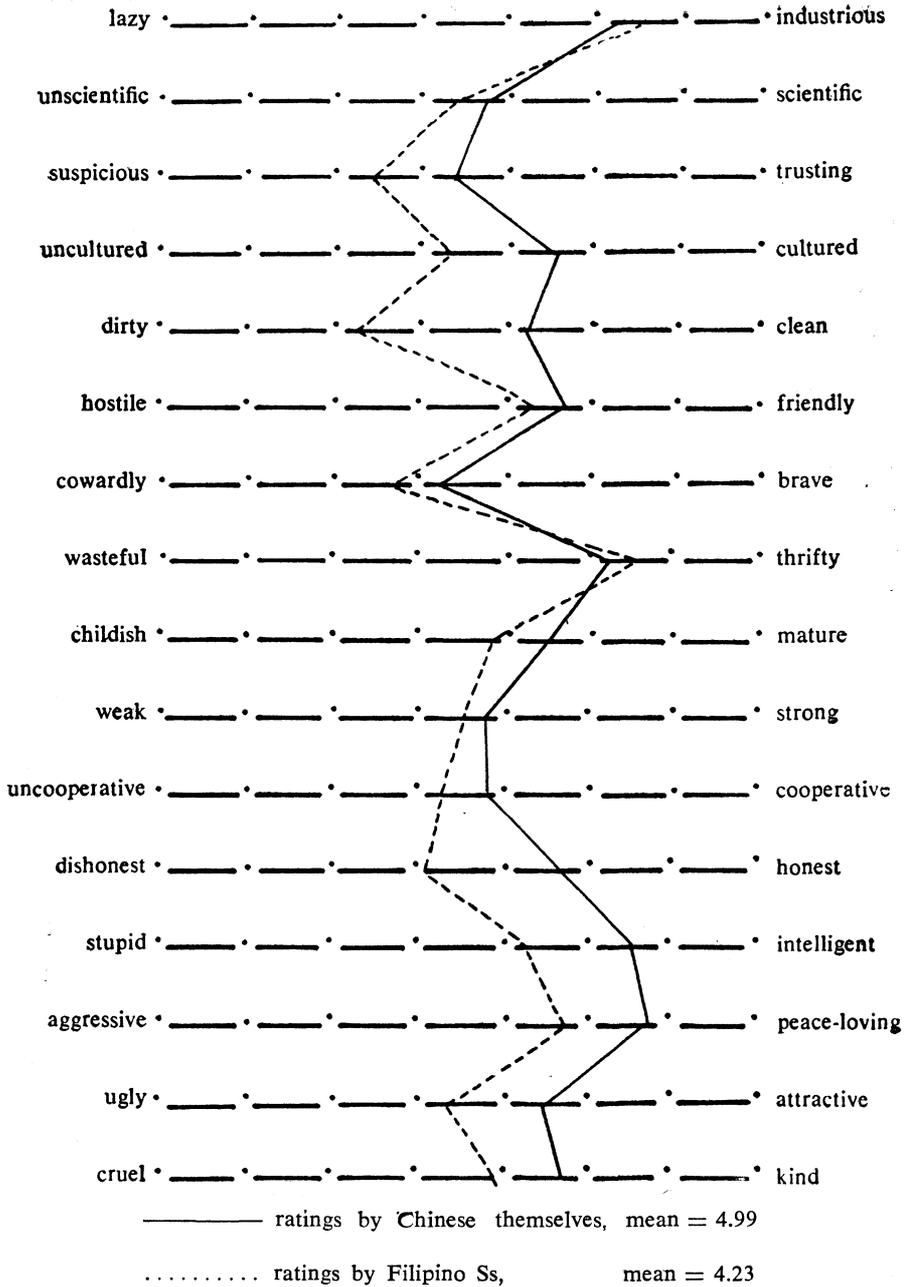
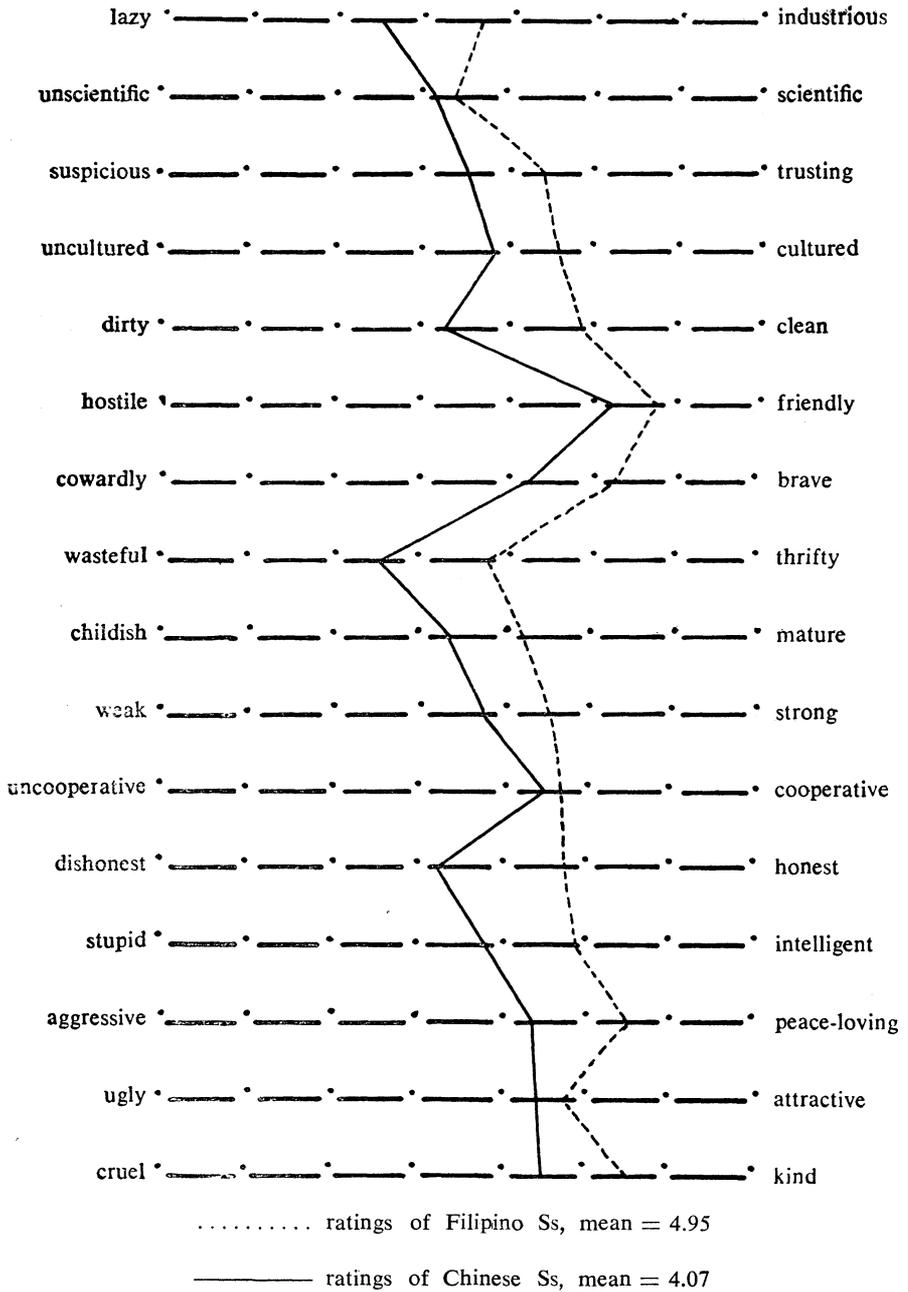


Fig. 4. PROFILES OF THE CONCEPT "FILIPINO"
As rated by Filipino Ss and Chinese Ss



DISCUSSION

Table I shows that Filipino view themselves about as favorably as Chinese view themselves (with mean ratings of 4.95 and 4.99, respectively). However, Filipinos tend to view Chinese more favorably than Chinese view Filipinos (with mean ratings of 4.23 and 4.07, respectively). These findings are to a great extent in agreement with the results from a recent study by Peabody.⁷

The high Spearman-Rank correlations, coupled with the significant median tests is of great interest. It is plausible that an objective judgement of the concepts from the two ethnic groups accounts for a high correlation, while an evaluative factor operating on top of this description worked toward producing the significant χ^2 's from the median tests.

More important information can still be gathered from the data. One may note, for instance, that in Fig. 3, Filipinos rate "Chinese" highest on *industrious*, *thrifty*, *peace-loving* and lowest on *clean*, *trustworthy*, and *brave*. On the other hand, the Chinese rated themselves highest on *peace-loving*, *industrious*, *thrifty* and *intelligent*, and lowest on *brave*, *strong* and *trusting*. From Fig. 4 we can see the differences in the perception of the "Filipino" by the two samples. The Chinese rated this ethnic group highest on *friendly*, *attractive*, and *kind* and lowest on *thrifty*, *industrious*, and *scientific*. On the other hand, Filipinos rated their own group highest in *friendly*, *kind* and *peace-loving* and lowest on *scientific* and *industrious*.

Of course, it is important to understand that the images in the profiles, whether of self or of others, are neither necessarily true nor necessarily false. These group perceptions, however, *per se* are of considerable interest. The fact that Filipinos see themselves as friendly and attractive whether or not it is true is interesting. A fact of greater importance is their rating of Chinese as *dirty*, *cowardly* and *suspicious* regardless of whether it is true or not. This perception of other groups is of importance in the study of stereotypes and ethnic prejudice. Further experimentation is still wanting in this area. It is hoped that this piece of work provides some clarifications to the general assertion that prejudice between Filipinos and Chinese is not necessarily a one-way affair.

⁷ Peabody, *op. cit.*