CHICANA FEMINISMS

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A CRITICAL READER

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texts that operate with different grammars, like the Fillmore versus the Guadalajara area. Coming to *political consciousness* is the climax of the essay; it is where the stories of identity formation and loss lead. *Identities*—how they persist, drop away, and transform—are the central topic of your fine essay.

The lengualidades in your essay are wonderfully polyphonic (prose, poetry, letters) and polyglot (Spanish, English, standard speech, and slang). The essay embodies the very phenomena it analyzes. It is a tour de force that privileges the bilingual reader, making us feel at home as you write yourself into existence.

What a privilege to have spent this time with your words. Thank you.

Un abrazo,

Renato

CHAPTER TWO

Contested Histories: *Las Hijas de Cuauhtémoc*, Chicana Feminisms, and Print Culture in the Chicano Movement, 1968–1973

MAYLEI BLACKWELL

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The 1971 publication of the *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* newspaper in its three editions marked a critical historical moment in the development of Chicana feminist theories and practices and a gendered shift in the print culture of the Chicano movement.[1] Despite the enduring legacy of the political interventions Chicana activists made during the 1960s and 1970s, the emergence of Chicana feminism within the Chicano movement has remained, until recently, largely an untold story.[2] The historiography or practice of telling the history of the Chicano movement often has not only erased women's early participation in the movement but has produced a masculine hegemony within those narratives, reinscribing dominant gender relations that were much more contested at the time. My oral history project with the members of the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc, an early Chicana feminist organization, has uncovered histories of the emergence of Chicana feminist resistance and challenges the mechanics of erasure that have produced these silences in the historiography of both the Chicano and the women's movements.[3] Focusing on how the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc engendered print media and built Chicana feminist print communities, this essay analyzes print culture as a strategic site of intervention and contestation for women in the Chicano movement.

The Chicano movement emerged from a multitude of community-based political and civil rights struggles, ranging from issues of agricultural and

industrial labor to (im)migration, access to education, political representation, the Vietnam War, racism and discrimination, resistance to police and state repression, land grant claims, and local control of community institutions. Yet, Chicano movement historiography has been structured around a cosmology of male heroes, whereby the figures of Reies López Tijerina, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, José Angel Gutiérrez, and César Chavez have come to stand in for fuller historical understanding of these social movements, especially women's participation in them.[4] Although these leaders' contributions are indeed important, the way they have been historicized has produced a monolithic portrayal of the Chicano movement, in which history is organized around hero narratives rather than the many participatory local struggles that coalesced into a national movement. This is a disservice to the historical memory of the majority of its participants.

Despite clear historical documentation of Chicana activism and the emergence of Chicana feminism as early as 1968, many Chicano movement histories have claimed that Chicanas did not begin to articulate their own agendas until the 1980s, thereby historicizing the emergence of Chicana feminism at the time of the decline of *el movimiento Chicano*.[5] Feminist historiography of the second wave women's movement is equally distorted, focusing almost exclusively on small East Coast, largely middle-class, white women's consciousness-raising groups, thereby erasing the participation of women of color in the women's movement and ignoring other diverse political formations that gave rise to women of color feminisms and theories outside of that movement.[6] These limitations have mistakenly led many to periodize the formation of women of color political identity as originating in the 1980s, marked by the publication of *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981).[7]

This essay analyzes Chicana feminist print cultures as social movement practices integral to creating the political context for such a vital women of color political project and publishing endeavor to emerge. Exploring the formation of Chicana print communities, I focus my analysis on the *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* newspaper, its text, circulation, and function, as well as the first Chicana journal, *Encuentro Femenil*, which members of the organization helped to found in 1973. Although the newspaper was short-lived—all three issues were published in 1971—it opened up spaces for Chicana dialogue across regions, social movement sectors, activist generations, and social differences. Print community modes of production are a crucial site of historical inquiry helping us to understand the development of Chicana feminist ideology, discourse, and political praxis in a way that accounts

for how ideas traveled through local formations as well as larger cross-regional circulations. Weaving the history of this Chicana organization between 1968 and 1973 into a larger historical analysis of the emergence of Chicana feminisms, I illustrate the transformation of Chicana consciousness as their newspaper expanded its readership and imagined political community from local (campus) to regional and national audiences. Many negotiations over gender and sexuality occurred in the local power relationships and daily life politics of the Chicano movement. Movement print culture functioned as a mediating space where these debates circulated and where new ideas, theories, and political claims were forged.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Chicana feminists circulated their political ideas in Raza magazines, feminist circulars, manifestos, organizational newsletters, and political pamphlets. As a form of political pedagogy (Bhabha 1990), these print-mediated dialogues among women from different movement sectors and social locations created a space not only to formulate Chicana demands but to constitute new political, racial, and gender identities. Community publications, newspapers, and magazines (such as *El Grito del Norte* and *Regeneración)* and feminist student newspapers (including *El Popo Femenil* and *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc)* were formative in producing a Chicana print community and furthered the development of scholarly Chicana publications and the field of Chicana Studies.

Chicana feminist historian Martha Cotera has chronicled the development of Chicana feminist print communities: "Chicanas also have expressed their feminism and their needs through their own journals like *Regeneración, Encuentro Femenil, Hijas de Cuauhtémoc, La Comadre, Fuego de Aztlán, Imágenes de la Chicana, Hembra, Tejidos, La Cosecha [De Colores],* and *Hojas Poéticas.* Other popular journals like *La Luz, Nuestro, El Caracol,* and *El Grito* often feature feminist writings that are helping to raise the consciousness of Chicanas and women's development" (1980, 231). This rich genealogical site has facilitated an emerging countercanon of Chicana historiography that recuperates writings by Chicanas in the movement that have largely been ignored (A. García 1990; Alarcón 1990). Many newspaper articles and journal essays from this period testify to the unofficial history of women in the movement who played a crucial role in the formation of the "New Chicana" (Sosa-Riddell 1974; Cotera 1980).

For example, long-time labor activist Francisca Flores and Ramona Morín of the women's auxiliary of GI Forum founded *La Carta Editorial* in the mid-1960s to serve as a community-based publication that would report on political activities. Flores went on to found *Regeneración* in 1970 and made vital contributions through her magazine's singularly forthright

analysis regarding women's issues. Besides two Chicana special issues published in 1971 and 1973, *Regeneración* was known for its news stories that reported on women's organizing, op-ed pieces that critiqued sexist practices in the Chicano movement, artwork featuring local Chicana artists, and articles analyzing political issues and legislation affecting the lives of Chicanas. The newsletters of the Comisión Femenil Mexicana and the Chicana Service Action Center were organizing tools that reported on Chicana community and employment issues in Los Angeles. Based in the New Mexican land grant movement, long-time civil rights activist and former SNCC member Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez edited the magazine *El Grito del Norte* along with Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez and several other activists. Under the leadership of Dorinda Moreno, the San Francisco–based Chicana feminist organization Concilio Mujeres began publishing *La Razón Mestiza* in 1974. Several university women's groups published campus newspapers or annual special issues on Chicanas, a tradition that continues today. These inventive forms of print intervention helped to constitute and document new forms of Chicana insurgency during this period.

HIJAS DE CUAUHTÉMOC: THE EMERGENCE OF CHICANA FEMINISM IN THE CHICANO STUDENT MOVEMENT

The Hijas de Cuauhtémoc was an early women's group that emerged out of the ranks of the Chicano student movement. They operated under such names as *las mujeres de Longo* (the caló term for Long Beach), *las hermanas*, and *las Chicanas de Aztlán* between 1968 and 1971. The group formed within United Mexican American Students (UMAS) at California State University, Long Beach, which later took up the call to Chicano political action under the name Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MECHA) after the 1969 Plan de Santa Barbara.

Because the leadership of UMAS, and later MECHA, held the attitude that new female recruits had less political knowledge than their male counterparts, the veteran women activists were charged with providing "political education" for the incoming women. One veteran Chicana activist, Corinne Sánchez (1997), noted that the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc was formed as an organizational mechanism for women's political education within the student movement and was "originally organized within MECHA or UMAS as a forum for educating and raising the awareness of the women."[8] Although ideological discussion and study groups were part of the student movement's consciousness-raising efforts, the women's group eventually became a vehicle through which to voice complaints about the contradictions between the civil rights discourse and the way women were treated in the organization. What the women "wanted, in essence, was some accountability from the men . . . that they be consistent with their ideology because the women weren't treated with respect" (NietoGomez 1991). The group became a way for women in the movement to organize collectively based on their own experiences as young, working-class Chicanas and to address issues that were ignored in the student movement.

One common depiction shared in the oral history interviews I conducted was the blockages to women's full participation and the dismissive attitudes they encountered in UMAS and MECHA. Several mentioned, for example, that when a woman brought up an idea in a meeting, it would go unrecognized until a guy brought up essentially the same idea; his resolution would then be discussed, engaged, and passed. The women's meetings operated as an informal support group and a place where they could discuss problems with the male leadership and openly articulate these contradictions (Castillo 1996). The group at California State University, Long Beach, along with other Chicana activists in the greater Los Angeles area, began to develop a critique of the sexual politics of the movement. Often, commitment to the revolution was measured by how "down" you were to a revolutionary man, and new female members complained that initiation into the movement included attempts by the men to "revolutionize" their pants off (Miranda 1994).[9] The women felt the gendered division of labor that relegated them to secretarial tasks and cooking for fundraisers limited their political development. They were frustrated by the lack of attention to the daily life issues Chicanas faced on campus.

Corinne Sánchez and Sylvia Castillo claim that one of the main factors in consolidating the women's group was the discrimination that arose when Anna NietoGomez was democratically elected president of MECHA for the academic year 1969–1970.[10] NietoGomez had wide support from the student body, who recognized her leadership capacity through her role as one of the first Chicana Equal Opportunity Program (EOP) peer counselors (C. Sánchez 1998). Although she had several male allies and was an effective student leader, her work as president was often disrupted by the old guard male leadership, who, seemingly threatened by the leadership of one of the first woman presidents of MECHA, attempted to hold shadow organizational control by holding meetings behind her back (C. Sánchez 1998; Castillo 1996). Although NietoGomez had already served as the vice president of UMAS in 1968–1969, some of the male leadership explicitly stated that they did not want to be represented by a woman at statewide conventions. As tensions mounted around the question of women's leadership, all

of the women recalled how the silencing mechanisms used against them became more dramatic. For example, women leaders were hung in effigy outside of the MECHA trailer during this time, and later, after the publication of the newspaper, a mock burial for the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc was presided over by a MECHA "priest," with tombstones where several of the members' names were inscribed (NietoGomez 1991; L. Hernández 1992; C. Sánchez 1997).

Sonia López's study of Chicanas in the student movement found that women's organizations formed because of the "inconsistencies between the liberation rhetoric of the movement and the reality as it existed for Chicanas within the movement—that of being exploited by their own people for their labor and sexuality" (1977, 26). Several Chicana organizations and informal groups formed for similar reasons between 1970 and 1972 at universities across California, including San Diego State University, Fresno State College, California State University Los Angeles, and Stanford University. The women from California State University, Long Beach (CSULB) were extremely active in college recruitment, sponsoring some of the first Día de la Raza events that brought Chicana/o high school students to the university and helped to triple the Chicano enrollment in those early years. Yet, they found that despite the fact that only one third of new college recruits were women, over half of those women dropped out before their junior year in college. They investigated the high dropout rate among Chicanas and discovered that it had little to do with academic success as the majority of Chicanas had high grade-point averages overall. The reasons for the dropout rate ranged from a lack of academic, faculty, or peer support to guilt over leaving familial responsibilities and not being able to contribute to the household income of their families while in college, social pressures to get married, and economic difficulties. They also found that a silent factor was pregnancy and lack of access to birth control (NietoGomez 1991).[11]

The group's urgent need to focus on the survival of Chicanas in the university, as well as their commitment to increase their rapidly dropping retention rates, initiated their transformation from a support group to an advocacy group.[12] The women felt that internal politics were overshadowing the problems they were having and that conflicts around the presidency had polarized already existing tensions over labor, sexuality, and prescribed gender roles in the movement. Realizing that they were the main labor force of the movement, they began to assess their role in the organization. The group had been mobilized since 1968; by 1970 they were organizing themselves to address their common political needs in relation to women in the movement, the community, and the university. They began a dialogue with other Chicanas that facilitated a shift in consciousness and the articulation of an explicitly Chicana gendered political identity.

The group solidified around a shared interest in learning about Chicana history and identity and discussing the ways Chicanas could participate more fully in the national Chicano movement instead of being limited to cooking for the fundraisers on campus. But, because the women began to articulate their own political vision of what Chicano liberation should be—that it should include women—they were often told that their ideas were divisive or they were dismissed as sellouts, *vendidas*, or traitors, *Malinches*. Although their call for Chicana feminisms was grounded in their own lived daily experience and political insight gained in the movement, they were labeled *agringadas* or white-washed by those who claimed that feminism was antithetical to Chicano culture. Despite the ideological attacks against Chicana feminists and even those Chicanas who did not call themselves feminist at the time but actively worked against the gender discrimination in the movement, they overcame political intimidation like being hung in effigy and continued to organize. Members of the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc went on to publish their newspaper, founded the first Chicana feminist journal of scholarship in 1973, and made important contributions to the formulation of early Chicana feminist thought. Part of the backlash to women's organizing was tied to how Chicano cultural nationalism was not just an ideology of cultural pride and racial unity but a gendered construction that influenced how gender roles and expectations shaped the political practices of the Chicano student movement (Blackwell 2000b).

Much of the ideology of the student movement was articulated through concepts of gender mediated largely through masculinity, brotherhood, familialism, and carnalismo. This construction of masculinity shaped not only the discourse of nationalism but the social and cultural context of the Chicano youth movement as a whole, often authorizing asymmetrical gender relations, sexual politics, and the policing of women's sexuality (Blackwell 2000b). Moreover, when deployed within political organizations, it constituted a political practice that often informed a range of issues, from how meetings functioned to organizational styles and the question of women's leadership (Rendon 1971). This led to problems for the women who moved into the leadership of MECHA (and UMAS) in the late 1960s, because it was through acts of repudiation of women who were democratically elected to leadership that masculinist discourse became political practice. Although there have been various critiques of sexism and homophobia in the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s,[13] it was not until the 1990s that scholars like Angie Chabram Dernersesian began

to critically examine the ways that cultural nationalism was constructed through gender.[14]

Chicano nationalism also engendered constructions of idealized femininity largely through a conservative cultural construct of "tradition" within a patriarchal, heterosexual model of family. This view circumvented the daily culture of the movement and the lives of Chicana activists as *la familia* served both as an organizing model and a metaphor for the Chicano movement. The articulation of a Chicana/o political subjectivity through constructions of gender led early Chicano movement discourse to encounter problems building a coherent political space for women. For example, the discourse of nationalism created a contradictory position for women: they were seen as the bearers of tradition, culture, and family and simultaneously erased as the unspoken subjects of political rights. The construction of gender for women in the movement was based on what has been called the "Ideal Chicana," which "glorified Chicanas as strong, long-suffering women who had endured and kept Chicano culture and family intact" (A. García 1990, 420).

Many studies assume that Chicanas came from "traditional" backgrounds and then came to their forms of feminism through the movement. However, the oral histories of the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc reveal that many of the women drew their sense of political agency and gender identity from other community-based "traditions" of female strength and resistance. As descendants of female labor organizers, political party activists, railroad workers, and women who managed family survival on scarce resources, most often members of this organization said that it was their mother, abuela, or tia who served as their role model. These insights suggest that Chicana feminism emerged not only out of the gendered contradictions and sexism of the movement but from conflicts with movement discourses that constructed gender norms based on an idealized nationalist recovery of cultural "tradition" that did not resonate with their lived experience (Blackwell 2000a). More than mere recovery, nationalist discourse often produced traditions that also legitimized gender political identities (Hall 1988, 1989). Part of the political work of the *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* newspaper was that it documented, explored, and honored a diversity of women's political and lived experiences by featuring Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, local activists and family members, soldaderas fighting in the Mexican Revolution, and Chicana artists and theorists.

The first issue of *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* was a watershed mor
ticulation of a Chicana feminist political, poetic, and historica
had been circulating beneath the surface of the movement. The newspa
theorized and editorialized new forms of *femenismo* and began to name the interconnections of class 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, and campus and community struggles, reported on Chicana political developments, and created a space for many young activists to express their own political insights and visions.

Because the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc deployed strategic feminist reconfigurations of nationalist discourse in the newspaper they published, they played a vital role in the critique of the national subject as male and struggled to refigure the nation (Aztlán). By reworking notions of tradition, culture, and history that circumscribed racial, sexual, and gendered expectations of women, the work of the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc multiplied the critical dialogues between the constituencies of the imagined community of Aztlán (Mercer 1994). Their political and symbolic work broke down the unitary concept of the citizen-subject of Aztlán as male, thereby diversifying and multiplying the subjects of resistance enlisted in a Chicana/o project of liberation.

Benedict Anderson's (1991) influential conceptualization of the nation as imagined community has been effectively taken up to produce new insights about social movements and communities of resistance (Mohanty 1991; Fernández 1994).[15] Reconfiguring this formulation for the historical specificity of anticolonial nationalisms, Partha Chatterjee (1993), a historian involved in the Subaltern Studies Group, maintains that it is not through conflict with the state but within the cultural realm that prefigures this struggle that decolonizing nationalist imaginaries are constituted. He argues that anticolonial nationalism creates a domain of sovereignty within 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" (7).

Whereas other Third World movements for national liberation aimed

Anna NietoGomez and Corinne Sánchez played a critical role in the formation of early Chicana Studies. In 1971, the Chicana caucus of the CCHE demanded that both Chicana curriculum and affirmative action be developed (Castillo 1971; NietoGomez 1975). NietoGomez began teaching at California State University, Northridge in 1972, and in May of that year a Chicano Studies/MECHA conference was held at that campus where a resolution was passed that required all Chicano Studies majors to take at least one class on la Mujer. The resolution declared: "This proposal recognizes the need to lift the veil of the Virgin's face to show a real woman who is not exempt from the trials of life. In order to truly understand the needs and problems of La Raza, we must include the Chicana in our study" (NietoGomez 1973a, 59).

In 1973, a Chicana Curriculum Workshop at UCLA, which brought together leading Chicana thinkers, resulted in a groundbreaking program for the establishment of Chicana curriculum in universities and high schools, published as *New Directions in Education: Estudios femeniles de la chicana* (NietoGomez and Sánchez 1974). During July and August of that year, Sánchez headed an institute in Washington, D.C. to discuss issues of Chicanas in education and the Chicana Studies curriculum that had been previously developed at the UCLA workshop with people throughout the nation (Cotera 1980). Chicana print communities created the space of debate, ideological conflict, and knowledge production through the practice of publishing (and republishing in various translocal sites) conference proceedings, debates, and conflicts, providing the basis for Chicana scholarly production and later collaborative publication (R. Sánchez and Cruz 1977; National Association for Chicano Studies [NACS] 1990; Alarcón et al. 1993). An excellent example of this was the pivotal publication of *Unsettled Issues: Chicanas in the '80s*, the published proceedings of a landmark panel and debate at the NACS in 1982, organized by Berkeley-based Mujeres en Marcha (Córdova 1994).

These print communities were crucial sites of political struggle over meaning and provided a theoretical and historical basis for the formation of Chicana feminist scholarship. Movement print cultures were used to rework the discursive frames of social struggle to craft new spaces for women within masculinist registers of nationalism. These print interventions facilitated the construction of the political identity of the Nueva Chicana and also contributed to building solidarity with other women of color through print-mediated dialogues across communities and social locations.

While these histories give us insight into the new epistemologies, alternative feminist identities, and sites of knowledge production that operated throughout the 1960s and 1970s, they have not been adequately documented in the historical records of the Chicano and feminist movements. Historiography is a political practice, and social movement narratives function as a major site of identity production, often used to legitimate or police the boundaries of what is politically possible in our current context. Because these silences and erasures are taught in Women's Studies and Ethnic Studies departments, they have become institutionalized. Alternative modes of historical inquiry are urgently needed in our political context of retreat from the gains made in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the dismantling of affirmative action, because this retreat mentality is being mirrored in histories of the movements for social justice from this era.[25]

NOTES

I would like to thank the members of the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc and other Chicana feminists who shared their histories and archives with me as well as Angela Davis, Anna NietoGomez, Isabel Vélez, and Patricia Zavella for their feedback on earlier versions of this essay.

1. The spelling of Hijas de Cuauhtémoc varied (e.g., Cuahtemoc, Guatemoc, Cuauhtémoc); I employ the most common usage. All three editions of the newspaper came out in 1971 but were not dated. I refer to each issue in the order it was published and use volume and page numbers for easier reference. In 1991, when I began my project, there were no archived copies of the *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* newspaper, to my knowledge. NietoGomez gave me permission to deposit her original set in the California State University, Long Beach archives, where numerous scholars have since accessed these materials.

2. Besides the early histories of Chicanas in the movement (López 1977; del Castillo 1980; and P. Hernández 1980) and A. García's (1990) important article, fuller histories are emerging, such as Ruiz (1998, 99–126), and a new generation of scholars has begun to uncover the important role of women in every sector of the Chicano movement (Bernal 1998; Espinoza 1996).

3. In addition to oral histories with the members of Hijas de Cuauhtémoc, Anna NietoGomez, Corrine Sánchez, Leticia Hernández, and Sylvia Castillo, I conducted interviews with activists involved in regional organizing with them, including Marie (Keta) Miranda, as well as several leading Chicanas from different regions active in the same era, Martha Cotera, Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez, and Beatriz Pesquera. Since I began this research, many of the documents discussed here have been published in a very important collection; see A. García (1997).

4. For example, see Acuña's (1988) chapter on the Chicano Movement, "The Day of the Heroes," which is organized by sections entitled José Angel Gutiérrez, Reies López Tijerina, and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. In her study of Teatro Campesino, Broyles-González has critiqued Chicano historiography for using the great man conceptual framework, which, she argues, denies collective creative agency (1994, 135).

5. Examples of how this functions can be illustrated by Acuña's *Occupied America* (1988), which dedicates only a page and a half to women in the movement in a section

called "La Chicana," and his section, "A Challenge to Male Domination," is located in the Hispanic (read sold-out) '80s chapter. The only book-length manuscript on the Chicano student movement, Muñoz's *Youth, Identity, Power*, dedicates two sentences to a discussion of sexism in the movement, concluding, "As a result, the various stances on sexism became another reason for division within MECHA, with many women deciding to spend their energy on the development of their own feminist organizations," which appears under the subtitle "The Decline of the Student Movement" (1989, 88). Instead of women's involvement in the movement being seen as a contribution, it is periodized as "decline." For other student movement histories, see Gómez-Quiñones (1978) and E. Chavez (1994).

6. For a discussion of the erasure of women of color as political subjects in social movement historiography and an alternative theory of "multiple insurgencies," see Blackwell (2000a). I began this research as part of an oral history collective aimed at rethinking the historiography of the second wave feminist movement collectively in our meetings and individually through each of our projects. Much of our thinking appears in "Whose Feminism, Whose History?" by Sherna Gluck in collaboration with Maylei Blackwell, Sharon Cotrell, and Karen S. harper (1997).

7. For example, Anna NietoGomez's 1974 article, "La Femenista" [*sic*], had already called attention to the concept of multiple oppressions and their simultaneous impact in shaping the lived conditions of Chicanas, insights that are often attributed to the women of color feminist theorizing of the 1980s.

8. The point that this was not a separate feminist group is crucial for historical accuracy because the emergence of Chicana feminisms is often narrated as occurring outside of and after the Chicano movement rather than emerging within it.

9. For a critique of movement sexual politics, see "Political Education Workshop" (1971), where women critiqued the practice of male members' "radicalizing (the pants off) of young recruits." Although the article appears with no author byline, Keta Miranda, who cofacilitated the workshop on which the article was based, wrote the piece to reflect the critique by Chicanas in the workshop (Miranda 1996).

10. Anna NietoGomez's name also appears as Nieto-Gómez in documents of the era, but she has clarified since that her last name is spelled NietoGomez.

11. Abortion and reproductive choice were difficult to discuss as a political issue at the time largely because of sterilization abuses. Along with other Latinas in the United States and Puerto Rico, Chicanas and Mexicanas in Los Angeles were the victims of forced sterilization ("Stop Forced Sterilization Now" 1975; Martinez 1998).

12. Eventually, when the group began publishing the paper, they included pieces on Chicana college survival strategies and printed student resources and services (Honesto 1971; M. Chavez 1971; L. Hernández 1971).

13. For critiques of sexism in Chicano Studies, see Orozco (1986) and Mujeres en Marcha (1983). The work of out Chicana lesbian scholars such as Emma Pérez, Deena Gonzalez, Carla Trujillo, Deborah Vargas, and Sandy Soto throughout the 1980s created Chicana lesbian spaces and introduced sexuality as an important category of social analysis within both the National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) and Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social MALCS. Because there was so much lesbian baiting of Chicana feminists, critiques of homophobia have not always been forthcoming by all Chicana feminists. Despite these challenges, there is a rich history of Chicana lesbian social criticism, for example, Moraga and Anzaldúa (1981), Moraga (1983, 1993), Trujillo (1991), Pérez (1993), Anzalduá (1987), and Leyva (1998).

14. Pivotal essays that shifted the debate include Chabram Dernersesian (1992), Alarcón (1990), Fregoso and Chabram Dernersesian (1990), and Gutiérrez (1993).

15. Fernández (1994) discusses Chicana writers' engagement with Chicano nationalism through textual sources, but without a larger contextual and historical analysis. While she deploys Anderson's theory to her reading of the 1973 women's issue of *El Grito*, my analysis differs in its focus on the function of print communities in the formation of new political subjectivities and as a space of Chicana political and cultural autonomy.

16. There was also a school of thought in the Chicano movement that saw Chicano communities in the United States as internal colonies; see Barrera, Muñoz, and Ornelas (1972) and Almaguer (1971).

17. NietoGomez found this tradition of Mexican feminism in Frederick Turner's *The Dynamic of Mexican Nationalism* (1968) and narrates how it was a pivotal turning point in the consciousness of the group. For further discussion of the original Mexican Hijas de Cuauhtémoc and Chicana feminist recuperation of Mexican feminism, see Blackwell (2000b).

18. For development of Chicana feminist discourse, see Alarcón (1990) and A. García (1990); for early Chicana literature, see Sweeny (1977); and for an expansive review of Chicana writings over two decades, see Córdova (1994).

19. Articles from *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* by Jeanette Padilla and Leticia Hernández and a report on the Houston Conference appeared in *The Women's Press*, Eugene, Oregon (1971). The Puerto Rican Young Lords left the Denver Youth Liberation Conference due to the rhetoric of Chicano nationalism that excluded them; however, they followed Chicana activism through republication (Iris Morales, personal communication). For a history of the YLP and women's involvement, see Morales's film *¡Palante, Siempre Palante!* (1996).

20. Intensely debated, the correct spelling is Hermandad. Hermanidad was an attempt to theorize a Chicana feminist philosophy of sisterhood. Some thought that "correct" Spanish was important, whereas others felt that the "gender-neutral" term naturalized the centrality of male subjectivity into language and argued for refashioning the term to their own devices.

21. Philosophy of La Chicana Nueva (facilitated by Lola Marquez and Sandra Ugarte); Chicanas in Education (Carmen Delgado and Vicki Castro); La Chicana y La Comunidad covered welfare, child care, and community control of institutions (Linda Apodaca and Evy Alarcón); Chicana and Communication discussed the need for statewide newspaper and network (Anna NietoGomez and Gema Matsuda); Political Education of La Chicana discussed the Vietnam War, capitalism, and movement ideology (Keta Miranda and Blanca Olivares).

22. For pieces responding to the Houston conference that continued the dialogue, see Flores (1971), Guardiola (1971), L. Hernández (1971), R. M. Morales (1971), "National Chicana Conference" (1971), and Vidal (1971).