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Manila's "Chinatown": Globalization and Built Heritage

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Manila's "Chinatown"

Globalization and Built Heritage

Philippine society and culture are generally viewed as the convergence of indigenous Austronesian and Hispanic elements. Often overlooked, however, are the significant contributions of the Chinese. In this article, we trace Chinese contributions to the built heritage of Manila beginning in the sixteenth century and examine the process of globalization as “glocalization.” Our main proposition is that in Manila’s “Chinatown,” these contributions are a refraction of Chinese architectural and art styles through local architectural and art traditions. Such mixing, blending or adapting of two or more processes accompanied the evolving search of Chinese migrants (notably artisans) from (primarily) Fujian Province and the subsequent Tsinoy community for a local identity and localities. Necessarily, the material and temporal settings matter. Manila’s “Chinatown” developed in tandem with the Spanish city, Intramuros, further explaining why it is glocal in nature: its constituting elements are the very essence of the buildings, a design that contrasts with the “pastiche” architecture of many other “Chinatowns” elsewhere. With the global and the local constantly in a flux, the challenge is how to continue to sensibly blend and adapt the new and the global to local conditions, and vice versa.

KEYWORDS: Glocalization, cultural refraction, Chinese diaspora, art and architecture, built heritage, Chinatown, Tsinoy

“East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet.”

This line from the “Border Ballads” (1889) by Rudyard Kipling has often been (mis)quoted to emphasize the supposed incompatibility of eastern and western cultures due to fundamental differences and contradictions. Yet, modern Philippines is an example *par excellence* of the coming together of East and West by way of migration, economic and cultural exchanges, and the subsequent emergence of a new and unique culture. While in public perception, Philippine society and culture are generally viewed as the convergence of indigenous Austronesian and Hispanic elements, a third no less important factor, however, is often overlooked, namely the significant contribution of the Chinese.

Over the centuries, long-distance cross-cultural trade, especially with Chinese and Muslim traders, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and globalization, integrated the Philippines, in itself full of diversity, into a global network of economic and cultural exchanges. Globalization is generally described as the worldwide economic, political, and cultural integration of diverse countries and cultures (and entire continents) through massively increased flow of capital, goods, information, and people around the globe; aided by rapidly accelerated communication, transport, and media (Albrow and King 1990). Although commonly perceived as a relatively recent phenomenon, precursors of globalization (only so-termed in the 1970s; James and Steger 2014, 417–34) already began with the ‘Age of Discovery’ in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and massively accelerated in the nineteenth century. Gradual economic and cultural integration is, thus, perhaps as old as human civilization itself, albeit developing and accelerating only slowly before the sixteenth century.¹

These modes of integration involve the flow not only of products and people but also of ideas and relationships from one locale to another (Hannerz 1996, 92). Thus, the interpretation of globalization as a very large-scale and economic phenomenon has corollary views.^{2,3} One such view sees globalization in terms of dichotomies and eventual homogenization of societies and cultures. Examples include the “West is best” formulation or the notion that after the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, all countries would follow a path of development that is neither ideological nor political but rather one that reflects the triumph of western liberal capitalism.⁴ Another is “the West versus

the rest” thesis of a post-Cold War clash of civilizations, in particular Confucian and Islamic civilizations against the West (Huntington 1993, 22–49), exemplified by “Jihad vs. McWorld” or the opposition between the tribalism of the Jihad World and the homogenizing global capitalism of McWorld (Barber 1996).

Of greater interest in understanding Chinese contributions to Philippine society and culture, however, is the interpretation of globalization as “glocalization.” Glocalization, which involves blending, mixing, or adapting of two or more processes, implies “simultaneity and the interpenetration of what are conventionally called the global and the local or—in more abstract terms—the universal and the particular” (Robertson 1995, 25–44). Glocalization, however, is not to be conflated with hybridization, since a hybrid version does not necessarily involve the local (Khondker 2004, 12–20). For glocalization to be meaningful, it must include, at least, one component that addresses the local culture, system of values and practices, and so forth (*ibid.*, 17). What then is the “local”? In one definition, it refers to the production of locality and of feeling (Appadurai 1996). In another, locality is not merely a geographic sense of place. The local is the everyday, the face-to-face interaction, formative, sensual, bodily experience; and the global is not always immense in scale, but is rather made up of relationships, that include kin, friends, co-workers, and its new variety, those other affiliations that involve intimate circles and small networks (Hannerz 1996, 92). Thus, it is the local which makes the global work; the global is put into practice by people. This occurrence is particularly instructive for heritage preservation: the local perception of the global is often determined by actors, with the capacity for willful action emanating from and potentially residing in all actors participating in global-local interactions. Glocalization implies adaptation to local conditions and making improvements by people and communities. Recent theorizing further defines it as the refraction of globalization through the local. Indeed, globalization does not annihilate, or absorb, or destroy; rather, the local operates symbiotically with globalization and shapes the consequences (Roudometof 2016, 391–408).

In this article, we explore contributions of the Chinese to Philippine society and culture in terms of globalization’s production of new spaces and reconfigurational processes. We view globalization as glocalization, as an evolving search of various communities, in this case, Chinese migrants from (primarily) Fujian Province, China, and the subsequent *Tsinoy* (Filipinos of Chinese ethnic origin) community,

for a local identity and localities.⁵ We begin with a discussion of the setting of the encounters of Chinese and Filipino products, people, and ideas. We then provide an account of Chinese influences on the Philippines' built heritage; in particular, on the architecture of Binondo and San Nicolas, Manila's "Chinatown." In the next sections, we then examine the decline of San Nicolas as a sign of the relentless homogenizing power of globalization, even as the local persists to exist. The article ends with a summary of how Chinese and Filipino interactions demonstrate globalization as a driver of adaptation, and an argument that, more than ever, we have to adapt the new to local conditions.

THE MANILA-ACAPULCO GALLEON TRADE

With the "discovery" and conquest of the Americas by Spanish and Portuguese explorers in the fifteenth century, all continents (except uninhabited Antarctica and thinly-populated Australia) were, for the first time, integrated into a global trade network. In the sixteenth century, the Spanish empire where famously 'the sun never sets' comprised parts of Europe (Spain, Netherlands), large portions of North and South America (Mexico, Peru, Argentina), and holdings in Asia (Taiwan, Philippines, Guam, and Marianas). Thus, with the European "discovery" of the Philippines by Magellan in 1521 and its subsequent colonization by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi after 1565, the archipelago entered globalization for the first time.⁶ Manila served as the entrepôt for trans-continental trade: Chinese junks would bring their merchandise to Manila, where it would be loaded onto Spanish galleons sailing across the Pacific to Acapulco, Mexico and overland to Veracruz, to be shipped across the Atlantic to Spain and further into Europe. Oriental merchandise comprised primarily of silk, porcelain, and spices, in exchange mostly for Mexican silver, the commodity most avidly sought by the Chinese. These silver coins became the unit of currency throughout the Chinese empire, East and Southeast Asia, down to the late nineteenth century (Zialcita, forthcoming "Binondo: Pivot of the Pacific"). Export items made in the Philippines, although of much less importance, comprised of gold, cotton, blankets, and fiber cloths.^{7 8}

In the course of this trade, a massive exchange of wild and domesticated plants (such as tobacco, *camote* (sweet potato), and corn

which reached China via the Philippines; See 2005, 49), animals, technology, language, cultural traits, knowledge and ideas took place between Europe, the Americas, and Asia. With trade came people. Although pre-colonial trade between the Philippines and China existed since the eleventh century, trading especially of porcelain and stoneware, silk, and metal from China, Vietnam, and Siam (Thailand), in exchange for local products (*e.g.*, bee-wax, bird nests, and gold), migration remained minimal, with only about 150 Chinese settlers in Manila in 1570 (Wickberg 1965, 3–4). It was only after the establishment of Spanish Manila in 1571 that their numbers, both of traders and migrants, increased dramatically, attracted by the opportunities offered by the presence of the Spaniards and the Galleon Trade, and by a chance to escape poverty at home.⁹ As early as 1603, there were already 20,000 Chinese residents in Manila compared to barely 1,000 Spaniards (Wickberg 1965, 5). The following two centuries saw cycles of Chinese uprisings against colonial discrimination, subsequent massacres and expulsions by the Spaniards, interspersed by periods of more relaxed immigration policies when the numbers of Chinese immigrants would rise again.¹⁰ Whether the Spaniards liked it or not, at least in the early phase of colonization, the local Chinese formed the backbone of the urban colonial society, as the number of resident Spaniards remained low and Chinese trade and labor provided vital services to the colony.¹¹

Hence, Spanish-era Manila would be unthinkable without the presence of the Chinese, as Antonio de Morga, seventeenth century chronicler of the early colonial era himself admitted when he wrote, “The fact is that, without these Chinese, the city cannot get along or maintain itself, because they are masters of all trades, and good workers who labor for moderate wages,” although, foreshadowing future ambivalent policies; he also immediately added “. . . for these purposes, a fewer number of them would suffice” (Morga 1609, 343).

CHINESE INFLUENCE ON PHILIPPINE CULTURE

Propelled by trade and migration, Chinese influence soon made itself felt on the islands. Hence the Philippines received not only Chinese trade goods, but also fashion and culinary tastes, art forms, and loanwords from China. Correspondingly, globalization entailed the particularization of universalism, and was realized in concrete

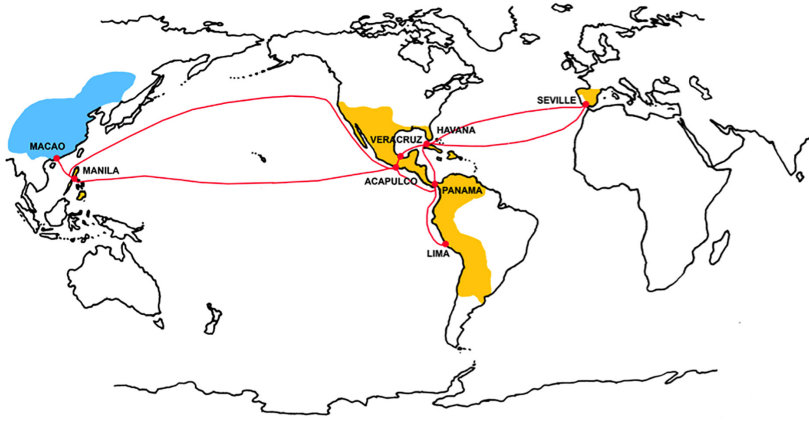


Figure 1. Globalization in the 16th to 18th centuries: Trade routes of the Spanish Empire.¹



Figure 2. A “Capitan Chino”, gobernadorcillo of the Chinese (left); a Chinese peddler (right).²

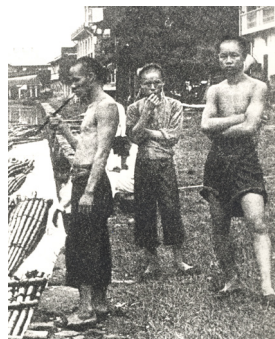


Figure 3. Canal de Binondo, ca. 1900 (left); Chinese coolies ca. 1900 (right, cropped).³

forms that are local (Robertson 1995, 30). Chinese migrants and/or their Chinese *mestizo* offsprings in nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Manila lived in hybrid, *babay na bato* (house of stone)-style shophouses filled with imported and locally-made furniture and household items (Chu 2010, 182–183), wore a combination of Chinese, *indio*, and Spanish dress (such as a *Camisa de Chino/Barong Tagalog* over loose trousers, topped by a European hat; 200), and ate a fusion of indigenous and Chinese food such as *sinigang* (tamarind soup), *laing* (taro leaves with coconut milk) and *kinilaw* (raw fish marinated in vinegar), to name just a few (199). Other culinary imports from China that today are considered typically “Filipino” are noodle dishes (e.g., *siopao* and *pancit*), spring rolls (*lumpia*), and meat balls (*siomai*).

Speaking a combination of Hokkien, Tagalog, and Spanish, Chinese merchant families introduced many Hokkien loanwords into Tagalog, especially kinship terms such as *ate* (older sister), *impo* (grandmother), and *ingkong* (grandfather) (Chu 2010, 187–88; See 2005, 212). This “free” mixing of indigenous terms is still common today, and although many other combinations also exist, most evident in the modern term “Taglish,” a combination of Tagalog and English.

Such mixing of languages and kinship terminology is also reflected in different names used for official, business, or private occasions, such as an official Spanish baptismal name, an informal nickname in the private realm, and since the 1848 Claveria decree, a Spanish, Tagalog, or Chinese family name. In the Philippines, in a classic case of glocalization, many Chinese *mestizos* created their own family names by combining the surname and the first syllable of the personal name of their Chinese father and adding the suffix *co* (Chu 2010, 186–87), thus creating Chinese-sounding family names which, however, are unique to the Philippines.

Religious practices were likewise glocalized in the course of spiritual acculturation, in syncretic ways: Home altars would be mounted both with Catholic *santos* and Chinese deities (190–91), thereby continuing polytheistic beliefs as well as spiritual and cosmological interpretations of the world (*i.e.*, the importance of ghosts) these immigrants brought over from their Chinese homeland. Such beliefs were seamlessly incorporated into their new Catholic beliefs upon baptism, not because of lack of sincerity about conversion, as Chu convincingly argues, but in the conviction that local (Catholic) gods have local jurisdiction (in the Philippines) (190–97). Chinese pragmatism and syncretism easily re-interpreted the Catholic pantheon of saints as Chinese gods and

goddesses, as in the case of Our Lady of Casaysay in Taal, seen as a manifestation of the Chinese goddess Guan Yin/Mat-su. Hence, Western saints and Eastern gods could easily be venerated next to each other, or even simultaneously, as seen in a number of ancient Chinese temples in Manila (*e.g.*, the Taoist temple in Sta. Ana, Manila or the Chong Hock Tong inside the Manila Chinese Cemetery), while the veneration of Christian symbols could take traditionally Buddhist forms, like the burning of incense sticks, as seen in Binondo (Dy 2017). Such religious syncretism would be carried over to the afterlife, where both Catholic funeral practices as well as traditional Chinese ancestor worship would be observed. Thus, as Chu and Ang See write, “the Chinese, especially the Christian converts, managed to combine both Hispanic/Catholic and Chinese practices when burying their dead. This practice is a precursor of the East-West architectural styles and hybrid religious practices seen in the Chinese cemetery today” (Chu and See 2016, 63–90).



Figure 4. Roadside shrine in Binondo.⁴

ILLUSTRATIONS OF GLOBALIZATION AS GLOBALIZATION IN PHILIPPINE ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Chinese artisans were particularly responsible for the interpenetration of the global with the local. Due to their large number, Chinese influence quickly made itself felt in the arts, visibly in religious statuary and painting where Catholic saints with Asian features and Chinese-style flow of clothing and clouds were carved by Chinese artists.¹² In these arts and practices, those Chinese artisans brought to life new ways of presenting a single entity, which are blends of Chinese and Filipino culture.¹³

The influence of Chinese immigrants on Philippine art is, perhaps, nowhere more tangible and visible than in the development of substantial architecture in the country. Commonly referred to as the “Mother of Arts,” because all other art forms (painting, sculpture) contribute to it, architecture—the systematic ordering and designing of space—is the interaction between human beings and their natural environment (climate, topography); time (history); and society. Thus, from a sociological point of view, architecture is the cultural expression of a society’s social order, reflecting its values, legal systems, religion, economy, and political order. All of these elements, and the vital role the Chinese played herein, is reflected in the building of Spanish-era Manila: The new building types and techniques introduced by the Spaniards (monumental architecture, such as churches, forts, and civic buildings, executed in mortar, stone, and brick) were not yet mastered by the native population who lacked a tradition of building in stone; whereas the Spaniards were far too few (and unwilling) to undertake the work themselves. In China, however, there existed a millennium-old tradition of monumental stone architecture. Thus, as early as the sixteenth century, Chinese workers were routinely hired for major public construction projects, such as churches, hospitals, and administration buildings, as well as private houses. They likewise produced the new building materials, such as quarried stone and fired brick. Guided by Chinese or *mestizo maestros de obras* (the then equivalent of architects), Chinese laborers, builders, and artisans, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, and masons left their marks all over the colonial capital and in provincial centers.¹⁴

RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

Not surprisingly, many Chinese design elements and *feng shui* principles found their way into the new style. For example, many bell towers strongly resemble Chinese pagodas, as seen in Binondo Church: standing separately like pagodas from the church nave (lest they collapse onto it, in case of earthquakes), their multi-tiered storeys are reminiscent of ancient Chinese pagodas, as are their often octagonal footprints derived from the *Ba Gua*, a propitious *feng shui* shape as evil spirits cannot hide in an octagonal room (Zialcita, forthcoming “Sta. Ana: The Hill and the Serpent”). The octagon is also found in the footprint of the Alcaiceria, an eighteenth-century bazaar *cum* customs house in Binondo, which is reminiscent of a Fujian *Tulou* (fortified village) (Zialcita forthcoming, “Binondo: Pivot of the Pacific”), and in many church window shapes. Attics of baroque facades likewise show Chinese influence, such as stylized clouds (Sta. Ana Church, Manila). Often *Foo Dogs* (Chinese guardian lions) are found in front of churches, as in San Agustin Church in Intramuros; or Casaysay Church in Taal, Batangas.



Figure 5. The octagonal and multi-tiered belltower of the 1749 Binondo Church (left) bears remarkable similarity with Chinese pagodas, such as the 1780 Fragrance Hills Pagoda near Beijing (center). Foo Dog in front of San Agustin Church, Intramuros (right).⁵

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

Chinese (and Japanese) influence during the colonial period is even more evident in the urban Filipino house, the *bahay na bato* (house of stone). Developed in the seventeenth century from the native rural Austronesian hut on stilts, the *bahay kubo* (cube house) evolved into its sturdier and elaborate urban version, the *bahay na bato* blends pre-colonial vernacular building traditions in wood and bamboo with Spanish-introduced stone architecture and Chinese and Japanese elements (Zialcita 2005, 290–92). While the *bahay na bato*'s clay tile roofs are Spanish-Mediterranean in origin (albeit with a unique local V-shape instead of being semi-round as in Spain), their upturned ridges and eaves point toward Chinese roof forms. Likewise of eastern origin are the sliding windows of traditional Filipino houses, which in similar form can be found in China, Korea, and Japan, possibly copied from or inspired by Japanese *Shoji* screens. Unlike the former which uses paper for the panes, the distinguishing feature of traditional Filipino *capiz* windows, however, are their panes made of the *capiz* shell (*Placuna placenta*), a saltwater clam (ibid., 290). Such shell windows are (almost) unique in the world, and otherwise only found in Goa, India, a Portuguese possession from 1510 to 1961.¹⁵ On the ground floor, the *zaguán* (storage area) was laid with *Piedre China*, large granite slabs imported from China as ballast on junks. Chinese and Japanese artisans popularized *calado* (pierced wooden fretwork above doors, windows, and entire walls, possibly inspired by Japanese *ranma* (pierced transom) (Zialcita 2005, 292). Chinese and Japanese design elements can also be found in the houses' ornamentation, such as stylized clouds or staircase balustrades and chrysanthemum flowers on doorways and facades.

Most important, however, was the adaptation of the imported Spanish-Mexican monumental architecture to the local seismic conditions: As Zialcita pointedly writes about pre-1645 architecture in Manila, "Like its residents, the Manila palace was an alien import with no roots as yet in the land" (Zialcita 1980, 28). After the devastating earthquake of 1645, this imported style was combined with local Austronesian building traditions by introducing massive wooden posts as the main, load-bearing structural elements of the house, to enable it to withstand tremors (ibid., 28–29). The *bahay na bato*, perfectly adapted to both the tropical climate and frequent earthquakes shaking the islands, and representing the best of traditional Filipino



Figure 6. The attic design of Sta. Ana Church, Manila shows serpent-like forms undulating down from the main façade. Such forms also appear (with dragon heads) on top of garden walls in China (Zialcita forthcoming, “Sta. Ana: The Hill and the Serpent”).⁶



Figure 7. Chinese-style tile roofs: San Nicolas, Manila (left); Tagbilaran, Bohol (right).⁷

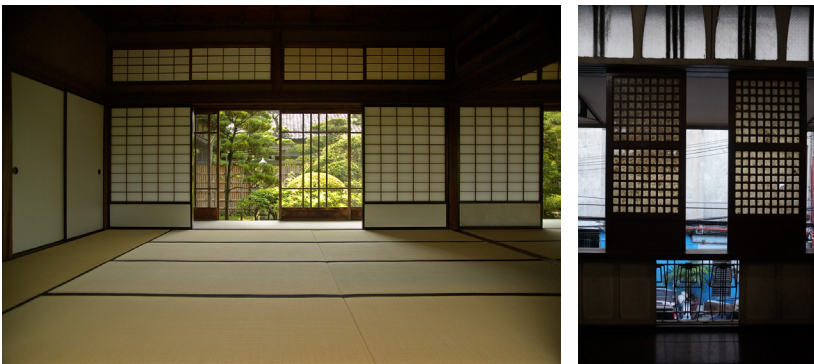


Figure 8. Japanese Shoji-screen (left); Filipino Capiz Window (right).⁸

vernacular architecture, is thus a mix of local and foreign influences, reflective of Filipino identity, which is characterized by the fusion and transformation of local elements with imported forms into something uniquely 'Filipino,' be it in language, food, music, dance, or architecture.

Among the oldest such houses in the Philippines and the oldest surviving houses of Manila can still be found today in the district of San Nicolas, Manila, opposite Intramuros across the Pasig River, the old colonial heart of the Spanish empire in East Asia.

BINONDO AND SAN NICOLAS, MANILA'S "CHINATOWN"

The history of Binondo and neighboring San Nicolas illustrates how various factors of globalization, such as trade and trade policy, migration, and restrictions on it, directly affected the private and economic life of the Chinese community, which was concentrated here when Binondo was established in 1594 as a *pariancillo* (small quarter for Chinese and Chinese-Filipino *mestizos*). Similar *pariancillos* could be found in Cebu, Vigan, Malolos, and Iloilo.

During the first wave of globalization in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Hopkins 2003, 4-7), Binondo and San Nicolas, as the terminus of the China-Manila junk trade, directly participated in the international Galleon Trade, as evidenced by the Real Alcaicería de San Fernando, an octagonal building erected in 1758 as the local customs house, which also served as a silk market and lodging for transient Chinese and Asian merchants. From there, goods were trans-shipped via the galleons to Mexico, the Americas and on to Europe. Aided by a lenient policy of assimilation, once baptized, many Chinese men married local women, entered Manila schools, and became prominent members of Philippine society (Zialcita forthcoming, "San Nicolas: Trade and Revolution"). As a result of these cross-cultural intermarriages, a new class of Chinese *mestizos* emerged around the mid-eighteenth century, which would play a decisive role in the economic and political life of the country in the following century.

The second wave of globalization in the nineteenth century saw great advancements in worldwide trade, which strongly made themselves felt in the Philippines: technical innovations like the ocean-going steamships in the 1810s; and new infrastructures, such as the Suez Canal, opened in 1869, that drastically cut travel time, not only from Spain to Manila from

over nine months or more to a mere six weeks, but likewise accelerated sailing between Manila and China (Hong Kong, Amoy), apart from drastically bringing down transport and passage costs.¹⁶ A revised immigration policy would see tens of thousands of Spaniards settle in the colony, with 34,000 living there in 1898 (Wickberg 1965, 130). Revised economic policies would dramatically transform the Philippine economy in the nineteenth century, most importantly the opening of Philippine ports to foreign nations, with the port of Manila fully opened to international, global trade in 1834. Cebu and Iloilo followed between 1855 and 1860 (ibid., 59). Improved transport and communication, liberalized trade and immigration policies, and the removal of trade monopolies, and the subsequent entry of foreign (European and US-American) companies quickly drew the Philippine economy into a new global trade network within which developed a thriving plantation economy for the export of cash crops for the world market, such as abaca (Manila hemp), sugar, tobacco, indigo, coffee, and copra.

Over time, the owners or lessees of these vast land holdings, usually *mestizos* of mixed Filipino, Chinese, and Spanish ancestry, grew immensely rich and formed a new upper class which, together with the wealthy Chinese, constitutes the social, political, and economic elite of the Philippines up to today. Among them (but also including middle- and lower-class natives) formed a new group of highly educated adherents to the rationalism and libertarian philosophy of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment Movement. Known as *Ilustrados* and defining themselves not primarily by race or class, but by a common Hispanic culture and liberal political outlook, they played a decisive role toward the Philippine Revolution of 1896.

Liberalization and economic development also swelled the number of Chinese immigrants. Throughout the Spanish colonial era, Spanish policy in the Philippines oscillated between discrimination and persecution of the Chinese at one end of the spectrum, and actively encouraging their immigration and economic activity on the other, not least because the Spanish government hoped such policy would help it achieve a trade agreement with Imperial China on reciprocal basis (Wickberg 1965, 49). Hence, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a more relaxed immigration policy, not only allowed thousands of Chinese to settle in the country, but, with previous strict residential and occupational restrictions removed in 1863, allowed them to live freely anywhere in the archipelago (ibid., 59). Their business acumen allowed them to benefit from the economic boom and they soon played

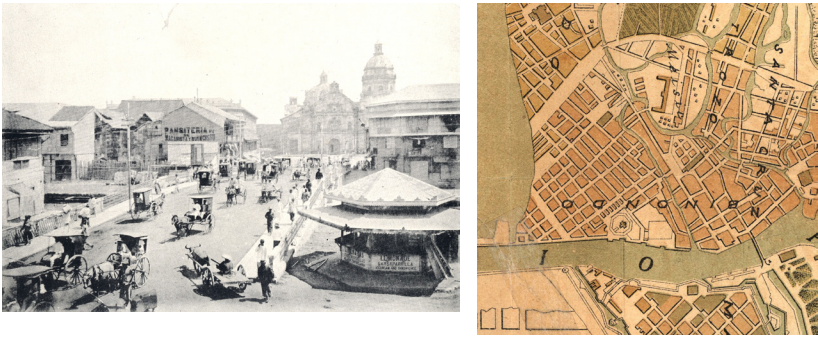


Figure 9. Nineteenth-century street scene in Binondo (left); map of Binondo and San Nicolas in 1885 (right).⁹



Figure 10. Nineteenth-century street scene in Binondo (left); map of Binondo and San Nicolas in 1885 (right).⁹

a crucial role in the import of goods and the export of raw materials. It was at this momentous point in time for the history of the Chinese in the Philippines that San Nicolas rose to prominence.

SAN NICOLAS, REPOSITORY OF SINO-FILIPINO (TSINOY) HISTORY AND CULTURE

Formerly known as Murallón or Baybay, before being given its current name in 1820, San Nicolas was a *sitio* (barrio or neighborhood) of Binondo until 1894 (Zialcita forthcoming, “San Nicolas: Trade and Revolution”). It was settled in by Chinese and Chinese-Filipino *mestizos* from 1850 onwards, at a time when the number of Chinese increased dramatically from about 6,000 in 1847 to an estimated 90,000 between 1876 and 1886 (Wickberg 1960, 147, 170). San Nicolas directly benefitted from and thrived as a result of that massive migration wave, as between half and three-quarters of the Chinese population then lived in the Manila area (*ibid.*, 61).

Completely rebuilt from scratch on a rectangular grid after a massive fire in 1863, reconstruction created a harmonious and uniform streetscape with stately rows of *bahay na bato* made of *materiales fuertes* (strong materials): stone, tile, and timber. In the second half of the nineteenth century, San Nicolas became an important industrial center as the site of numerous foundries (among such famous ones as the Sunico Foundry) and other industries (e.g., soap-making, fragrance). Consequently, the district became a cradle of the Philippine Revolution when the *Katipunan* was founded here in 1892 by Andres Bonifacio (Zialcita forthcoming, “San Nicolas: Trade and Revolution”).

Architecturally, Binondo and San Nicolas differ from Chinatowns in the “West” in some important aspects: In Europe, Chinese quarters, such as those found in Paris and London, emerged only after the turn of the twentieth century and in, or in relative, proximity to existing city centers, hence Chinese migrants there found themselves in an already well-established urban environment architecturally no different from the surrounding neighborhoods defined by local English or French styles. Till today, these districts are architecturally indistinguishable from the surrounding cityscape were it not for the omnipresent *Paifang/Pailou*, monumental decorative gates that mark the entrance to almost all Chinatowns the world over. But even where a distinct “Chinatown style” emerged as in North America, the *mestizo* character of Binondo-San Nicolas, as evident in its *bahay na bato*, is markedly different from the composite “Chinese” architecture commonly found in US-American Chinatowns, like those in San Francisco or Chicago. Here, as in Europe, revivalist architecture, likewise rooted in or originating from European architectural traditions (such as Neo-Classicism, Neo-Renaissance, Italianate, etc.), was *en vogue* and well-established by the time the first Chinese immigrants arrived. Upon these revivalist styles were then occasionally superimposed elements of “classic” mainland Chinese architecture, typically pagoda-like towers and Chinese-style roofs and ornamentation, such as geometric balcony balustrades and red columns. A prime example is San Francisco’s Chinatown, rebuilt as a tourist attraction after the Great Fire of 1906 in an attempt to convey an aura of identity and respectability (to avoid being relocated to the fringes of the city), but above all to create an “exotic” image to boost tourism.¹⁷ It is still the largest Chinatown in the United States of America (USA) and probably its most picturesque. In contrast, Manila’s “Chinatown” Binondo developed in tandem with the

Spanish city (Intramuros) and with it developed the classic Filipino urban house, the above-mentioned *bahay na bato*.

The same holds true for other Chinatowns in Southeast Asia, such as the Straits Settlements (Georgetown/Penang, Malacca, Singapore). Here developed in the nineteenth century another form of *mestizo* architecture, namely the shophouse, the quintessential urban mixed-use (shop *cum* residence) house of Malaysia, which combines elements of European Neo-Classicism (columns with capitals, arches with keystones, pilasters, friezes, etc.) with Chinese ones, such as butterfly windows, colorful tiles and *jiannin* cutworks. Chinese influence, often guided by *feng shui*, is also evident in gable forms, ornamentation, and elaborate wood carvings on doors and windows (Khoo 1993, 2001, 18–20). As in Manila, these Chinatowns developed in tandem with the colonial European city (such as Georgetown or Kuala Lumpur) or stood on their own (Hoi An, Vietnam). The Chinese element is even more visible in the shop houses of Glodok, the old Chinese quarter of Jakarta, former Dutch-colonial Batavia. Here, curved tile roofs, Fujian-style gables of party walls, and geometric balcony balustrades clearly hint at the origins of the former owners/occupants of these two-storey houses, which likewise emerged together with the colonial Dutch city.

Having been at the crossroads of two great civilizations (hence the now outdated term “Indo-China” for mainland Southeast Asia) for over 2,000 years, Southeast Asia has been massively influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism from the Indian sub-continent (still strongly felt, for example, in Bali/Indonesia, Thailand and Burma) and Chinese Confucianism and Taoism (most evident in Vietnam), supplemented by Islam (Malaysia, Indonesia) long before the advent of western colonialism, which added just another layer. Thus, when the first wave of globalization arrived in the Philippines, its elements (monumental architecture, Christianity, Western philosophy and political institutions, etc.) were, in the course of several centuries, easily “glocalized,” that is, adapted to pre-existing local conditions and traditions.

In contrast, although the USA today is commonly referred to as a big “melting pot,” until the 1960s it was actually better described as a “European melting pot,” with the vast majority of immigrants originating from Europe (Gibson and Lennon 1999).¹⁸ Thus, until the turn of the twentieth century, the USA firmly looked towards Europe as its cultural role model, not least for its architecture. With many American architects at the time being themselves either immigrants

or first-/second-generation descendants of European immigrants, they were inevitably inspired by numerous revivalist styles directly imported from Europe (Victorian, Beaux-Arts) or rooted in ancient European tradition (Neo-Gothic, Neo-Classicism, Italianate, etc.). A distinct American architecture would only gradually evolve during the second half of the nineteenth century, culminating in the advent of the skyscraper. Hence, while in Southeast Asia “foreign” influences in architecture and urbanism were gradually localized (adapted) over centuries, in nineteenth-century USA they were mostly imported and thus not (yet) glocalized.

The existence of this indigenous form of *mestizo* architecture in Southeast Asia also explains why the kind of “pastiche” architecture that characterizes many American Chinatowns, is (with a few exceptions, most of them recent developments) notably absent in Manila, Jakarta, or Georgetown. What sets Binondo/San Nicolas apart from even its counterparts in Southeast Asia is the near-complete absence of old (pre-war) Chinese temples (most of today’s temples were only built after World War II), which is indicative of the very important role of the Catholic religion which in the Philippines shaped Chinese and Chinese-*mestizo* religion, culture, and lifestyle over 400 years like nowhere else. Importantly, the consciousness, loyalty, and orientation of at least second- and third-generation male Chinese *mestizos*, not only in architecture, but also in dress, lifestyle, and material culture, tended increasingly towards Hispanic culture, rather than China.¹⁹

It is not least these unique characteristics that prompted prominent personalities of the Chinese community in Binondo to criticize the new imposing *Paifang* erected in 2015 as not reflective of the complex history of Binondo and its blend of Chinese and Filipino culture. In one interview, Meah Ang See, director of the *Bahay Tsinoy* Museum in Intramuros, said, “The arch doesn’t feel like it’s ours.” and “It feels like it’s from China. (...) It feels like it’s imported.” Ivan Man Dy of ‘Old Manila Walks’ added, “We want Binondo to be recognized for its ethnicity as opposed to being a mainland Chinese outpost” (Go 2015).

DECLINE

Looking at San Nicolas today, it is hard to believe that it was once part of the wealthiest *arrabal* (suburb) of Manila and of the Philippines, noted for its ostentatious display of wealth, and still visible in the splendid

1888 mortuary chapel in the *Cementerio de Binondo* (established for baptized Catholic Chinese and *mestizos*) in La Loma, still the largest and most elaborate mortuary chapel in the Philippines. Luckily surviving the Battle of Manila in World War II despite its proximity to Intramuros, the Japanese last stand, San Nicolas, together with neighboring Binondo, declined after the war: the out-migration of the Chinese and *mestizo* middle class and much of their businesses in the 1960s and 1970s left San Nicolas in particular to poor rural migrants seeking menial employment in the nearby South Harbor. Although Binondo had to cede the title of financial capital of the Philippines to phenomenally rising Makati in the 1970s, on the overall it managed to remain a wealthy, prosperous, and dynamic district; while San Nicolas continued its steep decline. As the urban poor continued to proliferate over the following decades (not least due to continuing migration from impoverished provinces), the small district with an area of just 70 hectares counted over 44,000 official inhabitants in 2010 (National Statistics Office 2010). With houses once designed to hold at most a dozen occupants now housing a hundred or more, massive overcrowding with very poor living conditions is the norm in many streets. Not surprisingly, many houses, packed with semi-squatters and urban poor, are in advanced stages of disrepair. At the same time, many houses stand abandoned and vacant, or have been converted to warehouses as hollowed-out and empty shells. With no corrective action against urban decline and for heritage preservation by the local city government for decades, large portions of the district have degenerated into a slum, avoided by tourists and even local *Manileños* for fear of crime and grime.

Although the district contains the oldest surviving houses of Manila, many of them fine examples of Filipino urban residences of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these are demolished one by one since the 1960s or fall victim to frequent fire outbreaks. Despite massive losses since then, the district today (2016) still contains the highest number and densest concentration of Spanish-era houses in all of Metro Manila with over 150 colonial-era *bahay na bato* built between 1863 and 1910.²⁰

The challenges the historic substance faces today are manifold: Overcrowding accelerates deterioration and defaces old houses with makeshift extensions, often made from waste materials. To prevent infiltration of squatters, homeless, criminals, drug-users, and the like, many vacant houses have been boarded up, sometimes including the sidewalk in front of them.



Figure 12. Demolitions of historic houses continues unabated up to today (left); Many old houses are overcrowded (right).¹²



Figure 13. Spanish-era houses in San Nicolas.¹³

Abandonment and decade-long lack of maintenance has badly deteriorated much of the historic fabric, usually at the rear of buildings and thus hidden from view. Where repairs or renovations are done, cheap materials not sympathetic to the houses' historic character are commonly used, such as plywood, tarpaulins and galvanized iron sheets, giving many buildings a desolate look. Recently, a number of historic houses have been translocated, out of the district, to a private resort outside Metro Manila, including an extremely rare and elaborate three-storey structure from 1890.

The biggest threat, however, to the continuing existence of these vernacular houses is massive commercial development pressures, that is, the demolition of the relatively small wooden two-storey structures and their replacement, with new, usually mid-and high-rise condominium-type concrete buildings, to maximize the rental income on their prime inner-city lots. A study by the Institute of Philippine Culture found that, while rents for a single room with shared bathroom/toilet facilities in a vintage house would range from 2,500 to 3,000 PhP per month in Quiapo and San Nicolas, rates for a single room with en-suite bathroom/toilet in new real estate developments would range

from 6,000 to 10,000 PhP per month (Saloma and Akpedonu, n.d.). Rents for commercial facilities are even higher. Hence, as the same study found, 40 percent of demolished houses “have been rebuilt as mixed-use or pure residential structures, namely mid-rise apartments (13%) and high-rise condominiums (20%)” (ibid.). Thus, since 1985, the district has lost an estimated 70 percent of its historic housing stock,²¹ with approximately 15 percent lost in the first decade of the twenty-first century (Akpedonu forthcoming, “Endangered Splendor: Manila’s Disappearing Heritage”).

NEW TRENDS

In the twenty-first century, San Nicolas is again transformed by globalization. Heavily invested in the global exchange of products and services, the Philippines, and especially Metro Manila, is in turn strongly shaped by these forces. As business process outsourcing (BPO) services continue to boom, overseas Filipino workers’ (OFWs’) remittances continue to pour in, and large-scale infrastructure investments (railways, harbors) are funded by the People’s Republic of China and private equity investments from Chinese businessmen, San Nicolas is slowly but steadily being rebuilt in the image of global architecture. Rather than building upon or seeking inspiration from vernacular building traditions, the new concrete buildings, office towers, and condominiums reflect a global imagery of Modernism and Post-Modernism, the “international” styles globally in vogue at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Thus, the district gradually but continually loses its distinctive “urban-Filipino” character, increasingly becoming an indistinguishable and non-descript part of the city surrounding it, which in turn is likewise becoming an indistinguishable Asian megalopolis, characterized by a random motley of concrete and glass high-rise towers, shopping malls, and gated subdivisions. In this development, neither San Nicolas nor Manila as a whole is alone: with a few noteworthy exceptions (such as the works of Architect Leandro Locsin or of the Mañosa brothers), post-war architecture in the Philippines in general and especially since the 1990s has been marked by an orientation towards foreign, usually Western, models for commercial and domestic architecture. Especially private residences built by large-scale developers in the era of Post-Modernism are “inspired” (as the advertisements frequently

go) by and emulate “Mediterranean” and “Balinese” villas, “Swiss” chalets, “French” chateaus, and many more. Adaptation of vernacular building traditions and local materials, as well as to the local climate, is usually non-existent, relying instead heavily on artificial ventilation and cooling.²²

Hence, today globalization again manifests in the architectural landscape of Binondo and San Nicolas, turning them into showcases of “investor’s architecture,” shaped by imperatives of profit maximization through maximum use of permitted development parameters and projecting an image of a twenty-first century global Asian boomtown of high-rise condominiums and office buildings. Many of these new and mushrooming landmarks are themselves examples *par excellence* of globalization at work: Designed by globally-active, usually Western, “starchitects,” such as Michael Graves, (who designed the 36-storey World Trade Exchange Center in Binondo that opened in 2005)²³ and planned by international design teams,²⁴ they are clad in the latest Modernist or Post-Modernist fashion of concrete, steel, and glass as *en vogue* in New York, Doha, or Shanghai. Imposing and even elegant and beautiful as some of them certainly are, most make few, if any, concessions to the local climate or cultural context. Building materials are likewise often imported from overseas, such as the British-produced paints and windows “made in Germany” of the 56-storey Anchor Skysuites Condominium.²⁵ A recent global trend, which is particularly noticeable in Metro Manila, is the advent of mixed-use, high-rise condominium developments for wealthy locals and expatriates. The fast proliferation of these “vertical neighborhoods” not least in Binondo and San Nicholas not only led to new global urban forms, but even to the proliferation of global consumption patterns (Saloma and Akpedonu 2016, 90–60). Funded by global capital, such as foreign investments and not least the remittances of over 10 million overseas Filipinos²⁶ spread all over the globe (which alone reached almost 30 billion USD in 2016; *The Philippine Star*, 21 December 2016), these condominiums are professionally advertised to an international clientele of wealthy locals, expatriates, foreign investors, and sometimes specifically to local *Tsinoy*s and mainland Chinese, as in the case of the Four Seasons Riveria Luxury Condominiums.²⁷ Thus, the marketed towers don fanciful names, culled from Western (usually European) history, to portray an image of old-world sophistication (“Oxford Parksuites”), Anglo-Saxon tradition (“Wharton Parksuites”), and ostentatious



Figure 14. In the twenty-first century San Nicolas and Binondo are being rebuilt in a global image.¹⁴

splendor (“Chateau Lorraine”). Names derived from imagery popular in the Chinese realm denoting wealth and fortune (*e.g.* gold, lucky, jade) also feature prominently. In contrast, local names based on the specific history of the district rarely, if ever, feature. This loss of local context and rootedness due to private developers is further exacerbated by the tendency of the public sector, namely the city government to frequently rename streets, usually in honor of politicians or prominent figures of the Philippine Revolution, thus eradicating the memory of ancient traditions and old industries of the district, as well as the important link to Spain (names of Spanish cities and governor-generals) and to Catholicism, which are enshrined in these names. For example, *Calle Aceiteros*, which denotes the oil-pressing industry that used to be concentrated there, was renamed to Marcelino de Santos Street to honor a Filipino philanthropist (Zialcita forthcoming, “San Nicolas: Trade and Revolution”). In Binondo, the principal streets *Calle Anloague* (carpenter; See 2005, 143) and *Calle Rosario* (rosary) were renamed to Juan Luna (a general of the Philippine Revolution) and Quintin Paredes (a Filipino politician), respectively. Thus, the local flavor of San Nicolas and Binondo is fast vanishing and giving way to an interchangeable and generic cityscape indistinguishable from, say, modern-day cities in mainland China such as Shenzhen, a “somewhere” or “anywhere” in a “geography of nowhere.”²⁸

CULTURAL HERITAGE

Cultural heritage comprises the whole of humankind's past tangible and intangible transformative creation, be it intellectual, artistic, or technical. Among this, "built heritage" is one particular group of tangible cultural heritage, commonly comprising significant or otherwise noteworthy historic buildings (such as churches, palaces, houses, and fortresses, but nowadays increasingly also including comparatively mundane structures and infrastructure, such as old factories, warehouses, bridges, aqueducts, modest or rural dwellings, etc.) found worthy of protection to be passed on to future generations as cultural and historical heirlooms.

The decline of San Nicolas and its continued loss of built heritage are particularly lamentable, in view of its considerable role as a repository of Chinese and Filipino history and culture. Located directly across Intramuros, one of the nation's and Manila's top cultural tourist destinations, San Nicolas is easily accessible and offers what Intramuros lacks since 1945, namely authentic historic houses (until relatively recently, even entire rows of pre-war streetscapes). Moreover, its close proximity to Escolta Street, Manila's former commercial heart which currently is undergoing attempts of urban rehabilitation, and to Binondo Church and Ongpin Street, the heart of "Chinatown," add to its tourist potential. Despite recent losses, the district still has a number of noteworthy sights and attractions:

There is, for example, the former Súnico foundry, established in 1872 and owned by the family of Hilario Súnico Chanuangco, a renowned nineteenth-century bell-maker, whose works can still be found in many historic churches all over the archipelago. Built in 1891 by Mario Súnico, the building is a marvelous example of the "flowers-in-a-trellis" style of the 1890s–1900s and one of the most ornate old houses in San Nicolas. Hence, it would make a great site for a museum, showcasing the industrial heritage of the district. Not far away from the foundry can be found the former private home of Hilario Súnico. The house is likewise of outstanding beauty, especially the quality of the metal works and the carvings that indicate mastery of ironworks. Also built in 1891, it was declared a Category III Cultural Property by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines in 2013. Likewise, one could envision there a lifestyle museum comparable with *Casa Manila* in Intramuros, depicting the life and works of Hilario Súnico and the lifestyle of his Chinese and *mestizo* contemporaries.

Unfortunately the former Rosario House, nicknamed *Casa Vizantina* (Byzantine house), was recently transferred to Bagac, Bataan. Built by Lorenzo del Rosario in 1890 in the “flowers-in-a-trellis” style, this house used to be the highlight of a visit to San Nicolas.

As Zialcita writes, “like the Roman, Ottoman, or Chinese empire, the Spanish empire recognized the diversity of ethnic groups within its domain and the right of each to follow its own traditions, including laws” (Zialcita forthcoming, “San Nicolas: Trade and Revolution”) This assortment led to the establishment of separate “tribunals” (courts) for *Mestizos*, *Naturales* (Tagalogs), and *Sangleyes* (Chinese). Of these, the *Tribunal de los Naturales*, the law court of native Filipinos, built before the 1880 earthquake, still stands along Asuncion Street. Restored and adaptively re-used, it would present an ideal location for a museum dedicated to the multi-cultural, social, and legal order that characterized the Spanish-era Manila.

At Elcano corner Lavezares Streets, one finds one of only three houses in Metro Manila that still carries a clay-tile roof that was once commonplace in Manila. Abandoned after the 1880 earthquake, tiles thereafter gave way to nowadays ubiquitous galvanized iron roofs.

Unbeknown to many, San Nicolas is also the “cradle of the revolution,” (ibid.) where Andres Bonifacio co-founded the *Katipunan*, memorialized by a monument at the corner of Elcano Street and Recto Avenue. Here also was printed the revolutionary newspaper, *Ang Kalayaan*, in 1896 (unfortunately, the stately old house that once bore the commemorative marker of the National Historical Institute (NHI), albeit not the original site of the printing press, was demolished a few years ago). Another NHI-plaque marks the site where Teodora Alonzo, the mother of national hero Dr. Jose Rizal, lived until 1911. Given San Nicolas’ many original vintage houses dating from the time, here are opportunities to tell the story of the *Katipunan* and the Philippine Revolution of 1896 in an authentic environment to local and foreign visitors.

Also closely connected with the Revolution and the subsequent Philippine-American War (1898-1902) is the birthplace of the revolutionary General Antonio Luna, commander of the army of the Malolos Republic, who was born in San Nicolas in 1866. Luckily his birthplace still survives in Urbiztondo Street. This place would be a great venue to tell the story of this little-known war, which has largely fallen into oblivion, especially in the USA.



Figure 15. Center of industry: Sunico Foundry (left). Tribunal de Naturales (right).¹⁵



Figure 16. Birthplace of the Philippine Revolution: Ang Kalayaan marker (left); birthplace of General Antonio Luna (right).¹⁶

San Nicolas is also the site of the oldest lighthouse in the country which was founded in 1642. Although the current structure only dates from the 1960s, here is yet another chance to narrate an important piece of Philippine naval history and perhaps providing a panoramic view of the district and across the Pasig River to Intramuros.

Nearby, the San Nicolás Fire Station was established in 1901, as one of the first fire stations of the then newly-established Manila fire department during the American regime. Rebuilt after the war, the fire station would make for a great place to learn about the challenges of fire-fighting, past and present, in the Philippines.

CONCLUSION

This article argues that globalization, or the interconnectedness across national boundaries or between continents, can and does involve

adaptation of the global. Chinese contribution to Philippine art and architecture illustrates globalization as glocalization; in particular, the creation and the incorporation of locality by mainland Chinese and *Tsinoy*s. Globalization's homogenizing and heterogenizing tendencies are complementary and interpenetrative. In all these, it is the local, particularly, the people and their practices which make the global work by adapting and reinterpreting ideas and practices from elsewhere. Necessarily, the material and temporal settings also matter: Manila's "Chinatown" developed in tandem with the Spanish city (Intramuros), and the emergence of indigenous forms of *mestizo* architecture explains why the architecture of Manila's "Chinatown" is glocal in nature: its constituting elements are the very essence of the building: remove them and nothing remains. Such design contrasts with the "pastiche" architecture of, for example, North American Chinatowns, where decorative "Chinese" elements often are merely superimposed on otherwise conventional Western building types: remove them, and a perfectly functional building still remains.

Today, San Nicolas' built heritage, the product of various stages of globalization trends from the seventeenth (when the *bahay na bato* emerged) to the late nineteenth century (when the district's surviving vintage houses were built), appears to be falling victim to the same forces that enabled its emergence in the first place. The difference between then and today is, of course, that in previous centuries, it took decades for global "foreign" trends to reach the island's shores and to adapt them to local conditions and customs. Thus, while the *bahay na bato*, in its long history, also took on many of the tastes and styles *en vogue* at the time, such as Art Nouveau and Art Deco, these forms always remained mere superficial "costumes" garbed onto the same house type, which did not change its basic substance and spirit. Thus, evolved over centuries a building type perfectly adapted to the island's tropical climate and shaking grounds, and to the people's social makeup and lifestyle. Such a situation highlights the role of temporality in the notion of glocalization, and how temporal variation shapes the relationship between the global and the local. Glocalization only becomes a good approximation of social reality, when time is infinite or non-existent but may not be observable on specific points in time, given the time lag between encounters of and responses to globalization (Roudometof 2016, 401). Today, when foreign capital, technology and not least, tastes, fashions, and ideas are transferred at the speed of a mouse click, such adaptations have not (yet) taken

place, quite apart from obvious economic factors pressing for profit maximization.

Globalization, leading to globally-valid new forms of cultural expression, often triggers a “conservative” (in the truest sense of the word) counter-reaction, namely conscious emphasis on local traditions and customs. Indeed, the notion of McDonaldization as cultural standardization may not be true as McDonald’s and other McDonaldized establishments have adapted to and are modified by local cultures and globalization, and are thus difference-producing (Turner 2010, 77–83). Global trends are given a unique local twist. In the Philippines, it is best exemplified by the fast-food chain “Jollibee,” which, while superficially following Western success formulas and iconography (McDonald’s), caters primarily to local Filipino tastes and palates. As the world is increasingly becoming a “global village,” communities the world over try to stem the perceived leveling of tastes and blurring of local identities by emphasizing what makes them unique vis-à-vis other localities and cultures. Thus, by emphasizing Philippine vernacular traditions and preservation of vintage structures, heritage advocates not least hope to preserve the Philippines’ cultural uniqueness vis-à-vis its Asian neighbors and the rest of the world. Built heritage, the most obvious and immediate expression of a society’s material culture and history, plays a decisive role in this process, as it serves not only as reminders of that society’s past achievements, but also as potential inspiration for today’s and future planners and designers. The inspiration of artists and architects by past artistic expression is a constant throughout architectural history, from fifteenth-century Renaissance via nineteenth-century Revivalism to present-day Post-Modernism.

Today as in the past, Binondo and San Nicolas, the enclave of ethnic Chinese and Chinese *Mestizos*, as well as Tagalogs, are witness to the history of the Chinese on Philippine soil and their gradual transformation from usually poor but industrious immigrants to today’s *Tsinoy*s, pillars of modern Philippine economy. Unfortunately, San Nicolas lacks the socio-economic and political environment which made similar heritage districts, such as Vigan in Ilocos Sur, shining examples of heritage preservation and cultural tourism in the Philippines.²⁹ Yet, there is an urgent need to preserve what little is left of San Nicolas’ built heritage. Similar with the Chinese Cemetery in neighboring Sta. Cruz,³⁰ San Nicolas’ houses embody the desire of *mestizos* and Chinese to express newfound wealth and status in

Philippine society, and well-express the hybrid and syncretic nature of the Philippine's *Tsinoy* culture. Various waves of globalization sweeping the islands from the sixteenth century up to today, in combination with enabling Spanish colonial policies, led to a specific *Tsinoy* culture in the Philippines expressed not least in a rich architectural heritage. This legacy—be they houses, temples, churches, or mausoleums—is witness to and evidence of the *Tsinoy's* firm rootedness in Philippine soil. For globalization to be meaningful, it must address the local. Chinese contributions to Filipino built heritage are a successful refraction of Chinese architectural styles through local architectural traditions. It is not least in this light that the need to preserve Binondo's and San Nicolas' built heritage must be viewed.

NOTES

- 1 See Hopkins. 2003. *Globalization in World History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- 2 See Wallerstein. 1974. *The Modern World-System*. New York: Academic Press.
- 3 See Sklair, Leslie. 1991. *Sociology of the Global System: Social Change in Global Perspective*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 4 See Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. "The End of History?" *National Interest*, No. 16, 3-18.
- 5 According to Roudometof (2016: 398), Robertson (1995) subsumes globalization under glocalization whereas Ritzer subsumes glocalization under globalization. For Robertson, heterogeneity and homogeneity are both facets of the global. Ritzer's (2003, [2004] 2006), in contrast, explicitly acknowledges glocalization but concentrates upon the negative aspects of capitalism, which overwhelms the local, as its ultimate goal is to see profits grow through unilateral homogenization. In such a case, the local is incorporated into the global and nothing is left of it; and vice versa, the global is not seriously affected or modified by the local.
- 6 International maritime trading that existed before in the archipelago before the colonial era was limited to China and Southeast Asian neighbors, such as Annam (Vietnam), Siam (Thailand), and modern-day Indonesia, hence did not yet form part of a globally connected network.
- 7 See, Teresita Ang. 2005. *Tsinoy: The story of the Chinese in Philippine life*, 48-49. Manila: *Kaisa Para sa Kaunlaran*.
- 8 *ibid.*, 337.
- 9 Not coincidentally the vast majority of Chinese immigrants from China to the Philippines originated from Fujian, a largely mountainous coastal province with limited farmland and thus comparatively meager agricultural opportunities (See, 54, 138-39).
- 10 Such uprisings and/or subsequent massacres or expulsion orders occurred in 1603, 1639, 1662, 1686, 1755, and 1766 (Wickberg, 11, 17).
- 11 For an overview of the many professions and trades the Chinese engaged in during the early colonial period in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (cf. See, 37).
- 12 See the *Bahay Tsinoy* Museum of the Chinese in Philippine Life, Intramuros, for an overview of Chinese influence on colonial-era Philippine art.
- 13 Roudometof (2016, 392) similarly notes that the result of the global interpenetrating the local is an image akin with the Hindu conception of deities, which are manifestations of a single entity that can take multiple forms, and thousands of which exist.

- 14 See, for example, Viana, Lorelei de. 2001. *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture, 1594-1898: A Socio-Historical Perspective*, 83, 90, 93. Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House.
- 15 However, in Goa windows are of the casement/swing-out type. Also, the shells are not in a grid as in the Philippines, but arranged in rows, with a fanlight on top. See, for example, Parrikar, Rajan. 2011. "Windows of Nacre," *Satyam Shivam Sundaram: Photo Blog by Rajan Parrikar*, March 28, <http://blog.parrikar.com/2011/03/28/windows-of-nacre/>, accessed 15 Feb. 2017.
- 16 See, for example, Marshall, Ian (1997). *Passage East*. Charlottesville: Howell Press. Extract of Introduction published by the *New York Times on the Web*: <http://www.nytimes.com/books/first/m/marshall-east.html>
- 17 See Choy, Philip. 2012. *San Francisco Chinatown: A Guide to Its History & Architecture*. San Francisco: City Lights.
- 18 As of 1900, slavery of Afro-Americans had ended only a few decades earlier, Native Americans had been largely deported to reservations, while Chinese immigration largely came to a halt after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.
- 19 Chu (2010) argues for a contingent (depending on class, gender, religion and ethnicity) and flexible identity of nineteenth-century Chinese merchant families whose cultural and political orientation could range from "buying titles or ranks from the Chinese imperial government for one's *mestizo* son" to "applying for Spanish citizenship and ensuring one's children also become naturalized," or at least "making sure that one's male descendants, even while they were Catholics, observed certain "Chinese" practices to ensure the comfort and prosperity of one's own afterlife and those of one's ancestors." Overall, however, aided not least by government policies eradicating the boundaries between *indios* and Chinese *mestizos*" towards the end of the Spanish regime, cultural and political orientation of second- and third generation male Chinese *mestizos* was clearly towards Hispanic culture, as proposed by Wickberg (1965/2000). See Chu, Richard T. 2010. *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity, and Culture, 1860s-1930s, 274-75.*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.
- 20 The Architectural Heritage of Manila Project, 1571-1961, a joint research project of the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC) of the Ateneo de Manila University and the Society for the Preservation of Philippine Culture Inc., documented 3,600 vintage houses (time frame: 1571-1961) in Metro Manila, about 2,200 of these in Manila City.
- 21 Viana, Lorelei de (1987). NHI Study, unpublished. The extensive and detailed material is available in the archives of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines.
- 22 See, for example, Sahakian, Marlyne and Julia K. Steinberger, "Staying Cool in Metro Manila: Energy Reduction Through a Deeper Understanding of Household Consumption," *Journal of Industrial Ecology, Volume 15, Issue 1, February 2011*, 31-48.
- 23 See Graves, Michael. <https://michaelgraves.com/portfolio/new-world-properties-ventures-inc-world-trade-exchange-center/>, 20 May 2017.
- 24 See <http://www.anchorland.com.ph/projects/anchor-skysuites>, accessed 20 May 2017.
- 25 *ibid.*
- 26 See <http://www.cfo.gov.ph/images/stories/pdf/StockEstimate2013.pdf>
- 27 See <http://federalland.ph/articles/come-home-to-heritage-in-federal-land-upscale-binondo-condo/>, accessed 20 May 2017.
- 28 See, for example, Kunstler, James Howard. 1993. *The Geography of Nowhere*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- 29 See, for example, Akpedonu, Erik. 2015. Lessons from Vigan—A Comparative Analysis of Successful Urban Heritage Rehabilitation. ed. King, Victor, 108-139. *UNESCO in Southeast Asia: World Heritage Sites in Comparative Perspective*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- 30 See, for example, Akpedonu, Erik. 2015. The Manila Chinese Cemetery: A Repository of *Tsinoy* Culture and Identity. Chinese Deathscapes in Insulindia. *Archipel*, Vol. 92 (France), 111-153.

PHOTOGRAPHS

- 1 Photograph by Erik Akpedonu.
- 2 Photographs by Erik Akpedonu, 01-31-2015.
- 3 Images courtesy of the American Historical Collection, Rizal Library.
- 4 Photograph by Erik Akpedonu, 01-31-2015.
- 5 (Left) Photograph by Erik Akpedonu, 01-20-2007. (Center) Image courtesy of: Shizhao. *Fragrant Hills-pagoda*. 03-20-2006. CC BY-SA 1.0. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/49/Fragrant_Hills-pagoda.JPG. Accessed 06-22-2017. Image cropped. (Right) Image courtesy of: Institute of Philippine Culture, 01-17-2010
- 6 Image courtesy of the Institute of Philippine Culture, 02-14-2009.
- 7 (Left) Image courtesy of the Institute of Philippine Culture, 11-13-2008. (Right) Photograph by Erik Akpedonu, 05-23-2009.
- 8 (Left) Image courtesy of: Fg2. *Takamatsu-Castle-Building-Interior*. 12-31-2005. Public Domain. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e1/Takamatsu-Castle-Building-Interior-M3488.jpg>. Accessed 06-22-2017. (Right) Photograph by Erik Akpedonu, 09-24-2016.
- 9 Images courtesy of the American Historical Collection, Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University.
- 10 (Left) Image courtesy of the Institute of Philippine Culture. (Right) Image courtesy of the American Historical Collection, Rizal Library.
- 11 Image Source: Unknown. Filipino *Ilustrados* in Madrid (ca.1890). 03-27-2010 (original upload date). Public Domain. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/74/Ilustrados_1890.jpg. Accessed 06-22-2017. (from Reyes Racquel, Love, Passion and Patriotism, Filipiniana Section, Philippine National Library)
- 12 Images courtesy of the Institute of Philippine Culture, 07-26-2008 (Left);11-09-2008 (Right).
- 13 Images courtesy of the Institute of Philippine Culture, 12-06-2008 (Left); 01-20-2009 (Right).
- 14 Photograph by Erik Akpedonu, 09-30-2016.
- 15 Images courtesy of the Institute of Philippine Culture, 03-09-2012 (Left); 02-19-2011 (Right).
- 16 Images courtesy of the Institute of Philippine Culture, 11-09-2008 (Left); 01-20-2009 (Right).

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