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Patriarchy, Paternity and Paternalism in Early Twentieth Century Chilean Labor History

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The late nineteenth and early twentieth century were influential times for industrialization and labor. During this era of international trade unions, leftist political influences and large-scale economic transformations developing countries sought to deal with modernization and social welfare in unique and varying ways. In Latin America the interplay between economic development, social transformation and political change included addressing the needs of growing and changing working class communities. In Chile industrial and urban transformations caused labor unions, the Catholic Church and the political apparatus to respond to the proletarianization of the country in various ways. This process of social and political transformations in Chile in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century has been well documented by historians. However, as scholars navigate the period of roughly 1891 to 1938 with an eye towards the impact of the working class on larger social,

political and economic processes, finding women in this period is a relatively new historiographical pursuit. The existent literature reveals a labor movement that not only included women in various capacities, but was shaped by hegemonic ideas of gender. Ultimately, gender played an important role in this transformative period of Chilean history as various social institutions and elite groups within Chile promoted a patriarchal gender ideal to encourage tranquility among the proletariat class and solve perceived social problems.

Before exploring the interplay between dominant social institutions, gender paradigms and the promotion of a patriarchal family structure to address various perceived social problems an overview of Chilean political, social and economic history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is necessary. By 1891 Chile was emerging from a Civil War that shifted power away from the executive towards a congress that was dominated by rural elites. This period of Chilean political history is commonly known as the parliamentary period and lasted from roughly 1892 through 1925. The parliamentary period involved social and political forces that eventually shifted the entire Chilean government to the left with the election of the Popular Front government in 1938.

During this period of political transformations the Chilean economy relied heavily on the export of nitrates that were sold in global markets to be used for fertilizers and explosives. Chile gained control of nitrate rich regions in the north after defeating Peru and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific, which lasted from 1879-1883. Chile's triumph in the war consolidated the nitrate mining industry and encouraged foreign interest in coal and copper mining as well. Foreign corporations,

mostly from the U.S. and Great Britain, dominated the mining industries throughout this period. Furthermore, these foreign companies cemented their presence in the mining regions by establishing a strong relationship with the elites in the Chilean Congress.[1] This process left foreign companies and the Chilean state interested in maintaining an atmosphere conducive to capital investment in mining communities.

The large role that nitrate and copper export played in the Chilean economy has led some scholars to argue that the labor movements and subsequent political transformations can be explained within the framework of dependency theory. Charles Bergquist articulated this point in 1986 by arguing that the degree in which Latin American economies relied on export industries had a direct relation to the social movements that shifted governments to the left. When discussing Chile he wrote that, "[t]he war [World War I]… undermined the liberal philosophical foundations of capitalism and, among workers, reinforced anti-capitalist ideologies to the left."[2] By using the upheaval that the First World War caused in the Chilean economy as an example, Bergquist argues that the Chilean people were vulnerable to global boom and bust cycles due to their reliance on unstable foreign markets. In the context of labor organizing and political change this dependency left many Chileans demanding leftist governments that would protect them from the pitfalls of being involved in global capitalist markets.

Bergquist also argues that Chilean labor and political historiography, "has failed to recognize the decisive historical role of organized labor and the labor

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[1] Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, *Modern Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 116-117.

[2] Charles Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Columbia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 60.

movement in the evolution of the societies of the region."[3] In this proclamation Bergquist reveals his bias and also the shortcomings of his analysis. His thesis suffers from an underrepresentation of the scholars who have considered the large urban centers that included robust and politically active working class communities. He also overlooks the number of urban industries that focused primarily on satiating domestic needs. A survey on Chilean history done by Simon Collier and William F. Sater notes that, "[b]y 1915 Chile had 7,800 plants (most of them very small) employing about 80,000 workers and satisfying about 80 percent of domestic consumer needs."[4] Many of these industries included production of food, beverages and other consumer goods such as textiles, clothing and shoes.[5] These industries largely focused on providing goods for mining communities, but they also existed within their own, often urban, spaces and fueled a robust industrialization process. Santiago and Valparaiso were the two most prominent urban centers that experienced this industrialization.

The agricultural sector also played an influential role in the political, social and economic climate of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Large *haciendas* produced agriculture for domestic consumption and export. Furthermore, much of the ruling elites in Chile drew their wealth from maintaining positions as *hacienda* owners. [6] These various economic sectors provide a number of different

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[3] Bergquist, 1.
[4] Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-1994* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 159.
[5] John L. Rector, *The History of Chile* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 123.
[6] Skidmore and Smith, 110-111.

areas that are overlooked by Bergquist, but are essential for explaining the complex interplay between different social institutions in this period of Chilean History.

The rural areas also contributed to the labor force in the urban and mining centers as Chile experienced a period of rapid urbanization in the early part of the twentieth century. According to census data compiled by Anne Hagerman Johnson domestic net migration between 1895 and 1915 alone involved 150,629 men and 138,506 women.[7] Much of this migration centered around people moving from rural regions to urban areas with nearly every rural province experiencing out migration.[8] This period of migration and transitions in labor forces in various regions of Chile created an atmosphere where labor unions could proliferate in a wide range of industries.

These labor unions forced the government to negotiate with the emerging leftist workers' movements. The most notable labor Union was created in 1909 and was labeled the *Gran Federacion de Obreros de Chile* (FOCh, the Chilean Workers' Federation) whose membership by 1922 was 11,476.[9] This national union drew heavily on support from miners and had broad political affiliations. FOCh was the largest domestic labor union at the time, but it was only the tip of the iceberg as various trade unions and mutual aid societies proliferated throughout the urban areas of Chile during the early twentieth century.

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[7] Anne L. Hagerman Johnson, "Total Amount of Net Migration by Sex, Intercensual Periods 1855-1970," in *Historical Statistics of Chile: Demography and Labor Force,* vol. 2, ed. Markos J. Mamalakis (London: Greenwood Press, 1980), 87.
[8] Anne L. Hagerman Johnson, "Net Migration Rates, Total Population, Selected Provinces, Selected Decades," in *Historical Statistics of Chile: Demography and Labor Force,* vol. 2, ed. Markos J. Mamalakis (London: Greenwood Press, 1980), 87.
[9] Timothy R. Scully, *Rethinking the Center: Party Politics in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Chile* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 71.

These labor unions promoted various causes and provided a voice to the growing proletariat class. From very early on the government responded in various ways to the proliferation of labor unions. As efforts by labor unions sought to organize in the peripheries rural elites in congress felt pressure to address this threat to the *hacienda* system.[10] This, coupled with the emergence of popular protests on the streets of urban centers and labor activities that threatened mining interests, caught the attention of the governing apparatus in Chile.

The pressure that these *hacendados* felt from growing labor organizing had manifested in various legislative concessions by the late 1910s. These included "legislating workingmen's compensation in 1916, employers liability in 1917, and a retirement system for railway workers in 1919."[11] All of these pieces of legislation highlight the government's willingness to negotiate with labor from an early point in Chilean industrial history. However, Labor would continue to influence the political sphere as the twentieth century progressed.

By 1920 Arturo Alesandri won the presidency by appealing to the laboring classes. Although Alesandri appealed to the working classes, he had a mixed record of being pro-labor and residing over crackdowns on labor protests. This was typical of a government that was still suspicious of the working classes as was reflected in labor codes in 1924 and 1931. The labor codes gave labor unions political and legal legitimacy, but weakened their autonomy by placing them within the dominant

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[10] Brian Loveman, *Struggle in the Countryside; Politics and Rural Labor in Chile, 1919-1973* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 57.
[11] Skidmore and Smith, 117.

political framework.[12] These attempts to control labor unions took a paternal approach as the state sought to oversee and manipulate the interests of the laboring classes. This paternalistic approach weakened the autonomy of labor unions, but it also made the government more responsive to the laboring classes. Ultimately, this relationship led to the emergence of a Popular Front government in 1938 whose leftist orientation appealed directly to the working and middle classes.

Scholars have seen much of these domestic developments in the political and social spheres as unique causes to the shift of the Chilean polity towards the left in the 1930s. Alan Angell and Peter DeShazo stand out in this historiographical school. Angell argues that, "[i]n the Chilean case I have come to the conclusion that the labour movement has developed radical and strong political affiliations because the effects of the labour code, the attitude of employers, and the activities of the state have combined to weaken unions as economic bargainers, thereby driving them to seek political allies and political solutions."[13] Angell's insights provide a concise synthesis of the political, social and economic conditions that were unique to Chile in this period and how those led to political change. In that way he places the causality of these political movements in the domestic realm. A point that directly challenges the international approach by historians like Bergquist.

Peter DeShazo also utilizes a domestic causality framework to explain the uniqueness and political success of the Chilean labor movement. DeShazo has produced a wide range of work that considers the living and working conditions of

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[12] Rector, 144-145.
[13] Alan Angell, *Politics and the Labour Movement in Chile* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 7.

the Chilean working class. His works focus primarily on the industrial and manufacturing sectors in the cities of Santiago and Valparaiso, placing those regions at the center of labor relations in Chile. DeShazo writes that, "[u]rban workers and working class organizations exercised greater influence over elite behavior than did those in the North or South because of the demonstration effect."[14] DeShazo supports his claims by describing various urban strikes, protests and riots, while directly relating them to various attempts in the Chilean political sphere to mitigate their affects.

DeShazo also locates women in this transformative period of Chilean history. He notes that, "the nature of industrialization in Chile, the distribution of the workforce by industry and sex, job skills, inflation, housing, alcoholism and many other factors influenced working class behavior and the growth of labor unions."[15] Although DeShazo does not place women or gender as a central part of his study, his writing does acknowledge the growing presence of women in the labor force and amongst those who were seeking to transform the political and social status quo. Some of his research revealed that out of 371 strikes between 1902 and 1925, 151 of them involved women and 16 solely consisted of women.[16] Statistics like these and the domestic causality framework are useful starting points for locating gender in early twentieth century Chilean history.

Multiple historians have taken up this endeavor. Elizabeth Q. Hutchison stands out as one of the most prolific authors of early twentieth century Chilean

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[14] Peter DeShazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902-1927* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), xxiii.
[15] DeShazo, xxx.
[16] DeShazo, xxx.

women's history. Hutchison notes that, "[l]abor organizers, elite Catholic women, industrialists, and legislators all debated the nature of propriety of women's paid work as they confronted a rapidly changing society."[17] By looking at women's role in the industrial workforce and the social changes that were brought on by that, Hutchison successfully creates a narrative that is lacking in previous scholarship. She argues that the efforts of female laborers and their supporters to address the various social issues they faced precipitated labor union achievements in the political and social sphere following the parliamentary period. Ultimately, her work acknowledges the particular gender paradigms that existed in Chile and explores the way various social institutions and women negotiated this social structure.

Karin A. Rosemblatt and Thomas M. Klubock expand on this framework in order to find women in the labor history of mining communities. Chilean Mining industries remained sexually segregated throughout the early twentieth century, but Rosemblatt and Klubock have successfully employed ideas of gender to argue that women played a central role in the labor movements of the mines.[18] These authors identify social processes unique to the areas they study in ways that confront Bergquist's assertions that, "copper miners were…inheritors of the radical traditions of their predecessors in the nitrate mines, where in the traditional labor historiography, the Chilean labor movement and the Left are said to have been

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[17] Elizabeth Q. Hutchison, *Labors Appropriate to their Sex: Gender, Labor and Politics in Urban Chile, 1900-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 2.
[18] Karin A. Rosemblatt, *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures & the State in Chile, 1920-1950* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 3.

born."[19] By describing the individual social conditions of different mining communities and expanding that framework to include women, the work of Rosemblatt and Klubock confront the assertion that all mining communities followed the model of the nitrate mines and that the laborers in these industries motivated political change.

Nara Milanich expands upon the scholarship discussed above by adding children and the family to this examination of working class women in early twentieth century Chile. She argues that in this period "the republican configuration of rights and entitlements, dependencies and differences, was rooted in cultural ideologies, social practices, and legal structures surrounding family."[20] Through her work a defining thread that ties the majority of women's involvement in the labor and social history of Chile can be identified as existing within the family. As elite groups, social institutions and the labor movement itself all tried to use the family as a solution to social problems and as a vehicle for social change.

Promoting patriarchal families that put women in domestic roles was a tradition that existed within Chile since colonial times. Scholars have noted that the Spanish practice of restricting the rights of Incan women to own land promoted a patriarchal family structure among Incan peasants in a way that made women dependent on their male kin and males, who gained more property rights, more

[19] Thomas M. Klubock, *Contested Communities: Class, Gender and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904-1951* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 3.
[20] Nara Milanich, *Children of Fate: Childhood, Class, and the State, 1850-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 6.

loyal to the state.[21] Through promoting patriarchal families the Spanish had begun to use family structures as a tool for social control.

The interplay between marriage and social control persisted in Chile as hacienda owners promoted patriarchal families among rural laborers. The makeup of rural labor was differentiated between "*inquilinos*, or tenant farmers, [who] exchanged their labor and that of family members for access to land and perquisites. Their relative stability contrasted with the itinerant *gananes*, peons who worked, according to the census definition, 'for a daily wage without fixed residence or employment.'"[22] The difference between these two classifications displays the root of familial structure in the pre-industrial predominantly agricultural Chilean society in the early nineteenth century. *Inquilinos* maintained patriarchal households and their feudal relationship with *hacienda* owners was often framed in paternalistic terms. From very early on elites and social institutions promoted the sedentary familial lifestyle of inquilinos by blaming social problems on the migratory *gananes.*[23]

By the early nineteenth century patterns of rural patriarchy, the presence of single women in the urban centers and the consignment of economically vulnerable women to domestic service were all present. These social realities are discussed in the memoirs of Vicente Perez Rosales who recounts his activities in Chile from the early to mid nineteenth century. His account of the urban centers in the early 1800s

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[21] Susan C. Bourque, "Gender and the State: Perspectives from Latin America," in *Women, The State, and Development*, eds. Sue Ellen E. Charlton, Jana Everett and Kathleen Staudt (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 117.
[22] Milanich, *Children,* 9.
[23] Milanich, *Children,* 14.

include descriptions of "ladies, children, and their female servants [who] traveled" through the streets in rickety carts.[24] He also reflects on his thoughts that, "simply renting a farm, with no resources but a short term loan and a willingness to work, was all it took to bring home wife, wealth and happiness."[25] His other accounts reveal encounters with single women laborers in the city. All of these elements of Chilean society would persist throughout the independence period and into the early twentieth century. However, as urbanization and industrialization intensified, the relation of authorities with single women laborers, domestic servants and patriarchal families would all take on different forms.

As Chile gained its independence from the Spanish Crown in the early nineteenth century, the state began to reconfigure the legal structure of the family. The Civil Code of 1857 created a new Chilean legal framework to govern marriage and the legal status of children in a more liberal context. The code reoriented paternity in Chile by outlawing paternity investigations.[26] Along with liberalizing and secularizing marriages this law drastically altered the state's role in promoting patriarchal family structures. The inability of children and women to bring paternity suits reflects the way the Civil Code disadvantaged these two social groups. Unfortunately for the affected, this process was not seen as problematic in Chile until the early twentieth century. Until that point a population of orphans and economically vulnerable women provided an easily exploitable labor force.

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[24] Vicente Perez Rosales, *Times Gone By: Memoirs of a man of Action* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 21.
[25] Rosales, 112.
[26] Milanich, *Children*, 42.

This reorientation of the legal framework of family maintained throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century. It had a surprising impact on marriage rates which decreased from 7.8 in the years 1870-74 to 4.6 by 1900.[27] Furthermore, the percentage of illegitimate births rose from 22.3 percent in the years 1850 to 1854, to an all time high of 38.2 percent from 1915-1919. As the twentieth century progressed many elites and social institutions that included the church and state began to see this precipitous decline in marriages as leading not only to an increase in illegitimate births, but as being responsible for the labor unrest and various social problems of the time.

The mining communities were especially concerned with the social upheavals that came with migratory laborers who were not connected to a patriarchal family structure. Nowhere is this more clear than in the Braden Copper Company's efforts to create a mining town in the Andean region of *El Teniente* during the early 1900s.[28] The copper mining in this region relied heavily on migrant laborers whose drinking, gambling and absenteeism provided challenges to ensuring a stable work force. Women also followed men to these mining towns, but were not allowed to work in the mines. Due to such restrictions many women found work in service industry jobs, brothels or domestic labor. It is in this context that

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[27] Markos J. Mamalakis, "Total Population, Number of Marriages, and Marriage Rates, 1870-1975," date from, *Demografia y Asistencia Social, Ano 1946*, (Santiago, Chile: Direccion de Estadistica y Censos, 1949) in *Historical Statistics of Chile: Demography and Labor Force,* vol. 2, ed. Markos J. Mamalakis (London: Greenwood Press, 1980), 56.
[28] The Braden Copper Company was an American mining company financed by the Guggenheim brothers. Klubock, *Contested,* 26.

working class masculinity and a cult of domesticity was promoted by the owners of the mines.

The division of labor was pronounced in mining towns as women were excluded from actually laboring in the mines. These policies were born out of official company policy, but also reflected some dominant cultural values. Klubock notes that, "[t]hey [male miners] attributed accidents to female spirits ('animitas') or to the ghost of a woman, 'la llorana' (the crier)."[29] In this way the miners' ideas of masculinity led them to gender their fears in a way that promoted a strict division between male and female laborers. As these practices left women outside of the mining industry itself, their presence in mining towns was also essential for the productivity of working class men.

This can be seen with the Braden Copper Company's promotion of a type of masculinity that substituted rowdy male behavior with an ideal of providing for women and children as the patriarchal head of the family. This particular conception was based on middle class family life to create a well-behaved, skilled and stable workforce. The intentions of the mining company are apparent in their use of private security forces. Klubock notes that, "[t]he company pursued a policy, enforced by the serenos [the company's private security force] of forcing workers found alone with a woman to either marry or to leave the camps and their jobs."[30] This was an extreme way to promote marriage among the workers and the women who followed them to mining towns. Nevertheless, it displays a commitment by the

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[29] Thomas M. Klubock, "Working Class Masculinity, Middle Class Morality, and Labor Politics in the Chilean Copper Mines," *Journal of Social History* 30, no. 2 (1996), 443. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3789388443 (accessed November 05, 2012).
[30] Klubock, *Contested*, 62.

owners of the mining town to promote patriarchal family norms in order to create a passive male labor force and dissuade women from engaging in nefarious activities.

The company had greater control over their male employees than the women in these mining towns. However, they did use the company press to directly appeal to the wives of the miners. One article noted that the company's educational classes were intended "to educate and form good housewives so that they will not be like those who have no preparation for directing a home, a burden first on their fathers and then on their husbands."[31] The Braden Copper Company also promoted consumerism in the company press.[32] The company clearly sought to create a passive population of men and women through promoting a type of masculinity among men who would provide for their families, a type of femininity that involved taking care of the home and an overall sense of consumerism that would leave every family member dependent on the company's wages, which were maintained at relatively high levels. By promoting this ideal the Braden Copper Company maintained a productive and passive labor force throughout the early twentieth century at *El Teniente*.

The Braden Copper Company also sought to promote the patriarchal family norm in *El Teniente* through education. This was achieved, in part, with the use of the press. One article in the company's newspaper told women that they "must try to make themselves agreeable, not only by their amiability, but also by their manner

[31] *El Teniente* (October 11, 1922), in Klubock, *Contested*, 63.
[32] Klubock, *Contested,* 64.

of dressing."[33] Other articles instructed women on ways to keep the house clean and decorate. By encouraging women, and providing them tips on how, to remain attractive to their spouses and keep a clean house the company press provided an education on a specific type of femininity. A femininity that not only kept them dependent on their husbands in a patriarchal family system, but also sought to create a home space that male mine workers would occupy rather than carousing the streets and bars of the mining camps.

These basic principles were also promoted in the company's extension classes. The classes that were available for women taught various domestic tasks. One company report that was internally circulated among company executives revealed the intention of these classes. It stated that, "[i]f we can train and educate our own people and if we can satisfy the Braden workman and employee, there is a large labor element in Chile which would be contented here and would not be continually after the politicians for the instigation of new laws prejudice to our interests."[34] It is clear through the type of skills that were promoted in the press and classes that specifically targeted women that the Braden Copper Company sought to promote the patriarchal family structure to satiate what they perceived as a labor element that could be 'prejudice to our interests.'

Other mining regions varied in their acceptance of promoting patriarchal family structures among their workers. This can be seen with nitrate industries that sought to curtail family wage legislation introduced in the early 1930s. In 1934

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[33] "Concurso de Condiciones Higenicas," *Topicos del Teniente* (July, 1919), in Klubock, *Contested,* 65.
[34] Undated Report, ABCC, in Klubock, *Contested,* 67-68.

family wage legislation manifested when "the minimum wage was fixed at 15 pesos a day for married workers and 10 pesos a day for single workers."[35] This not only drew the ire of northern nitrate companies that did not wish to pay increased salaries to married laborers, it also created divisions among the workers themselves.[36] One Chilean observer, Mallet Simonetti, noted that, "since the adoption of family wages, the worker element [*el element obrero*] tends to divide itself between those who receive family subsidies and those who are not entitled to it."[37] This opposition to family wage law from some nitrate miners and their employers reveals the divisions that different mining industries and people had regarding the role that a patriarchal family structure should play in society. Nevertheless, many workers, their wives and the state all benefited from these types of legislation as families gained more financial resources and the patriarchal family kept people out of the increasingly confrontational labor force.

In the major cities women had a more active role in the labor force. There were many jobs available to women in the urban centers of Santiago and Valparaiso at the turn of the twentieth century. Census data reveals that by 1930, 31 percent of female workers were employed in the manufacturing sector.[38] Another employment sector for women included domestic labor. Domestic service was one of the primary industries that women gained employment in during the early twentieth century. Due in large part to the impacts of the Civil Code of 1857 on economically vulnerable women and the division of labor along gender lines by "1854, almost 26 percent of

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[35] Rosemblatt, 65.
[36] Rosemblatt, 64-65.
[37] Mallet Simonetti, "Asignaciones familiars," in Rosemblatt, 65.
[38] Rosemblatt, 276.

Chilean women were employed as domestic servants; by 1920 the proportion reached some 41 percent."[39] This large section of female laborers had trouble organizing into a solid labor movement as they worked long hours for little pay and faced a fragmented and horizontal employer base.

Furthermore, their social status reveals the way conceptions of family largely disadvantaged these often un-married laborers. Milanich writes that, "[w]ives and servants might do very similar work, but 'wife' was a privileged status that connoted respectability and a position of authority in an autonomous household, however modest its condition. Service, in contrast, implied social dependence and subordination."[40] The social status of these women reveals how people were stigmatized if they operated outside of the patriarchal family system. It also describes a section of the labor force that was often overlooked by social institutions, elites and the labor movement as they negotiated this transformative period in Chilean history.

Although domestic servants were stigmatized socially and kept passive through their subordinate economic position, women who worked in various manufacturing sectors in major Chilean urban centers were active in labor organizing. These women and their male counterparts posed a problem to the Catholic Church and the state, both of whom had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. One way that the state confronted this social unrest was through education. Much of the state run vocational schools were supported by SOFOFA,

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[39] Nara Milanich, "Women, Children, and the Social Organization of Domestic Labor in Chile," *The Hispanic Historical Review* 80, no. 5 (1978): 37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41233958 (accessed November 05, 2012).
[40] Milanich, "Women", 34.

which was a private organization of industrialists that pursued their interests through the state. This alliance between special interest and the state resulted in the development of vocational schools for men and women in order to create a skilled workforce. Hutchison notes that, "[b]y 1910, female industrial education had grown to a national system of thirty schools, enrolling over four thousand students and graduating about 600 of them every year."[41] These schools appealed to the interests of women, but they never sought to educate women in professions that were not expressly gendered female. By educating women in areas such as sewing, tailoring and home economics these schools did little to confront the gendered division of labor.[42]

Nevertheless, through targeting women as potential laborers, the vocational schools did step outside the dominant patriarchal gendered paradigm that encouraged women solely to be domestic housewives. As the twentieth century prgressed and the state began to consider promoting patriarchal family norms in this education as a remedy for the labor unrest and social upheavals being experienced in the urban centers of Chile this would change. Hutchison discusses this shift in curriculum when she writes that, "[t]he inspector general thus issued a circular in 1910 ordering obligatory, practical instruction in cooking (where possible), 'darning, patchwork, stain removal, ironing, and everything about cleaning and repair of ladies' and gentlemen's clothing.'"[43] By 1910 the schools were openly promoting the same kinds of domestic education as the mining companies

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[41] Hutchison, *Labors*, 155.
[42] Hutchison, *Labors*, 141, 157.
[43] AMIOP, *Inspeccion de Escuelas Profesionales,* (1909-1911), circular no. 18, (December 01, 1909), 6, in Hutchison, *Labors*, 160.

discussed above in an attempt to encourage the same type of patriarchal family ideal. Optional training in trades and obligatory domestic training reveals just one attempt by the state to promote domesticity among women within a broader patriarchal family structure. This task was intended to pacify both men and women laborers.

That is not the only way that the state responded to the growing population of working class women and their involvement in labor organizing. Hutchison notes that:

> "in 1907, women and children (under sixteen) were absolutely prohibited from working on Sundays (men's Sunday rest was considered conditional); the 1915 *ley de silla* (literally, the law of the chair, or worker's rest law) ordered commercial employers to provide chairs and lunch breaks for their (predominately female) employees; and a day care law passed in 1917 ordered employers of more than fifty women (over eighteen years of age) to install day care facilities in their factories and to allow women to nurse their infants for an hour a day."[44]

These laws were under-enforced and statistics by 1925 show that out of 83 factories that were inspected for compliance with day care laws only 20 passed inspection.[45] However, the adoption of these laws reveals the way that the state viewed women as dependent on a paternal protectorate. By lumping women in with children many of these laws removed women's individual agency and viewed them as defenseless against market forces. These laws had widespread support across party lines, which further underscores the way that when the patriarchal family structure could not address problems associated with industrialization the state saw itself in a paternal role within the dominant social paradigm of the time.

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[44] Hutchison, *Labors*, 212.
[45] Hutchison, *Labors*, 229.

The Catholic Church also had an interest in addressing the growing labor unrest and various social problems that developed in the urban centers of Chile in the early part of the twentieth century. Elite women staffed many of the church organizations that provided various social services.[46] This connection between elites and the Church originally left religious charity programs ill concerned with urging women to join patriarchal families because elite women benefited from the economic vulnerability of working class women. However, as the twentieth century saw the rise of leftist labor organizations and various social problems, the Church recognized the patriarchal family ideal as a solution to these perceived ills.

The Catholic Church legitimized its assistance to women within a paternal framework. This is best displayed in a letter by a church official that proclaimed, "[t]his workshop-asylum aims to give refuge to so many young women who, for whatever reason, are outside of the protection of their fathers' homes and are without resources."[47] These school-workshops justified their assistance of young women by arguing that their vulnerable positions were the fault of their male family members. In this framework it was the failure of men in their family role and not the individual agency of women that left them socially vulnerable. This made them candidates for vocational training and work in the Catholic school-workshops as the Church sought to fill this paternal role.

Although these workshops taught women skills necessary to make their own living, the goals of the training programs as expressed by a speaker at one such

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[46] Rector, 119.
[47] AMIOP, *Escuelas Talleres Subvencionadas,* (1908-1909), vol. 2028, letter from Director of Escuela-Taller del Asilo de la Misericordia to Ministry, (October 14, 1909), in Hutchison, *Labors,* 176.

school were also to ensure that the girls "receive an intellectual, moral, and physical education, based on the principles of the Gospel; where they learn manual labor, home economics, and a profession so that they will be able to earn a living…they form solidly Christian girls who will be useful to the family."[48] The training that the Church provided for young women did include vocational programs that embraced the dominant gendered division of labor. However, as can be seen in the quote above, these vocational schools also focused on encouraging women to join patriarchal family structures.

As all of the examples above show, the patriarchal family ideal appealed to various social institutions and elites as a way to domesticate the growing working class. This was not a point that was missed by labor presses, which consisted mainly of anarchist and socialist newspapers. The anarchist presses denounced the patriarchal family structure outright as one anarchist publication in 1902 proclaimed, "[f]orward fair sex: cede not a single step on the battlefield; laugh at the egotism of men and march on alone in pursuit of tomorrow, where you will cast laws, marriage, and religion into the abyss…Hail!"[49] Articles like these urged women to confront not only their exploitation by capital, but to also consider their role in a patriarchal social paradigm by shunning marriage. In that way the anarchists

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[48] "Escuela Professional de Ninas de las Hijas de Maria Auxiliadora: Colocacion de la Primera Piedra," *El Porvenir* (January 27, 1903), 3, in Hutchison, *Labors*, 176.
[49] Luis Morales Morales, "Mujeres!" *La Luz* (Jan. 25, 1902), 4, in Elizabeth Q. Hutchison, "From "La Mujer Esclave" to "La Mujer Limon": Anarchism and the Politics of Sexuality in Early-Twentieth Century Chile," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, no. 3/4 (2001), 536. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40268127 (accessed November 05, 2012).

recognized early on the way that the patriarchal family subordinated women and pacified the labor force.

There developed a paradox within the anarchist presses, however, which revealed the deep-seated dominant social paradigms that existed in Chilean culture at this time. One article promoting female education urged men to support an independent school. It proclaimed, "[e]ducate her and remember that the cradle of the human race is in her hands. Educate her if you want free generations to follow."[50] There are two points that contrast the anarchist confrontation of patriarchy that can be derived from these types of proclamations. The first is that men were urged to lead previously unaware women in an education that would then allow them to be leaders of social change. The second is that these articles allude to women's roles as mothers and wives as they tried to describe women as the purveyors of cultural knowledge to their children and other male family members. The inability of anarchists to transcend the paternalism associated with men leading revolutionary charges or completely explicating women from their role as purveyors of cultural knowledge through the family highlights the influence of the dominant gender norms of the time. That being said, the anarchist presses prior to 1920 did recognize the patriarchal family structure as an impediment to equality and labor organizing.

During the early twentieth century it is difficult to distinguish between anarchists and socialists. The main difference being that socialists subscribed to leftist worldviews, but sought to affect change through the political apparatus.

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[50] Elana Kardenas, "Para Mis Companeras," *El Productor,* (Oct. 1912), 3, in Hutchison, "From", 539.

Furthermore, many of these socialists belonged to the Democratic Party, which, during the parliamentary period, was the first party to openly court working class interests. This made the Democratic Party home to early socialist organizations and a sponsor of socialist publications. It was not until the development of socialist and communist parties in the late 1910s that this changed.

The socialist goal of gaining broad appeal among the working classes, while working within dominant political and social paradigms, left them far less critical of the prevailing gender norms. One early publication that reflected the socialist viewpoint included *La Alborina.* This publication was a socialist newspaper staffed by women writers and editors that directly appealed to female audiences. One female writer, Juana Roldan de Alarcon wrote in a 1905 article that:

> "it is inconceivable in these days that the [workers'] society men—who make such a big deal about women's progress and how necessary they believe it is, since they recognize women's rights as part of the natural and logical order of things—now refuse to make a place in their social order for the woman, even to a *companera* of their own trade, to the woman who is or might later be the very *companera* in their homes."[51]

Alarcon's article provides insight into the ideological differences between the anarchists and socialists at this time. The Socialist press hinted at women's roles within the patriarchal family structure, which departed greatly from the anarchist position. Furthermore, socialism seeks to place women within a broader movement among trade unions that sought to improve their lot through political means. This would become apparent in later writings on women's involvement in FOCh. In these ways Alarcon's article reveals the socialist's reluctance to attack the predominant

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[51] Juana Roldan de Alacron, "Egoismo Increible," *La Alborada* 1, no. 5 (November 15, 1905), 2. In Hutchison, *Labors, 106*.

patriarchal family structure as it existed outside of the workplace. This would make such writings palatable to a wide audience, but did little to address greater gender norms that led to women's subservient position in society and the broader pacification of the labor movement.

Men also challenged their role within the patriarchal family structure, which also manifested in popular labor presses. One article from *Juventad en Marcha* written in 1937 questioned the benefits for men in this familial structure. It included statements that said "[t]he only difference between marrying [*casarse*] and getting tired [cansarse] is one letter." Furthermore, the article proclaimed that, "'[f]amily life' is usually the most difficult."[52] Although the labor presses did not speak for the entirety of the working class of Chile, it does reveal the way that even men began to challenge their role within the patriarchal gender norms promoted by the elites and social institutions discussed above.

The efforts by different political and economic elites as well as various social institutions to promote patriarchal familial relationships bore fruit as marriage rates increased to 11.6 by 1928.[53] The state, Catholic Church and corporate elites all emphasized this patriarchal family structure in order to stem the growing tide of labor organizing and increase in social problems during the early twentieth century. As people from the Chilean working class tried to negotiate their position within this framework various levels of confronting patriarchal gender norms appeared in labor presses. Ultimately, this promotion of patriarchal family norms among the working class to stem the political influence of labor unions failed as the political

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[52] Rosemblatt, 68.
[53] Mamalakis, 56.

history of the period reveals the emergence of a leftist oriented government by 1938. Nevertheless, this period of Chilean history and the attempts by various authorities to promote patriarchal family norms reveals the way that dominant gender paradigms affected both working class men and women in this time of dramatic economic, political and social change in Chile.

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