

**Better Workers, Better Wives: Vocational Education for Poor Women in  
Turn-of-the-Century Chile<sup>1</sup>**

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Abstract: In this paper, the author examines how young women enrolled in the Escuelas Profesionales de Niñas between 1888 and 1928 were trained to be better workers and better wives; how those roles were defined; and how emphasis on the respective roles changed over time. The study argues that, although women's industrial education promoted the normative acceptance of women's paid work as a contribution to the national economy, the curriculum was based on the sexually-segmented structure of industrial work and also emphasized women's reproductive responsibilities. At its core, women's vocational education made the economic goal of training better workers compatible with the social prerogative of shaping better wives and mothers. Both objectives aptly illustrate the moralizing discipline of the Chilean State, as well as how that vision was structured by gender and class.

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At the same time that they master a waged occupation or profession, they acquire and begin to apply habits of order, planning, and economy in all work that belongs in the home and they become good wives of workers.<sup>2</sup>

This is how a journalist for the daily Mercurio summed up the advances of twenty years of women's vocational education in Chile. What had begun in the 1890s as an attempt to shore up Chile's industrial progress had become a scientific curriculum that also aimed to perfect working-class women's domestic talents. The evolution of this educational project suggests the possibilities--and limits--of challenges to existing ideologies of working-class women's roles in urban Chile during this period. As women entered the paid workforce in increasing numbers, elite sectors responded with a variety of plans to train and control this new labor force for the good of the nation.

As the Chilean nation moved into the twentieth century, the stability of its most basic social structures seemed, to most observers, to be in grave danger; migration and urban proletarianization threatened rural patronage structures, while industrialization and urbanization transformed Santiago into, in Intendent Vicuña Mackenna's words, "a kind of double city that has, like Peking, a quiet and laborious district and another that is brutal, demoralized and savage." Even as Chilean elites sought to make order from the social and economic dislocations of the period, challengers rallied at the gates of the oligarchic democracy that was the Parliamentary Republic: anarchists, socialist deputies, even liberal populists. As a number of historians of the period have shown, this "age of the social question" was characterized by the elite's over-riding concern to discipline and order working-class behavior through positivist models of national growth and progress.<sup>3</sup> Liberals and Conservatives alike devised state projects for health and sanitation, working-class housing, primary education, unions and protective legislation.

Like most of Latin America, Chile was also suffering the dislocations of export-led growth: while the state grew and socio-economic changes flowed from the booming trade in nitrates, the nascent industrial sector struggled for a place in the national economy. It was during these years that Chile's politicians began to carve out state policies for encouraging the growth of local industries in the name of national progress and modernization: sometimes in combination with industrialists, they promoted protectionist measures, tariff-free imports of needed machinery, and other initiatives. In the 1880s, another program gained increasing support: the expansion of the vocational education program for working-class men and women in manufacturing trades.

The impulse for workers' vocational education formed part of the movement to stimulate and regulate national industry, consolidated in

the Santa María government's creation of SOFOFA (the Society for Industrial Development) in 1883. The master artisans, industrialists, and politicians who made up SOFOFA uniformly assigned a role to industry as the key to national growth.<sup>4</sup> The sponsors of vocational education sought primarily to raise production levels by addressing what they saw as the occupational deficiencies of the Chilean working population, in both a technical and moral sense. While they constantly stressed the economic advantages to be gained by having a trained workforce, work discipline and occupational specialization would also, according to SOFOFA, assure that "the worker is civilized, and acquires more sober and orderly customs."<sup>5</sup> The original model for such reforms was the School of Arts and Crafts, established in Santiago in 1849 in order to "form educated and moral workmen who are capable of becoming workshop supervisors, and industrialists versed in the practice of the mechanical arts and electricity."<sup>6</sup> The school was never very successful, however, as it graduated few technicians and suffered from chronically low enrollment (about 300 per year) throughout the period. Now, in the waning decades of the 19th century, the masses of female migrants to Santiago became the object of politicians concerned with Chile's economic progress. This modernizing impulse led to the creation of 29 Escuelas Profesionales de Niñas between 1889 and 1910, which enrolled over 80,000 young women and granted 20,000 degrees by 1930.<sup>7</sup> What women were taught in these schools, and how that curriculum changed over time, is the subject of the present paper.

On the face of it, this initiative for female vocational education seemed to contradict normative prescriptions for women's domestic roles: planners both acknowledged the high proportion of women in Chile's industrial workforce and set out to improve their skills, discipline, and earning power in the industrial labor market. Despite these egalitarian pretensions, however, the female vocational education movement merely transformed the modalities of the sexual division of labor and women's subordinate position in the labor force. Most of the Vocational School's curriculum focused on raising the level and quality of home production in clothing, food and service industries, where women already predominated. Although daughters and widows might apply these skills in a workshop setting, planners assumed that many students would be forced by circumstances to ply their trades at home, either as home-workers or entrepreneurs. Women's increased vocational capacity would be complemented by their skilled management of the domestic economy, which the schools improved through courses in home economics and morals. The Girls' Vocational School thus became a reform project that left untouched (and unquestioned) the sexual division of labor, the segmentation of occupations by sex, and unequal wage scales.<sup>8</sup>

This tendency was further reinforced by the actions of female administrators and teachers, who came to control the schools in the twentieth century and pursued more thoroughgoing objectives for working women than their predecessors had. Between 1906 and 1918 the Girls' Vocational Schools evolved into moral and technical training programs for working-class wives and mothers. In this period, many administrators found it necessary to justify the idea of training better workers by showing how the schools also made better wives and

mothers. What were originally supplemental courses in home economics and morality thus became the central justification for the existence of girls' vocational schools in Chile.

In a larger sense, the vocational training movement both for men and for women formed just one element in elite responses to the social crisis of industrialization: an attempt to control the work habits and behavior of the working classes. The Girls' Vocational Schools--and the controversies and reforms that beset them--clearly illustrate the gendered nature of the elite's project of social damage control. While men had to be trained as better industrial workers, managers, and providers, girls also had to be taught how to maintain--as well as contribute economically to--the stability of working-class families. Female vocational education thus came to encompass both the productive and reproductive skills of poor women, formalizing their subordinate position in both the home and the labor force.

#### Origins and Success of Female Vocational Education, 1883-1889

From its inception in a 1887 SOFOFA proposal, vocational education for women was drawn up on the prevailing assumptions of national economic progress and the growing role of industry. Unlike the men's schools, the women's would focus on raising the simple, low-capital-investment industries that were already considered "women's work" to an entirely new level. These courses reflected the trades in which women workers already predominated or maintained a significant presence: commerce, sewing/tailoring, embroidery, glove-making, flower-making, basket-making, book-making and leather-working, charring, watch-making, and weaving. National industry, the school's promoters argued, would quickly reap the benefits of having a skilled female workforce that could replace expensive imported items with nationally-produced ones.<sup>9</sup>

Women's vocational education was also promoted on the basis of the benefits of professionalization to the women and the families they helped to support. Without some kind of vocational training, these girls were said to have no alternative to prostitution, humiliating domestic service or the pitiful earnings of their own amateur handiwork. SOFOFA elaborated on the considerable benefits that vocational education would afford women, "who, until now, lacked the necessary means to acquire, without sacrifice, vocational knowledge that would assure her a paying job suitable to her nature (*naturaleza*)."<sup>10</sup> Technical drawing classes, which trained women in fashion design and ornamental drawing, were at the heart of this training. According to one supporter, technical drawing

opens up the horizon [for women], educates and guides their passionate, lively, and delicate imaginations; makes use of their abilities; impedes the temptation of vice and sloth; educates these uncultivated spirits in work and honor and directs their hearts, always good, along the broad and comfortable path of personal dignity and social respectability.<sup>11</sup>

With this training, women would presumably accede to higher wages, more interesting work and, most importantly, "an honorable position and the esteem of all honorable people." Female vocational training, conceived in the same spirit of modernization and progress as that of men, was justified in the crucible of women's honor.

The school's promoters sought a clientele of literate girls between the ages of 14 and 18, preferably daughters of artisans or skilled workers. Presumably, those families would appreciate the advantages of technical education, allow their daughters to study rather than work during the three years it took to secure a degree, and could pay the 5 peso matriculation fee. Initially, plans for the school had anticipated the needs of girls from even poorer households: SOFOFA proposed to found a second, "occupational" school for girls who, in their judgement, would never make it through the Escuela Profesional. Statesman Ramón Barros Luco explained:

It is understood that the women of our lower classes, whose capacities do not lend themselves to jobs that require some measure of refinement or good taste, would not take advantage of the education that could be given in these courses; and that there is an urgent need to develop the abilities they possess, which would benefit them because they would have an honorable way to earn a living, and industry and the country would also gain from the considerable forces that are now unproductive.<sup>12</sup>

With classes in sewing, cooking, and laundry--all crucial tasks for any service job--this occupational school would have functioned as an annex to the vocational one. Although the second school was never approved, this initial division of the female working population into two groups--one skilled and permanent, the other less capable, unstable, and subservient--reveals the economic imperative of SOFOFA's initial proposal for female vocational training. Rather than eliminate one of the two projected schools, the Ministry of Industry and Public Works chose to combine women's industrial and service trades in the single Escuela Profesional de Niñas (established in 1888).

Compared to the modest scale of male vocational education, the subsequent two decades saw the massification of vocational training for girls. While enrollment fluctuated from year to year, attendance in the first Girls' Vocational School grew steadily from 248 in 1888 to 664 in 1902, and then fluctuated between 350 and 450 students per year from 1903 to 1909.<sup>13</sup> In 1902, about one third of the 664 students received diplomas after completing a three-year curriculum.<sup>14</sup> These were also years of national expansion, as 27 more schools were established throughout Chile and a second, smaller school opened in Santiago. Accordingly, the infrastructure of the system grew to include a host of instructors trained at the Vocational High School and teaching in the provinces, school properties rented or owned by the State, oversight committees for each school,<sup>15</sup> and a tier of administrators responsible for directing and inspecting the vocational schools. School administration was carried out largely by women, who inspected, directed, and taught the growing student body.<sup>16</sup>

From the very first, administrators and outside observers considered the Santiago Vocational School for Girls a resounding success, capable of providing lessons for male vocational as well as public elementary education.<sup>17</sup> The principal improvement offered in the girls' schools, one author argued, was that in addition to giving proper vocational training and opening up new areas of work for women, the schools "discharged their proper role as a powerful support for our culture and the development of our population's principal and most widespread industries."<sup>18</sup> Despite its small size, the Girls' Vocational School was constantly promoted in the daily press, and the yearly exhibit of the School's works inevitably produced a flurry of favorable reviews from Santiago journalists. A typical review emphasized that women's economic participation was indispensable to Chile's industrial growth, and praised it as a "kind of Messiah that has to rescue us from the economic crisis we are facing."<sup>19</sup>

Another measure of the school's success, according to one of its first directors, was the students' eagerness and success in finding employment after graduation:

Most of the students put the lessons that they receive in the school into practice every day. They wait impatiently for their diplomas to set up flower or clothing workshops in the capital or the provinces, to become teachers or to get a job; those who have small workshops hope to develop them better as soon as they acquire the necessary knowledge.<sup>20</sup>

Industrialists also applauded the success of the Girls' Vocational School and described it as a model for further expansion. Factory and workshop-owners were beginning to see the benefits of this training, and were "relying on women workers who are intelligent and are completely prepared for a diversity of tasks. For this reason, the most important factories and workshops prefer to hire them, thus assuring the future of all diligent students."<sup>21</sup> One of the keys to this success, the author continued, was the industrial drawing that was applied in the diverse trades taught in the school. This skill-- "the scientific and pedagogical basis for all vocational teaching"-- distinguished the Vocational School graduate from the common seamstress, embroiderer and flower-maker.

By 1926, when the Vocational Schools were reviewed for the historic compendium of female education, Actividades Femeninas en Chile, women's vocational education had established a permanent foothold in Chilean society:

This year many vocational schools functioned throughout the Republic, developing vocational preparation and practice among the women who have to struggle for a living, attending to their own subsistence and that of their families. Thousands of students have passed through these Schools and thousands have benefitted from their teachings, either through working in their own workshops, in commercial or industrial establishments, or applying their knowledge in the home, where they are educated wives and mothers, well prepared in domestic skills.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to the economic benefits of vocational education, this review also reflects the ideology of domesticity that had become firmly entrenched in the schools by the 1920s. After the schools and their administrations mushroomed in 1906, several key administrators subjected the the schools to scrutiny and reform, shoring up the schools' reputation as a site for working-class female regeneration by introducing mandatory courses and an optional specialization in domestic economy. Under their careful direction, the mandate of the girls' vocational schools was gradually transformed into a project for reinforcing working-class domesticity.

#### Domesticating Girls' Vocational Education, 1909-1915

Although classes in domestic economy and "morals" had formed part of the early curriculum of the Vocational Schools, the administrative reform of 1909 pushed the schools even further in this direction. In that year, the Inspector General and Assessor of the Vocational Schools María Weigle de Jenschke (formerly director of the Vocational High School for 16 years) implemented a series of reforms designed to expand the Vocational Schools' mandate to train women not only in professional skills, but also in "moral personality":

But manual teaching is not all that students should be given: they also need to be taught all of those fundamental principles that make up their moral personality, which are so necessary to going forth triumphantly in the struggle for life, so that they might be living elements of the country's moral progress at the same time.<sup>23</sup>

Part of Weigle de Jenschke's campaign was to regularize the school bureaucracy and standardize exams and grades, in order to ensure that the schools' graduates would be of uniformly high quality.<sup>24</sup> Although the central contents of these reforms concerned the mechanics of grading and exams, the Inspector repeatedly emphasized the moral effects of such regulations: "they are designed to complete the teaching given in those Schools, morally educating the students so that when they finish their studies, each one leaves armed *with a profession* and with a *moral personality* that saves her from life's contingencies."<sup>25</sup> She ordered, for example, that each student carry a booklet in which her attendance, progress, and grades would be noted by her teachers and signed by her parent or guardian.<sup>26</sup> Further initiatives to improve students' moral training included instituting tougher final exams and a system of prizes (best behavior, best attendance, best linear drawing, best personal savings, etc.).

Significantly, the Weigle de Jenschke reforms corroborated a Ministry edict that directed the head of the Vocational High School to enforce the General Regulation rule that students receive a weekly talk on hygiene, urbanity and home economics.<sup>27</sup> These talks included such topics as "duties of a well-educated girl," savings, the home, and cleaning:<sup>28</sup>

In these classes they try out many recipes to remove stains, clean furniture and home implements; they are taught to mend and

darn used clothing; to prepare simple stews; to classify foods by their nutritive value; to avoid food decomposition through chemical procedures; to buy those foods; to keep accounts of incomes and expenses, inventories, purchase prices, etc., which are indispensable to every woman.<sup>29</sup>

The emphasis on practical domestic skills promoted by Weigle de Jenschke was apparently not popular among the students, who seemed to prefer courses on industrial skills and arts. The General Inspector 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."<sup>30</sup> Her persistence in this matter seems to have stemmed from the resistance of the students to such courses:

I don't doubt, given the students' inclination to apply themselves with more enthusiasm to artistic and showy works, that this practice *that is obligatory for all students*, will be a bit difficult in the beginning; but I believe that with a little zeal and firmness, the Director will quickly correct these difficulties and convince the students of its practical advantage.<sup>31</sup>

Weigle de Jenschke argued that even though most of the girls came from low-income families, this was no reason to neglect their training in the practice of home economics.

The domestication of vocational education may also have been spurred by suggestions and criticisms appearing in the Chilean press. Some critics argued that the domestic training in the schools should be taken further, and that even less emphasis should be placed on wage-earning and artistic skills: "it is necessary, in sum, to teach less fashion and more home economics."<sup>32</sup> Apparently inspired by reports of such schools in the United States and France, one author advocated that the vocational schools simply be changed into *Escuelas de Dueñas de Casa*, since the domestic economy courses were the most important for women, anyway. The author suggested that a school for housewives would do well to imitate the pedagogy applied in the *Instituto Superior de Educación Física y Manual*. In that school, students role-played as housewives, servants, cooks and bakers: "In sum, the girls do practically all the work of housewives. With one difference: they give reasoned and scientific explanations for everything they do."<sup>33</sup> This was commonly advocated as a logical course for Chile's progress, "to give to the future teaching of home economics the importance that it has already acquired in female education programs in more advanced countries."<sup>34</sup> Another advocate of women's domestic education referred explicitly to United States and European Domestic Technical Schools, which "in the same way that the vocational schools aid the progress of the working classes by teaching them an art or a craft that will be useful to the ruling classes, . . . seek this same progress exclusively for the use of the poor."<sup>35</sup> The idea here was to separate vocational training from that of training respectable working-class housewives, who in turn



contributed to national progress by providing male workers with healthy, well organized homes:

The vocational school student will go on tomorrow to an almost certain wage-earning future. The student of the domestic technical school will go on tomorrow to direct, with modesty and certainty, her own home. The home of the people, managed by a woman with decorum, cleanliness and economy!!! This is the only practical formula for the moral and material progress of the worker.<sup>36</sup>

Unlike the above proponents of the vocational education who stressed the poverty of the students' families, this argument explicitly invoked the male family wage as the real solution to female poverty, making women's skilled work virtually unnecessary: "A worker who is skilled at his art or craft, always earns enough to maintain his home." The key to successful working-class homes, according to this author, was the combination of effective domestic education for women, and vocational education for young men: "Both works complement each other, and they are joined in the reasoned aspiration for the perfection of the working-class family."<sup>37</sup>

The emerging emphasis on the domestic imperative was also apparent in the Vocational High School's magazine, the Revista Industrial Femenina, published between 1912 and 1914. Dedicated to housewives and women's industries," the journal was prepared by teachers and alumni of the Vocational High School and distributed in a printing of 1,000 copies. The Revista published recipes, sewing patterns, drawings, and domestic accounting advice, paying relatively little attention to women's paid work or student activities. The magazine also featured faculty and student poetry and essays on the virtues of motherhood and good housekeeping. This focus apparently reflected the magazine's intended audience: not the women attending the vocational schools, but rather the middle- and upper-class señoras who were likely to employ them.<sup>38</sup>

Similarly, editorials in the magazine echoed the paternalistic, reformist sentiments of the school administrators towards their working-class charges:

The time has now come in Chile that work should be a sign of prestige, particularly for the female sex. . . . The poor woman who is educated for life and prepared for her profession is an important factor for the moralization of her profession, the base for putting together honorable families, disciplined for work and the common good.<sup>39</sup>

The vocational school movement represented a key to the moral and technical reform of women's occupations, dignifying and legitimizing women's work as legitimate activity. Here, the director clarified that although the magazine was intended to provide housewives with useful information, it should also convince those readers of the urgent necessity of vocational education for women: "in no case should what I have said here be postponed."

Student testimonies in the magazine also offered eloquent and sobering views of life after graduation, warning their fellow students to take their training seriously for the sake of survival and for the good of the nation. Filomena Sierra, a graduate of the Vocational School of Copiapó wrote:

I have seen my childhood ways extinguished and my childish dreams dissipated; I am now a young woman burdened with the social obligations and debts of my parents, of society, of the country and of humanity. . . . Today, I consider that I am happy and deserve to have the independence I have earned by struggling with advantage in the battles of labor, relying when necessary on the knowledge acquired to earn a daily living.<sup>40</sup>

This view of abnegation and surrender to a life of brutal--but honorable--work also emerged in a letter written by a Vocational School alumna to her classmates, warning them of the trials to come in the real world of work: "The struggle for life is difficult, above all when in order to work, we have to abandon the home, where we leave a father and mother who love us, to go to another town where we have to complete the mission entrusted to us. . . . that will doubtless be the first suffering that you have had to endure."<sup>41</sup> References such as this to the students' ongoing struggles in the labor market were very few, and contrasted sharply with the rest of the magazine's articles on femininity, domesticity and scientific home management.

School administrators--in contrast with the politicians and industrialists who founded the schools--found instruction in domestic economy to be indispensable to proper vocational education.<sup>42</sup> An interview with the School Inspector in 1916 revealed that the increasing emphasis on domesticity was part of the plan for setting the schools on "a more practical path...giving women not only knowledge of a manufacturing industry, but also domestic and agricultural instruction, making cooking classes and clothing repair obligatory, and introducing new classes in bee-keeping, aviculture, agriculture, horticultural gardening, basket-making, chandlery, etc."<sup>43</sup> By 1919, all but 6 of the 29 Girls' Vocational Schools operating in Chile offered obligatory courses in domestic economy, morals and religion, and hygiene.<sup>44</sup> And in 1920, the Vocational High School began to grant degrees in the home economics specialty, granting 62 such diplomas in the next five years.<sup>45</sup>

Despite Weigle de Jenschke's reforms and widespread praise of the vocational schools for the domestic and moral training they provided, home economics remained of relatively minor importance to the students' curriculum in terms of class time and number of special diplomas granted (only 2.5%). This emphasis on domesticity in the Schools' reports and outside observations may in fact be largely explained by the class position of administrators and elite women observers, who seemed to be more concerned about shaping female personality and shoring up working-class values than about stimulating the national economy through female productivity. Emphasis on the domestic curriculum in the later years may also

reflect a growing need to justify vocational training for women, who were coming under increasing pressure to abandon formal, paid labor and tend to the home in the 1920s. The theme of domesticity--especially the science of home economics--remained an important topic in public debate on the vocational schools throughout the period.

### Conclusion

What at first had seemed like an egalitarian-minded attempt to create a female industrial workforce to stimulate national industry eventually became another normative strut in the continuing segmentation of the urban workforce. Not only did this fit with élite programs to stabilize working-class families under conditions of proletarianization, but it also rationalized and substituted for reform of unequal wage and occupational structures. Only rarely did commentary on vocational education refer to the problems in the structure of the labor market that prevented even Vocational School graduates from prospering in their work. One observer urged legislators to find ways to open areas for female employment, since most of these graduates "have to struggle for their lives since they are poor. . . . our legislators have to think about how to provide work for the women who are educated in State schools, in order to avoid creating a new social problem someday that would be very hard to solve."<sup>46</sup> Apparently, SOFOFA members had expressed the same concern, planning to "establish more practical courses in the vocational schools that train the woman to earn a living more easily."<sup>47</sup> This was still a complaint in 1923, when Manuel Rivas Vicuña commented in El Mercurio that "there are many women without occupations and many jobs that have no personnel to do them."<sup>48</sup> School directors and observers lamented the poor fit between graduates' degrees and available employment in the industrial sector. Evidence of this was the high proportion of graduates who ended up working at home: according to a 1911 study, half of the schools' graduates went on to work in the home; 20 per cent plied their trades in factories and workshops; 15 per cent worked independently, largely in the provinces; 10 per cent worked in commerce; and 5 per cent (about 30 per year) continued to study in order to teach in the vocational schools throughout Chile.<sup>49</sup>

In the midst of the supposedly massive decline in female industrial participation, the Girls' Vocational Schools continued to produce a steady stream of certified seamstresses, tailors, flower-makers, sales clerks and embroiderers for the urban labor market. The development of girls' vocational education in Chile was emblematic of broader struggles in the State and society over the class and gender meanings tied to manual labor. Although this movement began by acknowledging women's economic participation and trying to correct some of its deficiencies, its egalitarian impact was limited to training women to produce higher quality items in trades already defined as "women's work," and therefore underpaid. The reality of women's consistently low wages was not changed by the rhetoric of optimistic politicians or school administrators: women's labors would not provide them with sufficient wages, no matter how "skilled" the worker, because it was performed by women.

Moreover, the actual evolution of vocational education for women into a training ground for working-class housewives--and the accompanying instruction in domestic economy and morals--shows how difficult it was for contemporaries to conceive of women's labor solely in economic terms. While work had the potential to dignify both poor women and men and to save them from vice, technical training for women had little meaning apart from instruction in the rules of proper conduct, service, and family management. Training in the so-called "practical" skills of earning a living was overshadowed by a curriculum that purported to refine women's domestic skills. To what extent these women actually desired home economics courses and mastered new skills in them is open to question, but the science of domestic maintenance was clearly an important component of the students' public image.

SOFOPA and the State set out to modernize women's economic role and facilitate social adaptation to an emerging industrial economy. By professionalizing "women's work," elite sectors collaborated (on a small scale) to adapt women's economic performance to the demands and stresses of an increasingly industrial-based, capitalist economy; this adaptation aimed to increase individual women's capacity to perform manufacturing or service tasks in the home, where she would continue to be responsible for family unity, consumption patterns, and child care. Thus, despite the egalitarian promise of vocational training, the schools served to consolidate the segmentation of industrial work by sex (through the kinds of skills taught) and the sexual division of labor (by teaching domestic skills), just as work itself was increasingly defined as a masculine activity. Women certified by the Vocational Schools were expected to excel, above all else, in the organization of efficient and moral working-class homes.

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2. "Escuelas profesionales de niñas," El Mercurio, 13 July 1909.

3. Brian Loveman, Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Julio Heise González, El Periodo Parlamentario, 1861-1925 (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1982); María Angélica Illanes, "En el nombre del pueblo, del estado y de la ciencia, (...)" Historia Social de la Salud Pública, Chile 1880-1973 (Hacia una historia social del Siglo XIX) (Santiago: Colectivo de Atención Primaria, 1993); Cristián Gazmuri, Testimonios de una crisis. Chile: 1900-1925 (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1979); James O. Morris, Elites, Intellectuals, and Consensus: A Study of the Social Question and the Industrial Relations System in Chile (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1966).

4. SOFOFA was responsible for formulating the principal industrial policies of the State, including government protection for domestic industries and selective foreign immigration, the development of the first industrial statistics, preparation of national industrial exhibits and publications, and administration of industrial schools.

5. Boletín de la Sociedad de Fomento Fabril (hereafter, BSOFOFA) 9:11 (November 1892): 502; see also Godoy, Armas Ansiosas, Chapter 2 passim.

6. AE 1909, 400. The Sinopsis Estadística i Jeográfica also notes: "The School of Arts and Crafts trains our first-rate mechanics, and agricultural machines and locomotives are made in its workshops." República de Chile, Sinopsis Estadística i Jeográfica (Santiago: Imprenta y Encuadernación Universitaria, 1894-95), 185.

7. Estimates based on figures from the Anuario Estadístico (hereafter AE) for the years 1909-1930 and Actividades Femeninas en Chile (Santiago: Imprenta y Litografía la Ilustración, 1928), 303.

8. Women's industrial training was also part of reforms aimed at reinforcing domestic ideology elsewhere in Latin America at the time. See, for example, William E. French, "Prostitutes and Guardian Angels: Women, Work, and the Family in Porfirian Mexico," Hispanic American Historical Review 72:4 (November 1992): 529-553; K. Lynn Stoner, From the House to the Streets: The Cuban Woman's Movement for Legal Reform, 1898-1940 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 135-138; Donna Guy, "Women, Peonage and Industrialization: Argentina, 1810-1914," Latin American Research Review 16:3 (1981): 65-89.

9. Crónica. Escuela de Artes i Oficios para Mujeres," BSOFOFA 5:1 (January 1888): 43.

10. Ibid.

11. H.E., "La enseñanza industrial," BSOFOFA 4:5 (May 1887): 196-97.

12. Archivo del Ministerio de Industrias y Obras Públicas [Hereafter AMIOP], Escuelas Profesionales de Niñas, 1888-1889, Volume 279, Letter from SOFOFA to Ministry, 10 August 1887.

13. Ministry enrollment figures are always slightly smaller than those given by SOFOFA or listed in the Anuario Estadístico. This may have been because school administrators calculated the actual number of students enrolled, while the latter figures may have included students enrolling in two courses simultaneously. BSOFOFA 6:10 (October 1889), 475-76; Sinopsis Estadística, 1902-1907; AE 1909, 450-51.

14. "La duración de la enseñanza varía según la sección," according to the 1909 Anuario Estadístico report.

15. The oversight committees were made up of concerned men and women of the élite, and presided over by the Vocational School Inspector: "The committee was in charge of supervising these services and was empowered to propose to the Ministry professors and administrative employees, new courses, and the creation of rules and general direction of teaching." Actividades Femeninas en Chile (Santiago: Imprenta y Litografía La Ilustración, 1928), 283. The Schools were administrated by the Ministry of Industry and Public Works through 1926.

16. In 1910, only 39 teachers out of a national staff of 254 were male, and 29 of these were priests. Most of the teachers had certificates from the Vocational Schools, and in the Vocational High School, most had masters' degrees in vocational training. AE, 1910.

17. Women's vocational schools differed from the men's in another respect: their relative autonomy from state funding. The products of student labors were placed on sale in the schools' shops, garnering income for the school and contributions to students' savings accounts. State funding, which had begun at a low 112 pesos per student per year in 1905, had also increased nine-fold by 1930.

18. "Escuela Profesional para obreros," BSOFOFA 9:11 (November 1892).

19. "Escuela Profesional de Niñas. Esposición," La Ley, 8 January 1898, 2.

20. AMIOP, Escuelas Profesionales Para Niñas, 1888-1889, Volume 279, Director's annual report to the Oversight Committee, 18 March 1889.

21. J. Abalardo Nuñez, "Enseñanza Industrial," Revista del Centro Industrial y Agrícola 3:9 (1900): 100-101. Advertisements such as the following from Simon y Cía. did appear in the Santiago press, on occasion: "We take the opportunity to remind you that we will always have a preference for the graduates of your School in our workshops of children's clothing, shirts, and men's clothing." "La Escuela Profesional de Niñas y el comercio de Santiago," El Chileno, 4 January 1906.

22. Actividades Femeninas, 284.
23. AMIOP, Inspección de Escuelas Profesionales, 1909-1911, Volume 2182, Circular Number 12, 26 August 1909, 1.
24. Weigle de Jenschke had previously served as Director of the Vocational High School (1891 to 1907).
25. Emphasis added; AMIOP, Inspección de Escuelas Profesionales, 1909-1911, Volume 2182, Circular Number 12, 26 August 1909, 6.
26. On the last point, she instructs that "the guardians or parents who do not know how to sign their names should return the booklets personally to the Director of the School." Ibid., 4.
27. AMIOP, Inspección de Escuelas Profesionales, 1909-1911, Volume 2182, Letter from Ministry to Director, 5 June 1909.
28. AMIOP, Actas de Sesiones de las Escuelas Profesionales de Niñas, 1910-1911, Volume 2224, Minutes of the Rancagua Girls' Vocational School, 7 April 1911.
29. Emphasis added; AE 1909, 441.
30. AMIOP, Inspección de Escuelas Profesionales, 1909-1911, Circular Number 25, 15 June 1910, 1.
31. Emphasis in the original; Ibid., 3.
32. "La enseñanza de la economía doméstica," El Mercurio, 22 October 1910, 3; "La mujer y la enseñanza profesional," El Mercurio, 18 October 1910, 3.
33. "El Instituto Superior de Educación Física y Manual. Su importancia, sus programas, L'Ecole de Ménagères. Escuela de dueñas de casa. Demás ramos," El Chileno, 18 June 1907.

34. "La enseñanza de la economía doméstica," El Mercurio, 22 October 1910, 3.
35. "Por la familia obrera," El Mercurio, 24 July 1910, 3.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Instructions for how to keep domestic accounts, for example, allocated 50 pesos per month for a servant, out of a total budget of 500 pesos. S.R., "Contabilidad del hogar," Revista Industrial Femenina 1:2 (December 1912). While it is not inconceivable that working-class families might have had some paid domestic help, the proposed budget exceeded that of well-paid male industrial worker several times over. See "Salarios corrientes en la ciudad de Santiago," BOT 1:1 (1911): 90-100.
39. Ana Vial de Borquez, Revista Industrial Femenina 1:2 (December 1912): 1.
40. Filomena Sierra, "Fin de la jornada," Revista Industrial Femenina 2:12 (March 1913).
41. Sara Araya, "Para mis compañeras del curso normal," Revista Industrial Femenina 1:8 (August 1913).
42. In her Inspector's Report on the school-workshops run by religious orders, Weigle de Jenschke's emphasis on domesticity was even more pronounced; since many of the girls in religious schools were drawn from the lowest run of the working class, they could not hope to attain the redeeming combination of industrial and domestic skills, and thus, she argued, they should be trained as servants. AMIOP, Escuelas Talleres Subvencionadas, 1908-1909, Volume 2028, Inspector's report, 19 October 1909.
43. "Enseñanza industrial femenina," El Mercurio, 29 February 1916, 12.
44. These six exceptions were Iquique, Copiapó, San Felipe, Los Angeles, Angol, and Ancud. AE, 1919, 63.



45. As state inspector to the religiously-run school-workshops, Weigle de Jenschke's emphasis on domesticity was even more pronounced; since many of the girls in religious schools were drawn from the lowest rung of the working class, they could not hope to attain the redeeming combination of industrial and domestic skills, and thus should be trained as servants. AMIOP, Escuelas Talleres Subvencionadas, 1908-1909, Volume 2028, Inspector's report, 19 October 1909.

46. "Protección a la mujer," El Chileno, 12 October 1915.

47. Ibid.

48. Manuel Rivas Vicuña, "Educación Profesional Femenina," El Mercurio, 10 July 1923, 3.

49. "Las Escuelas Profesionales," Familia (September 1911): 10.