

ities, better educational opportunities, more social contacts, modern conveniences like the radio of which several homes have sets now, and the cine and other cultural influences that the poblacion of Calivo, seven kilometers away, extends to the people of Mabilo. There is also a tendency for Mabileños to aim at a higher standard of living.

Some desire to change is also evident in the community centered school project now being pushed through. Political consciousness is fast lifting the people from lethargy and indifference. Homes have become cleaner and the barrio, healthier. In short, change has set in. Culture change is slow, but it is surely a rejuvenator and reconditioner of human life.

In conclusion, I should like to enumerate the principal points that this report wishes to carry out:

1. It is evident that Mabilo, the fishing village, possesses a culture that is in some ways characteristic of the homogeneity of the people.
2. Folkways and mores are vital forces in regulating barrio life and their best ally is found in gossip.
3. Barrio people have more or less balanced personalities built up in an integral manner by the primary social, educational, economic, and religious elements in the rural culture of the group.
4. Familism, as in other Philippine barrios, is responsible for the stability and enduring quality of Mabileño marriages and for the strict supervision of courtship.
5. Mabilo is a primary group with relationship among its members on a strong basis of intimacy.
6. The geographic factors and the economic resources of an area greatly determined the mode of life of the people and their means of earning a living.
7. The beliefs and attitudes of a people, interwoven into their psychological makeup make culture change progress at a comparatively slow pace.
8. And lastly, urban influences are slowly seeping into the rural culture of Mabilo and are effecting culture changes some of which produce culture conflicts between the old ways and the new.

## A PRELIMINARY ECOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN MANILA

By George Henry Weightman

### Background.

Because of economic opportunities, traditional precedents, and former restrictive Spanish residential regulations, the larger part of the Philippine Chinese community has always tended to reside in the Manila area—and only in certain districts. The Spaniards, in the attempt to control the Chinese and to prevent too much wealth from coming into their hands, subjected the Chinese to many restrictions. The Chinese were not permitted to travel extensively in the Islands, (there were few in Iloilo before 1860 and there are still many towns in Batangas without any Chinese) nor to go two leagues from Manila without a written license, nor could they remain overnight in Manila proper (Intramuros) after the gates were closed on penalty of their lives.

Sociologically significant were the Spanish residential restrictions upon the Chinese. They were required to live in a limited special district (known in Manila and Cebu as the "Parían"). The "Parían" (market place) was originally called "alcarceria" (silk market) in Manila, and this name through the Spanish period was used interchangeably with "Parían". These special districts performed all the functions that ghettos throughout the world perform: the culture of the minority was preserved, the assimilation process was seriously reduced; cultural and social communication between the groups were handicapped; and resultant fears, hostilities, and suspicions were developed by all parties. Because of the trade connections with the Acapulco trade the most important Chinese settlement was in Manila as would be expected. The "alcarceria" was first established on the Pasig directly opposite Manila (Intramuros) in 1581 by Peñalosa. In 1583 it was moved across the river by Diego Ronquillo and was established beyond the walled area near the present ruins of Santo Domingo Church. (Throughout most of the Spanish period and until recently Catholic missionary activity among the Philippine Chinese was under the direction of the Spanish Dominicans). In both cases the guns of Fort Santiago were strategically able to command the Chinese settlement.

An old description (1662) of the district follows:

"On the Eastern side of the city, but outside of it and in front of its walls, at the distance of a musketshot, is a silk market which they called Parían. Usually 15,000 Chinese live there; they are Sangleys, natives of China, and all are merchants and artisans. They all possess, allotted among themselves by streets and square, shops containing all kinds of merchandise and all the trades that are necessary in a community. The place is very orderly and well arranged, and a great convenience to the citizens...<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. de Letona, "Description of Filipinas Islands, Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, XXXVI, p. 189.

The historic marker for "El Parian" reads:

"Former site of El Parian, a Chinese walled suburb destroyed and rebuilt several times, bombarded from San Gabriel bastion, in the Chinese uprising of 1603, set on fire in the Chinese insurrection of 1639, transferred to La Estacada, Binondo by Governor Diego Fajardo, but built again in this district and later moved to Alcayeria de San Jose, Intramuros, by Governor Jose Basco y Vagas in 1786 for military reasons and finally dispersed in 1860."

With respect to the population of the Parian, it fluctuated like the rest of the Chinese population base throughout the Spanish era depending upon the massacres (1603, 1639, 1662, 1686, and 1762) and the effectiveness of the various expulsion degrees. Not all the Chinese in the Manila area lived in the Parian; there have also been communities of long historic duration in Binondo and Tondo. When Legaspi arrived at Manila, most of the Chinese he found in the area were residing in the Tondo district. With the dispersal of the Parian in the last century, Binondo became the predominant Chinese district in the City.

In 1939 over 39 per cent of the "official" number of Chinese in the Island were estimated to be living in Manila, and 45.4 per cent in Manila and the surrounding area.<sup>2</sup> With such a large foreign element concentrated in Greater Manila, it is not surprising that the greater number of Chinese mestizos are also found here. As early as the last century, one-sixth of the city's population was estimated to be Chinese mestizos.<sup>3</sup> Naturally the number of Chinese in Intramuros was never large because of Spanish traditional exclusion. Jagor put Intramuros's population in 1855 at: 856 European Spaniards; 1,378 Creoles; 6,323 natives and mestizos; 322 Chinese; 2 Germans; 1 Portuguese; and 1 Negro.

#### Present Number and Distribution

As might be expected there is considerable disagreement over the number of Chinese aliens presently in the city (See Table I). In allocating the Manila Chinese quota for the recent Peace Fund Drive the Chinese Chamber of Commerce used figures, totalling 65,597, while the Philippine Census Bureau put the figure at 94,944. (Interestingly enough the Chamber has a higher figure for Cebu City than does the Census Bureau; the former assumes 5,062, while the latter places the number at 3,952). Although the Chamber's figure is more in line with the 1939 "official" figure of 46,233, this writer feels that perhaps the present Census figure is more in line with the number of ethnic and legal Chinese in the Country. In fact the 94,944 figure seems to be quite conservative since the previous history of the group has demonstrated that a large proportion of the alien element resides in the city. If the actual number are to reside in the city in the same proportion that the "official" number do, the city total would be at least 120,000.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Purcell, Victor, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, p. 575.

<sup>3</sup> Foreman, John, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> Jagor, F. *Travels in the Philippines*, p. 29

<sup>5</sup> Assuming the 1939 proportion.

TABLE I

Distribution of Chinese in the City of Manila

Chinese General Chamber of Commerce	Peace Fund	Figures. <sup>6</sup>
District	Chinese Number	Total Population
Binondo	12,055	22,229
Ermita	363	14,922
Intramuros	8	987
Malate	959	68,703
Paco	1,013	46,618
Pandacan	101	25,413
Port Area	109	8,290
Quiapo	2,245	28,520
Sampaloc	3,034	255,640
San Miguel	659	20,477
San Nicolas	4,028	41,961
Santa Ana	1,081	65,813
Santa Cruz	12,680	147,968
Tondo	17,262	305,350
Total	65,597 <sup>7</sup>	1,052,891

Table I shows the distribution of the alien community throughout the city. Despite the under-estimated figures the ecological pattern is clear; the Chinese live north of the Pasig chiefly in Binondo, San Nicolas, Santa Cruz, and Tondo. With more than half of the district Chinese, Binondo is truly the heart of "Chinatown." San Nicolas is also characterized as a "Chinese district," but the large numbers in Tondo and Santa Cruz are lost in even larger numbers of Filipinos. Almost one-third of the city is concentrated in the old Hispano-Malayan district of Tondo.

The upper class Chinese live in Malate or outside the city proper in Pasay or Quezon City. The middle class live in Binondo and San Nicolas, and the lower class are in the slums of Tondo, Binondo, and San Nicolas. The population center is Binondo and San Nicolas, the commercial center is the Binondo-Santa Cruz junction. However, a more extensive study is now directed toward this question of residence outside Binondo.

Before taking leave of the general urban demographic factors, it might be valuable to comment on the fact that in Manila the birthrate of the Chinese residents is lower than that of the natives<sup>8</sup> and might falsely be attributed to their longer contact with urban life, were it not for the more obvious explanation that women were disproportionately few in the past migrant population. As has been stated before this unbalance is being righted. Purcell assumes a "natural" increase of the Overseas Chinese population at 1.5 to 2 per cent per annum<sup>9</sup> (at compound interest). In

<sup>6</sup> City Records for 1950.

<sup>7</sup> Census Bureau placed alien city figure at 94,944 in 1948.

<sup>8</sup> Lasker, *op. cit.*, Asia on the Move p. 10

<sup>9</sup> Purcell, *op. cit.*, p. 5

an eight month period in 1948 there were 650 registered Chinese births in the Philippines.<sup>10</sup>

### Areas of Specialization.

#### Economic

All cities in some degree or other have area of economic specialization, but the extent to which economic activity is characterized by street specialization in Manila's "Chinatown" (especially in Binondo) is truly striking. Of the 23 Chinese leather goods shops in the city of Manila (1948) 18 were on Nueva Street.<sup>11</sup> This writer counted 26 shoe stores on adjoining Gandara (lower). Nueva also specializes in dry goods stores; Pinpin in furniture; Dasmariñas in importing and wholesaling; Rosario in wholesaling shirt factories, and dry goods; San Vicente in American textile imports; Gandara Extension in second hand and auto spare shops; and Ongpin in restaurants, movie houses and curio shops. Many of the retail shops on Manila's main street, Escolta, are Chinese owned.<sup>12</sup> Lumber dealers group themselves on Juan Luna, Azcarraga, and Soler.

In San Nicolas food and flour importers are located on Calle Elcano and Calle Santo Cristo. Chinese retailers predominate on Avenida Rizal and Carriedo in Santa Cruz; they are also well represented on Quezon Boulevard, Quiapo. With the Chinese Y.M.C.A., the U.N.O. Club, the *Kong Li Po*, the *Great China Press*, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Kuomintang Party headquarters, and two schools all within a block of one another, Benavides Street is the Chinese cultural center as well as its socio-economic hub.

Unless one has visited these streets, one cannot appreciate just how complete and intense this specialization actually is. In part such clustering results from past patterns and from ease of access. But undoubtedly such concentration produces striking price uniformity which any shopping experiment could quickly demonstrate. In part, but only in part, Chinese success in the economic realm results from such specialization.

#### Vice

Manila's "Chinatown" has commercialized vice areas similar to those of any modern urban region. As is the same in the ecological patterns of many other cities the deteriorated regions immediate surrounding the "town's" business district is the primary focal point of vice. The primary vice area of "Chinatown" and Manila are coterminous since the Chinese district includes much of the business district of the city of Manila.

Commercialized vice—prostitution, gambling, narcotics and indecent pictures—is said to be largely controlled by the Chinese. Indeed the opium vice has appeal at present to only the Chinese. There is no sinister or mystical reason for the Chinese control of commercialized vice; they

<sup>10</sup> Rafaelita Hilario Soriano, "Our Alien Problem," *Sunday Times Magazine*, VI, Sept. 10, 1950, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Philippine Chronicle*, 1948

<sup>12</sup> No accurate determination can be made since the city's licensing program does not class by nationality.

do so as practical business men who recognize a profitable enterprise. The disproportionate Chinese sex-ratio would alone offer the suitable environment for the flourishing of organized prostitution.

The area bounded by Azcarraga, Rizal Avenue, Quezon and Echague contains many cheap hotels (most of which are owned and managed by Chinese) which sponsor clandestine prostitution as another source of income. A majority of the prostitutes in the Chinese district are reported to be Chinese, many of whom entered the Philippines illegally. In Manila massage parlors are notorious fronts for prostitution. In the "parlors" in Chinatown, Filipinos are not accepted since the girls are exclusively for the Chinese. Most of the hotels raided by the police in Ermita are Chinese owned. Indeed, Chinese may perhaps be more liable to vice raids than other groups.

Contact and sale areas for opium are on Avenida Rizal and Carriedo. Reliable rumors place the secret stores houses on Misericordia. Ongpin is the area for the addicts, who because of the tell-tale vapors of smoked resort to morphine injections, as raids have confirmed.

Gambling is also found in specialized area of Manila and except for *monte* is also controlled by the Chinese (Mahjong, Jueteng, etc.) Zaca-tera Street (Sta. Cruz) was a gambling area during Japanese times. The "peep show" arcades are controlled by Chinese aliens, for whom Mayor Arsenio H. Lacson has urged deportation.

Just as the Chinese control vice in the city of Manila so do they in the peripheral areas around the city—San Juan, Quezon City, Pasay and Caloocan. From July 1, 1951 to December 15, 1951 the Philippine Constabulary in the area mentioned has raided 4 Chinese disorderly houses (girls all Filipinas), 4 Chinese gambling establishments (most patrons Chinese—123 out of 142), and 5 opium dens (patrons all Chinese—60).<sup>13</sup>

Since the Chinese control the retail trade, it is hardly surprising to find them in control of some of its sub-rosa "lines." What has been said of their money lending practices can be said of their control of commercialized vice: they dominate the activity because they perform most effectively a function which would have to be performed whether or not they were even in the Philippines.

<sup>13</sup> Philippine Constabulary records.