

Philippine Government Policies Towards Chinese Immigration (1949 – 1975)

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ABSTRACT

This study focused on the Chinese immigration from 1949 to 1975, notably on the laws imposed on the immigrants in the Philippines. Migration has been part of Philippine history, as it shaped the nation's identity throughout the years. The Chinese migrating and settling in the Philippines provided not only commercial, but also cultural relationships with natives; thus, establishing their mark in the Philippines. However, obstacles tested the Chinese immigrants as they settled in the country as continuous migrations led to government speculations of communism spreading at the height of the Cold War. Thus, the imposition of laws to restrict immigration, such as imposing quotas and policies restricting the livelihood of the Chinese community. In response, the community relied on several approaches, in hopes of eschewing deportation. The push-pull theory of migration is applied in the study, in analyzing the data gathered covering the factors for human migration through their origin, destination, and intervening obstacles. Primary sources, such as government laws and cases, as well as secondary sources like monographs and periodicals related to the said topic were likewise gathered. This study aimed to provide further information on the Filipino-Chinese identity in hopes to shed light on the origin of the stigmatism towards the Chinese community.

Keywords: Chinese, Communism, Filipino-Chinese, Immigration, Philippines.

Introduction

ontacts and migrations have shaped the history of every country and as series of communication transpired between the natives and the migrants. These trends have been part of Philippine history since the precolonial period, when the country began to engage in commercial relationship with foreign countries like China and India, forging a strong relationship.¹ The Chinese were one of the largest groups of migrants in the Philippines and worldwide. The choice of settling in the country entailed their need to adapt to a new environment, leading to the spread of the Chinese culture, which made a huge contribution in the local scene. In return, the Philippines managed to become their home and acknowledged it as part of the community. However, they also became one of the targets of discrimination throughout history.

The *sangleys*, as they were called during the Spanish period, were placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy, and tagged as threats to businesses; They were viewed as barbarians and heathens unless they converted to Christianity. Fewer privileges were given to the Chinese during the American period, yet only to those who have settled in the country since the Spanish period, while

¹ Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: Garotech Publishing, 1990), 25-27.

the others were completely excluded under the law.² Such discrimination against the Chinese continued after the Second World War because of the threat of communist spread, which was dreaded by Filipinos in general and the Philippine government. Thus, some resorted to entering the country illegally by any means.

Several factors, particularly homeland problems and opportunities, led to their migration. Some merely chose to become sojourners in hopes of returning home, while some resettled or overstayed when their visa expired for, they chose not to return. However, as more immigrants arrived, opportunities acquired by the natives became fewer, regardless of their economic contribution in the country. Naturalization was made available, yet it was limited; thus, some were considered illegal, possessing forged documents to prove their residency. Since 1949, the immigration of the Chinese to the Philippines has persistently increased; they stayed together in specific communities in Metro Manila, such as within the Binondo area, and some avoided naturalization and deportation, thus, causing disapproval among several Filipinos. In response, the government imposed several laws that became obstacles for the Chinese immigrants.

This study sought to examine the government policies and laws towards the immigrants in the Philippines, most notably the Chinese. Although some of the laws were not necessarily directed towards the Chinese immigrants, coincidentally, they became the target of the authorities, due to their increase in numbers. Furthermore, these laws not only hindered their stay, but also targeted the institutions that accommodated them, as it also affected their livelihood in the country. This attempted to examine the government policies on Chinese immigration in the Philippines, focusing not only on the Chinese's naturalization and settlement, but also on their livelihood in the Philippines that were affected by these policies. Furthermore, it hopes to provide more historical knowledge on the role of the Chinese community in the Philippines during the Post-War, in terms of naturalization, and on the desires of the Chinese to be part of the Filipino community, which were stigmatized and saw them as a threat to security and the economy.

The **push-pull factor theory of migration** was employed to analyze the data in this study. Everett S. Lee's theory of migration provided a push-and-pull factor, which involves the area of origin, area of destination, intervening obstacles, and personal factors.³ The **push factor** involves the forces that caused people to migrate from their origins which could be the result of economic, political, cultural, or social changes in the society and government of the country of origin. These changes usually portray a negative image, thus, prompting people to emigrate. Such factors include natural disasters, religious or ethnic conflicts, economic situations, and other similar determinants. The **pull factor**, on the other hand, includes the forces that led them to their destination. It may give a positive image to the migrants as they could have chosen the destination based on labor opportunities, good social measures, political stability, democratic system, and other positive influences.⁴ In application of the theory, factors that prompted the Chinese to migrate from their origin, which would be China and Taiwan, to their destination the

² *Chinese Exclusion Act*, Law, US Congress, 1882.

³ Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966): 50.

⁴ Angelina Stanojoska and Blagojce Petrevski. "Theory of Push and Pull Factors: A New Way of Explaining the Old." *ResearchGate*, (2015): 4.

Philippines, were explored. The push factor would involve the situations in their homeland such as the rise of communism and any other state problems. The pull factor, on the other hand, would include the several opportunities they sought in the Philippines.

Factors for Migration

The Chinese, since the Spanish period, chose to settle in the Philippines, primarily for economic purposes, where they would set up their businesses all over the archipelago. Furthermore, some Chinese migrants were also employed by the Spanish administration, as they were viewed to be an asset for the economy and were deemed to be more industrious than the Filipinos.⁵ Political issues also contributed to the factor for their migration. Some immigrants departed their home country for security because of the Second Sino-Japanese War from 1937 to 1945 leading to several Chinese refugees arriving in the Philippines in hopes to avoid the brutality of the Japanese Army.⁶ The early years of the Commonwealth period showed tolerance towards immigrants noticeably the Chinese. Despite the continuous discrimination, the strict measures in migration were lifted, and they were accepted as refugees due to the war in China. Furthermore, the civil war between the communist and nationalist China resumed after the war, which further pushed the Chinese community for a safer abode.

During the early part of the American occupation, Filipino elites addressed this issue relatively with their economic dominance and illicit settlement actions. The nationalistic sentiment from the elites rose to an anti-Chinese sentiment by most Filipinos urging tight measures to expel the immigrants. The acceptance of refugees amidst the war became a constituent for the immigration, as some accompanied their friends and families to the country. Some also relied on the assistance of their relatives in entering the country. However, the increase of immigrant population led to the imposition of annual immigration quotas, in hopes of limiting the number of immigrant arrivals. This would become the Commonwealth Act No. 613 or the Philippine Immigration Law of 1940.

Prior to the immigration quota, the government passed the Commonwealth Act No. 473 or the Revised Naturalization Law on June 17, 1939, which provided privileges for some Chinese-born in the Philippines and immigrants to acquire citizenship. Immigrants could acquire naturalization if they are at least twenty-one years of age, residing in the country for not less than a decade for a continuous period, possessed a good moral character believing in the principles of the Philippine constitution, owned a real estate in the country not worth less than five thousand Philippine pesos, able to speak and write English or Spanish and any other Philippine language, and the person's children must have been enrolled in a school recognized by the Office of Private Education of the Philippines whether private or public school where in Philippine history, government and civic are taught or prescribed as part of the school curriculum.⁷

⁵ *Memorial and Relation for His Majesty of the Procurator-General of Filipinas*. Vol. XIX, in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, by Emma Helen Blair, & James Alexander Robertson, 254. Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903.

⁶ Irene Jensen, *Chinese in the Philippines during the American Regime, 1898-1946*, (San Francisco, CA: Rand E Research Associates, 1975), 78-79.

⁷ Philippine National Assembly, *Commonwealth Act No. 473*, § 2, 17 June 1939.

The person can be disqualified from naturalization if they affiliate themselves with any subversive associations, defend or teach the necessity or propriety of any form of violence, practices crime and polygamy, suffering from mental alienation or incurable, contagious diseases. Furthermore, the person may also be disqualified if they are a citizen of nations whom United States and the Philippines are at war, during the period of such war.⁸

Migration became a further obstacle for the Chinese, after the People's Republic of China (PRC) had been established as traveling overseas became restricted at most to foreigners, despite the support towards overseas Chinese, notably in Southeast Asia.⁹ This became essential for the Chinese to migrate despite restrictions, due to the economic disasters during the Maoist government, triggering widespread famine and diseases that led to thousands of deaths.¹⁰ Furthermore, environmental issues such as droughts and deluges became a constituent for the damages of their agricultural livelihood. Chinese immigrants, becoming refugees, migrated to Hong Kong or Taiwan, in which some prepare the required documents before entering the Philippines.¹¹ It became difficult for Chinese immigrants from Taiwan in the country due to accusations of communist collaborations. Despite the government support towards immigrants from Taiwan, they found difficulties in distinguishing their origin without proper documents, thus, the necessity for them to assimilate with the environment and abide with law to ensure a prolonged settlement.

Most immigrants who went home to China during the war returned to the Philippines, as they claimed it to be their home for livelihood. Social connections became a constituent in the sudden increase of the immigration of the Chinese. Bringing their peers to the country, they either claimed that they had lived here even before the war, or they were blood relatives, which became difficult for the fiscals due to lack of proper records on the immigrants in the country; i.e. difficulty of distinguishing the immigrants whether they were genuine returning residents or not.¹² This problem would hinder returning Chinese immigrants, who went home during the war, as delays and the lack of records of their settlement in the Bureau of Immigration, forced them to register themselves as “temporary visitors” of the country for the sake of admitting themselves.¹³ Economic reasons remained their main agenda in the country, with some returning to resume their businesses which were left during the war.¹⁴ Other migrants like their ancestors, installed businesses in their country; however, they were under strict economic laws and policies imposed markedly in relation to foreign businesses.

⁸ *Commonwealth Act No. 473*, § 4.

⁹ Part of the goals for the PRC support towards the overseas Chinese may be for the attempts of Communism spread but there were also economic goals through trades with the neighboring countries. The overseas Chinese became a constituent for their goal. See *A Decade under Mao Tse-Tung*, (Hong Kong: The Green Pagoda Press, Ltd., 1959), 10; 77-82.

¹⁰ Dennis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, vol. 14, The People's Republic, Part I: The Emergence of Revolutionary China 1949-1965* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 318-319.

¹¹ Some immigrants prepared their counterfeit documents in Hong Kong before entering the Philippines. See “11 Chinese transients ordered arrested,” *Manila Times*, April 22, 1953. See Hsiao Shi-Ching, *Chinese-Philippine Diplomatic Relations, 1946-1975*, 1st ed., (Quezon City: Bookman Printing House, 1975), 204.

¹² Hsiao, *Chinese-Philippine*, 203.

¹³ Cheung, *Immigrating Visitors*, 13. The immigrants were considered as if it was their first time coming to the Philippines. See also Hsiao, 206.

¹⁴ Hsiao, *Chinese-Philippine*, 203.

Responses of the Government

Under the American tutelage, the Philippine government addressed the issue of communism. Aware of the establishment of a communist government in China, the Philippine government did not recognize its sovereignty, and instead viewed it as a threat to the nation state. Sinophobic views, furthermore, became widespread to some Filipinos towards the immigrants, hoping for their exclusion from the country, which were rooted from several issues.

A problem the government encountered with regards to the Chinese immigrants was their persisting demographic increase. The Chinese community remained at the peak of the demography comprising majority of the alien population in the Philippines whether it was increasing or decreasing as presented in the census from 1952 to 1975 (*See table below*). It is noteworthy that, as indicated in the data, it took the combination of the total number of other foreign nationalities settling in the Philippines to overtake the Chinese population. By 1973, their population reached 114, 185 or 86.11 percent both in the urban and the provinces according to the annual report of the National Economic Development Authority.¹⁵

Alien population from 1952 – 1975 ^{16 17}

Year	Nationality		
	Chinese	Americans	Others
1952	146,457	12,084	8,838
1953	148,457	12,084	14,073
1954	142,576	157,140	
1955	138,821	152,633	
1958	145,792	161,424	
1959	138,457	154,241	
1960	138,259	153,914	
1961	135,317	150,300	
1962	131,291	7,722	3,023
1963	120,027	8,170	3,158
1964	117,630	8,049	2,797
1965	128,051	8,976	2,831
1966	115,501	9,240	2,934
1967	126,641	10,067	3,035
1968	110,701	10,364	2,823
1969	117,864	10,165	2,559
1970	94,963	9,554	2,506
1971	96,090	9,951	2,237
1972	98,306	9,377	2,143
1973	119,003 ¹⁸	11,507	2,683

¹⁵ National Economic and Development Authority, *Philippine Yearbook*, (National Census and Statistic Office, 1975), 155.

¹⁶ Demographic data for the Chinese population were gathered from the following sources: Yolanda Jayin-Fresnoza, *The Multigenerational Fukienese Chinese Family of Chinatown, Manila: A Case Study*, (Ph.D. dissertation: Centro Escolar University Graduate School, 1984), 86; National Statistics Coordination Board, *Philippine Statistics Yearbook*, (National Economic and Development Authority, 1978), 67.

¹⁷ A few parts of the demographic data for the other foreigners (Americans and Others) were merged due to the lack of accessibility of records. Other individual data were gathered from the available Philippine Statistics Yearbook and from previous studies. Some data were unavailable due to the lack of materials.

¹⁸ The National Statistics Coordination Board recorded this number of Chinese in the Philippines in this year which compared to the data recorded in the Philippine yearbook conducted by the NEDA which was 114, 185.

1974	105,453	9,947	2,249
1975	90,401	11,601	2,239

Presumably, this data is plausibly inaccurate as there were also unregistered Chinese immigrants in the country. Under the Philippine Immigration Law of 1940, an annual quota of five hundred (500) immigrants was accepted who wished to register for permanent residency. The quota was later reduced in 1950 to fifty (50), an amendment of the Immigration Law under the Republic Act No. 503.¹⁹ Furthermore, the law also indicated the following immigrants who were exempted from the quota, hence registered as non-immigrants or temporary visitor.²⁰

- a) Visitors coming for vacation purposes;
- b) Health reasons such as medical check-up;
- c) An individual who is in transit to a destination outside the Philippines;
- d) As seamen;
- e) Alien businessmen under the country's provisions of the treaty of commerce and navigation;
- f) An official of a foreign government recognized by the Philippine Government with his or her family, employees, servants, and attendants;
- g) As student, who is at least eighteen (18) years of age and have the enough means of education and support, taking up a college course at a university, college or schools approved by the Commissioner of Immigration;
- h) Pre-arranged employees.

Other immigrants overstayed in the country, even after their license had expired; some decided never to go back to China, due to the turmoil and found convenience in the Philippines. This also became evident for some immigrants who disagreed with the political ideology of China.²¹

The increase of the Chinese community could be based on the following reasons. First, their growth was due to the increasing birth rate within the community. It was understood that the increase in birthrate would aggravate the population growth. With most Chinese immigrants registered as aliens, their children were also recognized under the same nationality as well. Next, the once unregistered immigrants were able to register themselves in the country, as part of the “temporary visitors” list. As registration for immigration license was expensive, some resorted to hiding and avoided the authorities and

¹⁹ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act no. 503*, 1950. The amendment was also cited in Vicente Espina, *Immigration and Alien Registration Laws of the Philippines*, (Manila: Educational Book Store, 1956) 8-9.

²⁰ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Commonwealth Act no. 613*, § 13, 1940.

²¹ Dr. Jayin-Fresnoza conducted a case study that an average of 71.39% both male and female Chinese immigrants never returned to China as they saw better livelihood in the Philippines, See Jayin-Fresnoza, *The Multigenerational Fukienese*, 105-106.

deportation. Overstaying became a factor for the Chinese immigrants, especially when their visa has expired. Illegal entries were still practiced via the Sulu Archipelago, Borneo, and the northern part of Luzon, thus contributing to the inconsistency of the Chinese population.²²

The patterns of Chinese immigration tend to decrease from 1950 to 1965 due to travel restrictions promulgated not only by the PRC, but also the Philippines, as only qualified foreigners were admitted. Another constituent for their population decrease were due to reasons such as many immigrants applying for a naturalization as Filipino citizens, law violations that led to deportation due to not complying with their obligations to the immigration office in registering annually, and the immigration officials in the province not reporting the complete record of the immigrants in their respective areas.²³

The height of communism in China led to strict government measures on Chinese immigration. Aside from the travel bans, the overstaying Chinese immigrants also became a constituent of the immigration issues after the expiration of their visa. Through their peers and families, Chinese immigrants sought their reliance eschewing arrest and deportation. This led to the Republic Act No. 827 in 1952, an amendment to a section of the Philippine Immigration Law, indicating a fine of ten thousand Philippine pesos (₱10,000.00) towards the individuals who were caught either harboring immigrants out of inspection, or concealing overstaying immigrants to avoid deportation.²⁴

Aside from the quota and requirements under the immigration law, in 1950, aliens residing in the Philippines, whether enlisted under non-immigrants or immigrants, must register in the Bureau of Immigration, with a fee of fifty Philippine pesos (₱50.00) as mandated under the Republic Act No. 562, otherwise known as the Alien Registration Act of 1950.²⁵ A parent or a legal guardian who brought along another alien who is less than fourteen years of age shall have the privilege to register them. Certificates of registration with their fingerprints²⁶, afterwards, were issued to the immigrants, which they must present every time it was demanded by an immigration official, a peace officer or a Philippine Constabulary.²⁷ Imprisonment for a half a year and/or a fine of a thousand pesos (₱1,000.00) was given to aliens who failed to apply for registration. A penalty of five thousand Philippine pesos (₱ 5,000.00) and/or a year of imprisonment were also given to aliens who were caught with false documents and could lead to their deportation.²⁸ The same could be said with the registration law, as it underwent several amendments as regards to the fees and penalties, which were found in the Republic Act No. 578, s. 1950 and Republic Act No. 751, s. 1952. As stated in these amendments, the fees and fines in some provisions were lowered, and stiff punishments were added conspicuously, in terms of the length in imprisonment.

Their continuous increase in population provoked discomfort among the Filipinos, not only due to their overstaying, but also due to their actions and

²² Jayin-Fresnoza, *The Multigenerational Fukienese*, 83.

²³ Jayin-Fresnoza, *The Multigenerational Fukienese*, 86-87.

²⁴ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 827*, 1952.

²⁵ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 562*, 1950.

²⁶ Department of Justice, Bureau of Immigration, *Regulations Governing the Registration of Aliens in accordance with the Alien Registration Act of 1950, Article I*, 1950. Also cited in Espina, *Immigration and Alien*, 150-151.

²⁷ *Republic Act No. 562*, § 7.

²⁸ *Republic Act No. 562*, § 6.

livelihood. As they further occupied several economic sectors despite the presence of laws, less labor opportunities became available for the Filipinos. The majority number of Chinese immigrants owned retail and trade businesses notably in the urban area left almost nothing for the natives. In addition, Chinese immigrants, besides other foreign entrepreneurs, achieved more success than the local entrepreneurs through their businesses. Most of the profits they earned benefit them more, rather than the country, thus, contributing less to the economy. A part of their contributions was for tax purposes to avoid deportation, while the remaining served for their necessities visibly either subsidizing their trip back to China, or for their visa extension. Furthermore, despite the law prohibiting alien owning lands, the Chinese were able to withhold a huge sum of taxable lands, with estates valued at ₱62, 686, 293.00 above the Americans and other aliens.²⁹

Apart from their economic successes, the discomfort from Filipinos also rose through the negative activities of the Chinese merchants within the economy. Continuous corruptions and swindling within the businesses were observed, which includes smuggling of illegal and counterfeit products such as drugs. Overcharging the customers also enraged the Filipinos, as Chinese merchants often forced them to pay a commodity for a higher price than the usual. There were also reports of merchants hoarding public commodities, such as rice, which may be sold at a higher value.³⁰ Likewise, their vices led to a stereotype perception of the Filipinos towards the Chinese becoming their reason for deportation. Anti-Chinese sentiments spurred public antipathy against the community. Such case was reported by the Central Intelligence Agency, wherein the Philippine National Patriotic League held anti-foreign protest on Plaza Miranda, on the evening of February 12, 1953, particularly denouncing the Chinese community on not only their economic dominance, but also on their attempts of adopting the Filipino customs as they saw it as a form of flattery for public acceptance.³¹

The overstaying Chinese immigrants also increased communist fear among the Filipino community. At the height of the Cold War, communism led to several anxieties in the community for its spread was not only through the rebels, but also from some Chinese immigrants. Communism had become an issue of the country throughout the Post-War period, as members continued to increase and made their presence known through several attacks. It was also noteworthy that some immigrants remained loyal to the mainland China, despite the change of governance, thus considering the Philippines only as their secondary homeland, a place for business. As their presence continued, Filipinos saw most Chinese immigrants as spies of communist China. Their activities and institutions were accused as tools of spreading subversive ideology and smuggling of arms and weapons against the government. Furthermore, Maoist communism began to spread in the provinces and other areas, leading to

²⁹ The total sum of the taxable lands owned by aliens were ₱108, 237, 063 with the Chinese covering 57.9 percent of the total. Their properties were found in areas like Binondo, Santa Cruz and San Nicholas. See "Alien Landowners," *Manila Times*, August 28, 1951.

³⁰ "Deportation for alien hoarders," *Manila Times*, May 15, 1952.

³¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Information Report no. 25X1A," 1953.

formation of another subversive faction.³² Tensions became high within the urban area, after some Chinese immigrants had been caught guilty of Communist subversive activities, hence resulting in deportation. The Filipino community thus pleaded for the shutdown of institutions related to the Chinese community, for security against the spread of communism.

Through these public uproars, the government was forced addressed this with several actions not only towards the continuous Chinese immigration, but also towards the livelihoods of the immigrants in the Philippines. The responses became a hindrance in their stay, which would cause some to emigrate off the country. Yet, others resisted choosing not to return to China due to red infiltrations. Nonetheless, the government served as a push factor for the immigrants, through deportation due to their illicit actions in the country. Another factor for the Philippine government being against the influx of the immigrants was its objective of preserving the independence and sovereignty of the country. The support they gained from democratic countries such as the United States was considered conducive and tolerable for the country against the communism. The executive administrations, from Roxas to Marcos, addressed these issues on Chinese immigration with not only the internal issues associated with the immigrants, but also on communism as it affected their relationship with China, both mainland and Taiwan.

The bilateral relationships with Taiwan were conducted not only on the fight against communism, but also on the activities of the Chinese immigrants in the country yet some policies towards their overstaying and vices hindered their relationship. Taiwan became one of the countries to accept Chinese deportees from the Philippines, yet this became a challenge as there were also quotas in the country, resulting in the struggle of resettlement.³³ Furthermore, series of negotiations were made by the government of Taiwan, pleading for equal rights with the Filipinos for the Chinese immigrants, which however were denied, opening disputes with the Treaty of Amity between the two nations.³⁴

In the latter parts of the Chinese Civil War, Chinese immigrants were prohibited from entering the country; thus, protests against discriminatory measures by the Chinese occurred until the ban was lifted.³⁵ The Quirino administration inherited the problem of overstaying Chinese immigrants in the country, which reached an estimate of 50,000 Chinese refugees whose permits were expired in 1947.³⁶ Further problems worsened the issues of overstaying

³² Jose Ma. Sison would follow the Maoist ideology in establishing his own version of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Prior to his establishment, the Maoist ideology of communism were used by subversive Chinese immigrants in the spread of communism at most aiding subversive Filipinos with weapons and documents. See also Ken Fuller, *A Moment Divided: Philippine Communism, 1957-1986*, (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2011), 42.

³³ Aside from the quota in Taiwan, there were also misunderstandings and failed agreements in the resettling of Chinese deportees from the Philippines which led to minimal tensions between two nations. Example of this case was the immediate deportation of businessman Vincent Uy Tek who was guilty of profiteering in 1951. His deportation to Taipei was waved as the Taiwan government was not informed thus Uy Tek was stranded in Batanes. See "Uy Tek Stranded in Batanes," *Manila Times*, May 21, 1951: 12.

³⁴ The treaty in which Taiwan and the Philippines agreed upon which opened a peaceful relationship and equal treatment towards the people of both nations. See also Manuel Roxas and Chen Chih-Ping, "Sino-Philippine Treaty of Amity," *The International Law Quarterly*, Vol. 2 No. 1, (Spring, 1948): 132-134.

³⁵ Benito Lim, "A History of Philippine-China Relations." In *Philippine External Relations: A Centennial Vista*, ed. by Aileen San Pedro-Baviera, (Pasay City: Foreign Service Institute, 1998), 222.

³⁶ Lim, 224.

and Chinese population growth in the country after communist threat from China, thus, the necessity of collectively deporting them to Taiwan in 1949.³⁷

Known for his fight against communism and pro-American foreign policy, Ramon Magsaysay assured the preservation of democracy in the Philippines. The administration responded to the issues on Chinese immigration through the fight against communism and catering to the needs of Filipinos. Through his policies, the livelihoods of the immigrants were at risk to an extent expelling them from the country. Most immigrants were deported due to accusations of communist espionage. Furthermore, the Philippines was at the height of pledge for a Filipino-controlled economy, thus foreign businesses, especially owned by the Chinese, were endangered. Corruption also became a factor for the government response against the foreign takeover of the economy. This was further supported by President Carlos Garcia under the Filipino First Policy in which the Filipino community were given preference in all economic development matters in the country.³⁸ Overstaying Chinese immigrants persisted to be an issue even during his presidency in which he attempted to resolve the problem of deporting several overstaying Chinese to Taiwan, those who were criminally convicted.

Despite the subsequent acceptance of several deportees, the problem of overstaying immigrants continued to be inherited towards the next administrations. It continued to challenge the country and left unsolved only to be addressed in relation to communist agenda and criminal acts. The Marcos administration took attention towards the increase of overstaying Chinese immigrants in the country. While anti-Communist policies were a persistent concern, the administration aimed to expand their trade relations with other countries, particularly with the socialist countries like the People's Republic of China and the then Soviet Union. The government's shift in foreign policy was initiated due to the recognition of the PRC as the only representative for China in the United Nations and Taiwan is part of China under the Resolution no. 2858 thus led to the shift in 1975.³⁹ This shift led to a more lenient set of policies towards the Chinese immigrants in the Philippines, as Marcos assured their protection in hopes of developing the tourism and encouraging foreign investments. Through a letter of instruction, Marcos relaxed the entry of restricted aliens to the country, believing that by abolishing these strict measures, they would behave like orderly citizens under the New Society.⁴⁰ This became a pull factor for more Chinese immigrants to enter the country with ease. Naturalization was granted to Chinese immigrants, encouraging them to register as Filipino citizens.

Moreover, several laws that were implemented risked not only their stay, but also their socioeconomic livelihood. While some Chinese adapted to the

³⁷ It is also noteworthy that Taiwan, after the civil war, was placed under martial law which was known as the White Terror for almost four decades. Political opponents, intellectuals and people associated with communism, even the accused, were sentenced to detention and execution on Green Island. See also John J. Metzler, *Taiwan's Transformation, 1895 to the Present*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 29-30. It can be said that the Chinese deportees who were guilty of communist subversive activities were not only trialed in Taiwan but also detained in Green Island.

³⁸ Agoncillo, *Filipino People*, 510.

³⁹ Archie B. Resos, "Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of the Philippines and the People's Republic of China during the Administration of Ferdinand E. Marcos: 1975-1986." *TALA : An Online Journal of History*. Vol I No. 1. (2018): 85.

⁴⁰ Hsiao, *Chinese-Philippine*, 210-211.

measures through several schemes, others were arrested and deported. Grounds for deportation included felonious acts like profiteering or the business act of overcharging customers in black markets. Wealthy alien businessmen like Vincent Uy Tek made deportation headlines through profiteering with arrest orders made by the president himself, as it sabotaged the economic stability of the country.⁴¹ The number of Chinese deportees guilty of profiteering and were arrested, were at most in groups reaching thirty-three arrests at one time in 1951, as ordered by President Quirino.⁴²

Drug smuggling also was a heavy ground for deportation, in which most Chinese immigrants engaged either for business, or for their personal consumption. Opium was one of the common drugs that officials would seize from the Chinese. As the administration changes, drug smuggling became a high-level crime that led to their execution. An example of this execution case was a Chinese businessman name Lim Seng, aka Gan Suo So, on January 15, 1973. He was involved in drug smuggling to the country, which led to his death through a firing squad, thus, the recognition of being the first person to be convicted by the military, for violating the Dangerous Drugs Act.⁴³

As communism was an issue with numerous threats in the provinces, the Chinese were not safe from public suspicions, especially at the height of communist China. Further problems arose after the Maoist ideology had been associated with a few communist factions, thus triggering the government to arrest some Chinese immigrants who were suspected of subversive activities. Weapons and arms were reportedly found in warehouses of Chinese nationals, which were smuggled to China.⁴⁴ In some cases, wealthy Chinese businessmen were associated in the trafficking of war goods to the mainland.⁴⁵

Laws towards their Livelihood

As the government addressed the issue on immigration after the war, the influx of foreigners, particularly the Chinese, in different sectors significantly increased as an issue in the Philippines. The need to preserve the country's resources, as well as the rise of Filipino nationalism consciousness became a constituent in addressing the alien immigration issues. Furthermore, the foreign economic predominance, particularly of the Chinese, became a problem for most Filipinos as not only the immigrants had grasped every labor opportunity from the natives, but also performed illicit schemes of corruption and smuggling. The height of communism further aggravated the need to impose strict measures towards livelihood of the Chinese immigrants.

Several laws on their livelihoods were directly towards their employment and professions. Aliens were excluded from entering the chemical engineering, dental hygienist, and the civil aeronautics field as mandated under Republic Act no. 318⁴⁶, Republic Act no. 768⁴⁷, and Republic Act no. 776⁴⁸ respectively

⁴¹ "Uy Tek is deported to Formosa," *Manila Times*, April 26, 1951.

⁴² "Deport 33 aliens," *Manila Times*, July 22, 1951.

⁴³ "Death by musketry for drug maintainer," *Daily Express*, January 8, 1973; Alex D. Allan, "Heroin manufacturer executed today," *Daily Express*, January 15, 1973.

⁴⁴ "Chinese face ouster," *Manila Times*, April 21, 1951.

⁴⁵ Three wealthy Chinese were ordered deported by President Quirino due to being involved with the trafficking of war materials to China. See "Deportation Order," *Manila Times*, February 27, 1952.

⁴⁶ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 318*, § 4, 1948.

⁴⁷ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 768*, § 9, 1952.

⁴⁸ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 776*, § 12, 1952.

imposing Filipino citizenship for individuals to be qualified for such professions. In addition, banking services were also limited to citizens of the Philippines through a few laws. Section 11 to 13 under the Republic Act no. 337 or “The General Banking Act” stipulated the formations of foreign banking institutions being prohibited unless two-thirds of the directors were Philippine citizens, and at least sixty percent (60%) of the capitalization was by the said citizens.⁴⁹ Similarly, different provisions were mandated for rural banks in 1952, as their directors require to be one hundred percent (100%) citizens of the Philippines and a capitalization of sixty percent (60%) by the said citizen as stipulated under the Republic Act no. 720.⁵⁰

At the height of the government advocating for nationalism in the 1950s, the urge for Filipino-control economy became a trending discussion. Senators from both parties aspired on addressing the issue of alien control over the Philippine economy, which included criticisms towards the administration, particularly Atty. Joaquin Roces of the Nationalista Party who criticized the administration for its negligence on the nationalization of trade.⁵¹ In 1954, the Republic Act no. 1180 or the “Retail Nationalization Law” was promulgated, ensuring only citizens of the Philippines, to engage in retail trade businesses.⁵² It became an enormous obstacle for the Chinese immigrants who were engaging in these businesses, for the majority only registered as temporary visitors; consequently, most of their businesses were forced to be ceased. Worse, heirs to the business were left with nothing either after the death, or the retirement of a Chinese immigrant, as he or she was prohibited from operation, as mandated under the Section 3 of the law. Instead, they were only allowed to operate for liquidation purposes within a period of six months.⁵³ Prior to the imposition of the law, Filipinos played an accomplice as a dummy owner in the businesses of the Chinese immigrants. Names of the Filipino dummies were written on the business permits while avoiding the authorities. The Anti-Dummy Law or Commonwealth Act no. 108, thus, prohibited Filipinos to allow aliens to use his name or citizenship in businesses hence punishment of fine and imprisonment for the Filipino while deportation for the alien.⁵⁴ Due to the law not being strictly imposed, some Chinese businesses continue to operate under Filipino dummies. If they were not caught, then the business operations were prolonged to more than a year or a decade. Unluckily, there were some operations ceased due to the practice of having Filipino dummies. An incident, as reported in 1952, 12 Chinese merchants were arrested while their Filipino dummies were prosecuted and blacklisted during a surprise raid in the Arranque Market. In addition, their licenses and stall-holding privileges were also revoked.⁵⁵

The Retail Nationalization Law, as mentioned by Cheng Han Sui, has become a “credit risk” for Chinese immigrants operating a retail business as any public accusations for violating of any laws may lead to the cancellation of their trader’s license, ceasing their business operations.⁵⁶ In effect, the livelihoods of

⁴⁹ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 337*, § 11-13, 24 July 1948.

⁵⁰ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 720*, 1952. Also cited in Hsiao, *Chinese-Philippine*, 199.

⁵¹ “NP & LP House aspirants hit aliens’ control,” *Manila Times*, October 12, 1953.

⁵² Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 1180*, 1954.

⁵³ *Republic Act No. 1180*, § 3.

⁵⁴ Philippine National Assembly, *Commonwealth Act No. 108*, § 1, 30 October 1936.

⁵⁵ “Sinos’ deportation,” *Manila Times*, May 2, 1952.

⁵⁶ Cheng Han Sui, *The Naturalization of the Retail Trade, and its Effects on the Sino-Filipino Relations*, (MA Thesis: FEU Institute of Arts and Science, 1957) 147.

the Chinese immigrants and their family became severe, due to the loss of inheritance. Since the law was promulgated to Filipinize the economic sector in hopes of limiting foreign participation in businesses and provide preferential assistance to Filipino entrepreneurs, it indirectly affected most of the Chinese community engaging in retail business, as they withhold the majority population.

The law persisted through President Carlos P. Garcia's Filipino First Policy, which reflected through laws towards the preference of Filipino entrepreneurs. The Rice and Corn Industry Nationalization Act or Republic Act No. 3018 was signed on August 2, 1960, by President Garcia, mandating alien-owned corn and rice industries to cease its operation within two years after liquidation.⁵⁷ The act became controversial causing thousands of corn and rice industries owned by aliens out of business, resulting in a heavy rice shortage in the Philippines within August and September 1961.⁵⁸

Aside for the laws towards the economic sectors, laws were also promulgated towards their social livelihoods addressing the illicit schemes that discomforted most Filipinos. The acquisition of public lands was limited to citizens of the Philippines under the Republic Act no. 730 in 1952.⁵⁹ The acquiring of land domains was limited to Filipino citizens since the adaption of the 1935 Philippine Constitution, and it was further expanded through several provisions, which included lands for industrial, commercial, and residential purposes from private agricultural purpose.⁶⁰ It is also noteworthy that owning a land qualifies an immigrant to acquire a citizenship.

Prior to the imposition of economic reforms, aliens residing and employed in the Philippines were mandated to pay their taxes. Aliens evading this obligation became an issue on the country, necessitating the enactment of another law. An instance was in 1952 wherein a tax amount of P1, 500, 000 was successfully evaded by ten Chinese businessmen in Cebu.⁶¹ Republic Act No. 1093 was enacted in 1954 which punishes any form of tax evasions and refusal of payment by aliens through deportation.⁶²

Evidently, deportation became a solution towards illicit schemes, i.e., crimes, smuggling, profiteering, fraudulent of documents, aside from tax evasion and overstaying. Due to the extensive number of Chinese immigrant deportees, countries like Taiwan, was unable to simultaneously accommodate them. Deportees, at first, were detained at Engineering Island, located near the Manila area, until further investigations.⁶³ Concentration camps were also proposed to detain the deportees but were opposed by then immigration official Vicente de la Cruz.⁶⁴ The proposal was revived by legislators in 1957 to detain Chinese deportees, not only for those who have been found overstaying, but also for those arrested for illegal acts.⁶⁵ House bills were proposed in 1958 where in camps were planned to be established in provinces such as Samar and Leyte such as House Bill no. 314⁶⁶ and no. 1110⁶⁷. The intention for the government in

⁵⁷ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 3018*, 1960.

⁵⁸ Hsiao, *Chinese-Philippine*, 195.

⁵⁹ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 730*, 1952.

⁶⁰ Hsiao, *Chinese-Philippine*, 199.

⁶¹ "Tax evasion case," *Manila Times*, June 28, 1952.

⁶² Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 1093*, 1954.

⁶³ "Detained Formosans," *Manila Times*, July 11, 1952.

⁶⁴ "Camp for deportees," *Manila Times*, April 16, 1951

⁶⁵ Cheung, *Immigrating Visitors*, 102.

⁶⁶ The Republic of the Philippines, Congressional Record, *House Bill no. 314*, 1958.

⁶⁷ The Republic of the Philippines, Congressional Record, *House Bill no. 1110*, 1958.

proposing the establishment of these camps was due to the unsettled agreements with Taiwan on resettling the Chinese deportees from the Philippines.

Communist tensions further intensified the necessity of imposing penalties towards subversive activities. Republic Act no. 1700 or the Anti-Subversion Act was signed in 1957 addressing the issues of communism, which includes stipulating the Communist Party of the Philippines, as a subversive organization against Philippine sovereignty. In addition, any activities associated with the organization were deemed subversive, and the individual or group would be imprisoned. Immigrants who associate themselves with any subversive activities were not only arrested but were also deported.⁶⁸

The Chinese community became a subject of the subversive speculations, and institutions associated with them became the subject of anti-Chinese sentiment, with masses pleading for their shutdown. Alien institutions such as Chinese schools persisted to operate even during the Marcos administration; however, restrictions were fully imposed under the New Society. Prior to the said administration, Chinese schools were allowed to operate freely without following the curriculum of the Department of Education in which the institution would teach the Chinese curriculum the whole day. Moreover, teachers from China were hired to deliver the discussion thus the suspicion of promoting communist subversion from the Filipino community towards these institutions.⁶⁹ Chinese schools established in the Philippines, under the Presidential Decree no. 176, must be operated under a citizen of the Philippines, for the institution to continue. Further, their curriculum must be under the Department of Education, and most of the students must be citizens of the Philippines with only one-third of the students were aliens. Alien schools who failed to surpass the requirement were forced to be closed after the school year of 1972-1973.⁷⁰

The laws became an obstacle for the Chinese community to their daily livelihoods. Segregation by the laws became an indication of racial stereotyping motivated the discomfort of the Filipinos towards the Chinese community. Tension in the Philippines, unfortunately, endangered the diplomatic relationship of the government with Taiwan. Despite most laws being an obstacle to the Chinese and a push factor for their expulsion, it did not fully become a hindrance for them to persistently migrate to the country. As some considered the Philippines their second home, at most, their permanent settlement, the community had established their family and adapting the Filipino customs that led them to embrace the nationality as their own.

Laws during the Marcos Administration

Ferdinand Marcos, during a score of his presidency, has promulgated several laws towards immigrations and citizenship. In 1965, the qualifications for non-

⁶⁸ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 1700*, § 4, 1957.

⁶⁹ Several Chinese representatives protested in defense of their schools. Dr. Pao Shih-Tien, then president of Chiang Kai-Shek College (CKSC) and the Chinese Schools Association, presented his defense in 1968 on Chinese schools in the Philippines which was publishing different articles to different periodicals where he stated the main objectives of Chinese schools in the Philippines such as building future leaders and bond in the Filipino Chinese community. See “What You Do Not Know about Chinese Schools,” *The Examiner*, Jan. 21, 1968. Article was also featured in Fookien Times Yearbook '61 entitled Chinese Schools in the Philippines.

⁷⁰ Philippine President, Proclamation, *Presidential Decree no. 176*, 16 April 1973.

quota immigrants were extended under the Republic Act no. 4376 for the inclusion of natural born citizens who have been naturalized in a foreign country who desire to return for permanent residence.⁷¹ The law at most benefited the Chinese-born in the Philippines who were still registered as an immigrant under the Chinese nationality. In hopes of enriching the tourism and economy of the country, the entry of international traders and foreign investors became smooth under the Republic Act no. 5171, an amendment to Section 9 of the Philippine Immigration Act 1940.⁷² The law became a pull factor for aliens to enter and invest in the Philippines, which persisted even after the declaration of Martial Law.

Tensions with the communists heightened the hatred towards the Chinese community, as reports of affiliation with subversive groups became widespread. The government saw the necessity to declare martial law, to ease the tensions and impose moral behavior for the security of the Philippines, due to the public unrest and threats from numerous rebel groups.⁷³ The government expected the immigrants to behave under the New Society. Any subversive and criminal activities would lead to their arrest and deportation. Nonetheless, the declaration of Martial Law became a pull factor for alien investors, especially Chinese immigrants, to engage in business, as travel restrictions were relaxed urging them to invest in the Philippines. Restrictions with foreign ownership of rice and corn industries, under RA 3018, were also lifted, and foreign investors were welcome to engage in these industries under the Presidential Decree no 194 provided sixty percent (60%) shall be transferred to Filipino citizens.⁷⁴

As the issues on overstaying Chinese immigrants persisted, the administration further addressed the issue in hopes of promoting a better relationship with the Republic of China. The suspension for Chinese immigration quotas from 1949 up to that point in time was lifted under the Presidential Decree no. 298 for it to be granted to the overstaying immigrants in the country who legally entered in 1947 to 1953.⁷⁵ The administration also aimed for a better relationship with communist China as part of their campaign to open diplomatic ties with communist countries. 1975 became a watershed in the history of Philippine-Chinese relations in terms of the issue of immigration and citizenship. Several laws towards naturalization for the Chinese immigrants were promulgated during this year, in hopes to further address the increase in the Chinese population. Naturalization was granted to deserving aliens who were qualified under the Letter of Instruction no. 270.⁷⁶ The same provisions of disqualification from the Philippine Immigration Law of 1940 were followed. These qualifications were:

- a.) The person must not be less than twenty-one (21) years of age;

⁷¹ Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 4376*, 19 June 1965.

⁷² Philippine Congress, Senate, *Republic Act No. 5171*, 4 August 1967.

⁷³ Through Proclamation No. 1081, Ferdinand Marcos declared a nationwide martial law initially to combat public unrest & rebellions from several groups such as the communists and the Muslim rebels in Mindanao. However, the declaration was intended to extend the presidency of Marcos with military control over the country and a series of civilian abuses were recorded such as the lack of freedom of speech, media control & the imprisonment of political oppositions and other civilians who were deemed subversive towards the government in which they were interrogated & tortured to an extent death.

⁷⁴ Philippine President, Proclamation, *Presidential Decree no. 194*, 1973.

⁷⁵ Philippine President, Proclamation, *Presidential Decree no. 298*, 1973.

⁷⁶ Philippine President, Proclamation, *Letter of Instruction no. 270*, 1975.

- b.) The person must reside in the Philippines continuously for a decade which can be reduced to five years for any following special qualifications:
- a. Honorably held an office under the Philippine government or under that of any provinces, municipalities, cities or political subdivisions;
 - b. Legally admitted to the Philippines either as an immigrant or non-immigrant;
 - c. Have established an industry or introduced a useful invention in the country;
 - d. Married to a Filipino;
 - e. Engaged as a teacher in a public or private school recognized by the government which were not exclusive for a nationality or race;
 - f. Born in the Philippines.
- c.) The person must be of good moral character and believe in the principles of the Philippine Constitution;
- d.) Possessed any trade, profession, business or any lawful occupation from which he derives enough income in support of his family and livelihood;
- e.) The person must be able to speak and write English or Spanish and any other Philippine language;
- f.) The person's children must have been enrolled in a school recognized by the Department of Education, and Culture whether private or public school where in Philippine history, government and civic are taught or prescribed as part of the school curriculum;
- g.) During the period of his residence, he must have mingled socially with Filipinos and a sincere desire to embrace the Filipino customs, traditions, and ideals.

Further laws on naturalization were granted mostly favoring the Chinese immigrants especially for those who had already established a family in the country. Permanent residency was granted to one thousand seven hundred eighty-five (1,785)⁷⁷ recommended Chinese non-immigrants⁷⁸ under the Presidential Decree no. 730-731. Repatriation was granted to Filipino women who had lost their citizenship through marriage with alien husbands under Presidential Decree no. 725. The decree granted them the opportunity to reacquire their citizenship as a Filipino after they had been lost through marriage with an alien.⁷⁹ Presidential Decree no. 836 in the last quarter of 1975 further granted citizenship to a number of two thousand eight hundred and two (2802) immigrants with majority being Chinese.⁸⁰ The law further stipulated that naturalization were to be canceled to any individual who was caught with

⁷⁷ Philippine President, Proclamation, *Presidential Decree no. 731*, 1975.

⁷⁸ Philippine President, Proclamation, *Presidential Decree no. 730*, 1975.

⁷⁹ Philippine President, Proclamation, *Presidential Decree no. 725*, 1975.

⁸⁰ Philippine President, Proclamation, *Presidential Decree no. 836*, 1975.

fraudulence or crime in any form, which included falsification of documents to acquire permanent residency. It is noteworthy that majority of the immigrants who were granted Filipino citizenship had already possessed Romanticized names, which may indicate their assimilation to the country.

The naturalization policy became a trend in the coming years as it became a long-term effect for the Chinese immigrants granting opportunities for the overstaying immigrants to register as a permanent resident. Naturalization was further granted by the government after 1975 to deserving aliens aside from the Chinese exceeding the number of previous granted applicants. Moreover, the policy became a pull factor for the immigrants to permanently settle in the country, even though they must wait a decade for acquisition. Opportunities were further available for immigrants in hopes of starting a new livelihood away from China. It is also noteworthy that the naturalization policy opened the rights of only the Filipino possessed to the naturalized aliens. This means they were not only eligible to practice any professions that were restricted to Filipinos but also qualified for any political and economic rights in the Philippines.

Conclusion

The laws and policies during the span of three decades have either pushed the Chinese immigrants out of the country or pulled them into the Philippines, with several opportunities that were beneficial in their livelihood. Due to the public uproar towards the Chinese community amidst the height of the communist scare and their illicit schemes such as smuggling and corruptions, the laws became an obstacle towards their livelihoods, in attempts to expel them from the country. In other words, the laws segregated them from the society, as the government aimed to Filipinize the country. Despite the obstacles, the Chinese immigrants remained firm, struggling for a better livelihood in the Philippines.

Despite hardships and obstacles from the law, the Chinese became the persistent individuals settling; thus, their presence could still be observed in the Philippines. They considered the country as their secondary home, while some had chosen to permanently settle in the country, considering it as their new home, out of the political unrest in China. They have integrated themselves with the Filipino environment for a beneficial livelihood, despite the discriminations and prejudice from the community expressing hatred and protests, with attacks pleading for their expulsion against them. Teodoro M. Locsin mentioned in his article that Filipinos, once victims of the colonizers, were guilty of the same offenses of racial prejudice towards the Chinese.⁸¹ These became the challenges for the Chinese community, which saw the struggle in their settlement, as they migrated from one country to another seeking haven.

Through their continuous perseverance, they achieved success recognized by the Philippines that began from struggling with small income and grew to become economic elites, with contributions persisted to be felt in the country. Their once segregation ghettos such as Binondo became a leisure spot for Filipinos to explore the Chinese culture and heritage, which were marked in Filipino identity, after the presence of the immigrants in history became

⁸¹ Teodoro M. Locsin, "The Chinese Question," *Philippine Free Press*, July 12, 1953. Article also cited in UP Filipino-Chinese Students' Association, *A Reader on the Philippine Chinese*, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, n.d.), 95.

perennial from temporary.⁸² Furthermore, they quickly considered themselves as part of the nation after gaining permanency for their eligibility to practice any rights and professions. Illicit schemes are still present in this generation, with some immigrants remaining vigilant from the authorities, remarkably within businesses and social institutions, but the majority avoided the vices and harmoniously assimilated with the Filipinos.

The future generations of Chinese born in the country nowadays confidently consider themselves as Filipinos, i.e. natives of the Philippines after gaining the freedom to exercise and practice their rights. It is also important for these generations to acknowledge the struggles their ancestors underwent to further integrate themselves to the Filipino society, serving as their awareness out of contributions the Chinese community introduced. This has been a missing chapter in the history of the Chinese in the Philippines, besides the cultural impact that was known by the majority. Despite how felonious some of their action may have been, their main objective was to gain a beneficial livelihood out of the political and economic unrest that China had established. The Chinese immigrants progressed from being aliens in the eyes of the natives to becoming one with the society, through integration and cultural adaptation. Acceptance was the key for the Filipinos towards the Chinese immigrants for despite the language barriers between the two nationalities, it was their culture that formed the lasting bond.

⁸² Quirino, *Old Manila*, 83.

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