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# Childrearing Practices in the Philippines and Japan

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Childrearing practices vary from culture to culture, influenced by a myriad of factors that include environment, education, income, family structure, religion and many others. Trends in childrearing differ even among people of the same culture in different economic and environmental situations. Thus, childrearing in urban and rural areas in the same country may be very dissimilar. Infant and childhood behavior and development are affected by parental expectations, caretaking, and childrearing practices. The different persons the young child is exposed to during the developmental process, and the various stimuli presented to it exert a tremendous effect on its outcome. There are no universally-set uniform rules on childrearing. Different nationalities have varied perspectives on what are considered positive or negative behavior traits in children. Some culture traits are valued differently, as can be seen in the importance of punctuality among the Japanese, and hospitality among Filipinos, hence, the emphasis given to these values, when bringing up the Japanese and Filipino child respectively. Because of the growing changes of modernization and technology, childrearing practices have undergone much change over time, so that traditional patterns are now giving way to more liberal and less restrictive attitudes.

In the Philippines, economic difficulties in the past two decades have driven its nationals to foreign lands in search of better opportunities. Seemingly endless queues at foreign embassies of Filipinos wishing to migrate, or get employment abroad, attest to this. From all levels of society—professionals, skilled workers, unskilled laborers, men and women alike, want to try their luck in the industrialized countries. Among the top five countries of destination of Filipinos, Japan ranks second. From 1989 to 1993, there were 20,264 fiancées or

spouses of Japanese nationals, most of them working as entertainers (Philippine Embassy in Tokyo 1994). These marriages or relationships mainly between Filipino women and Japanese men have brought about an increasing number of cross-cultural offsprings, the Filipino-Japanese children, sometimes referred to as *Japinos*. Concerns on how these children are brought up led to this study.

This study was done to investigate childrearing of Filipino-Japanese children in terms of care-taking, feeding, discipline, education, health and medical supervision as compared to Filipino and Japanese childrearing patterns to analyze if these practices are influenced by place of residence, occupation, age, education, and religion. A prerequisite for the study is a good background knowledge of Filipino and Japanese cultures as they relate to childrearing.

This is a purely descriptive study, carried out by means of a questionnaire and interviews. Questions were on the following: 1) socio-demographic data—age, residence, age at marriage, married or not, religion, education, occupation, income, number and age of children, other persons in the household, and most powerful authority; and 2) data on children and on childrearing—feeding, weaning, caretaker, play, education, discipline, health beliefs and practices, including folk beliefs and superstitious practices.

Respondents from the Philippines were from the National Capital Region representing urban Filipinos, and from Samar in Eastern Visayas, and Palawan in Western Philippines, the two latter areas representing rural Filipinos. The authors visited both areas and were assisted by local professors and teachers. For our Japanese respondents, we were limited by language constraints, and had to be assisted by a former student of Leslie E. Bauzon at the University of Tsukuba and Japanese professor-friends, who both translated the questionnaire in Japanese, and did most of the administration and the interviews. Urban Japanese were represented from Kyoto City and Tsukuba City, while rural Japanese came from some village areas of Kyoto and Ibaraki prefectures.

Filipino-Japanese children were from the National Capital Region, mainly Manila, representing urban Filipino-Japanese, while the rural Filipino-Japanese were from Tozawa village of Yamagata. Convenience sampling was done because of the limited number of Filipino-Japanese children identified to be easily available for the purpose of the study. Families with a parent in the medical or allied medical professions were excluded. Informal interviews with Filipino and Japanese friends

were done to discuss changes in family life and childrearing patterns noted over time.

Subjects were classified as Filipinos, urban/rural, Japanese, urban/rural, and Filipino-Japanese urban (based in the Philippines NCR) and Filipino-Japanese rural (based in Yamagata, Japan). A total of 130 respondents answered the questionnaire but seventeen were excluded because of incomplete answers.

Table 1. Categories of Respondents

Categories	No.	%
Filipino rural	33	29.2
Filipino urban	20	17.7
Fil-Japan rural	11	9.7
Fil-Japan urban	16	14.2
Japanese rural	17	15.0
Japanese urban	16	14.0
Total	113	100.0

## Parents

Filipino fathers' ages ranged from nineteen to sixty-three, with 73 percent aged thirty to forty-four. Japanese fathers' ages ranged from twenty-five to fifty-nine, but unlike the Filipinos, there was no clustering of ages, with an almost even distribution in the different age groups. Filipino mothers' ages ranged from eighteen to fifty-six, almost equally distributed in the different age groups until age forty-five. Japanese mothers' ages range was twenty-five to fifty-six, relatively older and almost similarly distributed in the age groups thirty-two to forty-nine.

Median fathers' age was thirty-nine for Filipinos, forty-two for the Japanese married to a Filipino, and forty-five for Japanese. Median mothers' age was thirty-three for Filipinos, thirty-two for the Filipino married to Japanese, and forty-two for the Japanese (see table 2).

Further comparison of the ages shows that Japanese fathers and mothers are older than the Filipinos; the age gap between the fathers and mothers for Filipinos was six years, for Japanese was three years, but very wide for the Japanese and Filipino couple, at ten years (see table 3).

Table 2. Age of Fathers and Mothers

	Filipino	Fil-Japan	Japanese
Fathers:			
Range	19-63	24-54	25-59
Median	39	42	45
Mothers:			
Range	18-56	20-44	25-56
Median	33	32	42

Table 3. Average Age at Marriage

Media age at marriage	Filipino	Japanese
Men	24	27
Women	22	25

It is important to note the older age at marriage of both Japanese men and women compared to Filipinos. In the rural areas, 29 percent of the Filipino women got married at eighteen to nineteen years, 32 percent at twenty to twenty-four years. No Japanese male or female in our sample got married below the age of twenty. In rural Yamagata, 46 percent of the mothers married young, at eighteen to nineteen years while most of those based in the Philippines married at twenty to twenty-four years.

Filipino couples in the rural areas were all married, compared to 90 percent in the urban areas. In Japan, all the respondents were married to their partners, including those with Filipino wives in rural Yamagata. Of the Filipino women, with Japanese partners but who are staying mostly in the Philippines, 25 percent were not married, which makes one surmise that they may just be mistresses.

Table 4. Civil Status (% Married)

Filipino rural	100
Filipino urban	90
Fil-Japan rural	100
Fil-Japan urban	75
Japanese rural	100
Japanese urban	100

Majority of the respondents (88 percent) had their own homes, while 21 percent stayed in rented apartments.

For all father respondents, majority (57.5 percent) were college graduates, 36 percent high school, and 3.5 percent elementary; there were two MA/Ph.D's at 1.7 percent. Analyzing the different categories, there was a statistically significant difference between the urban and the rural fathers ( $p .000$ ) among Filipinos for college and high school education and among Japanese for high school but not between the college-educated Filipinos and Japanese ( $p 0.413$ ). An important finding was among the Japanese husbands of the Filipinos in rural Yamagata, who were 100 percent high school educated. The Japanese partners of the Filipinos based in the Philippines were 75 percent high school graduates, and 25 percent had college education.

Table 5. Father's Educational Attainment

Education	Filipino (rural)	Filipino (urban)	Fil-Japan (rural)	Fil-Japan (urban)	Japanese (rural)	Japanese (urban)	Total	%
None	1(3%)						1	0.8
Elem	4(12.1%)						4	3.5
HS	10(30.3%)	2(10%)	11(100%)	12(75%)	4(23.5%)	2(12.5%)	41	36.3
College	17(51.5%)	18(90%)		4(25%)	13(76.5%)	13(81.2%)	65	57.5
MA/Ph.D.	1(.88%)					1(6.3%)	2	1.7
Total	33	20	11	16	17	16	113	100.0

For all respondent mothers, college education was at 60.2 percent, slightly higher than fathers at 57.5 percent. Both urban Filipino and Japanese mothers were mostly college-educated, at 90 percent and 81 percent respectively. However, even the rural mothers were highly educated, with 64 percent of rural Filipinos and 65 percent rural Japanese having college education. Noteworthy is the finding that the Filipino partners of Japanese men both in the Philippines and in Japan were mostly high school educated. Again, differences between the urban and the rural were statistically significant at  $p .003$ , but not between Filipinos and Japanese at  $p 0.229$ .

The fathers' occupations were very varied, with clerks at 43 percent, businessmen at 27 percent, professionals at 16 percent, and farmers, fishermen or factory workers at 8 percent. Japanese husbands of Filipinos based in the Philippines were mostly businessmen at 56 percent, while husbands of Filipinos based in rural Japan were clerks (30 per-

Table 6. Mother's Educational Attainment

Education	Filipino (rural)	Filipino (urban)	Fil-Japan (rural)	Fil-Japan (urban)	Japanese (rural)	Japanese (urban)	Total	%
None	3(9%)						3	2.6
Elem	4(12.1%)		1(9.1%)	3(16.8%)			8	7.1
HS	(12.1%)	2(10%)	7(63.6%)	11(68.8%)	6(35.3%)	3(18.7%)	33	29.2
College	21(63/6%)	18(90%)	3(27.3%)	2(12.5%)	11(64.7%)	13(81.3%)	68	60.2
MA/Ph.D.	1(3.0%)							.9
Total	33	20	11	16	17	16	113	100.0

cent), businessmen (20 percent), farmers (10 percent), craft and related workers (30 percent), and laborers or construction workers (10 percent). About half of our mothers in all categories except for the Filipino wives in Yamagata, were not working outside their homes. In Yamagata, 67 percent of the mothers were employed: 33 percent as clerks, 22 percent as service and shop market salespersons. For all categories, professionals only numbered 14 or 12.4 percent.

A majority of the respondents had one to two children (58 percent), while 35 percent had three to four children. Except for the rural Japanese, all categories with Japanese fathers had only one to two children. About half of the rural Japanese had one to two children, and the other half had three to four children. None of the Japanese, not even those married to Filipinos, had more than four children, unlike Filipinos, who had five to six children, especially those from the rural areas (21 percent). Most Filipino fathers favored three to four children (average of 43 percent); 29 percent wanted only one to two children, but some rural fathers (13 percent) preferred to have five to six and there was one who wanted seven to eight. There was only one Japanese who wanted five to six children and nobody wanted to have seven to eight.

Mothers' desired number of children ran parallel to those of the fathers' with almost identical responses, although there were slightly more mothers favoring only one to two children.

Income was specifically different between the Filipinos and the Japanese because 88 percent of the Japanese fathers had incomes more than the yen equivalent of P20,000 (US \$500). Only 55 percent urban Filipinos were in the same income bracket, but those from the rural areas had much lower income, with 53 percent earning less than P5,000 a month. Mothers, about half of whom were working, earned

less than their husbands. There were also some high income earners: 20 percent of urban Filipino mothers, and 25 percent of rural Japanese mothers had incomes of more than P20,000 per month.

For all Filipino and Japanese couple categories, the father was the power figure in more than 50 percent, higher at 67 percent for the Japanese than the Filipinos at 52 percent. The mother was cited as the powerful figure in 12 percent of Filipino families, against 3 percent in Japanese families. Further analysis of our six categories of couples showed that the father's authority seems to be diminishing in the urban areas in the Philippines at 45 percent; in urban Japan, the father is still the authority figure at 65 percent. Among rural Filipino couples, there is more joint decision making. The paternal grandfather, when present in the household, is also a powerful figure in the Philippines, more than the grandmother.

The Philippines is predominantly a Christian country, with about 85 percent of its population Roman Catholic; the Filipino respondents were 81 percent Catholic, the rest being Protestants or adherents of Islam. The Japanese respondents were 47 percent Buddhist, the rest claiming to have no religion.

## Children

All Filipino-Japanese children based in Yamagata were born in Japan. Of the sixteen Filipino-Japanese children based in the Philippines, all except one was born in the Philippines. Breastfeeding was highest for Japanese couples at 100 percent, 91 percent among Filipino couples, and 70 percent among Filipinos married to Japanese. It was higher among urban Filipinos at 95 percent, than among the rural Filipinos at 88 percent, and lowest for the Filipino mothers in Yamagata, at 64 percent.

Very few mothers started solids at two to three months; at age four months, 18 percent of the mothers started solids; the highest percentage was among the urban Filipinos, at 45 percent. By age six months, 80 percent of Filipino babies were already on solids, compared to Japanese infants, about half of whom were not taking solids yet. A sizeable number of Japanese mothers (19 percent) introduced solids only at eight months.

Solid foods given to the infants were ranked by decreasing frequency among the three categories of Filipino, Filipino-Japanese, and Japanese:



Solids: <u>Filipino</u>	<u>Filipino-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
cereals	cereals	vegetables
fruits	vegetables	cereals
vegetables	fruits	fruits
porridge	mixed foods	porridge
prepared foods		rice
baby foods		soup
eggs		eggs
rice		white food
soup		bread
bread		baby foods

The mother is the acknowledged disciplinarian both in the Philippines and in Japan: 100 percent in rural Yamagata where the mother is a Filipino, and 100 percent among rural Japanese. Among Filipino couples, the father is also considered a disciplinarian together with the wife, although the husband endorses this to the wife as one of her responsibilities. In a few occasions, the grandfather is also consulted regarding discipline.

When the children are small and not yet of school age, informal education is done at home. While it was the mother who was the main source of education at 100 percent for urban Filipinos and Philippine-based Filipino wife, it was 77 to 90 percent in the other categories. The father was a joint source in 13–50 percent. The nursemaid or *yaya* in the Philippines, and other relatives also taught the children by as much as 50 percent among urban Filipinos.

Japanese mothers bring their babies to the doctor (100 percent) and the father goes with them 13 percent of the time. This is also true for the Filipino mothers based in Japan (100 percent), who are joined by the father 33 percent of the time. In the Philippines, the mother brings the child 90 percent of the time, more often with the husband (51 percent). In 5 percent of the Filipino couples, and 8 percent of the Filipino with a Japanese partner based in the Philippines, the nursemaid (*yaya*) accompanies the child to the doctor. There were more visits made regularly by Filipino mothers, including those based in Yamagata, at 81–90 percent. Among the Japanese mothers, the lowest percentage for regular visits to the pediatrician was among the urban-based at 24 percent, but higher in the rural, at 69 percent. There was a higher vaccination rate for children of Filipino mothers, including those based in rural Japan, at 75–100 percent. Japanese babies are not as frequently brought to the doctor for vaccination.

All six categories of couples still believed in and practiced physical punishment as a form of discipline, but to varying degrees: highest for rural Filipinos (79 percent) and rural Japanese (75 percent), and the two lowest for the Filipino-Japanese couple in Yamagata (46 percent), and urban Japan (35 percent).

Cases of the child being allowed to explain in case of perceived wrongdoing were the lowest at 73 percent (Filipino-Japanese in Yamagata), and the highest at 94 percent among the urban Japanese.

In all six categories of couples, there were varying numbers of other persons staying with them in the house. The Filipino-Japanese couple in Yamagata stayed with the paternal grandparents in 40 percent, while the Filipino with a Japanese partner based in the Philippines was staying with the maternal grandparents. The rural Japanese had more relatives staying with them. This means that the custom of "three generations under one roof" is still strong among the rural Japanese like in Yamagata.

In all categories, the child was allowed to play with toys and less frequently with games. There is a statistically significant difference in the child's exposure to books, which was highest among the Japanese rural (94 percent), lowest for the Filipino child in Yamagata (30 percent). With toys, however, the scores were all very high, but highest for the children of the Filipino-Japanese based in the Philippines and in Yamagata, both at 100 percent.

Purely Japanese children were taught only Japanese, while Filipino children were also taught English and spoken to in English, 15 percent in rural, and 30 percent in urban homes. The Filipino-Japanese child was taught 3 languages: Japanese (100 percent in rural, 81 percent in the Philippines), English, 36 percent rural and 13 percent urban, and Tagalog. Those from the rural areas were also taught the local dialect.

All six categories had positive responses regarding folk beliefs and superstitions. There was however no definite trend because although the urban Filipinos were the least believers at 30 percent, and the Filipinos based in rural Japan the highest at 82 percent, 50 percent of rural Filipinos believed in superstition. In Japan, there were more believers in urban Japan (53 percent) than in rural Japan (44 percent).

It is surprising that many Filipinos, even those from the urban areas, believe that *usog* (taken a liking to) or *pilay* (pulled muscles or broken bone) may cause illness, like fever or incessant crying. The Filipino-Japanese were the greatest believers, 82 percent rural, and 94 percent urban.

## The Filipino Family

Personality traits ascribed to specific nationalities are deeply related to their culture, to what they value, and to what they deem important. These traits are acquired from the first days of life. Some are transmitted biologically to the unborn by genetics; some are effects of the immediate environment which include the manner of childrearing. The manner of childrearing itself varies among families, just as the family also has undergone so many changes over the past centuries. For the purpose of understanding the culture traits of the Filipinos and the Japanese, it is warranted that their history and traditions as they may affect the child's development are traced and studied.

Long before the Spaniards came and conquered the Philippines in the sixteenth century, the inhabitants were organized in small units called *barangays* consisting of a cluster of 30 to 100 families. There was a strict social hierarchy within the *barangay*, from the chief called *datu*, the *maharlika* or nobles, the freemen or commoners (*timaguas*), to the lowest class of *alipins*, the slaves. Members of the different classes chose spouses from within their own groups, although marriage was allowed between slaves and freemen so long as the slave would pay the bride's father a dowry before marriage. Polygamy was allowed but not widespread. Divorce was permitted in early pre-Hispanic society. A council made up of relatives of the husband and the wife decided which party was to blame. If it was decided that it was the husband who was at fault, then the dowry stayed with the wife and her family. If the wife was at fault, the dowry had to be returned to the husband's family. Children were divided equally between the separating parents. Couples then did not have too many children because early Filipinos believed it was a disgrace to have too many children. Birth control, abortions, and infanticides were common practices. After the divorce, each party was permitted to remarry (Bauzon 1996).

The Filipino family was of the patriarchal type, with the father as ruler, exercising all powers of legislative, executive, and judiciary. Family discipline was highly regarded, and the father was to be obeyed and respected. Children were brought up fearing their parents, especially their fathers. Children never called their parents by their names, not even when they were dead. Because of the father's tremendous power as head of the family, marriage was entered into by the younger members of the household only with his consent. Marriage was considered an entire family's affair. Both families of the prospective bride

and groom had to approve of the intended partner. In most occasions, marriages were arranged and the couples had to accede to their elders' wishes.

In the pre-Hispanic times, virginity was not considered a virtue of women. Hospitality was even then already a very strong trait, and women were offered to guests during their stay. Women who committed adultery then were not considered to have misbehaved; the wife's lover was just asked to pay a fine. If the husband would decide to leave her because of her adultery, she had to return double the amount of her dowry. However, wives were considered as co-equals in many areas. Women had much influence within the family, and the husband would usually side with the wife's family in a disagreement with his own relatives. They inherited equal shares with the husband, and could even be chieftains in their own right. The mother held a position of trust and the respect of her husband and children. The husband trusted her with the care of the children, and management of the family funds. The property she brought into marriage was her own and she could dispose of it freely. Especially among the Tagalogs, the husband and the wife had definite charge of their own individual properties.

Spanish colonization of the Philippines from 1565 to 1898 resulted in a profound influence on Philippine culture and society. One major influence was in the field of religion, the introduction of Roman Catholicism, and this is evidenced by the presence of Catholic churches in almost all towns in the Archipelago, and by the predominantly Catholic population (about 85 percent). The Spanish missionaries were able to reach the natives through their children in schools, where they were taught catechism in addition to reading, writing, arithmetic, and music. They were trained to act as acolytes, and sang in church choirs. The older children were sent to the villages to teach Christian doctrine and prayer. The priests also made sure that children of prominent families were among their students, because of the strong influence of the *datu* on the community.

Filipinos are deeply religious, and turn towards their Roman Catholic faith for spiritual assurance and guidance, and upliftment from their economic and physical hardships. They follow the teachings of the Church to guide their personal behavior. Christians are expected to uphold the sanctity and indissolubility of marriage. Philippine statutes prohibit bigamy and polygamy, and do not allow divorce. Because of their belief in the afterlife of the soul, the idea of rewards and punishment drives them strongly to be morally upright in this life.

The Philippines was under American rule from 1898 to 1942, and 1945 to 1946, the interregnum being under Japanese military rule. As in the Spanish colonial policy, American political administration had no accommodation for women. Suffrage was granted first to propertied and monied men, then to the rest of the male population after a few years. It was only in 1937 that women were allowed to exercise suffrage, and only after they had aggressively worked for it. Manufacturing was significantly developed so that by 1918, there were about 5,239 factories and industrial establishments, including sugar and rice mills. There was inter- and intra-regional movement among the population, and Manila saw a substantial influx of people from the provinces (Eviota 1989). About 30 percent of the female population above ten years old were gainfully employed, which suggests that the majority of women were engaged primarily in housekeeping.

During the American period also, parents had less control over the timing of their children's marriages and mate selection. The Church and State were now separated but religious forces were not necessarily less powerful in regulating women's lives. American missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, had a significant influence on legislation. American education and cultural practice had definite effects on the sexual and social behavior of women. There was concern over the loss of Filipino women's inherent virtues, and the increased popularity of liberal Western notions which included women's participation in sports, coeducation, and beauty contests. Women were now involved in the industry, the professions, and social concerns. Monogamy was the typical marriage arrangement which showed that the Christian ideal of matrimony was taking effect, although the practice of having mistresses (*querida*) was quite common, which was more usual also in Spain. By the end of the American period, the economic situation of women had changed; they had less outside employment and were just occupied by housekeeping.

The Filipino family of today has undergone a lot of changes brought about by the forces of modernization and urbanization. It is plagued with many economic difficulties made more difficult by over population and underemployment. There is an ever-increasing rate of migration or overseas employment. Not only males, but also females work abroad, thus creating a threat to the stability of the family. There has been noted a steady decrease in the average household size in the Philippines. There was an initial increase from 4.7 persons in 1903 to 6.1 in 1973; from thereon there was a steady decline to 5.6 in 1980.

From 1980 up to the present time, the size has been noted to still be decreasing to five or even four in urban areas. When children are viewed as an economic advantage, as in rural areas with agriculture as the main livelihood, then they have more children and the household size becomes bigger. In the present economic crisis however, although children are viewed as gifts from God and a big source of joy and happiness, couples worry over the financial cost of pregnancy, delivery, childrearing and education, not to mention the physical burden and a hindrance to the working wife. It is frequent in the urban areas to have a bigger household when the mother has to work, and it becomes necessary for other relatives to stay with them to watch over the small children. There is then a shift from the nuclear family to an extended family system. Sometimes too, the parents of the couple opt to stay with them because they are economically better-off than those in the rural areas.

As to marriage patterns, previous censuses provide us with data that show that the average age at marriage for the Filipino was rising, from 20.9 years in 1903 to 23.2 in 1975 and 22.4 in 1980. There has been an almost steady marrying age since then, because our Filipino mothers married on the average at twenty-two. For men, the age at marriage has almost been unchanged from twenty-five years in 1975, to twenty-four among our Filipino fathers in this study. Education and a successful career tend to delay marriage among the females and may increase their chances of staying single.

There is a strong preference for newly-married couples to live independently from their parents, but experience over the years show that many stay with the parents initially and decide to live on their own only when they earn enough.

The Filipino family has been said to be patriarchal, however, some say it is matriarchal, while others insist it is egalitarian. These may all be correct, depending on what domain is being referred to. Important matters on livelihood and support are the husband's; household matters such as domestic chores, housekeeping, financial concerns, and childrearing are usually the wife's domain. Matters of joint concern involve major problems of working abroad, purchasing or building a house, or making huge investments, and family planning. These were proven true in this study.

The traditional role of the father is to provide economic, emotional, and physical support. He is expected to be morally good, faithful to his wife, and to enforce discipline to his children, and take charge of

house repairs. The wife is expected to be a good manager, a religious person, a loving and loyal partner of her husband, a good mother who rears their children properly. She is also expected to make sacrifices, suffer in silence, and endure her husband's drinking, gambling, or womanizing. The 1980's however saw the changing roles of the wife, from the traditional wife/mother role, to a companion role where she has more privileges such as funds for recreation and shared pleasures with the husband, or the partner role, where the wife has economic independence, and equal division of responsibilities with the husband (Medina 1981).

Even when she has a job, the Filipino wife does not relinquish her traditional role as homemaker and household manager. She may however delegate some functions to domestic helpers, such as cooking, laundry, and housecleaning, sometimes including childrearing or caretaking. When there are grandparents in the household, then they usually take over childrearing. Most husbands, if they had a choice, would prefer that the wife stay home and personally attend to the family's needs. Sometimes, a working wife becomes a threat to her husband's *macho* image and may lessen his prestige.

In the process of childrearing, the family prepares each member for his role in the community and in the society by transmitting proper values to the child. Values refer to the standards of evaluation that people use to view objects, ideas or actions as desirable or undesirable, right or wrong, appropriate or inappropriate. They are guides to human behavior (Mendez 1983). Among the important values are: respect and obedience for elders; modesty and proper behavior; responsibility such as helping parents or siblings; friendliness; human concern and interaction with others or *pakikisama*; reciprocal relationship; close kinship ties shown in participation in family activities; commitment and conviction, *paninindigan*; Filipino hospitality to the extent of going overboard in the treatment of guests; desire for education; and a sense of gratitude, called *utang na loob*, or a reciprocal feeling of obligation between two persons. Other Filipino values that are not as desirable are dependency, often carried into adulthood; shyness or *hiya*, a feeling of low self-esteem; and colonial mentality, the Filipino attitude of having a preference for foreign things and ideas or consumer goods (Jocano 1988).

To enforce the teaching or transmission of these values to the small child, authoritarianism was the rule. Physical punishment in different forms, from scolding or tongue-lashing, threatening, spanking, pinch-

ing, ear pulling, and sometimes, whipping were resorted to. There are however contrasting childrearing practices between the traditional authoritarian parents and the younger parents of today who are more liberal, and more conscious of children's rights. In contrast to the authoritarian upbringing which consists of prohibitions and constant admonitions for the child to stop touching, clowning, jumping or talking, climbing or running around, the more liberal parents tend to be responsive, indulgent and overprotective. They give constant attention and hardly make any demands on the children. Food, toys, and other rewards are promised to pacify the child. Among the lower-income families, children are sent on errands, or are asked to assist in household tasks. Older children are asked to help financially, giving rise to cases of child labor or even child exploitation.

In the rearing of the Filipino child, control of aggressive behavior is emphasized. Children should be able to control their anger without striking out at others, especially towards their parents or elders (Licuanan 1979; Guthrie and Jacobs 1966; Nydegger and Nydegger 1963). According to Guthrie and Jacobs, it is not the anger itself that is undesirable, but the manner of expressing it. Children are also encouraged to be unselfish, to share food and toys with others, and help younger siblings (Guthrie and Jacobs 1966; Nydegger and Nydegger 1963). Love of God and trust in God are inculcated (Licuanan 1979; Porio et al 1978). Parents and teachers emphasize the value of prayer and keeping God's word by obeying His commandments, especially in religious schools. As to sibling interaction, the hierarchy of authority in the family dictates obedience to older brothers and sisters. The oldest child takes the place of the parents who are absent or no longer living. The older siblings take it upon themselves to look after the younger ones, to the point of making a lot of personal sacrifices just to support them.

### The Japanese Family

It is essential to include historical changes in Japanese children because child development is influenced by societal changes and events. The Japanese of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries believed and continue to believe in the supernatural, that a child is closely related to *kami*, supernatural beings or spirits, until the seventh birthday. In Shinto ceremonies, children under seven years old were given impor-



tant roles as mediators between the sacred and profane worlds (T. Iwamoto 1956). If a child under seven years of age died, he or she was treated differently from that of an older child, since the soul could return to the other world and prepare for rebirth. Children under seven were treated with respect and awe. *Mabiki*, or infanticide of baby girls, the physically deformed, one of twins, or those born in a bad calendar year, was not considered murder, because of the belief in rebirth (Tsuboi 1971). These supernatural beliefs have continued to strongly affect child development.

During the Tokugawa (Edo) era (1600–1867), there were several publications on childrearing and medicine. One belief that persists until today is *taikyō*, which refers to teaching and disciplining a child even before birth. Because of this belief, mothers know the importance of providing a good prenatal environment. Upper class women married earlier to bear more sons who would continue the family line. The Japanese were and are obsessed with keeping their bloodlines alive as well as in perpetuity. Infanticide though was widely practiced to control the number of children due to poverty; rural families then only had three or four children.

Mothers were considered to be the primary caregivers (Yamakawa 1943) and there was a close physical mother-child relationship (Minagawa 1985). This physical bonding was engendered by the use of the *onbu*, a kind of back strap that allows the mother to carry her baby on her back while freeing her hands to do household chores. Birth order was considered important; first sons, who were designated as family heirs, had preferential treatment. The first seven years of life were considered as the first half of childhood, and the second half was said to last until fourteen or fifteen years (Yuhki 1977). Most fifteen year-olds in the Tokugawa era were already working for their parents or employers. In the late Tokugawa period, about 40 percent of Japanese boys and 10 percent of Japanese girls had some kind of formal education outside the home (Dore 1965), provided particularly by the *terakoya* or Buddhist temple schools. Children were allowed to play and work at the same time that they were given education and taught discipline. Childrearing and formal education were flexible. In education, the philosophy was to let the children learn, rather than teach them (Hara 1979), so that the skills needed for adult occupation were learned gradually, by playfully repeating bodily motions and verbal behavior. Basic Tokugawa attitudes and childrearing practices have persisted.

In the 1970s, the ideal number of children desired decreased from three to two. Family size was limited because of the need to provide the basic necessities such as food, clothing and housing, children's health and education, and protecting the mother's health. Japanese views on children during the modern era changed. Children at first were considered as human resources to develop the nation; the second view incorporated a Western and humanistic philosophy of childhood and emphasized human rights for children, while the third view consisted of devotion and tolerance toward babies and children. An activity called *Akambo Tenrankai* or Annual Baby Exhibition advocated raising big and strong children (Nishiyama 1918). Winners of such healthy baby contests were found to have been breastfed on a timed schedule, and were lightly dressed. Child health and welfare were actively promoted and after the Meiji Restoration in 1867, the government prohibited the sale of abortion-inducing drugs and the performance of abortion by midwives. The place of childbirth also changed, from the private homes in 1935 to the 1960s, to hospitals after 1960. By 1970, 96 percent of all births occurred in hospitals.

In 1934, the Japanese government established the *Onshi-Zaidan Boshi Alikukai* (Imperial Gift Foundation for Maternal and Children's Health and Welfare) to commemorate the birth of Prince Akihito. It standardized checklists of physical and mental growth processes for pediatric examinations (Ushijima 1938) and carried out nationwide surveys concerning childrearing customs. In 1943 the Health Ministry began to issue a maternity book for pregnant women who registered for medical check-ups and rations of food and clothing. In 1966, the mother-child health record book was first issued to record pregnancy checkups, baby's physical condition, and progress in vocal, motor and social abilities. This book (*Boshi Teco*) also serves as a record for immunizations and child growth until the age of six years. It shows the strong involvement of the modern Japanese government in children's growth and development. In the 1960's, the Japanese wanted big and beautiful babies, but because of the deterioration of the health of schoolchildren, this thinking was stopped and baby contests were no longer held. Since then, small babies and children were preferred.

In the modern era, there still exist many traditional beliefs and practices inherited from the Tokugawa period. Help is still sought from supernatural powers for an easy delivery and a healthy baby. In the first month of a baby's life, the parents and/or the grandparents bring the baby to a Shinto shrine to report the birth and thank the gods. The

so called *hinoeuma*, the year of the horse, and the solar element of fire, is a sexagenary cycle that combines a cycle of twelve animals with a cycle of five solar/lunar elements. The Japanese have long believed that women born in the year of hinoeuma are strong-minded, a hindrance to their husbands' occupation, do not make good housewives, and outlive their husbands. In 1906 and in 1966, the years of the hinoeuma, the birth rate dropped, in fear of hinoeuma girls. In the 1970s, several statues were erected at Buddhist temples to pacify the souls of aborted fetuses. Even a pediatrician, Michio Matsuda, recommended traditional ways of childrearing in a book she published, *Japanese Ways of Childrearing* (1964). The book has a strong impact, considering that a medical authority representing medical science advocated and believed in superstition (Matsuda 1978).

Marriage in Japan is between two households of more or less equal social standing. The woman is considered less important than the man. The parent-child relationship is considered more important than the husband-wife relationship. It is not easy for a daughter-in-law to fit into her new family. The grandparents, particularly the grandmother, take care of the grandchildren, and are more indulgent with them. In general, the woman is subordinate to the man's family and is at their beck and call.

The traditional Japanese family has undergone many changes. The rapid growth of the Japanese economy resulted in fewer persons engaged in agriculture. Manufacturing and service sectors caused rural-urban migration. Husbands prefer white-collar jobs in urban centers and come home only during weekends. In many instances, husbands are assigned in far places and are able to see their families only during special occasions. In places like Tsukuba City, one observes the phenomenon of husbands living alone in apartments and surviving on *obento* or packed meals readily available in convenience stores open for twenty-four hours, while their families live in Tokyo or other faraway cities.

For the Japanese men who stay in the rural areas to continue farming, it has become very difficult for them to find Japanese wives. The women now enjoy more social and economic independence. They prefer to acquire higher educational degrees and pursue their careers and stay in the urban centers such as Tokyo and Osaka. Moreover, young Japanese women now prefer to stay single or delay marriage until they reach the age of thirty. The search for brides for the rural Japanese

men therefore has extended far beyond Japanese shores, notably Korea, China and the Philippines.

Cross-cultural marriages between Filipinos and other nationals may occur through any of the following methods: meeting potential partners in social occasions or places of work; introduction by mutual friends, or pen pals; through mail-order bride services; through brokers, and most recently, through the Internet. For Korean, Chinese and Filipino women, arranged marriages are made mainly for economic reasons, to improve their present state of life. Filipino women are a favorite among foreign nationals because they are mostly pretty, industrious, modest, and are good housekeepers with good traditional values. Also, they speak English, and are willing to learn another language, as well as able to adjust to life in another society in the midst of rapid social, economic, political and technological change.

Filipino women choose to marry Americans as number one at 45 percent, followed by the Japanese at 29 percent, then Australians, Germans, Englishmen, and Canadians. Since the 1980s, Japan has been one of the top destinations of Filipino women who wish to work abroad, being quite near, highly-industrialized, and having a culture perceived to be not much different from that of the Philippines. In the five-year period from 1989 to 1993, there was a total of 20,264 Filipino-Japanese marriages (Embassy of the Philippines, Tokyo 1994). The Filipino women were mostly working as entertainers engaged in singing, dancing, or working in nightclubs. The outcome of these marriages is an interesting topic to investigate and there are no known published studies on such, although Ma. Rosario P. Ballescas, a Filipino sociologist, has published a small book on the Filipino entertainers as a group of overseas migrant workers in Japan (1992).

Cross-cultural marriages are beset with problems of adjustment with nationality, ethnic and class differences because of variations in customs, standards, points of view, ideas about women's roles, systems of family interaction, language, and other cultural traits (Medina 1975). This is not to mention climate and geography as well as economy. It is very common for such marriages to be very problematic at the start and to require much maturity and understanding from each party for the marriage to survive.

A study on maternal care and infant behavior among American and Japanese mothers by Caudill and Weinstein (1974) showed that with regard to the infant's biological needs, there were no differences

noted between the two cultures. The areas of similarity of the caretakers were those concerned with basic functions involved in the infant's biological needs for nutrition, elimination, and physical comfort. There was no difference in affectionate behavior, nor in playing with the baby, nor in time spent with the baby. Their difference in the manner of caregiving was that the American mother was more lively, spent more time looking at and chatting with the baby, and had a more stimulating approach to the baby. The Japanese mother's approach was more soothing and quieting, more of lulling and carrying. In protecting their respective babies from danger, both mothers placed their bodies between the source of danger and the babies except that the American mother faced the trouble with her baby behind while the Japanese mother turned her back while clutching the baby in front. By three to four months, a great deal of learning has taken place and at this age, the babies have learned to be Japanese or American in relation to their mothers' expectations. The conclusion was that culture is the most important difference in the behavior of infants and their caretakers. The patterns of behavior are learned early by the infant, and are congruent with the expectations for later development in the two cultures as the child becomes an adult. In the same study, Japanese mothers were seen to be more group-oriented, more self-effacing and passive, and more inclined to emotional feeling and interaction. They make use of many forms of non-verbal interaction in human relations through gestures and physical proximity. On the other hand, American mothers tend to be more independent, self-assertive, verbally communicative and aggressive.

Cross-cultural marriages between Filipinos and Japanese have reached significant proportions since the 1980's with the continuous daily departure of hundreds of Filipinas to work as entertainers in Japan, resulting in the growing number of Filipino-Japanese children. There are both similarities and differences between the two cultures regarding beliefs, attitudes and practices on family life and childrearing. Among the Filipinos and Japanese, the mother is the primary caregiver. In cases when the mother works outside her house, the child is left in the care of grandparents or relatives, or in the Philippines where labor is cheaper, in the care of the professional caregiver, called the *yaya*. The parents are highly educated in the urban areas and even in some rural areas in the Philippines whereas in Japan, all the fathers in rural Yamagata were high school graduates, and not a single one among our study sample who married Filipino

women had gone to college. This may be understood in the context of their being first sons and needed to stay in the village to succeed to their respective farm properties.

Based on this study, the father is still considered as the most powerful authority for both Filipinos and Japanese, but the percentage is only slightly more than half, with many respondents saying that authority is now shared by the father and the mother. In some cases, the younger and better-educated family member becomes the decision-maker and manager of the household. As to discipline, both Filipino and Japanese respondents said it is mostly the mother who is in charge of discipline. Physical punishment is still practiced to instill discipline, although less in the urban than in the rural areas. In schools, corporal punishment is done by some teachers in varying degrees to enforce rules and discipline. The incidence is higher in public than in private schools (Panlilio 1997). Among parents with higher educational attainment, physical punishment is not often resorted to. Reasoning, scolding, threatening or frightening the child is more often done especially to younger children. On the other hand, positive reinforcement of values by praise, special privileges and material rewards, is considered better.

Another similarity in the two cultures is the belief in superstition, myths, or folk beliefs and practices. Foremost among these is the belief that fever is due to *pilay*, or a fracture or bone dislocation; *bati*, or greeted by an evil spirit; or *usog*, when somebody takes a liking to the patient; or *kulam* (sorcery), when a witch is believed to have thrown a curse on him. There are superstitious or folk beliefs on almost anything so that there is now an encyclopedia of Filipino beliefs and customs totaling 7,999. Many such beliefs are harmless, but when related to health or illness, they delay access to scientific and effective medical attention. Among Filipinos, traditional healers are accepted health providers in the community. They are a source of cheap alternative medicine, using herbal cures, oil, prayers, or other rituals. They claim to have a cure for anything, although some acknowledge their limitations and send the patient to a physician if they realize that the patient is not improving. However, they may cause an illness to worsen because of the delay in the proper management, and the transmission of their wrong perceptions. A study by Aleli A. Quirante (1993) however shows that many Filipinos flock to faith healers because they are able to treat their patients with a personal touch and they have communication skills that convey a warm and caring attitude, in contrast to the

cold impersonal attitude of the physician. This may account for the popularity of charismatic divine healers like the late Ruben E. Ecleo of the Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association (PBMA) in San Jose, Dinagat Island, Surigao del Norte.

There are many similarities in the care of the child, particularly in infant feeding. Both the Filipino and Japanese mothers practice breastfeeding: 100 percent for Japanese mothers, and more than 90 percent for Filipino mothers. They give the same type of solids—cereals, fruits and vegetables initially to their infants; the Filipino mothers, at a slightly younger age of the infant, at four to six months, compared to the weaning age of the Japanese infant at six to eight months. Regarding play or entertainment for the child, play is allowed in the form of toys or games which could be physical games, or electronic games. Books are given early, especially to the Japanese child. This is evident in the impressive educational facilities provided by the Tozawa village in Yamagata prefecture, Northern Japan. Japanese children are also toughened early. For example in Matsushiro where Leslie E. Bauzon resided for three years in Tsukuba City, the kids were observed to wear only shorts even in the depths of winter.

Just as there are similarities, there are also some differences noted in the Japanese and Filipino families. The Japanese parents are older, marry at an older age, and have fewer children. About half had one to two, and the other half had three to four children, unlike the Filipino couples who had more, three to four, with a few who had five to six children. The income of the Japanese is definitely higher than that of the Filipinos but the cost of living is generally lower in the Philippines. It should be pointed out though that in the context of Japanese society and economy, the Yamagata families and most Japanese families for that matter are not rich and belong to the middle class. The most significant difference is in religion, with majority of Filipinos being Roman Catholic, compared to the Japanese with 47 percent Buddhist and the rest with no religion.

### **Filipino-Japanese Couples and their Children**

There are two categories of Filipino-Japanese couples in this study: the Filipino who is based in the National Capital Region whose husband is based in Japan but who comes to visit three to four times a year, each time staying for two to four weeks; and the Filipino-Japa-

nese couple staying in rural Yamagata. All Filipino-Japanese children stay with their mothers; in Yamagata, also with their Japanese fathers. In the Philippines, they stay with the maternal grandparents (44 percent), while in rural Japan, 62 percent stay with paternal grandparents.

The Filipino partner of the Japanese father has the following socio-demographic characteristics: Catholic, young (more than half are only eighteen to nineteen years old at the time of marriage, to a husband who is on the average ten years older), a high school education, and presently working and receiving a minimum monthly income. Those based in the Philippines stay with their parents, while those in rural Japan stay with the husband's parents, in keeping with Japanese traditional custom. About 25 percent of those in Manila are not married to their husbands. Their social beliefs, practices and customs are determined predominantly by their place of residence and those they are staying with. On the question of who is considered the authority in the household, the results parallel the findings in their place of residence: for those in the Philippines, it is 44 percent the father, the same percentage as for urban Philippines; for those in Yamagata, it is 64 percent the father, the same percentage for rural Japan. This may also be due to the fact that they live with the father in Yamagata, whereas in the Philippines, the father only visits occasionally. Filipino-Japanese couples in both these categories are believers of superstition and folk tales, more than those in the other six categories of subjects. The ones based in Yamagata are even slightly higher than their Manila counterparts. This shows that no matter where they are, old beliefs stay. The fact that the Japanese also believe in primal religion institutionalized in Shintoism and the supernatural is also an influencing factor. As to desired number of children, both categories of Filipino women wanted only one to two, which is more similar to the Japanese than to the Filipinos, who want to have three to four children.

The Filipino-Japanese child in the Philippines and in Japan is reared almost exactly the way any Filipino child is brought up, but with some modifications or additions of Japanese customs, beliefs and values. There is not much difference noted in the two cultures. The child is breastfed, taken care of by the mother, given weaning foods at almost the same age, the type of foods same as in the Philippines and in Japan, with only a slight difference in the order that the food is given. During the preschool years, the mother provides the education at home. The Filipino-Japanese child is taught to speak both Filipino and Japanese languages and some English, because the Filipino mother



speaks English. He is allowed to play; a very significant finding in the study is that this child is given toys, which are given more priority than books, in contrast to the urban Japanese, whose priority is books rather than toys. This can possibly be explained by the easy availability of beautiful and modern Japanese toys, and the family's capacity to buy them. If these Filipino mothers were in the Philippines without jobs or earning the minimum wage, they certainly would not be able to afford Japanese toys, which are quite expensive, by Philippine standards. Another factor to consider is that these mothers are young, and mostly high school graduates, and their priorities are not books, newsprint editions of which they can easily buy in the Philippines. The mother is the acknowledged disciplinarian especially in Japan, relatively less in the Philippines, where sometimes the responsibility is shared with the father or grandfather.

On the matter of health supervision, the Filipino-Japanese child is very fortunate. This is given top priority by the mother both in the Philippines and in Japan. More than 90 percent bring their children regularly to a pediatrician for preventive well-baby care, a figure which runs parallel to that of the urban Filipinos. They also value the need for immunization, and want their children to be given all the available vaccines, including the new expensive ones, which ordinarily many Filipinos would deem unaffordable. Superstitious beliefs and practices persist even for those who stay in Japan, but a majority of these beliefs are not harmful and they, in fact, even give psychic satisfaction and security. They should however be advised as to which beliefs or practices may aggravate an illness or cause delay in seeking medical attention.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

Cross-cultural marriages entail some problems of adjustment with nationality and class differences relating to traditions, customs, beliefs and values, at the same time that either spouse is adapting to the entirely different physical environment, weather, and language. Children of cross-cultural marriages are reared mostly in the way that the mother is familiar with. In matters where conflicts may arise because of cultural differences, an open mind on both sides, and their agreement to reach a reasonable compromise will help resolve problems in the child's upbringing. It is heartening to note the case of Yamagata, which has pioneered the intervention by the local government to help

its marriageable men find mates given the context of (1) growing rural-urban migration of Japanese women; (2) declining interest of Japanese women to marry farm-based Japanese men; (3) increasing tendency of Japanese women to acquire higher education and to independently pursue their own chosen careers; and (4) rising percentage of Japanese women refusing to marry and preferring to remain single; and given further the context of Yamagata still steeped in the tradition of "three generations under one roof" that emphasizes perpetuating bloodlines and keeping the property of the family intact to be consistent with the custom of primogeniture, passed on to the first son. The local and prefectural officials have also gone out their way to extend every possible assistance to the *gaikokujin hanayome* (foreign bride) to ease their adjustment to Japanese life in a socially conservative rural setting.

This assistance takes in many forms, such as (1) providing Nihongo lessons; (2) giving exposure to and training in the endearing aspects of Japanese culture and creativity such as tea ceremony, *ikebana* or flower arrangement, *bonsai* or dwarfed and pruned potted tree, *origami* or the art of paper folding; and the like; (3) extending instruction in Japanese culinary arts; (4) preparing a manual on the legal rights of foreign housewives in Japan; and (5) sponsoring events to promote multiculturalism and allow the *gaikokujin hanayome* to project their own ethnic and national cultures before the Japanese population. These indicate the openness of the local village and prefectural officials, and show how they are willing to go out of their way to dispel the notion propagated in the Philippine media that the foreign brides are "exploited." The Filipino housewives in Yamagata in particular are able to avail of these benefits and thus facilitate their process of fitting into the milieu they now find themselves in by virtue of their marriage to Japanese men.

It is clear that this trend of Filipino-Japanese marriages will continue and even increase given that both sides need each other. The Japanese rural men need the Filipino wives because they cannot find Japanese women willing to live in a farming village. This is illustrated by the typical case of one man who approached over twenty Japanese women one after the other through a *nakhudo* or traditional Japanese marriage intermediary but was rejected each time. Being in his late forties or early fifties already he was left with no choice but to seek a foreign bride. This need for a mate in turn is based on the greater social need to perpetuate bloodlines and to produce a male heir to inherit the

property intact within the family. By helping the males find mates for themselves, the local and prefectural governments in turn derive positive returns in the form of arresting the decline of their populations, preventing the decrease in their agricultural and economic productivity, and preserving their basic social institutions and traditions. And yet they are contributing towards transforming Japanese villages and towns into a multicultural environment where there is cultural and racial homogeneity. This is a trend with profound implications for Japanese society.

On the other hand, the Filipino housewives, based on their expectations of improving their quality of life as well as assisting their parents and siblings to obtain a more joyful and materially abundant existence, do need the Japanese men to become their husbands. As a matter of fact Japanese men have become very desirable as life partners among foreign women—including Western women—because of their perceived high earning capacity even if they tend to be stereotyped as cold, unfeeling husbands concerned only with keeping their workaholic habits.

It is very important to recognize this need for each other so that both sides will take steps to promote respect for one another based on equality and trust. To minimize friction, there must be a sustained effort by both sides to learn about each other's country of birth, and their respective cultures and histories, and there must be clear expectations about each other and what they are getting into. For example, Filipino women marrying Japanese men like those from the villages and townships of Yamagata must understand the persistence of the custom of "three generations under one roof," wherein the husband's mother and not the wife controls the pursestrings and wherein the husband usually sides with the mother rather than the wife in the event of a conflict due to the son's closeness to and even dependence upon the mother. The Filipino housewives in Yamagata were one in saying that they had difficulty accepting this reality in the beginning, given that they have been used to the idea of the wife being the keeper of the purse in the household. We believe though that since the Filipino housewives are living in Japan, it is incumbent upon them to adjust to Japanese customs and way of life, while at the same time coping with the basic conservatism of the Japanese dictating that the wife must be obedient to the husband congruent with the woman's subordinate role in relation to the man. Furthermore, the Filipino housewives must be able to realize that the Japanese still sharply dis-

tinguish themselves from the foreigners in their midst. This psychological attitude identifies and gives a low social status to *ainoko* or children of mixed Japanese and foreign descent. It is in this mental atmosphere, reinforced by social conventions and institutions, that they must raise their children, the benefits from and well meaning assistance of the local and prefectural government notwithstanding.

And yet it is also true that the Japanese men have the responsibility and the obligation to understand the economic and social background of the Filipino wives, wherein the more fortunate older siblings are expected to assist financially their hard-up parents and provide for the education of their younger siblings. The husbands must not look down on the Filipinos just because the latter are poorer economically, and should not look at the wives as mere providers of first sons to inherit the family property and continue the bloodlines. In other words, regardless of the mode by which they met each other—now it is personal referrals from their wives that is the preferred mode—after they have gotten married, they must learn to love each other until death do them part. After all, they need each other and they must have a stake in the proper upbringing of their children and enable their offspring to grow up overcoming the deeply-ingrained *ainoko* prejudices in Japan.

This study dealt with the immediate outcome of the cross-cultural marriage on the Filipino-Japanese child. It would be quite interesting to determine the long-term outcome on the bigger and older child in the future, as well as to dig deeper into the historical and cultural comparative analysis of Filipino and Japanese childrearing practices.

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