

**THE FEMALE PATTERNS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF
SCHOOLTEACHERS, TORTILLA AND TEXTILE WORKERS
IN GUADALAJARA, 1920-1940.**

María Teresa Fernández Aceves

University of Illinois, Chicago

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I will argue that during the 1920s and the 1940s female textile workers had an impact on female schoolteachers' politics while female schoolteachers influenced women workers' labor politics in Guadalajara. It was not a linear nor static relationship and influence; rather, it was an enriching relationship in which power inequalities were present and were negotiated in both directions. Working class and middle class women made a cross-class alliance through *El Círculo Feminista de Occidente*,¹ a novel mobilization of women that contributed to opening new political spaces for women in general. Women of *El Círculo Feminista de Occidente* carved an independent space for themselves and for their community, but paradoxically, they participated in the construction of the party-state hegemony.

I will point out that the study of women workers and middle class women during the revolutionary period has been underdeveloped because the analysis focuses on rural areas or concentrates on male workers. I will propose to incorporate gender as a category of analysis. Likewise, I will discuss how schoolteachers, female textile and tortilla workers responded to the changes promoted by the new revolutionary state, how they were mobilized, when and why came together in the *Círculo Feminista de Occidente* in 1927, and built a cross-class alliance to struggle for the improvement of their working and living conditions. Finally, I will use some life histories to illustrate their social interactions.

Most of the literature on the revolutionary Mexico has left out women. Revisionist scholars of the Mexican Revolution tend to focus on the male leaders. If women are mentioned, they appear as symbols not as active actors. The role of the *Adelitas*, *Cristeras*, *Hijas del Anáhuac*² and *Ácrata* women³ is well known but women not only fought in the front during the armed movement, they were important building the new Mexican state and in the making of the working class⁴.

The theme of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 has generated many studies, but only recently post-revisionist scholars have incorporated a gendered

perspective. Ilene O'Malley pointed out that this armed movement was a patriarchal movement that destroyed the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz and established a new Mexican State after 1917; the revolutionary leaders of different social classes and regions became homogenized through masculine symbolism.⁵ Sandra McGee Deutsch went further and pointed out how revolutionary caudillos between 1910 and 1924 delineated the public sphere for men who were identified as virile authority figures and the private sphere for women who were wives, mothers, and "the tamers of men."⁶ Later, Mary Kay Vaughan and Heather Fowler-Salamini examine "the changing gender relations and practices in the agrarian politics and policies of the Mexican Revolution between 1910 and 1940."⁷ They have argued that these new policies generated changes within the patriarchal family. Women and youth had new spaces and roles through the family-oriented rural development policy. The new Mexican state bolstered the nationalization of women as a way to mobilize the family "for purposes of national development in a competitive and threatening world order."⁸

However, the studies about the Mexican Revolution have been focused on the rural movement, on the building of the new revolutionary state, and on the role of the revolutionary caudillos.⁹ For instance, Vaughan has argued that the "revolution empowered the peasantry not only because the peasantry mobilized but because the peasantry gained space from statelessness and the dynamic process of state creation."¹⁰ Alan Knight has insisted on the popular components of the rural revolution of 1910. He correctly has pointed out that there is a tendency in the history of the Mexican working class to emphasize the role of the industrial proletariat and to dismiss the artisans and the worker-peasants.¹¹ But Knight sees the contribution of the working class to the Mexican Revolution as "limited and largely reflexive; it responded to events rather than initiating them."¹² Recently, John Lear has criticized Knight's vision of the labor movement and has gone further by arguing that there is "a paradox of modern Mexican history: urban workers and masses had a limited military role; but in spite of this limited roles, labor emerged from a largely rural conflict as a pillar of the new power structure."¹³ Yet, what happened in the cities with the artisans, working class and middle classes during and after the armed movement has not been explored sufficiently.¹⁴ Most of the studies concentrate on the industrial proletariat such as textile, oil, railroad, and mining workers.¹⁵ Similarly, the analysis of working class women has been put aside, and rarely have they been discussed.¹⁶ I will argue that not only peasants and workers acquired more space from statelessness and the dynamic process of state creation but also working class and middle class women gained new spaces as well.

The historiography related to labor history has been written by taking for granted the categories of "class," "skill," "worker," "family wage," and "citizens."¹⁷ All are male constructions and make the different social relations of power between men and women appear as natural. As Joan Scott has argued, one needs to incorporate the category of gender to illuminate how women have been an integral part of the stories and not a separate chapter. Most important,

gender helps to challenge the invisibility, marginality, and subordination of women. For instance, the category of gender highlights the different experiences of working class men and women and contributes to the understanding of the construction of the meaning of class, identities, and symbolic representations. In short, Scott has stated that "the radical potential of women's history comes of histories that focus on women's experiences and analyze the ways in which politics construct gender and gender constructs politics."¹⁸

Most of the historiography on Latin American women's 20th century politics has focused on class; yet most discussion of feminism and women's movement has highlighted the role played by middle class women and has ignored the contribution made by working class women.¹⁹ On the contrary, a "history from below" sheds light on the agency of working class women, on the impact of women workers on female schoolteachers' politics, on the building of cross class women politics, and finally, on the understanding of the relations between popular agency and state formation and institutions.

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During the 1920s and 1930s the new Mexican state was weak and the civil society played a crucial role in various political and social mobilizations that occurred in those decades. The high mass mobilization experienced over those years opened new avenues for urban and rural masses -- workers, artisans, peasants, middle classes, and women-- who allied, struggled, claimed, and negotiated with the weak revolutionary state.

The incipient urban working class helped to legitimate the revolutionary state in the long run. The state needed a strong base of mass support but through its political consolidation, it fought to constrain and limit autonomous political and social mobilization. Organized labor has been key in the creation of the official party --PNR, PRM, and PRI--, in the electoral processes, and in the implementation of central-national policies. It is not known how working class women contributed to the making of the new revolutionary and patriarchal state. Some work has been done with respect of the creation of the Mexican welfare state and what the state wanted for women; but further research is needed to understand how, when, and why women of different social classes responded to the nationalist and developmentalist state-policies, how women struggled, negotiated, interacted, and allied among them, with the state, and different workers's federations.

The state promoted national labor politics and literacy campaigns to promote the values and symbols of the new Mexican state. These policies created unforeseen changes that helped indirectly to empowered women. Schoolteachers played a role as representatives of the state and as representatives of a community. They were intermediaries between the state and communities what Gilbert Joseph calls *hingemen*.²⁰ Likewise, they helped to implement nationalist and developmentalist state-policies.

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Guadalajara as part of western Mexico has been characterized as traditional and Catholic. Guadalajara and its region did not have great

revolutionary battles as in happened the states of Morelos and Puebla with the Zapatista armies. Rather, Guadalajara experienced political and social mobilizations during the 1920s and 1930s when its society was divided between Catholics and "Reds" --Liberals. This city can be seen as an example of revolutionary process and political mobilization in the 1920s: the tenement movement of 1922, the struggles between Catholics and liberals that ended with the Cristero War (1927-1929), the radicalization of the 'red' workers through their fight against Catholic workers during the governorships of José Guadalupe Zuno Hernández (1924-1926) and Margarito Ramírez (1927-1929).

In the period from 1920 to 1940 the female labor force in Guadalajara fell in the manufacturing sector and rose significantly in services.²¹ Simultaneously, women responded politically as modernization altered the gender organization of industry.²² Modernization determined different paths of proletarianization and informalization in the textile and tortilla industries that generated distinct patterns of collective action.²³ Likewise, schoolteachers became key actors in the implementation of the revolutionary cultural project. Women's political mobilization was to a large degree promoted by the new Mexican state. However, while the new Mexican State tried to arbitrate gendered and class struggles, female textile, tortilla workers and schoolteachers challenged the state's, owners' and male co-workers' perceptions of women with their active political participation and definitions of themselves.

In the three cases there was a significant number of women but their presence varied in certain periods. In the textile industries during the 1900s and the 1920s, women were the bulwark of the industry, but in the 1930s women had been displaced and replaced by new machines run by men.²⁴ Most schoolteachers came from the rural middle class who migrated to urban areas due to the armed conflict. Moreover, the economic instability of middle class families forced women to go out and find a "decent job" as schoolteaching was considered as such at that time.²⁵ In one branch of the tortilla industry, women began to be displaced by men because of the use of new technology. Corn mills were in a phase of transition because half of the labor force were men and the other half were women.²⁶ However, the trend in the corn mills favored male workers because of the amount of corn dough that had to be carried. The *nixtamalero* became a position identified with strength and men. In short, there were different percentages of women in these areas varied over time as the industries developed.

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Textile Unions

The collective action of textile workers was interwoven with the ideological struggles between anarchosyndicalists and Catholics, between Church and the State, and among the different workers' centrals --COM, CNCT, CROM, FAOJ, CAOLJ, COJ, FTJ, and CTM.²⁷ Despite these political conflicts at different levels, the pattern was toward the creation of a single, liberal, and male-oriented union and excluded those who did not belong to the union.

In the first textile strikes in Guadalajara in 1900, 1909, and 1910, participative pioneers created unions in each factory. They joined them hoping to improve their working conditions as well as their relationships with their bosses. However, very soon women were displaced as the leaders. At the beginning, some female textile workers occupied secondary positions in the union's committee of La Experiencia.²⁸ These changes show the different roles women held in the workers' movement. At the outset, women were pioneers in the union's organization. Later, their male coworkers excluded them from the unions and factories, or relegated them to the worst jobs with lower salaries.²⁹ Yet, it is not enough to state that low figures of women in union meant that women were apolitical. Rather, one needs to know what happened inside the textile factory during the displacement of women.³⁰

Tortilla Industry Unions

In contrast to the textile unions that appeared in the 1910s, the first union in the tortilla industry began in 1923 and was the Unión de Molineros de Nixtamal y Similares.³¹ This union had both men and women as members and received support from the FAOJ, which was the local committee of the CROM. Their legal presence was determined by the political effervescence of the twenties.

In 1926 the COALJ promoted the formation of three other unions in the tortilla industry: the Unión de Trabajadoras en Molinos de Nixtamal, la Unión de Trabajadores en Molinos de Nixtamal and the Unión Social de Expendedoras de Masa.³² By 1930 tortilla workers fought among themselves due to an attempt to create a *bloque único*. However, men and women agreed on having one union with their respective gender section. Later the male section tried to control the female branch. Because of this attitude, a group of women created their single-sex union, the Unión de Trabajadoras en Molinos de Nixtamal in 1930.

In the textile industry each factory had its own union --whether Catholic or Liberal-- but its movement tended to create a single and central union in the state of Jalisco. By way of contrast, in the tortilla industry, the unions were very fragmented according to the gendered division of labor and the political struggles among the workers' centrals. For example, the mixed unions predominated in the mills, while in the dough shops and tortilla factories female unions reigned. By 1935, after a long and bloody struggle between owners, state, and workers, the different unions within the tortilla industry got the recognition and fulfillment of their collective contracts, fixed wages in a regulated working day.³³ Yet, they obtained a bittersweet victory because men controlled their unions and there were fewer women in the corn mills. But in the industry as a whole, women gained certain rights.

Schoolteacher Unions

The first schoolteacher unions appeared in the late 1910s. Schoolteachers first organized mutual-aid and cultural societies such as the *Sociedad Mutualista Cultural de Maestros* of 1919.³⁴ Later, in the 1920s, they created their first unions such as the *Unión de Maestros Jaliscienses*, *Unión de Educadores Jaliscienses*, and the *Organización Regional de Maestros*,³⁵ some became very radical by declaring themselves in favor of socialist education and agrarian reform. Through the implementation of socialist education and agrarian reform, schoolteachers allied with other kind of unions. During the 1930s, there were a great number of schoolteacher unions and political organizations,³⁶ but by the 1940s, their labor movement tended toward a single, central union: the Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación --SNTE-- which was created in 1943.³⁷ Armando Martínez Moya and Manuel Moreno Castañeda assert that the majority of the unions included in their rank and file a significant number of women, but the men controlled the leadership. Some of these organizations were the *Avanzada Roja de Mujeres de Izquierda*, *la Vanguardia Revolucionaria de Maestras Jóvenes*, *el Círculo Socialista de Educadoras*, *el Grupo de Maestras Revolucionarias*, and *el Círculo Feminista de Occidente*.³⁸ In general, the different schoolteachers unions --Frente Único de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza, la Unión de Educadores Jaliscienses--³⁹ of the 1920s and the 1930s fought for a minimum wage, *escalafón*, and security of their jobs.

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María Díaz

María Díaz began to work in La Experiencia when she was eight years old. She learned to write and read near the loom.⁴⁰ Her parents worked in La Escoba, Río Blanco, and later in La Experiencia. Díaz participated significantly in the first liberal textile union of La Experiencia that was affiliated with the COM.⁴¹ In 1915, she tried to defend a female weaver of the factory called "Atemajac", but the owner treated her without respect.⁴² She worked in other states such as Veracruz, Puebla and Hidalgo. Díaz also participated in the Río Blanco, Veracruz strike.⁴³ When she returned to Jalisco, she became the first representative of the local textile industry in the *Juntas de Conciliación y Arbitraje*, and later on, a federal inspector of the Labor Department.⁴⁴ In 1922 Díaz was almost killed in the factory because she was seen as 'Bolshevik.' The priest and the Comisario Político were in favor of this assassination. Both belonged to the Catholic union and were against the Liberal Union that Díaz led.⁴⁵ Probably after this attempt, she lacked more space in which to struggle inside the company towns because of male hostility to women's equality. Her option was to work politically outside the factory and make alliances with women of other social classes. In the mid-1920s, Díaz was expelled from the factory and went to teach to the *Escuela Superior No. 6 "Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez"* where she and other teachers taught "literacy, handicrafts, sewing, embroidery, singing, and

folk dance."⁴⁶ Girls received training for household production and everything the girls made was for sale. But, Díaz not only taught handicrafts, she introduced female students political work by working with and for the community. Some of these students were Guadalupe Martínez and her sisters when they were in the *Escuela Superior*.

In 1927 she created the *Círculo Feminista de Occidente*. After her death in 1939, the *Círculo* became *Círculo Feminista de María Díaz* which still meets every week.⁴⁷ The *acta constitutiva* of the *Círculo* states that this organization had been working for a while and its main goal was to fight for the moral and material improvement through the commissions of work, justice and improvement. Likewise, the *Círculo* sought to build close ties with its members such as María Guadalupe Martínez, Leonor Solano, Irene Baeza, Elena Díaz, Emilia Dorado, María de Jesús Rodríguez, and Julia Placeres.⁴⁸ In 1936 the presidency of the *Círculo* passed from María Díaz to Guadalupe Martínez.⁴⁹

In 1931, Díaz participated in the big corn mills strike of Guadalajara in which not only Díaz but also, Guadalupe Martínez --schoolteacher--, and tortilla workers fought against Salvador Rizo's mills.⁵⁰ According to Irene Robledo, María Díaz studied only until second grade, but she knew everything in relation to the workers' rights, union organization, labor legislation, and she always fought for workers.⁵¹ In 1936, she led the section of Jalisco of the *Frente Único Pro-Derechos de la Mujer*.⁵²

Díaz's political participation tended to be more feminist as her roles as inspector of the Labor Department, member of the *Círculo Feminista de Occidente*, *Frente Único Pro Derechos de la Mujer*, writer of the newspaper *Femina Roja*⁵³ and participant in the Third Feminist Congress of Workers and Peasants held in Guadalajara in 1934 illustrate.⁵⁴ Díaz and other textile workers, who were members of the *Sindicato Nacional Textil*, organized the Congresses of Workers and Peasants.⁵⁵

If one looks at Díaz's political action, it seems an exception. However, her political presence occurred when the number of female textile workers declined, and when women's roles in the unions diminished. María Díaz' political stance shows that female textile workers developed a cross-class relationship, making alliances in order to improve women's conditions. Díaz constructed cross-class relationship with women who sought and fought for women's issues.

Irene Robledo García

Irene Robledo García was born in Guadalajara in 1890. She studied her elementary school in Tequila, Jalisco where her father was a judge. In 1905 she entered Normal School. Because of the death of her father, she began to work in 1911. Irene Robledo was director of an elementary school (1914), of the Department of Education (1919), and the Normal School (1925-1930). She also established the career of social work at the University of Guadalajara (1952).

Robledo pointed out that during the *Reyismo* in Guadalajara, there were sociologist professors who talked to the students about the social question

related to workers and Communism. According to Robledo, at that time there was not a strong relationship among students, teachers and workers. When Manuel M. Diéguez was governor of Jalisco (1914-1918), Robledo participated in the organization of *desayunos escolares*. Later, Robledo implemented the *desayunos escolares* as director of the Normal School in the 1920s. Robledo's activities went further than the Normal School. She taught at the Universidad Obrera (1921-1922) and she was part of the group that established the Universidad de Guadalajara in 1925. In the 1930s, she collaborated with different worker unions not only in literacy campaigns but also in sport activities to improve living and working conditions. As Robledo put it: "Mi participación en la organización de grupos obreros consistió en asistir a los congresos, intervenir en las discusiones, escribir algunos artículos de carácter formativo y enseñar a leer a los miembros que no supieran hacerlo. En el Círculo [Feminista de Occidente], por ejemplo, había necesidad de que las mujeres que ingresaran supieran leer y escribir, de lo contrario nosotros teníamos la obligación de enseñarlas. El papel de los maestros que participamos fue el de ser educadores."⁵⁶ Because Robledo had a lot of work at the schools, she could not go to every meeting of the unions, but she continued working in the night school and in the organization of the music bands.

Guadalupe Martínez

Guadalupe Martínez was born in Guadalajara. Her father was an electrical worker and her mother was a textil worker in Juanacatlán. In the *Escuela Superior No. 6* she received training on literacy and handicrafts. María Díaz introduced her into the labor movement and had a significant impact on her politics not only as schoolteacher but also as female worker leader. She became a *maestra normalista* in 1927 and was part of the first generation of social workers (1952-1956).

Together with Díaz, she helped female workers to organize their unions such as seamstresses, domestic servants, female shoemakers, tortilla, and cookie workers.⁵⁷ Both Díaz and Hernández contributed to the making of the strong and radical tortilla unions. She was very active during the thirties in the foundation of the Círculo Feminista de Guadalajara and became leader of various women's unions within the CTM and PRI. She participated in the Third Congress of Women Peasants and Workers held in Guadalajara in 1934 in which she showed her preference for socialist education. Martínez together with María Díaz, Irene Robledo, and Concha Robledo created the female section of the Partido Nacional Revolucionario --PNR-- and began to fight for women's civil and political rights. From 1927 to 1949, she worked in different schools and was one of the founders of the Night Shift Junior High School for workers of the PNR. In 1949, she married the leader Heliodoro Hernández Loza who led the FTJ/CTM in Jalisco. Guadalupe Martínez states that after her marriage with Heliodoro Hernández, she had to quit her jobs. As a couple, they concentrated on their political work at the CTM and PRI. Paradoxically, Guadalupe Martínez

and Heliodoro Hernández were pioneers and radicals in the organizing of labor unions and political organizations during the 20s and 30s, but as a couple their gender roles changed. As a single, Guadalupe, was a schoolteacher and political leader; as a wife, and later, as a widowed, she has led the female section of the CTM and the PRI in Jalisco since 1953. She learned how powerful the use of traditional gender roles are not only to gained space for women but also to empower women. For instance, in 1956 at a meeting with the President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, Guadalupe stated to the President "now the President's gardens will be watched out for women, so, Mexican men can sleep quietly and peacefully. They do not have to worry about women's vote."⁵⁸ With this traditional gender rhetoric, she won her place as deputy. She has continued in politics and has been elected several times as deputy (1958-1961, 1977-1980) and senator (1958-1964).

Anita Hernández Lucas

Ana María Hernández Lucas was born in Mexico City in 1916. Her father was a soldier during the Mexican Revolution and her mother followed him during the armed movement. Her father died during the revolution and her mother obtained a pension from General Álvaro Obregón. Then, her mother and her siblings moved to Guadalajara. There, her mother always worked as *torteadora*, and sometimes her mother sold candies and *charamuscas*. All her siblings died and only her mother and she survived. They went to the different corn mills and searched for jobs. Usually, they worked from 3:30 in the morning until 6:00 in the afternoon. Because her mother began to go to the unions meetings, they met María Díaz, Heliodoro Hernández and Guadalupe Martínez. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Anita Hernández and her mother got involved in the labor movement and started attending the meetings of the *Círculo Feminista de Occidente* where Hernández met different kind of workers as well as more workers of the tortilla industry such as Catarino Isaac.⁵⁹

Anita Hernández recalls that everyone worked very closely in the labor movement, each one watched out for each other and gave moral, political and economic support when it was needed. Through the contact with María Díaz, Hernández learned that working class women could have the same rights as men, that they had to fight for the 7th day, for annual vacations, and for the 8-hour working day. Anita Hernández remembers vividly that María Díaz and Guadalupe Martínez always were there to help them in their strikes, in their *pliego petitorios* and advised them to accept only the working conditions that workers demanded. By 1936 Hernández' mother was elected general secretary of the Sindicato de Torteadoras, but she rejected such position and instead, she asked the union that her daughter, Anita, have that position. Members of the union accepted and since then, she became the leader of torteadoras. As a leader, she sought to change the poor working conditions of the tortilla workers. She participated in the bloody struggle among corn mill owners, state, workers'

federations, and workers. Likewise, tortilla workers showed their solidarity with other workers such as milkmen. Tortilla workers fought not only for issues of production but also for issues of consumption of the poor working families of Guadalajara. Hernández not only became the leader of 600 *torteadoras*, but she also was a labor inspector and *síndico* for the city of Guadalajara.

Anita Hernández points out that Heliodoro Hernández Loza taught workers that "hay que trabajar siempre de frente, con la frente muy alta, con el sombrero medio quitado, y el rebozo, no con la cabeza hacia abajo; siempre ver por el mejoramiento de los trabajadores."⁶⁰ She thinks that not only María Díaz and Guadalupe Martínez, but also Jovita Robles, Cuca Santa Maria, and she "dieron su juventud, su vida a la lucha sindical. Esto fue más fuerte que el hogar, la casa, y los padres. Iban a las reuniones sin comer, sin almorzar, sin dormir por ir a la lucha sindical. Esto era de tiempo completo. Así las enseñó Heliodoro Hernández y Catarino Isaac."⁶¹

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The city of Guadalajara became a city of women, but women did not unify because they were women, or because they were part of the same social class. The unification and the building of a female community depended upon different aspects such as how these women experienced the armed movement, how the Mexican Revolution affected their lives, how strong was 19th century liberal tradition in their academic formation, the kind of generation they were, the type of family they had, what were their economic situation, and how they perceived and experienced the socialist education.

I have described two kinds of *gestadoras* or organic intellectuals who came from different social classes and who also represented different class cultures -- middle class and working class women. Both of them were interested in transforming the Tapatía society and experienced the armed movement of 1910. The middle class woman can be seen as the classical intellectual who wanted to transform society within the boundaries of the school and the classroom through the promotion of breakfast for poor children, changing and "improving" the diet of poor families, nationalism, hard work, sports, reading, among other things. Working class woman not only fought to transform her working conditions within the factory towns but also outside the textile factories. Both of them were part of the generation who were looking for changes in the late part of the Porfiriato. Both of them influenced significantly the first generation of women after the armed movement and contributed to the promotion of socialist education. Both leaders had an important role in the mobilization of the Tapatía society of the 20s and 30s in which I distinguish three kinds of women: radicals, liberals, and Catholics.

However, the radicalization of the political movements during the 20s came from below and mainly from female textile workers who were the forerunners and galvanized the politicization of working class women. Later,

the galvanization promoted by the female textile workers contributed to give voice a new type of radical workers in the 30s: the female tortilla workers.

In other words, female textile workers were pioneers in the textile unions during the 1910s. Later, in the 1920s some textile workers became organic intellectuals, hingewomen, or *gestadoras*, who were excluded from the unions and some even expelled from the textile factory towns. Because of this expulsion, these 'gestadoras' went to elementary schools and taught handicrafts and introduced some girls into politics and showed how their community could fight for claims around production and consumption. Later, in the late 20s and early 30s, these girls, who were in contact with these *gestadoras*, went to the Escuela Normal and became school teachers. During their studies at the Normal and after, some school teachers worked closely with workers of different factories and helped workers to organize their unions and strikes. Some politicized workers went to those schools where a new generation of *gestadoras* but now schoolteachers taught how to write and read: basic skills so key in the labor movement to expressing their claims and defending rights.

In short, textile workers had an impact on female schoolteachers' politics and vice versa: female schoolteachers influenced women workers' labor politics. It was not a linear nor static relationship and influence; rather it was an enriching relationship in which power inequalities were present and were negotiated in both directions. Such cross-class alliance became clear through the *Círculo Feminista de Occidente*.

¹ Archivo Histórico de Jalisco, Ramo *Trabajo*, T-7-927.

² Carmen Ramos Escandón in her article "Gender, Work and Class Consciousness among Mexican Factory Workers, 1880-1910," points out that the *Hijas del Anáhuac* were women who worked in the textile factories of Mexico City who decide in 1907 to follow "the guidelines of the Mexican Liberal Party, but at the same time made specific demands for the improvement of the working and living conditions of women workers. What is interesting about the Daughters of Anáhuac is that their project went beyond mere working demands and comprised a whole program of social improvement which included: the protection of the Indian race, the establishment of prisons dedicated to rehabilitation, severe punishments for corrupt civil servants, and salary increases for teachers." in *Meeting the Challenge: Mexican and Mexican-American Workers in Transition*, edited by John Mason Hart. Manuscrit, p. 141. See also "Hijas del Anáhuac," in *Historia Obrera* 5, 5 (June 1975), pp. 19-20.

³ *Ácrata* was a sanitary group which worked together with the *Batallones Rojos*. It was created in 1915 and both were part of the *Casa del Obrero Mundial*. Workers integrated both organizations to support in his armed conflict Carranza. See *Historia Obrera* 5, 5 (June 1975), p. 21.

⁴ Several historians such as Victoria De Grazia, Mary Kay Vaughan and Susan Besse have point out that in the 20th century there is a rationalization of domesticity in which women received scientific education to improve the childrearing and childbearing. The domesticity of men, women, and workers aimed the modernization of gender roles without upsetting the organization of inequality: the main goal was national development. See Victoria de Grazia. *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy 1922-1945*. Berkeley:

University of California Press, 1992. Mary Kay Vaughan and Heather Fowler Salamini. *Creating Spaces, Shaping Transition: Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1850-1990*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994, and from the same authors "What Difference Does Gender Make to the Agrarian Politics of the Mexican Revolution?" Paper presented at Meetings of the Conference of Latin American History, Chicago, Jan. 7, 1995. Mary Kay Vaughan. *Cultural Politics in Revolution*. Tucson: Arizona University Press, 1997. Susan Besse. *Restructuring Patriarchy. The Modernization of Gender Inequality in Brazil, 1914-1940*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1996.

⁵ Ilene O'Malley. *The Myth of Revolution: Hero Cults and Institutionalization of the Mexican States, 1920-1940*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986 quoted in Mary Kay Vaughan and Heather Fowler Salamini. "What Difference Does Gender Make to the Agrarian Politics of the Mexican Revolution?" Paper presented at Meetings of the Conference of Latin American History, Chicago, Jan. 7, 1995, p. 3

⁶ Sandra McGee Deutsch. "Gender and Sociopolitical Change in Twentieth Century Latin America," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 71 (1992) 271.

⁷ Vaughan and Fowler-Salamini. *What Difference*, p. 4. See also of the same authors. *Creating Spaces, Shaping Transitions, Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1850-1990*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994.

⁸ Vaughan and Fowler-Salamini. *What Difference*, p. 6

⁹ See Brading, David A. Ed. *Caudillo and Peasant in the Mexican Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980. Guerra, François-Xavier. *México del Antiguo Régimen a la Revolución*. 2 vols. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988. Hart, John Mason. *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. Katz, Friedrich. *The Secret War in Mexico*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. Knight, Alan. *The Mexican Revolution*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Meyer, Jean. "Revolution and Reconstruction in the 1920s" in Leslie Bethell ed. *Mexico since Independence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 201-240. Vanderwood, Paul. "Resurveying the Mexican Revolution: Three Provocative New Synthesis and Their Shortfalls" in *Mexican Studies* 5(1), pp. 145-163. Wasserman, Mark. "The Mexican Revolution: Region and Theory, Signifying Nothing?" *Latin American Research Review*, 25 (Winter 1990): 231-242. Womack, John Jr. "The Mexican Revolution, 1910-1920" in Leslie Bethell ed. *Mexico since independence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 125-200, and *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1969.

¹⁰ Vaughan. *Cultural Politics in Revolution*. p. 10.

¹¹ Knight. "The Working Class," p. 69.

¹² Alan Knight. "The Working Class and the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1920," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 16 (1984): 51.

¹³ John Lear. "Workers, Neighbors and Citizens: The Revolution in Mexico City," Ph. D. Dissertation, UC-Berkeley, 1998, p. 1, 18.

¹⁴ See John Lear's Dissertation. Elizabeth Jean Norvell. "Syndicalism and Citizenship: Post-Revolutionary Workers Mobilizations in Veracruz," in *Meeting the Challenges: Mexican and Mexican-American Workers in Transition*, edited by John Mason Hart. Manuscript.

¹⁵ Rodney Anderson. *Outcast in their Own Land: Mexican Industrial Workers, 1906-1911*. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University, 1976. Bernardo García Díaz. *Un Pueblo Fabril del Porfiriato: Santa Rosa, Veracruz*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981. Dawn Keremetsis. *La industria textil en el siglo XIX*. México: SepSetentas, 1973. Luisa Gabayet. *Oberos somos. diferenciación social y formación de la clase obrera en Jalisco*. Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco/CIESAS, 1988. Jorge Durand. *Los Obreros de Río Grande*. Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1986. Jonathan Brown, "Foreign and Native Born Workers in Porfirian Mexico," *American Historical Review*, 98 (June 1993): 786-881; Jonathan Brown. *Oil and Revolution in Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993; Jonathan Brown and Alan Knight. *The Mexican Petroleum Industry in the Twenty Century*. 1992; Kevin Middlebrook. *The Paradox of Revolution: Labor, the State, and Authoritarianism in Mexico*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

¹⁶ Dawn Keremetsis. *La industria textil en el siglo XIX*. México: Sepsetentas, 1973. Keremetsis "Latin American Women Workers in Transition: Sexual Division of the Labor Force in Mexico and Colombia in Textile," *The Americas*, 40 (1984): 491-504. "La Doble Jornada de la Mujer en Guadalajara: 1910-1940," *Encuentro*, 1 (1984). Luisa Gabayet ed. *Mujeres y sociedad: salario, hogar y acción social en el*

occidente de México. Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco/ CIESAS, 1988. Kuznesof, Elizabeth. "A History of Domestic Service in Spanish America, 1492-1980," in *Muchas no More: Household Workers in Latin America and Caribbean*, edited by Elsa Chaney and Mary Castro Garcia. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989. Carmen Ramos Escandón. "Mujeres Trabajadoras en el México Porfiriato: Género e ideología del trabajo femenino, 1876-1911," *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe*, 48 (1990): 27-46. Ramos Escandón. *Presencia y Transparencia: La mujer en la historia de México*. Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1987.

¹⁷ For deeper discussion see Ava Baron editor. *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991. Laura L. Frader and Sonya O. Rose ed. *Gender and Class in Modern Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996. Joan Scott. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

¹⁸ Joan Scott. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988. p. 27.

¹⁹ Francesca Miller. "Introduction: Seminar on Women and Culture in Latin America," *Women, Culture, and Politics in Latin America*. Emile Bergmann et al. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Francesca Miller. *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1991. Anna Macias. *Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico to 1940*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982. Marifran Carlson. *¡Feminismo! The Women's Movement in Argentina from its beginnings to Eva Perón*. Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1988. Lynn Stoner. *From the House to the Steets: The Cuban Woman's Movement for Legal Reform, 1898-1940*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991. June Hahner. *Emancipating the Female Sex: The Struggle for Women's Rights in Brazil, 1850-1940*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1990. Recently a gendered perspective has been incorporated into women's history, see Asucion Lavrin. *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, 1890-1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. Sonia E. Alvarez. *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition in Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. Margaret Power. "Gender, the Right, and Anti-Democratic Politics in Chile, 1964-1973." Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1996. Corinne Antezana-Pernet. "Mobilizing Women in the Popular Front Era: Feminism, Class, and Politics in the Movimiento Pro-Emancipación de la Mujer Chilena (MEMCh), 1935-1950." Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, Irvine, 1996. Karin Roseblatt. "Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures, Socialist Politics, and the State in Chile, 1920-1950." Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1996. Peggy A. Lovell. "Race, Gender, and Development in Brazil," *Latin American Research Review*, 29 (1994).

²⁰ These women also can be called hingewomen, if one borrows Gil Joseph's concept of hingemen. Joseph points out that this concept was originally used in Peter Brown. *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. Allen Wells and Joseph call "hingemen" to those "local, rural *cabecillas* who typically spoke Spanish well enough and had some cultural experience in the dominant society which complemented, indeed often enhanced, their standing in the subordinate rural society. Although such brokers did not *cause* rural revolts, they often precipitated them and played a role in organizing rural insurgents and establishing their links with other groups." Gilbert M. Joseph. "Rethinking Mexican Revolutionary Mobilization: Yucatán's Seasons of Upheaval, 1909-1930," in *Everyday Forms of State Formation. Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*, edited by Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent. Durham: Duke University Press, 1994, p. 147. For Mary Kay Vaughan "A hingeman is a *gestor* who articulates interests between one group and another, between one level of politics and another." See Mary Kay Vaughan. "Remarks on New Cultural Approaches to Mexican Revolutionary Studies," Paper presented at CLAH, January 4, 1997, p. 25.

²¹ GENDERED DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORKING POPULATION BY SECTOR IN
GUADALAJARA 1895-1940

Sector	1895		1900		1910		1921		1930		1940	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Primary	76	0	66	4	65	2	81	0	76	0	31	0
Secondary	9	29	13	31	12	25	10	3	13	2	34	4
Tertiary	15	71	21	65	23	73	9	97	11	98	35	96
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: Table elaborated from the First to Sixth *Censo General de la Población de la República Mexicana*.

The years from 1895 to 1910 refer to the Primer Cantón of Guadalajara. The 1921 and 1930 census reported information at the state level. The census data was not divided into the different municipios. The 1940 census did include the information of the city of Guadalajara.

The characteristics of the statistical data related to the working class in Jalisco are not homogeneous. Through the different censuses, one can reconstruct the patterns of the labor force. However, not always can one distinguish all the different workers. For instance the censuses of 1921 and 1930 did not include the category of tortilla workers, who fell into the category of services. In order to have a deeper understanding of the tortilla workers, I relied on the different lists elaborated by the Labor Department. Some times, lists of the same year did not include the same number of tortilla workers, corn mills, dough shops and tortilla factories. What I have done for the corn mills is to review carefully the name of the owner, number of workers, and location. In this way, I was able to find out a more real number of mills.

²² By gender organization I understand the different work performed by men and women, which can refer to certain type perceptions and be considered as feminine or masculine jobs.

²³ I will follow Guillermo De la Peña's approach about informality. De la Peña argues that informality "does not imply the absence of relation with the State, rather it is a differentiated relation in which the governmental agents accept certain activities outside the laws." in "Corrupción e Informalidad," Conferences about *Corruption and Society in Mexico*, University of Chicago, November 30-December 2, 1995, pp. 1-2.

²⁴

PERCENTAGE OF TEXTILE WORKERS IN GUADALAJARA

	1906		1911		1920		1935	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Río Blanco	33	77	23	77	--	--		
La Experiencia	37	63	28	72	39	61		
Atemajac	17	83	--	--	55	45		
Río Grande	--	--	91	9	62	38	80	20

Source: Dawn Keremetsis. "La Doble Jornada de la Mujer en Guadalajara: 1910-1940," *Encuentro*, 1(1984) pp. 42-44, 48. *Making Money: Women Wage Earners and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1940*. Manuscript, p. 3

²⁵ Several schoolteachers expressed this idea when I interviewed them such as Jacinta Curiel, Hermanas Hernández, Hermanas Martín del Campo, Guadalupe del Muro, and Julia Fernández.

 PERCENTAGE OF TORTILLA WORKERS IN GUADALAJARA

	1920		1930		1940	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Molinos de Nixtamal	35	65	13	87	70	30

Source: Dawn Keremetsis. "La Doble Jornada de la Mujer en Guadalajara: 1910-1940," *Encuentro*, 1(1984): 41-64 and Hermelinda Orejel Salas. "Sindicalismo Femenino en la Industria de la Tortilla de Nixtamal de Jalisco: 1920-1940," *La Mujer Jalisciense. Clase, Género y Generación*, edited by Lucía Mantilla. Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1990, 397-422.

²⁷ The Casa del Obrero Mundial (COM) was organized in Guadalajara in 1913. According to Margarita Castro Palmeros, the COM in Jalisco opened the union age, as well as developed the working cultural life in the Teatro Degollado. Confederación Nacional Católica del Trabajo (CNCT) was created in 1922 to consolidate the Church power in the working class. In 1921 the Confederación General de Trabajadores (CGT) was formed at the state level to fight against the CROM. The Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM) was organized in 1919 as an attempt to control the vast majority of the working class and create a Labor Secretary. The local branch of the CROM was the Federación de Agrupaciones Obreras de Jalisco (FAOJ). The governor José Guadalupe Zuno Hernández organized the Confederación de Agrupaciones Obreras Libertarias de Jalisco (CAOLJ) in 1924 to fight against the CROM and the Catholic unions. Zuno made alliances with and gave a significant support to the liberal unions called 'reds.' In 1927 there was a general convention in the state of Jalisco to unify all the workers' centrals, The different workers' organization agreed to maintain and organize the Confederación Obrera de Jalisco (COJ). The COJ continued helping the red workers and received support from the radical governor Margarito Ramírez Miranda at the moment when began the Cristero rebellion in Los Altos. The Federación de Trabajadores de Jalisco (FTJ) was created in 1936 and was a branch of the Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM). In 1936 the CTM and the CNC were the foundations of Cardenismo.

For more on the development of the workers' movement in the state of Jalisco and at the national level see the following: Margarita Castro Palmeros et al. "Indicios de la Historia de las Relaciones Laborales en Jalisco, 1900-1936," In *IV Concurso Sobre Derecho Laboral Manuel M. Diéguez*. Guadalajara: UNED, 1982. Jaime Tamayo. *El Movimiento Obrero Jalisciense y La Crisis del 29. La última batalla de los rojos*. Guadalajara: IES/ Universidad de Guadalajara, 1986. Same author. *Jalisco desde la Revolución. Los movimientos sociales, 1917-1929*. México: Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco/ Universidad de Guadalajara, 1988. Rocío Guadarrama. *Los Sindicatos y la Política en México: La CROM, 1918-1928*. Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1981. Barry Carr. *El Movimiento Obrero y la Política en México, 1910-1929*. Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1981. Héctor Aguilar Camín and Lorenzo Meyer. *In the Shadow of the Mexican Revolution. Contemporary Mexican History, 1910-1989*. Austin: University Press of Texas, 1993.

²⁸ Gabayet does not give the name of the union. " 'Antes Eramos Mayoría...' " p. 127.

²⁹ Gabayet. " 'Antes Eramos Mayoría...' " p.100.

³⁰ See Patricia Hilden. *Working Women and Socialist Politics in France, 1880-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986. Louis A. Tilly. "Paths of Proletarianization: Organization of Production, Sexual Division of Labor, and Women's Collective Action," *Signs*, 7 (1981): 400-417.

³¹ AHJ, Ramo Trabajo, 1923. List of worker unions in the State of Jalisco.

³² AHJ, Ramo Trabajo, T-1-926. List of worker union that belonged to the COALJ.

³³ AHJ, Ramo Trabajo, T-32-935.

³⁴ Armando Martínez Moya and Manuel Moreno Castañeda. *Jalisco desde la revolución. La escuela de la revolución*. t. VII. México: Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco/ Univesidad de Guadalajara, 1988, p. 120.

³⁵ Martínez Moya. *Jalisco desde la revolución*. pp. 125-130.

³⁶ Such as *Bloque de Maestros Revolucionarios, Vanguardia de Mestros Jóvenes Revolucionarios, Sindicato de Meestros de Jaliscienses, Organización Revolucionaria de Educadores, Círculo Socialista de Educadoras, Grupo de Mestros Revolucionarios, Agrupación Sindial de Mestros Jaliscienses,*

Federación de Maestros Jaliscienses, and the *Grupo de Maestros Revolucionarios Adheridos al PNR*. Martínez Moya. *Jalisco desde la revolución*. p. 132.

³⁷ Martínez Moya. *Jalisco desde la revolución*. p. 119.

³⁸ Martínez Moya. *Jalisco desde la revolución*. p. 134.

³⁹ Martínez Moya. *Jalisco desde la revolución*. p. 118

⁴⁰ Enrique Arriola. "Obreras textiles," *Historia Obrera* 5, 5 (June 1975), p. 17.

⁴¹ In this same textil factory workerd the parents of Luis Morones. See Dawn Keremetsis. "La doble jornada de la mujer en Guadalajara: 1910-1940," *Encuentro*, 1 (Julio-Septiembre 1984), p. 44.

⁴² Keremetsis. "La doble jornada," p. 45.

⁴³ Alma Dorantes, María Gracia Castillo and Julia Tuñón. *Irene Robledo García*. Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara/ Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1995, p. 59.

⁴⁴ In the interviews with Laura Rosales and Anita Hernández Lucas, both mentioned that María Díaz was a federal inspector and that she carried a gun.

⁴⁵ AHJ, Ramo Trabajo, T-9-922.

⁴⁶ Interviewed with Guadalupe Martínez, August 15, 1996. In handicrafts girls learned how to sew, knit, embroider, unravel the treads, make shoe cream, sandals, and become hair dressers.

⁴⁷ Before the establishment of the *Círculo Feminista de Occidente*, there was the *Liga Feminista de Occidente* which was created in 1923 and belonged to the CAOLJ. Also, the *Liga* fought for the improving of working conditions for working class women. In 1926 the *Liga* and the *Unión de Empleadas de Hoteles y Similares* came together because each organization did not obtain their demands. By joining forces, they sought to fulfill their claims and the emancipation of women. See AHJ, ramo de Trabajo, año 1926 expediente número 1928 and 2129. María Teresa Fernández Aceves and Hermelinda Orejel Salas. "Sindicalismo femenino en Jalisco, 1920-1940: las trabajadoras en la industria de nixtamal." B.A. thesis, Universidad de Guadalajara, 1987, p.90.

⁴⁸ AHJ, ramo de Trabajo, T-9-927, No. 2470.

⁴⁹ Keremetsis. "La doble jornada," p. 49.

⁵⁰ Dorantes. *Irene Robledo García*. p. 59.

⁵¹ Dorantes. *Irene Robledo García*. p. 59

⁵² Silvia Lailson. "El trabajo y las organizaciones laborales de mujeres en Jalisco: 1920-1940," *Encuentro*, 4 (Abril-Junio 1987), 74.

⁵³ *Femina Roja.*, by and for women, provides a unique perspective because it includes different points of view of various female workers and female labor leaders.

⁵⁴ Silvia Lailson. "El trabajo y las organizaciones laborales de mujeres en Jalisco: 1920-1940," *Encuentro*, 4(1987), pp. 73-76. Enrique Arreola. "Obreros textiles," *Historia Obrera*, 5 (June 1975) p. 17. Leticia Barragán and Amanda Rosales. "Congresos Nacionales de Obreras y Campesinas," *Historia Obrera*, 5 (June 1975), pp. 39-44. Keremetsis. "La Doble Jornada," pp. 44-45. AHJ, Ramo Trabajo, T-9-927.

⁵⁵ Interview with Guadalupe Martínez, August 15, 1996.

⁵⁶ Dorantes. *Irene Robledo García*. p. 59.

⁵⁷ María Teresa Fernández and Hermelinda Orejel Salas found that in the state of Jalisco from 1920 to 1940 that there were 164 political organizations that were either mixed or only for women. Most of the female organizations were from the tortilla industry, textil industry, seamstresses, food, and shoemaking. See "Sindicalismo Femenino en Jalisco, 1920-1940: las trabajadoras en la industria de nixtamal," Tesis profesional para optar por el título de licenciada en historia y licenciada en sociología. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Guadalajara, 1987. Silvia Lailson. "El trabajo y las organizaciones laborales de mujeres en Jalisco: 1920-1940."

⁵⁸ Interview with Laura Rosales, August 15, 1996.

⁵⁹ Catarino Isaac was a *cargador de masa* and later became the leader of the male corn mill workers, and finally, he created a big and central union of the tortilla industry in which there were different branches that represented each process in the elaboration of tortillas.

⁶⁰ Interview with Anita Hernández Lucas, August 17, 1996.

⁶¹ Interview with Anita Hernández Lucas, August 17, 1996