

## Policy Concerns and Priorities: The Ethnic Chinese In The Philippines

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*Forty-seven ethnic Chinese respondents were asked to identify, specify, and rank their policy concerns with respect to improving their conditions and status in the Philippines. The results indicate their positions given a continuum ranging from preserving ethnicity to advancing integration. Policy makers may scan the various policy alternatives offered by three significant factors (A. assimilationist/pluralist; B. instrumentalist, and C. ameliorative) according to which the respondents in a Q-study classify themselves. Each factor (A, B, and C) serves as a distinct approach to the needs and preferences of the ethnic Chinese respondents. The policy implications of the study include: participation, the need for amelioration, manifest concern for ethnic solidarity, preservation of Chineseness, expression of anxiety and insecurity, and division of responsibility for policies.*

### Introduction

Public policies of a developing nation, such as the Philippines, are deeply anchored on the need to achieve political integration. The latter concept is broadly defined as the creation of a common bond among people in a given area who possess tribal, ethnic, racial, regional, linguistic, caste, religious, or partisan differences.<sup>1</sup> It is expressed in the Filipino slogan: *Isang Bansa, Isang Diwa* (one nation,

one spirit); it is an aspiration that calls for unity by subordinating parochial and divisive loyalties.

The present study focuses on the ethnic Chinese as an ethnic minority in the Philippines and identifies the policy perception of this group in the context of the goal of political integration. The question raised in the study is not "who are you?" or "what are your problems?" but "what can be done in terms of solutions to existing conditions and problems?" The primary purpose of the study is to develop a structure for a policy agenda from which alternatives, possibilities, or opportunities could be generated to improve the present situation and to provide information as a basis for making future decisions or improving the judgment of government and community leaders.<sup>2</sup> There

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The author acknowledges the support of the Policy Studies Program, College of Public Administration, U.P. and the Ford Foundation in conducting the field work for this research. This paper was prepared for a seminar at the College of Public Administration, U.P.

<sup>1</sup>See for example the definitions in Karl Deutsch, *Nationalism and Its Alternatives* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969); Myron Weiner, "Political Integration and Political Development," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 358 (March 1965); and Walker Connor, "Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying," *World Politics*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (April 1972).

<sup>2</sup>The concept of policy agenda is explained by Roger Cobb, Jennie Keith Ross, and Marc Howard Ross, "Agenda Building as a Comparative Political Process," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LXX, No. 1 (March 1976).

are two policy implications of this study: First, it is assumed that there are problems perceived by the ethnic group, hence the research question relates to solutions or recommendations that would answer these problems. Secondly, the study would contribute to establishing a policy framework by which relations between the minority group and the Filipinos could be enhanced, having information from the perspective of the minority group.

In a sense, the research strategy reverses the usual sequence applied by other writers on the ethnic Chinese. The solutions are directly asked with no diagnosis of the problem situation beforehand. This is an alternative to the approach made by Amyot, McBeath, Howell, and H.R. Reynolds who by examining the variables and thresholds to political integration gave policy recommendations.<sup>3</sup> It is argued that these recommendations were merely an outcome of the central focus on integration, and were simply incidental to the primary interests of the researchers of measuring the degree or level of integration. There is never an attempt to relate specific policies to the integration phenomenon under study; it is an a priori assumption that the

policies suggested must follow and form part of a general pattern that would facilitate change. The result is that, with some exceptions, the policies appear predictable, arbitrary, and to an extent punitive in character. Policies suggested also do not seem to originate from members of the minority group. Since there is no semblance of participation by, or consultation with, the minority group, such policies actually increase dissonance in social relations within and outside the group. In short, the group is not given the opportunity to articulate and decide on policy preferences.

### Methodology

There are four types of policy concerns that could be explored from the perspective of the ethnic group. These are the instrumentalist, ameliorative, assimilationist, and pluralist.<sup>4</sup> These four types are briefly defined below:

(1) Instrumentalist: From the individual's point of view a recommendation may be simply stated to provide an instrumental value, an idea similar to Coughlin's term "assimilation for convenience."<sup>5</sup> The policy may reflect

<sup>3</sup>Jacques Amyot, *The Manila Chinese, Familism in the Philippine Environment* (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, 1973); Gerald A. McBeath, *Political Integration of the Philippine Chinese* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California, 1973); Llewellyn D. Howell, Jr., "The Chinese in Southeast Asia: China Commitments and Local Assimilation," *Asian Studies*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (December 1973); and Harriet R. Reynolds, "Continuity and Change in the Chinese Family in the Ilocos Provinces, Philippines," Ph.D. dissertation, Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1964.

<sup>4</sup>These four types were derived from the several sources, namely, S.J. Makielski, Jr., *Beleaguered Minorities, Cultural Politics in America* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman & Co., 1973); Gerald A. McBeath, *op. cit.*; Jacques Amyot, *op. cit.*; Llewellyn D. Howell, Jr., *op. cit.*; Harriet R. Reynolds, *op. cit.*; and Robert O. Tilman, "The Chinese in the Philippines: Between Scylla and Charybdis," *Solidarity*, Vol. V, No. 11 (November 1970).

<sup>5</sup>Richard J. Coughlin, *Double Identity, The Chinese in Modern Thailand* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), p. 193.

the pursuit of self-interests and altruistic gains, for example, enhancing or expanding business activities. To illustrate, a respondent may state: "The government should make it easier for us to acquire citizenship to enable us to do retail trade."

(2) Ameliorative: Those policies which refer to the promotion of social and welfare needs of the respondents for the ethnic community, e.g., access to public health care, public housing, or manpower training. An example of this type of policy statement would be: "Not all Chinese are rich. Some of the low-income Chinese should be allowed to qualify for government-subsidized housing."

(3) Assimilationist: Those policies that relate to facilitating or encouraging the absorption of the ethnic minority into the dominant host society and giving the minority full participation in the community. An example of a policy statement of this kind is: "The constitution should be amended to change the disqualification of naturalized citizens from holding elective positions in the parliament."

(4) Pluralist: Those policies that tend to preserve the self-identity of the ethnic minority as a separate but recognized group in society. Such policies would maintain the legitimate role of the minority group in the framework of a plural society (among minorities in the Philippines are Badjaos, Tausogs, Ifugaos, Negritos, and Ilongots). In contrast to the assimilationist, the pluralist retains his cultural loyalty or identity as a member of an ethnic group within the context of a larger society. An example of such a policy of coexistence may be expressed in the following: "The ethnic Chinese should be allowed to retain their Chinese names when they

become Filipino citizens rather than being asked to switch to Filipino or English names."

These four types can be explained further by looking at three indicators shown in Table 1. These indicators are: degree or intensity of ethnic identity or loyalty, (whether high or low); focus of interest on conditions (limited or diffused); and time dimension for satisfying (long-or short-term) achieving needs.

It is envisaged that the instrumentalist has a high degree of ethnic identification — a concern which supersedes any other interest in the community. Hence, this type has a limited interest in economic, social, or political conditions in the Philippines. Concern about future conditions is also limited, and thus the pursuit of needs is short-term. The second type — the ameliorative — is viewed as having a lower degree of ethnic identification. This type does not attach as much importance to preserving ethnic identity as to improving conditions (whether economic, social, political, or environmental) of the ethnic Chinese. In this sense, the focus of interest is diffused and extends to many problem areas that are common to the conditions also facing the Filipinos. However, the concern to ameliorate or improve conditions is short-term, that is, this type wants the resolution of problems which are immediate. As described earlier in this study, the assimilationist type has a low regard for ethnic loyalty, since it is willing to accept the norms and values of the majority population. Its focus of interest is widely dispersed since no particular area predominates the concerns of this type. The duration for achieving needs is long-range.

Table 1. Four Policy Types: A Summary of Three Selected Characteristics

Policy Type	Ethnic Identity	Focus of Interest	Time Dimension
Instrumentalist	High	Limited	Short
Ameliorative	Low	Diffused	Short
Assimilationist	Low	Diffused	Long
Pluralist	High	Limited	Long

Finally, the pluralist type is characterized as high in ethnic identity, limited in its focus of interest, and amenable to achieving needs in the long term. The pluralist recognizes the importance of keeping ethnic identity while accepting selective aspects of the norms and values of the majority population. The concern of the pluralist is to limit goals primarily to attaining legitimacy for ethnic status by making the dominant population aware of the rights, cultural traits, and traditions of the ethnic minority. This type recognizes that finding the elusive balance in blending the ethnic minority and the majority is long-term in nature.

The Q-technique was used in identifying the policy concerns and priorities of the ethnic Chinese. It is a research method amenable to eliciting responses — or subjective opinions — of a small sample of individuals.<sup>6</sup> Respondents are asked to rank order in terms of priority importance selected statements known as the Q-sample. These statements which were policy recommendations emanating from a panel of members of the ethnic group were categorized and distributed according to the four policy types de-

scribed earlier. A set of 124 statements were collected from a panel of 18 informants — all ethnic Chinese except for one American Jesuit priest. The informants reflected a wide range of interests: businessmen, academicians, students, salaried employees, professionals, and housewives. The panel was interviewed either singly or as a group.

From the large pool of statements, 58 recommendations were selected for Q-sorting or ranking. The 58 statements were allocated to each of the four policy categories by the following distribution: 15 + 15 + 14 + 14 = 58. The distribution was made as equal as possible. Moreover, in developing the Q-sample an effort was made to select statements that were as diverse as possible to include different areas of concern: economic, social, political, cultural, and attitudinal needs and problems of the ethnic Chinese. In the Q-technique, the research structure is designed to elicit from the respondents their own self-defined interests and concerns. It is important that in the selection process the statements or suggested policies were in the interest of the minority group and did matter to them. Obviously, redundant, trivial, and impractical suggestions were excluded at the outset. Initially, a jury of experts was proposed to help in the selection process. However, no formal

<sup>6</sup>See William Stephenson, *The Study of Behavior: Q-Technique and its Methodology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953).

panel could be called upon to provide input because of the lack of time and the unavailability of those contacted for the purpose. The researcher relied on judgment and consultation with individuals in selecting the 58 Q-statements. For example, some panel informants emphasized certain recommendations to be incorporated in the study. Some ideas repeated in several statements of various informants were a cue to selecting at least one statement from them. The Q-sample was translated into Chinese, and both the English and Chinese versions were reproduced. The collection, including the administration of the Q-sample, was conducted from June to August 1980.

The Q-sample was administered to 47 subjects. Representativeness in Q-technique refers both to the re-

factor with another.”<sup>7</sup> The object of Q-technique is to discover the course of opinions or attitudes and not to count the number of persons or respondents for or against an issue.

The respondents or population set (P-set) of the study was composed of ethnic Chinese residents in Metropolitan Manila. Three specific variables were used as a flexible guide in selecting the P-set; namely, education, occupation, and birthplace. The indicators for each are as follows: education — Chinese school, Filipino school, or college; occupation — multinational, all Chinese, or all Filipino; and birthplace — China — or Philippine-born.<sup>8</sup>

The respondents were asked to rank their policy preferences in the 58 Q-sample, using the following forced frequency distribution:

Table 2. Number of Respondents According to Score in an Opinion-Continuum for Ethnic Chinese Q-Sort

	Most Unimportant	Neutral	Most Important				
Score	-5 -4 -3 -2 -1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Frequency	3 4 5 6 7	8	7	6	5	4	3

spondents in a given study and the stimulus side as well, i.e., the items or statements under study. As a criterion, it is considered to ensure broader generality to both the respondents and stimuli. The selection of the respondents does not depend on randomness. What is important in satisfying representativeness is to select people who reflect points of view specific to them as a group, e.g., students, professionals, bureaucrats, housewives, and laborers. Brown also states that with respect to sample size “all that is required are enough subjects to establish the existence of a factor for purposes of comparing one

The respondents ranked their preferences, using an 11-point scale from a score of +5 for most important and declining to a rating of -5 for most unimportant. The 0 score at the mid-

<sup>7</sup>Steven R. Brown, *Political Subjectivity Applications of Q-Methodology in Political Sciences* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 192.

<sup>8</sup>It is conceded that these indicators do not seem to meet the test of mutual exclusiveness. For example, an ethnic Chinese who has a college degree may have gone to a Chinese high school. However, these were used in order to tap the varied characteristics of the ethnic group.

dle represents no opinion or an ambiguous response. As shown in Table 2, frequency means the number of statements to be selected under each score; for example, three statements are to be classified under +5.

The 47 subjects in this study ranked each of the  $N = 58$  statements from "most important" to "most unimportant." The 47 Q-sorts were intercorrelated, providing a  $47 \times 47$  matrix. After applying factor analysis to this matrix, three principal axis factors were derived which tend to characterize the specific concerns and priorities of the ethnic Chinese. This meant that of the 47 individual Q-sorts by the subjects, all the statements were distributed in essentially three different ways. When any two or more of the subjects had similar rankings on the statements, their Q-sorts would also be similar and would then both belong to the same factor.<sup>9</sup> Hence, as Brown argues, the subjects in a Q-study classify themselves on their own terms which emerge in a factor.

#### Q-Sample Analysis

The results of the factor analysis give meaning to the framework described earlier. The three factors identified are: Factor A (Assimilationist/Pluralist), Factor B (Instrumentalist), and Factor C (Ameliorative). The results of the Q-study show that the boundaries of two types of policy concerns, namely, the assimilationist and pluralist, were not clearly delineated. The first factor is an amalgam of these two types — a finding which has far reaching consequences on the thrust of the Philippine govern-

ment to integrate the ethnic Chinese. In summary, the three factors are:

#### *Factor A — Assimilationist/Pluralist*

This factor affirms loyalty to the Philippines, belief in meaningful relations with the majority group rather than by legal fiat, and the need for better communications. The ethnic Chinese should be recognized as a cultural minority group with rights in society. As a group they should be more future oriented and begin to shape their role as citizens in the country. The subjects on this factor recommend integrating the economic activities of the members of the community with the local economy. The Philippines should be more tolerant towards minority groups and should design a definite policy relating to them.

#### *Factor B — Instrumentalist*

The image of this factor is that of a group desiring to foster and preserve the Chinese legacy and tradition, seeking more protection in an uncertain political environment, wanting to improve the image of the Chinese by suggesting austerity and solidarity, expecting less government intervention in their institutions, needing improvement of public services and utilities, giving less importance to a public declaration of loyalty to the Philippines, and disapproving of any interactions with the Filipinos by their refusal to use Filipino institutions or the exchange of ideas.

#### *Factor C — Ameliorative*

The salient characteristics of this factor are: manifest expression of support for President Marcos, pressing

<sup>9</sup> Steven R. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

concern for ameliorative welfare, and redistributive services such as jobs, price control, housing, health care, and social services, present-oriented; pragmatic approach to development and communications; low regard for reinforcing Chinese culture or language; perceiving no need for a government policy towards the Chinese; and concern for the specific problem of kidnapping.

The factor loadings exceeding positive or negative .34 are Q-sorts which were singled out as significantly falling on one of the three factors. The significant loadings were calculated using the Guilford-Lacey expression for the standard error of a zero order correlation.<sup>10</sup> Based on this criterion, some 39 Q-sorts had significant loadings, while 8 Q-sorts had no significance on any of the three factors. Moreover, of the 39 Q-sorts, there were 7 subjects who had high mixed loading on two factors and could not, therefore be assigned to any specific factor. Factor analysis is still meaningful despite the exclusion of these subjects. Thus, the discussion that follows focuses mainly on the "pure" types of factors.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>The formula is:

$$SEF = \frac{1}{\sqrt{N}}$$

where N = no. of statements.

Thus,  $SEF = 1 = \frac{1}{\sqrt{58}} = .1313$ . At .01 level of significance, a loading to have significance should not exceed 2.58 SEF. Therefore, 2.58 (.1313) = .34

<sup>11</sup>Only the factor loadings and factor scores are used for interpretation in this paper. The interviews conducted during the administration of the Q-sort should provide the additional context, nuances, and differences in the meanings of the Q-statements.

### *Image of Factor A*

Factor A has 18 Q-sorts which have significant loadings (see Table 3), all of which are positive with the exception of one high negative loading (Subject 24). The characteristics of this group include: predominantly salaried employees, professionals, bank officials, and students. One ethnic Chinese in government service is identified with this factor. One board chairman of a large textile company is also associated with Factor A. Three respondents (Subjects 43, 32, and 39) were members of the *Pagkakaisa sa Pag-unlad, Inc.* — an ethnic Chinese organization which supported the grant of citizenship through constitutional reform in 1971. The students on this factor were from the University of the Philippines and members of the U.P. Filipino-Chinese Students Association. Bank officials and employees on this factor were from Philippine or multinational banks. The majority of the Q-sorters have university education or are currently college students, with the possible exception of Subject 38 (education not reported). Those who are employed work in institutions which are not predominantly Chinese-owned, financed, or managed. The exception is an employee in a Chinese store (Subject 24) who was the only subject with a negative loading (-.43) on this factor. There were three respondents who were born in either China or Hong Kong, and two subjects who were Chinese or British citizens. Three subjects were residing in the Chinatown area (Subjects 3, 14, and 18) and one in an apartment complex for Chinese (Subject 24). The median age of those respondents in Factor A is 30 years old. This group is predominantly single and Catholic or

Table 3. Rotated Factor Matrix, Q-Study of Ethnic Chinese  
(n = 39)

Sorters	Factors			Sex	Age	Position (Education)
	A	B	C			
43	86	12	-09	F	30	Executive Secretary (MA cand.)
32	77	13	02	F	35	Life Insurance agent (MA cand.)
16	75	23	-04	M	20	College student
41	72	-22	27	M	30	Doctor (M.D.)
3	71	21	26	F	23	Computer programmer (college)
39	58	31	00	M	32	Bank official (MA cand.)
14	52	27	05	F	19	College student
38	48	-01	30	M	50	Board chairman (no data)
13	46	06	16	M	18	College student
18	45	20	17	M	30	Journalist (college)
45	44	27	18	M	37	Lawyer (L.I.B.)
24	-43	-01	23	M	47	Employee (college)
23	42	11	16	M	39	City director (college)
15	41	31	24	F	19	College student
4	39	25	22	F	31	Executive secretary (college)
2	38	02	32	F	26	Loans assistant (college)
5	37	-08	27	M	25	Account manager (MBA)
12	36	05	-04	M	19	College student
22	-10	75	04	F	21	College student
6	-15	68	05	M	54	Merchant (high school)
21	15	61	08	M	26	Employee (college)
44	26	53	-09	M	53	Merchant (high school)
28	19	42	25	F	42	Businesswoman (MBA)
33	-05	42	-06	M	56	Merchant (high school)
19	04	28	54	M	34	Employee (high school)
37	-00	01	54	M	22	University instructor (college)
10	01	25	51	M	25	Merchant (MBA)
42	27	05	49	F	29	Executive (MBA)
35	31	10	45	M	50	Teacher (college)
8	18	02	44	M	27	Doctor (M.D.)
34	20	00	43	M	65	College administrator (MA)
36	-05	-21	34	F	38	Bank official (college)
20	37	51	26	F	34	Assistant professor (college)
47	38	48	24	M	52	Merchant (high school)
27	49	36	17	F	26	Chief Librarian (high school)
40	63	-35	17	F	21	Accountant (college)
9	56	14	48	F	23	Statistician (MS)
26	42	09	42	F	37	Business executive (college)
30	15	46	43	M	18	High school student

Note: Decimals to two places omitted. Loadings exceeding  $\pm .34$  are significant (at  $p < 0.01$ ).

Christian. Also, one respondent (Subject 43) claimed to be a member of the Iglesia ni Kristo — a religious sect established by a Filipino (see Table 4).

Table 4. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Subjects with Significant Loadings on Three Factors

Characteristics	Factors			Characteristics	Factors		
	A n=18	B n=6	C n=8		A n=18	B n=6	C n=8
<b>Sex</b>				<b>Education</b>			
Male	11	4	6	College	10	2	3
Female	7	2	2	MBA, MA	4	1	3
<b>Age</b>				MD, L.I.B.	2	0	1
Median age (In no. of years)	30	42	29	High School	1	3	1
<b>Marital Status</b>				Elementary	0	0	0
Married	6	3	7	Not reported	1	0	0
Single	12	3	1	<b>Occupation</b>			
<b>Birthplace</b>				Merchant	0	3	1
Manila	14	3	7	Businessman	1	1	1
Outside Manila	1	0	0	Employee	10	1	5
China	2	2	1	Private			
Hong Kong	1	1	0	Practice	2	0	1
<b>Citizenship</b>				Student	5	1	0
Filipino	16	4	6	<b>Religion</b>			
Chinese	1	2	2	Catholic	7	1	5
British	1	0	0	Protestant	4	0	1
<b>Residence</b>				Christian	2	0	0
Chinatown	3	4	2	Buddhist	1	2	0
Metro Manila	12	2	4	Anglican	0	0	1
No address	3	0	2	Evangelist	1	1	0
				Ecumenism	1	0	0
				Iglesia ni Kristo	1	0	0
				Not reported	1	2	0
				No religion	0	0	1

Note: Seven subjects with mixed loadings are excluded from this table but are shown in Table 3.

Subject 24 (male, 47, married, Evangelist, college degree holder, and an employee of an ethnic Chinese merchant) has a high negative loading (-.43). As a single case in this instance, it may not be sufficient to develop a separate factor to be called as Factor A (-), as one holding views which are the reverse of Factor A (+). The subject does not possess entirely the same characteristics as those on Factor A; for example, his residential and work environments are predominantly all Chinese. The distinguishing

or important statements in Factor A may now be examined.

Although Factor A indicates loyalty to the Philippines, it also indicates a recognition of the ethnic Chinese as a distinct cultural minority with rights, and a need for assurance of protection within a political system which is characterized by uncertainty. The respondents on this factor make it apparent that, despite their willingness to assimilate, they also need some assurance that they would

Table 5. Distinguishing Statements Under Factor A

Statement Number	Statement	Factors		
		A	B	C
43	Of course there are some Chinese who have to improve themselves in their relations with the Filipinos. To become Filipino citizens, the Chinese should pay more loyalty to the Philippine government instead of giving allegiance to China or Taiwan.	5	-5	-3
57	Good relations between the ethnic Chinese and the Filipinos are not a matter of policies or decrees. There should be more interactions between the two groups in more meaningful and direct ways.	5	0	0
13	The government and Chinese community leaders should join in organizing an information and research center to study and help the Filipinos and Chinese in any social and community misunderstanding and confrontation.	5	-1	2

not suffer a fate similar to that of the expelled ethnic Chinese in Vietnam. Uneasiness and uncertainty dominate their thinking, thus the need for assurance or protection once they have made the choice to become citizens of the Philippines. This uncertainty is particularly apparent with respect to the martial law regime. As may be conjectured, any change in the regime could bring about new policies and even raise doubts as to the constitutionality or legality of the Marcos policy to expedite the naturalization of the ethnic Chinese. Factor A also indicates a belief in improving relations with the Filipinos through meaningful interactions and a structure for better information dissemination. Formal and written laws or decrees do not make for better relations, however. Arbitrary decrees are but superficial or artificial means to assimilation and should be replaced by

more substantive meaningful people-to-people interactions.

Factor A also demonstrates a belief in the development of a coherent public policy towards the ethnic Chinese. This factor articulates the need for the minority group members to think about their future, their involvement and responsibility in the Philippines. While this factor maintains that the ethnic Chinese should be recognized as a cultural minority group, it does not exaggerate the trappings of keeping their identity such as by requiring competence in the Chinese language before employment, providing literacy outlets for Chinese writers, doing away with governmental restrictions in Chinese schools, or proclaiming their "Chineseness" before being Filipino. The ethnic Chinese want to be called a cultural minority without promoting separa-

Table 6. Level of Positive Scores (+4) of Factor A

Statement Number	Statement	Factors		
		A	B	C
52	The ethnic Chinese should be recognized as one of the cultural minorities in the Philippines. They should be treated as an ethnic minority like the Muslims. This means that the government should appreciate their cultural and ethnic identity and rights.	4	1	-1
6	Members of the local Chinese community fully realize that they are part of the host nation. They must integrate their economic activities within the general framework of the local program.	4	-3	-2
7	Most Chinese do not think of long term issues and problems that affect them. They only do what they can do today and do not articulate their needs. The naturalized Chinese should begin to think of the future and to discover their potentials as citizens of the Philippines.	4	-1	5
15	There is a feeling of insecurity among the ethnic Chinese in this country. There should be a study and assurance that the Chinese here would not suffer the same fate as the Vietnamese refugees of Chinese origin.	4	4	-3

tism; they want to exist in a more tolerant Philippine society. Hence, Factor A merits the label of a synthetic Assimilationist/Pluralist because the ingredients of each type as described in the introduction are congruent with the views of the respondents on this factor.

Statements 43, 57, and 13 have high positive scores (+5) which define the important policy recommendations of the group. Statement 43 affirms that the ethnic Chinese should be more loyal to the Philippines instead of maintaining their allegiance to mainland China or Taiwan. It is a major step towards improving rela-

tions with the larger group and a concrete expression of fidelity towards their newly-acquired citizenship.

As already indicated, Factor A subjects recommend that the ethnic Chinese should be recognized and treated as a cultural minority with inherent rights. Statement 52 (+4) means that the group accepts assimilation but not totally and unconditionally. Those on this factor agree that this minority group be allowed to exist within a pluralist society that recognizes the identity and rights of various minorities, including the Chinese. However, in terms of their economic activities, Factor A respon-

Table 7. Statements With Positive Scores Indicating the Assimilative Position of Factor A

Statement Number	Statement	Factors		
		A	B	C
54	The government has actually no concrete policy for the Chinese. Among government officials there is no agreement as to the policy regarding the Chinese. There must be designed a definite, consistent and coordinated policy for the Chinese.	3	0	-2
37	The Philippines is pluralistic and should therefore adopt a more tolerant attitude towards other ethnic cultures.	3	0	-2
1	Chinese students who are future Filipino citizens should be given opportunities to work on civic action programs and non-formal educational activities in Filipino communities.	3	-4	2
40	The Chinese need assurance of some kind of future protection whenever and whatever changes there are in the martial law administration.	3	5	-2
44	The Chinese in the Philippines can improve themselves by having greater solidarity. Instead of factional divisions such as between the pro-Peking and the pro-Taipei groups, there should be a more positive attitude of unity.	3	3	-3

dents are unequivocal with respect to integrating activities of the ethnic Chinese within the context of Philippine economic programs and priorities (Statement 6). The Chinese must then operate within the economic institutions and rules established in the country. This recommendation seems to apply to all ethnic Chinese whether they have acquired Philippine citizenship or not. Nonetheless, Subject 45 explains the predicament of the ethnic Chinese: they are being asked to integrate their economic activities, yet they run the risk of being called exploiters. In his own words, Subject 45 said: "How? Can they (the ethnic Chinese) be given

the opportunity without the risk of getting any blame?"

The subjects on Factor A would seem to project themselves as active participants in a developing nation such as the Philippines. They should become more future oriented rather than present oriented, e.g., they should begin to discover their potentials and assess their roles in the future. What is more significant in Statement 7 is the suggestion — although not entirely explicit — that the ethnic Chinese have the capacity to translate their needs into demands in the Philippine polity.

Table 8. High Negative (-5, -4) and Neutral Scores of Factor A

Statement Number	Statement	Factors		
		A	B	C
56	Chinese business establishments must require knowledge of the Chinese language in hiring job applicants. This would also ensure that the young people would be serious in studying the Chinese language.	-5	1	-4
38	Tourism is going down because the allowed length of stay is now shorter. The government should allow longer and extendable visas for tourists to this country.	-5	1	-4
11	The Chinese should keep their identity even if they are now naturalized Filipinos. They should consider themselves as Chinese and not as total Filipinos.	-4	1	0
50	The Chinese schools should have less restrictions and controls from the government. Under the new policy of a single curriculum, the schools are now losing their strength in teaching sciences and mathematics.	-4	3	-1
29	There should be a policy to allow the Chinese schools to teach Chinese subjects, imparting cultural values and skills. But there should also be a merging of both Filipino and Chinese cultures.	0	5	3

Statement 15 expresses the need for some assurance that as an ethnic group they would not suffer similar fate as the expelled ethnic Chinese in Vietnam. The reminder is fresh in the minds of the subjects on Factor A because of the recent events in Vietnam and the help they extend to the Vietnamese refugees who are in transit camps in the Philippines. Factor A respondents recommend the formulation of a definite, consistent, and coordinated policy of the government affecting or relating to the Chinese (Statement 54, +3). This view is related to Statement 15 which seeks for an assurance of protection and to Statement 40, cited above which

calls for an assurance of protection in case of changes in the martial law regime. Statement 37 is another reiteration of a previous recommendation (Statement 52, +4) to recognize the Chinese as a cultural minority group. The main difference though is that Statement 37 urges the Philippines to be more tolerant towards minorities. The Chinese youth are also expected to get involved in community action projects (Statement 21). Finally, Statement 44 implores the members of the community to achieve solidarity and unity. Factionalism, either as pro-Peking or pro-Taipei, is not condoned by Factor A. The group could improve its image by

its espousal of solidarity and avoiding disunity based on the issues of ideology.

It would also be instructive to examine the negative and neutral scores of Factor A since such scores would amplify the position of those who advocate Factor A.

Factor A respondents are opposed to extreme cultural chauvinism which Statement 11 implies. Maintaining their ethnic identity within a pluralistic society is acceptable, but keeping their identity to the exclusion of their membership in the society as Filipinos is another matter. As indicators of their adjustment within the Philippine society, Factor A subjects are against establishing competence in Chinese as a prerequisite to employment, particularly in Chinese-owned or -managed enterprises (Statement 56).

Those who load on Factor A deny that government policies and restrictions have had an adverse impact on the Chinese schools (Statement 50,-4). But the same factor indicates a neutral score for the recommendation that these schools be allowed to teach subjects imparting Chinese values and skills (Statement 29, 0). Another high negative score should be explained. Factor A respondents do not favor granting longer visas to tourists or visitors (Statement 38). The statement obviously refers to the influx of tourists from Hong Kong and mainland China.

#### *Image of Factor B*

There were six Q-sorts which had high positive loadings on Factor B. This group was composed largely of independent merchants, one business-

woman, one college student, and one salaried employee. Apart from their occupational status, the residential location, birthplace, education, and religion of the subjects could be cited as characteristics distinguishing this factor from Factors A and C. The subjects reside in the areas of Chinatown, with the exception of Subject 28 and Subject 6 — the latter who lives in an apartment complex for ethnic Chinese. Two subjects were born in China, one in Hong Kong, and the rest in Manila. Two have retained their Chinese citizenship and four have Filipino citizenship. In terms of education, only Subject 28 has a master's degree in business administration (MBA); Subject 21 has a college degree; the rest have a high school education (Chinese curriculum). The college student (Subject 22) on this factor is studying in a Chinese educational institution. Subject 22, a female, is majoring Chinese history and literature, possibly in preparation for a teaching career in a Chinese school. There were two subjects who claimed to be Buddhist and two who did not report their religious affiliations. There was only one Catholic in contrast with Factor A. The median age of those on Factor B is 42 years, much higher than those on Factors A and C (see Table 4).

Factor B respondents are traditionalists, conservers or preservers of a Chinese identity, ridden with anxiety about an uncertain political environment, supporters of less government intervention and regulation in Chinese community affairs and business, and wary of establishing contacts and relations with the Filipinos. In essence, the respondents on this factor suggest policies which are instrumental to preserving Chinese culture, Chinese iden-

Table 9. Defining Statements for Factor B

Statement Number	Statement	Factors		
		A	B	C
40	The Chinese need assurance of some kind of future protection whenever and whatever changes there are in the martial law administration.	3	5	-2
29	There should be a policy to allow the Chinese schools to teach Chinese subjects imparting cultural values and skills. But there should also be a merging of both Filipino and Chinese cultures.	0	5	3
24	There is a need for a literacy outlet for the Chinese who can write in Chinese.	-3	5	0

tity, and enhancing the status and image of the ethnic Chinese.

The analysis of this factor begins with the high positive scores (+5) shown in Table 9.

As enunciated also by the first factor, Factor B respondents attach more credence to the problem of political uncertainty and instability in the Philippines by giving a high score (+5) to Statement 40. It is a far more important concern to this type of individual since a high positive score was also given to a related statement (Statement 15). This group is seriously distressed by what happened to the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam and wants a guarantee of some sort that the future fate of the Chinese in the Philippines does not depend on changes in political regimes. The basis for the priority given to Statement 29 is the objections of the respondents to the restrictions and constraints imposed on the Chinese schools following formal government edicts. It is maintained that Chinese schools should be allowed to teach Chinese subjects. As a concession, Factor B respondents would favor the merger of Filipino

and Chinese cultures but still the emphasis is on allowing Chinese schools more flexibility to impart Chinese values and skills.

Those on Factor B recognize the absence of a defined channel of expression for the creativity of Chinese writers (Statement 24). A corollary view is found in Statement 47 (+4) which declares that Chinese newspapers are perishing because of declining readership. The culprit is the lackadaisical attitude of young Chinese towards studying the Chinese language. Criticism is directed at the schools for failing to give importance to the teaching of Chinese language, which is in turn the effect of the government policy to "Filipinize" the schools. This is consistent with the positive score (+3) given to Statement 50 concerning government restrictions in Chinese schools.

Statement 15 expresses the fear of the ethnic Chinese that they would suffer the same fate as the Vietnamese refugees. Two related statements (39 and 42) underscore the need to change the image of the Chinese as rich and extravagant. Factor B

Table 10. Factor B Statements with +4 Scores

Statement Number	Statement	Factors:		
		A	B	C
47	There will come a time when Chinese newspapers will no longer be published because of the lack of readership. There should be a strengthened program to teach the Chinese language to the young. Today the teaching of Chinese is superficial.	-2	4	0
39	The Chinese can help the government by adhering to austerity and conserving energy. They can help much the society by being less ostentatious.	1	4	2
42	Economically, the Chinese have succeeded better in business. During hard times when the gap between the Chinese and Filipinos becomes glaring, the Chinese should not flaunt their wealth and indulge openly in conspicuous consumption.	2	4	-2
15	There is a feeling of insecurity among the ethnic Chinese in this country.	4	4	-3

respondents attempt to downplay self-indulgence to follow the austerity and energy conservation policy of the government. In this regard, Factor B subjects also want to remove from the minds of the Filipinos the myth that all Chinese are rich (Statement 48, +3). The other +3 scores in Factor B are concerned with salaries not being enough to cover living expenses (Statement 49), inadequate housing (Statement 45), and the problem of ideological divisions among the ethnic Chinese (Statement 44).

The image of those on Factor B is also formed by the high negative scores given to some statements. Only four statements are discussed here because of space limitations. The negative view centers on accepting intermarriage (Statement 27), improving relations with the Filipinos and de-

claring loyalty (Statement 43), Chinese depositing their money in Filipino- or government-owned banks (Statement 36), and Chinese sharing their knowledge about business with the Filipinos (Statement 55).

#### *Image of Factor C*

There were eight Q-sorts in this factor. Only one subject (34) was born in China, while the rest were born in Manila. With the exception of Subjects 19 and 37 who are Chinese citizens, all the others have Filipino citizenship. Similar to Factor A, the respondents on this factor generally reside outside the Chinatown district (exceptions are Subjects 10 and 18). Only Subject 19 has a high school education; while the other subjects have college education; three in fact have degrees at the master's level; and

Table 11. High Negative Scores of Factor B Respondents

Statement Number	Statement	Factors		
		A	B	C
27	The Chinese should fully accept inter-marriage between the Filipinos and Chinese.	-1	-5	-3
43	Of course there are some Chinese who have to improve themselves in their relations with the Filipinos	5	-5	-3
36	The financial institutions of the Chinese community must encourage more Chinese businessmen and families to deposit their savings and capital in Filipino or government-owned banks to help in developing the nation.	-1	-5	-1
55	The Chinese should try to pass on to the Filipinos their knowledge and practices in managing a business. The Chinese should share their knowledge and experience with them.	0	-4	0
48	Misconceptions about the Chinese in the Philippines create problems and tension between the ethnic Chinese and Filipinos. Such myths as all the Chinese are rich should be removed from the minds of Filipinos.	2	3	2

one has a medical degree. Examining the occupational status of the respondents, salaried employees dominate as on Factor A. Subject 10, who has an MBA, calls himself a merchant; while Subject 42, also an MBA, calls herself a business executive. The only professional practicing independently in this factor is Subject 8 who is a medical doctor. Generally, with the exceptions of Subjects 37, 8, and 36, the work place of the respondents is a Chinese business or educational institution. As additional information, it may be mentioned that Subjects 10 and 8 are brothers. Factor C is represented mainly by Catholics (5 subjects) and two Protestants or Anglicans. No one reported to be a Buddhist; and one claimed to have no

religion at all. The marital status of those on Factor C is the opposite of Factor A; only one of the respondents is single. The median age (29 years old) is comparable to Factor A subjects (see Table 4).

Factor C subjects manifested expression of complete support and loyalty to President Marcos, made legitimate claims to public resources by recommending ameliorative or redistributed services, appeared more concerned with present needs, took a pragmatic and positive approach to development by stressing agriculture and to communications by approving a research and information center, gave low priority to strengthening the teaching of Chinese lan-

Table 12. Distinguishing Statements of the Subject on Factor C

Statement Number	Statement	Factors		
		A	B	C
3	The Chinese community should continue to support President Marcos for the good policies he made for the Chinese and for preventing the country from going communist.	-1	0	5
9	The Chinese as a group is a stable force in the New Society. They should continue to support the administration of President Marcos who has the foresight to recognize the dynamic role of the Chinese in national development.	2	-1	5
20	The government wants the Chinese to be productive and go into high-risk investments. But there is a backlash here and a paradox as well. When the Chinese heed much encouragement it becomes another reason for the build up of anti-Chinese sentiments. People become envious. The Chinese who become successful must take a low profile. They have a duty to their country — the Philippines — and yet they must tread a narrow path. The people's attitudes must change.	2	1	5

guages, were unconvinced of the need for a specific government policy towards the Chinese, and in particular, were concerned with putting a stop to the problem of Chinese being kidnapped.

Subject 37 has a pure loading on this factor, meaning that the subject has a high positive loading (+54) on Factor C, zero loading on Factor A, and a negligible loading of +01, on Factor B. To this subject the issues on services, prices, and jobs are more important. Ameliorative issues predominate and not the choice of integration or assimilation. Subject 37 is an instructor in a private university. At the time of the interview the universities in Metropolitan Manila were under

siege because of student demonstrations against increases in tuition, declining quality of education and erosion of academic freedom. The university of Subject 37 was particularly in a tense atmosphere of conflicts and agitation which had disrupted classes several times. It is possible that such an atmosphere had an impact on the subject's evaluation of the priority recommendations in the survey.

The Q-sorts on Factor C proclaim their unquestionable support to President Marcos for the following reasons: his "good policies" towards the ethnic Chinese, his efforts at protecting the country from the Communists, and his explicit recognition of the important role of the ethnic Chinese in develop-

Table 13. Second Level of High Positive Scores (+4)  
for Factor C

Statement Number	Statement	A	Factors B	C
2	The government must try to give medical care to poor families in the Chinese community. The government has never considered a health center for the needy Chinese.	-2	0	4
4	The problems of those living in a Chinese "looban" should not be ignored. They need social services and attention from both the Chinese community at large and the government.	-2	2	4
49	The present salary of employed people is not enough to cover living expenses.	-3	3	4
16	The government must frequently visit the Chinese associations and communities to find out the needs of the Chinese and solve their problems. The "don't care" attitude should give way to more openness and consultation.	-2	-3	4

ing the country (Statements 3 and 9, +5). However, Factor C respondents realize a real dilemma with respect to the call of the President for their participation in the socioeconomic program of his administration. Should the Chinese expand their investments and venture into high-risk industries, they believe there would be a concomitant rise in prejudice and antagonism towards the Chinese (Statement 20, +5). The larger population begins to concoct the image of the Chinese monopolizing and controlling the Philippine economy, squeezing out the new Filipino entrepreneurs, manufacturers and corporate builders. It is not a comforting choice for the Chinese; but the ethnic Chinese think that they should respond to President Marcos' challenge by taking a low profile and recommending that something be done to change the distorted and exaggerated attitude of the people towards the Chinese.

Statements 2 and 4 acknowledge the existing economic gap between the rich and poor ethnic Chinese in Metropolitan Manila. As interpreted, there are ethnic Chinese who live in the so-called *looban* or slum area of Chinatown. They are not store-owners, but the sales persons, laborers, or menial workers in Chinese-owned business establishments. Some are faith healers and practitioners of Chinese medicine, others are peddlers of Chinese food. The subjects on Factor C recommend that these disadvantaged people should not be overlooked by both the Chinese community and the government. Such people need medical help and social services. The respondents point out that the government has never thought of establishing a health center for the needy Chinese — thus leaving the responsibility for their care in the hands of the Chinese themselves. The unequivocal support to President Marcos

Table 14. High Positive Scores (+3) Ranked by Those on Factor C

Statement Number	Statement	Factors		
		A	B	C
45	Getting housing is difficult these days because of the high cost. The government should also provide low-cost housing for the Chinese who could not afford expensive housing.	-3	3	3
30	The problem of kidnapping should be brought to the open. There should be a legal structure to protect the Chinese from the threats of and actual kidnapping.	-1	2	3
32	As promised by the President, the Government should expedite the processing of the naturalization papers of the Chinese which are now pending for almost five years.	1	-3	3
29	There should be a policy to allow the Chinese schools to teach Chinese subjects, imparting cultural values and skills. But there should also be a merging of both Filipino and Chinese cultures.	0	5	3

seems to imply that: "we want you Mr. President, but attend to some of our needs also." Factor C respondents also agree with government control over prices because of the difficult economic survival of low-income earners—both Chinese and Filipinos. To appreciate the problems of the Chinese community, the government is invited to visit them, identify their problems, and provide solutions (Statement 16, +4). Factor C subjects ask the government to be more open and to consult with the ethnic Chinese in community problem solving. Statements 2, 4, 49, and 16, among others, justify the label Ameliorative associated with Factor C.

Jobs, housing, and law and order are the main concerns of respondents on Factor C in Statements 35, 45, and 30 (+3). The respondents on Factor C suggest that qualified Chinese should also be given the opportunity to be

employed by the government. Given a chance to work in government, the Chinese could also show their potentials, capacity, and sincerity. Those on Factor C suggest that the Chinese should qualify for low-cost public housing. The problem of Chinese being kidnapped for ransom as being rampant was serious enough to merit the attention of those on Factor C (Statement 30). The respondents on Factor C were forthright and broad-minded enough to suggest that such a problem be brought to the open rather than be casually ignored by the ethnic group.

Factor C respondents also perceived the delay in the approval of the naturalization applications of the ethnic Chinese who filed their papers beginning in 1975 (Statement 32). While the group is eager to achieve Philippine citizenship, the respondents also

Table 15. High Negative Scores of Factor C Respondents

Statement Number	Statement	A	Factors B	C
7	Most Chinese do not think of long-term issues and problems that affect them.	4	-1	-5
56	Chinese business establishments must require knowledge of the Chinese language in hiring.	-5	1	-4
41	There should be established a Chinese cultural center in the Philippines to introduce Chinese culture to Filipinos. The center should also provide more information about China and the Chinese in the Philippines.	0	2	-4
46	The Chinese community must form an agricultural training and research center to exchange ideas with the Filipinos on the best approach towards increasing agricultural production.	0	-2	2

argue that Chinese schools be allowed to continue teaching Chinese subjects (apart from Chinese language), such as those on cultural values and skills (Statement 29).

The high negative scores reveal additional insights into the characteristics of those on Factor C. The respondents belie the contention that the ethnic Chinese are a silent, timid and submissive group, hence incapable of thinking about long-term issues and problems (Statement 7). They are opposed to requiring competence in the Chinese language as a prerequisite to getting jobs (Statement 56). Finally, the group is not in favor of establishing a Chinese cultural center (Statement 41).

A significant +2 factor score may be mentioned here to show the overall attitude of Factor C respondents. Statement 46 relates to a recom-

mendation that the Chinese community should help in agricultural development through a Center.

Several neutral scores are consistent with the position of those on Factor C. The respondents indicate neutral values regarding recommendations which could reinforce the use and teaching of the Chinese language (Statements 24 and 47). Even the allocation of government funds for the physical improvement of Chinatown hardly received any support (Statement 12). More medical care, not roads; more social services, not buildings, are urgent in the community. The neutral score accorded to Statement 11 is somewhat intriguing. Obviously, Factor C should indicate agreement with denying that the Chinese ought to maintain their identity and proclaim that they are Chinese first beyond anything else. Factor C respondents gave a

Table 16. Common Statements with Negative Scores

Statement Number	Statement	Factors		
		A	B	C
1	Filipino students should also be encouraged to enroll in Chinese community schools.	-4	-4	-5
18	Filipinos should also learn the Chinese language.	-4	-4	-5
27	The Chinese should fully accept inter-marriage between the Filipinos and Chinese.	-1	-5	-3

neutral score to this statement, seemingly contradicting Factor A. The subjects do not give any importance to the debate on whether the Chinese are pro-Peking or pro-Taipei. It would seem that this group manifestly desires to preserve its gains acquired through the years (e.g., citizenship, status, economic role) and avoid being entangled in intra-ethnic conflicts and differences that are international in character, or have foreign policy implications.

#### Consensus Statements

The respondents in three factors have common negative agreements in several statements. Notably, the respondents gave a high negative score to the suggestion that Filipinos study in Chinese community schools (Statement 1); to Filipinos learning the Chinese language (Statement 18); and to Chinese accepting inter-marriage (Statement 27). Moreover, the 7 Q-sorters who straddled across several factors indicate their ambivalence or mixed attitudes towards certain issues. The presence of such respondents should emphasize the variant and mul-

tifaceted character of the respondents in the study who evaluated complex, difficult, and even sensitive issues.

#### Policy Implications

The policy agenda that emerged from this study showed three distinct categories of concern of the ethnic Chinese in the Philippines. The policy recommendations suggested by those who loaded on three factors (A, B, and C) represent the various priorities, attitudes, and perceptions of this ethnic minority group. The use of Q-techniques was an effective alternative to the application of sample survey research which previous investigators on this topic had encountered difficulties in conducting.<sup>12</sup> The results of this study have significance to de-

<sup>12</sup>For a discussion of the problems in conducting survey research with this ethnic group, see: Robert O. Tilman, "Some Theoretical and Practical Problems Encountered in Field Research in the Philippines, 1969-70," *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (July 1970); Arturo G. Pachon, "Methodological Problems in the Study of Political Attitudes of Ethnic: The Chinese in the Philippines," *Asian Profile*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (February 1980); and Jacques Amyot, *op. cit.*

cision makers and other researchers concerned with public policy and issues involving ethnic relations and integration.

The most immediate implication of the study concerns participation. Contrary to the claims that only a handful of influentials — the Chinese elite or elders — can make decisions for the community, it is possible to have a bottom-up policy. It is possible to go to the people who compose the bulk of this ethnic community (the ordinary shopkeepers, professionals, housewives, academicians, students, and salaried employees) and ask them to articulate their needs and wants. They can be consulted, engaged or involved in policy issues; hence, in future policy exercises, it is important to ask the larger elements of the people in this group rather than completely ignore them.

Secondly, it can no longer be assumed that conditions have improved for the ethnic Chinese. There is a distant concern for amelioration, welfare or redistribution, and recognition that other Chinese need the attention of their leaders and government. One subject in Factor A had observed that the socio-economic amelioration of the Chinese is far less an important and urgent concern of the Philippines. That may be true, but as the ethnic Chinese become Filipino citizens, there is no longer any difference between their needs and those of their fellow Filipinos. What affects and concerns the Filipino citizens are also the concerns of the Chinese. The same concerns for status, esteem, security, material acquisition, food, clothing, and shelter are shared by both. Another consequence is that the pro-Peking and pro-Taipei divisions

in the community could very well become more tangible and permanent and revolve around substantive issues such as the amelioration of the less advantaged Chinese.

Thirdly, there is a manifest concern for solidarity, although there is a differential value attached to it. As a whole, two factors (A and B) are very careful about the image of a factionalized community. This finding has two implications: a divided community will be irritating to the Filipinos and will increase the latter's suspicions about the motives of the Chinese. On the other hand, Blaker wrote that more cohesion — or solidarity — would be perceived differently by outsiders: it would only increase anti-Chinese feelings.<sup>13</sup> Such unity would be a conspiracy "to control the Philippine economy."

Fourthly, Chineseness is still an issue among the respondents on two factors (A and B). This issue cannot be sidetracked in the belief that naturalization and the Filipinization of Chinese schools have resolved the question. Many Chinese still want to preserve their identity in varied ways: as a recognized minority group like the Philippine Muslims, or as Chinese nationals in the Philippines.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup>James Ronald Blaker, "The Chinese in the Philippines: A Study of Power and Change" (Ph. D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1970), p. 269.

<sup>14</sup>The most surprising discovery of this study is the emergence of a type which combines the features of Assimilationist and Pluralist. Seemingly, the two are contradictions, according to conventional views on political integration. The findings of William E. Maxwell, "The Ethnic Assimilation of Chinese Students into the Thai Medical Elite," in Tai S. Kang, ed., *National-*

Fifthly, anxiety, insecurity, fear, and uncertainty preoccupy the minds of the ethnic Chinese. They are afraid that they would become another group of Vietnamese refugees once there is a change in the martial law administration — or in the political system in the Philippines. The identification of this issue raises significant implications to the policy of integration articulated by the Philippine government.

Finally, a critical implication for policy agenda setting is that the public sector need not be called upon to satisfy all the needs and demands of the ethnic group. After ranking

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*ism and the Crisis of Ethnic Minorities in Asia* (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979) reveal that pluralism and assimilation are present simultaneously but separately in the ethnic Chinese. In the Philippine case, Prof. Chinben See holds the view that the ethnic Chinese desire political assimilation within a culturally plural society. However, he adds that cultural assimilation comes before political assimilation.

and analyzing the 58 Q-sample, some recommendations were addressed to the community as a whole, to the government or to the Chinese as individuals.

The responses of the three factors are offered as options and contingencies for decision-making. The policy maker then uses his judgment<sup>15</sup> — a process which is subjective — just as the strategy in this policy research was based on the subjective choices of the ethnic Chinese respondents. The study has developed the alternative agenda on the question of “What is to be done?” It has enlarged the range of policy choices that is available, feasible, and amenable to governmental and community action and individual responsibility. The next obvious phase is for the policy maker to assess these strategic choices and decide on “What ought to be done?”

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<sup>15</sup> Steven R. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 78.