

CULTURE OF THE MIXED: A STUDY ON THE CONTRAST AND AMALGAMATION OF CONFUCIANIST PRINCIPLES/TEACHINGS AND FILIPINO TRAITS PRESENT WITHIN THE ATTITUDES OF CHINESE-FILIPINO ADOLESCENTS

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ABSTRACT

The paper studies the influences of both Confucianist principles and Filipino traits from Sikolohiyang Pilipino to their possible manifestations in Chinese-Filipino adolescents. Each of the two concepts is discussed separately in their own contexts first before attempting to compare and contrast similar elements within each principle. Theories from biculturalism are also included in order to (1) present what Chinese-Filipino adolescents may be experiencing between their ethnic/natal culture alongside the environmental culture,

(2) possibly observe and infer how both Confucianist qualities and Filipino traits are being integrated by Chinese-Filipino adolescents.

Keywords: *Confucianist principles and Filipino traits; Chinese-Filipino adolescents; Sikolohiyang Pilipino; biculturalism*

Culture consists of values and shared beliefs that are manifested in patterned ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving (Kluckhohn, as cited in Ladhari, Souiden, & Choi, 2015). However, in the case of Chinese-Filipino adolescents, since they are exposed to both their natal/ancestral culture and the environmental culture here in the Philippines, it is inevitable that they would come to the crossroads between the two cultures. This paper aims to study and showcase the similarities and differences of Confucian principles alongside Filipino traits. In this way, the paper may also hopefully help in constructing an inference on how Chinese-Filipino adolescents come to integrate one or both in their own lives.

Before diving into the entire definition of the characteristics between the two concepts, it is important to first bring up the concept of biculturalism in order to have a much better perspective of how everything fits together. Biculturalism essentially refers to the comfort and proficiency of individuals towards their ethnic culture alongside the culture of the country or region in which they have settled (Schwartz & Unger, 2010). There are several studies,

particularly in both acculturation and in ethnic/cultural literatures that explain the significance of studying the cognitions as well as the experiences of bicultural people. They mainly attribute it towards the importance of being flexible as well as capable of learning from multifaceted perspectives (Dennis, 2008; Loubere, 2010; LaFromboise, Hardin, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). The initial concept of biculturalism is presented here as a precursor in order to understand the position that Chinese-Filipinos have when their natal culture and their environmental culture come together during their developmental years.

Other concepts regarding biculturalism will be applied in the latter part of the paper once the characteristics of the two cultures are explained more comprehensively.

Historical Background: The Gradual Integration of the Chinese in the Philippines

For the most part of the past, the Chinese who lived in the Philippines have often kept themselves different from the cultural norms and etiquettes that Filipinos express. According to See (1997), the integration of the two cultures was not so easily attained since the Chinese families back then were quite conservative and held their ethnicity in high regard. For the most part, several Chinese parents even went as far as to discourage their children from interacting with Filipinos or enclosing their children in a predominantly Chinese environment in order to prevent them from possibly intermarrying

with Filipinos (See, 1997; McCarthy, 1974). Such a phenomenon limited the cultural and social integration of the Chinese during that time. Although it is important to note that acculturation was still present, albeit to a lesser extent, as the second generation Chinese were raised by their more traditional first generation Chinese parents.

This behavior is not exclusive to Chinese only though, as parents with children who live within a diverse community would still prefer their own children to experience the continuity of their cultural traditions without the effect of other cultures (Yahya & Boag, 2014). In this sense, we may come to realize that parents prefer that their children interact with people who share the same culture with their original ethnic culture.

However, despite such attempts by the elder generation of Chinese parents, the next generation of Chinese adolescents around the 70s was described to be vastly differently from their parents (Tilman, 1974). Even back then, there was a big number of Chinese adolescents who did not feel any affinity at all with their natal culture as they have come to acculturate the Filipino culture due to their exposure to their Filipino classmates. In that sense, they have come to construct their perceptions of themselves as Pinsinos, or Chinese-Filipinos (See, 1997).

The behavior expressed by the Chinese-Filipino adolescents here shows not only the effects of space in regard to their difference in

beliefs with their parents, but it also showcases how time comes to affect it. As previously mentioned, space refers to the geographical region - essentially the difference between mainland China as well as the immigrated country, which is the Philippines. However, it is not devoid of a temporal dimension as well. If one would observe the interaction between time and space, the first generation Chinese had their developmental years in the mainland, and thus have their fundamental principles rooted there. The second generation of Chinese had their developmental years in the Philippines instead and therefore, had a certain mix between what they have been taught by their parents, and what they have observed with their peers (Willgerodt & Thompson, 2005). As mentioned by Szapocznik & Kurtines (as cited in Willgerodt & Thompson, 2005), the main misunderstandings between the two generations may come from the fact that children are able to adapt more quickly in the dominant culture, the Filipino culture in this case, than their parents.

In this sense, it can be hypothesized that Chinese-Filipino adolescents of the contemporary era may also share the same willingness to break away from the traditional values set forth upon them and learn more through interacting with their environment. While studies regarding the specific interaction of both traditional Confucianist principles and the common Filipino cultural values are limited, this paper will attempt to view both concepts and then find the contrasts and overlaps between them in order to infer what are the possible interactions that may occur.

Confucianist Principles on Behavior and Attitude

The most essential concept that needs to be acknowledged whenever we talk about Confucius's ideas is that he focuses on a human's life as the center (Zhang, 2013). The humanistic perspective is accompanied by the idea of its ceaseless cultivation regardless of any physical distinctions such as race, sex, class, etc. Zhang (2013) mentions that while it is comparable to the Western schools of thought, Confucianism is still fundamentally different as it has the special characteristic of emphasizing duty as well as being "down to earth" in its approach towards matters of everyday life such as familial, social, and political life. For this paper, the focus would definitely be geared towards how Confucius's ideas relate towards maintaining the most basic unit in society, which is the family.

Interestingly, while Aristotle and Spinoza referred to man as a political and social animal, Confucius sees the man first as himself and then as part of his family (Zhang, 2013). This can probably be attributed to the influence of the collectivist society that is commonly found in the East as compared to the West. In this sense, Confucius focuses on maintaining the order and tradition within the family through application of the main concepts of *ren* (仁), humaneness, in which then they become the *li* (礼), or rituals (Zhang, 2013; Fung, 1948).

The concept of *ren* can be better understood with a quote from Confucius in the *Analects* (as cited in Fung, 1948), "The man of *jen*

[ren] is one who, desiring to sustain himself, sustains others, and in desiring to develop himself, develops others." In this sense, we may be able to see that Confucius sees that people do not simply live by themselves, but they must always take into consideration the other people around them. It is only through the acts of involving oneself with others that one can truly develop one's virtue. Zhang (2013) explains *ren* in the manner that it is the collective name of all virtues that Confucius is referring to. The importance of maintaining the *ren* is most evident in this quote,

A gentleman never violates *ren* even for a short while during a meal, or when he is in a haste to go to somewhere, or when he is in the midst of some dangerous (such as being pursued by an enemy or a ferocious beast).

As the concept of *ren* refers to the larger whole of Confucius's idea, it is crucial to pinpoint its applications in both the *li* and *zhong* (忠) in order to have a more concrete grounding to discuss how it relates clearly towards the model of the family. *Li* refers to the rituals, practices, or the proper conduct that one must observe in a certain context, depending on the relationships that are present (Fung, 1948). Confucius proposed five different contexts of relationships that showcase the existing structures in society, and also to assert a guide on how one must act in accordance to the name or the status one is under. In order to explain the different relational contexts in a

brief and concise manner, Zhang's (2013) modern interpretation offers the following aids:

1. Parental love and filial devotion
2. Respect of each other's privacy between a husband and wife
3. Friendliness between brothers
4. Trustworthiness among friends
5. Loyalty on the part of the employee versus politeness on the part of the employer

It is important to note that *li* is always guided by the overarching principle of the *ren*, as both together would create a harmony in one's mind and in one's actions, gearing the individual towards what they ought to do depending on the situation at hand. The end goal of this process is to mold a person into a gentleman or *jun-zi* (君子).

Confucianism on Child Development

Given that fundamental grounding on Confucius's ideas, the important thing to discuss now is the inquiry towards how it relates to child rearing. As previously mentioned, Confucianism might play a role towards the formation of the child's own behaviors and cognitions during their developmental years. To this end, it is important to see what the classical texts have to offer in regard to this specific topic.

Crane (2011) notes that the concept of child rearing is hardly mentioned in the *Analects* or *Mencius*, at least not directly. Crane (2011) shows that through looking at *Analects* 17.21, specifically the text that cites the reason behind observing the three-year mourning period for a parent's death, it is possible to see what Confucius's thoughts on child rearing are. The original Chinese passage reads

子生三年，然後免於父母之懷。夫三年之喪，天下之通喪也

This line essentially refers to the idea that "a child spends its first three years in the nurturing arms of its parents. That is why the mourning period lasts three years throughout all beneath Heaven." (translation by Hinton, as cited in Crane, 2011). While we can see that the line explicitly talks about the child's responsibilities towards the parents, there is a level beyond it that refers to the role that parents play in their children's lives. The Confucian principle of filial piety can be seen there, but alongside it comes the idea of child rearing. Filial piety works on the idea that one must treat one's parents well and with respect for they have raised him/her in the proper way they know of. In that sense, one must ask how can children know how to care for their parents if the children themselves have not received the same care? Child rearing is part of the system that is observed in filial piety; it just so happens that the focus is geared towards the responsibilities of the children.

Now that the ideas behind filial piety and child rearing have been negotiated, how then do Chinese parents raise their children in this

type of context? Several studies from the field of psychology often associate key terms such as "obedience" and "conformity" with how Chinese parents raise their children (Ma & Smith, 1990; Huang & Gove, 2015). This might be due to the collectivist environment that the Chinese were in, given that most of Confucius's ideas involve maintaining the social order and bettering oneself in order to recognize this standard.

In Ma and Smith's study (1990), they deduce that despite social class, conformity is still observed by children due to their strong Confucianist upbringing. As was aforementioned, Confucianism stresses on following the *li*, the proper conduct one must follow. While the punishment and reinforcement style differs depending on the social class of the parent (Ma & Smith, 1990), it is still important to recognize the phenomenon that Chinese children are discouraged from straying from their parents' teachings and possibly rewarded if they strictly accord their behavior to what is expected of them.

Aside from filial piety, another notable thing that Chinese parenting style has been associated with is the high expectation and responsiveness that parents have of their children when it comes to educational attainment (Huang & Gove, 2015). The discipline that has been ingrained to their children from a young age is essentially the manifestation of Confucian philosophy. The parents place high value on education, filial piety, family hierarchy, and family harmony above all else, ensuring that their children will hopefully grow into

responsible adults who will be capable of raising their own children and take care of them in the future.

The results of the studies connect well with Confucian philosophy, as the end goal is really to inculcate the *ren* in a person, the child in this case, through the practice of *li* as well as educating oneself. In this way, parents fulfill their roles as "the first teachers" that a child would have during his/her developmental years.

Ethnic Filipino Traits on Personality

Having established the grounds on the Chinese-Filipino's ethnic/natal culture, we can now discuss the environmental culture that they may experience throughout their interactions here in the Philippines. As the topic of Filipino culture is broad, this paper will focus on the traits and personalities that Filipinos possess since it most likely offers the closest parallelism that can be used to compare with the attitudes and behaviors observed by the application of Confucian principles. In addition to that, since the paper is mainly concerned with discussing the attitudes and personalities of Chinese-Filipinos, it is only apt that the focus of any literature regarding the Filipino culture be geared towards an explanation or description of the quality of their traits and other factors that might affect their behavior. This coincides well with Church and Katigbak's study (2002) as Filipinos readily describe themselves and other people using trait terms.

While their study mentions that there are limited resources that point towards exact indigenous traits that might be uniquely represented/manifested in the Philippines, it certainly corroborates well with the assertions of Sikolohiyang Pilipino, where the indigenous experiences of the Filipinos are considered to be unique and are culture-sensitive (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). The several concepts from Sikolohiyang Pilipino, the study of indigenous Filipino psychology, serve to fill the gap that their research was not able to cover, which is identifying the specific traits present in the Filipino society. In this sense, Sikolohiyang Pilipino serves as a helpful guide in regard to explaining the fundamental ideas and values that guide Filipino behavior and attitudes.

In order to understand how the Filipino qualities came to be, it is important to recognize that the Philippines has undergone several influences of invading cultures, particularly those of the Spanish and the Americans (de Guia, 2013). In this sense, in order to reconcile and return to the roots of what Filipino culture truly is, de Guia (2013) proposes that we look into the practices of the indigenous people as they have retained the ancestral knowledge that have been passed down. In the case of Reyes's (2015) paper however, he proposes that there is an existing virtue ethics for the Filipinos; and that it is the result of mixing the two traditions of the Southeast Asian tribal and animist tradition with the Spanish Catholic tradition. While each of their papers tackles a different aspect of the

topic, it is noteworthy that both have discussed the concept of *kapwa*, also translated into the "other" or "shared self", which is said to represent the core value of a Filipino.

Kapwa or "the shared self" is the concept that often comes up when the Filipino personality is being discussed. It is the core concept of Filipino social psychology proposed in *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* by Dr. Virgilio Enriquez (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). It is essentially considered the heart of the structure of Filipino values as all other values begin from it. Understanding the *kapwa* means that one is able to see the other person as a fellow human being and that he/she deserves the respect that is appropriately given to a fellow human being.

With the concept of *kapwa* in place, it is important to recognize its theoretical underpinnings. During the '80s, Dr. Virgilio Enriquez and his colleagues founded the *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* or Filipino Indigenous Psychology asserting the *Kapwa* Psychology as part of their discipline (de Guia, 2013). As he continued his research, he eventually came up with the Philippine Personality Theory, or *Pagkataong Pilipino*. According to the theory, there are three core values that shape the *Pagkataong Pilipino* (de Guia, 2013):

***Kapwa* or *Pakikipag-kapwa* (Shared Identity).** As earlier discussed, the *kapwa* is essentially the "shared self" that extends from the "I" to the "Other." It does not discriminate whether the other person is someone one knows or a complete stranger. Dr. Enriquez

introduced this concept as the prime value in Filipino social interaction as the "unity of the one-of-us-and-the-other" (de Guia, 2013). It is not simply for the purposes of maintaining smooth interpersonal relations that Filipinos also value highly; it is really all about treating the other person as a fellow human being (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). By treating the person as a fellow human being, it covers all the moral and normative obligations that are expected of the human person (de Guia, 2013). This is represented in the inclusiveness that Filipinos have for other people. The people-centered orientation that is represented here extends to other Filipino traits and values such as *pakikitungo* (transaction/civility with), *pakikisalamuha* (interaction with), *pakikilahok* (joining/participating), *pakikibagay* (in-conformity with), *pakikisama* (being along with), etc. (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000).

Aside from that, the concept of the *kapwa* is asserted to be both tribal and Christian at the same time by Reyes (2015). It has its roots in the pre-colonial structure of society under the *barangays*, where everyone identified themselves closely to the tribe they belong to. In this sense, in terms of the older context of the word, *kapwa* might have meant someone from the tribe. Anyone from the outside was not considered *kapwa*. It was only after the Spanish missionaries that the concept of the *kapwa* became the way that it is today. The Christian precept to 'love your fellow man just like your own body'

took root into the Filipinos' hearts, thus extending the concept of *kapwa* to humanity in general (Reyes, 2015).

***Pakikiramdam* (Knowing through Feeling).** Given that the *kapwa* is a concept that describes how Filipinos see and treat their relationships, the next thing to take note is what they do for their relationship with the *kapwa*, or other people. While *pakiramdam* roughly translates to "feeling", the concept of *pakikiramdam* extends far beyond just the emotional facet. The depth of *pakikiramdam* is similar to that of the *kapwa*. The West associates this term with emotional intelligence; however, it is beyond simply just that, as this concept refers to a characteristic inherent within Filipinos (de Guia, 2013). Dr. Enriquez (as cited in de Guia, 2013) named this emotional fineness present in Filipinos as "shared perception" or "shared inner perception." This goes hand-in-hand with the concept of *kapwa* in the sense that *kapwa* makes an individual realize the importance of other people in terms of humanity as a whole, while *pakikiramdam* delves into the empathic qualities that serve to reach out to the *kapwa*. Matarangon (as cited in de Guia, 2013) describes *pakikiramdam* as an "emotional a-priori" that lies within the Filipino's personhood. The sensitivity that Filipinos have with reading other people's emotions through subtle nuances and gestures is most efficiently used alongside their cognitive abilities where they can easily infer what the other person is feeling through the

information from fragmented impressions. Granted that their interpretations might not always be accurate, but given in the Philippine context where sharing of emotions is highly encouraged and accepted, chances are that people would often reach an understanding with one another (de Guia, 2013).

Through *pakikiramdam* with the *kapwa*, people are capable of initiating and maintaining excellent interpersonal relationships with one another. *Pakikiramdam* as a heightened sensitivity to the *kapwa* helps as a tool in society where certain ambiguities may occur. It may serve as a guide in order for an individual to come to decisions such as "knowing the right moment to join a group, when to ask questions or present one's argument, or how to blend in with other people" (de Guia, 2013).

***Kagandahang-loob* (Shared Inner Nobility).** Given that both *kapwa* and *pakikiramdam* are abstract concepts that are not immediately seen or observed, the most general mode in which our concern for our *kapwa* can be seen is through *kagandahang-loob*. In order to explain the concepts in a more concise way, it is noteworthy to mention that each of the three core values represents a different lexical term - *kapwa* is a noun, *pakikiramdam* is a verb, while *kagandahang-loob* is oftentimes used as an adjective. *Kapwa* is the core in which all the Filipino values have their root in; *pakikiramdam* is the action that guides people to know how to act, while *kagandahang-loob* is the kind of outlook that helps in maintaining

those values. The interaction of the three core values was explained by de Guia (2013) in her paper:

As a core value, *kagandahang-loob* acts like an anchor that grounds *kapwa* and *paki-ramdam* [*pakikiramdam*] in the enduring beliefs of Filipino Indigenous Knowledge. These are basic: God is good. Life is about learning, creating and sharing. Life is good, even if there is hardship. Every sunrise brings a new day, a new horizon. There is always hope.

Kagandahang-loob is essentially the inherent value that truly makes the acts done through the *pakikiramdam* of the *kapwa* to be more authentic. It roots itself in seeing the goodness of everything and being generous in turn in order to maintain that beauty. In essence, the concept of *kagandahang-loob* relates to a noble character, one who is capable of doing good deeds simply because they are good. According to Philippine historian Reynaldo Ileto (as cited in de Guia, 2013), this noble character that Filipinos put heavy emphasis on began from the "bayanis" who had to reclaim or "re-win" their nobility everyday during the times of strife that the Philippines had experienced.

Contrasts and Overlaps: Confucianism and Filipino Traits

With the groundwork of both concepts being explained in detail, the contrasts and overlaps between the two can be better identified.

To begin with, it is important to look into the core or fundamental principles that each of the two concepts follows. Confucianism has *ren* that serves as its fundamental principle that establishes the concept of humanism as well as the basis for all human relationships (Zhang, 2013), while Sikolohiyang Pilipino has *kapwa* as its core value where all other Filipino traits come from. In essence, one can see that both concepts have similar assertions - the importance of humans and their relationship with others. There are certain overlaps from time to time between the two especially when it comes to the relationships between friends, as it is nearly imperative for both to treat their friends in the manner of extreme loyalty.

While they certainly are similar in that level, the application and underpinnings of each of them greatly differs due to historical and philosophical factors. Historically speaking, both Confucianist principles and Filipino traits have gone through a period of turmoil. Each of the societal contexts during their time served as an influence that caused several of the ideas to flourish. In the case of Confucianism, it was developed during the Spring and Autumn Period, and then continued to have more in depth recordings during the Warring States period. Confucius was very much scandalized with all the decline in moral character that he saw from the nobles that his thoughts were recorded in his works; and he then went on to promote education in order for people to cultivate themselves into the *jun-zi* or the gentleman (Zhang, 2013). The concept of *kapwa*, on

the other hand, has undergone influences from both Spanish and American colonization integrated into the Filipinos' local traits (de Guia, 2013; Reyes, 2015), eventually evolving into what was studied by Enriquez and his students.

In terms of the philosophical underpinnings, *ren* focuses on the development of the self through treating others in the same light as one would treat oneself, while *kapwa* asserts union between the self and the other. The applications of *ren* can be seen through the *li*, while the application of *kapwa* can be seen through the act of *pakikiramdam*. These points showcase the nuances between the two that demarcate what each concept's approach truly is. In this sense, we can see that the Confucianist principles are mainly *rational a priori*, while the Filipino traits can be said to be *emotional a priori*.

Confucianist Principles as *Rational a priori*. The proposition that Confucianist principles are primarily *rational a priori* comes mainly from the importance that this school of thought associates with the rectification of names (正名). While the concept of the *ren* is manifested through the *li*, the actions that the *li* directs the Confucianist to do are mainly rooted in the system that the rectification of names imposes. The rectification of names is best explained by the recorded conversation between Confucius and Zi-lu (Zhang, 2013):

- If names are not correct, speech cannot be logical.
- If speech is not logical, work cannot be accomplished.

- If work is not accomplished, the *li* and the *yue* cannot be promoted.
- If the *li* and the *yue* are not promoted, punishments cannot be appropriate.
- If punishments are not appropriate, the people will not know where to put their hands and feet.

Through that short passage, the idea behind the rectification of names can be better understood as simply understanding the implications as well as the duties associated with the name an individual is associated with. For if one would break away from the duties associated with one's title, how can one then be called as such? In this sense, the actuality of oneself must coincide with the name associated with that person (Fung, 1948). This is the foundation in which all actions that the *li* dictates is grounded upon. In this sense, Confucianist principles can be seen as *rational a priori* due to the importance of the logical application of the rectification of names prior to the application of the *ren* through the *li*.

Filipino Traits as *Emotional a priori*. In contrast, the Filipino traits differ mainly for they do not have the same set of strict standards/imperatives that the Confucianists have. The core value of *kapwa* that is manifested through the acts of *pakikiramdam* eventually branches out into several other Filipino traits. All in all however, prior to the act and experience of interacting with other people, everything is rooted in the relational will or *loob* that the

Filipino possesses. This will or *loob* is essentially the motivating factor that drives the Filipino to act in accordance towards his or her *kapwa* through the process of *pakikiramdam*. It is important to note that while *loob* here is being discussed as a separate concept, its relationship with *kapwa* is what makes it complete. Miranda (as cited in Reyes, 2015) explains that "*loob* needs *kapwa* even to be *loob*: its continued responding to *kapwa* is the condition for its own existence and authenticity as *loob*."

This relational will or *loob* is distinct from the rational imperatives of the Confucianist principles as it refers to the emotional aspect in which people relate to one another. The clearest manifestation of this is seen through *kagandahang-loob* or "beauty-of-will" and *utang na loob*. In *kagandahang-loob*, one can only say that a generous act is sincerely good or beautiful if and only if it comes willingly (*kusang-loob*), guided by positive feelings (e.g. love, charity, or sympathy) without the anticipation of being rewarded (De Castro, as cited in Reyes, 2015). Through the acts and motivations of *kagandahang-loob*, it now inspires the reciprocal dynamic of *utang na loob* or "debt-of-will". Although *utang na loob* might have a negative connotation nowadays due to it being used as a form of claiming debt over the goodwill one has shown to others, the core principle that guides it is similar to the *kagandahang-loob*. It is essentially how persons repay the kindness offered to them by another, but only in the manner of which that is without an external

compulsion and it must be done so freely due to a personal or sympathetic desire (Reyes, 2015). Through the interaction of the *kapwa* via the relational wills of *kagandahang-loob* and *utang na loob*, the Filipino traits can be seen to be *emotional a priori* for its high importance in stressing the personal and sympathetic element towards relating with others.

Cultural Integration in Bicultural Context

Given that the contrasts between both Confucianist principles and Filipino traits have been already discussed, the next inquiry will naturally proceed into how both mindsets and cultural behaviors apply to a bicultural person (i.e. Chinese-Filipino in this context). As was explained in the introduction, biculturalism refers to the comfort and proficiency of an individual towards his/her ethnic culture alongside the culture of the country or region in which he/she has settled in (Schwartz & Unger, 2010). In this case, the Chinese ethnic culture of Confucianism cohabitate with the Filipino cultural traits that the Chinese-Filipino experiences through living in the Philippines. This paper does not specifically discuss the state of foreign immigrants who have to readjust to their new environment, but rather talks about the children or grandchildren of those immigrants who were perhaps raised through the practice of their ethnic culture while learning from the practices of the local culture through interactions outside of the family.

Before trying to figure out how both cultural practices get integrated to a bicultural person, it is important first to understand the idea that an individual must have began with one specific culture. As mentioned by Dennis (2008), bicultural people began with a monocultural perspective due to their upbringing, as they would have been exposed to one culture far more significantly than the other. It is only through the active participation with the values and characteristics of the other culture that they are able to decide and choose the beliefs as well as the practices from those cultures that they feel should apply to them (Dennis, 2008). More often than not, the first culture an individual will ever get to integrate is his ethnic/natal culture, however, the better determinant of it can usually be observed in how the family raises the child. What follows after the child develops into adolescence with the ability to learn and process more about the other culture is the conscious decision making on which cultural values he/she chooses to follow.

Following this line of thought, one may say that Confucianist principles and Filipino traits don't necessarily have to interact with one another in order for them to coexist in the cultural values that an individual deems important. However, despite the fact that the adolescent has been able to choose which values he/she decides to follow, there is always this *double-consciousness* (DuBois, as cited in LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993), the simultaneous awareness of oneself as being a member and an alien at the same time

towards two or more cultures. This can make sense in certain cases where the Chinese-Filipino adolescent who has been raised with Confucian principles while learning Filipino cultural values from his/her peers. While he/she will certainly feel that sense of belongingness to a particular group, there is also this awareness that there is a gap in between the original culture and the individual's subjectively constructed culture.

This is because the process that he/she has undergone is the acculturation of Filipino values. Acculturation affects the bicultural individual in the sense that the person still retains his/her ethnic cultural traits, while at the same time develops the means to interact with the dominant cultural group (Loubere, 2010). This is distinct from assimilation, which asserts that the individuals from the minority group, the Chinese in this case, will eventually yield offspring who would become full members of the dominant culture (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993).

Regardless, the concept of frame switching among bicultural people borrowed from psychology may serve to explain how the two value systems of Confucian principles and Filipino traits come together in the value formation of a Chinese-Filipino. The most interesting finding in the literature involving this concept is the idea that most bicultural people "feel like a different person" whenever they speak different languages (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). According to Luna, Ringberg, and Peracchio (2008), this is

possibly due to the distinct cognitive frameworks that an individual follows depending on the culture and language that is associated with it. When a bicultural individual has had extensive experience in learning from the two cultures he/she belongs to, that individual may have different culture-specific cognitive structures, or mental frames, that are dependent on the socio-cultural context (Luna, Ringberg, & Peracchio, 2008). In this sense, it can be inferred that a Chinese-Filipino person may either utilize the Confucianist influences on their attitudes or the Filipino cultural traits whenever they have to interact with another person. As to which method or mindset they follow, it will have to depend on the context in question.

Conclusion

Given the contrasts between the Confucianist principles and Filipino traits, the most crucial factor that really would help in understanding when each of them is applied is through context. The value system that is utilized can be inferred from the context where they were learned. In this sense, I propose that the mental framework of Confucianist principles apply mostly during instances when there is interaction with an elder or with a person of authority. This is due to the fact that as children, Chinese-Filipinos are raised to confer the proper *li* or ritual/practice to their elders. In the mental framework of the Filipino trait values, I propose that it can mostly be observed when the situation involves friends and strangers of perceived equal

status. This is mostly due to the *kapwa* in motion through the process of *pakikiramdam* that is driven by *kagandahang-loob*. In this context, as there is a perceived equality amongst the people in the relationship, it is perhaps easier for the Chinese-Filipino to have an empathic mindset as he/she is able to relate with the other through strong positive emotions.

Overall, regardless of whichever value system the individual follows, the key similarity between the two is what really binds the core of the person's actions. Regardless of *ren* or *kapwa*, both have an emphasis towards humanity as well as the relationships that are formed through interacting with other people. In this sense, despite differing methods and applications, Confucianist principles and Filipino traits can coexist in a Chinese-Filipino's way of living.

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