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Frontier Masculinity, Femininity, and the Ideological Cleansing of Borderlands Teachers, 1924–1935

Andrae M. Marak

In July of 1933, just after Gov. Rodrigo M. Quevedo transferred Chihuahua's state primary school system to federal control, Rafael Ramírez, the head of the federal Department of Rural Schools, reported his intention to avoid hiring any more female teachers until the female-to-male teacher ratio dropped from 9 to 1 to a ratio of 2 to 1.1 The compact between federal and state officials stipulated that all former state schools would adopt the Education Ministry's (Secretaría de la Educación Pública or SEP) socialist pedagogy, that the SEP would continue to maintain all the state schools it inherited, and that former state teachers would be paid according to the same standards as federal teachers. The agreement did not require the SEP to retain or even train existing state teachers.

Raising the former state schools to federal standards would be a monumental task. Ramírez soon discovered that state officials had inflated the number of functioning schools to force the SEP to provide more schools.

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He also learned that many of the former state teachers had neither attained a sixth-grade education nor graduated from a normal school, an institution specifically designed to train teachers, both minimum requirements for federal teachers.³ Replacing those unqualified female teachers would be especially difficult. Salvador Varela, the head of federal education in Chihuahua, believed that men did "not want to work in the schools." One difficulty in attracting qualified male teachers was the fact that nearly 75 percent of all former state teachers earned—when they were paid, that is, as some had not been paid for three years—about the same or less than the federal minimum wage for teachers of \$54.74 pesos per month. Why were Ramírez and Varela concerned with the gender of ex–state teachers?

Article 3 of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 clearly mandated free and obligatory primary education as both a right and a duty of Mexican citizens. The attendees at Mexico's constitutional convention adopted this article to appease the mobilized forces during the violent phase of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917). These forces had called for the expansion of primary education to provide the opportunity for a better future for their children and as a means of providing democratic spaces for meaningful participation in the decisions of their local communities. For many people in the countryside, primary schools were often the first direct contact that they had with the federal government or its agents in post-revolutionary Mexico. In fact historian Alexander S. Dawson has correctly argued that the power of the federal government under Mexican president Plutarco Elías Calles (1924– 1928) "was mostly illusory." The federal government's first major intrusion into state education occurred in 1933. Calles used his newly centralized federal education system to extend its influence, however ephemeral at first, throughout the country and took advantage of state fiscal problems in the wake of the Great Depression to begin to nationalize former state educational systems as a means of furthering that influence.7 In the process of taking over former state schools, federal officials gained access to and some control—through unionization—over a cohort of new teachers, many of whom would play a central role in advancing the federal government's radical agenda under eventual president Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940).8

Historians have written extensively about teachers and the impact of the federal government's education policy in postrevolutionary Mexico, though most of the scholarship focuses on the Cárdenas period. Historians have examined the social construction of gender in postrevolutionary Mexico. Decifically, since Latin America's turn to democracy in the 1980s, scholars



MAP. 1. SONORA AND CHIHUAHUA, MEXICO (Map courtesy Tracy Ellen Smith)

have begun using gender as a tool for analyzing nation building. Historical anthropologist Ana María Alonso has even used the social construction of gender in Mexico's northern frontier to explain the support of *campesinos* (subsistence farmers) for the Mexican Revolution. Yet, no one has brought these currents together to examine the ways in which the social construction of gender in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands region influenced the postrevolutionary state's nation building efforts under the national leadership of Calles. As historian Jocelyn H. Olcott has argued, postrevolutionary citizenship was locally and regionally contingent and gendered.

Federal officials throughout Mexico feared women's supposed "taming" influence on men and their traditional role as educators and inculcators of culture. One common argument against female suffrage was that women's inclusion in the world of politics would feminize men. Federal officials also viewed women as especially vulnerable to the Catholic Church's message, which officials believed would give the Church a voice. Although alarmed

by the possible negative consequences, officials saw potential in women's taming abilities. They tried to harness this influential force most vigorously through anti-alcohol campaigns begun in 1929.¹⁴

Borderlands men posed a unique problem because they were considered especially virulent and violent. Officials worried that women might not be able to tame their borderlands men. Men from outside the region, especially those from Mexico City, might also lack the ability to cultivate local men. Instead, officials hoped to hire local male teachers, who might better be able to subdue their wild borderlands brethren. The local male teachers were likely less susceptible to the Church's message and, therefore, less likely to pass on religious values to schoolchildren.

SEP officials' understanding of the Borderlands unique social construction of gender affected the ways in which they attempted to modernize social relations through primary education and teacher training. To explore this thesis, this article will first describe scholars' understanding of the social construction of gender in Mexico and along the U.S.-Mexico Border. In addition, to better differentiate the SEP's policy choices in Chihuahua and Sonora from those in the rest of Mexico, this article will investigate the SEP's centralized standards for teacher training, focusing on action and socialist pedagogies. Finally, this article will return to the SEP's decision in 1933 to suspend the hiring of female teachers to explore the impact of the social construction of gender in the Borderlands on federal education policy.

Gender—Borderlands and Otherwise

Historians have noted that the Mexican Revolution cemented men's place at the head of Mexican society. The revolution did reinforce pre-revolutionary patriarchal structures, but did so in such a way as to "subordinate the household to the interests of national development." The federal government's education policy and land-redistribution programs favored men as heads of household and chose to act through them on behalf of the rest of the family. Former interpretations of the aftermath of the revolution suggested that the federal government had imposed its patriarchal system on a society already predisposed to accept it. Later revisionists proposed that the weakness of the federal government and the strength of Mexican civil society forced the SEP to accommodate local gender conditions. The SEP did resort to preexisting understandings of male and female gender roles by adopting the ideals of frontier masculinity and femininity and adapting them

to action and socialist pedagogies to overcome their lack of a "mutual language" of hegemonic "consent and dissent" on the proper role of religion and science in society. They did so to mobilize citizens to take part in the local schools while promoting coequal and coeducational training within the classroom. As we will see, this equality did not extend to the school as a whole, which SEP officials viewed as encompassing the entire community.²⁰

The ideal Mexican woman embraced *marianismo*, a paradoxical virgin/mother mix that encourages patterning one's life on the Virgin Mary. She was feminine and lived a life of *abnegación*, embodying selflessness, self-sacrifice, and the willingness to give up her public existence for the benefit of others. Her place was the home.²¹ She needed to be chaperoned by close male relatives while in public and was "incapable of wielding [public] power."²² Mainstream society saw women who overstepped these bounds as *marimachos*, the equivalent of butches or dykes.²³ Yet, within these gender norms, women retained "a measure of moral authority" and a taming influence over men.²⁴ SEP officials both feared and wanted to harness this moral authority and taming influence.

Northern frontier men based their masculinity on warriorhood. Alonso has argued that in Chihuahua true men, those with male honor, needed to have huevos (testicles), vergüenza (shame), and respeto (respect). Having huevos was the "physical source of natural masculinity." That assumption was based, at least in part, on the historical male defense of the Borderlands region from Apache depredations and, later, revolutionary activity.²⁵ Although women also defended the frontier—even taking up arms—they could not possibly enjoy the same type of honor as men since they did not have testicles. 26 Mothers properly socialized men with verguenza and respeto. These men were honest, generous, hardworking, and dedicated to their families and local communities.²⁷ Men who lived up to these standards of frontier masculinity gained not only control over their household (and the women within it), but also access to "patrimonial leader[ship] in the political sphere."28 Men with vergüenza and respeto but lacking huevos were tímidos (timid men). Society deemed them incapable of protecting their women and the local community. Men with huevos but lacking vergüenza and respeto were machos (manly men). They used illegitimate force to gain access to other men's women and were thus a threat to the local community. Tímidos, machos, and women lacked masculine honor and could not engage in local politics.²⁹ Clearly, frontier understandings of proper gender roles would severely constrain women's roles as primary school teachers, limiting their ability to act as liaisons between the federal government and local communities.

Action Pedagogy

One of the main ways in which the postrevolutionary state attempted to implement its program of modernizing patriarchy was through education. The SEP adopted action pedagogy in 1924.³⁰ Action pedagogy was part of a much broader program aimed at economic, educational, and social modernization. Calles hoped that these reforms would increase his popularity and allow him to step out from under the shadow of revolutionary hero and ex-president Álvaro Obregón (1920–1924), the man who had handpicked Calles for the presidency.³¹

Action pedagogy, based on the theories of U.S. educator John Dewey, was more than simply "learning through doing." It placed great responsibility on teachers to transform their schools into minicommunities that reproduced the social functions that students would later find outside the classroom and taught them to work for the common good of the community.³² The schools prepared students (and nonstudents) for their future gendered, secular selves. Campesinos would no longer produce for selfsufficiency, but rather for the market. They would give up drinking, womanizing, and gambling on blood sports and would instead stay sober and play baseball, basketball, and volleyball. Women would turn to the state rather than local priests to register births, deaths, and marriages. They would also refrain from using witchcraft, curanderas (traditional folk healers), and folk remedies and would instead rely on new scientific knowledge dispensed by the federal government on health, hygiene, and nutrition. Children, both boys and girls, would learn to be patriotic citizens and take part in numerous clubs such as 4-H and Boy Scouts (exploradores), where they would raise honeybees and rabbits, engage in agriculture and horticulture, and make crafts to raise money for the local community.33

In addition officials expected teachers to instruct students in math, reading, and other subjects through real-life experiences. Students would no longer learn to count with blocks in the classroom, but would now learn mathematics as they engaged in planting seeds in the school's garden. According to José Manuel Puig Casauranc, minister of education between 1924 and 1928, the school would provide a milieu in which "the child's school activities might form a connection with the home and the community." 34

Action education expanded beyond the classroom. The SEP's lack of adequate resources forced students' parents to take an active part in numerous leagues and societies and donate their time and resources toward the construction and maintenance of schools. 35 The government expected each community to provide a building for a school because the SEP lacked resources to do so. Upon the establishment of a school, federal regulations called on locals to form democratically elected Comités Pro-Educación (Proeducation Committees) made up of men and Sociedades de Madres (Mothers' Societies) made up of women. Much like the Parent Teacher Associations in the United States, these groups were to advocate on behalf of the school. Nevertheless, men and women served on separate committees aimed at their own gendered spheres of influence, unlike their U.S. counterparts. Both the Comités Pro-Educación and Sociedades de Madres were to raise additional donations for the school to pay for playground and theater equipment, school furniture and supplies, farming and orchard land, and livestock used in practicing new techniques and raising future revenue for the school.³⁶

The selection of members for these groups was seldom democratic. Inspectors often changed the composition of these groups in an ad hoc manner when they were unhappy with the results of local educational initiatives. On other occasions, teachers refused to allow indigenous people to sit on these governing bodies in ethnically mixed communities.³⁷

To gain the support of the local populace, and often against the wishes of local caciques, the SEP also demanded that teachers create societies, clubs, banks, newspapers, cooperatives, commissions, and unions as well as hold numerous "social gatherings" among children and adults that stressed proper hygiene, sanitation, dress, and deportment.³⁸ These methods would give children a taste of democracy as well as teach them effective administrative skills.³⁹ Teachers were also supposed to spend their weekends recruiting men from their local community to put up telephone poles, run telegraph wires, build irrigation ditches, and repair roads.⁴⁰

By 1928 action education had made very little progress in rural communities across Mexico, probably because the normal schools where teachers received training were inadequate. These institutions lacked furniture, bathrooms, good buildings, decent libraries, and the necessary materials to give teachers hands-on training. ⁴¹ Moreover, the SEP reported that the normal schools themselves, as well as the teachers graduating from them, were seldom implementing the action pedagogy in the communities to which education officials assigned them. SEP officials asked that school inspectors

hold accountable teachers who refused to use these methods. ⁴² Since action pedagogy made teachers almost completely reliant on the local community and local power holders, teachers' failure to implement action pedagogy fully in the face of local resistance is hardly surprising. ⁴³ Given the scarcity of well-trained teachers and their high levels of mobility, SEP officials were at a loss as to how to enforce teacher accountability. ⁴⁴

Puig responded to the failure of action pedagogy by advancing a whole-sale program for improving rural communities. In addition to the reading, writing, arithmetic, and industrial and agricultural skills that action pedagogy had taught in the past, teachers would now focus on teaching campesinos how to improve their domestic lives and personal cleanliness. SEP officials regarded campesinos as "sickly, lethargic, superstitious pariahs" who would be transformed through schooling "into literate, sober, clean, scientific, market-oriented, and patriotic farmers."⁴⁵ This new program would specifically focus on changing adults' "customs and ideals."⁴⁶ Teachers would form cleanliness clubs tasked with visiting neighborhood homes to make sure that everyone in the community was complying with SEP hygiene standards.⁴⁷ Puig hoped to use the SEP's hygiene campaign to integrate fifty thousand adults into the modernized fabric of Mexican life.

Some SEP officials, however, feared that the SEP was underestimating the high degree of conflict and resentment caused by the intrusiveness of the program and the great ideological disparities between the federal government's teachers and local inhabitants. 48 In southwest Chihuahua, school inspectors, all of whom were men, blamed teacher and campesino resistance to action pedagogy and the hygiene program on the preponderance of female teachers in the largely rural area. The federal government's head of state education, Salvador Varela, suggested that inspectors replace all female teachers with males in places where local officials had been unwilling to comply with federal education mandates. Varela hoped that male teachers would be more successful than their female counterparts in overcoming local stubbornness. This recommendation was the first clear indication in the Borderlands region that local officials' understanding of frontier masculinity and femininity influenced federal education policies. While women had moral authority over men, they could not reasonably overcome the intransigence of local male power holders because they did not belong in the public realm. We do not know if Varela believed this idea about women, but he evidently did believe that rural caciques thought this way.

Interestingly, SEP officials still wanted to harness women's supposed moral authority over men in hopes of reigning in men's more base proclivities, including their gambling, womanizing, drinking, and use of prostitutes. These "centers of vice" were especially troubling in Mexican Borderland cities where Prohibition in the United States (beginning in 1920) provided the basis for liquor bootlegging, the sex trade, and gambling aimed at U.S. visitors. These industries were both ubiquitous and important sources of tax revenue for federal, state, and local officials in Mexico. These officials had long engaged in a spoils system along the border where customs, and later, prohibition, "presented a great opportunity for corruption."

In the face of long odds, the SEP began its anti-alcohol campaign in 1929 under provisional president Emilio Portes Gil (1928–1930), who hoped that women would actively persuade their men to give up their vices. 50 This campaign is one occasion where male government officials hoped to harness women's believed ability to tame men through government-sponsored antialcohol leagues that "sanctioned women's interference in the manly world of cantinas and the traffic in 'intoxicating beverages,' which often rendered profits to local caudillos."51 While state-based federal officials were arguing that women could not properly function in the political sphere, the SEP was tapping into women's influence over men to have them enter the nonpolitical, although public, sphere of alcohol providers. Varela immediately realized that he and the inspectors and teachers under his command had to implement the SEP's anti-alcohol campaign in Chihuahua in spite of the intimate connection local, state, and federal officials maintained with the production, sale, and illegal exportation of alcohol to the United States.⁵² As we will see, the SEP's paradoxical tapping into women's authority over men (to fight alcohol and other vices) while also seeking to undermine it (to combat religiosity) became even more apparent in 1933, when the SEP made a major push to implement its anti-alcohol program in Ciudad Juárez, even as it took over Chihuahua's state schools.

Socialist Pedagogy

The Maximato (1928–1934), the period during which Calles heavily affected the rule of Mexico even though he was not the president, reached its peak in 1931. Indications of his commanding influence included the fact that Calles's oldest son, Rodolfo Elías Calles, took on the governorship of Sonora, and his half-brother, Arturo M. Elías, became the governor of



ILL. 1. RODOLFO ELÍAS CALLES
Rodolfo Elías Calles (center) personally led an anticlerical campaign in
Sonora, Mexico, that heavily impacted female teachers.
(Photograph courtesy Fideicomiso Archivos Plutarco Elías Calles y Fernando
Torreblanca, Mexico City)

Baja California.⁵³ Nonetheless, the Great Depression caused Calles to back off nearly all his earlier populist stances except those relating to education and religion. Narcisso Bassols, a great proponent of Calles's modernizing educational and antireligion agenda, became the new Minister of Education, another example of Calles's continuing authority. Bassols immediately adopted a new "socialist pedagogy."

Under Calles and Bassols, socialist pedagogy did not focus on the teachings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, but rather centered on combating religious education. Bassols requested that congress change Article 4 of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 to prohibit teaching by any minister, priest, or member of a religious order in public or private primary schools. Catholics resisted the new government educational policies through boycotts of school attendance and, in some cases, forcibly removed federal teachers who insisted on enforcing Article 4 from their local schools. The SEP, meanwhile, used its anti-Catholic stance as a litmus test, expelling those teachers, mostly

women, who refused to take a vow to support the newly rewritten Article 4. Government officials proclaimed that the firing and/or resignation of numerous educators, which left some communities without teachers, was a short-term problem that would be rectified as quickly as possible. Nonetheless, the SEP viewed the ideological cleansing of religious teachers as an opportunity to promote newly trained teachers and mold future generations of Mexican children according to the proper revolutionary ideology. Hence, while the SEP wanted to harness women's moral authority over men vis-àvis alcohol and other vices, they clearly wanted to undermine their moral authority in regards to religion.

In states like Sonora where the SEP had the full cooperation of local officials, the radicalization of the education program could be devastating to campesinos who disagreed with the government's philosophical and pedagogical approach. Calles's son Rodolfo, for example, argued that it was his duty to "take energetic and effective steps to counteract" the activities of religious fanatics by "dictating a series of radical dispositions to implant in schools of the state teaching based on scientific and historical truth that will eliminate all the children's religious prejudices."55 Rodolfo showed his support for the SEP's new rational pedagogy and went on an inspection tour of Sonora's schools. He fired the teachers, especially women, who he believed Catholic religious leaders strategically placed in teaching positions, and instructors who refused to denounce their religious beliefs. 56 In addition to the firings, teachers and inspectors loyal to the new SEP pedagogy occupied local churches, inventoried their nonreligious valuables, and made bonfires from religious icons, books, and other religious material.⁵⁷ At times this onslaught led to the resignation of those affected. On other occasions, however, local inhabitants stood up in arms against state and federal teachers. For example in Huatabampo, Sonora, a group of Mayos, an indigenous group from Sonora, Mexico, reacted to the antireligion campaign with violent demonstrations and threats, effectively closing down all the schools in the area.58

In states like Chihuahua, where federal, state, and municipal officials were not in agreement about educational (and other) policies, the antireligion campaign was often far more difficult to carry out. When the federal government took over state primary schools in Chihuahua in 1933, SEP officials discovered that some state rural teachers maintained close ties with their local Catholic church. As a result, the SEP attempted to remove those teachers, only to run up against local traditions and hierarchies. For

example, when the SEP sent federal teacher Tito Terrazas to San Lorenzo, his assistant, experienced female state teacher Dolores Trevizo, complained of being overworked. A federal inspector sent to investigate discovered that Trevizo and her family remained closely allied with local prochurch forces. Ironically, Trevizo's uncle, who owned the school building and rented it to the state, conducted a prochurch, antischool campaign. Further investigation revealed that politically connected prochurch locals were first to petition the state and federal government to support a primary school in San Lorenzo. The inspector concluded that the "town of San Lorenzo . . . is absolutely fanatic," and, for that reason, the new federal teacher needed as much support as possible in overcoming the ignorance of the local people.⁵⁹ This episode aptly demonstrates the disconnect between the federal government's goals for its education program and what many locals wanted from the program. This incident also shows how isolated many federal teachers were in their attempts to implement Bassols's socialist pedagogy. Finally, this occurrence clearly reveals the SEP's desire to substitute "fanaticism," which they portrayed as ignorance (and closely associated with women), with "scientific and historical truth."

In addition to the antireligion campaign, Bassols successfully pushed for the complete implementation of the coeducation of all children and he promoted, unsuccessfully, a sex education program. The sex education program never emerged from the planning stages due to strong Catholic resistance. Members of the influential *Unión Femenina Católica Mexicana* (Mexican Catholic Women's Union or UFCM) engaged in successful "petitions, school boycotts, and rallies" in Mexico City while the Mexican episcopate asked parents to remove their children from public schools and place them in illegal religious schools until the SEP backed down. ⁶⁰ On the other hand, the SEP fully implemented the coeducation program, although it still taught girls "cooking and women's work" while instructing boys in "farming and the workshop."

To overcome the lack of qualified local teachers, the SEP finally agreed to fund federal normal schools in each state. ⁶² These new *Escuelas Centrales Agrícolas*, as the name implies, would focus on agriculture. Bassols correctly argued that if agriculture were to be the engine of the rural economy, then only those teachers who actually trained in and practiced new agricultural methods would be able to teach them to others. ⁶³ Interestingly, these schools employed both male and female rural organizers to train teachers to enlist and coordinate peasant support for their schools. ⁶⁴ Whether the

move to enlist both male and female organizers was a push for gender equality or, more likely, based on the perception that male organizers would be better at coordinating campesinos while female organizers would be more successful at coordinating campesinas remains unclear.

In 1933 SEP officials also attempted to control what they believed was the underutilized economic production of rural women. Since 1923, when action education was first implemented, the SEP had always advocated teaching women how to cook and sew, skills that they probably already knew quite well, to improve the overall domestic life of rural dwellers. If women used their moral authority over men and devoted themselves to doing good works in favor of the local community, then their men could be convinced to participate in local civic life as well. Now they exhorted rural women to stop wasting their time trying to look beautiful for their men. 65 In addition to employing women's moral authority over men, an underlying idea suggested that rural men would do whatever it took to have intercourse with their women, whether they looked attractive or not. Rural women could co-opt their mates' sex drives to the advantage of their families and local communities. SEP officials presumed that women, unlike men, were naturally less interested in sex for sex's sake. In rural areas, where women had little access to beauty products or money to purchase them, and in a society where women had long been expected to submit to their men's sexual advances, it was dubious and probably even dangerous to suggest that through withholding sex from their men, women could improve the civic life of their local communities. Equally as important, but consistent with accepted gender ideologies, was the basic assumption that women were more interested in improving the local community than men were. This did not mean, however, that men whose mothers properly raised them with vergüenza and respeto would be uninterested in the welfare of the local community.

The SEP also attempted to steer women into the cash economy as "marginal income earners," arguing that if the average rural man made seventy-five centavos a day in his work, and his wife earned nothing, then the whole family would continue living a miserable existence. 66 On the other hand, if the wife could engage in "productive" work, then the entire family's situation would improve. 67 This perspective, of course, completely ignored the hidden monetary value of women's domestic work and assumed that women and men, within the family, sought to achieve the same goals. Women have historically engaged in the bulk of food preparation, house cleaning and maintenance, childcare, shopping, and household management that made

the reproduction of the family possible and allowed men to work in the cash economy. ⁶⁸ Additionally, the number of women who were unpaid agricultural workers far outweighed that of men. ⁶⁹ Thus, not only were women already doing the labor that made paid labor possible for male family members, many of them were also unpaid agricultural hands as well.

As mentioned earlier, SEP officials also tried to use preconceived gender ideals to recruit women into anti-alcohol leagues with the hope that peer pressure would convince men to stop drinking. SEP officials were especially concerned about the situation along the U.S.-Mexico Border, in general, and around Ciudad Juárez, in particular, where the bootlegging of liquor was a major component of the local economy. Chihuahua governor Rodrigo Quevedo (1932–1936) based his political power on his support from Calles and his control of large revenue sources from border gambling and bootlegging, even as the SEP campaigned to convince citizens not to do either.70 In addition to channeling women's perceived abilities, the antialcohol campaign also tried to establish baseball teams as an alternative to drinking. Drawings by primary school students clearly showed that men drank alcohol while playing or attending the games. Suggesting that the frontier was a dangerous place to work, Ramón Espinosa Villanueva, a SEP school inspector, accessed the ideals of frontier masculinity. He conveyed that only locally raised teachers could adapt to teaching in the Borderlands region. The frontier was too dangerous for outsiders, men and women alike.

The anti-alcohol campaign proved ineffective because many parents who had children in school were bootleggers and because the head of the Comité Pro-Educación was a cantina owner. Interestingly, when the families of the border school Senecú y Zaragoza, located just outside of Ciudad Juárez, were given a choice of crops to raise on the school garden plot in 1933, they chose to raise grapes and subsequently set up a plant nursery to expand future cultivation in the region. The choice of grapes suggests that locals may have cultivated the fruit in the hopes of making wine in the future. By 1935 the inspector was convinced that the school's social campaigns and advancement of sports had undermined the propensity of frontier dwellers from working in the alcohol industry. The repeal of Prohibition in the United States in 1933 and the assassination of the head of the bootlegging ring, however, were probably the overriding causes of the industry's decline.

Once again gender assumptions played an important role in the SEP's implementation of the anti-alcohol campaign and in their understandings of its successes and failures. Although gender had little to do with the

changing local and international political context of bootlegging, inspectors nonetheless attributed the inability to limit bootlegging and alcohol use in the frontier to the employment of teachers not sufficiently imbued with the ethos of frontier masculinity. They later credited the downfall of bootlegging and alcohol use to anti-alcohol campaigns led by women and baseball leagues that occupied men.

Conclusion

When the SEP took control of Chihuahua's primary schools in 1933, many of the ex-state teachers had already been teaching for thirty to forty years. SEP officials feared that these predominantly female, and often religious, teachers' focus on rote learning in the classroom would undermine the SEP's ability to modernize social relations and patriarchy through primary school education. Postrevolutionary government officials both feared and wanted to harness women's moral authority and taming influence over men. This focus was not unique to the Borderlands area. In locations like Sonora where federal and state officials were in agreement with each other about the dangers posed by Catholicism, the government implemented its frequently draconian anticlerical policies: closing private religious schools, removing women from teaching positions, expelling priests, and occupying churches and temples. The SEP feared that women were naturally more conservative, more religious, and harder to train; in other words, government officials did not believe that they could convince women to give up their religious beliefs and worried that female teachers would convey those beliefs to their students. In locations like Chihuahua, Michoacán, and Chiapas, the SEP invited women into the world of male vice with the optimism that they might convince men to give up alcohol, blood sports, and prostitutes and play Anglo team sports instead.

Local and state officials in the Borderlands region uniquely understood women's moral authority and the extent to which it would be useful or counterproductive. SEP inspectors—all men—did not believe that female teachers were capable of dealing with social issues outside the classroom in the same forceful way that male teachers could. They believed that female teachers would not receive the same level of respect as male teachers from community leaders, who were predominately men. Historian Olcott has amply demonstrated the tradeoffs that women in politics had to make in order to have their voices heard in postrevolutionary Mexico; these tradeoffs

usually entailed that they give up their most radical positions and become part of one of the federal government's increasingly significant corporatist sectors, such as the important teachers' unions. An important difference was that women's membership in teachers' unions and other corporatist organizations outside the Borderlands region actually empowered them politically. Women's postrevolutionary opportunities in the Borderlands region, however, remained lacking. Perhaps under other circumstances, SEP officials would have deemed women capable of "taming" their men, but they believed that borderlands men were especially virulent and had a propensity to violence instilled in them by their past defense of the frontier and the revolution. These men were so virulent, in fact, that SEP officials were concerned that even men from outside the region would also be incapable of acting as an effective liaison between the federal government and local borderlands communities. Clearly, men who had not defended the region against the Apaches or against other revolutionary forces had neither frontier masculine honor nor the right to engage in local politics that accompanied it.

In addition SEP officials recognized that most of the teachers in Chihuahua's state schooling system had received their position by means of political and family connections. Leaving these teachers in place helped the SEP gain political support for schools in local communities that shared a common language of consent and dissent with the SEP. Nevertheless, these communities were rare. Many local political bosses in isolated rural areas had managed to hold onto their power from pre-revolutionary times. Thus, the replacement of local teachers, who were often female, with new instructors who maintained loyalty to the central government became a delicate but necessary measure in the minds of ministry officials.

An examination of the tensions between the action and socialist pedagogies' understanding of gender roles adopted by the SEP and their actual implementation in this particular Borderlands region sheds further light on the negotiated understandings of postrevolutionary Mexican society. The implementation of these pedagogies also highlights the ways in which the SEP accessed the mutually shared language of frontier gender ideologies with the intent of ideologically cleansing religious (female) teachers and their beliefs and replacing them with modern (male) teachers steeped in the ideals of scientific and historical truth. Hence, action pedagogy allowed SEP officials to stress schools as places for the creation of utopian minisocieties in which men and women had different social roles—men

outside of the home and women in the home. The hands-on nature of action pedagogy coupled with frontier masculinity's belief that men were naturally predisposed to engage in political work while women were incapable of wielding power lent support to the SEP policy of pushing for the replacement of female teachers with their male counterparts.

In the process, the SEP program also undermined pre-existing patriarchal systems of inequality. Both male and female primary school teachers were required to undertake the same training, and the schools that they taught at were to be coeducational, even if some of the activities remained divided by accepted social roles. In addition the high number of female teachers placed many women in the empowering position of transforming entire rural communities. The radicalization of education under socialist pedagogy also had inherent contradictions. The antireligion component was used to drive many women out of federal teaching, but the enforcement of coeducation and attempts to promote sex education in the face of Catholic resistance and the anti-alcohol campaign, with the support of many Catholics, can be viewed as empowering women.

Despite these advances, much of the SEP's program accommodated preexisting understandings of separate gendered spheres. According to this mutual language of frontier gender ideology, local men and women would form separate committees to run the local school, women would use their sexuality to convince men to take an interest in local civic life, and women would pressure their men to avoid bootlegging and drinking alcohol. Meanwhile, men would spend their weekends constructing and maintaining their local school, building and fixing roads, and playing baseball.

This mutually understood language of frontier gender ideologies and roles and the impact that they had on policy implementation was important. When SEP officials took over Chihuahua's primary schools and immediately lamented the 9 to 1 female to male teacher ratio, they were not worried about the unfair advantage that female teachers had over male teachers. Instead, the SEP was concerned that religious female teachers would purposely undermine the implementation of the SEP's new action and socialist pedagogies, which they claimed were based on the rational application of scientific and historical truth. The SEP therefore tapped into the language of frontier gender ideologies to tout their concerns about the perceived inability of female teachers to implement the new pedagogy. SEP officials played up their inability to attract qualified male applicants due to low pay, suggesting an understanding and acceptance of higher male worth

in the workplace, especially if that workplace was not an extension of the domestic sphere.

In the end, gendered SEP explanations for policy successes and failures can almost always be better explained in other ways. SEP officials often argued that male teachers were far more capable of dealing with local power holders than female teachers. The evidence suggests, however, that local political connections were far more important than gender. Male teachers from outside the local community had great difficulty garnering local support for their educational programs. Inspectors gave credit to the implementation of female anti-alcohol leagues and male baseball leagues, where participants drank alcohol, for the diminution of bootlegging and anti-alcohol abuse, but a better explanation was the end of Prohibition in the United States coupled with the assassination of a local cacique in charge of bootlegging. The SEP's action and socialist pedagogies advanced gender equity and called upon the traditional ideals of frontier masculinity and femininity to promote the antifanaticism tenets of their program.⁷⁸

Notes

- Rafael Ramírez to Salvador Varela, 4 November 1933, Chihuahua, expediente IV/ 200, box 936, Archivo Histórico de la Secretaria de Educación Pública–Escuelas Rurales, Chihuahua, Mexico [hereafter AHSEP–ER]. For a more complete account of the transfer of primary schools, see Andrae M. Marak, "Federalization of Education in Chihuahua," *Paedagogica Historica* 41 (June 2005): 357–75.
- Rodrigo M. Quevedo to Diputación Permanente de la Legislatura del Estado, 24
 July 1933, Chihuahua, expediente IV/200, box 936, AHSEP–ER; J. Borunda E. to
 Governor of Chihuahua, 26 July 1933, Chihuahua, expediente IV/200, box 936,
 AHSEP–ER; and Memoria 2 (1933): 27–32.
- 3. Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 5, no. 4 (1926): 29–31; and Frank Tannenbaum, *Peace by Revolution: Mexico after 1910* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), 288–89.
- 4. Rafael Ramírez, 4 November 1933, Chihuahua, expediente IV/200, box 936, AHSEP–ER; and Salvador Varela to Rafael Ramírez, 10 November 1933, Chihuahua, expediente IV/200, box 936, AHSEP–ER.
- Relación de Datos Generales en la Organización de Personal de las Escuelas del Estado por José A. Espejo, 9 August 1933, Chihuahua, expediente IV/200, box 936, AHSEP–ER.
- 6. Alexander S. Dawson, *Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), xxi. While Plutarco Elías Calles was only officially president until 1928, his influence over Mexico remained extremely robust until 1935.

 Engracia Loyo, "El largo camino a la centralización educative, 1920–1992," in Federalización e innovación educativa en México, ed. María del Carmen Pardo (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1999), 49–62.

- 8. For an examination of the long-term influence of federal teachers in Mexico, see Maria Lorena Cook, *Organizing Dissent: Unions, the State, and the Democratic Teachers' Movement in Mexico* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996).
- 9. For work on the pre-Lázaro Cárdenas period, see Engracia Loyo, Gobiernos revolucionarios y educación popular en México, 1911-1928 (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1999); Patience A. Schell, Church and State Education in Revolutionary Mexico City (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003); and Jürgen Buchenau, Plutarco Elías Calles and the Mexican Revolution, Latin American Silhouettes (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publisher, Inc., 2007), 111–172. For works on the Cárdenas period, see Mary Kay Vaughan, Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997); Adrian A. Bantjes, As if Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution, Latin American Silhouettes (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources Books, 1998); and Ben Fallaw, Cárdenas Compromised: The Failure of Reform in Postrevolutionary Yucatán (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001). For books that span both time periods, see Dawson, Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico; and Stephen E. Lewis, The Ambivalent Revolution: Forging State and Nation in Chiapas, 1910-1945 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).
- 10. Jocelyn H. Olcott, Mary Kay Vaughan, and Gabriela Cano, eds., Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006); Marjorie Becker, Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants, and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Stephanie E. Mitchell and Patience A. Schell, eds., The Women's Revolution in Mexico, 1910-1953, Latin American Silhouettes (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007); Jocelyn H. Olcott, Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico, Next Wave series (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005); Heather Fowler-Salamini and Mary Kay Vaughan, eds., Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1850-1990: Creating Spaces, Shaping Transitions (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994); Mary Kay Vaughan, "Modernizing Patriarchy: State Policies, Rural Households, and Women in Mexico, 1930-1940," in Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America, ed. Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000), 194-214; and Elaine Carey, Plaza of Sacrifices: Gender, Power, and Terror in 1968 Mexico, Diálagos series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005). On the construction of gender in general, see Joan W. Scott, Gender and the Politics of History, Gender and Culture series (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); and Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity, Thinking Gender series (New York: Routledge, 1990).
- Maxine Molyneux, "Twentieth-Century State Formations in Latin America," in Dore and Molyneux, Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America, 38–50.

- Ana María Alonso, Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier, Hegemony and Experience series (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), 167–76.
- 13. Olcott, Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico, 6.
- 14. Sarah A. Buck, "The Meaning of the Women's Vote in Mexico, 1917–1953," in Mitchell and Schell, *The Women's Revolution in Mexico*, 1910–1953, 74–75; and Olcott, *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico*, 4.
- 15. Katherine Elaine Bliss, Compromised Positions: Prostitution, Public Health, and Gender Politics in Revolutionary Mexico City (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 7–12; and Mary Kay Vaughan, "Rural Women's Literacy During the Mexican Revolution: Subverting a Patriarchal Event?" in Fowler-Salamini and Vaughan, Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1850–1990, 106–24.
- Vaughan, "Modernizing Patriarchy," 194. See also Sandra McGee Deutsch, "Gender and Sociopolitical Change in Twentieth-Century Latin America," Hispanic American Historical Review 71, no. 2 (1991): 260–76.
- 17. Daniel Nugent and Ana María Alonso, "Multiple Selective Traditions in Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Struggle: Popular Culture and State Formation in the Ejido of Namiquipa, Chihuahua," in Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994), 209–46.
- 18. For examination of the existing structures of patriarchy in Latin America, see Sandra Lauderdale Graham, House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro, Cambridge Latin American Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); John D. French and Daniel James, eds., The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers: From Household and Factory to the Union Hall and Ballot Box, Comparative and International Working-Class History series (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997); and Fowler-Salamini and Vaughan, Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1850–1990. For an examination of the different vocational skills that men and women were prepared for in postrevolutionary Mexico, see Mary Kay Vaughan, The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880–1928 (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982), 191–213.
- 19. Dawson, Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico, xxi; Joseph and Nugent, Everyday Forms of State Formation, 3–12; Vaughan, Cultural Politics in Revolution, 8–20; Bantjes, As if Jesus Walked on Earth, xi–xix; Fallaw, Cárdenas Compromised, 1–8; Joel S. Migdal, Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988); and Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli, and Vivienne Shue, eds., State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World, Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- 20. Historian Mary Kay Vaughan argues that by the end of Lázaro Cárdenas's presidency in 1940, the local negotiation of federal education programs resulted in "the formation of a mutual language for consent and dissent." Vaughan, Cultural Politics in Revolution, 195. Historian Thomas Rath's article on Mexican military

conscription in the 1940s highlights the importance of a common language in the negotiation of hegemony. Thomas Rath, "Que el cielo un soldado en cada hijo te dio. . .': Conscription, Recalcitrance and Resistance in Mexico in the 1940s," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 37 (August 2005): 507–31.

- 21. Olcott, Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico, 15-16.
- 22. Alonso, Thread of Blood, 87.
- 23. Olcott, Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico, 17.
- 24. Alonso, Thread of Blood, 87; and Nugent and Alonso, "Multiple Selective Traditions in Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Struggle," 223. For an examination of the ways in which the border has influenced male and female work, see Josiah McConnell Heyman, Life and Labor on the Border: Working People of Northeastern Sonora, Mexico, 1886–1986 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991).
- 25. Alonso, *Thread of Blood*, 80. Clearly, the Apache depredations were a two-way street, even if not viewed as such by locals. For an innovative account, see Brian DeLay, "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexico War," *The American Historical Review* 112 (February 2007): 35–68.
- Elizabeth Salas, "The Soldadera in the Mexican Revolution: War and Men's Illusions," in Fowler-Salamini and Vaughan, Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1850–1990, 93–105.
- 27. Alonso, Thread of Blood, 81.
- 28. Ibid., 83.
- 29. Ibid., 81-82.
- 30. Mexican Secretary of Public Education José Vasconcelos (1921–1924) had adopted but then rejected action pedagogy prior to 1924. José Manuel Puig Casauranc, as the head of the SEP, definitively adopted it. See Loyo, Gobiernos revolucionarios y educación popular en México, 147–52.
- 31. Buchenau, Plutarco Elías Calles and the Mexican Revolution, 115.
- 32. Loyo, Gobiernos revolucionarios y educación popular en México, 149.
- 33. Vaughan, "Modernizing Patriarchy," 199-200.
- 34. Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 4, no. 7 (1925): 74.
- 35. José Manuel Puig Casauranc, Secretaría de Educación Pública, La educación pública en México a traves de los mensajes presidenciales desde la consumación de la independencia hasta nuestros dias (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1926), 268; and Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 5, no. 1 (1926): 5–8.
- 36. José Manuel Puig Casauranc, Secretaría de Educación Pública, El esfuerzo educativo en México: La obra del gobierno federal en el ramo de educación pública durante la administración del presidente Plutarco Elías Calles (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1928), 21; and Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 5, no. 1 (1926): 119–20.
- 37. Salvador Varela to Abelardo de la Rosa, 1 April 1930, Chihuahua, expediente IV/ 166 (IV-4)(721.4), box 1731, AHSEP–ER.
- 38. Lewis, *The Ambivalent Revolution*, 100; and Vaughan, "Modernizing Patriarchy," 199–202.

- 39. Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 5, no. 3 (1926): 28-29.
- 40. Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 5, no. 4 (1926): 13–21; Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 7, no. 4 (1928): 184; and Guillermo de la Peña, "Educación y cultura en el México del siglo XX," in Un siglo de educación en México, ed. Pablo Latapí Sarre (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1998), 1:55.
- 41. Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 7, no. 5 (1928): 218.
- 42. Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 7, no. 4 (1928): 25.
- 43. For an in-depth discussion of how locals shaped federal education policy, see Elsie Rockwell, "Schools of the Revolution: Enacting and Contesting State Forms in Tlaxcala, 1910–1930," in Joseph and Nugent, Everyday Forms of State Formation, 170–208; and Loyo, Gobiernos revolucionarios y educación popular en México, 268–71.
- 44. Puig, El esfuerzo educativo en México, xix, 36.
- 45. Mary Kay Vaughan, "The Educational Project of the Mexican Revolution: The Response of Local Societies (1934–1949)," in *Molding the Hearts and Minds: Education, Communications, and Social Change in Latin America*, ed. John A. Britton (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1994), 105–6.
- 46. Puig, El esfuerzo educativo en México, 23.
- 47. Ibid., 29.
- 48. Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 7, no. 1 (1928): 9–12; Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 7, no. 4 (1928): 184; and Puig, El esfuerzo educativo en México, xiii–xiv.
- 49. Buchenau, Plutarco Elías Calles and the Mexican Revolution, 71.
- 50. Lewis, *The Ambivalent Revolution*, 99–106. The SEP failed to overcome the resistance of local pro-alcohol interests.
- Olcott, Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico, 72. See also Stephanie Mitchell, "Por la liberación de la mujer: Women and the Anti-Alcohol Campaign," in Mitchell and Schell, The Women's Revolution in Mexico, 1910–1953, 167.
- 52. Salvador Varela, Report, 22 November 1929, Chihuahua, expediente IV/000 (II-5)(721.5), box 1653, AHSEP–ER; and Ramón Espinosa Villanueva, Monthly Report, May 1933, Chihuahua, expediente IV/100 (04)(IV-4)(721.4), box 860, AHSEP–ER.
- 53. Buchenau, Plutarco Elías Calles and the Mexican Revolution, 161.
- 54. Vaughan, Cultural Politics in Revolution, 31, 57; Fernando Solana, Raúl Cardiel Reyes, and Raúl Bolaños Martínez, Historia de la educación pública en México, SEP 80 (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982), 259–60; Peña, "Educación y cultura en el México del siglo XX," 67–68; Vaughan, "The Educational Project of the Mexican Revolution," 115; and General Rodolfo Elías Calles to General Plutarco Elías Calles, "Elías Calles Chacon, Rodolfo," expediente 4, legajo 19/24, fojas 957–58, inv. 1733, Fideicomiso Archivos Plutarco Elías Calles y Fernando Torreblanca, Mexico City [hereafter FAPECFT].
- 55. General Rodolfo Elías Calles to General Plutarco Elías Calles, "Elías Calles Chacon, Rodolfo," expediente 4, legajo 19/24, fojas 956, 972, inv. 1733, FAPECFT; and General Plutarco Elías Calles to President Abelardo L. Rodriguez, "Rodríguez, Abelardo L. (Gral.)," expediente 189, legajo 11/11, fojas 540–1, inv. 5010, FAPECFT.

56. General Plutarco Elías Calles to President Abelardo L. Rodriguez, "Rodríguez, Abelardo L. (Gral.)," expediente 189, legajo 11/11, fojas 540–41, inv. 5010, FAPECFT.

- 57. For more on Rodolfo Elías Calles's support for the SEP's rational pedagogy, see Carlos Soto V. to Governor Rodolfo Elías Calles, 19 February 1932, expediente 4, tomo 1, box 1, Archivo Historico General del Estado de Sonora — Fondo Ejecutivo: Cultos y Templos, Sonora, Mexico; Bantjes, As if Jesus Walked on Earth, 6–15; and Vaughan, Cultural Politics in Revolution, 62.
- 58. Frederico A. Corzo, Monthly Report, November 1933, Sonora, expediente 12, box 8420, AHSEP–ER.
- Miguel Ceballos Durán to Eduardo Zarza, 29 April 1934, Chihuahua, expediente IV/166 (04)(721.4), box 1057, AHSEP–ER.
- Kristina A. Boylan, "Gendering the Faith and Altering the Nation: Mexican Catholic Women's Activism, 1917–1940," in Olcott, Vaughan, and Cano, Sex in Revolution, 211.
- 61. Memoria relative al estado que guarda el ramo de educación pública (Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1933), 22.
- 62. Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 9, nos. 1–3 (1930): 23–4; and Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública 9, nos. 9–10 (1930): 30.
- 63. Memoria relative al estado que guarda el ramo de educación pública, xiv.
- 64. Ibid., 107.
- 65. Elena Torres, "Económia domestica: Descanso del ama de casa y acción civica del hogar," El Maestro Rural 3, no. 3 (1 July 1933): n.p.
- 66. Vaughan, "Modernizing Patriarchy," 200.
- 67. Eliseo Bandala, "Sección pedagogica: Ayuda de la mujer en el hogar campesino," *El Maestro Rural* 3, no. 5 (1 August 1933): n.p.
- 68. Heidi I. Hartmann, "The Family as the Locus of Gender, Class, and Political Struggle: The Example of Housework," Signs 6 (spring 1981): 366–94; Jane L. Collins, "Unwaged Labor in Comparitive Perspective: Recent Theories and Unanswered Questions," in Work Without Wages: Comparative Studies of Domestic Labor and Self-Employment, ed. Jane L. Collins and Martha E. Gimenez, SUNY Series on Women and Work (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 3–24; Martha E. Gimenez, "The Dialetics of Waged and Unwaged Work: Waged Work, Domestic Labor, and Household Survival in the United States," in Collins and Gimenez, Work Without Wages, 25–45; and Heyman, Life and Labor on the Border, 99–100.
- Nora Lustig, Teresa Rendon, and Ximena Bunster B., "Female Employment, Occupational Status, and Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Family in Mexico," Signs 5 (Autumn 1979): 143–44.
- 70. Mark Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs: Elites and Politics in Chihuahua*, *Mexico*, 1910–1940 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), 56–60; Salvador Varela, Report, 22 November 1929, Chihuahua, expediente IV/000 (II-5)(721.5), box 1653, AHSEP–ER; and Ramón Espinosa Villanueva, Monthly Report, May 1933, Chihuahua, expediente IV/100 (04)(IV-4)(721.4), box 860, AHSEP–ER.
- 71. Ramón Espinosa Villanueva, Bimonthly Report, 30 April 1935, Chihuahua, expediente IV/100 (04)(IV-4)(721.4), box 867, AHSEP–ER.

- 72. J. Reyes Pimentel, Inspection Report, 30 April 1935, Chihuahua, expediente IV/161 (IV-14)/1928, box 19, AHSEP–ER.
- 73. Ramón Espinosa Villanueva, Inspection Report, 3 June 1933, Chihuahua, expediente IV/161 (IV-14)/2576, box 19, AHSEP–ER.
- 74. Wasserman, Persistent Oligarchs, 58.
- 75. Olcott, Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico, 208.
- 76. Mark Wasserman, "Chihuahua: Politics in an Era of Transition," in *Provinces of the Revolution: Essays on Regional Mexican History*, 1910–1929, ed. Thomas Benjamin and Mark Wasserman (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 228; and Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*, 119–44.
- 77. Most states in Mexico had far more female federal teachers than male federal teachers; however, Chihuahua did not. In 1927, for example, Coahuila had seventeen male teachers and forty-five female teachers; Sonora had twenty-three male teachers and seventy-eight female teachers; and Chihuahua had fifty-three male teachers and thirty female teachers. See "Tabla Numero LXV, Escuelas Rurales Federales, Numero y Clasificación de Maestros—Año de 1927," in Noticia de estadística sobre la Educación Pública en México correspondiente al año de 1927 (Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1927).
- 78. I would like to thank Elaine Carey, Victor Macías-Gonzalez, Gail Mummert, Susie S. Porter, Ev Schlatter, and Laura Tuennerman for providing feedback on this article. I received financial support for this article from California University of Pennsylvania, the University of New Mexico, and a Fulbright-Garcia Robles Fellowship.