

from the social point of view and modern medical science, and then discussing the question of bringing the alleged benefits of modern medicine to these people. As the article indicates, such action is truly a matter of culture change rather than merely alleviating poverty, since the existing free clinics are not used by the people. Yet, on the other hand, the residents of Barrio Bonifacio will gladly pay money to the traditional herbalists and massagers whose success is extremely uncertain.

Questions of this type are receiving much more consideration in recent years. One of the greatest forces causing this mounting concern are the current strenuous efforts made by the so-called underdeveloped areas in the world to avail themselves of the techniques and results of modern science. In addition, the rapid growth of international organizations to aid in these programs of change, such as the WHO, have accentuated the situation. Recently, a popular version of a technical manual of the UNESCO was published that deals with this very subject. (*Culture Patterns and Technical Change*, edited by Margaret Mead, Mentor Books, The New American Library of World Literature, Inc. New York, N.Y., June, 1955). In this work a multitude of cases similar to the situation described by Miss Jimenez are cited and analyzed with the hope that the materials will help other workers in such circumstances to accomplish their aims with greater ease.

George Weightman presents a careful study of two instances involving cultural change and social adjustment in regard to Chinese immigrants. The background of the different situations are described as well as the later experiences and subsequent modes of adjustment, thus providing a well-rounded view of the processes. Studies of this type must necessarily follow initial case study investigations of the sort represented by the article of Belen Tan-Gatue. Hence the amount of comparative studies which can be done in the Philippine setting will be severely limited until the pioneering field investigations are well underway. As is true in many other fields, so it also seems to apply in sociology that the hardest job is the beginning; after that work seems to fall into a pattern which is easier to carry on. Therefore this article of George Weightman represents the type of analysis toward which Philippine Sociology is aiming.

As one may observe, the majority of these articles show a close relationship to other fields of inquiry, including both physical and social sciences. As the awareness of the importance of studies in the field of cultural change and social adjustment increases, the realization of the need for inter-disciplinary cooperation and research should correspondingly rise. Such a development could be most beneficial to both the individual researchers and the advancement of knowledge, particularly in the Philippines where much of the traditional departmentalism still prevails.

R. W. C.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THIRTY CHINESE-FILIPINO MARRIAGES*

By BELEN TAN-GATUE

Significance of the Study

Though much has been written in regard to the Chinese in the Philippines, very little emphasis has been placed on the analysis of Chinese-Filipino families in particular. Furthermore, there has been very little actual field study on Chinese-Filipino intermarriages. Thus this preliminary inquiry was made with the hope that it would inspire others to make more intensive investigations and delve deeper into the subject of Chinese-Filipino intermarriage.

Scope and Limitations

This study is confined to thirty Chinese-Filipino families residing in Manila and the suburbs. Since it is an exploratory case study, no attempt is made to establish generalizations.

The sample does not include families where the husbands are Filipinos and the wives are Chinese. Though such families exist,¹ they are few and difficult to locate. Thus the author confined the sample only to families where the husbands are Chinese and the wives are Filipinos.

Historical Background

Long before the first Europeans came to the Philippines, the Chinese had carried on commercial relations with the Filipinos. This Chinese trade with the Philippines developed largely as a result of China to Indies vessels dropping in at Philippine trading ports like Lingayen, the Manila Bay area, northern Mindanao, Sulu, and Mindoro.² There is no positive evidence, however, of Chinese settlement in the Islands during this period. The relation between the two countries seems to be purely commercial except for a brief period of political relations starting 1405 under the Ming Dynasty when China exercised some sort of suzerainty over the Philippines.³ This was ended with the death of the Ming Emperor Yung Lo in 1434.⁴

* This article is an extract from a Master of Arts thesis done by the author in February, 1955 for the Graduate School, University of the Philippines. The material was edited and revised for publication by the staff of the *Review*.

¹ It has been found that in spite of the Chinese taboo against intermarriage especially for girls, in the year 1952 alone, there were fourteen marriages between Chinese girls and Filipino boys solemnized in Manila. This was revealed to the author by Mr. Roberto Sarreal of the Ateneo Graduate School and the University of the Philippines Extension Division who is making a statistical study of marriages solemnized in Manila in 1952.

² Weightman, George Henry, "The Chinese Community in the Philippines," *Master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1952, p. 31.*

³ Purcell, Victor. *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, London, Oxford Press, 1950, p. 382.

⁴ Weightman, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

When Martin de Goite captured Manila in 1570, there was already noted a colony of forty married Chinese. Among the prisoners were the Chinese wives of some of the Chinese who had married and settled down in the area.⁵ With the coming of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi in Manila in 1571, the number of the Chinese men and women in the settlement of the Manila Bay area was 150.⁶

During the succeeding years of Spanish rule in the Philippines there was an increase of contacts with Chinese. In 1574 came the famous attack of the Chinese pirate Limahong.⁷ As the resident Chinese population increased, tensions between them and the Spaniards led to massacres in 1603, 1639, 1662, 1686, and 1762.⁸

Although the Chinese were expelled from the Philippines after 1762, as in previous instances, their expulsion was only of short duration due to the need for economic services which the Chinese alone could render. Thus in 1850, the Chinese were again admitted; this remained the policy of Spain until the Americans entered the Philippines.⁹

When the Americans took over, the Chinese exclusion laws of the United States were made effective in the Philippines.¹⁰ This excluded the Chinese unskilled laborers from entering the country, but the Chinese businessmen and former residents could come in with their dependents. The number of Chinese in the Philippines in 1940 was estimated at 117,000.

In 1940, the immigration law providing for a quota of 500 a year was passed. However, illegal entry is believed to have continued up to the present. Thus in 1950, the estimates of the numbers of Chinese in the Philippines ranged from 150,000 to 300,000.¹¹

In spite of all the discriminatory measures and immigration restrictions, the Chinese group in the Philippines has continued to be the largest of all foreign groups settled in the country. Through the processes of assimilation and amalgamation, this group has influenced to a great extent the culture of the Filipinos.

For centuries, the Chinese intermarried freely with the Filipinos and their offspring were absorbed into the native population. It was common practice for the Chinese men to settle down and marry native women primarily because of the unbalanced sex ratio. By 1942, 10%

⁵ Blair and Robertson, "Relation of the Voyage to Luzon" (June, 1570), *The Philippine Islands*, pp. 101-102.

⁶ *Ibid.*, "Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon" (April 20, 1572), pp. 167-168.

⁷ Purcell, *op. cit.*, pp. 583-584.

⁸ Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History*, Philippine Education Company, Vol. I, 1949, p. 277.

⁹ Chester Hunt, et al., *Sociology in the Philippine Setting*, Alcmarr's, Manila, 1954, p. 309.

¹⁰ Tomas S. Fonacier, "The Chinese Exclusion Policy in the Philippines," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, March 1949, pp. 3-28.

¹¹ Weightman. *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24 cited by Hunt, et al., *op. cit.*, p. 310.

of the Philippine population were dominantly of Chinese ancestry.¹² The great number of Filipino names today which are of Chinese origin is also a result of the high degree of amalgamation which took place in the past.

It is believed that amalgamation today between the Chinese and the Filipinos is on the decline because of the improved methods of transportation, facilitating frequent visits of the Chinese to their families in the mainland; growth of nationalism among both the Chinese and the natives; and more equal sex ratio due to the coming in of more Chinese women.¹³ However, the worsening Red situation in China, making visits difficult, may still change the course of events and lead anew to a rise in inter-marriages.

Income Levels

It was found that the families in the sample fell under seven income levels. One typical case from each income category was selected for detailed presentation.

The income categories under which the families fall are the following:

TABLE I

| | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| P25,000 upwards | one case |
| 20,000-25,000 | two cases |
| 15,000-20,000 | two cases |
| 10,000-15,000 | five cases |
| 6,000-10,000 | four cases |
| 2,500- 5,000 | thirteen cases |
| Under 2,500 | three cases |

It is noted that there is one case which is outstandingly different from the others with regards to income. This is the case of a wealthy Chinese business man who is married to a Filipina from Pampanga. The family income which is approximately P44,000 a year, comes mainly from the husband's earnings as manager and stockholder of a drugstore corporation. Other sources of income are apartments and stores for rent and other business investments. (See Case 5).

The next income level is represented by a case of a wealthy Chinese bank executive and university professor, who is married to a Filipina from Manila. The family income is about P20,000 annually. (See Case 8). This is derived from the husband's salary and his business investments. The wife does not work.

Case 26 represents the third income group. This is the case of a Filipina pharmacist who is married to a Chinese businessman and landlord. The annual income is approximately P15,840. The sources of in-

¹² Table No. 2: "Beyer's Table of Philippine Racial Ancestry," cited by Marcelo Tangco, "The Christian Peoples of the Philippines," *Natural and Applied Science Bulletin*, Vol. XI, No. 1, January-March 1951, p. 90.

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Purcell, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

come are a drugstore managed by the couple, a twenty-hectare rice field, and house rent.

Five families fall under the fourth income level which is considered middle class. Case 6, a case of a Filipina who is married to a Chinese agent, represents this income category. The family income is around P12,000 annually.

The next two income groups still belong to the middle class. One is represented by Case 15, a case of a Filipina who is married to a Chinese businessman. This family has an income of about P8,400 a year. The other group under which thirteen families fall, is represented by Case 1, a case of a Filipina dressmaker who is married to a Chinese bookkeeper and general merchant. The family income is around P3,420 annually.

The last case, Case 9, represents the group where the income is P2,500 or less. This is a case of a lower-class Chinese factory employee who is married to a Filipina from Laguna. The family income is around P2,400 a year.

Occupation and Income

The families under study have incomes ranging from P1,800 to P44,000 a year. The average annual income is P9,120. By Filipino economic standards, this sample represents a fairly high level of income. It is estimated that 89.4 per cent of the Filipino population have an income of P1,800 and below.¹⁴ This means that only 10.6 per cent of the Filipino population are receiving more than P1,800 which is the lowest income found in the mixed families studied.

The following table shows a comparison of the total Philippine population and the 30 sample couples in regard to income. The categories in this classification scheme were developed by Chester L. Hunt from an analysis of United Nations data.

TABLE II

| Social Level | Income | Per Cent in Nation | Per Cent in sample |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Upper | P15,000 up | 1% | 16 2/3% |
| Middle | 2,500-15,000 | 9% | 73 1/3% |
| Upper-lower | 1,100- 2,500 | 20% | 10 |
| Lower | Under 1,100 | 70% | 0 |

This data therefore indicates that the marriages were on a better-than-average income level, and were predominantly in the middle class group. Such a phenomenon is not particularly surprising in view of the fact that these couples were residing in a metropolitan area, and also in light of the husbands' occupations. A table presenting the occupations is given below:

¹⁴ Estimate of the United Nations experts in 1948, cited by Chester Hunt, et al., *Sociology in the Philippine Setting*, Alemar's, Manila, 1954, p. 141.

TABLE III
MAIN OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND

| Main Occupation | No. of Cases | Percentage |
|----------------------------------|--------------|------------|
| Business proprietor | 12 | 40% |
| Business executive | 6 | 20% |
| Business agent or salesman | 9 | 30% |
| Building contractor | 1 | 3-1/3% |
| Bookkeeper | 1 | 3-1/3% |
| Factory employee | 1 | 3-1/3% |
| TOTAL | 30 | 100% |

The explanation for the fact that almost all (90%) the husbands are businessmen may be traced back to the Chinese culture. The Chinese in the Philippines have long been recognized for their business abilities. Their folkways are such that business is encouraged. From childhood on, they are trained to acquire the necessary traits that make for successful businessmen. In most cases, they are asked to help in their fathers' stores, or are employed in a family of businessmen. It is not uncommon for a Chinese father, for instance, to request for employment of his son in a store without compensation just for the training and experience gained.

Another explanation for the commercial role of the Chinese in Manila is the fact that the Filipino culture places more emphasis on the professions, and discourages traits and attitudes compatible with business enterprise. This, together with the restrictions from other economic pursuits, gives the Chinese little alternative except to go into business, where they sometimes meet outstanding success.

Courtship and Marriage Patterns

Out of the thirty couples studied, fourteen or 46-2/3 per cent met at their places of employment.¹⁵ The place was generally a store or an office where one or both were employed. Five or 16-2/3 per cent met in the houses of friends, relatives, or guardians. Eleven or 36-2/3 per cent met in the school, in a party, on the street, or at a basketball game.

Thus business factors indirectly enter the picture here, for with the concentration of Chinese in business, young Filipinas and young Chinese men have opportunity to meet under business circumstances.

Ten wives did not like their husbands at first sight. This was due in part to ethnic prejudice and stereotyped attitudes against the Chinese in general. Four wives admitted that they were not in love with their husbands up to the time of marriage. Two of them (Cases 2 and 6)

¹⁵ It is interesting to note that in Rafel, "Intermarriage—A Critical Evaluation of Twenty Post World War II Intermarriages Between Filipinos and Americans on the Island of Luzon," Master's Thesis, University of the Philippines, 1954, 30% of the Filipina-American couples met in parties. This difference in the places of initial meeting may be attributed to the differences in the social setting.

were forced to marry the Chinese for fear of "loosing face" after they were kissed. In the Filipino society where chastity is generally considered the greatest virtue of a lady, a kiss or any lascivious act usually terminates in marriage. The other two Filipinas (Cases 9 and 15) were forced to marry the Chinese out of respect for and obedience to their elders who arranged the marriage. This is a survival of the old Chinese and Filipino tradition where the parents control the marital choice of their children.

The courtship of the couples ranged from one month to five years with an average of 1.2 years. The majority had courtships of one year or less. This is relatively shorter than the ordinary Filipino courtship period which is about two years. The relative brevity of these courtships is apparently due to any one or all of the following cultural conditions. The first factor is the social "emancipation" which has affected both of the partners. Many of the husbands were in a strange land where there was a different culture. Therefore, they could hardly be expected to be as fully imbued with the Filipino mores concerning long courtships. Moreover, many of the wives were also away from home and family and so were also less subject to the traditional forms of social control.

Another factor is the urban setting of their courtships. Manila follows the general trend of most cities in having a departure from older culture patterns, thus all courtships in Manila seem to be shorter than those in Philippine rural areas.

An additional influence may be the greater degree of Westernization which is found in Manila compared to the other areas of the Philippines. This Westernization has introduced the concepts of romantic love and individualism and these in turn usually promote a shortening of the courtship period.

The average age at marriage for the Chinese husband was 30 years; for the Filipino wife, 21.63 years. The earliest age at marriage for the husband was 20 years, and for the wife, 16 years. The latest for the husband was 52 and for the wife, 35.

The age at marriage of the Filipina wives in this sample does not seem to differ much from the age at marriage of an average urban Filipina. In 1952, the medium age of marriage for women in Manila was twenty-two.¹⁶ This, however, is assumed to be higher than the medium age at marriage for rural Filipina women who are less subject to such urban influences as the presence of career opportunities and special recreation facilities for women in the city.¹⁷

The age at marriage of the Chinese husband is significantly higher than the medium age of marriage for urban Filipino men which was twenty-five in 1952.¹⁸ This age pattern in the sample is also in contrast

¹⁶ Robert A. Sarreal, "Patterns of Age at Marriage in Manila, 1952," *Philippine Sociological Review*, Vol. II, No. 3 October 1954, p. 30.

¹⁷ Chester Hunt, et al., *Sociology in the Philippine Setting*, Alemar's, Manila, 1954, pp. 268-269.

¹⁸ Sarreal, *loc. cit.*

to the Chinese custom of marrying early to have many children. Although other factors might have contributed to this situation, it seems that the Chinese husbands' place of origin has a direct relationship with the age at marriage to the Filipina wife. It is noted that all the Chinese husbands born in the Philippines, except one, married between twenty and twenty-nine, at an average age of 25 years. The marriage of the exceptional case was delayed by the unusually long courtship required before the Filipina consented to marriage.

Twelve out of eighteen Chinese husbands who were born in China married between the ages of thirty and fifty-two years. It is felt that many of these Chinese, with the exception of the intellectuals or professionals who postponed marriage for higher educational pursuits, married Filipina women at a late age because they came to the Philippines already old and married to Chinese wives. They either left their families in China or brought them along.¹⁹ Only three husbands, however, as will be discussed later, admit that they have Chinese wives. The six China-born husbands who married Filipina women before they reached the age of thirty came to the Philippines at an early age and were placed under the same environmental conditions as the Philippine-born Chinese.

Fourteen of the marriages were solemnized in church. Eight couples were married by justices of the peace. Eight had consensual or common-law marriages. (See Table IV).

TABLE IV
TYPE OF WEDDING CEREMONY

| Type | No. of Cases | Percentage |
|-----------------------|--------------|------------|
| Church ceremony | 14 | 46-2/3% |
| Civil ceremony | 8 | 26-2/3% |
| Common-Law | 8 | 26-2/3% |
| TOTAL | 30 | 100% |

It is noted that the length of courtship of the couples in the common-law marriage is relatively shorter than that of the couples who had church weddings or civil ceremonies (see Table V). Another relationship is found between the type of wedding and the age at marriage of the Filipina. The majority or 62.5 per cent of the common-law-wives married between the ages of sixteen and twenty. None of them married later than the age of twenty-five. Those whose marriages were solemnized by justices of the peace married between twenty and twenty-six. The average age at marriage of those wed in church was about 24.43 years.

¹⁹ Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, Oxford Press, London, 1950, p. 575.

TABLE V
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LENGTH OF COURTSHIP
AND TYPE OF WEDDING

| Courtship | Church Wedding | Civil Ceremony | Common- law |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1 - 6 month | 5 | 3 | 5 |
| 7 - 11 months | 2 | — | 3 |
| 1 year | — | — | — |
| 2 years | 4 | — | — |
| 5 years | 3 | — | — |
| TOTAL | 14 | 8 | 8 |

It is assumed that this group of women who were wed in church stressed respectability and sexual conventionality; hence the marriage occurred after a relatively longer courtship period and at a later age.

The age at marriage of the wife is also related to her educational attainment. 75 per cent of the college graduates married at a later age than those who had primary, intermediate, or no education. It is possible that career opportunities, more idealistic choice of mates, and greater respectability have delayed the marriage of the women with higher education.

The majority or 87.5% of the wives who reached college were married in church. On the other hand, no wife who had a college education was married in a civil ceremony and only one was a common-law wife. It is also of interest that among the uneducated wives none of them were married in a church or civil ceremony. This fairly close relationship between education and type of marriage also seems to be due to the fact that education is usually linked to the desire to be considered respectable and conventional, particularly in family matters. (See Table VI).

TABLE VI
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION OF WIFE
AND TYPE OF WEDDING

| Education | Church Wedding | Civil Ceremony | Common- law |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| None | — | — | 2 |
| Primary | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Intermediate | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| High School | 4 | 4 | 2 |
| College | 7 | — | 1 |
| TOTAL | 14 | 8 | 8 |

The common-law husbands are all Chinese citizens. This may be partially explained by the fact that there are many legal-economic restrictions against aliens in the Philippines. Common-law marriage gives the

Chinese economic advantages, for it does not alter the citizenship of the wife. Thus the wife can have legal title to any property owned by the family.

62.5 per cent of the common-law husbands did not have any schooling in English. More than 78 per cent of those who were wed in church attained high school or college education. Respectability again may be one factor responsible for this.

None of the couples studied were married in the Chinese style, where the bride wears red and the wedding invitations are red. Those married in church generally wore white Filipina mestisa dresses or wedding gowns. Those who had civil weddings wore ordinary clothes.

The wedding parties were, in most cases, Filipino. They were usually held at the bride's residence. There was one case where there were two wedding parties held—one for the Chinese relatives and the other for the Filipino relatives.

Only three couples had a honeymoon outside of their homes. They belong to the uppermost social strata: One couple (case 5) went on a honeymoon around the world. The second (Case 8) spent their honeymoon in Canton and Hongkong. The third (Case 13) had a honeymoon cruise in the South.

Eighteen or 60 percent of the husbands were born and brought up in China. 40 per cent or twelve husbands who were born in the Philippines come mostly from Manila.

More than 76 per cent of the wives come from Manila, the Bicol region, and the Tagalog region. Seven wives were born and brought up in Ilocos region, the Visayas, or Mindanao. (See Table VII.)

TABLE VII
REGIONAL ORIGIN OF THE WIFE

| Origin | No. of Cases | Percentage |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Manila | 9 | 30% |
| Tagalog provinces | 7 | 23-1/3% |
| Bicol provinces | 7 | 23-1/3% |
| Ilocos provinces | 2 | 6-2/3% |
| Pangasinan | 2 | 6-2/3% |
| Pampanga | 1 | 3-1/3% |
| Iloilo | 1 | 3-1/3% |
| Agusan | 1 | 3-1/3% |
| TOTAL | 30 | 100% |

The families are now residing in Manila and the suburbs. The residence of the first generation Chinese, or those born in China tend to be in Chinatown, but the second generation or those born in the Philippines are all residing outside of Chinatown²⁰ and are more detached from the Chinese community.

²⁰ Chinatown consists largely of parts of Tondo, Binondo, and San Nicolas.

Eleven families or 36-2/3 per cent live in parts of Manila and suburbs where there are concentrations of Chinese. Nineteen or 63-1/3 per cent of the families are ecologically distributed throughout various non-Chinese sections of Manila and suburbs. Of the eleven families residing in the Chinese sections, all the husbands were born in China; whereas, the Philippine-born Chinese husband has moved his family out of Chinatown.

As mentioned previously, three husbands in the sample were already married to Chinese girls before they married their Filipina wives. In Case 4, the husband has a Chinese wife and children in Manila whom he visits frequently. A part of his income is spent for the support of this Chinese family. He celebrates Chinese holidays and observes traditional rites such as ancestor worship with this family. The Filipina wife is aware of this affair, but she does not complain for she lives with her husband and she is well-provided for. In Cases 19 and 21, the husband has a Chinese wife in China. Since he is not well-off, he sends money to her only occasionally.

Conclusions

The social backgrounds of these Chinese-Filipino couples show several marked differences from the characteristics prevailing in the general Philippine population. In regard to income they are definitely on a much higher level than the ordinary Filipino. This economic status is of course a direct function of their occupational position. The overwhelming proportion of the husbands are in business. The ordinary all-Filipino couple, on the other hand, is engaged in agriculture. Since the agricultural system in the Philippines still leans towards a subsistence economy, the average farmer has a low cash income. The Chinese in the Philippines have traditionally played the role of middleman between the farmers and the ultimate consumers. Thus these Chinese husbands reflect the socio-economic role of their ethnic group in their own lives.

The fact that the couples most often met in a business setting is also significant. The place of meeting is plainly another function of the socio-economic role of the Philippine-Chinese in general and of these husbands in particular. This conclusion is buttressed by the finding of Rafel that in Filipino-American marriages the two most common places of meeting were at a party or in the administrative office of some government agency.

The urban environment plus the Westernized culture of Manila apparently had the partial effect of reducing the courtship period. An additional force seems to have been the social "emancipation" of both partners, since they were both, (in most cases), away from home and family. As a result, the courtship period in this sample is definitely less than that of all-Filipino couples.

Husbands in this sample were older than is usual in the Philippines. This is apparently a direct result of the factor of immigration and the unbalanced sex ratio among the Philippine-Chinese. Similar findings have occurred in other countries where such conditions prevail.

The origin of the spouses also reveals distinct patterns. The concentration of wives in the three areas of Manila, the Tagalog provinces, and the Bicol area is indeed significant. Further study is needed to inter-

pret this phenomenon, since Bicolanos are not among the most frequently migrating groups to Manila.

The fact that 60% of the husbands came from China is also noteworthy. This seems to indicate that the immigrant aliens intermarry more than those who are Philippine-born. If intermarriage is an index of assimilation, then the immigrant aliens seem to assimilate more readily than the Philippine born group. This situation may be a function of the current status of ethnic relationships between Filipinos and Chinese, which makes the Philippine-born aliens draw further into their "Ghetto".

Lastly, it should be observed that these marriages typify in many ways the sort of inter-ethnic mixing that occurs in large cities such as Manila. Whether or not these marriages have any particularly unique features could only be ascertained by a more extensive comparative study.