

Volume 13 Issue 1; 2011- 2012

Chinoy

The Official Publication of the Ateneo Celadon

Changing Tides



YOUNG'S PAPER SALES, INC.

Quality. Service.
Benefit from our Expertise.

For your paper and paperboard needs
Get in touch with us!



PAPER BOARD

Claycoated Board • Coated Board • Matte Coated Board • Carrier Board
Tagboard • Vellum Bristol Board • Designed Bristol Board
Cast Coated Board



PAPER

Carbonless Paper • Coated Paper • Matted Coated Paper • Lightweight
Coated Paper • Book Paper • Newsprint
Greaseproof Paper • Satin Sticker • Hlgloss Sticker



PRINTING ACCESSORIES

Fanapart Glue • Sensitizing Ink • Desensitizing Ink
Offset Ink • Moleton Cloth



2505-A East Tower
Phil. Stock Exchange Centre
Exchange Road, Ortigas Center, Pasig City
Trunklines 638-7788 • 638-1688
Fax Numbers 638-1388 • 634-7336
Email info@youngspaper.com
youngs.paper@gmail.com

Sole Distributor of

phoenix®
CARBONLESS PAPER

*The Most Trusted Name in
Carbonless Paper*

Editor's Note

Twelve years ago, *Chinoy* opened up the discussion of seeking the Chinese-Filipino's identity. "We are Chinoys" was written over entire issues, yet even after over a decade's worth of discussion, we find ourselves experiencing only brief moments of lucidity over this matter.

The same questions still resound in us and in this issue we tackle them through the histories of our forefathers and our nation. This intermingled tapestry of stories of generations past brings together tales of circumstance and coincidences that unknowingly created a subconscious identity for the community of Chinese-Filipinos. Our stories do not just tell, but rather they show through narratives and portraits in time the evolution of our collective identity. We talk of grandfathers leaving the mainland and our Filipina grandmothers who fell for them. We talk of purchased surnames that alleviated social statuses, of emerging concoctions of mingling languages which blur cultural boundaries, of how post-war attempts at Filipino patriotism created stirrings of ethnic racism, and of how these foreign neighbors were assimilated into the local community.

In the end, we see how our generation has come so far since that time of our ancestors when Chinese junks carried over refugees running away from cruel conditions that we begin to see that indeed, yes, we have become something new. We are no longer the Chinese from the mainlands, nor are we just the Filipinos of the southern islands- we are the Chinoys, the Chinese-Filipinos who have grown to become part of this cultural heritage far more complex than what our ancestors could imagine. Whether because of serendipitous events or historical mandates, we will always continuously find our feet in this cultural evolution and stay adrift as we go along with the ever changing currents of time.

Timeless tales will always have their own magic. Take some time to read our stories, and maybe you'll discover something new about yourself!


Keith Khadine Ng
Chinoy Editor in Chief



Staff

Contributors

Contributing Writers: Alessandra Noelle Uy, 2 BS HS
Charlene Joyce Chan, 4 BS MGT
Chauncey Seanne Chu, 1 BS ME
Enrique Noel Yusingco, 2 BS MGT
John Eufranio Eriguel, 3 AB DS
Michelle Camille Tan, 1 BS MGT- H
Xavier Roel Alvaran, 2 AB POS

Artists: Jose Angelo De Los Trinos, 2 BFA ID
Justin Travis Pua, 3 BFA ID
Kristine Alexis Fuentes, 1 BS MGT
Patricia Anne Santos, 3 BFA ID

Layout Designers: Amanda Kaye See, 2 BS ME
Estela Angela Bagos, 2 BFA ID
Germaine Monica Teng, 2 BS MGT
Justin Travis Pua, 3 BFA ID

Editors

VP for Comm&Pub: Hart Janssen Ang, 4 AB PoS

AVP for Comm&Pub: Riche Levin Lim, 3 BS ME

Editor in Chief: Keith Khadine Ng, 4 BS ME

Features Editor: Arlene Jane Chang, 3 BS MAC

Events Editor: Janine Kimberly Young, 2 BS ME

Marketing Liasons: Aldrin Addison Co, 2 BS ME
Santhiel Wong Chua, 4 BS ME
Tiffany Rose Kang, 4 BS Com Sci

Art Editor: Hazel Tan, 3 BFA ID

Photo Editor: Gerard Raymond Lim, 2 BFA ID

Layout Editor: Samantha Hillary Co, 2 BFA ID

contents

6 - 23 FEATURE ARTICLES

- 6 -7 Diving For Pearls
- 8 -10 Roll Call: "Tan, Tan, Tan, Tan, Tan, Tan..."
- 11 - 12 Opening Up & Closing In
- 13 - 15 Retracing Our Verbal Roots
- 16 - 17 Virtue Above All Virtues
- 18 - 19 The Birth of a New Era
- 20 - 23 The House That Tsinoy's Built

Cover

Photography: Keith Khadine Ng, 4 BS ME

Layout and Post Processing: Samantha Hillary Co, 2 BFA ID



Ateneo Celadon is the official Chinese Filipino Organization of the Ateneo de Manila University

Copyright © 2010 All rights reserved.

Chinoy is published twice a year and is the official publication of the Ateneo Celadon, located at Rm 208, Manuel V. Pangilinan Center for Student Leadership, Ateneo de Manila University, Loyola Heights, Quezon City, Philippines, Trunkline: (+632) 4266001 loc 5409.

For questions, comments, clarifications and suggestions, visit our website at www.ateneo-celadon.org



DIVING FOR PEARLS

Written by John Eriguel

Art by Hazel Tan

Despite the fictional tone of this article, these stories have been based on real characters and events. The character of Soca was based on Yu Bon Soc, who was interviewed through his children Alex and Marie Young. On the other hand, the character of Enga was based on an interview with Xu Bao Róng together with his granddaughter Brigitte Lim.



I swam.

Or sailed rather.

China was going through civil war; there was violence left and right, with poverty and hunger in between. Goodbye Mainland, Hello Pearl of the Orient.

Nine years earlier, it was April 12, 1927. Another day for people in the Philippines but for over 300 people in Shanghai, it was their last. Chiang Kai-Shek had ordered the killing and imprisonment of Communist Party members. By this time, China was undergoing high political tension and the people were suffering for it. The struggle for control of China lasted for about 22 more years.

Nobody wanted to live around that much hostility and misery. Neighbors heard of a beautiful country from merchants who did trading there. Indeed, the liberal Philippines was undergoing massive improvements in the education and health systems, under U.S. rule. Turning this sweet tale sour was the fact that China was still home. People left their friends and families. Some people left in groups,

others went alone. *I left with my brother and some people in our neighborhood.* Many people had wives who were left behind. This didn't stop them though, as they almost always remarried in the Philippines. Some even had two or three Filipina wives! Yu Bon Soc (Soca) only married once in his life, and that was to a Filipina.

Despite this eventual future, he was uncertain when he first made the decision to migrate. But he took the leap. The leap came in the form of an old, dusty boat that was definitely larger than a canoe, but much smaller than the modern day ferry. The boat was crowded; maybe a hundred of us were squeezed into it. People, who couldn't make it, would have to leave on another day and join the next batch. During the week long voyage, questions and doubts kept popping into his head. He didn't know what awaited him across the South China Sea, other than greener, less bloody pastures.

Even 10 years later, uncertainty was a constant. As a child, Xu Bao Róng (Enga) was told many things about the tropical island. The Philippines was prosperous then; plenty of trading. It was one of the richest in Asia...plenty of Spaniards. At the age of 9, Enga was somewhat oblivious to the politics around him though it was impossible not to witness its effects. I came from a poor province... a lot of poor people, farming kamote and rice. By the time Enga was getting ready to leave, migrating to the Philippines wasn't anything new. For years, people like Soca were shipped to the Philippines like boxed goods. Of course, boats weren't anywhere as fast as the airplanes that people began to take. Enga and

his cousin flew to the Philippines together, basing everything on stories they've heard. *I was very dizzy from the plane. First time I arrived, I didn't know where I was. After the disorientation, he searched for his dad. Father had a house and a sari-sari store. But the search for a home continued. We moved around a lot.*

The 18 year old Soca on the other hand, hit the ground running. *Coming from Amoy (Xiamen), I travelled light; all I needed was my body- new country, new home, new family, new life.* By quickly befriending established Chinese people in the area, he was able to engage in soap trading after starting off as an errand boy. He employed and gave loans to many Filipino and Chinese workers, slowly learning the Filipino language along the way. There are always opportunities; you just need to be resourceful and adventurous. Even collecting empty bottles was an avenue for profit. Soca brought his cooking skills into different shops, eventually setting up his own bakery inside his house. Later on, he ventured into lumber, construction and dollar exchange. Despite all the businesses and the busyness, he found time to give money to the children and friends who visited him.

Most importantly, his entrepreneurial skills allowed him to meet his future wife through her salesman uncles. In contrast to what many Chinese parents believe today, he thought it was okay to marry a non-Chinese. His daughter still remembers that he once told her, "Don't look for partners you would be rich with, but instead search for partners

"Don't look for partners you would be rich with, but instead search for partners you wouldn't mind being poor with."

Santiago, he worked in a textile shop. *It was hard; I work early in the morning and I study late at night. Learning three different languages at the same time wasn't as hard though. It was easy because of the very friendly Filipino people who helped me.* While Enga was busy multi-tasking, Soca had his own set of problems. Five to be exact: 3 beautiful daughters, 1 strong son, and 1 lazy dog named Brownny. By applying the same techniques and strategies he used to survive the transition to the Philippines, he also survived parenthood, using any and every opportunity available to make them smile and share his knowledge and experiences. He pushed them to work hard for everything like Enga did, and indeed they persevered. Well, except for Brownny.

When you feel like drowning, no matter how strong the current is or how deep the water is, just remember to paddle as hard as you can, use every chance you get to call for assistance or help another

"When you feel like drowning, no matter how strong the current is or how deep the water is, just remember to paddle as hard as you can, use every chance you get to call for assistance or help another person, and admire the ocean's beauty once you've survived."

you wouldn't mind being poor with." *I didn't care if she was Chinese or not. She was very beautiful and sweet to me. My mom wanted me to marry a Chinese woman. I didn't need to be a country away to decide for myself because in the end, I make my own choices.*

When Enga had finally settled down, he had already travelled from Sampaloc, to Pangasinan, to Santiago (Isabela), to Ilagan (Isabela), and had worked in Tuguegarao. Before moving back to

person, and admire the ocean's beauty once you've survived.

It was raining hard. Like Brownny, Enga decided to rest and just observe the scenery. So many kalesas and horses are passing through the rising flood. Those poor, poor horses. I hope they know how to swim. ☹

ROLL CALL:

Written by Enrique Yusingco

A LOT OF PEOPLE, regardless of their light-hearted intention would say that a single-syllabled word containing usually a maximum of five letters, are the characteristics of a Chinese person's surname. It would be difficult to blame them for this common misconception but because of the seemingly infinite combination of words available in the English alphabet (or Chinese characters if you want to look at it that way), Chinese-Filipino surnames tend to have a limited array of choices. Let's face it, almost all would know a Chinese-Filipino friend whose family name would be "Tan" (the most common Chinese surname in the Philippines), "Ong", "Lim", "Chua", or any of the other "typical" C last names.

*TRIVIA

The surnames Tan/Chan/Chen (陳), which means "old", and the surnames Ong/Wang/Wong (王), which mean "king", both trace their origins to the royal family. Meanwhile, Lim/Lin (林) means "man of the forest," and Chua-Choi (came from "one of the three guards.")

"...TAN, TAN, TAN, TAN
TAN, TAN, TAN, TAN..."

However, unlike before, most of the recent Chinese immigrants from the mainland opted to retain their family names. One reason for this, was to preserve family honor or simply for practicality's sake. Another reason for the immigrants to retain their original surnames can stem from history during the time of the liberation of the Philippines from Spanish colonial rule.

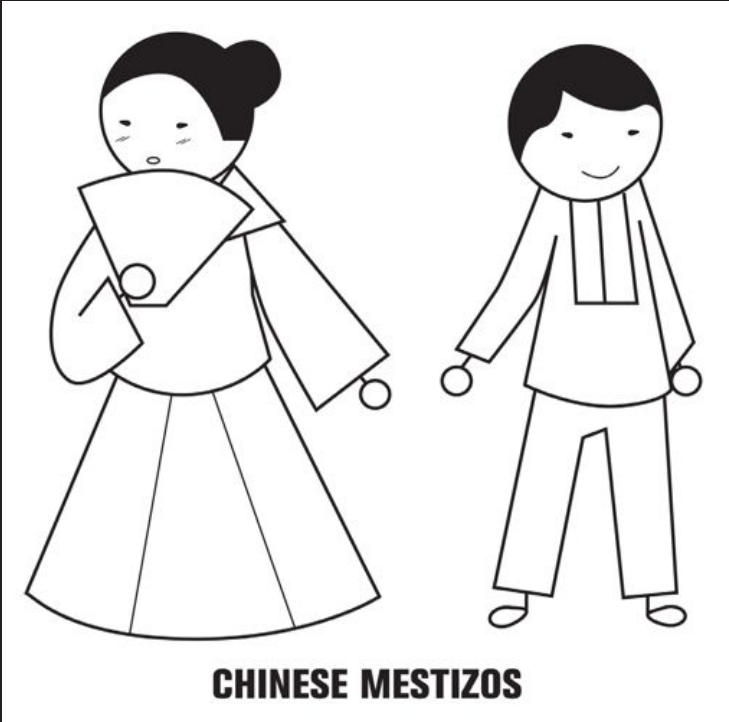
Historical Background

During the Spanish Colonization era, Chinese immigrants were heavily discriminated and unjustly treated. In fact they were considered even lower than that of the Indios, the Spanish term for local Filipino. Because of this, a lot of Chinese and Chinese-mestizos wanted to attain the status of the Indios which, at that time, was much more desirable than their own and becoming one would have reaped a lot of more benefits.

In order to elevate their status, one way of doing so was to convert to Catholicism. The Chinese settlers in the Philippines who were baptized as Catholics had numerous advantages and perks over the unbaptized Chinese settlers when it comes to



Art by Patricia Santos



“...a lot of Chinese and Chinese-mestizos wanted to attain the status of the Indios which, at that time, was much more desirable than their own and becoming one would have reaped a lot of more benefits.”

engaging in business. Also, they were encouraged to intermarry with Spanish or Malay people. By doing so, these Chinese-Mestizos (mixed Chinese-Spanish or Chinese-Malay or both) were allowed to keep their Chinese surnames, albeit these original surnames were made Hispanized in spelling.

It was this “Hispanization” of surnames that gave rise to the existence of Chinese surnames that contained more than one syllable. They might sound Chinese, but they look less like it to comply with Spanish rule. Usually these two or three-syllable family names come from the whole name of the family’s patriarch.

For example, the conjugated Chinese last name ‘Cojuangco’ came from its clan’s patriarch, ‘Co

Chi Kuan’ and so he is properly and respectfully called ‘Cokuanko’ (one’s given name is removed). To follow the Spanish standards, this name was made Hispanized in spelling. This ultimately resulted to the present-day spelling of ‘Cojuangco.’ Yuchengco, Gokongwei, Yupangco, Tantoco, and the author’s surname, Yusingco, to name a few, are other examples of multi-syllabic Chinese surnames.

Other Chinese-Filipinos who lived during the Spanish colonial rule had either inherited or legally changed their surnames to a Spanish or local-sounding surname like Santos, Martinez, Lopez, among others. Having one’s Chinese surname changed into a Spanish one at that time entails identifying with the colonizing rulers of the country, and therefore would bring benefit and improvement to one’s lifestyle.

TRIVIA

A lot of these Hispanized Chinese family names end in ‘-co’ or ‘-ko.’ Some people think that this suffix is simply part of the whole name of the Chinese patriarch of the clan. However, in most cases, the ‘co’ or ‘ko’ in the end is not actually part of the patriarch’s full name, but is actually some sort of a honorific or respectful article for the name of the patriarch (although ‘co’ can stand alone as a surname).

TRIVIA

The term “binili ang pangalan [the name is bought]” is used when these Chinese settlers “buy” their Filipino surnames by paying the custodians to change their names in their cedula or certificate of records (effectively birth certificates).

TRIVIA

Jose Rizal, our National Hero, is actually a descendant of a Chinese immigrant. His original family name was supposed to be ‘Lam-co’ but his grandfather and father later on changed the name to ‘Mercado’ and eventually to ‘Rizal’ respectively.

The Name Game

Gem Fernandez (2-BS Mgt-H), Neil Guevarra (2-BS Mgt), JJ Sison (2-BS Mgt) and John Tolentino (2-BS ME) are all of pure Chinese descent. All of them can speak in Hokkien, all went to various Chinese High Schools and all live in accordance to the Chinese culture. Aside from this, their appearance and physique exhibit the physical attributes society dictates one generally has in order to be considered “Chinese-looking” or “Chinito/Chinita”. Despite their obvious Chinese roots, they all carry with them Filipino surnames.

When asked about the reasons why they have Filipino surnames, they all express that their original Chinese surnames were changed into Filipino ones by their family predecessors for better business opportunities in the Philippines. Reasons such as results of Feng Shui readings also cropped up among others.

Nowadays, they all expressed a sort of amused resentment at the fact that people end up second guessing their background because of their surnames. They said that some people ask them on why they have Filipino surnames despite the fact that they are really Chinese. This is then followed by the assumption that they are half Chinese-half Filipino. More than that, comments like, “Chinese ba siya talaga? Mukha. Pero bakit hindi Chinese name niya? [Is he/she really Chinese? It looks like it... But why isn’t his/her surname Chinese?]” appear in conversations with newly met people.

However, despite all these Gem, Neil and John expressed that they would rather not revert back to their Chinese family names because they do not think it is “bagay [complementary]” or they do not like the ring to it. They also said that they are already used to their current surnames so they do not really

see the point of changing it into a Chinese one.

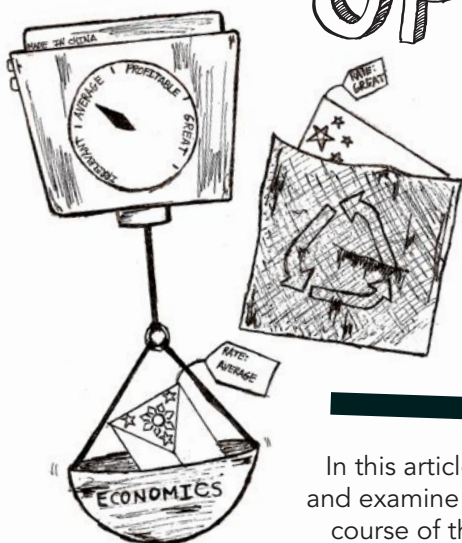
JJ on the other hand said that she would actually want to revert back to her Chinese surname of ‘Sy’ if given the chance. However, she also said that this does not mean that she does not like her family name now. Her main reason for wanting to change back to her “original” surname is because the Chinese nowadays are getting increasingly influential and respected and having a Chinese surname would make her more of a part of this trend.

Despite their non-Chinese surnames, all of the interviewees claim that they are proud Chinese-Filipino students. They said that one’s name is not really what makes a person truly Chinese, but it is the culture they practice and stories behind them.

“Let’s face it, almost all would know a Chinese-Filipino friend whose family name would be ‘Tan’ (the most common Chinese surname in the Philippines), ‘Ong’, ‘Lim’, ‘Chua’, or any of the other ‘typical’ C last names.”

Looking at the story behind each surname (while at times it might not be indicative of race) can tell a lot about a person’s cultural and historical background. Chinese surnames of our immigrant ancestors, have evolved to adapt into the culture here in the Philippines. The existence of “Hispanized” surnames and name-buying has actually made it more difficult now to pinpoint who is a Chinese based on surname alone. It has really evolved in a way that there is actually an infinite possibility to what it looks like.

In the end, it doesn’t really matter what kind of surname a person have, what is more important is to know the lineage behind it. As such, you must learn to accept, be proud and respect it as it is your responsibility to protect and take care of it. ☺



OPENING UP & CLOSING IN

THE CHINESE COMMUNITY'S REACTION TO THE "FILIPINO FIRST" POLICY OF THE 1950'S

In this article, we take a step back into the not-so-distant past and examine how a nationally relevant circumstance affected the course of the Chinese community's history in the Philippines.

What was the Philippines, in its first years as a free nation? The Philippines moved under the administration of President Carlos P. Garcia in 1957, after the untimely death of President Ramon Magsaysay. At that point, the Philippines was a nation celebrating just over a decade of freedom from any sort of foreign rule. However, though this much time had passed since the first declaration of independence, the Philippine economy had yet to fully free itself from the grip of foreign influences.

Of Acts and Policies

Though previous presidents of the New Republic acted towards the establishment of the Philippines as a separate nation from its previous colonizers, the process did not occur in one fell swoop, particularly in the case of the economy. Acts such as the Bell Trade Act, that prohibited Filipinos from manufacturing products that would compete significantly with US-made goods, hindered the growth of the Filipino economy into a truly "Filipino" one. At that moment in history, as much as "70 percent of domestic trade and 80 percent of foreign trade were in the hands of aliens, principally Chinese and American." (Agoncillo, 165)

[1] President Garcia's "Filipino First" Policy aimed to counteract the lack of local power in the economy.

In his third State of the Nation Address in the year 1960, President Garcia spoke of the intended reforms, saying: "This policy is therefore designed to regain economic independence. It is

a national effort to the end that Filipinos obtain major and dominant participation in their own national economy. This we will achieve with malice towards none and with fairness to all."

Essential to the success of the "Filipino First" policy was the "Retail Trade Nationalization Act". This act, as a general rule stated that "only Filipinos or corporations whose capital is 100% Filipino may engage in retail trade." This gained for the Philippines establishments such as MERALCO, acquired from American owners, and FILOIL, the first Filipino controlled oil corporation. However, though the efficacy and implementation of this policy as history progressed is a different topic of discussion, it can be said that to an extent, the objective of President Garcia's statement was realized during his term as president. Parity rights effectively removed much of the restriction on one part of the foreign "aliens" said to be monopolizing Filipino trade, the Americans. The end result then, of the "Filipino First" policy, is what appeared to be an exclusion of the Chinese community from the economic activities of the country, but most specifically in retail.

Retail, to be precise, is defined as the sale of goods to consumers, as opposed to another selling party and from the earliest Spanish times (perhaps even before then) until that point and time, selling wares to consumers, or retail had been one of the cornerstones of livelihood for Chinese immigrants living in the Philippines. The new "Retail Trade Nationalization Act" seemed then to be a measure

against the Chinese community residing in the Philippines, as much as it was a provision aimed at improving the economy of the average Filipino. The major reason for this is because of citizenship.

'Aliens' in the Philippines

Though by the time that the Chinese had been a part of Philippine society for what can conservatively be described as a very long time, the Chinese culture had yet to be assimilated in the culture of the Philippines. Chinese schools at the time of the Philippines' declaration of independence from the Americans still stressed the Chinese culture, history, customs and language – and with a student population of about 50,000, were seen as 'irreconcilable with Filipino society' and 'retarded the assimilation of the Chinese' (Tong, 215)^[2] Though the lack of enculturation alone is enough to delineate the Filipinos from the Chinese, in those days however, the fact that many of the Chinese residing in the Philippines were still citizens of China was the major marker in labeling these people as the aforementioned 'aliens'.

Several factors may have contributed to the maintenance of distance between our Chinese ancestors and the Philippine community that they entered into. Among these factors may be pride for their home country and the lingering sense of superiority that this would inevitably bring. But regardless of the reasons for the maintenance of their Chinese citizenship, it was this point in history that served as the catalyst for the integration of the

Chinese community more fully into the Filipino culture. It is important to note though, it would not be until much later, in Marcos' era that the Chinese community, as a whole, would be Filipinized and accepted as a part of the mainstream society.

What then, was the Chinese-Filipinos of President Garcia's era's response to this? Chinese Filipino writer, Charlson Ong, has said "The Chinese has always been the invisible person in Philippine society. Seen yet not yet seen; inscrutable, unknown. He lives in the heart of the city, conducting much of the commerce that created a nation yet is consigned to the periphery of the collective imagination – little more than a shadow or caricature."

What the quote suggests is the under-appreciation of the role that the Chinese in the Philippines, as a whole, have played in the development of our country. Through the adversity that the non-acceptance as a part of Filipino society had built up against the Chinese community, there was perseverance and ingenuity in overcoming the nationalist laws of the 1950s and 1960s.

Firstly, these laws were the cause for a migration of the business of many Chinese. As the law had only strictly regulated the retail aspect of business, its implementation saw the shift of the focus of Chinese and Chinese-Filipino business. From being retail and consumer based, they took a step back in the process, and began to take part in, wholesaling, light manufacturing and in the 1960s and 1970s financial services and property development (Essential Outsiders)^[3].

Strengthened Ties, Strengthened People

Ironically though, the hardships brought about by these times were what brought the Chinese community closer together as they formed associations to help protect their rights as inhabitants and businesspeople of this country. The formation of the Federation of Chinese Chambers of Commerce occurred in order to negotiate with the government's nationalist parties and unite the Chinese community under a common goal.

What can be seen then, as an effect of the

"Filipino First" policy in these years, is a double-movement of the Chinese community. There is a movement outwards, as the as-of-yet isolated Chinese people became, for the first time, aware of their right to a role in this country and began to work towards an accepted role in Filipino society, rather than an adversarial one. But also, there is a movement inwards, where in the face of a common hardship, the Chinese-Filipino community was able to unite in order to protect its people. ☺

RETRACING OUR VERBAL ROOTS

LANGUAGE AS PERCEIVED BY THE YOUTH

Written by Arlene Chang and Janine Young

To our generation, Fookien may seem like a language of the past and of our elders- one that is used only when necessary and infrequently as well. In turn, many have grown rusty in speaking the supposed "mother tongue." How has our diminishing use of the language change the way we, the Chinese-Filipino youth consequently perceive and uphold our Chinese heritage as a whole?

One particularly rainy day, my friends and I were walking around campus after the end of our statistics class. Looking at the sky above, my friend suddenly remarked, "Ano ba ito!? May 'Baguio' nanaman!" (What the heck is this, there is a 'Baguio' again?). There was this another time when I was with my friend in the library; we were preparing to leave so we can go to Katipunan to eat. As she was fixing her stuff, she said to me, "Can you un-saksak my laptop charger?" (Can you unplug my laptop charger?)

Conyo speak--- English teachers and grammarians everywhere cringe at the sound of it. Considered as an 'unholy' mix of English and Tagalog, this phenomenon is commonly heard in (but not limited to) college campuses everywhere. In linguistics, they have a term for this phenomenon; this tendency of people to mix up languages during conversation has been called as code switching.

Code switching is more frequent among bilingual speakers. It usually occurs more often when bilinguals converse among each other. As in the case here in Manila, the widespread use of English have contributed to the rise of Taglish. This mix of Tagalog and English is so commonplace that it becomes second nature to the people. For

the Chinese-Filipinos living here in the country, more particularly among the youth, a similar phenomenon can be observed. But aside from Tagalog and English, Hokkien is also included in the mix. Thus, to fully understand the Chinese dialect here in the Metro, the knowledge of three languages is needed-- Chinese, English and Tagalog."

Code Switching and Identity

Chinese settlers have been in the Philippines long before the arrival of the Spanish. The Chinese have played a significant part in the history of the Philippines that their influences extend also into the development of the local languages. Likewise, the Chinese have lived some among the locals for so long that Tagalog and Spanish words have been duly absorbed into their dialect.

The Hokkien dialect here in the country has been ingrained with so many loan words from Tagalog and English that it has transformed into a new dialect in itself. To illustrate, here is what a normal conversation would look like:

Example 1:

Father: Shobe, di tsue ba-so to gua
(Little sister?, can you get me a cup?)

Example 2:

Me: Ma, Bi na dit gua tio pala tuition lo,
kasi ou fine lo (Mom, I have to pay my tuition
tomorrow because there will be a fine already)
Mother: Okay, gua tsue tse-ke to di
(Okay, I'll give you a cheque)

Trivia 1

Here are some Tagalog words that the Hokkien absorbed:

HOKKIEN	TAGALOG
Sa-bun	Sabon (Soap)
Ki-lo	Kilo
Lo-sin	Dosena (Dozen)
Tse-ke	Tseke (Cheque)
Tu-walia	Twalya (Towel)

Trivia 2

Here are Hokkien words that the Tagalog absorbed:

TAGALOG	HOKKIEN
Susi (Key)	Sose
Ate (Elder sister)	Atsi
Bimpo	Bin-po
Hikaw	Hi-kau

Having assimilated themselves here in the country, most of the younger generations of Chinese-Filipino are becoming more fluent in English and Tagalog rather than Chinese. Zuleta, in her article about Code Switching and Identity Construction among Chinese Youth, mentioned that English and Tagalog are becoming the first language the Chinoys adopt. Because of this, the Chinoys are, in a sense, losing their ability to converse in Hokkien. In order to “preserve” their identity, she suggested that perhaps the reason why Chinoy youths use code-switch as a coping mechanism- specifically, she described the reason as “to maintain an ethnic identity and a sense of belongingness to an ethnic Chinese community while being members of a larger Filipino community.”

Lan-Nang Uwe and Generation Y

Amidst all these, what does this mean in the context of our generation today? What does it mean exactly, to be born and raised in a household of Fookien tongues, and at the same time live in a society teeming with English and Tagalog speakers?

Admittedly, many Chinoy teens have gotten so exposed to cultures different from their own, whether it is through the expansion of social networks or the rapid development of media. Movies, television and the internet have made international contact accessible and possible, consequently influencing people in a globalized manner. English has proved to be the most versatile language for this, which most people acquire out of necessity. Other than this, the mere fact that we live in a Filipino society brings about plenty differences in language, culture and beliefs enough to make us distinct from the crowd, that probably a Chinese living in China or Taiwan would not experience. This requires us all the more to actively make a decision to either uphold this unique identity or otherwise discard it, and adopt another. To integrate better in society, we strive to achieve some level of “belonging-ness” through assimilation and most commonly, a compromise in culture. Filipino peers particularly in schools communicate most probably in Taglish, while other affairs in the community require Tagalog as the means for communicating. Compare this to when and where Fookien is mostly used nowadays- in the home, in Binondo, in family reunions and Chinoy occasions. Because there is this need for us to adjust to a more understandable language in society, more and more of the youth have seemed to overlook the value of Lan-nang uwe.

Take for instance Chinese-blooded friends Carl Lee and Jon Ong (both II-BS ME), both mostly use Fookien with their parents and elders only. When with fellow Chinese friends, they barely talk in the language, and resort to using it only when they have a secret or joke to tell in code, so as to not have their non-Chinese friends understand at once. Even James Ly (II- BS ME), who was not raised in a household of Fookien speakers as his mother is Filipino, finds something grand about this special language he still feels some affinity to. What matters is that they all do, in fact, regard Fookien as a language of identity and of importance to themselves.

While many stereotypes are attached to speaking in Chinese point to a rather traditional and conservative upbringing, these three guys beg to differ. “Actually getting to apply and speak the language is kind of cool because it connects you with your fellow Chinese-Filipino peers, plus it’s funny to see how non-Chinese people react when you start speaking in a different language,” Carl shares. “Also, it is great that I know how to speak our language because it is part of our culture and it shows that I am proud of it. I know that others think it is “old” or “uncool”, but for me, it isn’t.” Jon adds, emphasizing the more cultural value of Fookien. James, on the other hand, thinks of this additional language as a practical asset for the future, “If you can speak Chinese, you have a higher chance of getting a better job.”

Then again, we cannot deny that the language is slowly and unconsciously starting to fade into the pages of history. As more and more of the younger Chinoy generations focus on learning and adapting to Tagalog and English, there is a legitimate concern on where the fate of Lan-nang uwe is headed.

Carl agrees saying, “I think that a lot of people in our generation don’t bother learning and speaking it these days because it’s hard to apply the language in the country, where people mostly converse in Filipino, English and even Mandarin, which is the more commonly taught in Chinese schools and [more] well known out of the two.” James thinks so as well because kids are not taught it as much today, “It’s dying. Our [high] school removed it from our curriculum. My dad said it’s [also] due to the age gap between parents to their children.” Even Jon goes on and elaborates what he believes saying, “The only people right now in the Philippines who speak the language are those with parents that do



Art by Hazel Tan

Bucking the Decline

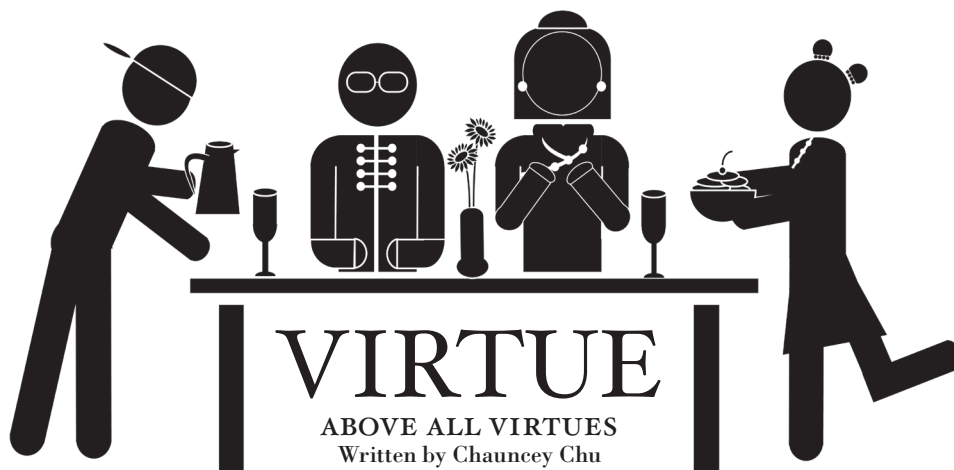
As grim as it may be, the three guys are still positive we can change the trend, even if it would be only one at a time. Well, at least they actively choose to keep Fookien a part of their lives. Bottom line is we are still Chinese, and this runs through our blood and is manifested in the way we live our lives, as unconscious as these nuances may be. So take these words as pieces of advice to motivate us Chinoys to buck this decline and celebrate our unique language.

Carl: “On one part, it’s one way of keeping my Chinese culture alive and at the same time, it can prove to be useful in my life with friends, family and future co-workers.”

Jon: “It is useful in different aspects of life. I am not really good with the language right now so I would want to develop it. Hopefully, other people who know this language think the same as I do and we could prevent it from dying.

James: “This is still a part of who I am, even if not 100%. I know and believe that it’ll be useful in the future, so I try to learn more and more of it every day.”

To a wider extent, language is not the only factor of Chinoy culture that we have the ability to uphold. As the leaders of tomorrow, we hold the power and the choice of what culture we want to pass on to the next generation of Chinoys. So, dear reader, what will it be? ☺



Filial Piety, in Confucian ideals, is a virtue, an active state of mind that is the embodiment of grave respect to one's parents. It involves taking care of the parents, providing for them, and eventually giving them an honorable burial. It is viewed as a responsibility or as a duty that each one must fulfill. It is evidently one of China's finest traditions, as it promotes a sense of familial love and a call to display humanity's compassion, which is the inclination to help and support others.

FILIAL PIETY AND

THE YOUTH

A survey conducted through cluster sampling included 100 Filipino-Chinese teenagers with ages ranging from 15–20 years-old, most of them studying in Chinese schools such as Jubilee Christian Academy and Xavier, others in Ateneo de Manila University. A good number of 97 responded that they had a general idea of what filial piety is about. Only 16 agreed that, in their own judgement, they could still witness filial piety being practiced in today's time, some of them even saying at first, "I'm not sure."

Today's generation of teenagers are given more freedom to express themselves, thus there is a tendency for them to become more rebellious and more independent. With adult foster care services growing and frequent news about old parents being mistreated, time seems to show that people have forgotten about filial piety. It's quite alarming,

especially if we take into consideration that it has come to the point that the act of filial piety is being amended into a law in China. The proposed law says that the elderly can sue their children if they do not often go home, neglect them, or not provide for their emotional and financial needs. China's population is steadily increasing, and it is aging rapidly. China holds the largest percentage of any country in the world for the number of people aged 65 above. Because the country has a one-child policy, there would be fewer children caring for more parents. This proposed amendment has garnered many debates and reactions from the mass and the media. Some call it ridiculous and meaningless, while some agree to its different approach to the same goal.

Questions are being asked. Is it really right to force children to care for their parents

"THE PROBLEM WITH TODAY'S GENERATION IS THE LACK OF RESPECT. IT MAY BE THE EFFECT OF THE WORLD'S IMPOSED TWISTED ETHICS ON US, OR IT MAY BE SIMPLY THE FAÇADE OF BEING NEUTRAL AND COMPLACENT."

"Children should not be forced to visit their parents just to somehow pass on and withhold the tradition of filial piety. The will has to come from within them."

properly? Is it right to give the parents the power to sue the children if they don't? Is this law even needed in a modern world like ours?

As for me, I firmly believe that there is something wrong with the law interfering with people's private lives in such a manner, laws are not supposed to mend broken family relationships and to change personal views. Children should not be forced to visit their parents just to somehow pass on and withhold the tradition of filial piety. The will has to come from within them. It is only then that this issue will be solved. Frankly said, filial piety is dying. It is being left behind by the modernization of society. Lifestyles have transformed; grown children no longer live with their parents; and traditions are being destroyed by the ever constant change that the world is going through as time passes. The Western culture has warped our notion of staying with our parents: when the child comes to age wherein he is responsible enough, he must leave home, work and live independently. Children who do not follow this are often laughed upon and criticized, as seen in some Hollywood movies like *Failure to Launch*.

Although filial piety is still visibly practiced in China, as it is an essential element in their culture, it is not as upheld as it was before. The society is giving an effort to change that. There are activities held such as Tzu Chi Foundation's Mother's Day Celebration which supports the value of filial piety. In last year's celebration, thousands took part in the activity. Kids aged four to nine were given the chance to show their love and gratitude to their bothers through a story-telling presentation which hoped to instill that

respect in the hearts of such young children so that they may grow up to be good examples and decent people of the society. There is also a commercial that aired in China about filial piety called *Heaven's Lunch* which garnered much attention. Movements like this continue to keep filial piety in light, but with that alone, there can be no change.

RESPECTING VIRTUE

In fact, it doesn't have to be just in China. The root of the concept of filial piety is respect- and as a universal value, respect isn't bordered by nationality or race. Respect becomes part of human nature. It is a form of response. The problem with today's generation is the lack of respect. It may be the effect of the world's imposed twisted ethics on us, or it may be simply the façade of being neutral and complacent. The focus is on us, because we teenagers are the next in line. We are the ones who will carry on the ideals and virtues; we are the ones who will carry on the world.

We cannot blame society or the world for changing us. We can only blame ourselves, because in the end, it still goes back to how we regard this issue. The central point is not merely on filial piety, but more on the ideals behind it. We should always continue to show each other respect, as through respect there can be a better understanding between individuals, as through respect there can be a harmony in communication, and as through respect there can be love. We should show these emotions to our parents because they have done everything to raise us. They have spent their years looking out for us, so that we can surpass and achieve more than what they could ever do. They care for us and love us beyond reason that we can fathom, and only until we become parents ourselves will we understand all of these.

As Confucius said, filial piety is the root of all virtues; everything good and worthy to be shared branches from it. So let us continue the pursuit of righteousness in family, society and the self, to hopefully spread this ideal of respect to many more of our generation. ☯

the Birth of a new ERA

Written by Charlene Chan
Art by Kristine Fuentes

The Ateneo - one of the most well-known universities throughout the nation where everyone from all walks of life try to get into to get good education coupled with the pride of studying in a prestigious school. This is how we stereotype the Ateneo today, but little do we know about the fact that a few decades or so ago, Ateneo was bested out by its rival universities in terms of preference, especially by the Chinese-Filipino community.

If there is one thing common among the known schools in the metro, it would be the stereotypes. Is Ateneo really just the university where rich kids go? Is it really the place where the students are “mayabang” and “eltista”? And is it really the university dominated by Filipinos and others are merely specks of the whole population? These are some of the stereotypes we Ateneans have been branded with by others. Let’s also not leave out the specific communities found within the Ateneo. Although it is clearly dominated by Filipino students, there are of course other students who do not belong to the majority such as those from the Chinese-Filipino community.

ON BEING a minority...

Two alumni of the school shared their insights on how life as part of the Chinese-Filipino community during their generation was like.

Mrs. Jocelyn Ting Young, BS Management (Batch 1985), the mother of our very own Assistant Features for Chinoy, Janine Young said that the Chinese community in the Ateneo back then was pretty small, and that they were very much the minority. Their presence in the school was not a source of conflict, and they got along with everyone pretty well. The same goes with Mr. Homart Ang, BS Management Engineering (Batch 1983). He is the father of Celadon’s VP for Communications and Publications, Hart Ang and said that the main difference in Ateneo’s Chinese community before and at present was that Celadon did not exist yet during his stay in the school. Despite

being small in number relative to the total population, the Chinese were very active in the Ateneo, as said by Mr. Ang. They made names for themselves by earning recognition through outstanding academic and extra-curricular performance. Because of this, the Chinese students in Ateneo earned respect and distinction from their fellow Filipino Ateneans.

ATENE0: Not the premier option?

It’s quite a wonder that the Ateneo we know of today didn’t seem as popular among the Chinese-Filipino families back then. One of the reasons why parents did not send their children to Ateneo was the fact that it was not as known to them as much as the other schools. The baby boomer generation considered the University of Santo Tomas as the most prestigious university during their time; hence, most of them went there for college. Moreover, De La Salle University was the place where most Chinese-Filipino parents sent their children because it was the school where a lot of their fellow friends also went. Since the Chinese prefer to stay within their comfort zones and mingle within the same Chinese crowds, DLSU became a popular university among them, but anyone would agree that this is very cliché of them. Aside from that reason, Ateneo’s location was also quite far from those living in the downtown area where most Chinese schools and businesses are clustered together. It was inconvenient for those working parents who have also grown used to sending and fetching their children during high school to shift to a school where it would require them to go further distances just to send their children to school. To add

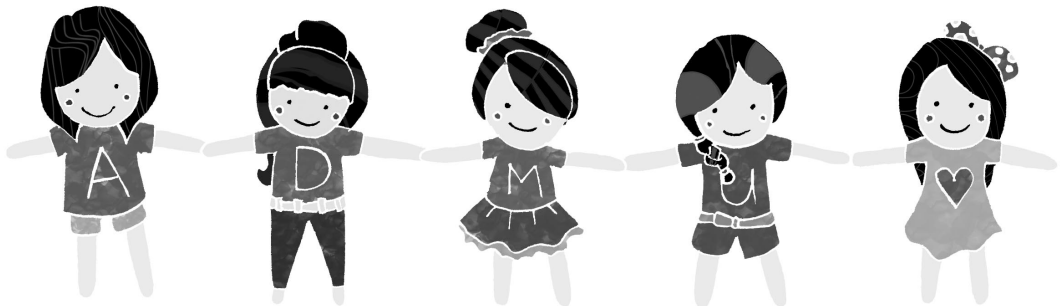
to that, most of them were not keen on having their children stay at dormitories because most Chinese families during those times were conservative.

CELADON and the Chinoy Atenean

After my interview with Mr. Ang and Mrs. Young, I began to realize that the Ateneo Celadon is a product of the expanding Chinese community in the university. It amazes me that they take pride in their Chinese roots that they went as far as starting their own official group in the campus. This supports Mr. Ang's statement when he said, "the Chinese students who studied in the Ateneo were leaders with great potential and are individuals who succeed in things they set their heart to". From this interview, I believe that the Chinese community of the Ateneo then was not any different from what it is now – they make efforts to establish lasting relationships with different people and do their own thing to succeed and achieve their goals. The difference I see is the fact that the Chinese community at present is now less conservative, thus opening them up to more experiences and broader horizons. Even if there are still some who are cloistered in a traditionally Chinese way of life, there are still more of those who became more accepting and open to change, and I believe this was one of the reasons why the Chinese community in the Ateneo increased by so much compared to their number back then.

Stereotypes regarding Ateneo and its students existed even during the 80's. Ateneo was deemed as a school where only Filipinos went to for college, and it ranked only second in terms of prestige and education quality to other universities. However, times have changed and the Chinese have begun expanding their horizons further and started to consider sending their children to Ateneo because the university began to produce more graduates who have been successful in their endeavors. This transition occurred because the Chinese began to see that the Ateneo has become a highly prestigious university that focuses on quality education and academic excellence, hence Magis! Thus, the Ateneo community started attracting more Chinese students coming from different Chinese schools such as ICA, Xavier, Grace Christian, St. Stephen's, St. Jude, etc. Moreover, as the Chinese-Filipino community expanded throughout the years, the birth of their own organization started, which at present is known as Celadon and is open to Chinese and Filipinos alike.

Being a Chinese and a student in the Ateneo, I must say I am pleased with the changes with regards to the amalgamation of the Chinese with the Filipinos and vice versa. It shows that both parties are sensitive to one another, and that they respect one another. This is what we all need in order to break the usual Chinese stereotype and in order to establish camaraderie. After all, this is one way of living up to Celadon's vision of having a Chinese-Filipino community geared towards nation building. ☺





The Philippines serves as a second home for a lot of overseas Chinese dwelling across the world. It is interesting to note then how this becomes an avenue for Chinese culture to develop in such a setting that has influenced us in our daily life. From our simplest daily routine to the superstitions and beliefs that will make the biggest decisions, we trace back tiny aspects to this integrated culture.

One of the best examples to show how the Chinese culture has evolved through time and to see how it has affected us and our country can be seen in the Bahay Tsinoy in Intramuros, Manila.

Bahay Tsinoy, which was founded by Kaisa Para sa Kaunlaran, Inc. (an organization co-founded by Teresita Ang-See), is a museum in Intramuros that documents the history, the lives, the influences as well as the contributions of Chinese people in Philippine history. It was designed by Eva Panamora together with the late architect Honrado Fernandez by 1996 and was inaugurated in the year 1999.

The museum is a marvelous display of the creativity of designers who were able to passionately show the history, culture, and influence of the Chinese-

Filipino community. The building is divided into twelve different sections— Early Contacts, The Parians, Colonial Culture, Emergence of the Chinese Community, In Defense of Freedom, Life in the 1800s, National Leaders of Chinese Descent, Gallery of Rare Prints and Photographs, Martyr's Hall, Ceramics Collection, Rare Philippine Shell Collection, and the newest wing of Tsinoy's in Nation-building which was only inaugurated in 2004. Each of these sections portrayed the different roles and contributions of the Chinese people to the Philippine History.

early contacts

The panoramic view of the museum outside is nothing compared to its view inside as one would

be invited by the first section of the museum, the Early Contacts. As the name suggests, Early Contacts traces the beginning of the connection between the Chinese and local inhabitants. This section highlights the establishment of the early trade between the Philippines and the different countries in Mainland Asia, one of which was China, which allowed cultural exchanges from business and marital relationships to flourish in both communities. In here, one can see historical records, artefacts and trade wares that appeared during this pre-Hispanic contact between the Filipinos and the Chinese.

the parians

This early relationship between the Filipinos and the Chinese remained prevalent and continued on even during the Spanish occupation of the Philippines. After the arrival of the Spanish, a great deal of Chinese traders migrated to the country for business purposes and also to escape the harder life in Mainland China. The large influx of Chinese migrants caused widespread alarm to the outnumbered Spaniards that the officials decided to constrain the migrants' economic affairs while confining them in city ghettos called Parians. Living conditions in the Parians were unimaginably harsh but since the Chinese played a significant role in the economic development of the city, there were still allowed to trade and supply both the government and the citizens. While majority of the Chinese merchants' (called Sangley by the colonizers) budding businesses

"Not only did the Chinese-Filipino people influence the Philippines with their culture, but the community had also helped defend the Philippines from the Spaniards."

suffered a fatal blow from the suppression of the Spaniards, the economic and cultural trade between the Chinese and the Filipinos still proved strong as this relation acted as the economic backbone for the rest of the colonial era. The museum's Parians section is a witness to this notable role of the Chinese

in the economy during the dark times of Spanish occupation in the Philippines.

colonial culture

Exquisitely made Chinese handicraft was largely influenced by religion during the colonial era. The remarkable talents of Chinese artisans were very much valuable in the creation of religious materials such as books, church ornaments, sculpture and embroidery as it began retaining Western form while injecting Eastern influence in style. Just near Bahay Tsinoy is the San Agustin Church where one can find stone lions which were known as Chinese symbols for protection against evil. Interestingly, aside from religious establishments, religious figures by the name of the first Filipino saint San Lorenzo Ruiz and the Venerable Mother Ignacia del Espiritu Santo who have both Filipino mothers and Chinese fathers were proofs of the developing Chinese-Filipino communities who were brought up in the Catholic religion.

emergence of the chinese community

The growing oppression of the Spaniards towards both the Chinese and Filipinos towards the end of the 19th century prompted the Chinese to make ways to provide for their own. The Emergence of the Chinese Community section shows how they managed to establish communities of their own (such as the Comunidad de Chino), as headed by a Capitan Chino, for mutual protection against Spanish atrocities. They also built hospitals (Chinese General Hospital), cemeteries (Chinese Cemetery), schools (Anglo Chinese School), and business groups such as the Manila Chamber of Commerce that catered for them. From here, pioneers in banking and industrial sectors also emerged (China Bank, Ma Mon Luk, Destillera Limtuaco) which showcased the passions and prominent Chinese-Filipino values of thrift and diligence.

in defense of freedom

One would be surprised to know that inspiring and brave Filipinos like Mariano Gomez, Jose

Burgos, Jacinto Zamora, Emilio Aguinaldo and even our own National Hero, Dr. Jose Rizal, were of Chinese descent. They were mestizos, middle-class Filipino citizens with mixed blood of Spanish and/or Chinese who were privileged to study in Manila or abroad. From this group of people rose the *Ilustrados* who were educated reformists who sparked the revolutions. Not only did the Chinese-Filipino people influence the Philippines with their culture, but the community had also helped defend the Philippines from Spaniards.

life in the 1800s

Inside the Life in the 1800s section of the Bahay Tsinoy, one can see the shapes and forms of Tsinoy houses during that era. They are popularly known as the Bahay na Bato. A look from the outside showed houses that were built with combined store fronts and a look inside displayed more breathtaking objects of the past. Several furniture like the *sakang* resembled Ming dynasty furnishings. On one hand, a popular symbol for the mestizo elite during that time was the Ah Tay bed, developed by Eduardo Ah Tay of Binondo. Aside from this, Filipino cuisine was much influenced by Chinese ingredients, and of which kitchen terms were highly of Chinese nomenclature. Homes were not only assimilated by Chinese heritage in terms of structure, even homely kinship traditions such as regards for family members are of Hokkien ancestry.

martyr's hall

The Chinese and the Filipinos did not only make alliances for businesses but also in times of war. During World War II, they found themselves fighting against the Japanese occupants. Guerrilla units were formed out of Chinese and Filipino soldiers, and together they fought Japanese invaders side by side. Chinese storeowners, some of whom incapable of being physically armed, amassed supplies for the soldiers while keeping confidential warfare materials from the Kempeitai, the Japanese Imperial military.

national leaders of chinese descent

Bahay Tsinoy also featured the contributions of the developing communities of Tsinoy by the 20th century, of which the most prominent were perhaps their involvement in national politics and religious ideology. Three were among that made names: Corazon Cojuangco Aquino, former Philippine President, Claudio Teehankee, former Chief Justice and the late Manila Archbishop Jaime Lachica Sin. Aside from political, religious and community involvement, people can also see in this section the impact of Chinese-Filipinos in arts, music, sports and education.



gallery of rare prints and photographs

From the Gallery of Rare Prints and Photographs, pictures that stood out were images captured from old Binondo. The gallery is composed of more than 500 photos with different types of subjects ranging from Spanish colonial rule until the American intervention. During these times, Binondo was the center of commerce. It was one of the busiest places in the Philippines where trades, businesses, partnerships, and interactions were all visible in that particular place in Manila that it would have rivalled New York's Times Square.

ceramics and rare philippine shell collections

More than just the culture, there were also the influence of Chinese in goods and products. Familiar to us would be the gunpowder, umbrellas, slippers, fireworks, mah-jong, and also porcelain wares. Some of these porcelains were also displayed in the Ceramics gallery of the museum. Most of these were from the 10th century to the 17th century which reflected the timeline of the Tang, Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ching Dynasties, on particular eras in the Philippines. Porcelains weren't the only special things on display; there were also a rare Philippine shell collection in one of the rooms. These shells are very unique and special compared to normal shells we see. One can see here the popular *Gloria maris*, the golden cowrie, the sundial, and the rare *Cyprea valencia*, which was donated by Henry Tong.

tsinoys in nation building

Tsinoys in Nation Building is the newest addition to the numerous sections of the museum. It gives neat pictures and amazing holograms of the gradual transformation of the Chinese-Filipino community from the illiterate stowaways to the immigrant traders and to the modern-day Chinese-Filipino

nation builders. This section gives tribute to the philanthropic efforts of the Tsinoys such as the museum's founding institution, the Kaisa Para sa Kaunlaran, Inc., and the breakthrough projects of the Federation of Filipino-Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Inc., all of whom worked for community-based projects and other worthwhile enterprises. This gradual change and integration contributed to different beliefs and influences that the Tsinoys are currently practicing.

Bahay Tsinoys tells the tale of the early Chinese who were the foreigners in this island touted as the Pearl of the Orient. The story progresses to tell us their contributions to the struggle for identity and the creation of the communities we know of today. More than just a house full of ancient Chinese artefacts and pictures, the museum becomes a mirror to our own stories and a reflection of the spirit of Chinese influences in the rich tapestry of the Philippine history. As amazing as it is to see the intricate interactions between these two cultures, the museum is a reminder of how our forefathers were able to create their own way of survival, while surpassing the Spanish colonization, and developing a history with their own names. It is an architectural marvel that houses relics and pictures of times long gone, but more than that is a bridge that connects the modern day Chinese-Filipino community to stories of their own ancestors.🌐

Works Cited:

1 Agoncillo, Teodoro, as qtd in Caroline Hau, *Necessary Fictions: Philippine Literature and the Nation 1946-1980*. (Quezon City: Ateneo University Press, 2000). 165.

2 Tong, Chee Kiong. *Identity and Ethnic Relations in Southeast Asia Racializing Chineseness*. Dordrecht [etc.] Springer, 2010. 214-15. Print.

3 Chirot, Daniel, and Anthony Reid. *Essential Outsiders: Chinese and Jews in the Modern Transformation of Southeast Asia and Central Europe*. Seattle: University of Washington, 1997. 168-73. Print.

