¡CHICANA POWER!

Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement

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ENGENDERING PRINT CULTURES AND CHICANA FEMINIST COUNTERPUBLICS IN THE CHICANO MOVEMENT

THE PUBLICATION OF *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* heralded a critical historical moment in the development of Chicana feminist theories and practices. This publication was among the first in the nation dedicated to a Chicana feminist vision, marking a gendered shift in the print culture of the Chicano movement and signaling the growth of Chicana feminist communities locally and translocally. It was an articulation of Chicana feminist political, poetic, and historical vision that had been circulating beneath the surface of the movement. The newspaper theorized and editorialized new forms of feminismo and began to name the interconnections of class, gender, and race through an innovative mixed-genre format that was equal parts journalism, poetry, photography, art, social critique, recovered women's history, and political manifesto. It engaged economic and social issues, political consciousness, Mexicana/Chicana history, campus and community struggles, and Chicana political developments and gave many young activists a voice to express their political insights and visions.

This chapter analyzes print culture as a strategic site of intervention and contestation for women in the Chicano Movement. It explores how members like Anna NietoGomez, Corinne Sanchez, and Marta Lopez extended the reach of *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc*, when they went on to help found and edit *Encuentro Femenil*, the first Chicana feminist journal dedicated to scholarship and activism in 1973. Exploring the text, circulation, and function of *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* and *Encuentro Femenil*, this chapter examines the formation of a Chicana print community across regions, social movement sectors, activist generations, and social differences. Through print-mediated exchange, new identities, regional and ideological differences, strategies, theories, and practices were debated and discussed in campus and community meetings and at local and national conferences. These ideas were then shared and transformed as editorials, articles, conference proceedings, reports, movement debates,
and political position papers, which traveled widely through the process of republication.8

I argue that these print mediated discussions not only built new critical interpretive communities; they, along with caucuses and conferences, constituted a Chicana counterpublic.4 Nancy Fraser conceptualizes counterpublics as parallel discursive arenas where those excluded from dominant discourses “invent and circulate counter discourses, so as to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs.”5 Fraser reformulated the notion of the public sphere articulated by Jürgen Habermas in The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, by arguing that counterpublics contest the “exclusionary norms of the ‘official bourgeois public sphere,’ elaborating alternative styles of political behavior and alternative norms of public speech.”6 Critically, Fraser located the formation of subaltern counterpublics within new social movements and relied on critical historiographies to inform her understanding of these political processes. Fraser defines the importance of counterpublics by stating “that members of subordinated groups—women, workers, people of color, and lesbians and gays—have repeatedly found it advantageous to constitute alternative counterpublics.”7 My argument develops by tracing the genealogy of Chicana counterpublics and their critical work in making Chicana feminist formations visible in diverse locations, thereby legitimating women’s ideas translocally and helping to build cross-regional coalitions.

Although the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc newspaper was short-lived—all three issues were published in 1971—the spaces it opened in movement print culture for dialogue on Chicana issues were pivotal.8 As a critical site of historical inquiry, the Chicana print communities constituted by the circulation of these publications, along with other movement publications, serve as a vantage point to understand the development of Chicana feminist ideology, discourse, and political praxis in a way that accounts for how ideas traveled locally and nationally. Movement print culture functioned as a mediating space where new ideas, theories, and political claims were constructed, negotiated, and contested.

The Chicana feminist historian Martha Cotera chronicles the development of Chicana feminist print communities through publications such as Regeneración, Encuentro Feminil, Hijas de Cuauhtémoc, La Comadre, Fuego de Aztlan, Imágenes de la Chicana, Hembra, Tejidos, Tejido, [De Colores], and Hojas Poéticas, as well as the popular journals La Luz, Nuestro, El Carnacol, and El Grito, which often featured feminist writings.9 While a few community publications regularly featured stories on Chicana feminism (such as Regeneración and El Grito del Norte of New Mexico) and some student movement papers had special issues on women (such as CSUN’s El Popo Feminil), Hijas de Cuauhtémoc was one of the few newspapers in the early years dedicated to Chicanas.10 Focusing on histories of Mexican feminist activism, women in the movement, and community organizing around key issues such as welfare, employment, and prison, the paper offered an analysis of gender in the racialized and working-class context of Chicanas’ lives.11

In New Mexico, longtime civil rights activist and former SNCC member, Elizabeth (Betita) Martinez, edited the movement magazine El Grito del Norte, along with many other activists in the New Mexican land grant movement, including Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez.12 The longtime activist Francisca Flores and Ramona Morín of the women’s auxiliary of G.I. Forum founded the community-based newsletter La Carta Editorial in 1963 to report on political activities. Flores, who was a member of the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee as a young woman, changed La Carta Editorial to magazine format in 1970 and renamed it Regeneración.13 Regeneración was known for its news stories on women’s organizing in the movement and in the community, op-ed pieces that critiqued the sexism of the Chicano movement, and articles on Chicana history, poetry, and legislation affecting the lives of Chicanas. Chicana print communities documented the submerged but parallel development of Chicana consciousness in women’s workshops, caucuses, and auxiliaries. At times these often subversive spaces incited gender insurgencies or the development of strategy and were often effective at transforming an organization from within. At other times these spaces allowed women to develop autonomous political spaces within the Chicano Movement, increasing the organizational density and the ability of the movement to deal with the multiple issues, sources of oppression, and myriad experiences of Chicanas and Chicanos living in the United States. One rich example is Mujeres por la Raza Unida (MPLRU), founded in Crystal City in 1970 by women active in La Raza Unida, the Chicano third party. Chicana print communities not only circulated news of what occurred in women’s caucus of mixed-gender organizations or conferences; they helped develop continuity between meetings, bridged geographic distances, and continued conversations between meetings.

Weaving the organizational history of the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc and its members between 1968 and 1974 into a larger historical analysis of the emergence of Chicana feminisms, this chapter illustrates the transformation of Chicana consciousness as the newspaper expanded its readership and imagined political community, from local campus politics to community-based organizations to regional and then national audiences. It explores each issue and traces the developments of the newspaper until it was announced as the
national voice and print vehicle of Chicana feminists at the first Chicana conference in 1971. In addition, the chapter traces how Chicana print communities developed through the publication of *Encuentro Feminil* in 1973–1974 as early Chicana feminists linked political developments within social movements to intellectual and political debate, forging some of the first Chicana Studies scholarship. It illustrates how Chicana feminist intellectual and journalistic traditions emerged in tandem with community-based organizations. The scope of the chapter tracks shifts in print community strategies through the mid- to late 1970s and traces the legacy of those strategies in alternative print communities that forged a political project through the technology of anthropologizing by women of color in the 1970s and 1980s. This epistemological and writing tradition, called “theories of the flesh,” named how multiple forms of oppression were experienced and how these experiences could serve as new sites of solidarity and even new desires as epitomized by *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, edited by Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa in 1981. Moreover, knowledge production has been intimately tied to the experience of being excluded from multiple social movements and, as Chela Sandoval has theorized, included shifting in and between ideologies to create a differential form of oppositional consciousness for U.S. third world feminism. Others retrofitted those ideologies from within the interstices of class, race, or nation with a gender and sexual analysis, creating what Emma Pérez has called third space feminism. Still others blended all the political traditions they were excluded from to create a hybrid form of what Anzaldúa called mestiza consciousness.

**CHICANA PRINT CULTURE: GENDERING IMAGINED COMMUNITIES OF THE NATION**

Benedict Anderson’s influential conceptualization of nation as an imagined community has been effectively taken up to produce new insights about social movements and communities of resistance. Reconfiguring this formulation for the historical specificity of anticolonial nationalisms, Partha Chatterjee, a historian involved in the Subaltern Studies Group, maintains that it is not through conflict with the state but in the cultural realm that prefigures this struggle where decolonizing nationalist imaginaries are constituted. He argues that anticolonial nationalism creates a domain of sovereignty in colonial society and that this domain is produced through “an entire institutional network of printing presses, publishing houses, newspapers, [and] magazines . . . created . . . outside the purview of the state . . . through which the new language [of nationalist liberation] . . . is given shape.”18

Whereas other third world movements for national liberation aimed to overthrow the colonial state, the Chicano movement contested state power and its violence, discrimination, and lack of channels of representation.19 Chicano cultural nationalism was a form of decolonizing nationalism where the circulation of print media in the form of student and community newspapers, political pamphlets, and movement magazines played a formative role. The formation of Chicana and Chicano print communities coincided with the movimiento imperative to create alternative knowledge, parallel institutions, and cultural formations.

While Chatterjee illustrates how domains of cultural and social sovereignty are vital spaces of articulating an anticolonial political imaginary, questions of gender, race, and sexuality have historically been overlooked in theories of (anticolonial) nationalism. Emma Pérez’s work on “sexing the decolonial imaginary” gives us tools to understand the complex ways in which questions of gender and sexuality are embedded in the processes of articulating political subjectivity and the project of decolonization. The *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* newspaper broke down the unitary concept of the citizen-subject of Aztlán as male, thereby diversifying and multiplying the subjects of resistance enlisted in the Chicana/o project of liberation.

Along with many other publications from California, New Mexico, and Texas, the gendered print community constituted by means of the circulation of *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* was vital to the creation of Chicana feminist movement networks and alliances. Through the late 1960s and early 1970s, new forms of print media and newspapers emerged to get out the word about the ongoing struggles of the Chicano movement. Chicana activists participated in these modes of print communication and began to create new ones, ultimately forming a parallel Chicana counterpart that multiplied the spaces of participation for women and gendered analysis. Members of the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc recall the critical role of print communities in the political work of consciousness raising. It was common for each campus and/or community organization to have some form of publication and study group or political education program. Through movement print culture and the exchange of reading materials, each group knew what the other groups were doing and thinking. This was crucial to the ideological development of Chicana/o political community and the constitution of a shared political imaginary. Anna Nieto-Gomez recalls, “We exposed each other to new ideas, networked, and dialogued about refining ideology. We did this through dialogue with different campus institutions: UCLA history, Cal State L.A. history with Marxist tendencies, UC San Diego’s third world perspective. Paulo Freire was a model, as was Frantz Fanon’s *Wretched of the Earth.*”23
This endeavor is illustrated by the proliferation of Chicano newspapers, artistic magazines such as *Con Sefos* and *ChismeArte*, and community-based publications, many of which came together as the Chicano Press Association (CPA). The CPA emerged during the late 1960s as the number of independent Chicano newspapers increased greatly and served to link a wide variety of publications throughout the nation. Although without a central office, officers, or an official membership, this loose federation of Chicano newspapers came together to fight the ways in which the Chicano community was constantly ignored in the mainstream press, with a few notable exceptions, including the *Los Angeles Times* reporter Ruben Salazar, who was killed during the Chicano Moratorium by a deputy of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department. The first CPA conference was held in early 1968 in Albuquerque, New Mexico, where over fifty Chicano newspapers were represented. This coalition of underground Chicano press included *La Raza, El Grito del Norte, El Gallo, Inside Eastside, Chicano Student Movement, El Malcriado, Compass, Infierno, Lado, El Paisano, La Voz Mexicana, Los Muertos Hablan, Revolucion, El Popo, El Machete, and La Hormiga*, in addition to others that went in and out of print. According to Raul Ruiz, "If you published a newspaper and you were Chicano and you printed the names and addresses of the other newspapers then you simply became a member."24

All the women involved in the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc drew from their experience writing for Chicano student movement newspapers such as Long Beach State's *El Alacrín* or from working for community newspapers and magazines such as *La Raza*, the premier movement newspaper in Southern California. NietoGomez described the explosive events of the moment and the imperative to "get the word out": "A lot of things were going on in L.A. at the time: the East L.A. Blowouts, picketing, the Bitmore Seven, and there was *La Raza* community newspaper. . . . As part of a stated political agenda of linking campus to community, they would ask the college students to get involved and work on the newspaper at night. I would go to community meetings and then write up a report for the newspaper the next day. It was very exciting, and I learned a lot."25

**CONFERENCES AND COUNTERPUBLICS**

The practice of publishing conference proceedings and continuing debates in print served not only as an important mode of circulation but also as a mode of contestation. This is exemplified in the circulation of the infamous statement from the 1969 Denver Youth Liberation Conference, organized by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales and the Crusade for Justice, declaring that it was the consensus of the Chicana caucus that "the Chicana does not want to be liberated." While many consider the conference where *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* was adopted a defining moment of the Chicano movement, "Chicana activists raised the issue of the traditional role of the Chicana in the movement, and how it limited her capabilities and her development."26 The representative of the caucus, when it was time to present the workshop report to the full conference, stated, "It was the consensus of the group that the Chicana woman does not want to be liberated." Some activists who were at the caucus meeting were shocked to hear this proclamation at the final plenary because, contrary to the statement, at the meeting of the women's caucus strategies for gaining fuller participation for women within the movement were widely discussed.27 This statement illustrates the contested and controversial nature of Chicana feminism and the difficulty of articulating a new kind of Chicana political subject within the confines of an emergent, masculinist nationalism. The declaration on the floor of the Denver Youth Liberation Conference also points to what I call hidden gender insurgencies, where subversive spaces were constituted in the movement's organizational structures, largely through women's caucuses, which kept the focus on the question of the inequality of women. When direct confrontation on women's issues was not tactically possible and not politically strategic, many demands were negotiated below the surface of public movement spaces.

Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez published a 1969 article in *El Grito del Norte* in response to this incident, which was widely reprinted.

While attending a Raza conference in Colorado this year, I went to one of the workshops that were being held to discuss the role of the Chicana woman. When the time came for the women to make the presentation to the full conference, the only thing that the workshop representative said was this: "It was the consensus of the group that the Chicana does not want to be liberated." As a woman who has been faced with having to live as a member of the "Mexican-American" minority as a breadwinner and a mother raising children, living in housing projects and having much concern for other humans leading to much community involvement, this was quite a blow. I could have cried.28

Sonia López, in her study of Chicanas in the student movement, observes, "This outcome can be viewed in two ways: either the majority of Chicanas attending the conference did not see or understand the contradiction of the sexual roles between Chicanas and Chicanos, or they simply did not want to alienate the men."29 Beatriz Pesquera, who attended the caucus meeting, dis-
discussed how this statement functioned as a distancing mechanism from the largely white and middle-class women’s liberation movement. Pesquera, in contrast, recalled that the conference was one of the first events where Chicanas from across the country got together en masse and even at the beginning Chicanas were there to formulate their own political vision and discuss how to eradicate barriers to their participation in the struggle for Chicana liberation.

Betita Martinez recalls the conference as “pulsating with energy, music, and chants. [It was pure] excitement all these people together. It was very positive! The thing I remember most, however, is this women’s workshop where [there were] 60 to 70 women together, [all] Chicanas! On the one hand, women were doing the work. They were often in the leadership; they had a lot of the ideas, and at the same time they were often consistently expected to make the food, to do typing, clerical work.” While the women’s caucus agreed to equality between men and women, they rejected the idea of creating a separate organization, and the consensus that the “Chicana does not want to be liberated” was an effort to signal that solidarity. But, Martinez argues, “that was as much a rejection of the women’s liberation movement of those years, which was seen as, and in many ways was, overwhelmingly middle-class and Anglo women, white women, who did not understand racist oppression, did not understand oppression of people half of whom are male.”

Although the results and representation of what occurred at the workshop were contradictory to the experience of the women who attended it, this meeting served as the basis for the continued work of Chicanas in women’s caucuses.

Even two years later, in the 1971 publication of the newspaper, dialogue on the issues women initiated at the conference continued. The immediate response that was issued by Longeaux y Vasquez, originally printed in El Grito del Norte (1969), was widely reprinted in forums such as Robin Morgan’s Sisterhood Is Powerful (1970) and the first issue of Hijas de Cuauhtémoc (1971), which also included a response by Anna NietoGomez titled “Chicanas Identify!”

This statement implies that any problems that a Chicana speaks of are not her problems but Anglo ideas and therefore threatens her people, La Raza. To take it a step further, it implies that the Chicana has no right to spend time on problems she faces because unique problems of a special group are disruptive to the unity of the movement. This is not and cannot be true. . . . Being compared to Anglo women has been the greatest injustice and the strongest device used to keep Chicanas quiet. . . . No Chicana who has worked in the movement deserves to be compared with any Anglo woman or Gay Liberation. These comparisons are divisive and threatening to the strength of the movement.

The infamous statement at the Denver Youth Liberation Conference can be seen in part as a reaction to the vendida logic. The irony of the antifeminist rhetoric of the statement is that the caucus itself advanced a position that called for the emancipation of Chicanas. Yet activists were so busy defending themselves against the charges that feminism was whitewashed or lesbian that they did not always disrupt the underlying heteropatriarchal assumptions of those charges. Dialogue was initiated immediately and taken up around the country. The practice of publishing conference proceedings, debates, and conflicts was crucial to crafting venues that promoted critically needed conversations about women’s struggles. Chicana print culture constructed interpretive communities, which served as spaces to build and discuss not only different political positions but also the multiple political and regional meanings of Chicana identities. The fact that contrasting perspectives and controversial pieces were included in the publication of the Hijas newspaper illustrates that Chicana print communities were not unified discursive fields but sites of construction and contestation.

Efforts to distinguish and distance Chicana feminism from the Anglo women’s movement continued after the 1969 Denver Youth Liberation Conference. Echoing the idea of double militancia, NietoGomez wrote, “If the Anglo women’s movement (AWM) saw itself as an independent force for social change, Las Feminísitas [sic] see their flight against sexual oppression as part of the struggle of her people.” His published a lengthy analysis of the differences between the two movements, and many other writers reflected on these differences, including Martha Cotera in her essays “Feminism as We See It,” “Among the Feminists: Racist and Classist Issues,” and later, “Feminism, the Chicana and Anglo Versions: An Historical Analysis.” Cotera writes, “Any feelings or sympathy toward feminism must have its force directed inward and its expression structured with conscience de nuestras necesidades y aspiraciones [with a consciousness of our needs and aspirations]. It cannot be a contrary separatist course or be directed by non-Chicana terminology or leadership.” Such examples demonstrate that Chicana feminism—in its community and academic forms—has developed as part of a larger project of liberation of Chicana and Chicano communities, not outside it.

Building Coalitions and Translocal Strategies

The translocal strategy and technology of republication helped to forge a new political subtextivity of La Nueva Chicana through critical dialogues that constructed multiple meanings, locations, and practices. The kind of translocalism I am identifying here more precisely involves how actors who are often
multiply marginalized create linkages with social actors across locales in order to build new affiliations and solidarities and create imagined political communities. *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc*, along with other publications, provided a forum for Chicanas to dialogue across regions and social movement sectors, which was crucial to the formation of a Chicana counterpublic. *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* ran articles by Chicanas around the country, including Rosita Morales’s “La mujer todavía impotente,” originally published in Spanish in Houston’s *Papel Chicano*. The republication of articles circulated diverse Chicana political ideas in a multitude of places, formats, and modes that crossed regional political traditions and was an important translocal strategy to formulate shared political demands. In fact, a primary mode of translocal dialogue happened when local community papers would reprint articles from across regions and across different social movements, as exemplified by the reprinting of an *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* article by a local women’s movement paper in Eugene, Oregon, as well as in *El Young Lord*, the newspaper of a chapter of the Young Lords Party. These discussions, discursive formations, and strategies traveled and were transformed by differing geographic and political communities through the process of republication.

This mode of circulation and the emergence of a translocal Chicana feminist counterpublic is described by the Tejana activist Martha Cotera, who, reflecting back on the movement, acknowledged the impact of California Chicana feminist writings for Tejanas organizing in La Raza Unida Party (RUP). Speaking of Anna NietoGomez, Cotera states, “Well, you know, it was Anna’s articles that always got us what we wanted from the men [in Texas].” Revealing a tactic used in local struggles to press for their demands, Cotera recalls that Tejana activists would draw upon the most forthright feminist writings from California as a strategy to represent their call for women’s leadership, in keeping with other national developments. This tactic also played upon underlying regional differences in the Chicano movement at a time when Chicana feminist dialogues navigated ideological differences over how to organize suitable strategies for different political contexts and regional variations. Not only was this tool used to increase pressure for women’s demands in different regional contexts, but it served to spread ideas across geographic regions.

This strategy also fortified feminist political convictions and forged solidarity for activists whose ideas were often forcefully challenged in the beginning. In the student movement it gave women a space to move in and through, and sometimes outside of, nationalist discourse and created a space where sexism within the movement could be challenged. The students involved in the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc endured a great amount of harassment, scorn, and criticism: NietoGomez was hung in effigy, and other leaders of the organization were buried in a mock burial. All the women I interviewed described the ostracism they encountered regardless of whether they defined themselves as feminists. Their detractors made a range of claims, including that they were on an “Anglo bourgeois trip,” were “agringadas (Anglo-ified),” or “malinches.” In relation to these forms of silencing, Pesquera and Segura write:

Chicanas who deviated from a nationalist political stance were subjected to negative sanctions including being labeled vendida [sell-outs], or agabachadas [white identified]. . . . Once labeled thus, they became subject to marginalization within Chicano Movement organizations.

Citing Martha Cotera’s observation that “[being called a feminist] was a good enough reason for not listening to some of the most active women in the community,” Pesquera and Segura argue that “such social and political sanctions discouraged women from articulating feminist issues,” resulting in what I have been calling the vendida logic, where activists felt compelled to adopt an antifeminist discourse in order to be taken seriously. Feminist baiting was most often articulated as lesbian baiting, revealing the patriarchal doubling that polices gender and sexuality.

Due to criticism and sometimes outright harassment Chicana feminists faced in the movement, print communities were fundamental in forging an alternative Chicana public sphere by reconfiguring movement spaces, not operating outside them. Chicana activists in California keenly watched the developments in Tejas and followed developments through the movement press. Of specific interest were the women activists such as Luz Gutiérrez and Virginia Muzquiz, who helped to found La Raza Unida Party on January 17, 1970. Other Chicana activists, including Ino Álvarez, Evey Chapa, and Martha Cotera, who were central in the local organizing committees and ran as candidates, helped formalize women’s presence in the party by forming Mujeres por la Raza (MPLR). “When RUP held its first state convention in San Antonio in October 1971, women comprised 31 of the 104 delegates, likely a result of the caucus’s actions.” In an article in *Carcacol* magazine, Evey Chapa argued that mujeres have always been active in La Raza Unida Party, doing much of the work necessary for the creation of an alternative third political party. As a member of the MPLR, she helped draft the RUP platform, which guaranteed equal rights for all women and included provisions on the political education and recruitment of women to increase their presence in decision making. Women also participated in the leadership of the RUP.
Virginia Musquiz became national chair from 1972 to 1974, and Maria Elena Martinez was state chair from 1976 to 1978. The Mujeres por la Raza Unida began to hold their own conferences beginning in 1973.

**REGIONAL ORGANIZING AND LAS HIJAS DE CUAUHTEMOC**

Although the first issue of the newspaper was primarily concerned with Chicanas at Cal State Long Beach, the publication strategy of Hijas de Cuauhtémoc coincided with their growing presence in regional organizing.43 The second issue was published as a regional organizing tool leading up to the Los Angeles Chicana Educational Conference, which was preparatory to the first national Chicana conference, La Conferencia de Mujeres por la Raza, to be held in Houston in May 1971. While there had been one women's conference, the Conson de Aztlan symposium held at UCLA on November 25, 1969, featuring Alicia Hernández and Susan Racho (MEChA de UCLA), Gerry Gonzalez (Crusade for Sustained Justice), Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez and Betita Martinez (from New Mexico), and Dolores Huerta (UFW), the Hijas membership realized there was little contact or communication in California between Chicanas.44 As a remedy to this situation, they joined with the Chicana group at CSU Los Angeles to organize the Chicana Educational Conference and invited “Chicanas from the high schools, the community, the Pinta [prison] and the colleges.” When 250 Chicanas attended, they realized that the newspaper needed to move beyond campus and become broader in scope in order to mobilize statewide communication. This marked a shift in the role of the newspaper as it became a regional forum for Chicanas, and the subsequent issue was planned to present the results from the Southern California conference to the National Conference. The third issue reported that the May regional conference was organized around five workshops and began with performances by las Adelitas and Teatro de las Chicanas, a poetry reading of “Yo soy Chicana de Aztlan” by Sara Estrella, and an hour-long lecture titled “History of La Mexicana.” The published proceedings of the conference included reports from the following workshops: Philosophy of La Chicana Nueva; Chicanas in Education; La Chicana y la Comunidad (including welfare rights, child care, and consumer education); Chicana and Communication (which strategized around the need for a common statewide newspaper, the collection and distribution of Chicana literatures, and regional financial support for the statewide paper); and Political Education of La Chicana (which touched on the issues of Chicanas/Chicanos and the war, Chicanos in a capitalist society, and the ideology of the movement).45 The conference ended with a session that compiled all the ideas from the workshops and formulated them into a platform for the National conference. It was followed by a dance at which the Fabulous Sounds played.46

The Hijas de Cuauhtémoc pooled their earnings to publish their third issue and held several fund-raising activities to pay for their trip to the Conferencia de Mujeres por la Raza in Houston. Community members donated station wagons to transport the women from Los Angeles to Houston. They struggled to gather resources, but finally some twelve women, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-five, from CSU Long Beach, CSU Los Angeles, and Los Angeles City College piled into the station wagons and began their long journey across the desert. For many it was the first odyssey away from home alone.

The Hijas de Cuauhtémoc and other representatives from the Los Angeles regional conference prepared to participate in the national conference by developing a regional platform. They came armed with the newspaper, which contained the ideas and resolutions of the regional meeting, in addition to their five-point plan of “Hermanidad.” The gendered print community the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc were constructing had been getting larger with each issue, so by the first day of the 1971 Houston conference, when Chicanas from all over the country met, they passed a resolution naming Hijas de Cuauhtémoc the national paper for Chicana activists through which they planned to forge a national Chicana organization.

**BUILDING A CHICANA COUNTERPUBLIC: ENCUENTRO FEMENIL AND COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZING**

While no issues of Hijas de Cuauhtémoc were published after 1971, the political project of its members continued through the formation of the first journal of Chicana scholarship, Encontro Femenil, published in spring 1973. The preface to the first volume states:

Hijas de Cuauhtémoc is a feminist group with the education of Raza women as their primary goal. Fully aware that feminism should not be viewed as any type of disadvantage, but rather as a means of recognizing one's full and total capabilities, the Hijas founded the “ENCUENTRO FEMENIL” Journal, which now has evolved into a totally independent publication. Realizing that our struggle is racial as well as sexual, we, as Raza women, could in no way fight for feminism without it being an effort on behalf of our people. Through ENCUENTRO FEMENIL, we would like to see the efforts of enlightened women bring about positive alternatives for change.
The Los Angeles chapter was led by NWRO, like many local chapters of the Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education 1970 caucus at the California Institute for Women. The organization at the California Institute for Women, the formation of a Chicana political caucus, MARA (a Chicana prison mobilization), and many new organizations began to form, including the National Chicana Political Caucus, MAREA (a Chicana prison organization at the California Institute for Women), the formation of a Chicana caucus at the 1970 Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education.

In 1969 I became a UMAS-MEChA member at the University of California, Los Angeles. In 1971, I left school and worked with a group of Chicana feminists who published *Encuentro Femenil* in 1973 and 1974. For myself, as for many others, experiences such as these initiated valuable insight into racism and sexism in this country and contributed to the effective political direction of the growing activism of the Chicano Movement.

Continuing to use print to create a counterpublic, the journal served as an important space for autonomous Chicana cultural production and the emergence of Chicana feminist scholarship that was deeply embedded in community-based Chicana organizing. For example, Del Castillo’s essay, "Malintzin Tenepal: A Preliminary Look into a New Perspective" (1974), published in the second issue, was one of the first to demystify la Malinche as a symbol of female betrayal. The first issue contains an interview with Alicia Escalante, an East Los Angeles leader in organizing poor women’s movements (Madres por Justicia), an article written by Anna NietoGomez outlining the plan for a Chicana Studies program, and an interview with Alicia Escalante’s mother, Francisca Flores, publisher of *Regeneración* and founder of Comisión Femenil Mexicana, which opened the Chicana Service Action Center in East L.A. She also began working closely with Alicia Escalante, who founded the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization.

Alicia Escalante, born in El Paso, Texas, grew up knowing poverty. At the age of ten she relocated with her mother to Los Angeles, where she had her first experience with the welfare system. Recalling the harsh treatment that her mother received from the “Anglo” social worker, Escalante explained, “Her whole attitude towards my mother was one of hostility. I sensed prejudice; I sensed that she could have done something more than to give her tokens. And I hated her for stripping my mother of her pride, who was kind, good, struggling to survive.”

Living in a housing project from 1958 through 1968, Escalante was forced by economic necessity to go on and off on welfare various times while she raised her children as a single mother. Through her negative experiences with public assistance while seeking care for her daughter’s health problems, Escalante began attending protests against then-Governor Ronald Reagan’s Medi-Cal cutbacks. Along with other welfare mothers Escalante founded the East Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization in 1967. She attributes the founding of the organization to the negative experiences women in her community faced and the insights she gained by attending Los Angeles chapter meetings of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) in San Diego, and finally the women’s caucus of La Raza Unida Party in Texas in 1973.

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women who had begun organizing in 1961 as the ANC (Aid to Needy Children) Mothers in the Watts area of Los Angeles years before the national organization was founded. Although the East L.A. Welfare Rights Organization (ELAWRO) had its early beginnings with the NWRO, the organization quickly split with its national counterpart. Escalante asserts that the Chicano Movement had considerable influence over the organization: “We chose to place more emphasis on the special needs and problems of the Chicano communities. It was for this reason that a break was made from the national organization. Though basically the same goals were kept, the operation of the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization had been more in keeping with our culture and tradition.”

Escalante secured office space for the organization, and welfare mothers themselves ran the office on a volunteer basis. The structure of the organization was described as a “familia,” and if the organization was in need of funds the women would sell tamales and menudo. The mission of the ELAWRO was to inform Chicana welfare mothers of their rights, and they advocated for the translation of welfare forms into Spanish. In addition, the organization fought to establish new welfare offices in Spanish-speaking communities and demanded that the Department of Social Services hire bilingual and bicultural social workers. Advocates attempted to remove obstacles to communication between the welfare system and the people it was attempting to serve. The women began to familiarize themselves with the policies and regulations of the welfare system and to learn how to navigate the bureaucracy on local, state, and federal levels, which were often not in communication with each other—to the detriment of welfare recipients. Escalante explained their tactics involving advocacy, research, and mobilization:

Whenever there were discrepancies at the local level, we documented them and brought it to the attention of the administrators. We would ask to meet with the director of welfare and if he tried to avoid meeting with us, we would go to the county board of supervisors. We would write politicians concerning issues like the Talmadge law, or pilot projects affecting large communities. We would undertake surveys and conduct research. And if we had to, we would take the county to court. We tried to pursue an issue until it was resolved.

The Talmadge Amendment to the Social Security Act of 1973 would have required mothers on public assistance with children over six years of age to register with the state employment office and report every two weeks until they found a job, but, as usual, it proved shortsighted and had no child care provi-
A critical link between the older generation of Mexican American women activists of the 1940s and 1950s and the emergence of a younger generation of Chicana activists in the 1960s and 1970s was Francisca Flores. Coming of age in San Diego during the period of the Mexican Revolution, Flores met many veterans of the revolution and exiled Mexican leftists, labor activists, and socialists during an extended stay at the sanitarium as she recovered from tuberculosis during her teenage and young adult years. Following her release from the sanitarium in 1939, Flores moved to Los Angeles, where she became active in leftist political organizations such as El Congreso de Pueblos que Hablan Español (the Spanish-Speaking Peoples Congress), the Mexican American labor and civil rights organization founded in 1938 by Josefina Fierro de Bright, Bert Corona, and Luisa Moreno. In addition to her previously mentioned involvement with the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, she aided Carey McWilliams with his early publication, North from Mexico (1949). Flores worked on the campaign to elect Edward Roybal to the Los Angeles City Council in the late 1940s and to the U.S. Congress in 1963 through her involvement with the Eastside Democratic Club. In addition, she was one of cofounders of the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) in 1980.

Within Chicano/o print communities in Los Angeles, Flores’s work as a writer, publisher, and organizer was generative. She first worked on Carta Perales, an eastside news journal later titled Carta Editorial, which was published between 1963 and 1969. From 1968 to 1975 Flores served as editor of the Chicano movement magazine Regeneracion (1970–1975), known as a vital forum for reporting the discrimination and police brutality that exploded on the eastside streets following the famous 1970 Chicano Moratorium and the death of Rubén Salazar and for its political analysis and consistent commitment to Chicana rights.

During the mid-1960s Flores was involved with the women’s auxiliary of the G.I. Forum. She worked to increase Mexican American women’s political involvement. To advance this cause she founded, with Ramona Morin, the California League of Mexican American Women (LMAW) in 1966, a precursor to the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional (CFMN), founded in 1970 at the Mexican American National Issues Conference in Sacramento. According to the Chicana historian Marisela Chávez, “After the 1970 conference, the Comisión established its base of operations in Los Angeles, building upon work already begun by LMAW.” Aware of the existing social and political climate for women of Mexican descent, Flores did not see a Chicana organization such as CFMN as a threat to the movimiento but rather as something that would strengthen it. Flores emphasized, “We expect that this great force of women power will give the movement one great empúje [push] to raise it one giant step higher in the drive for liberation.” The organization would grow to over twenty chapters nationwide by the late 1970s. CFMN’s main objectives were to formulate leadership among Chicanas so that they could become active leaders in their community, disseminate information relevant to Chicanas, develop methods of problem solving for Chicanas and Mexicanas, and network with other women’s organizations and movements. In addition, beginning in 1971 Flores began to edit the CFM Report, the newsletter of the Comisión Femenil Mexicana. As the first president of CFMN and as the editor of several publications, Francisca Flores became one of the leading advocates for Chicana rights and an important voice of the Chicana movement. With the founding of the Chicana Service Action Center (CSAC), the tradition of the CFM Report continued in the CSAC Newsletter, which Flores began editing in 1973.

The founders of Encuentro Feminil formed alliances with Los Angeles Chicana leaders in order to document community issues and struggles and build greater political knowledge of these issues among a larger Chicana/o political community so that policies and institutions would be more responsive. For example, Corinne Sánchez, who has a long history of involvement and is currently the CEO of a multiservice community center in the San Fernando Valley called Proyecto del Barrio, worked with Flores to organize the CSAC, the first employment training center for Chicanas in East L.A. These rich links and the collaboration with the CSAC were documented in Nieto-Gomez’s article, “Chicanas in the Labor Force,” which was published in Encuentro Feminil. The article stated that 57 percent of Chicanas over the age of fourteen were in the labor force, but, “because the Chicana may suffer from sex discrimination as well as from racial discrimination, the Chicana’s income is at the bottom of the economic ladder.” Finding that the median income of Chicanas was nearly three times higher than that of Chicanos, the article placed the work of the CSAC in context with national data finding that at the CSAC “53% of the Chicanas were found in low status, low paying jobs such as domestic workers, cleaning, laundry and food service, in addition to factory work.” Further, the study found that “at the Chicana Service Action Center of Los Angeles, 50% of the Chicanas looking for work are unskilled and untrained women under the age of 30 years.”

The CSAC, founded in 1972 in the Boyle Heights neighborhood of East Los Angeles, was the result of a grant the Comisión Femenil Mexicana National received from the Department of Labor. The CSAC provided employment training, counseling, placement, and referral. That same year the CFMN incorporated with nonprofit status in order to receive money from the Depart-
ments and the print cultures they generated. For example, approximately

Rene at the CIW, wrote “La Pista: The Myth of Rehabilitation,” in Engendering Print Cultures.

Chicanas constituted 11 percent of the total population of CIW, and they fell into two categories: those charged with felonies or girls under the age of eighteen originally assigned to the California Youth Authority who had been transferred to the prison for “disruptive” behavior. The majority of the CIW population had been convicted of drug offenses, and about 85 percent of all Chicanas were “convicted for narcotics offenses or related drug offenses.” MARA was dedicated to documenting issues incarcerated Chicanas faced, such as low attendance in vocational and educational classes because the materials were outdated and not relevant to the Chicano experience. In addition, no individual instruction was given and many Chicanas needed tutoring in order to pass the classes. This resulted in “Chicanas choosing to work in the kitchen, on the yard, in the laundry or in the garment factory.” MARA also advocated for Chicanas women with children in relation to placement and family care, in a context in which state agencies usually broke families up. They also helped secure rides for family members out to CIW, located forty miles from Los Angeles. They argued, “Pintos and Pintos alike are calling for a more humane and just revaluation of the present penal code. The primary focus has centered on the issues of ‘indeterminate sentence.’” For example, a woman who was sentenced to serve one to ten years could be held indefinitely until the Women’s Board of Terms and Parole determined the length of time to be served. A Chicana serving time in CIW explained the impact of MARA this way:

When I first came here I was sad and lonely like so many women. . . . One of the most important things that has helped me is MARA. Before I came here I was not involved in any organization. MARA has really made me aware of my Raza and people.

Another inmate, Amelia Lopez, shared her experience:

I’m a Chicana in prison. . . . Just to know that my Brown Sisters had a group and were interested in the same achievements, really sounded good to me. . . . You attended MARA, and you see what must be done, simply by what you hear. You hear your sisters saying don’t walk alone, walk with us.

Women were central to other Los Angeles Chicano movement organizations and the print cultures they generated. For example, approximately
fifty women participated in the Los Angeles chapter of El Centro de Acción Social Autónomo (CASA), which was founded in 1968 as a mutual aid organization under the leadership of Bert Corona and Soledad Alatorre and became a Marxist-Leninist vanguard organization in 1975 after merging with the Committee to Free los Tres.80 Marisela Chávez argues, “Marxism as a ‘sex-blind’ ideology, much as the ideology of Chicanismo which privileged race, class and ethnicity, merged together in CASA to engender a Marxist and nationalist vision that subsumed women and women’s issues.”81 Laura Pulido attributes CASA’s inability to incorporate women, with the exception of Magdalena Mora and Isabel H. Rodríguez, into the leadership to the emphasis on “study and theoretical work,” as well as the existence of a gendered division of labor.82

Despite the fact that female members of CASA, including Isabel H. Rodríguez, Patricia Vellanoweth, Andrea Elizade, Margarita Ramírez, Evelina Márquez, Elsa Rivas, Evelina Fernández, Gilda Rodríguez, Maria Elena Durazo, Magdalena Mora, Jane Adkins, and Diane Factor, were committed to a class-based struggle, many of them did focus on women’s issues in capitalist relations of power and organizational praxis. This is evidenced in print culture with the 1977 women’s special edition of Sin Fronteras, edited by Evelina Márquez and Margarita Ramírez, which built on the socialist tradition of honoring International Women’s Day. In addition, that same year a women’s study group formed within the organization and produced a study guide to address “both gender inequities within CASA and to expand their general knowledge about women’s roles in revolutions and how different theorists addressed the women’s question.”83 In the end, the Chicana counterculture constituted through print culture spread throughout and beyond the Chicano movement. Women’s special issues—Regeneración (1971, 1975), El Grito del Norte (1971), El Papo Femenil (1972, 1973), El Grito (1973), La Razón Mestiza (1975), Sin Fronteras (1977), ChismeArte (1978), to name a few—flourished throughout the 1970s.

**COLLECTIVE KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION**

In the era I am describing, Chicana poetry and prose were a politicized strategy of self-representation and knowledge production published in newspapers, articles, manifestos, open letters, and conference proceedings. Many contemporary Chicana intellectuals and writers got their training in the movement or through discursive traditions created by Chicana feminists who emerged from it. As forms and contents are dialectically related, new innovative forms of writing were imperative and indicative of new forms of political subjec-
tivities. Outside of the realist conventions of political journalism, newsprint forms varied widely, from open letters to songs that introduced a new Chicana poetics and politically infused writing. The writing in the majority of the newsprint pieces appeared in a narrative format that mirrored the urgency of their words. The diverse forms Chicanas invented to “speak themselves” into poetic and political discourse testifies to a new sense of creative agency.84 This kind of mixed-genre format would come to form the basis for a pedagogy of liberation among Chicanas themselves, as well as a coalitional strategy among women of color continuing with the profusion of women of color anthologizing in the 1970s and early 1980s embodied by collaborative projects such as the 1981 publication of *This Bridge Called My Back*.

In the early 1970s collective self-knowledge was often produced in a montage layout and mixed-genre format, serving as a precursor to women of color anthologizing. Developed out of an early women’s course in La Raza studies, Dorinda Gladden Moreno’s 1973 collection of poetry, prose, and artwork, *La mujer en pie de lucha*, is an early example of these practices. In 1970, while attending San Francisco State College, Dorinda Moreno and a group of Chicana women formed Concilio Mujeres as a support group for Chicanas in higher education. The group encouraged Raza women to enter higher education and pursue a profession.85 Moreno, a single mother of three children, returned to school after being in the workforce. In 1973 their collection was published. In 1975 the organization used the 1973 book as the basis of a film that they went on to produce for public television. Citing this collection as a way to locate their own project, the editors of the first issue of *Encuentro Femenil* created intertextual conversations across disparate regions, social locations, and ideological differences, which was a widespread practice and part of the exchange created by the Chicana print community. The same year Moreno published *La mujer en pie de lucha* Concilio Mujeres opened an office in the San Francisco Mission District in an effort to serve the Chicano community.86 According to the sociologist Benita Roth, Moreno also served as director between 1974 and 1975 of a “library clearing house project” that involved collecting materials on Chicanas to inform “the broader movement . . . about the lives of Raza women.”87 Gathering and disseminating information on the Chicana was central to Concilio Mujeres as an organization. While Moreno was a graduate student at Stanford University, Concilio Mujeres began producing the newsletter *La Razón Mestiza*. In 1976 Concilio Mujeres produced a special edition on Chicanas in honor of International Women’s Year titled *La Razón Mestiza II*.88 Moreno also played a key role in creating a women’s teatro group called Las Cucarachas. Moreno believed in the necessity of working with Chicano men and activism involving...
cultural and historical knowledge as vital to the liberation of both Chicanas and Chicanos. By 1975 Concilio Mujeres ran into issues with funding and the participation of its membership, and between 1978 and 1980 the organization slowly ceased to exist.

These earlier forms of Chicana feminist print communities transformed both political discourse and the framework through which it was articulated. Often portrayed as before their time, grassroots activist intellectuals like Betita Martínez, Mirta Vidal, and Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez were very much women of their time who created a Chicana essayist tradition that chronicled how their feminist convictions emerged out of this historical context, often in dialogue with one another. This political essayist tradition was carried on throughout the 1970s through Nieto-Gomez’s “la Feminiza” and Coteras’s two historical chronicles, *Diosa y Hembra* (1976) and *The Chicanas Feminists* (1977). Historicism, dialogue, and collaborative writing were trademarks of this early period.

**PRINT CULTURES, ANTHOLOGIZING, AND AFFIRMATIVE COMMUNITIES IN PRODUCTION**

The emergence of collections by U.S. third world women was preceded by anthologies published by women of color within their own racial and ethnic communities. Some examples are *The Black Woman: An Anthology*, edited by Toni Cade Bambara in 1970; *Asian Women*, edited by the Berkeley Asian Women’s Study Group in 1971; and *La mujer en pie de lucha*, edited by Dortmund Moreno in 1973. Anthologizing was a pedagogy of liberation that included using multiple genres such as testimonial, historical, and poetic treatments. Women of color anthologies provided the tools for consciousness raising and community building that forged a space for women within their respective movements and made women of color the subjects of knowledge rather than its objects. In many ways anthologizing was also a strategy of collective self-knowledge construction and played a critical pedagogical role for vastly different groups to learn about each other and themselves. A rise in anthology production and special journal issues dedicated to third world women at the end of the decade witnessed such publications as the special issue of *Hermosas, Third World Women: The Politics of Being Other* (1979) and Dexter Fisher’s *The Third Woman: Minority Women Writers in the U.S.* (1980).

Anthologies by women of color have been an effective strategy for multiplying discursive arenas that help constitute counterpublics. The specific print technology of the anthology can be seen as producing discursive and public cultures where women of color could construct and learn the terms of their emerging coalitions or political projects. The anthology provided an avenue for discussing and negotiating conflict, contradiction, solidarity, understanding, and difference. In many ways this strategy forged the coalitional and tactical nature of women of color identities and made effective interventions into feminist scholarship and activism. Critically, there is also evidence that its circulation functioned to help constitute women of color as an interpretive and political community. Among women of color activists these texts were critically engaged, widely read, and collectively discussed and were often the impetus for the establishment of new groups as well as new political and cultural formations.


Women of color subaltern counterpublics were constituted largely through print communities produced by publications like *Triple Jeopardy: Imperialism, Sexism, Racism*, the newspaper of the Third World Women’s Alliance, which had a national circulation from 1970 to 1975. Both anthologies and movement newspapers served the vital role of multiplying the spaces in which these discursive communities operated, from big cities to smaller ones in Oregon, New Mexico, and Michigan. This strategy was not just about covering geographic terrain but about creating dialogues with different audiences in other
ideological camps, sectors of organizing, and social movements. Other scholars who have studied these print communities have noted this critical function of republication. For example, Katie King states, “The complexity of interests, methods, and political possibilities the collection of working papers and polemics display, the reworking for different locations, and the envisioning of quite differing audiences, real and imagined, need to be kept in mind while we continue looking at anthologies.”

Crucial in mapping these poetic and political traditions are the writings of Chicana lesbian feminists of the 1970s who forged new forms of identity, community, and political consciousness. Often the most vibrant print cultures emerged due to marginalization and displacement from multiple movement spaces and discourses. This points to the tremendous poetic revolutions of lesbians of color who sought to make a new language and new genres to create new identities, desires, solidarities, and communities outside these displacements. The poeties of liberation were developed by such lesbian of color writers as Pat Parker, Cherrie Moraga, Toni Cade Bambara, Chrystos, Audre Lorde, Gloria Anzaldúa, Cheryl Clarke, Jewelle Gomez, Kitty Tsui, and Hattie Gossett, to name a few. It was often a survival strategy to turn to political poetry or creative writing to make feminist interventions. Much of this work went on to have transformative and lasting effects. I make this distinction because I do not want to “privilege” social movements as the site where “real” change happens but to shift our understanding of both social movements and alternative counterpublics that were formed in this era to challenge institutional and cultural forms of imperialism, sexism, homophobia, and racism. For example, the role of print production, distribution, and circulation in providing alternative spaces for the production of politicized subjectivities in the poetic revolutions of radical lesbians of color is marked by This Bridge Called My Back. Due to the multiple exclusions of lesbians and bisexuals and gender-nonconforming people of color within the Gay Liberation Front, the Chicano movement, Black Power, the New Left, the women’s movement or the Asian American student movement, This Bridge epitomizes the ways in which a new space was crafted through writing and publishing as a coalitional venture. It is important to putthese poetic revolutions in conversation with social movement practices and political struggles in order to forge a history of the formation of women of color feminist political projects.

Even before Bridge, the critical importance of publishing and building print communities can be seen in how lesbian of color activists worked together politically through counterpublics constituted through print communities and cultural production, after being multiply marginalized and displaced in all the many movements in which they had been active. These alternative gendered print communities can also be traced through Chicana poetic revolutions that signaled desire and coalitional politics with other women of color as a space of resistance. These interconnections are explicit in the introduction to Conditions: Five (The Black Women’s Issue):

We decided to use the work of Black women both as a political/cultural statement and also because we realized the limitations of our competence and/or experience as two Afro-American women to deal with the literary representation of other Third World women’s lives. We feel strongly that all women of color need autonomous publications that encompass the experiences of all Third World women. AZALEA, a magazine by Third World lesbians, is a pioneering representative of this last category, along with the Third World women’s issues of HERESIES: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics.

The formation of Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press exemplifies the process whereby lesbians of color made a home for their “displacement” and a political location from which to speak and write their own political visions. Actors such as Barbara Smith and Lorrain Bethel played a role in facilitating this print community. Third Woman Press, founded in 1979 by Norma Alarcón, also served as a critical site for the production of Chicana and women of color literatures and critical essays.

These alternative gendered print communities can also be traced through Chicana poetic revolutions that signaled desire and coalitional politics with other women of color as a space of resistance. The historiography of this poetics is a crucial space of articulation in mapping Chicana feminisms because it is a significant strand in Chicana feminist genealogies, which is often elided as standing outside Chicano movement history. Movement print cultures provided a theoretical and historical basis for the formation of Chicana feminist scholarship, and they were used to rework the discursive frames of social struggle in order to craft new spaces for women within masculinist registers of nationalism, constituting a Chicana counterpublic.