Article

Cross and Crescent: Ethno-Religious Stereotypes and Self-Ethno-Religious Stereotypes of Muslims and Christians in Quiapo, Philippines

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Abstract

Quiapo is home to the Golden Mosque and the Quiapo Church, emphasizing the ethno-religious interactions of Muslims and Christians. Establishing from a modified version of the Katz and Braly (1933) trait list, this study aims to (1) share a profile of the ethno-religious stereotypes and self-ethno-religious stereotypes of the two ethno-religious groups, (2) determine the uniformity indices, (3) assess the positivity/negativity of the indices, (4) compare and differentiate their profiles of ethno-religious stereotypes and self-ethno-religious stereotypes, (5) compare and differentiate the uniformity indices of their ethno-religious stereotypes and self-ethno-religious stereotypes, and (6) compare and differentiate the positivity/negativity of the indices of their ethno-religious stereotypes and self-ethno-religious stereotypes. This study determines whether the two ethno-religious groups differ in how they create their own and each other's stereotypes, and provides the foundational data needed to comprehend the relationships between these same ethno-religious groups.

Keywords: Ethno-Religious Stereotypes, Self-Ethno-Religious Stereotypes, Muslims, Christians, Philippines

Introduction

In the Philippines, Quiapo District is a hub for both Catholic and Muslim devotion. It is home to the Minor Basilica and National Shrine of Jesus Nazareno (known as the "Quiapo Church") and the Masjid Al-Dahab (known as the "Manila Golden Mosque and Cultural Center"). In addition to being a testament to the coexistence of Christians and Muslims, Quiapo also exemplifies cultural and religious diversity, as north of Quiapo lies the Seng Guan Buddhist Temple, the focal point of Manila's Buddhist community. Furthermore, Quiapo is known as a center for alternative medicine, fortune-telling, and magic in the country (Calano, 2015 from De Mesa, 2006).

Figure 1. Map of Quiapo District in Manila City Showing the Location
of the Quiapo Church and the Golden Mosque (Liwanag, 2023 forthcoming)

Quiapo Church in downtown Plaza Miranda attracts masses to the Nuestro Señor Jesús Nazareno, a dark figure of Christ believed to be miraculous and brought to the Philippines in the 17th century (de la Torre, 1981). Every Friday, thousands of devotees attend a novena in honor of the Black Nazarene, engaging in traditional folk Catholic practices like kissing the Señor's foot. The Feast of the Black Nazarene on January 9 celebrates the traslación (a Spanish word for "transfer") of the statue, with millions participating in the procession. In 2024, 6.5 million devotees joined,

prompting the Archdiocese of Manila to propose January 9 as the national feast of the Black Nazarene (Rita, 2024).

The Quiapo Church and the Golden Mosque in Manila are just an 8-minute walk apart, or about 600 meters, showing the close proximity of these two significant religious sites. The Golden Mosque, named for its gold-painted dome and location on Globo de Oro Street, was initiated in 1976, under the supervision of then-First Lady Imelda Marcos for the anticipated visit of Libya's dictator President Muammar al-Gaddafi, which was later canceled. Funded primarily by donations from Libya and Saudi Arabia, it now serves Manila's Muslim community, especially during Jumuah prayers on Fridays, accommodating up to 22,000 worshippers (Angeles, 2009).

Muslims in Quiapo, predominantly from southern Mindanao, are often driven to Manila due to war and conflict, with entrepreneurship being a primary motivator. Despite Quiapo being a significant religious center for Catholics, the Golden Mosque, with its prominent golden dome, stands as a symbolic testament to the Marcos administration. This mosque was strategically constructed during the said regime in conjunction with the Tripoli Agreement. Notably, the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) signed the Tripoli Agreement, creating the first autonomous region in southern Philippines in December 1976 (Cagoco-Guiam, 2018).

On one hand, the investigation of "stereotypes" is well-established within academic discourse. For the context of this study, stereotypes are described as "overly generalized opinions about a specific group or class of individuals. They frequently oversimplify intricate human characteristics and actions, which results in misunderstandings" (Allport et al., 1954).

On the other hand, communities that have interconnected and mutually reinforcing ethnic and religious identities shape cultural practices, social conventions, and communal life are known as "ethno-religious" groups (Arakelova, 2010). For instance, the Maranaos of the Philippines are Muslims who also have a similar ethnic background (Wirawan, 2017). Despite having a wide range of adherents worldwide, some Christian groups may exhibit ethno-religious traits as a result of strong linkages between their religious and ethnic identities (Calvillo, 2020). This frequently happens in areas [such as the Philippines] where a certain ethnic group integrates religious ideas thoroughly into their cultural practices and where that group is predominately Christian (Syufa'at et al., 2018).

Establishing from a modified version of the Katz and Braly (1933) trait list, this study aims to (1) share a profile of the ethno-religious stereotypes and self-ethno-religious stereotypes of the two ethno-religious groups, (2) determine the uniformity

indices, (3) assess the positivity/negativity of the indices, (4) compare and differentiate their profiles of ethno-religious stereotypes and self-ethno-religious stereotypes, (5) compare and differentiate the uniformity indices of their ethno-religious stereotypes and self-ethno-religious stereotypes, and (6) compare and differentiate the positivity/negativity of the indices of their ethno-religious stereotypes and self-ethno-religious stereotypes.

This study is important not only for determining whether the two ethno-religious groups differ in how they create their own and each other's stereotypes, but also for providing the foundational data needed to comprehend the relationships between these same ethno-religious groups. This research aims to serve as a benchmark for shared urban spaces with ethno-religious interactions.

Review of Related Literature

As mentioned earlier, this comparative study used the methods created by Katz and Braly, specifically found in their article entitled "Racial Stereotypes of One-Hundred College Students" (1933). Based on the opinions of American university students, the writers compiled a list of 84 elements that described the traits of ten different races and nations, including Chinese, English, Germans, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Turks, and African Americans. According to the findings, African Americans, Turks, and Italians were assigned the most unfavorable racial/national qualities, while Americans, Germans, and English were assigned the most positive ones.

The uniformity index was used to calculate how many characteristics are needed for a race/nationality so that the total frequencies equal half of the respondents' choices. Katz and Braly also stated that the clearest images in the minds of the respondents were of African Americans, Germans, and Jews, while the most unclear descriptions were of Turks, Chinese, and Japanese.

Using the methodologies of Katz and Braly, and in line with the study conducted in Tarlac State University by Mendoza et al. (2019), Toring et al. conducted a three-year investigation on ethnic stereotypes of two major ethnolinguistic groups in an agricultural state university in Leyte. The article entitled "Isog Ka?: Comparative Research on the Ethnic Stereotypes of Cebuano and Waray at Visayas State University" by Toring, Jr., et al. (2019), focused on the stereotypes of one ethnolinguistic group toward another in the Philippines. The paper confirmed that the salient ethnic stereotypes of Cebuano Leyteños include being affectionate/lovable, approachable/friendly, fun to be with, religious, valuing brotherhood/friendship, intelligent/wise, proficient in English, polite/respectful, sociable, soft-spoken,

backbiting, and not proficient in Filipino/Tagalog. In contrast, the salient ethnic stereotypes of Waray Leyteños include being proficient in Filipino/Tagalog, resourceful/street-smart, courageous, adaptable/resilient, talkative, adhering to "bahala na" (come what may), fast speakers, ambitious/competitive, frank/unpretentious, aggressive, seeming angry when speaking, having a difficult language to understand, and bad-tempered. The study found that both Cebuano and Waray Leyteños share the ethnic stereotypes of being confident and active on social media. It also noted that the ethnic stereotypes for Waray Leyteños are clearer compared to Cebuano Leyteños and that Cebuano Leyteño stereotypes are more positive, whereas Waray Leyteño stereotypes are more negative.

Following this approach, the article entitled, "Ethnic Stereotypes and Self-Stereotypes of Cebuano and Waray at Visayas State University" (2020) by Pedrera, Toring Jr., and Liwanag conducted a comparative study on the ethnic stereotypes and self-stereotypes of the two major ethnolinguistic groups. This research has successfully added characteristics that constitute the self-ethnic stereotypes of Cebuano Leyteños, such as being active on social media, adhering to "bahala na," sociable, religious, adaptable/versatile/resilient, hospitable/welcoming, having close family ties, partygoers, backbiting, approachable/friendly, valuing brotherhood/friendship, ambitious/competitive, and resourceful/street-smart. Additionally, this paper has identified characteristics that make up the self-ethnic stereotypes of Waray Leyteños, such as their language being difficult to understand, proficient in Filipino/Tagalog, active on social media, seeming angry when speaking, fast speakers, having a sense of humor, sociable, ambitious/competitive, confident, strict, unfriendly/unapproachable, aggressive/fierce, resourceful/street-smart, talkative, sensitive, unclear speech, serious, and prone to swearing. This research has proven that the ethnic stereotypes and self-stereotypes of Waray have a larger number of shared characteristics.

While the article entitled, "Filipinos' Framed Faces: Comparative Study of the Filipino Stereotypes as Perceived by the Cebuano and Waray Students of an Agricultural State University in Baybay City, Leyte, Philippines" by Liwanag et al. (2021), which marked the final phase of a three-part stereotype series concerning the same respondents, discovered the stereotyped characteristics of Filipinos, according to the Cebuano and Waray respondents: Active sa Social Media, Adheres to "Bahala Na," Ignorant, Adores/Looks up to Foreigners/ May Colonial Mentality, Madiskarte/Resourceful/Street-smart, Reklamador, Adaptable/Versatile/Resilient, Has Crab Mentality, Diligent/Hardworking/Industrious, Affectionate/Malambing/ Lovable, Ambitious/Competitive, Has Close Family Ties, and, Isog moistorya/Parang Laging Galit. This project's merits are found in the fact that the municipalities and cities

in Leyte were adequately represented by respondents who were Waray and Cebuano. This study is a groundbreaking effort in the state agricultural institution that can serve as a foundation for other universities with many languages.

Undoubtedly, the study of stereotypes is a significant topic in social sciences. Equally important is the investigation concerning its impact on communication. Almost five decades ago, the article entitled, "The Role of Stereotypes in Communication Between Ethnic Groups in the Philippines" (1970) conducted two experiments two understand the "efficiency of communication between ethnic groups and the role of ethnic stereotypes in communication." The study asked the respondents to to choose a stimulus which was broadcast on television and was being explained by a speaker of Chinese or Tagalog. After completing the communication tasks, the subjects assessed the speaker's personality. Furthermore, respondents evaluated both their own and their speaking partner's performances. The findings showed that the speaker's and listener's ethnic combinations have little bearing on communication effectiveness. However, respondents believed that speaking with a member of the opposite group would be less effective than speaking with one from their own group. Moreover, communication was facilitated by remarks regarding ethnic groupings that went against the individuals' ideas.

Additionally, stereotypes are influenced by historical, literary, and economic climates, which further embed them into societal structures. The article entitled "Costs and Benefits of Political Ideology: The Case of Economic Self-Stereotyping and Stereotype Threat," (2010) analyzed two experiments on how elevating a stigmatized identity—gender or ethnicity—affects behavior and self-evaluation. In the first experiment, Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong assessed the value of their labor. The work was valued more by people who opposed social hierarchies (low SDO) than by those who supported them (high SDO). While in the second experiment, the American women evaluated their performance on a logical test. Liberal women evaluated themselves higher and performed better than conservative women, who rated their performance and pay lower and exhibited stereotype-consistent conduct. According to these results, those who support the political status quo are more prone to accept negative stereotypes and undervalue themselves, whereas those who oppose it reject these notions and place a higher value on themselves.

Meanwhile, the article "The Making of a Supranational Stereotype: Western Literary Constructions of the Chinese in Manila and Beyond" (2021) representation of Chinese-Filipinos in American and British literature over the previous 400 years. The stereotype of Chinese as stingy entrepreneurs can be traced back to 1725, when it

resembled anti-Semitic attitudes on the continent. Some authors such as Charles Wilkes and William Henry Thomes feared that Chinese immigrants were displacing indigenous peoples from employment opportunities and trade in Britain, America, or Philippines despite admiring their business skills. In the late 1800s, Chinese mestizos were rich businessmen and independent movement leaders in the Philippines. Western writers viewed them as decent but not dependable. This anti-Chinese sentiment faded in the 20th century; however, the likes of Raymond Nelson and Timothy Mo continue to perpetuate such stereotypes with geopolitical events like China's rise to a superpower. In addition to this, Rodrigo Duterte's election brought back anti-Chinese feelings which was fueled by liberal Orientals who magnify China's threat against Manila and the West while overlooking that coming from America by 2016.

There are also a handful of studies that thoroughly explore the influence of stereotypes on self-concept in educational and religious contexts. The article entitled "The Gains and Pains of Pastors' Kids: An Embedded Correlational Study on Positive Self-Concept and Stereotypes" (2022) employed mixed-methods to analyze the stereotypes, self-concept, and experiences of seventy-five (75) Filipino Pastors' Kids (PKs) between 15-24 years old. The findings showed that PKs have common self-concept and stereotyped experiences and positive view of their own morality and friendships (even though they are expected to be well-behaved and very spiritual). There is a small but significant positive correlation between these factors. It suggests that the more stereotyped interactions kids experience, the higher their self-concept, as these biases seem to work in favor of PKs.

Furthermore, the article entitled, "Impact of Gender Stereotype on Student's Self-Concept and Academic Performance in Science" (2023) used a descriptive-correlational approach to examine how gender stereotypes affected the academic performance and self-concept among 209 senior high school students. The study collected the demographic data and the information on gender stereotypes and self-concept from a stratified random sample to ascertain content validity and internal consistency dependability. The results emphasized the importance of gender stereotypes on self-concept and academic achievement by showing a salient correlation between sex and gender stereotypes as well as between sex and self-concept. Through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), the mean and standard deviation were employed to describe the overall levels of gender stereotypes and self-concept.

This paper was launched from the earlier essay by Liwanag et al. (2023 forthcoming), particularly using the initial data collected. The research design of the

group of Toring, Jr. et al. differs from the study by Katz and Braly in the process of data collection and in how the ethno-religious groups formed their own stereotypes. Although the original framework of Mendoza et al.'s study was applied, this paper employed the methodology on two ethno-religious groups in a well-known area characterized by its rich multicultural, multireligious, and multiexistential setting, making it a fertile ground for cultural research (Brillantes-Silvestre, 2008). Additionally, a focus group discussion was conducted to represent the two ethno-religious groups, considering the number of male and female respondents as well as the generational cohorts involved in this study.

The previous essay of Liwanag et al. (2023) has yet to utilize the mentioned data regarding self-ethno-religious stereotypes. Instead, the earlier study by Liwanag et al. (2023) focused solely on how the ethno-religious stereotypes of one dominant ethno-religious group were formed for another dominant ethno-religious group in Quiapo. In this case, the paper examined how the self-stereotypes of an ethno-religious group were formed and intensified, comparing them to the formation of self-ethno-religious identity alongside the ethno-religious stereotypes created by another ethno-religious group.

Struggles and Stereotypes: Muslims and Christians in Philippine History

Most literature about Muslims in the Philippines circulates socio-political discussions related to struggles for rights in Mindanao. Central to the debate is the construction of a "Filipino Muslim" identity in a Catholic-dominated country. If Muslims follow the secular lifestyle, they might lose their Muslim identity, but if they don't, they might be labeled as opponents of national policies (Erasiah et al., 2023). The notion of Islamic statehood clashed with the goal of the Philippine government to reconcile with some groups of Muslim Mindanao who demand secularization and an Islamic system of governance (Stark, 2003).

Angeles (2010) argued that Filipino Muslims struggle to integrate into mainstream society due to stereotypical (mis)representations during Spanish and American colonial rule. Spaniards labeled Muslims as raiders and pirates, calling them "Moros," reminiscent of their old foes in the Iberian Peninsula. Feast days often featured "Moro-Moro" plays depicting Muslims as enemies and Christians as heroes. The Americans amplified these stereotypes, portraying Moros as "polygamists and slaveholders" in media and theater to justify annexation.

After World War II and Philippine independence, negative imagery persisted due to structural violence and unfulfilled policy reforms. Demeterio (2009) identified several historical developments hindering the inclusion of Muslim Filipinos in a

multicultural nation-state: land grabs by migrants from Visayas and Mindanao, government favoritism toward Christians, the murder of a Muslim commander, the exacerbation of Muslim suffering during Martial Law, the unfulfilled creation of an autonomous Muslim region, and neglect of factions like the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Abu Sayyaf during government negotiations.

The independent Philippine Republic inherits the Mindanao conflict from their former colonizers. Armed conflict tensions began with the Marcos administration with the Jabidah massacre on March 18, 1968, which was a failed attempt to reclaim territory in Sabah (Aljunied & Curaming, 2012). Since then, various acts of terror by Moro insurgent groups occurred during the terms of the succeeding presidents despite efforts of the Ramos and mother-and-son Aquino administrations' effort to grant greater autonomy to ARMM and draft the Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) (Franco, 2017; May, 1987; Teehankee, 2016). Most notably, the Estrada and Duterte administrations have declared more aggressive responses against extremist groups. The former declared an "All-out War" on March 20, 2000, against the MILF after a series of kidnappings and terrorism affecting foreign investment in Mindanao (Quimpo, 2001), which soon met retaliation during the "Rizal Day bombing" on December 30, 2000, in various places in Manila, which killed 20 people (Magno, 2001). Whereas the latter showed a somewhat ambiguous stance towards Filipino Muslims by mobilizing the AFP during the skirmish against Islamic State (IS) extremists in Inabanga, Bohol, and the 5-month-long "Marawi Siege" – both battles occurring while the Duterte administration revised the BBL into the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL) in 2018, which was later ratified in a plebiscite in 2019 that created the BARMM (Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao) (Franco, 2017). In contemporary Philippine history, the image of Filipino Muslims has always been related to violent conflict amidst peacekeeping efforts.

Even today, the colonial legacy of negative Moro characterization persists. The Cebuano word "muro" means "grimace" or "frown" (Binisaya.com, 2007). It wasn't until the 1960s that "Moro" became a term for Filipino Muslims (McKenna, 2002, p. 544). Stereotypical misconceptions still hinder peace efforts in Muslim Mindanao (Madale, 2014), however, there is hope for peacebuilding, as evidenced by interfaith marriages between Christians and Muslims in Southern Philippines (Yoshizawa & Kusaka, 2020).

Muslims outside Mindanao, such as those in Palawan, present a more "balanced image" in the age of ecumenical dialogue (Eder, 2010). This suggests that diversity and coexistence between Muslims and Christians are possible. Scholars promote integrating Philippine Muslim History into the curriculum at all levels to combat stereotypes against Muslims (Absari & Morados, 2020).

Before the Spanish conquest, the Kingdom of Manila was a Muslim settlement ruled by Rajah Sulayman, who had ties with the Sultan of Brunei (Aguilar, 1987). More recently, Watanabe (2007) studied the history of Muslim communities in Metro Manila, shaped by migration, kin and ethnic relations, and religious tolerance. Despite facing negative stereotypes, such as "mamatay tao" (murderer) and "matapang" (intrepid), Muslim communities sometimes use these labels to resist discrimination (Watanabe, 2014, p. 294). However, Regadio (2018), argued that while Muslims can assert their rights, their communities often appear tokenized or invisible compared to more influential religious groups like Iglesia Ni Cristo.

Focusing on education, Lanuza and Gonalez (2009) f ound that Filipino Muslim grade school students in Metro Manila are aware of their distinct identity compared to their Christian classmates. Ethnographic data shows that Muslim senior high school students share similar fashion behaviors with their Christian peers, forming a "hybrid" identity as part of their resistance to the Christian-leaning mainstream education curriculum in the Philippines(Lanuza, 2012).

Significance of the Study

The perspectives of Christians in nearby Muslim communities, and vice versa, have yet to be explored in existing studies. Numerous studies are also dedicated to exploring the stereotypes associated with Muslims, often focusing on their negative portrayal in media (Tama and Sulistyaningrum, 2023) from publishers (Zainiddinov, 2023; Chambers and Hussain, 2023) by organizations (Kertcher and Turin, 2023), and across different countries (Kozaric, 2023; Gołębiowska, 2018; Dyrendal, 2020; and Hess and Borner, 2023). This research is significant to address this point by referring to both Muslims and Christians as ethno-religious groups who are likely interacting within the neighborhood or through business transactions within the district.

Methodology

Katz and Braly's (1933) work has its fair share of academic criticisms, most notably by Schneider (2005), who observes that the 84-item list of stereotypes is suggestive and disregards the effect of sensitive stereotypes on survey respondents. Similar sentiments have resonated with Ehrlich and Rinehart (1965), who state that Katz and Braly's method is reactive, stating that the survey design tends to force respondents to generate a "meaningless" survey list that limits the possible answers. Lastly, Katz and Braly's (1933) original work and the two other works succeeding it in the "Princeton Trilogy" (Gilbert, 1951; Karlins et al., 1969) did not consider the

personality of survey participants, mainly whether the respondents were low-prejudiced or high-prejudiced (Devine & Elliot, 1995).

Nonetheless, the Princeton Trilogy has created a benchmark to quantitatively study stereotypes and mitigate the concerning effects of stereotype research pointed out by critics; this research has devised a methodology that considers respondents' opinions. Thus, the list of stereotypes comes from the Muslim and Christian communities in the Quiapo area, addressing issues concerning coming up with a suggestive, limiting, and prejudiced list of stereotypes.

As mentioned, this paper utilizes a portion of the data from the previous study by Liwanag, et al. The said data was obtained by instructing 100 Muslim and Christian respondents to list the characteristics that best describe Muslims and Christians. The responses from the initial participants were collected and organized in alphabetical order. Following the study by Berreman (1958), the researchers included characteristics from the list by Katz and Braly, which were deemed beneficial for the study, thus creating a total of 150 items (see Appendix A).

Through a questionnaire with 150 items, 50 Muslim and 50 Christian participants from Quiapo, who were not part of the initial 100 participants of the study, were tasked to select 20 characteristics from the list that they believed best described Christians. They were also informed that they could include unlisted characteristics they thought could describe Christians. After completing this first task, they were asked to perform the same task for Muslims. Following this, the participants were instructed to review the selected characteristics for Christians and choose the 5 traits they believed best described Christians. They were then asked to repeat this process for Muslims.

The selection of participants in this study differs from the designs created by Katz and Braly, Mendoza et al., and the three-year investigation on ethnic stereotypes by Toring et al. The respondents in Quiapo are also part of the ethno-religious group being analyzed in this paper.

Furthermore, we translated the 150 traits into Filipino language alongside their English counterparts to make the research instrument more understandable to the respondents. Before conducting the survey, enumerators followed standard ethical protocols, such as explaining the research objectives and obtaining oral consent from the respondents. The second survey round was conducted among 100 participants in Quiapo, Manila, using a mixture of paper and digital instruments.

Respondents carried a list of traits to select from, while the enumerator encoded the chosen traits into the digital questionnaire on a mobile device. This method ensured that each respondent answered exactly 20 traits. The hard copy of the list was

particularly beneficial for respondents who were not adept with digital technology, as well as for illiterate respondents and those having difficulty responding due to age or disability.

The study aimed for balanced representation by ensuring that 50% of the respondents were male and 50% were female, considering sex and gender. Additionally, the sample included an equal split of 50% Christians and 50% Muslims for ethnoreligious representation. The respondents were carefully selected according to age, proportionate to the intergenerational demographics of Metro Manila as reported by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA, 2020). The age distribution was as follows: 6% are from the Generation Baby Boomers (60-78 years old), 28% are from the Generation X (43-59 years old), 33% are from the Generation Y (27-42 years old), and 34% are from the Generation Z (18-26 years old). All participants were either residents, entrepreneurs, or regular workers in Quiapo, capable of easily identifying their ethnoreligious affiliation, and were at least 18 years old.

The collected data from the questionnaires were thoroughly analyzed based on the six primary objectives of this paper. Figure 2 presents the conceptual framework for the conducted analyses.
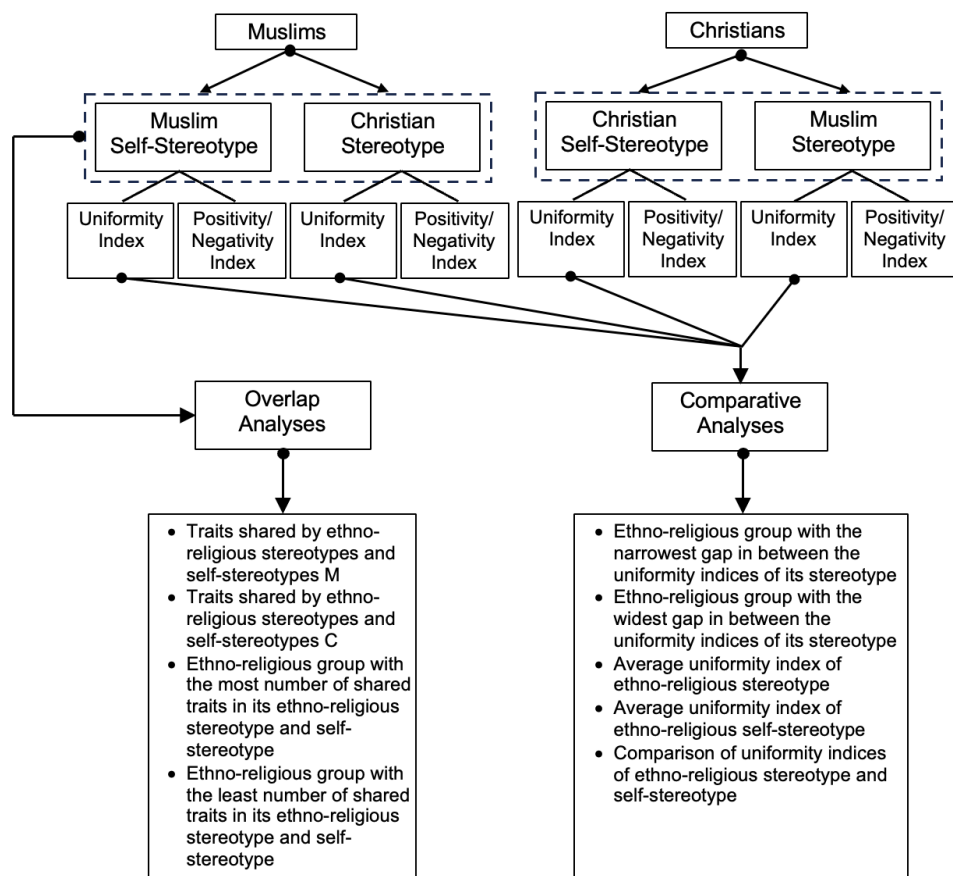

Figure 2. Conceptual Framework

The first objective of this paper is the profiling of ethno-religious stereotypes and self- ethno-religious stereotypes of the two ethno-religious groups. For the ethno-religious stereotypes, data were taken from the results of the study by Toring Jr. et al. (2019).

For self-ethnoreligious stereotypes, this was done by identifying the top 12 traits of each ethno-religious group based on the frequency count from the responses originating from these groups. The second objective of the paper is to determine the uniformity indices of the two ethnoreligious stereotypes and self-ethnoreligious stereotypes. According to Katz and Braly, the computation of the uniformity index of an ethnoreligious group is obtained by counting the total frequency of traits equivalent to half of all the choices of the participants (Katz and Braly, p. 287).

The smaller the uniformity index of an ethnoreligious group, the clearer its stereotype. For the uniformity indices of ethnoreligious stereotypes, the results of the previous study by Toring et al. (2019) were used. For the uniformity indices of self-ethnoreligious stereotypes, the computation was based on the system developed by Katz and Braly.

The third objective of the paper is to determine the positivity/negativity indices of the two ethnoreligious stereotypes and self-ethnoreligious stereotypes. Following the system used in the previous study by Toring et al., the 150 traits in the questionnaire were classified as positive, neutral, or negative.

These classified traits can be found in Appendix B. The 12 traits that constitute the stereotypes and self-stereotypes of each ethnoreligious group were classified as positive, neutral, or negative, as shown in Appendix B. The computation of the positivity/negativity index for each ethnoreligious group is obtained by subtracting the total number of negative traits from the total number of positive traits. Therefore, the greater the number of the positivity/negativity index, the more positive the stereotype will be.

The fourth objective of the paper is to compare and contrast the profiles of ethnoreligious stereotypes and self-ethnoreligious stereotypes of Muslims and Christians. More specifically, the comparison and contrast were carried out to determine (a) which traits are shared between the ethnoreligious stereotypes and self-ethnoreligious stereotypes of Muslims, and (b) which traits are shared between the ethnoreligious stereotypes and self-ethnoreligious stereotypes of Christians.

The fifth objective of the paper is to compare and contrast the uniformity indices of the two ethnoreligious stereotypes and the two self-ethnoreligious stereotypes. More specifically, the comparison and contrast were carried out to determine (a) which ethnoreligious groups have the closest gap between the uniformity indices of

ethnoreligious stereotypes and self-ethnoreligious stereotypes; (b) which ethnoreligious groups have the widest gap between the uniformity indices of ethnoreligious stereotypes and self-ethnoreligious stereotypes; (c) what is the average uniformity index of ethnoreligious stereotypes; (d) what is the average uniformity index of self-ethnoreligious stereotypes; and (e) overall, which has the clearest ethnoreligious stereotypes and self-ethnoreligious stereotypes.

The sixth objective of the paper is to compare and contrast the positivity/negativity indices of the two ethnoreligious stereotypes and the two self-ethnoreligious stereotypes. More specifically, the comparisons and contrasts were carried out to determine (a) which ethnoreligious groups have the closest gap between the positivity/negativity indices of ethnoreligious stereotypes and self-ethnoreligious stereotypes; (b) which ethnoreligious groups have the widest gap between the positivity/negativity indices of ethnoreligious stereotypes and self-ethnoreligious stereotypes; (c) what is the average positivity/negativity index of the two ethnoreligious stereotypes; (d) what is the average positivity/negativity index of self-ethnoreligious stereotypes; and (e) overall, which has the most positive ethnoreligious stereotypes and self-ethnoreligious stereotypes.

Moreover, the study limits itself in selecting Christian respondents instead of just Catholic individuals who are in Muslim communities. The raison d'etre behind this selection has something to do with the fluidity of the Christian faith's presence in Muslim communities. Barry Taylor (2017) characterized the Christian faith as a flexible faith, a fluid faith, because of its openness to engage in various cultural expressions and lived experiences of people. The Christian faith is dynamic, in its very self, that the revealed truth about the divine cannot be contained in a specific Christian faith expression say Catholicism. The Catholic Church itself recognized this inference in the document Dei Verbum. The Church argued that God makes Godself known to humanity in a gradual, personal, and relational manner (Paul VI, 1965). This speaks of the divine as a relational and a cultural God (Calano, 2015), and not a propositional nor conceptual one. In this line of argument, one could posit that ideas, notions, claims, and hypotheses about God are products of one's culturally influenced introspection of how one felt God's presence in one's life. And this cannot but be led to a person's ascent to God in faith.

Therefore, the plurality of the Christian faith speaks not of discord among believers, but of its richness flows from God's dynamic revelation. Nevertheless, the Christian faith is expressed not only in religious rituals but also in relationships of love and service (Paul VI, 1965). Such acts of faith, in love and service, must give premium to and empower the marginalized and vulnerable (Francis, 2013). In recognizance of

this postulation, the researchers opted to study the civic and faith relationship of Christians who coexisted with Muslims in a specific societal setting, and how their own religious beliefs affect the way they relate with each other. The study used the concept of ethnoreligiousity in investigating the sense of civic and religious coexistence between Christians and Muslims in selected social settings in the Philippines. Vertovec (2020) inferred that ethnoreligiousity refers to the intersectionality of religion and ethnicity, where one's religion is deeply imbedded with one's ethnic identity. In the notion of ethnoreligion there is no distinction between one's ethnicity and how it is being expressed in societal involvement with one's religiosity.

Various literatures affirmed, but not directly, that Filipinos are ethnoreligious themselves. There are instances where Filipinos' political attitudes, community involvements, and sense of social responsibilities are informed by their own respective religious values (Abad, 2021; Mangahas, 2020; Clarke, 2019). Therefore, based from the argument of Abad (2021), one could argue that Filipinos are ethnoreligious whether one is a Christian or a Muslim, the argument remains that Filipino religiosity and ethnicity are deeply intertwined with each other. The inquiry at the moment is centered on how altruistic or discriminating is the expression of one's religiosity in the context of Filipino Christian and Muslim relationships. The result and discussion below sheds light to this thought provoking inquiry.

Results and Discussion

Ethno-Religious and Self-Ethno-Religious Stereotypes of Muslims and Christians in Quiapo, Manila, Philippines

Profiles of Ethno-Religious Stereotypes and Self-Stereotypes

1. Ethno-religious Stereotypes and Self-Stereotypes of Muslims

This section will present the top 12 characteristics of Muslims from the perspective of Christians, as well as from the perspectives of Muslims themselves.

Table 1. Ethno-religious Stereotypes and Self-stereotypes of Muslims

Ethno-religious Stereotypes (from the Perspectives of Muslim respondents)			Ethno-religious Self-Stereotypes (from the Perspectives of Christian respondents)		
Traits	Frequency	Rank	Traits	Frequency	Rank
Bawal ang Pork/Pork is Not allowed	32	1.00	Bawal ang Pork/Pork is Not allowed	41	1.00

Aggressive/Palaban/Matapang	22	2.00	Bawal ang Tattoo/Tattoo is Not allowed	34	2.00
Bad-Tempered/Mainitin ang Ulo	14	3.50	Bawal Magkipag-sex/Sex is Not allowed	23	3.00
Bawal Tingnan Nang Masama/Shouldn't be Stared At	14	3.50	Business-Minded/Negosyante	18	4.00
Business-Minded/Negosyante	10	5.00	Aggressive/Palaban/Matapang	15	5.00
Abusado/Abusive	9	6.50	All-Around/Lahat Kaya Gawin	9	6.00
All-Around/Lahat Kaya Gawin	9	6.50	Bad-Tempered/Mainitin ang Ulo	7	7.50
Bad Attitude/Toxic/Bully	8	8.50	Cheerful / Masayahin	7	7.50
Cheerful / Masayahin	8	8.50	Biktima ng Fake News/Fake News Victim	6	9.50
Anti-Christian / Takot sa Kristiyano	7	10.00	Bahala Na/"Come What May" Attitude	6	9.50
Bawal ang Tattoo/Tattoo is Not allowed	6	11.00	Bawal Tingnan Nang Masama/Shouldn't be Stared At	5	11.50
Bawal Magkipag-sex/Sex is Not allowed	6	11.00	Always Complain/Reklamador	5	11.50
Dirty/Makalat/Dura nang Dura	6	11.00			

2. Ethno-religious Stereotypes and Self-Stereotypes of Christians

This section will present the top 12 characteristics of Christians from the perspective of Muslims, as well as from the perspectives of Christians themselves.

Table 2. Ethno-religious Stereotypes and Self-stereotypes of Christians

Ethno-religious Stereotypes (from the Perspectives of Muslim respondents)			Ethno-religious Self-Stereotypes (from the Perspectives of Christian respondents)		
Traits	Frequency	Rank	Traits	Frequency	Rank
All-Around/Lahat Kaya Gawin	17	1.00	Aggressive/Palaban/ Matapang	18	1.50
Anti-Muslim / Takot sa Muslim	16	2.00	All-Around/Lahat Kaya Gawin	18	1.50
Aggressive/Palaban/ Matapang	15	3.00	Cheerful / Masayahin	14	3.00
Business-Minded/Negosyante	13	4.00	Abusado/Abusive	10	4.50
Cheerful / Masayahin	10	5.00	Always Late/Laging Late	10	4.50
Ambitious / Passionate	10	5.00	Business-Minded/Negosyante	9	6.00
Annoying / Makulit / Papansin	10	5.00	Always Complain/Reklamador	8	7.00
Community Spirit / Bayanihan	10	5.00	Bad Attitude/Toxic/Bully	8	7.00
Basher/Mahilig Manlait	9	9.00	Basher/Mahilig Manlait	8	7.00
Bad Attitude/Toxic/Bully	7	10.00	Caring Towards Spouse/Maalaga sa Asawa	8	7.00
Adventurous	7	10.00	Disciplined / Obedient / Masunurin	8	7.00
Competitive/Mahilig Makipagkumpitensya	7	10.00	Ambitious / Passionate	7	12.00
			Annoying / Makulit / Papansin	7	12.00

Uniformity indices of Ethno-Religious Stereotypes and Self-Ethno-Religious Stereotypes

The computation of the uniformity index can be more clearly explained by comparing rank, frequency, and the number of responses. There is no definite formula for computing the uniformity index. It is obtained only by laying out stereotypes based on their rank. When the uniformity index of an ethno-religious group is smaller, its stereotype is clearer.

1. Uniformity indices of Ethno-Religious Stereotypes and Self-Ethno-Religious Stereotypes of Muslims

Table 3 will show the computation for the uniformity index of ethno-religious stereotypes and self-ethno-religious stereotypes in Muslims

Table 3. Computation for the Uniformity Index of Ethno-Religious Stereotypes and Self- Ethno-Religious Stereotypes in Muslims

Characteristics	Ethno-religious Stereotypes		Ethno-religious Self-Stereotypes	
	Total Frequency	Cumulative number of responses	Total Frequency	Cumulative number of responses
1	32	32	41	41
2	22	54	34	75
3	14	68	23	98
4	14	82	18	116
5	10	92	15	131
6	9	101	9	140
7	9	110	7	147
8	8	118	7	154
9	8	126	6	160
10	7	133	6	166
11	6	139	5	171
12	6	145	5	176
13	6	151	4	180
14	5	156	4	184
15	5	161	3	187

16	5	166	3	190
17	4	170	3	193
18	4	174	3	196
19	3	177	3	199
20	3	180	3	202
Uniformity Index	8.77		4.39	

2. Uniformity indices of Ethno-Religious Stereotypes and Self-Ethno-Religious Stereotypes of Christians

Table 4 will show the computation for the uniformity index of ethno-religious stereotypes and self-ethno-religious stereotypes in Christians

Table 4. Computation for the Uniformity Index of Ethno-Religious Stereotypes and Self- Ethno-Religious Stereotypes in Christians

	Ethno-religious Stereotypes		Ethno-religious Self-Stereotypes	
Traits	Frequency	Cumulative number of responses	Frequency	Cumulative number of responses
1	17	17	18	18
2	16	33	18	36
3	15	48	14	50
4	13	61	10	60
5	10	71	10	70
6	10	81	9	79
7	10	91	8	87
8	10	101	8	95
9	9	110	8	103
10	7	117	8	111
11	7	124	8	119
12	7	131	7	126
13	6	137	7	133

14	6	143	6	139
15	5	148	6	145
16	4	152	6	151
17	4	156	5	156
18	4	160	5	161
19	4	164	5	166
20	4	168	5	171
Uniformity Index	11.14		11.75	

Positivity/Negativity Indices of Ethno-Religious Stereotypes and Self- Ethno-Religious Stereotypes

1. Positivity/Negativity of the Muslim ethno-religious stereotype and self-ethno-religious stereotypes of Muslims

Table 5 will show the classification of the characteristics that form the Muslim ethno-religious stereotype based on Table 1 as well as the computation of its positivity/negativity index.

Table 5. Classification of the characteristics that form the Muslim ethno-religious stereotype and self-ethno-religious stereotype and the computation of its

	Ethno-religious Stereotypes	Ethno-religious Self Stereotypes
Positive Traits	All-Around/Lahat Kaya Gawin Cheerful / Masayahin (2)	All-Around/Lahat Kaya Gawin Cheerful / Masayahin (2)
Neutral Traits	Bawal ang Pork/Pork is Not allowed Bawal Tingnan Nang Masama/Shouldn't be Stared At Business-Minded/Negosyante Bawal ang Tattoo/Tattoo is Not allowed	Bawal ang Pork/Pork is Not allowed Bawal ang Tattoo/Tattoo is Not allowed Bawal Magkipag-sex/Sex is Not allowed Business-Minded/Negosyante Bahala Na/"Come What May" Attitude

	Bawal Magkipag-sex/Sex is Not allowed (5)	Bawal Tingnan Nang Masama/Shouldn't be Stared At (6)
Negative Traits	Aggressive/Palaban/Matapang Bad-Tempered/Mainitin ang Ulo Abusado/Abusive Bad Attitude/Toxic/Bully Anti-Christian / Takot sa Kristiyano Dirty/Makalat/Dura nang Dura (6)	Aggressive/Palaban/Matapang Bad-Tempered/Mainitin ang Ulo Biktima ng Fake News/Fake News Victim Always Complain/Reklamador (3)
Positivity-Negativity Index	2-6 = -4	2-3 = -1

2. Positivity/Negativity of the Muslim ethno-religious stereotype and self-ethno-religious stereotypes of Christians

Table 6 will show the classification of the characteristics that form the Christian ethno-religious stereotype based on Table 1 as well as the computation of its positivity/negativity index.

Table 6. Classification of the characteristics that form the Christian ethno-religious stereotype and self-ethno-religious stereotype and the computation of its

	Ethno-religious Stereotypes	Ethno-religious Self Stereotypes
Positive Traits (3)	All-Around/Lahat Kaya Gawin Cheerful / Masayahin Ambitious / Passionate	All-Around/Lahat Kaya Gawin Cheerful / Masayahin Caring Towards Spouse/Maalaga sa Asawa Disciplined / Obedient / Masunurin Ambitious / Passionate (5)

Neutral Traits (4)	Adventurous Business-Minded/Negosyante Community Spirit / Bayanihan Competitive/Mahilig Makipagkumpitensya	Business-Minded/Negosyante Always (1)
Negative Traits	Anti-Muslim / Takot sa Muslim Aggressive/Palaban/ Matapang Annoying / Makulit / Papansin Basher/Mahilig Manlait Bad Attitude/Toxic/Bully (5)	Aggressive/Palaban/ Matapang Abusado/Abusive Always Late/Laging Late Always Complain/ Reklamador Bad Attitude/Toxic/Bully Basher/Mahilig Manlait Annoying / Makulit / Papansin (7)
Positivity-Negativity Index	3-5 = -2	5-7 = -2

Comparative Analysis

1. Analysis of the shared traits of ethno-religious stereotypes and self-stereotypes of Muslims

Figure 3 shows the shared traits of ethno-religious stereotypes and self-stereotypes of Muslims

Muslim Stereotypes

Abusado/Abusive

Bad Attitude/Toxic/Bully

Anti-Christian/

Takot sa Kristiyano

Dirty/Makalat/Dura nang Dura

Bawal ang Pork/Pork is Not allowed

Aggressive/Palaban/Matapang

Bad-Tempered/Mainitin ang Ulo

Bawal Tingnan Nang Masama/Shouldn't be Stared At

Business-Minded/Negosyante

All-Around/Lahat Kaya Gawin

Cheerful / Masayahin

Bawal ang Tattoo/Tattoo is Not allowed

Bawal Magkipag-sex/

Muslim Self-Stereotypes

Biktima ng Fake News/

Fake News Victim

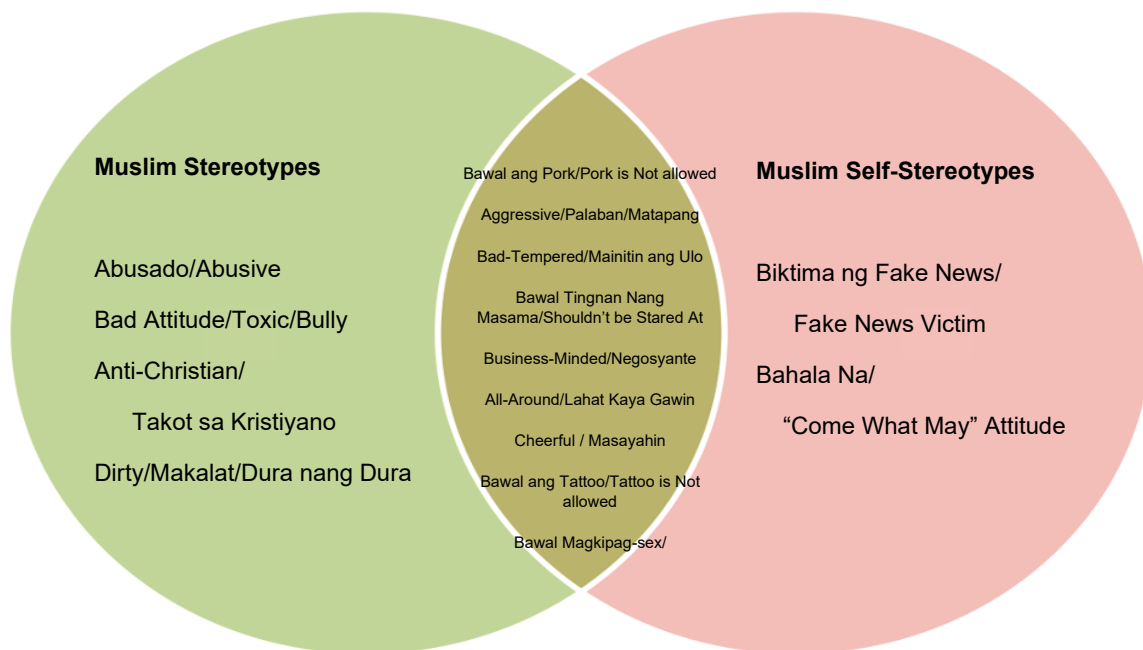Bahala Na/

"Come What May" Attitude

Figure 3: Venn Diagram of the Characteristics of the Ethno-Religious Stereotypes and Self-Ethno-Religious Stereotypes of Muslims

Figure 4 shows the shared traits of ethno-religious stereotypes and self-stereotypes of Christians.
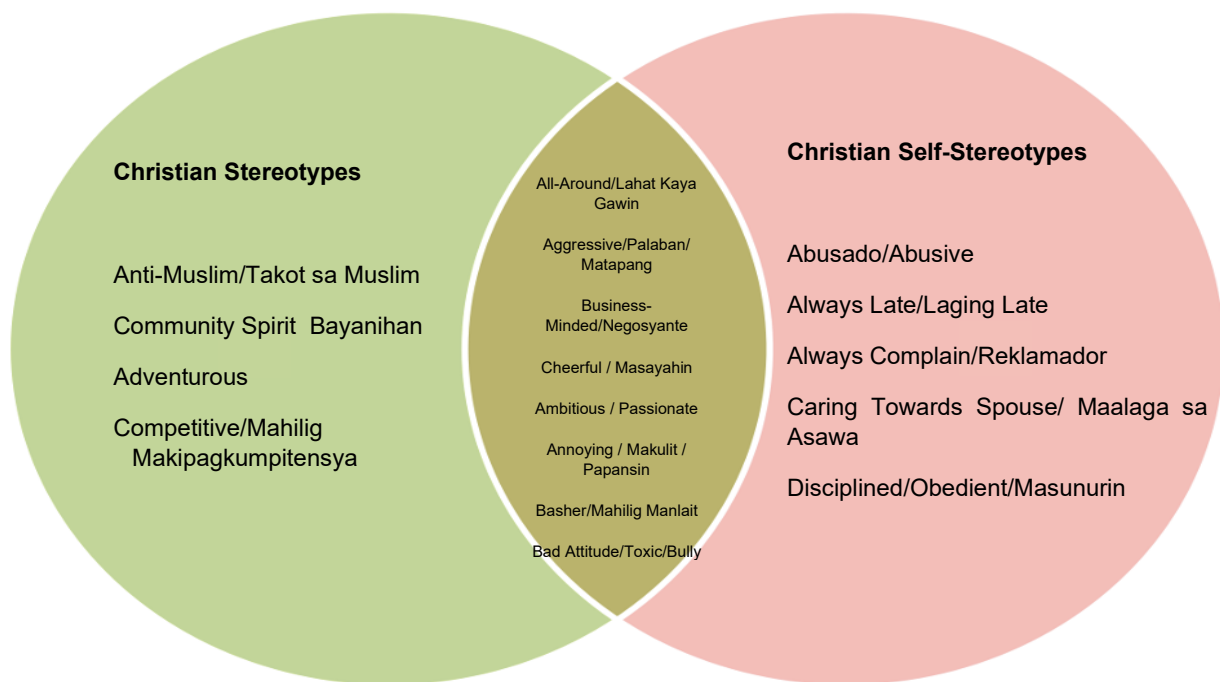

Figure 4: Venn Diagram of the Characteristics of the Ethno-Religious Stereotypes and Self-Ethno-Religious Stereotypes of Christians

2. Comparison of the uniformity indices of two ethno-religious stereotypes

Table 7. Percentage comparison of uniformity indices from the study by Mendoza et al. and the uniformity indices of this conducted

Study	Race/(Ethno)Linguistic/ Religious Group	Uniformity Index	Highest Possible Uniformity Index	Percentage
Katz and Braly (1933)	African American	4.60	42.00	10.95
	German	5.00	42.00	11.90
	Jewish	5.50	42.00	13.10
	Italian	6.90	42.00	16.43
	English	7.00	42.00	16.67
	Irish	8.50	42.00	20.24
	American	8.80	42.00	20.95
	Japanese	10.90	42.00	25.95
	Chinese	12.00	42.00	28.57
	Turkish	15.90	42.00	37.86
Mendoza, Delena,	Kapampangan	16.74	81.00	20.67
	Ilocano	16.57	81.00	20.48
	Tagalog	27.27	81.00	33.67

Demeterio (2020)				
Toring et al. (2019-2021)	Cebuano Waray	15.60 14.60	85.00 85.00	18.36 17.18
Current Project	**Muslim** **Christian**	8.77 11.14	75.00 75.00	11.69 14.85

Comparison of Uniformity Indices

Table 8 shows the comparison of the uniformity indices of the ethno-religious stereotypes and self-stereotypes of the two ethno-religious groups, as well as the numerical difference of the specified indices.

Table 8. Comparison of the Uniformity Indices of Ethnic Stereotypes and Self-Stereotypes of the Two Ethno-Religious Groups

Ethno-Religious Group	Ethno-Religious Stereotype	Self-Ethno-Religious Stereotype	Difference
Muslims	8.77	4.39	-4.38
Christians	11.14	11.75	-0.61
Average	9.95	8.07	1.88

Comparison of Positivity/Negativity of the Indices

Table 9 shows the comparison of the positivity/negativity of indices of the ethno-religious stereotypes and self-stereotypes of the two ethno-religious groups, as well as the numerical difference of the specified indices.

Table 9. Comparison of the Positivity/Negativity of the Indices of Ethnic Stereotypes and Self-Stereotypes of the Two Ethno-Religious Groups

Ethno-Religious Group	Ethno-Religious Stereotype	Self-Ethno-Religious Stereotype	Difference
Muslims	-4.00	-1.00	3.00
Christians	-2.00	-2.00	0.00
Average	-3.00	-1.50	1.50

Conclusions

First, while it is true that several studies address various aspects of Muslim life in Quiapo, focusing on urbanization and modernization (Yahya, 2009), religious practices (Calano 2015), food culture (Tallara 2023), socio-political dynamics (Austria, 2022), and informal economy (Espinosa 2015), this comparative quantitative study is essential as it diverges by specifically examining the ethno-religious and self-ethno-religious stereotypes of Muslims and Christians—an area yet to be covered in the mentioned themes.

Second, this paper updates studies on Muslims and Christians to reflect the modern context, considering the influence of media and/or artificial intelligence on contemporary perspectives and stereotyping. For instance, the news media substantially altered perceptions of Muslims, specifically in the aftermath of global events like the 9/11 tragedy. The attack brought Islamophobia to the forefront of global consciousness, with the media frequently associating Muslims with terrorism, violence, and extremism (Nurish, 2022). This association deeply influenced how Muslims are perceived in the Philippines, where local media commonly mirrors global narratives. They are portrayed through the lens of extremism and conflict, especially in stories about terrorism and insurgency in Mindanao.

Moreover, Muslim characters in Filipino television dramas and movies are sometimes depicted as the "other." Usually associated with conflict, strictness, or exoticism, they subtly reinforce perceptions of Muslims as fundamentally different or even antagonistic to mainstream (largely Christian) Filipino society. Social media amplifies these stereotypes by rapidly spreading content that mostly lacks nuance. Viral videos, memes, and user-generated content frequently echo the same themes seen in traditional media, maintaining stereotypes through humor, exaggeration, or sensationalism. The platforms' algorithm-driven nature generally prioritizes divisive narratives as it favors content that elicits strong emotional responses.

Third, grounded in positivism and utilizing an empirical approach, this study hopes to cater data-driven insights into potentially reducing discrimination and stereotypes. Specifically, potentially influence public speeches and reducing discriminatory jokes; encourage local leaders to develop programs that encourage dialogue and cooperation between Muslims and Christians; and create community development programs. Since without a solid research as its foundation, creating effective programs to promote understanding between major ethno-religious groups is challenging.

Fourth, stereotypes tend to blur approximately every ten years due to educational interventions according to Katz and Braly. This study aspires to contribute to such interventions by raising awareness of stereotypes both positive and negative associated with ethno-religious groups. Furthermore, this project can motivate cultural sensitivity trainings and curriculum integration in nearby universities, such as the University of Santo Tomas and Far Eastern University, Centro Escolar University, Adamson University, Mapua University, among others. Additionally, local artists might draw inspiration from the study's findings to create compelling literature featuring Christian and Muslim characters, further promoting cultural understanding and empathy.

Finally, the ultimate goal is to reduce the uniformity index of stereotypes, encouraging a more equitable perspective regardless of religion. While achieving this might seem utopian, the researchers hope to see a significant shift in perceptions, making the community more conscious of the characteristics associated with different ethno-religious groups and motivating changes where necessary.

Acknowledgment

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Appendices

Appendix A: 150-Item List of Characteristics

1. Abusado/Abusive
2. Adventurous
3. Aggressive/Palaban/Matapang
4. All-Around/Lahat Kaya Gawin
5. Always Complain/Reklamador
6. Always Late/Laging Late
7. Ambitious / Passionate
8. Annoying / Makulit / Papansin
9. Anti-Christian / Takot sa Kristiyano
10. Anti-Muslim / Takot sa Muslim
11. Bad Attitude/Toxic/Bully
12. Bad-Tempered/Mainitin ang Ulo
13. Bahala Na/"Come What May" Attitude
14. Basher/Mahilig Manlait
15. Bastos/No manners
16. Bawal ang Pork/Pork is Not allowed
17. Bawal ang Tattoo/Tattoo is Not allowed
18. Bawal Magkipag-sex/Sex is Not allowed
19. Bawal Tingnan Nang Masama/Shouldn't be Stared At
20. Biktima ng Fake News/Fake News Victim
21. Black Hair/Maitim ang Buhok
22. Business-Minded/Negosyante
23. Caring Towards Spouse/Maalaga sa Asawa
24. Cheater/Scammer/Manloloko
25. Cheerful / Masayahin
26. Choosy / Meticulous / Maselan
27. Community Spirit / Bayanihan
28. Competitive/Mahilig Makipagkumpitensya
29. Concerned for Others / Maintindihin
30. Corrupt / Opportunistic
31. Crab Mentality / Naiinggit
32. Demure/Mahinhin
33. Difficult to Deal With/Mahirap Pakisamahan
34. Dirty/Makalat/Dura nang Dura
35. Disciplined / Obedient / Masunurin
36. Distrustful of the Government/Walang Tiwala sa Gobyerno

37. Doesn't Bargain Much / Hindi Mahilig Tumawad o Magpapalit
38. Dumb/Bobo
39. Easily Gets Converted/Mabilis Ma-Convert sa Ibang Religion
40. Eating with Bare Hands/Gumagamit ng Kamay Kumain
41. Eats a Lot/Malakas Kumain
42. Educated/ Nakapag-aral
43. Equal Treatment Regardless of Religion/ Pantay Tingin sa Ibang Relihiyon
44. Extravagant/Magastos
45. Extrovert
46. Family-Oriented / Palaakay ng Pamilya
47. Famous
48. Fascinated in Muslim Culture
49. Fashionista / Sunod sa Uso
50. Fighting over Politics/Nag-aaway sa Politika
51. Flexible / Adaptabe / Nakikibagay / Nakikisama
52. Friendly / Palakaibigan
53. Generous/Galante/Mapagbigay/Mahilig Manlibre
54. Golddigger/ Mukhang Pera
55. Good in Communicating
56. Good in Cooking/Masarap Magluto
57. Good Parenting / Maayos na Pagpapalaki ng Magulang
58. Hardworking/Masipag
59. Has a Lot of Vices/Mabisyo
60. Has Superiority Complex/Mataas ang Pride/Mayabang
61. Helpful / Matulungin
62. Hiwalay ang Babae at Lalaki sa Pagsisimba
63. Hopeless Romantic
64. Humane/Makatao
65. Humble/Mapagkumbaba
66. Illegal Livelihood/ Ilegal ang Hanapbuhay
67. Impatient / Maiksi ang Pasensiya
68. Inconsistent in Religion/ Di Tapat sa Relihiyon
69. Indebted / May Utang na Loob
70. Indecisive / Paiba-iba ng Desisyon
71. Independent
72. Intimidating / Nakakatakot
73. Judgemental / Mapanghusga
74. Kind/Mabait
75. Utang nang Utang o Kumakapit sa Bumbay/Has Many Debts or Depends on Indian Loan Sharks
76. Landgrabbers/Mapagkamkam
77. Lazy/Tamad
78. Legal Livelihood/ Legal ang Hanapbuhay
79. Listening More to the Rich/Mas Nakikinig sa Mayaman
80. Live-In Partners/Pwede Mag-Boyfriend at Girlfriend
81. Lonely at Times / Minsan Malungkot
82. Looks up to Foreigners/Mataas Tingin sa Foreigner
83. Loud/Maingay
84. Loving/Mapagmahal
85. Loyal/Honest/Matapat
86. Ma-Cellphone/Ma-Facebook
87. Maasikaso / Maintindihin
88. Mabaho/Smells Bad

89. Mabango/Smells Good
90. Madiskarte/Resourceful/Street-smart
91. Magnanakaw/Holdaper
92. Mahilig Manood ng Sine/Movie-goer
93. Mahilig sa Softdrinks or Milktea/Likes Softdrinks or Milktea
94. Mahilig sa Sports/Likes Sports
95. Malalim Magsalita ng Tagalog/Speaks Deep Tagalog Words
96. Maliit/Pandak
97. Magnanakaw/Thief
98. May Bisaya, Waray, Ilokano, at iba pa/Multiethnic
99. Mestiso/Mestisa
100. Monogamous / Isa Lang Asawa
101. Morena/Moreno/Brown-Skinned
102. Muscular/Maskulado
103. Nagpaplano Di Natutuloy/Doesn't Follow Plans
104. Naka-Hijab o Belo / Uses Hijab or Veil
105. Nature lover/Makakalikasan
106. Negative/Pessimistic
107. No Divorce/Importante Marriage Contact
108. Not Aggressive in Selling/Hindi Marahas sa Pagbebenta
109. OFWs/Overseas Filipino Workers
110. Open-minded
111. Pango/Flat-Nosed
112. Partygoer/Mahilig sa mga salu-salo
113. Patient/Matiisin
114. Peacemaker/Hindi Palaaway/Mahinahon
115. Playful / Komedyante / Joker
116. Pointed Nose/Matangos
117. Poor/Mahirap
118. Punctual/On-Time
119. Resilient/Bumabangon sa Hirap
120. Respectful/Magalang/Desente
121. Rich/Mayaman
122. Same-Sex Marriage/Relationship
123. Selfish/Makasarili
124. Selling Fake Items/Nagbebenta ng Peke
125. Serious/Seryoso
126. Showy/Pabida
127. Similar Faces/Magkakamukha
128. Simple Living/Matipid
129. Skeptic/Laging Nagdududa
130. Smart/Matalino
131. Snobbish/Mataray/Masungit
132. Straightforward
133. Strict/Mahigpit
134. Superstitious/Mapamahiin
135. Talented/Singer/Dancer/Vlogger
136. Tall/Matangkad
137. Terrorist/Terorista
138. Tidy/Malinis
139. Traitor/Traydor
140. Traveller/Magala
141. Trustworthy / Mapagkakatiwalaan

142. Tsismoso/Tsismosa/Marites
143. Two-Faced/Plastik
144. Ugly / Pangit
145. Uncontented/Hindi Nakukuntento
146. Uneducated/Hindi Nakapag-aral
147. Values Kinship/"One for all, All for One"
148. Vengeful/Mapaghiganti/Buhay ang Kinuha Buhay ang Kapalit
149. Vulgar/Palamura
150. Workaholic/Subsob sa Trabaho

Appendix B: 150-Item List of Characteristics from the Questionnaire Classified Positive, Negative, and Neutrals

Positive	Neutral	Negative
All-Around/Lahat Kaya Gawin	Adventurous	Aggressive/Palaban/Matapang
Ambitious / Passionate		Always Complain/Reklamador
Caring Towards Spouse/Maalaga sa Asawa	Bahala Na/"Come What May" Attitude	Always Late/Laging Late
Cheerful / Masayahin		
Concerned for Others / Maintindihin	Bawal ang Pork/Pork is Not allowed	Annoying / Makulit / Papansin
Disciplined / Obedient / Masunurin		
Educated/ Nakapag-aral	Bawal ang Tattoo/Tattoo is Not allowed	Anti-Christian / Takot sa Kristiyano
Equal Treatment Regardless of Religion/ Pantay Tingin sa Ibang Relihiyon	Bawal Magkipag-sex/Sex is Not allowed	Anti-Muslim / Takot sa Muslim
Famous	Bawal Tingnan Nang Masama/Shouldn't be Stared At	Bad Attitude/Toxic/Bully
Fascinated in Muslim Culture		
Flexible / Adaptabe / Nakikibagay / Nakikisama	Black Hair/Maitim ang Buhok	Bad-Tempered/Mainitin ang Ulo
Friendly / Palakaibigan		
Generous/Galante/Mapagbigay/Mahilig Manlibre	Business-Minded/Negosyante	Basher/Mahilig Manlait
Good in Communicating	Community Spirit / Bayanihan	Bastos/No manners
Good in Cooking/Masarap Magluto		
Good Parenting / Maayos na Pagpapalaki ng Magulang	Competitive/Mahilig Makipagkumpitensya	Biktima ng Fake News/Fake News Victim
Hardworking/Masipag		Cheater/Scammer/Manloloko
Helpful / Matulungin	Demure/Mahinhin	
Humane/Makatao		Choosy / Meticulous / Maselan
Humble/Mapagkumbaba	Doesn't Bargain Much / Hindi Mahilig Tumawad o Magpapalit	Corrupt / Opportunistic
Independent		
Kind/Mabait	Easily Gets Converted/Mabilis Ma-Convert sa Ibang Religion	Crab Mentality / Naiinggit
Legal Livelihood/ Legal ang Hanapbuhay		
Loving/Mapagmahal		Difficult to Deal With/Mahirap Pakisamahan
Loyal/Honest/Matapat	Eating with Bare Hands/Gumagamit ng Kamay Kumain	
Maasikaso / Maintindihin		Dirty/Makalat/Dura nang Dura
Mabango/Smells Good	Eats a Lot/Malakas Kumain	
Madiskarte/Resourceful/Street-smart		Distrustful of the Government/Walang Tiwala sa Gobyerno
Nature lover/Makakalikasan	Extrovert	
Patient/Matiisin		Dumb/Bobo
Peacemaker/Hindi Palaaway/Mahinahon	Family-Oriented / Palaakay ng Pamilya	
Punctual/On-Time		Extravagant/Magastos
Resilient/Bumabangon sa Hirap	Fashionista / Sunod sa Uso	
Respectful/Magalang/Desente		Fighting over Politics/Nag-aaway sa Politika
Rich/Mayaman	Hiwalay ang Babae at Lalaki sa Pagsisimba	
Simple Living/Matipid		Golddigger/ Mukhang Pera
Smart/Matalino	Hopeless Romantic	
Talented/Singer/Dancer/Vlogger		Has a Lot of Vices/Mabisyo
Tidy/Malinis	Indebted / May Utang na Loob	
Trustworthy / Mapagkakatiwalaan		Has Superiority Complex/Mataas ang Pride/Mayabang
	Independent	
		Illegal Livelihood/ Ilegal ang Hanapbuhay

	Live-In Partners/Pwede Mag-Boyfriend at Girlfriend	Impatient / Maiksi ang Pasensiya
	Ma-Cellphone/Ma-Facebook	Inconsistent in Religion/ Di Tapat sa Relihiyon
	Mahilig Manood ng Sine/Movie-goer	Indecisive / Paiba-iba ng Desisyon
	Mahilig sa Softdrinks or Milktea/Likes Softdrinks or Milktea	Intimidating / Nakakatakot
	Mahilig sa Sports/Likes Sports	Judgemental / Mapanghusga
	Malalim Magsalita ng Tagalog/Speaks Deep Tagalog Words	Landgrabbers/Mapagkamkam
	Maliit/Pandak	Lazy/Tamad
	May Bisaya, Waray, Ilokano, at iba pa/Multiethnic	Listening More to the Rich/Mas Nakikinig sa Mayaman
	Mestiso/Mestisa	Lonely at Times / Minsan Malungkot
	Monogamous / Isa Lang Asawa	Looks up to Foreigners/Mataas Tingin sa Foreigner
	Morena/Moreno/Brown-Skinned	Loud/Maingay
	Muscular/Maskulado	Mabaho/Smells Bad
	Naka-Hijab o Belo / Uses Hijab	Magnanakaw/Holdaper
	or Veil	Magnanakaw/Thief
	No Divorce/Importante Marriage Contract	Nagpaplano Di Natutuloy/Doesn't Follow Plans
	Not Aggressive in Selling/Hindi	Negative/Pessimistic
	Marahas sa Pagbebenta	Poor/Mahirap
	OFWs/Overseas FilipinoWorkers	Selfish/Makasarili
	Open-minded	Selling Fake Items/Nagbebenta ng Peke
	Pango/Flat-Nosed	Showy/Pabida
	Partygoer/Mahilig sa mga salu- salo	Skeptic/Laging Nagdududa
	Playful / Komedyante / Joker	Snobbish/Mataray/Masungit
	Pointed Nose/Matangos	Terrorist/Terorista
	Same-Sex Marriage/Relationship	Traitor/Traydor
	Serious/Seryoso	Tsismoso/Tsismosa/Marites
	Similar Faces/Magkakamukha	Two-Faced/Plastik
	Straightforward	Ugly / Pangit
	Strict/Mahigpit	Uncontented/Hindi Nakukuntento
	Superstitious/Mapamahiin	Uneducated/Hindi Nakapag-aral
	Tall/Matangkad	Utang nang Utang o Kumakapit sa Bumbay/Has Many Debts or Depends on Indian Loan Sharks
	Traveller/Magala	Vengeful/Mapaghiganti/Buhay ang Kinuha Buhay ang Kapalit
		Vulgar/Palamura