
Urbana at Felisa: Ideological Reproduction of Femininity in Philippine Education, 1864-1938

Abstract. Colonialism facilitated and transformed the production of knowledge through the colonial school and Christianity, which became powerful both as ‘Ideological State Apparatuses’ (ISAs) and ‘Repressive State Apparatuses’ (RSAs). Representations (or misrepresentations) of femininity transformed and socialized women’s values and attitudes at home, school, and church through the processes of catechization, sanitization, and sanctification. Presbitero Modesto De Castro’s *Urbana at Felisa*, analyzed from an Althusserian perspective, was a bestseller manual de urbanidad in the nineteenth century and a reference and teaching material for character education in the mid-twentieth century. Didactic literature facilitated the assimilation or reproduction process engendered by the colonial agenda among middle class and urbanized women in Christianized communities.

With *Urbana at Felisa* as colonial apparatus, the ideological reproduction of femininity highlighted in the literary text includes the ideology of the pious woman; the ideology of motherhood and domesticity; ideology of purity, chastity, and virginity; and ideology of inferiority. These stereotypical beliefs on femininity have been incorporated in the colonial schools during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The study is divided into five themes: (1) (Re)introducing *Urbana at Felisa*, (2) Locating *Urbana at Felisa* in the 19th and 20th Century Colonial Ambit, (3) Ideological Reproduction of Femininity in *Urbana at Felisa*; (4) Respect for Authority is Essential in Colonial Education; and (5) *Urbana at Felisa* as an Educational Apparatus.

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Introduction

The Educational Decree of December 20, 1863 laid down the general instructional objectives that found middle ground between State and Church interests in the Philippines as Spanish colony, “aimed at the exaltation of religion, the family, and country, the uplift of morals, the advance of ‘native’ intelligence, freedom of conscience, and acquisition of, and adherence to truth” (Robles, 1969, p. 219). These constitute the colonial *ideology* behind the establishment of public schools, with emphasis on “good manners,” grammar, geography, and history in the children’s secularized curriculum (Bazaco, 1953, pp. 228-30; Alzona, 1932, pp. 102-21). *Ideology* refers to “the system of the ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a (wo)man or a social group” (Althusser, 1971, p. 171). These representations could be images, myths, ideas or concepts created in literary texts, which signify “the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence” or are conceived as practices with lived and material existence (Althusser, 1971, pp. 162, 165-66).

Althusser identifies this group of specialized institutions as *Ideological State Apparatuses* (ISAs) characterized by their pervasiveness in society. These include the church, schools, family, legal, political, trade union, communications, and culture (Althusser, 1971, pp. 142-43, 150). Cultural ISAs encompass the literature, the arts, sports, etc. and include authors and institutions responsible for education, translation, interpretation, publication, sponsorship, and exhibition. These institutions, however, could become *Repressive State Apparatuses* (RSAs) when punishments are imposed as means of maintaining the colonial state.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Catholic Church was the dominant ISA. And yet this time span became fertile grounds for anti-clerical and libertarian movements which challenged both the colonial bureaucracy and church. But for good measure, the religious ISA devolved into more distinct ISAs, particularly in education and culture (Althusser, 1971, p. 151), to strengthen each other against subversion of the state, which they sought to protect. At the heart of the school's curriculum was religion, hence the predictability of its influence on the school's hidden curricula. For instance, the schools such as the *escuela de niña*, *escuela pia*, *colegio*, *beaterio*, or *escuela normal*, served as material artifacts (and colonial literatures, as their learning media, functioned as cultural artifacts) of colonial legacy which reinforced colonial representations (or misrepresentations) of femininity. Social formation was achieved not only in the reproduction and diversification of skills, but also in learning a 'genealogy of manners' which "ensures subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its 'practice'" (Althusser, 1971, p. 133). This system of conditioning the young Filipina was a means of regulating her mind as a colonial subject.

Thus, this paper describes how the "educational apparatus" contributed to reproduce the ideology of the subjugated female through colonial literature. Set in the Philippine context, *Urbana at Felisa*, an epistolary prototype novel of good manners and right conduct, introduced the localized Hispanic culture or the set of cultivated ideas, behaviors, traditions, attitudes, values, stereotypes, and attributes of femininity, which middle class Filipinas assimilated during the nineteenth century. A related study on this was presented by this author at the 20th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA), held at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, on November 14-17, 2008.

Notably, *Urbana at Felisa* became the bestseller *manual de urbanidad* of the nineteenth century (Paras-Perez, 1979, pp. 31-33), with its complete title, *Ang Pagsusulatan nang Dalawang Binibini na si Urbana at ni Felisa (The Correspondence of the Two Ladies, Urbana at Felisa)*. Although published in 1864 as a book of social etiquette, the *Urbana at Felisa* by 1938 became "a whole way of life presented as an alternative to the chaos and turmoil of a colonial society" (Alzona, 1939, p. 325; Reyes, 1999, p. 6). This explains the temporal context of the study that spans the mid-nineteenth to the twentieth century.

(Re)introducing *Urbana at Feliza*

Consisting of 34 chapters, *Urbana at Felisa* was one of the many classic books of morals and feminine conduct which emphasized the *do's* and *don't's* of Christian behavior at home, in school, in church, and in the community (Mojares, 1976, p. 48), across ages, class, gender, and status. Although fictitious in nature, its lessons were given in epistolary style with a didactic purpose through the correspondences between two sisters living apart in the city and the country. A proto-novel of popular Philippine literature (Mojares, 1983, p. 80; Reyes, 1999, p. 3), the book aimed in 'catechizing' the local subject and it represented the moral universe that figured prominently in early twentieth century Philippine fiction (Mojares, 1976, p. 49). The book underwent several editions (Reyes, 1999, p. 3), in 1877, 1889, 1907, 1925, 1938 (by Juliana Martinez at Binondo), 1946, and 1947. Baquiran (1996, p. ix) wrote that it was translated into Ilocano by Jacinto Caoili in 1866, in Bicol by Fruto del Prado in 1867 and 1892, and in Visayan (Alzona, 1939, p. 4).

In the nineteenth until the early twentieth century, *Urbana at Felisa* "became a 'Bible' in almost every home, owing to the desire of every parent to have a copy of the book." In the mid-twentieth century, it was both a reference and teaching material for character education in public schools prescribed by the Department of Education (Baquiran, 1996, pp. ix-xi). The power and influence of this literary text resonates with Althusser's view that "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas...The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production."

Nevertheless before the twentieth century, Casement (1987, pp. 101-102) says, the study of literature was for moral education, and while literature gave pleasure and was an outlet for an active mind, it was also seen as instructive in moral affairs. He calls this type of literature as *didacticism*. He claims that because newer trends in literature (i.e., psychoanalysis, semiotics, hermaneutics, etc.) have surfaced, *didacticism* has been treated as unfashionable, which is not reason to disavow it. Instead, "it should be studied and understood and subjected to scrutiny. Its liabilities and its assets should be brought to light" (Casement, 1987, p. 103). Likewise, Mojares (1976, p. 46) points out that the dismissive attitude and the tendency to summarily dispose of books of morals,

conduct and/or etiquette, such as *Urbana at Felisa* (or Antonio de Borja's *Barlaan at Josaphat* (1712), Lucio Bustamante's *Tandang Basio Macunat* (1885), and many more), rests on the perception that these are "conventional expressions of Catholic propaganda." Though considered *novelas*, *Urbana* is classified as a book on decorum, while *Barlaan* and *Tandang Basio* are considered *exempla* and *dialogos* (Mojares, 1976, p. 52). Mojares (1976) also further explains:

If *Barlaan* belongs to a period of *pioneering evangelization*, and *Urbana* to a period of *settled orthodoxy*, (*Si Tandang Basio*) is reflective of a time when the friar-imposed order was already subjected to the strains of liberal assertiveness on the part of formerly docile parishioners. (pp. 51-52)

These books are relevant because they are literary works that have become guideposts in the development of anti-colonial and libertarian works, such as Rizal's novels and other social novels of the twentieth century. Moreover, colonial books, which aimed to protect the status quo, are socio-historical documents that need sustained analysis and should be ascertained of its significance through time (Mojares, 1976, pp. 51-52). Judging from the parameters of present-day moral and ethical standards, *Urbana at Felisa* remains to shape ultra-conservative and puritanical value systems. It continues to be re-read and re-interpreted from various perspectives, hence its temporal relevance.

Locating *Urbana at Felisa* in the 19th and 20th Century Colonial Ambit

Colonization, Christianization, and indoctrination were pursued *unevenly* through the resettlement process known as *reduccion*, which did not only relocate, convert, reduce things to its former state, or to bring back 'bodies' into obedience (Phelan, 1959, p. 44; Rafael, 1988, p. 90; Agoncillo, 1990, pp. 80-81; Corpuz, 1989, p. 61), but by 'reducing' colonized women's manners and behavior into books of conduct to curtail the expression of the nature of their bodies (*katawan*), personhood (*pagkatao*), and their souls (*kaluluwa*) (Llanes & Rodriguez, 2005, pp. 113-17). The resulting parochial Catholicism had a profound effect on women of the *pueblos*; they became obsessive-compulsive, as they were restricted and transformed into overly introspective individuals afraid of their souls being defiled and possessed by the devil, such that they needed the overpowering presence of friars or priests into their lives to guide them. Reyes (1999, p. 18) sees the book as part of *reduccion*.

Urbana at Felisa should be perceived as an important text of *reduction*, the process through which the periphery is forcibly brought into the center for more efficient governance. After all, the text is not only an instrument for the perpetuation of power. *Urbana at Felisa* is itself an embodiment of power as a discourse that constituted generations of God-fearing subjects.

The social milieu when the book was published was the period Mojares (1976, p. 51) describes as “settled orthodoxy,” characterized by the new mobility in Philippine society – the period of urbanization and the rise of the middle class, comprised of landowners, business(wo)men and traders, brought about by Manila’s opening to world trade (Constantino, 1975, pp. 128-30; Reyes, 1999, pp. 9-10). The middle class *Filipinas* described in this study were products of this economic progress that took place in the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. They were the half-breeds (creoles, Spanish mestizas, Chinese mestizas) and urbanized local elites who had Hispanized themselves. (Constantino, 1975, p. 151)

Urbana at Felisa was published a year after the Educational Decree of 1863 was promulgated. This decree secularized, liberalized and universalized education. Eventually, it gave rise to a crop of educated, middle class *Filipinas*, who were able to buy books, and were to become the patrons and readers of *Urbana at Felisa* during the second half of the nineteenth century. “They constituted a large literate group whose various roles had already been defined by society” (Reyes, 1999, p. 8).

Spanish colonizers had their own worldview which they imposed on their colonized subjects. As Pearson (1996) explains, “moral tales” were intended to initiate the young in proper behavior, the most vital of which was respect to God and to one’s parents. But Althusser (1971, p. 185) asserts that “the ideology of the ruling class does not become the ruling ideology by the grace of God, nor even by virtue of the seizure of State power alone. It is by the installation of the ISAs in which this ideology is realized and realizes itself that it becomes the ruling ideology.” He recognizes that in the eighteenth century, “ideology as a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence” (Althusser, 1971, p. 162) was the responsibility of priests or “despots.” Althusser (1971) claims:

They ‘forged’ the Beautiful Lies so that, in the belief that they were obeying God, men would in fact obey the Priests and Despots, who are usually in alliance

in their imposture, the Priests acting in the interests of the Despots or *vice versa*... There is a cause for the imaginary transposition of the real conditions of existence: that cause is the existence of a small number of cynical men who base their domination and exploitation of the 'people' on a falsified representation of the world which they have imagined in order to enslave other minds by dominating their imaginations. (p. 163)

The author of *Urbana at Felisa* was Presbitero Modesto De Castro, an exemplar of good social breeding in the nineteenth century, who was a Catholic priest, a moralist, a writer and an orator. Interestingly, he was true to his name for being "modest" (*modesto* in Sp.). Reyes (1999, pp. 7-8) described De Castro as:

A man nurtured in a traditional society where the law was made and enforced by men. The institution to which they belonged was certainly a male-dominated structure where women were generally perceived as followers, never as leaders. He was clearly a writer motivated by the demands of his faith and instruction.

For Althusser (1971, p. 177), priests were responsible for the moralist-didactic themes which included patriarchal-androcentric virtues. The 'world outlook' they created was religious ideology which can be (re)produced for ethical, legal, political, aesthetic ideology, which is an effective mode of moral, spiritual and political inculcation (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffins, 1995, p. 426). Althusser explains further:

The existence of the ideas of his belief is material in that his ideas are his material actions inserted into material practices governed by material rituals which are themselves defined by the material ideological apparatus from which derive the ideas of that subject (pp. 168-170).

Nineteenth-century literature emphasizes *didacticism* or "the view that there are universal moral values and that they can be conveyed through literature" (Casement, 1987, p. 102). As opposed to the list of rules (*caton*) of earlier centuries, the pedantic tone and monastic orientation shifted towards the training of the young for an urbane life. Books of conduct trained the women in the right manner of dress, behavior and thought, and in every plausible occasion (Tiongson, 1991, p. 160; Cruz-Lucero, 1998, p. 80). Netzorg's (1982, p. 282) "Books for Children in the Philippines: The Late Spanish Period" portrays that the city children of good families were, "thoroughly policed and had well-scrubbed brains. Ultramontane conservatism was the rule." Reyes (1999) notes that:

The book has been traditionally regarded as a repository of lessons meant not only for nineteenth-century readers, but also intended for twentieth-century readers ... It was popular for at least one hundred years – starting in the second half of the nineteenth century and peaking in the first few decades of American rule – for at least five generations of readers ... the work is still alive in various textbooks in Philippine literature as a significant nineteenth century text ... Because of its power, it was significant to the twentieth century reader desirous of leading a morally purposeful life. (pp. 3-4)

Hence, one's good breeding is manifested in a life of decorum, and that "the good Catholic is also a perfect colonial" (Mojares, 1983, p. 80). According to Althusser (1971, p. 171), "it is essential to realize that both he who is writing these lines and the reader who reads them are themselves subjects and therefore ideological subjects."

Ideological Reproduction of Femininity in *Urbana at Felisa*

Urbana at Felisa embodies the ideology of femininity that was reproduced in the Philippines in late nineteenth century. In the context of this study, *femininity* refers to the socially and culturally constructed roles, attributes, and behaviors of the middle class Filipina. The feminine roles demonstrated in *Urbana at Felisa* were rooted in a heavily paternalistic ideological system and constantly informed women that they were to be secondary and subordinate to men" (Owen, 2000, pp. 24-25). Nineteenth-century women were depicted in the following ideologies of femininity:

Ideology of the pious woman

The middle class woman is informed by religious commitment with a sense of moral authority. It is rooted in Christianity, which is a major constitutive force in the history of manners. Books of conduct in the late nineteenth century had religious underpinnings and were written by priests for compulsory use in the Catholic teaching (Phelan, 1959). *Urbana at Felisa* is the material ideological status of religion and indoctrination that served as a system of laws on morality that must be followed by the emerging middle class in Philippine society. The book associated manners with spiritual virtues, such as piety.

Pagkagising sa umaga'y sasandatahin ang krus, maninikluhod ka't magpupuri sa Diyos, nagpapasalamat at iniadya ka sa madlang panganib at pinagkalooban ng buhay...Diyos ang unang bigkas ng labi mo...Diyos ang unang nasa isip mo (De Castro, "Pakikipagkapwa-Tao," Chapter 1, p.9). [Upon waking up in

the morning, make the sign of the cross, kneel down and praise God, thank Him for sparing you from harm and giving you life...God should be the first word from your lips...You should think of God first.] (De Castro, "Maintaining Friendly Relations with Others," Chapter 1, p. 9)

Parents and teachers should teach children to thank God for His blessings on the food that one is about to partake. *Nauukol disin na ituro ng magulang o maestro sa paaralan ang pagbebendisyon sa dulang, ang pagpapasalamat sa Diyos* [It would be appropriate for the parent or teacher to teach in school the proper way to thank God for His blessings] ("Kaasalan sa Sarili," Chapter 7, p. 19; "Sa Piging," Chapter 15, p. 63). ("Self Habits," Chapter 7, p. 19; "In a Banquet," Chapter 15, p. 63).

While in church, *huwag bubunutin sa simbahan at saan man ang paa sa chinelas at pagpilitan mong matakpan ang saya* ("Ang Asalin sa Simbahan, 19) [Never remove your slippers in church and elsewhere and do your best to cover your feet with the skirt] ("Church Manners," Chapter 4, p.19).

Observing proper decorum in church is another obligation to God. As narrated:

Pagdating sa pintuan ng simbahan, ay magdarasal ang bawat isa sa amin ng panalanging sinipi sa salmo...Pagkaok ng tubig na bendita, lalakad at maninikluhod sa harap ng Santisimo Sacramento, magdarasal ng rosario, may hawak na libro sa kamay...ibinabawal ang palibut-libutin ang mata...nang huwag malibang sa lumalabas at pumapasok na tao. Kung nakikinig ng sermon, ay tinutulutang umupo kami, nguni't ipinagbabawal ang maningkyad; sapagka't mahalay tingnan ang upong ito, at tila ukol lamang sa hayop. Sa pag-upo ay magpakahinhin, itatahimik ang bibig, mata at buong katawan, pakinggang magaling ang aral ng Diyos

("Ang Katungkulan ng Tao sa Diyos," Chapter 3, p. 17). [Upon reaching the church door, each of us will say a prayer that we have quoted from the Psalms...After dipping one's finger into the holy water, walk towards the Holy Sacrament and beg for forgiveness in front of it, pray the rosary, while holding a prayer book...it is forbidden to wander one's eyes around...so s/he will not be amused by people who enter and leave. When listening to the sermon, we are allowed to sit, but we are prohibited from squatting because this manner of sitting looks indecent, and is seemingly for animals only. Sit modestly; keep silent, eyes and body should be focused when listening intently to the good message of God.] ["The Obligations of Humans to God," Chapter 3, p. 17].

The primacy of religion in the education of women was crucial at the core of the curriculum in Christian schools. Dissemination of religious instruction was made more effective with Tagalog and other vernaculars as mediums of delivery, so the reach of its readers will be more extensive (Reyes, 1999, p. 13). The school and religious ISA significantly influence the objectified attitude of colonized women. It made the belief in God and the Christian religion more logical and important to the people. Women exert great influence on family life because their conversion would facilitate the evangelisation of the whole country (Alzona, 1932, p. 287). In citing Althusser (1971), the mechanism of hegemony is “interpellation,” which is the recognition and adoption of the dominant patriarchal ideology and its practices (p. 299).

Ideology of motherhood and domesticity

Urbana at Felisa reproduced the ideology of femininity that involved “the acquisition of skills and knowledge relevant to the world she was said to belong to” (Camagay, 1995, p. 31). In the words of Gray (2004, p. 53), “the hegemonic institutions of nineteenth-century required women to be objects in marriage and in motherhood, existing as vessels of maternity and sexuality, with little opportunity for individuality.”

Moreover, the novel’s role as an educational-cultural primer was proof as to how ISA socialized and transformed the colonized woman, as could be gleaned in a curriculum that “came neatly tied up in a tried and homely recipe: children, cooking, praying and needlework” (Sta. Maria, 1983, p. 181). Not only did her acquisition of colonial education relegate her to the home, school, and church, but made her assist in the consolidation of the foreign agenda (Kelly & Altbach, 1984, p. 1).

The confinement of women in the home reinforces their “housewifisation” or domestication with their introduction to needlework and home economics. The domestic field was the cultural expression of the woman’s world. She is a perfect homemaker because next to keeping one’s dress pure and clean is the goal to achieve excellence or skill (*kahusayan*) in housekeeping. Maintaining the stairs, kitchen and bed spotless reflects the purity of herself as housekeeper (*nagsasaysay ng kalinisan ng maybahay*), thus women should take heed of this advice. *Ang hagdanan, kusina at hihigan ang nagsasaysay ng kalinisan ng maybahay, kaya dapat pag-iingatan.* [The stairs, kitchen and bed tell a lot on the purity of the housekeeper, one should exercise care for this reason].

The mother is expected to teach her daughter to tend the household because the fate of a good or bad household depends on the woman. *Bigyan ng ina ng gagawin, turuang mamahala sa bahay ... Ito'y katungkulan ng magulang na ituro sa anak ... sapagkat sa isang babae, nanggagaling ang masama o magandang kapalaran ng pamamahay* (“Aral sa mga Ina na may mga Anak na Dalaga,” Chapter 26, p. 133). [Keep the mother busy, teach her how to manage a house... This is an obligation a parent must teach to her/his daughter... because the woman is the source of bad or good fate of her home.] (“Lesson to Mothers with Single Daughters,” Chapter 26, p. 133) Industriousness and cleanliness are precious traits of a woman and indolence is detested. *Ang kasipagan at kalinisan ay hiyas ng babae, at ang katamara'y isang kapintasan.*

Cleanliness and good manners are invariably practiced when entertaining people in the house. Women should be extra careful less any word, movement, viewpoint and manners in general could be construed as unclean and morally offensive (*salaula*) or an act which one could find fault (*ikapipintas*).

Part of a mother's reproductive role is to rear her daughters properly. She has to teach her to fear God, avoid flirtations. *Huwag pagpakitaan ng ngipin.* [Avoid long onset grin.] This act of smiling with the woman's lips slightly agape is deemed immodest and coquetish. *Turuan mong matakot sa Diyos, huwag pagpakitaan ng ngipin, pakaingatan ang kanilang pagkabirhen, turuang magmahal sa asal at magpakahinhin* (“Aral sa mga Ina na may mga Anak na Dalaga,” Chapter 26, p. 131). [Teach them to fear God, avoid flirtatious smiles with accentuated teeth, they should value their virginity, teach them to love good manners, and be modest] [“Lesson to Mothers with Single Daughters,” Chapter 26, p. 131]

Whatever actions children do have bearing on the family's reputation. *Ang batang may bait at dunong, ay kapurihan ng magulang, at ang kanyang kilos, pangungusap at asal, ay nagsasaysay na mahal ang asal, ng nagturing magulang* (“Sa Eskuwelahan,” Chapter 8, p. 31). [The child with goodness and knowledge brings honor to parents, and his/her actions, words and manners, express the precious manners of parents who taught him/her.] [“In School,” Chapter 8, p. 31]

Non-conformity to certain norms of behavior ends disrepute and lack of good breeding from parents. *Pakailagan ang masamang asal*

sapagka't nakasisira ng puri sa magulang (“Sa Piging,” Chapter 15, p. 59). One is advised not to mingle with the village people flocking in the street nor meddle in street fights, just walk straight ahead, don’t laugh silly, while treating fellow-youngsters with derision, or being discourteous to the old ones, and so the people would not say that nothing was learned from the parents. *Sa lansangan ay huwag makikialam sa mga pulong at away na madaraan, matuwid ang lakad, huwag ngingisi-ngisi, manglilibak sa kapwa-bata, o lalapastangan sa matanda, at nang huwag masabi ng tao na walang pinag-aralan sa mga magulang*] (“Sa Eskuwelahan,” Chapter 8, p. 31).

Mothers are accountable for having daughters of ill-repute because they are reflections of themselves. To drive home his point, De Castro cites Ecclesiastes 25.24 to prove that evil is shown from the transformation of a woman’s face.

Sa pagbabago ng mukha ng babae, nakikilala ng kanyang kasamaan, kaya hindi karampatang kalilingatan sapagkat ang kasiraan ng anak na babae ay kasiraan ng ina; ang anak na talipandas at mapangahas ay nakapagbibigay hapis sa kaawa-awang ama (“Aral sa mga Ina na may mga Anak na Dalaga,” Chapter 26, p. 131).

Policies were imagined to immunize the body from the contamination of sin. As critic Anne Scott MacLeod concluded, the nineteenth century opens with a prevailing belief in a rational but imperfect child and enthused to the Romantic idea of childish purity and innocence. Indeed, when late eighteenth-century Christian cultures were dominated by religion, notions about the nature of children were stuck in the doctrine of Original Sin: the belief that all individuals are born with and prone to sin and must therefore battle against temptation to reach a state of grace (Pearson, 1996). Thus, *Urbana at Felisa* serves as a discourse to control the moral excesses of the time and confirm basic Christian tenets.

Ideology of purity, chastity and virginity

Urbana at Felisa presents how the body is catechized, sanitized, and sanctified through outward manifestations in clothing, manners, and chastity. Hence, Althusser asserts, “an ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice/s...[It] practices the rituals of ideological recognition (1971, pp. 166, 172) through the representations propagated by books of conduct, such as:

Purity of soul

Ritual formalism is not the only concern of priests, but the formation of the human soul. The human body is perceived as the vessel of the soul. *Ang kahusayan at kalinisan sa asal ay salamin ng kalinisan ng kaluluwa* (“Sa Kalinisan,” Chapter 16, p. 65), *sa Diyos sukat nating asahan ang kaaliwan ng ating kaluluwa* (“Kahatulang Ukol sa Pag-ayon sa Kalooban ng Diyos,” Chapter 34, p. 197) [The goodness and purity of manners reflect the purity of the soul; we should always depend on God as to what pleases Him in the purification of our soul.]

The protection of the human senses must be upheld because these are believed to be the “doors” to the soul. The eyes mirror one’s character. *Ang mahinhing titig ng mata mong di nagpapalibot-libot...dito’y iginagalang ng mga batang lalaki’t di ka mahagisan ng masamang aglahi* (“Pakikipagkapwa-Tao,” Chapter 1, p. 9) [The modest gaze that does not wander around...young men would respect you accordingly or else, they would hurl insulting remarks.]

Purity is upheld when a woman possesses the ability “to control her emotions and also to view the world as populated by devils” (Mendoza-Guazon, 1928) Cautiousness, therefore, is the virtue. This perceived fear and mistrust nonetheless is apparently diminished by adhering to the religious apparatus. In E. San Juan’s (2006) analysis of *Urbana*:

...all too familiar motif of the city as the diabolic snare or trap for innocent, virtuous maidens venturing from pastoral retreats. In this context, the world (read: Manila) abounds with sinful temptations, so that transactions with the ‘Other’ must be performed in strict obedience to church-sanctioned rules of conduct and propriety. In other words, without a patriarch-oriented hermeneutics and code, the city is a many-layered text of puzzling insinuations and ambiguities to be deciphered at one’s own risk. (Web Blog)

In addressing men, a mere look at a woman can ruin a man’s sensibilities. *Huwag tulutan na sa kanilang pagtingin ay mabasa ang kagaslwan at pagkamairugin. Sa mata nanasok ang kamatayan ng kaluluwa, na sumisira sa mga binata* (“Aral sa mga Ina na may mga Anak na Dalaga,” Chapter 26, p. 131) [Never allow them to read your being mischievous and affectionate. In the eyes will enter the death of one’s soul that will destroy young men.]

Manner of dress also forms part of a virtuous woman. When a woman wears a flimsy dress (*barong nanganganinag*) or displays coarse manners is regarded as “impure.” It would appear as if she desires to expose herself to the public when in very loose dress, short skirt, or when she unwittingly exhibits disgraceful manners. *Ang magluwang ng bilog, ang mamaro nang maikli, ang babaeng di marunong mag-ingat ng kanyang pagkilos, ay parang itinatanyag ang katawan sa mata ng tao.* (“Sa Kalinisan,” Chapter 16, p. 65)

Another corollary representation of an impure image is the myth about Eve as temptress. Eve, the first woman and wife of Adam in the Bible, Genesis 2:21-25; 3:20, was thought to be responsible in coaxing Adam to eat the forbidden fruit of the ‘tree of knowledge of good and evil’ through the tempting of the serpent which led them to sin against God. However, temptation of the sexual variety leads man to sin in De Castro’s book. But like Eve exposing herself to the serpent, the local lasses may expose themselves like stray grapes in the vineyard (*ubas na bibitin-bitin sa sanga*), inviting men to readily pluck them (*nag-aanyayang papitas*) when they are in the habit of gazing leisurely by the window sill (“Aral sa mga Ina na may mga Anak na Dalaga,” Chapter 26, p. 131).

Teenagers are prohibited from meeting secretly without the knowledge of their parents. Disobedience may lead to loss of honor (*puri*) through seduction or literally “mashing with hands” (*lamuyot*) because of the woman’s innate kindness (*katutubong kabaitan*), rendering herself defenseless from this weakness. It is a dreadful practice of parents to leave their daughters alone with a suitor. *Pagpanhik ng baguntao, pagkabati sa magulang ay iiwan ang anak na dalaga, pababayaang makipag-usap nang sarili sa baguntao* (“Aral sa mga Ina na may mga Anak na Dalaga,” Chapter 26, p. 131) [When a suitor comes in, after greeting the young unmarried woman’s parents, they neglect their daughter, by leaving her alone with the suitor.

Virginal woman

Purity is associated with cleanliness, physical attire and adherence to certain codes of behavior. Bodies are synchronized as to their exteriority and movement. Prescriptions on personal hygiene are specified. *Maghilamos muna; suklaying maayos ang buhok; malinis, mahusay at pagbabagay-bagay ng damit; ang kuko ay huwag pahahabain* (“Kaasalan

sa Sarili,” Chapter 7, p. 27) [Wash your face; comb your hair; wear clean, orderly and suitable clothes; trim your nails.]

The worth of a woman is equated with her purity and physical virginity. The devirginized unmarried woman loses her honor which is irreplaceable, likened to a gem (*hiyas*), once broken (*minsang masira’y*) cannot be restored or when dropped cannot be retrieved (“Pagpapasyal,” Chapter 19, p. 81). Once robbed of her virginity by a treacherous man (*taksil na loob*), nothing can be done but to cry (*tumangis*) to high heavens.

High premium is set on chastity and virginity. *Ang kalinisan ng isang dalaga ay parang isang bubog na kahit di magkalamat, kahit di mabasag, mahingahan lamang ay nadurungisan* (“Aral sa mga Ina na may mga Anak na Dalaga,” Chapter 26, p. 129). [The cleanliness of a lady is likened to a crystal that even when it does not crack, even when it does not break, with only one’s breath it becomes dirty.]

Noteworthy is the frequent use of local metaphors of nature and sayings to stress the value of safeguarding chastity and purity. *Maipaghahalimbawa sa kahoy na babad man sa tubig, sa apoy kapag nalapit at nadadarang sa init ay sapilitang magdirikit*. [It is comparable to wood that has been soaked in water, that when it is brought near the fire, it will be exposed to the flame and will be forcibly ignited.] *Walang nagkandong ng apoy na hindi nasunog. Ang lumululong sa panganib ay sa panganib din mapapahamak*. [No one who played with fire didn’t get burnt. One who gets deeply involved in risks will also be endangered by risks.]

Ideology of inferiority

The stereotypes of submissiveness, docility, passivity, subservience and blind obedience that describe women in a patriarchal society have been reinforced in colonial literature. Horney (2000, p. 37) specifies that “women unconsciously yielded to the suggestion of a masculine thought.” *Urbana at Felisa* portrayed the character of:

The faithful wife

The ideal woman should be faithful to her vows, since she holds the key to the honor of the household, honor that is ruined by an untidy woman. *Ang babae ang nag-iingat ng susi ng karangalan sa pamamahay, karangalang sinisira ng sambulat na babae* (“Sa Kalinisan,” Chapter

16, p. 67) [“On Purity,” Chapter 16, p. 67]. Fidelity among couples is another proof of *pakikibagay* (acting in harmony). *Ang adulteryo o paglililo sa asawa ay isang kasama-samang kasalanan*. [Adultery or unfaithfulness to your marital spouse is an abominable sin.] (“Kahatulan sa mga may Asawa,” Chapter 28, p. 161)

The persevering wife

In the Chapter, “Kahatulan sa Paglagay sa Estado” (Deciding on Marriage), the image of the suffering woman or wife is evident from the 14th requirement (*kahingian*) of acceptance to the blessed sacrament of matrimony because she must be calm (*tahimik*) and accustomed to hardships (*matiisin*). The world is full of sorrows (*ang mundo ay bayan ng dalita*) which the woman must endure when living together with her parents, husbands, sons and daughters, including neighbors.

Religion became an obsession developing in women an innate capacity for tolerance, forgiveness and suffering (Locsin-Nava, 1994-1995, p. 105). A way for ensuring the young girl’s virtue, as well as the persevering virtue of a married woman, in Mananzan’s (1989, p. 32) description, was the introduction of the cult of the Virgin Mary. Owen (2000, p. 25) affirms “the significance of Mary as a role model for femininity – virginal yet maternal, always supportive, always suffering, utterly devoted to her family yet accessible to all – in Philippine History.”

The submissive woman

Pakikibagay (acting in harmony) is reflected in one’s dealings with other people. Awareness of the situation of others relative to one’s own as an integral part of the refined behavior is stressed in the text. If you are with your fellow playmates, avoid discourteousness, or dirtying the clothes of others, and forcing them to accept things the way you would want it to happen. *Kung nakikipag-laro sa kapwa-bata, ay huwag tulutang manlapastangan, o dumhan kaya ang damit ng iba, at pagpilitan mo na yaong karaniwang wikain ng tao*. (“Kaasalan sa Sarili,” Chapter 7, 27)

Cleanliness radiates to one’s dealings with people, *sa pangungusap, kilos, pagtingin at buong kaasalan ay sukat ingatan na huwag makitaan ng kasalaulaan o anyong masama na ikapipintas* (“Sa Piging,” Chapter 15, pp. 59, 61, 63). [Be wary of any utterances, actions, opinions, and inherited habits which may be perceived as morally offensive or ill-mannered that may adverse criticism.]

The woman is first initiated into the family values of *pakikipagkapwatao* [act of maintaining friendly relations with others], *pakikibagay* [acting in harmony with others], and *pagtanaw ng utang na loob* [debt of gratitude] at home, in church, in school, in parties, during conversations, in visiting the sick or mourning the dead. *Pakikipagkapwatao* is enhanced through *asal, kilos at pangungusap* [behavior, actions and speech] when dealing with the *puno ng bayan, sa mga pare, sa matanda, maginoo, at sa kapwa-bata* [town head, priests, elderly, gentleman, and fellow children.] In the home, respect is given to the elderly from the time she wakes up and retires in the evening, *bago mag-almusal, ay magbigay muna ng magandang araw sa magulang, maestro o sa iba kayang pinakamatanda sa bahay* (“Kaasalan sa Sarili,” Chapter 7, p. 27) [before breakfast, pay first your respect to parents, teacher, or other elders in the household], *pamimintuho kay ama’t kay ina na palaging gayak ang loob sa pagsunod sa kanilang utos, at paghingi ng bendisyon bago patungo sa eskwela* (“Pakikipagkapwa-Tao,” Chapter 1, p. 9) [express high regard to your father and mother by being always ready to follow their commands, and to seek for their blessings before going to school], obedience to parents (*masunurin sa magulang*), when a parent dies, the best way to remember is by frequent visits to one’s grave and to honor one’s name (*dalawin mong madalas ang libingan; alalahanin ang magulang natin, at papurihan ang kaniyang pangalan*) (“Kahatulang Ukol sa Pag-ayon sa Kalooban ng Diyos,” Chapter 34, p. 205).

Mojares (1976, p. 48) explains that in retrospect *Urbana at Felisa* is thoroughly a conservative work, with decorum as the book’s dominant theme. He says that “Its exposition of the duties of the individual to his fellow(wo)men, family, Church and Government, is governed by a concern for the maintenance of a moral and social equilibrium.” Acts of proper decorum with figures of authority are stated:

Sa harap ng ating magulang o matanda kaya, ay huwag mong pababayaang manabako, o mangusap kaya ng kalaspatanganan, o matunog na sabi... huwag ituturo ng daliri ang kinakausap o italikod ang mukha. Kung marami ang kaharap, ay huwag iisa lamang ang tatapunan ng salita, at tatalikdan ang lahat. Nguni’t kung may mataas na tao sa mga kausap, ay siyang kausapin, gayon man, ay di karapatang pawalang-halaga ang iba. (“Sa Salitaan,” Chapter 9, p. 35)

[In the presence of your parents or that of an elderly person, do not keep your cigar in your mouth, nor talk irreverently or vociferously... Do not

point your finger nor turn your face away from [the person you're talking with]. When talking to an audience, do not address yourself to a particular person, disregarding the rest. But if among them is a person of authority, address yourself preferably to him/her without, however, being discourteous to others.]

Respect for authority is essential in colonial instruction

Kung sa paaralan ay may pumasok na pare, punung-bayan, mahal na tao o matanda, ay tumindig, magbigay ng magandang araw o magandang hapon, at huwag uupo hanggang hindi pinag-uutusan. Ang galang na ito'y huwag ikahihiyang gawin, sapagka't ang kagalangan ay kapurihan ng gumagalang, at di ng iginagalang. ("Sa Eskuwelahan," Chapter 8, p. 31)

[When the priest, the town head, or person of authority or elderly enters the school, children are expected to stand and greet [them] and must not sit down until told to do so. You should not be ashamed in the outward manifestation of respect because it gives honor to the person who shows it, and not to the one being given respect.

Acknowledging one's debt of gratitude is important. By implication, this could be applied to the relations between the Philippines and Spain (Cruz-Lucero in Tiongson, 1998, p. 188) or between the subordinate woman and her superior, male or female, alike.

Kung may gumawa ng magaling sa kanya ay pasalamat, kilanlin ang utang, at gumanti sa kapanahunan, sapagka't isang kapalamarahan, isang kasiraan ng puri ang di kumilala sa utang na loob. ("Pag-iibigan," Chapter 14, p. 57)

[If someone had done you a good deed, give thanks, acknowledge it as a form of debt, and pay it back someday, because it would be an act of ungratefulness, damaging to one's good reputation, if one fails to acknowledge one's debt of gratitude.]

Performing household chores, such as cooking and sewing, is an outstanding service to parents.

Pag-aaralan kong habihin ang damit na isusuot ni ama o ni ina...ang makapag-alay sa magulang ng damit na kanyang pinagpagurang hinabi. Pag ako'y umupo sa tabi ng panahian, dumampot ng kayo, gumamit ng karayom, at magbuo ng damit, o humarap kaya sa kalan, magtiis ng init ng apoy sa pangungusina, o ako kaya'y maglinis sa pamamahay ("Pakikipagkapwa-Tao," Chapter 1, p. 11).

[I will learn to sew the clothes worn by my father and mother...be able to render service to my parents through my efforts in sewing. When I sit before

the sewing [kit], pick up some textile, use the needle, and make clothing, or cook, endure the heat in the kitchen, or I will clean the house.]

The passive woman

There are instructions as to how one should appear before others. *Huwag magpapakita ng kadunguan, ang pangungusap ay tutuwirin, huwag hahaluan ng lamyos o lambing, huwag kakamutkamot o hihilurin kaya ang kamay o babasain ng laway ang daliri at ihihilod* (“Kaasalan sa Sarili,” Chapter 7, p. 27) [Never show dullness, speak properly, don’t inflect [your language] with tenderness or affection, avoid the habit of scratching or rubbing with [your] hands while talking or wetting [your] finger with saliva and rubbing it off your clothes.]

In visiting the sick or mourning the dead, the best way to empathize is to avoid laughing or cracking jokes. *Iwasan ang tawanan, pagbibiruan, silence should be observed, pray for the sick/dead and console the bereaved, tumahimik, ipagdadasal ang namatay at aliwin sa hapis ang namatayan* (“Kahatulang Ukol sa Pag-ayon sa Kalooban ng Diyos,” Chapter 34, p. 203).

In relationships with friends or companions:

Magbibigay-lugod sa kasama o kaibigan, pagbibigayang-dangal o puri, nguni’t ang pagbibigay ay tapat sa loob, at di paimbabaw...malasin kung sino ang pinagkakatiwalaan ng kanyang puso; tingnan kung tapat na loob, mahal na asal, may pinag-aralang bait, marunong sumaklolo sa araw ng panganib at kung makita niya itong may mahalagang hiyas saka naman ipagkakatiwala ang kaniyang loob. (“Pag-iibigan,” Chapter 14, p. 57)

[It should always be a delight to be with your companion or friend, respect and honor each other, but all of these should be expressed sincerely, and not superficially...observe if s/he is entrusting her/his heart; observe if s/he is sincere, values his/her manners, has learned to be prudent, knows when to help in times of distress and if one realizes that s/he is a precious gem then entrust your feelings.]

Urban at Feliza as an Educational Apparatus

Educational ISA is vital to the Althusserian theory in as much as it has surpassed the religious ISA in reproducing the colonial ideology. “What the bourgeoisie has installed as its dominant ISA is the educational apparatus, which has...replaced in its functions the previously dominant ISA, the Church” (Althusser, 1971, pp. 153-154, 157). Althusser (1971) describes how education works:

Children at school...learn the ‘rules’ of good behavior, i.e. the attitude that should be observed by every agent in the division of labor, according to the job he is ‘destined’ for: rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually means rules of respect for the socio-technical division of labor and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination. (p. 132)

Urbana at Felisa has a complete and detailed schedule of daily routine activities, from the time one wakes up in the morning until one retires in the evening. From childhood, one is taught these rudiments from the parish and dwelling place. *Dasalan, at nang matutong kumilala at maglingkod sa Diyos; ang pagbasa ng sulat, kuwenta, pagsulat, pananahi* (“Ang Pinag-aralan ni Urbana,” Chapter 2, p. 15). [Prayer book, to learn to acknowledge and serve God; reading letters, counting, writing, sewing] [“What Urbana Learned,” Chapter 2, p.15]. Children are expected to be conscientious in their studies. *Ang kasipagan mong mag-aral ng leksiyon...sa pagnanasang maliwanagan ang bulag na isip, at makakilala sa Diyos na kumapal ng iyong katauhan, punong pinagmulan ng iyong kaluluwa at siya ring kauuwian* (“Pakikipagkapwa-Tao,” Chapter 1, p. 9). [Diligence in studying your lessons...in your desire to enlighten blind thoughts and to recognize God who created you, almighty source of your soul and destiny.]

In the Gramscian analysis, education effects ‘hegemony by consent,’ achieved through what is taught to the colonised, how it is taught, and the subsequent emplacement of the educated subject as a part of the continuing imperial apparatus. Here lies the power of ideology, derived primarily from consent as opposed to the use of force. Education is a conquest of another kind of territory – it is the foundation of colonialist power and consolidates this power through legal and administrative apparatuses (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffins, 1995, p. 425). The colonizers create the obstacle of education as a means of increasing their status over the colonized. Kelly & Altbach (1984) articulated this further:

Colonial schools sought to extend foreign domination and economic exploitation of the colony...education in colonies seems directed at absorption into the metropole and not separate and dependent development of the colonized in their own society and culture. (pp. 1-5)

For Althusser (1971), “all ideology has the function of ‘constructing’ concrete individuals as subjects” (p. 171) ISAs affect various representations through the acts of attracting attention (hailing), forcing

subjects to conform to set standards, in order to generate meaning (interpellation/interpretation) and make them participate in the colonial agenda (pp. 173-174). The ideology of colonial education used *Urbana at Felisa* to transform women as subjects. Educational ISA used this book of conduct to interpellate women. It attracted attention, forced women to introduce meaning to them and, as a result, behaved according to the belief that everything that was fine, noble, and pure in womanhood was ideal. The “ideal colonial woman” lived in an urban setting and imitated her Iberian counterparts. Thus “ideology functions in a way that it ‘recruits’ subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all), or ‘transforms’ the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation called *interpellation* or hailing” (p. 174).

It was meant to hinder real education and real knowledge by providing the kind of limited and ideological education needed to produce obedient servants of the colonial masters. In Klages’ (2006) interpretation of Althusser (1971), she asserts that:

The material alienation of real conditions predisposes people to form representations which distance (alienate) them from these real conditions...they make up stories (that)...aren’t so bad; these stories, or representations, then alienate them further from the real (alienating) conditions. The double distancing involved here, or the alienation of alienation, works like an analgesic, a pill, to keep us from feeling pain of alienation; if we didn’t have these stories, we’d know the alienation of the real relations of production, and we’d probably revolt - or go nuts. (p. 132)

Althusser (1971) added that the lack of any understanding of the function of ideology truly encourages people to acknowledge the exploitation and oppression in their lives readily, without considering themselves as manipulated or coerced (pp. 147-50). Colonial schools were created to produce very few (women) intellectuals. The motto was “no intellectuals, no trouble.” Such explains the kind of curriculum that women had in colonial schools.

As cited in Bernal, Davidson (1994) rightly observed that colonial agents understood well that knowledge is the way to understanding, and understanding is the way to power (Bernal, 2001, pp. 23-24, pp. 255-56). “Colonizing regimes recognize that they gain strength not essentially through physical control, but through mental control. This mental control is implemented through a central intellectual location, the school system”

(Southard, 1995). This mindset has been reflected in Sefa Dei (2010) who wrote that the:

Schools utilized gendered tropes to create new re-organized relations of ruling based on the allocation of power and resource... Males subordinate females in order to lay claim to societal resources. Gender is and has been fundamental principle of social organization and identity formation. (pp. 2-3)

ISAs ‘function by ideology’ for they indirectly ensure the reproduction of the forces of production, but when they ‘function by violence’ they become Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs). They enforce conformity by means of direct social control exerted by government, the administration, the police and army, the courts, and prisons. RSAs employ administrative and physical repression, as well as non-physical forms (Althusser, 1971, pp. 143-145), thus “repression then can be soothed, obscured or even symbolic” (p. 145). In nineteenth century Philippines, RSAs refer to the colonial bureaucracy, the *Guardia Civil*, the Cortes, and the *Carceles*. Yet, the family, schools, churches, and culture “use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection, (or even ‘threats’ of eternal damnation) to ‘discipline’ not only their shepherds, but also their flocks” (Althusser, 1971, p. 145). They generate vulnerabilities that tolerate repression.

In *Urbana at Felisa*, punishment is meted out to the slightest misdemeanor, as when *linilinis ko ang tinidor, kutsara at kutsilyo na ginagamit sa lamesa...kung makita ng Maestrang marumi ay kami’y pinarurusahan* (“Kagagawan ni Urbana sa Bahay ng Maestra,” Chapter 5, p. 21). [I clean forks, spoons, and knives that are used daily on the table...if the teacher finds them dirty, we are punished.] It also instills fear of God.

May pagsusulitan, may justicia sa lupa’t may justicia sa langit; ang malisan ng justicia rito, ay di makaliligtas sa justicia ng Diyos...Diyos ang pinanggalingan, kaya magdaraang lahat sa hukuman ng Diyos at Diyos din naman ang kauwian. (Chapter 13, p. 53)

[There will be an accounting of your deeds, there is justice on earth and justice in heaven; one who gets away from justice here, will not be spared by God’s justice...God is the source, so everyone will pass the court of God and God will always be one’s destiny.]

Parents, who are the authority in the home, are blameworthy for having caused the loss of their daughter’s virginity. They are answerable to God and will be punished by God.

O pabayang ama! O nagkakamaling ina! Kaiingat at sa minsang malugso ang puri ng anak ninyong dalaga ay di na maisasauli. Pag nagkagayon na'y wala kayong magagawa kundi itangis ang kanyang kasiraan, at ang kasiraan ng inyong puri; at ang lalong katakot-takot ay ipagsusulit ninyo sa Diyos, kayo ang sisisihin at parurusahan, at palibhasa'y kayo ang may kasalanan. (Chapter 26, p. 131)

[Oh, negligent father! Oh, mistaken mother! Beware that once the virginity of your daughter has been taken away, it will not be brought back. When that happens, you cannot do anything except to cry for her loss, and the destruction of your honor; and the most fearful is that all of you are accountable to God, you will be blamed and punished because of the fact that you were at fault.]

Pearson (1996) asserts that *Urbana at Felisa* made no effort to stimulate or delight the child into learning, but instead assumed that mundane pleasure harms children while discipline matures them. *Sa ano mang utos ng maestro ay umalinsunod, at kung sakali't maparusahan ay huwag mabubugnot, matamisin sa loob ang parusa't nang huwag makitaan ng kapalaluan* ("Sa Eskuwelahan," Chapter 8, p. 33). [Follow every command of the teacher, and if in case you get punished, do not be furious, accept the punishments wholeheartedly so you will not be too proud]. *Kung ang dalaga'y may takot sa Diyos at napaaampon ay di mapapahamak; at pagdating ng tukso ay iingatan siya ng Diyos at ipagtatanggol sa kasamaan* ("Kahatulan sa Magulang Ayon sa Paglalagay sa Estado sa Kanilang mga Anak," Chapter 32, p. 183). [A chaste woman who fears God and submits herself to God will never be forsaken; and she will be protected by God against temptation and defended against evil.] The text, therefore, aims to discipline both mind and soul.

Control of both the ISA and the RSA are necessary for the colonial regime to maintain power. In which case, didactic literature used in colonial schools became important in facilitating the assimilation or reproduction process. Assimilation involves those who are colonized being forced to conform through repression while adopting the cultures and traditions of the colonizers (Macaulay in Ashcroft, Griffins & Tiffins, 1995, pp. 428-430). Viswanathan (1988, p. 85) points out that "cultural assimilation (is) the most effective form of political action," and "cultural domination works by consent and often precedes conquest by force." ISAs function both as instruments of ideology and repression. Althusser (1971) rightly observed that,

Once ideological messages are integrated into people, it becomes almost unworkable to get outside of them, to question their soundness or integrity,

without being written off as socially deviant. When messages become part of our common sense they begin to seem natural and normal beliefs that can help us to understand and actively participate in or complex contemporary culture. (pp. 150-152)

Colonialism facilitated and transformed the production of knowledge because the school was lodged with hidden curricula which upheld set values. Teachers were not able to escape the reality that, ultimately, they were instinctively a product of the society in which they were *fabricated* and, to some extent, they reproduced a given model that can be close to the one described by Althusser. *Urbana at Felisa* set out codified colonial mores for feminine behavior that encouraged a conformist attitude among middle class women ('embourgeoisification' of mores), as this was crystallized in the educational movements of the nineteenth century Europe and which still affect social attitudes and behavior today. Conservative society still put much premium on the feminine traits of submissiveness, passivity, blind obedience, and subservience (to the priest, to the husband, to the father, to the figure of authority). Imitating these women became an extremely useful means of subjugating women and other oppressed and colonized peoples (Mananzan, 1988, p. 55).

Conclusion

The social reproduction of the ideology of femininity among the middle class Filipinas, through colonial education was effected in colonial literature which imbibed urbanity and morality as standards of femininity. Representations of the educated women in colonial schools have influenced their daily activities, thus contributing to the perpetration of submission to the ruling ideology. Thus, the stereotyped image of the educated colonial was the convent-bred *colegiala*, who embodied the traits of religiosity, gentleness, silence, and servility; whose education was relegated to domesticity, as she acquired proficiency, efficiency, and skills at home, church, and child-rearing.

Colonial literature, to a certain degree, motivated middle class Filipinas to assimilate or reproduce the ideas and techniques brought by the colonizers. Their creativity can only ideologically be praised as the evidence of the civilizing mission of the colonial order, which was, and continues to be, a form of social reproduction of the colonial culture, behavior, values, and ideology. The school and Christianity were powerful

ISAs and RSAs that created the *ideologies* or representations (or misrepresentations) of femininity through colonial literature. The colonization of women's minds made them lose the ability to empower themselves and chart their own destiny.

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