UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

LANGUAGE AND BODILY AUTONOMY IN CHICANO MOVEMENT PERIODICALS, 1967-1973

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By
SARAH WARMKER
Norman, Oklahoma
2019

LANGUAGE AND BODILY AUTONOMY IN CHICANO MOVEMENT PERIODICALS, 1967-1973

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF MODERN LANGUAGES, LITERATURES, AND LINGUISTICS

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

Dr. Julie Ward, Chair

Dr. Nancy LaGreca

Dr. Mirelsie Velazquez

ABSTRACT

Language and Bodily Autonomy in Chicano Movement Periodicals, 1967-1973

Periodicals were a primary organizing tool of Chicano Movement activists from 1967-1973, serving as spaces for multilingual representation and dialogue in Mexican American communities. This thesis argues that by publishing content by and for both Spanish and English speakers, as well as including the voices of the working classes, women, school age children, and the incarcerated, these publications created a space for experimentation with language and assertions of bodily autonomy that wasn't available in mainstream publications. The five publications examined in this study are Denver's *El Gallo*, New Mexico's *El Grito Del Norte*, *Con Safos* and *Regeneración* from Los Angeles, and Houston's *Papel Chicano*. All advocated for bilingual and multicultural education and spoke out against racism and police brutality, but an analysis of their regional context and the voices of their individual contributors shows variation in voice, structure, style, ideology, and intended audiences. This study offers a reading of these publications with an eye towards the traditions and practices of the Spanish language press and literary tradition, along with notes on their current availability to researchers in US institutions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

Direct action was the ethos of the movement for Civil Rights in the US, galvanizing communities to break from tradition and giving them authority to build new institutions. In this same historical moment, new technologies democratized access to printing presses, and an explosion of new publishing initiatives emerged across the country. This publishing phenomenon, led by the leftist activists, artists, and writers who made up the counterculture of the 1960s, is commonly known as the underground press. Many of these periodicals were founded to support specific organizations and activist initiatives, but they also served communities who felt that the mainstream press did not belong to them. Among the groups that built a robust underground press were the Mexican Americans who participated in the Chicano Movement, more commonly referred to as "el Movimiento."[1] Throughout the rapid and contentious social transformation of the late 1960s and early 1970s, participants in el Movimiento worked to define a cultural, political, and racial identity for Mexican Americans. El Movimiento had many ideologies, but one of the foundational ideas was that of a cultural nationalism that reimagined the US southwest as the territory of Aztlán. The idea of Aztlán, drawn from Aztec stories and tied to indigenous identities, was popularized most famously in Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales's "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán," which stated that cultural nationalism was "the common denominator that all members of La Raza can agree upon." However, the tactics used by participants in the Chicano Movement varied substantially across different parts of the US and represented diverse forms of activism and

[1] I use the term "Movimiento" throughout this document to refer to the Chicano Movement, both because it was the most commonly used term in the print media of the era and because it avoids the excessive repetition of the masculine gendered "Chicano." As Maylei Blackwell and other scholars have pointed out, the amount of work that Chicanas did to sustain and shape el Movimiento often went unacknowledged and uncredited, an omission that revisionist projects like Blackwell's *Chicana Power!* have begun to correct.

creative production. Print media played an especially important role in building and sustaining el Movimiento, creating space for new forms of political and artistic representation.

The underground press, with its rapid proliferation of new print initiatives in the late 60s, offered models for bold social projects and visual experimentation. Influenced by these publications, nearly every activist organization of the Movimiento produced a newsletter or periodical of some kind, most of which were informally produced and irregularly indexed. the Chicano Press Association (CPA) emerged as an informal alliance between publications in 1968,[2] facilitating syndication and cooperation between publications as well as political organizing. A short article called "Chicano Press Meets" that appeared in the July 6, 1969 issue of *El Grito del Norte* noted that

> La Raza now has some 28 newspapers from California all the way to Florida, speaking out for justice, land, and revolution. Editors of almost all these papers came together for a meeting in Albuquerque on June 19-22. The group agreed on the purpose, membership requirements and structure of the CPA. It also discussed day-to-day problems like distribution, advertising, layout, and plans were made to improve the spreading of news. (Vol. 2 No. 9 p. 7)

With increasing coordination between regional activists and a surge in content available through syndication, the flurry of publication activity became difficult to keep pace with in

[2] Gómez-Quiñones cites 1969 as the founding year of the CPA, which may refer to the first meeting in which the group's mission and membership structure were formalized. However, references to the organization are made as early as October 1968 in *El Grito del Norte*, which lists 13 publications as members of the Chicano Press Association: El Malcriado (Delano, CA); Chicano Student Movement (LA); La Hormiga (Oakland, CA); Compass (Houston); Lado (Chicago); El Paisano (Tolleson, Arizona); Inside Eastside (LA); La Voz Mexicana (Wautoma, Wisconsin); Carta Editorial (LA); El Machete (San Jose, CA); El Gallo (Denver); Inverno (San Antonio); and El Papel (Albuquerque) (Vol. 1 No. 4 p. 6).

1970, even for those directly involved in the Movimiento. The December 7, 1970 issue of *El Grito del Norte* included a list of CPA publications, with a qualification: "This list may be out of date as CPA papers are constantly being born and going under" (Vol. 3 No. 14/15). The rapid proliferation and short life of many of these periodicals also impacted their preservation, and to this day, many library holdings of these publications are incomplete.

This thesis examines language use and bodily autonomy in five periodicals of the Chicano movement during the peak production years of 1967-1973. Among the early members of the CPA were *El Gallo*, first published in 1967 in Denver, Colorado, and *El Grito Del Norte,* published between 1968 and 1973 in New Mexico. *Con Safos*, a visual-heavy literary magazine published between 1968 and 1972 in Los Angeles, opted for a magazine format and a focus more on Chicano arts and culture rather than organizing or reporting on current events. Inspired by the above publications, the newspaper *Papel Chicano*, based in Houston, was published from 1970 until 1972. The politically focused Los Angeles magazine *Regeneración*, first published in 1970, was the most explicitly feminist of the Movimiento publications examined in this study. These five publications, taken together, represent a wide range of regional identities, artistic and literary ambitions, and political goals that coexisted within the Movimiento.

These publications have been selected to allow for comparative analysis and to show the diversity that existed in the writings of participants in the Movimiento, connecting them to past traditions and practices of Spanish literature as well as considering their relevance to the literary landscapes of today. While Chicano Movement periodicals are frequently cited in academic publications as historical records, they most often show up in the footnotes. Few studies focus on analyzing these publications as literary and social texts,

and they are rarely mentioned in studies of the US underground press. Although many of the most famous pieces of writing originally published in Movimiento periodicals have been reprinted and anthologized in other formats, bringing these newspapers and magazines to the foreground will provide context about how these texts originally circulated, who their audiences were, and what social and literary functions they served.

Key questions this thesis answers include: How do each of these publications create space for assertions of bodily autonomy that wasn't available in mainstream publications? How do these publications connect to and extend the canon of Spanish literature? What characteristics do these publications share, and how do they differ from each other in voice, structure, style, ideology, and intended audience? To explore these questions, my analysis examines the historical context in which these publications were circulated, looking for evidence of the social functions they served, and considering some of the individual authorial voices that shaped them.

Print Culture, the Chicano Movement, and the Spanish Language in the US

The new and experimental press initiatives that narrated the activism and social experimentation of the US in the 1960s were made possible by the availability and affordability of new printing technologies that democratized access to the press.

> Before the 1960s, newspaper copy had to be set in hot type on a Linotype machine - a procedure that was both costly and difficult. But with the advent of photo-offset printing, newspaper production suddenly became cheap and easy. All one needed was a competent typist, a pair of scissors, and a jar of rubber cement with which to paste copy onto a backing sheet, which was then photographed and reproduced

> exactly as it was set. For just a couple hundred dollars, one could print several thousand copies of an eight- or sixteen-page tabloid. (McMillian 6-7)

With these new technologies, relatively small editorial teams could produce publications with little more than basic office supplies. Groups like the Liberation News Service sent press packets out on a regular basis to be printed in New Left periodicals, and Movimiento publications were among those that syndicated these materials, often alongside content from the CPA. These new technologies also allowed for visual experimentation not possible on traditional linotype machines, most notably collage work of both images and text. Rather than repeating the painstaking process of setting type for each article, syndicated articles could simply be cut and pasted from the original source onto the new page layout. Many of the press initiatives, particularly those with anti-capitalist sentiments, were unconcerned with copyright. At times, content was lifted and reprinted without attribution to the original author or source, or was reprinted with credit but without permission. What was seen as important in most cases was amplifying authentic voices.

Even while experimenting with new aesthetics and political strategies, Movimiento publications did reproduce older traditions of the Spanish language press. As Nicolás Kanellos's work has shown, print culture has been an important force in preserving the presence of the Spanish language in the United States. Newspapers are a particularly rich source for literary content:

> During the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, [newspapers] were the primary publishers of creative literature in the Spanish language, including poetry, literary prose, serialized novels and even plays. The newspapers provided this fare as a function of cultural preservation and elevating the level of education of the community. Often work was drawn from local writers as well as reprinted from

> the works of the greatest writers of the Hispanic world, from the classical Cervantes to the modernist Rubén Darío. (Kanellos 7)

Thanks to initiatives in digital humanities across the country, these materials are increasingly available to researchers. For example, in 1990, a project known as "Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage" was founded at the University of Houston by a group of scholars, librarians, and archivists to research and preserve this written legacy. The recovery work at the University of Houston is limited to materials before 1960, but many of these traditions continued into the Chicano Movement era, and in fact all of the publications examined in this study follow some of these practices. Whether reprinting classic texts like Sor Juana's "Hombres necios" which appeared in the original Spanish alongside an English translation in *Regeneración*, or using traditional Spanish-language styles and formats like Abelardo Delgado's corridos, frequently published in *El Grito del Norte*, the producers of Movimiento publications clearly had some familiarity with the canon and traditions of Hispanic literature.

Movimiento periodicals were initially grounded in specific regional and local geographies, but during the early 1970s, they sought to move beyond a local focus to forge other ties. These relationships were formed with Black and Native groups in the US as well as internationally, forming part of what was known as the Third World Alliance. Audiences were not expected to passively consume or be entertained by the news, but rather were called to participate and engage in community activities, including the production of the publication itself. This is a similar dynamic to that which Mirelsie Velazquez has observed in the US Puerto Rican press, in which publishers of periodicals formed literary, academic, and activist ties through their writing. Situating the publications in the cultures they served and co-created, Velazquez's work shows that the audiences were imagined as heterogenous

and participatory, as opposed to other academic journal models that directed their publications towards a relatively homogenous, specialized, and privileged audience (Velazquez 104). In the same way, Movimiento publications featured a diverse range of calls for participation and imagined audiences. In addition to the industry standard letters to the editor section and announcements of births, marriages, and deaths in the community, they often printed locally submitted anecdotes, poetry, children's artwork and creative writing projects, testimonios, recipes, and songs.

Terminology and Language Use

Sociolinguists have observed that the Southwest region of the U.S. has been for centuries one of the most linguistically diverse regions of the country (Penfield and Ornstein-Galicia 6). Along with the significant presence of indigenous languages like Navajo, standard dialects of English and Spanish have coexisted there since the nineteenth century, along with dialects of Spanish unique to the region, some features of which have been preserved from the time of the first Spanish conquests in the sixteenth century (Penfield and Ornstein-Galicia 8).

One of the things that makes writing about Spanish speaking cultures in the U.S. both exciting and challenging is the overlapping and ever shifting terminology that has developed in response to political, cultural, and social needs throughout history, which does not have neat and clean borders and boundaries. There are wide variations in preferred terminology to refer to Spanish speaking populations, which change depending on whether they are intended to signify ties to a national culture, an ethnic group, a language, a race, or whether an umbrella term is preferred for political strategy. As the scholarship of G. Cristina Mora has pointed out, the panethnic category of "Hispanic" did not come into

widespread use in the U.S. until the 1970s and 1980s, and even during those decades, Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, and Puerto Ricans lived in separate parts of the country with different political concerns and racial identities (Mora 2-3).[3] During the 1960s, these groups largely did not identify with one another. Even among Mexican Americans within the Chicano Movement, there was significant regional variation in language use and terminology, as writers experimented with code switching and expressive writing that explored alternative narratives of history and identity, in a time period before the category of "Hispanic" had grouped Spanish-speakers together as a distinct national ethnic group. While Mora argues that the term "Hispanic" allowed ethnic minorities to gain representation and political power, others reject the term as fundamentally colonial. "'Hispanic' is the colonizer's response to Chicano, Boricua, even Latino identities. Chicano identity reflects and understanding of 500 years of conquest, of connection to indigenous roots, and to dreams for justice" (Córdova 27). For all these reasons, the texts published in Movimiento periodicals document a dynamic moment in the use of the Spanish language in bilingual literary projects and social activism.

Chicano Movement Periodicals, Chicana Feminism, and Bodily Autonomy

One of the most important functions of Movimiento periodicals was to create space for discussions of bodily autonomy. Incidences of police brutality and incarceration, sexual violence, and reports of corporal punishment for speaking Spanish in schools all feature prominently in the pages of these publications, documented in writing and images. Many of these attacks on bodily autonomy came from outside of el Movimiento. Police brutality, for

[3] For an analysis of the development of Mexican Americans as a racial group, see Laura E. Gómez, Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race. Focusing on the years from the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo until the turn of the century, Gómez argues that the relationship of Mexican Americans to whiteness was "dynamic and non-linear" (3).

example, was rampant in Chicano communities and did not only affect those actively participating in protest movements. However, the emerging Chicana feminist movement also demanded space for discussion of women's concerns, including sexism and misogyny in the movement, as well as issues with a disproportionate effect on women such as reproductive health and sexual violence. These writings shaped the early formation of Chicana feminist theory, developed by scholars like Elizabeth "Betita" Sutherland Martínez, Bernice Rincón, Anna NietoGomez, Norma Alarcón, Gloria Anzaldúa, Cherríe Moraga, and Ana Castillo. Their theorizing articulates embodied autonomy to talk back against marginalizing ideologies including white supremacism, capitalism, patriarchy and heteronormativity. In these writings, the body is seen as inherent to and inseparable from theorizing as seen in landmark publications such as Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera* and the anthology she co-edited with Moraga, *This Bridge Called My Back: Radical Writings by Women of Color*. More recent publications like Maylei Blackwell's *¡Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* and *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era*, an anthology co-edited with Dionne Espinoza and María Eugenia Cotera, have brought new complexity and depth to the understanding of the historical events of el Movimiento. Their theoretical work has informed and shaped the analysis in this project.

To assert bodily autonomy is to resist many interlocking systems of control and domination. The most visible leaders of the Chicano Movement loudly and publicly denounced police brutality, but the violence was not only perpetrated by the state, and so resistance to violence through assertions of bodily autonomy also took many forms. Women, school children, and the incarcerated, known as "pinto/as", were suffering repeated and systematic attacks on their bodily autonomy through sexual violence,

dehumanizing school policies, economic abuse, and the rapid growth of the carceral state. These experiences were recorded in the pages of Movimiento publications, often narrated in first person. The direct and collaborative representations of incarceration and the people who experienced it were one of the most distinctive features of Movimiento periodicals. In the US, the early 1970s were an important moment for organizing around issues of incarceration, efforts which included literary production and publication (Davis 44-45). Especially after the highly publicized uprisings at Attica prison in New York in 1971, prison conditions were a topic of nationwide debate. Incarceration is one of the most extreme forms of loss of bodily autonomy, which in the U.S. is often accompanied by near or total alienation from communities. Prisoners are counted as residents of the counties in which they are incarcerated, lending more political power to the often remote geographic locations in which prisons are built, but they are stripped of their rights to vote, and rarely appear in the mainstream press except as "offenders". The Movimiento publications in this study made clear and consistent efforts to resist these kinds of erasure and alienation by creating space for consideration of the voices and experiences of incarcerated people, publishing their letters with first-person accounts of their experiences, their poetry, and their visual art, and reporting on organizing efforts led by incarcerated people.

Chicano Movement periodicals also documented and resisted educational institutions that denied them the right to speak and write in their native tongue, through English-only policies and other colonial ideologies that dominate US schools. The policing of language use, which started at early ages in schools, was also experienced as a loss and denial of bodily autonomy. The practice of forbidding a home language and forcing English language use has been enforced in US schools for centuries as a way to force assimilation and interrupt or corrupt the cultural inheritance of younger generations. As Joy Harjo has

observed, this practice is fundamentally harmful. “Forcing language use is violent and disturbs the root of a people, both the afflicted and the perpetrator” (Harjo 9). As Gloria Anzaldúa’s essay “How to tame a wild tongue” makes clear, language is an essential element of bodily autonomy, especially in a school system that uses corporal punishment to discourage or eradicate any non-standard speech: “Attacks on one’s form of expression with the intent to censor are a violation of the First Amendment. *El Anglo con cara de inocente nos arrancó la lengua*” (Anzaldúa 76). These kinds of violent censorships were resisted in Movimiento periodicals. These publications also made space for discussions of female sexuality, a particularly controversial topic during the Chicano movement as nationalist ideas about family values and female purity clashed with new social trends towards free love. Many Chicana feminist ideas were developed in essays and letters to the editor of Movimiento publications, particularly in the feminist led *Regeneración*.

Movimiento Periodicals in Library Collections

Because Movimiento publications were at times considered a means to an end, and were subject to change based on the needs, input, or priorities of the community, they had irregular publication schedules. As noted frequently in editorial comments, financial challenges, local emergencies or even the incarceration of movement leaders would prevent the editors from meeting fixed press deadlines. Because of their racial and ethnic identities and political organizing, these publishers were the targets of routine harassment, whether through threatening phone calls, hate mail, or even outright violence perpetrated by state and other actors. Some of these incidents were reported as anecdotes, like the short article that appeared in *El Grito del Norte* detailing a phone call received from “the voice of a Hispano” requesting a subscription. After being given detailed directions to the

newspaper's office in Española, the caller suddenly shouted, "Thank you, YOU COMMUNIST!" – an interjection that became the title of the article, under which the authors criticized the uninformed stigmatization that continued to characterize most red-baiting attacks even after the McCarthy era, writing, "For many people in the United States, 'Communist' just means 'bad.' We would like to ask that caller, and all those other people, if they know what Communism is" (Vol. 1 No. 4 p. 7). However, the critical stance toward the US government that many Chicano Movement activists held and their association with leftist politics was enough to flag many of them for surveillance by the FBI, as well as local law enforcement agencies.[4] The stigmatization and criminalization of the Chicano Movement and their activism created obstacles that impeded the production and distribution of their periodicals as well as their inclusion in libraries.

Although many individuals and families have preserved these publications as part of their community history, on an institutional level, few libraries acquired or preserved them in their entirety, a curatorial oversight that has created significant absences in these collections, particularly when considering Chicana writers. As Catherine Loeb observed in 1980: "The invisibility of Chicanas in libraries is nowhere more apparent than in periodical collections. This is particularly unfortunate, since most of the important Chicana writing of the last decade has appeared in periodicals" (65). Loeb expressed hope in that same

---

[4] For detailed accounting of the FBI's surveillance of leftist activists during the civil rights movement and into the Vietnam War era, see: Blackstock, Nelson. *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*. Introduction by Noam Chomsky. Pathfinder Press, Ninth printing, 2009; and Ward, Churchill and Jim Vander Wall. *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars against Domestic Dissent.* Foreword by John Trudell; Preface by Brian Glick. South End Press, 1990.

publication that efforts would be made to preserve these periodicals and make them more widely available through microfilm technology, an effort that was undertaken in some cases. Many library holdings for *El Gallo*, for example, are microfilm copies issued by the New York Public Library, Harvard University Library, and the University of California, Riverside. However, aside from the extensive archives preserved in special collections by institutions like the Chicano Studies Research Center at UCLA and the Chicano Studies Collection at UC Berkeley, few libraries have preserved copies of these publications, and where they are available, there are usually incomplete volumes in closed collections or on microfilm. Though researchers in multiple disciplines are interested in working with these materials, "most newspapers digitized commercially… have not been Spanish-language or focused on the Mexican and Mexican American press, so digital access to these types of materials is not prevalent" (Feeney et al. 158). However, digitization projects are ongoing, and could significantly increase access to these publications, most of which are held in closed stacks and only available to those who are able to physically access the libraries' collections. For example, digital copies of several issues of *Regeneración* are available through the University of Arizona libraries website, having been digitized as part of the Borderlands Cultural Communities Program[5] to expand their collections of Historic Mexican and Mexican American Press. However, as a whole, few periodicals from the Chicano Movement have been digitized.

---

[5] For details about this important project, including how UA libraries collaborated with other institutions to fund the digitization of periodicals for their Mexican and Mexican American Press collections and how these materials were prioritized for digitization, see: Feeney, Mary, et al. "A Century of Mexican and Mexican American Press: Preserving the Past Online." *Microform & Digitization Review*, vol. 40, no. 4, Jan. 2011. DOI:10.1515/mdr.2011.020.

At the University of Oklahoma, several of these publications including *Regeneración* and *Con Safos* were acquired by the Western History Collections under the curatorial leadership of historian Abraham Hoffman, who in addition to his library responsibilities worked as an assistant professor in the Department of History between 1970-73. Hoffman's research focuses almost exclusively on Mexican American populations in the US. The "About the Author" section of his first book, *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures 1929-1939,* explains the origins of his interest in Mexican-American heritage, which "grew out of his early childhood in East Los Angeles and later teaching in the same public schools he had attended as a boy." The biographical note also explains that his research intentions were to fill in a "relatively neglected portion of Mexican American history" from the source material he found in government and university archives during his time as a doctoral student at UCLA (Hoffman). During the years of the Movimiento, Hoffman was clearly sympathetic to many of the criticisms of Anglo culture voiced in Chicano periodicals, if critical of the lack of academic rigor in their historical writings. His scholarly work during the early 1970s emphasizes the egregiousness of the almost total absence of Mexican Americans from U.S. history curriculum, as is evidenced by his article "Books: Where Are the Mexican Americans? A Textbook Omission Overdue for Revision," which offers a systematic survey of college history textbooks published from 1968 to 1971, including an index of what Hoffman considers to be key episodes, organizations, and figures in Mexican American history. Each of the 12 textbooks was marked according to whether it included or excluded the subject in question, with some columns blank for all 12 textbooks, indicating a nearly complete absence of Mexican Americans in US history.

Hoffman's understanding of the discrimination faced by Mexican Americans was based not only on his personal experience in relationship to those communities, but also on his in-depth historical studies of these populations, particularly in his native Los Angeles. He was an avid reader of his contemporaries who were making efforts to expand the institutional representation of Mexican Americans, particularly in literary publishing and academia. Along with the UC Berkeley based literary journal *El Grito* and the Chicano Studies journal *Aztlán*, Hoffman cited *Con Safos* in his article "Chicano History: Problems and Potentialities" in the first ever volume of the *Journal of Ethnic Studies* published in the Spring of 1973. However, in 1974 Hoffman was denied tenure by the University of Oklahoma Board of Regents, and he left the university the same year his book was published by the University of Arizona Press. It appears that the bilingual publications Hoffman brought into the OU library system were not widely consulted after he left; for example, when they were referenced for this project in 2018, some of the issues of *Papel Chicano* were still bound together by the original staples that had bundled them for mail delivery.

Even with many well-established Chicano Studies programs and research centers across the US, the inclusion of Mexican American narratives and histories remains limited in educational institutions. From its founding, Ethnic Studies was a controversial academic discipline in the US, and it remains so today. In 2010, on the heels of passing some of the most draconian anti-immigrant legislation in the country, the state of Arizona passed HB 2281, a law aimed at dismantling the Mexican American studies program at Tucson High School. This, despite clear data showing the overwhelming effectiveness of the curriculum: in a district where 48% of Mexican American students were dropping out of high school, the Mexican American studies program at one point achieved a 100% graduate rate for its

participants (“Precious Knowledge”). Under a section titled “Prohibited courses and classes; enforcement,” the text of the Arizona legislation reads:

> A school district or charter school in this state shall not include in its program of instruction any courses or classes that include any of the following: 1. Promote the overthrow of the United States government 2. Promote resentment toward a race or class of people. 3. Are designed primarily for pupils of a particular ethnic group. 4. Advocate ethnic solidarity instead of the treatment of pupils as individuals. (Montenegro, et al.)

In 2017, a federal judge overturned the law, finding that it had discriminatory intent and was therefore unconstitutional. However, programs in Chicano studies and bilingual education remain primary targets of discriminatory censorship and English-only legislation in many US states. Many of these programs were imagined, organized, and piloted in the pages of Movimiento periodicals, forming an important record of early efforts for inclusive curriculum design and educational reform in the US.

In sum, periodicals were a primary organizing tool of Chicano Movement activists from 1967-1973, serving as spaces for multilingual representation and dialogue in Mexican American communities. By publishing content by and for both Spanish and English speakers, as well as including the voices of the working classes, women, school age children, and the incarcerated, these periodicals created space for assertions of bodily autonomy that wasn’t available in mainstream publications. The five periodicals examined in this study all advocated for bilingual and multicultural education and spoke out against racism and police brutality, but an analysis of their regional context and the voices of their individual contributors shows variation in voice, structure, style, ideology, and intended audiences. The first section examines Denver’s newspaper *El Gallo* and its role as a support

publication for the organization Crusade for Justice, as well as its activism around police brutality and prisons. The second section analyzes New Mexico's newspaper *El Grito Del Norte* as an outgrowth of land grant movement activism, focusing on how the publication made efforts to preserve oral traditions of the Spanish language unique to the region, as well as highlighting connections to the written cronista tradition in the columns of Enriqueta Vasquez, and analyzing discussions of bodily autonomy as it relates to health and traditional medicine. The third section examines the literary magazine *Con Safos* and its representations of bodily autonomy as it relates to sexuality as well as incarceration. The fourth section examines Houston's newspaper *Papel Chicano* and the role it played in Mexican Americans' fight for legal recognition as a distinct ethnic and racial minority in the court-ordered desegregation of the Houston Independent School District. Finally, the fifth section analyzes *Regeneración* from Los Angeles, looking at the expressions of feminism and defenses of bodily autonomy as it related to women's health. All sections include analysis of language use, offering a reading of these publications with an eye towards the traditions and practices of the Spanish literature, and a consideration of their relevance to the literary landscapes of today.

I. *El Gallo* in Denver

One of the earliest periodicals of the Chicano movement was Denver's *El Gallo: La Voz de Justicia*, first published on June 23, 1967. The newspaper functioned as a support publication for the organization Crusade for Justice, led by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. Gonzales had worked as an organizer on Denver's Westside in the 1950s with the Latin American Educational Fund and the Colorado G.I. Forum, and then later with the local

Democratic party registering voters in his district and narrowly losing a campaign for a position on city council in 1955 (Vigil 8-9). At that time, Chicanos made up more than sixty percent of the population of Denver's Westside, although they made up less than seventeen percent of Denver's total population which during the 1960s was around half a million (Lee 2). After a series of killings of Chicanos by police, Gonzales founded the group Los Voluntarios in 1963 to advocate for "the Spanish-speaking people of Colorado," calling for a citizens' review board to look into issues of police brutality (Vigil 20-21). He was the director of the federally funded program the Neighborhood Youth Corps until 1966 when, angered by printed accusations of discrimination, he called for a boycott of the newspaper *Rocky Mountain News*, and was promptly fired from his government position by the mayor (Vigil 26). That same year, he broke with the Democratic party and founded the Crusade for Justice. Gonzales's editorials in early issues of *El Gallo*, published in 1967, show a loss of faith in the justice system to address the problem of police brutality. The Crusade for Justice began to openly oppose local law enforcement and the court system. As early protesters of the Vietnam War, Gonzales and the Crusade for Justice were close associates of Reies López Tijerina and in contact with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the burgeoning Black Power movement, and as such, he and his new organization quickly came under FBI surveillance (Vigil 392).

The *El Gallo* newspaper primarily featured local Crusade for Justice initiatives, which, as the organization's name implies, centered around fights in the justice system, particularly issues of police brutality and incarceration. There was also a focus on the arts and cultural content, especially after the Crusade opened the Escuela Tlatelolco at 1567 Downing Street in 1970. Regional and international content was supplied through syndication from other publications, especially during the most productive years of the

Chicano Press Association (CPA). Most of the non-syndicated articles are unattributed, and no editorial staff is named in the issues published in the early 70s, presumably written primarily by Crusade for Justice members, though an April 1971 article does identify Ernesto Vigil as having served as editor of *El Gallo*, and other sources credit Adelita Medina and Sandra Solis as having edited the newspaper during the summer of 1972 (*El Grito del Norte*, Vol. 5 No. 8 p. 10). According to a column published in January 1972, *El Gallo* had approximately 3000 subscribers, but each issue would print about 8000 to be distributed to the community and mailed to people who requested copies. That same column explains that the volunteer staff members were all unpaid and involved in the organizing work of the Crusade for Justice and for that reason the publication was issued irregularly. In the early 1970s, new issues were typically published every other month, but sometimes monthly or every three months. The letters to the editor provide evidence that the paper did circulate widely throughout the region, making its way into prisons and even sometimes overseas. As early as 1968, *El Gallo* was also being read by the FBI, as referenced in reports on their surveillance of Gonzales (Vigil 392).

Like other Movimiento publications, *El Gallo* frequently tied their social justice struggles to other movements, particularly to figures of the Mexican Revolution. For example, in the July 1973 issue under a story about the Los Tres del Barrio Rally to be held in Mestizo Park titled “El Grito de Denver ‘Free All Political Prisoners’” below published a short story called “The Soldier” by Ricardo Flores Magón, who died in Leavenworth prison in Kansas in 1922. The story carried the explanatory headline “A Short Story by a Great

Revolutionary Political Prisoner (Shortly Thereafter Killed in Prison) Que Viva Magon!"[6] and clearly reflected a working-class consciousness (Vol. V, No. 3 p. 3). While Movimiento publications as a whole showed varying levels of concern for issues of poverty and social class, *El Gallo* maintained a consistent identification with the working class, reflecting the ideology of their most visible leader: "If Gonzales had a personal hero, it was Emiliano Zapata, the indomitable peasant revolutionary" (Vigil 10). The editors state that part of the mission of the newspaper is to "[act] as a forum for poets in order to create a healthy cultural voice which is usually destroyed or ignored by others. It is hoped that this poetry will act as an inspirational call to revolutionary activity as the words of many famous poets in the past have served" (Vol. 3 No. 5 p. 14). As such, poetry, often of an explicitly political nature, was a consistent and prominently featured element of *El Gallo*. Poems were typically printed in a double page spread in the center of the paper called "Poesia de la Raza," but at times poetry featured prominently on the front page. Considerable space in the publication is also dedicated to visual arts, including pen and ink drawings and creative handwritten text graphics that accompany the text.

Language use in *El Gallo*

Articles in *El Gallo* appear in both languages, usually printed in one or the other language but sometimes side by side. Comparatively speaking, *El Gallo* published more English content than some of the other Chicano movement periodicals. Many of the

[6] In all citations, I have made my best effort to reproduce the text exactly as it appeared in the original publication. Orthography that does not conform to standard Spanish, such as missing accents or variations in spelling, may represent errors on the part of the author or editor or could have been the result of technological limitations of their press. However, some of these variants may reflect regional usages or speech patterns that are common in bilingual speakers. For this reason, and to adhere as closely as possible to the original text, I have not made any corrections or used "sic" to annotate text that deviates from standard Spanish or English.

volumes are predominantly in English with Spanish incorporated as titles, bylines, or as added vocabulary within English dominant texts, code switching for culturally specific references. The full text Spanish articles were often syndicated articles from other CPA publishers, frequently New Mexico's *El Grito del Norte*, or from other Spanish speaking countries in the hemisphere. However, at times Spanish language content would take center stage, as was the case with many of the corridos, traditional forms preserved in the communities of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado which follow patterns of Spanish ballads and were performed and published during the Chicano movement. One of these corridos, written by Cleofes Vigil, is featured on the front page of the February 1972 issueTitled "Sobre El Encarselamiento de Rodolfo 'Corky' Gonzales," the corrido criticizes the "facismo encorajado" that has incarcerated Gonzales and the hypocrisy in the US demand for "libertad / para su grande oligarquia." The poem also condemns the Vietnam war, fueled by the gluttony of the rich: "Millionarios sin sabor / pues han perdido este sentido / el paladar se le ha trocado / de humano a cochino" (Vol. IV, No. 2). Like many of the poems published in the later years of the Movimiento, Vigil's work makes connections between local struggles and international conflicts. The use of the traditional corrido structure to speak to current events also preserved Spanish as a primary language of political discourse in the US.

In *El Gallo*, the English word "pig" is used almost exclusively to refer to the police force. Because of this type of language, and the focus on community and personal self-defense that did not explicitly advocate a nonviolent stance, the Crusade for Justice was considered militant and radical by the FBI and by some community groups that were more focused on social mobility and preserving middle class values (Lee). In this vein, articles like "We Don't Preach Violence nor Non-Violence We Teach Self-Defense," recounting

the boxing matches between “Boxing Machos” known as “Los Gallitos” are written in English but emphasize concepts like Chicanismo and Carnalismo, words which refer to specific Mexican-American cultural concepts that appear exclusively in Spanish. (Vol. 3 No. 1 p. 12).

Collage techniques, a relatively new possibility in newsprint granted by offset printing technology, were a popular treatment of photographs in underground press publications. Interestingly, the *El Gallo* editors used these techniques in several instances to present written text, both handwritten and typeface. This strategy created multiple voices within the printed page and called explicit attention to how narratives are formed through repetition in the mainstream press. One example of this technique appeared in the April 1971 issue on a double page spread with the headline “Libre Los Hermanos Ahora! – Chicano Prisoners of Liberation.” Telegrams in support of the release Gonzales and others convicted of draft resistance were spread across the page at all angles, with phrases in English and Spanish visible, showing support from individuals shown by the writings in first person, with statements opening with the phrase “I protest,” as well as collective statements from organizations like the Student Mobilization committee and the Socialist Workers Party (Vol. 3, No. 1 p. 6-7). The telegrams are arranged strategically so that the visible phrases come together in a chorus of support for the accused to win out against unfair charges: “rights of all citizens,” “frameup trial”, “trumped up charges”, “Viva Gonzales,” “Hasta la victoria siempre” (Vol. 3, No. 4). Another example of this text collaging technique appeared later that same year on the front page of the September 1971 issue, where a series of headlines from the Denver post almost entirely cover the page below the masthead. The headlines covering various viewpoints about conflict between Chicanos and the police were cut and pasted together to form a wall of text of irregular

sizes and fonts, carrying contradictory messages. This visual strategy where multiple voices were competing for space challenged the firmness of mainstream press narratives. The only image on the page, below the masthead, is a photograph of 18-year-old Leonard Vigil holding his arm up as if taking aim, hand pointed in the shape of a gun, simulating a police shooting. The key question at stake was who was responsible for the violence.

Bodily Autonomy, Police Brutality, and Incarceration in *El Gallo*

One of most pressing issues of bodily autonomy that was regularly documented in the pages of *El Gallo* was the issue of police brutality. Mexican Americans, as Denver's largest minority, bore the brunt of abuse from a notoriously corrupt local police force that regularly made scandalous headlines for criminal behavior, brutality, and violation of constitutional rights (Vigil 11). In a case in 1960 that got national attention, 53 members of the Denver police department were suspended from duty in a burglary scandal, in which ultimately 30 confessed or were found guilty in criminal court, mostly patrolmen (Vigil 13). After the scandal broke, the questions that were raised about how such widespread abuse of power could take place without culpability up the chain of command was never answered.

The above referenced conflict between Chicanos and police, in which headlines were collaged to illustrate the competing narratives of events, was fleshed out inside the issue using a variety of strategies that recurred in many issues of *El Gallo*. A lengthy article titled "Police Terrorism in Denver" details the editors' account of events on August 8th, 1971 at the Platte Valley Action Center on Denver's Westside at 14th and Lowell, where an ambulance had been called to treat a young man with a knife wound. Police arrived on the scene, making mass arrests and shooting several people, including children (Vol. 3, No. 4 p.

3). Photos of bullet holes in cars and pockmarked walls are flanked by lengthy descriptions of the arrests, detentions, and injuries suffered by those who were at the event, including the difficulties the injured experienced securing medical care for their open gunshot wounds. This type of bodily evidence, presented in stark and at times graphic terms, recurred frequently in the publication, as when documentary photographs of police brutality victims were displayed on a full-page spread urging the community to vote against a pay increase for the police force (Vol. 3 No. 2 p. 3).

Another recurring fight for bodily autonomy was waged around the issue of incarceration. The editors made repeated calls to free political prisoners and made space in the publication for the testimonies, artwork, and literature of pintos, both from individual contributors and from representatives of self-help organizations that were working on social issues from inside the prison system. In a September 1971 article, readers are called on to send letters to the director of the Idaho State Penitentiary on behalf of James Lee Blackhorse, a young Sioux identified as a "prisoner of the first wars" who was up for parole and had been transferred to Salem, Oregon for unknown reasons where he was treated "like an animal, just feed and furnished with a place to sleep" (Vol. 3 No. 4 p. 4). The same issues contains syndicated articles on indigenous issues, including "Alcatraz" from *El Grito del Norte* and "The News from Black Mesa" from *Akwesaskne Notes,* in which these themes of incarceration and loss of bodily autonomy recur through containment and imprisonment: army blockades choking off supplies to Sioux leaders occupying the Nike missile site after they had been forcibly evicted from Alcatraz at gunpoint; US army troops forcing Hopi children into boarding schools away from their families, and forcing village leaders into jails and prisons (Vol. 3 No. 4 p. 6-7).

El Gallo frequently published direct accounts of events and conditions inside prison that they received from incarcerated people, who had to live in conditions of near complete surrender of bodily autonomy, suffering not only the obvious loss of freedom of movement but also language use and access as well as control over their personal hygiene. For example, in the October 1972 issue, the staff transcribed an article from a handwritten report sent in by a Chicano inmate at the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois which detailed incidents that had not been covered by other news media. In the report, the inmate gives a description of a beating of a Chicano inmate by a prison guard, which prisoners responded to with nonviolent work stoppage. The participating inmates were subsequently denied hygiene products and put on "isolation" status. As protests of punishment continue, prisoners were denied customary rights to phone calls and even medical care. On the 16th day of the work stoppage "medical assistants freely dispense the tranquilizers, Librium and Valium, but most inmates refuse it seeing the implications of pacification and domination in this tactic" (Vol. 4 No. 7). Similar conditions were also reported in *El Gallo* by local organizations like the Colorado P.I.N.T.O. project, which relayed information on organizing efforts in local institutions like the maximum-security Colorado State Prison at Canon City, Colorado. One article detailed the efforts of the Chicano inmate organization L.A.D.S. (Latin American Development Society), whose organized protests of mistreatment in the prison resulted in concessions to the prisoners, namely "changes in the grooming code of the prison so inmates can have mustaches, side-burns, etc" as well as recreation equipment and promises of "freer and more frequent and telephoned communications with their families, the news media, and elected officials" (Vol. 5 No. 1).

Prison reform was also a frequent topic of concern, both inside and outside. The May 1972 issue included an article called "Noticias de la Pinta" that described the inmates'

point of view on problems with the prison system, as discussed in a 2 day seminar on prison reform organized in the U.S. Penitentiary at McNeil Island, Washington by the Chicano prisoner organization MASH (Mexican American Self Help group), particularly emphasizing the psychological problems caused by the treatment of individuals with diverse needs and personalities as if they were a group of undifferentiated criminals, to be universally treated with suspicion, fear, and contempt by the personnel of the prison. The article concludes by quoting Dr. Willard Golin, a Professor of Law and Psychiatry who writes that "crime and violence are not controlled by putting more and more people into prison for longer and longer periods of time" (Vol. 4, No. 4 p. 8). Adjacent to that article, under an illustration with a caption "You can't jail the truth" was letter published under the heading "Raza Unida en la Pinta" that documents the political organizing happening in the prison system. The letter denounces "the brutality, harassment, injustice, and oppression of Modern Penology" that has thwarted the prisoner's efforts to maintain a bilingual education program called "Projecto Empleo school", lamenting the paranoia caused by living under the "totalitarian regime" of San Quentin prison administration and informing "Companero y Companera, Editors" of their efforts to appeal through Congressman Edward R. Roybal for an investigation into the treatment of Chicanos in prison. The letter is signed by "La Raza Unida de San Quentin." In addition to the efforts inside prison walls, prison reform was clearly a priority for political organizing on the outside as well. In 1972, the two pillars of the Raza Unida Party Platform were education and penal reform, as evidenced by a double page spread of the platform from October of that year (Vol. IV, No. 7 p. 8-9). The following year, a column was published under the name "San Quentin News" and signed by Gilberto Gonzales y Luis Cuenca, next to calls for the release of political prisoners from

other movements, specifically listing Lolita Lebron of the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement and Tino Deocampo of AIM.

El Gallo also took up the issue of solitary confinement, one of the most egregious abuses of human rights inherent in the organization of the US prison industrial complex. The use of solitary confinement for even 15 days was recognized by the U.N. Special Rappanteur in 2011 as a form of torture, but legal challenges have so far not succeeded in ending the practice in U.S. prisons, where it is used as a punishment or simply a management tool, even for years or decades at a time ("Solitary Confinement"). "Despite numerous lawsuits and overwhelming evidence of its harm, solitary confinement continues to form a basic component of federal and state prison systems in the United States, especially in supermax penitentiaries, where all prisoners are kept in twenty-three-hour-a-day lockdown with almost no human contact" (Guenther xii). One of the most prominent representations of solitary confinement in *El Gallo* appeared in an April 1973 issue of the newspaper. The whole cover is in black, with a photo and inscription memorializing the recently deceased author, Luis Martinez, alongside a poem he wrote called "From 6-5A – FISHTANK." The poem reads:

> From my cold steel / and concrete "HELL". / These words letter by letter / I spell, / As thoughts echo soundlessly / in my 10 x 6 cell. / Reality smacks me in the face. / I reply, / "Oh well what the hell." / Who knows how long / this will be my place, / As reality confronts my eye / and I wonder why……. / From deep within, / my soul begins to cry. / Although I feel no sorrow for me, / Lloro mares de lagrimas / para estar contigo. / But understand the reason why / that it cannot be.

This poem is particularly striking because of the way it represents prison even in the forms of the language – of the 11 lines, 10 are in a cold and empty English, where the idea of the iron bars of a cage is echoed in the double LLs that finish each word. The monotony of the rhyme scheme is interrupted by the only Spanish phrase, buried in the second to last line, which is an achingly emotional phrase in stark contrast to the rest of the poem. Where the English lines describe the inside of a jail cell, with dimensions marked and measured and an unknown quantity of time determining his sentence, the physical spaces of the inside of his confinement are filled only with grief and despair and cannot contain his emotion: "lloro mares de lagrimas para estar contigo." Sealed off with another phrase of resigned logic, the poet returns to English: "But understand the reason why that it cannot be" (Vol. 5, No. 1). Alongside the poem was a dedication to the memory of Martínez, a 20-year-old Crusade for Justice member who had been a dance instructor at the Escuela Tlatelolco was killed in what was referred to as the "Saint Patrick's Day Massacre," a shootout between the police and Chicanos of the Crusade for Justice in which many people were injured and an explosion destroyed several apartments. Most of this issue of *El Gallo* was dedicated to eyewitness accounts of the incident and updates on the legal battles of the others who were involved.

In 1973 and 1974, a series of violent incidents, including the confrontation with the police in which Luis Martínez was killed, made it difficult for many Movimiento activists in Colorado to continue their work. Several car bombings in Colorado killed a number of Chicano activists. Many members of the Crusade for Justice and other local activist groups were charged in high profile felony cases for bombings and criminal mischief. Even though most of these activists were eventually acquitted, the negative publicity from these cases had a suppressing impact on participation in organizing efforts, and were also a significant

drain on resources. *El Gallo* was one of the few CPA publications of the Chicano movement that continued to publish past 1973, but the publishing schedule was much less frequent and smaller in scale than it had been. *El Gallo* ceased regular publication in 1980.

II. New Mexico's *El Grito del Norte*

Just as *El Gallo* was staffed by the activists of the Crusade for Justice, *El Grito del Norte* was staffed by organizers of the land grant movement in New Mexico, including several members of the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (AFDM). However, *El Grito del Norte* in many ways showed a broader range of unique voices, some of which had clearly journalistic ambitions, and in that sense it was not simply an extension of AFDM's organizing. The newspaper was founded in 1968 under the editorial leadership of San Francisco based civil rights attorney Beverly Axelrod and Elizabeth "Betita" Sutherland Martínez,[7] a Chicana who had grown up on the east coast and worked in the publishing industry. Both women had years of experience with community organizing, Axelrod through her work as legal defense for the Black Panthers and Chicano Movement activists, and Martínez through SNCC and other organizations of the civil rights movement. Also on the editorial staff was Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez, who had relocated to northern New Mexico from Colorado at the request of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales to start a school on Chicano culture for the Crusade for Justice (Oropeza xxix-xxx). Many organizers from the New Mexico land grant movement participated in the production of the newspaper,

[7] Over the course of her life, Martínez was a prolific author and impactful activist. After her death in 2013, the journal *Social Justice* published a double issue called "Elizabeth 'Betita' Sutherland Martínez: A Life in Struggle," which reprinted many of her essays, poetry, and political writings spanning several decades, as well as memorial statements from activists she worked with including Angela Davis and Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz. *Social Justice*, vol. 39, no. 2/3 (128-129), 2013, pp. 1–150. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/i24361549.

"including Jose Madril and Baltazar Martinez, who were involved in the courthouse raid in Tierra Amarilla" (Blackwell 244). One of the unique aspects of *El Grito del Norte* in comparison to other Chicano publications of the era was its explicitly feminist stance. "A publication edited and issued primarily by Chicanas, *El Grito* stands in stark contrast to the largely male-dominated nationalist organizations typically associated with El Movimiento." (López 538). Chicanas worked on all aspects of the production, from editing and reporting to visual art and design. Production staff included "the artist Rini Templeton; Valentina Valdez, who wrote for the paper and was married to Anselmo Tijerina; Catherine Montague, who did typesetting, and others who wrote, including Fernanda Martinez, Nita Luna, and Adelita Medina" (Blackwell 244).

During the early years, the newspaper was based in Española, later relocating to Las Vegas, New Mexico, with regular distribution in the northern part of the state as well as in southern Colorado. From the first issue, published August 24, 1968, the editors made their loyalties, class consciousness, and political objectives clear:

> To Our Readers: EL GRITO DEL NORTE is an independent newspaper serving northern New Mexico. Its purpose is to advance the cause of justice for poor people and to help preserve the rich cultural heritage of La Raza in this area. It is being published because there is no other newspaper in northern New Mexico which does these things. It is being published because the other newspapers print only what the rich and the powerful want to see published. These newspapers have created a climate of fear among people – a fear to speak the truth. (Vol. 1, No. 1)

In this introductory statement of purpose, the authors also make clear their commitment to print in both English and Spanish, given that the latter "is part of the cultural heritage of the people and their children. It is part of the Hispano way of life;" the denial of this heritage in

public places, they explain, is “one of the major tools of oppression” (Vol. 1, No. 1). The paper clearly takes the mission of community service seriously, with frequent articles in Spanish explaining how to vote, register for food stamps or access other social services, or to find jobs. Calls for community participation are reiterated throughout the publication, through letters to the editor and free publication of want ads, as well as an opportunity to distribute the paper for a share of the proceeds. Readers are invited to submit articles for publication, that can be “stories of personal experiences, complaints, news, announcements, recipes, stories of La Raza, New Mexico, childhood memories” (Vol. 1 No. 3). These submissions, like the publication, came in Chicano and standard English, as well several varieties of Spanish.

While grounded in local community issues with a feminist and class-conscious perspective, *El Grito del Norte* achieved a considerably more internationalist perspective when compared to other Chicano publications. The editorial staff appointed a Foreign Editor, identified in the December 6, 1969 issue as Rees Lloyd, formerly of *The Albuquerque Journal*. Additionally, a regular section called “La Raza in Las Americas” syndicated news from other parts of the U.S. and Latin America, making connections for the readers between local Chicano experience in New Mexico and “Third World” liberation struggles worldwide. There is evidence that the publication did have international readership, in early years receiving letters to the editor from various locations in Mexico including San Luis Potosí, Mexico City, and Lecumberri prison. In addition to syndicating articles from international sources, the newspaper also produced original international coverage. The prolific Elizabeth “Betita” Martínez did extensive reporting for *El Grito del Norte* from Cuba, China, and even from North Vietnam, sometimes authoring articles as the Chicano Press Association (Blackmer Reyes 15). The newspaper frequently criticized US

imperialism and emphasized commonalities in the struggles faced by Chicanos and marginalized groups in other parts of the world, particularly in their experiences of economic exploitation and racial discrimination.

Just as *El Grito del Norte* widened its focus to include international issues over the course of its publication years, it also grew in length and distribution. By October 1972, the newspaper was regularly publishing 16- to 20-page issues and reported that their circulation was up to 11,000, having grown from 4,000 when the first 8-page issue was printed on August 24, 1968 (Vol. 5 No. 8). Over the course of the publication's life, most of the letters to the editor were from the U.S. Southwest, from many parts of New Mexico and southern Colorado, as well as Nevada, Arizona, and several cities in Texas and California. However, letters also came from Kansas City, Wyoming, Utah, Wisconsin, Connecticut, and New Jersey. A letter of support also came in from Montague, Massachusetts, where one branch of the underground press organization Liberation News Service was based at the time, having provided some of the syndicated articles and content in early issues. Later issues featured letters from Chicano servicemen stationed on US military bases in North Carolina, New Jersey, and Okinawa, Japan, seeking to keep in touch with their home communities. As prison activists and indigenous organizations like AIM were organizing on a national level during the early 1970s, *El Grito* increasingly emphasized correspondence with these groups, dedicating significant space to their letters and articles. For example, in February 1971 several letters were published under the subheading "from our Indian brothers" who wrote from Rhode Island, Michigan, and Missouri, and another section "from our hermanos de la pinta" featured letters from Marion, Illinois, the Colorado State Penitentiary in Canyon City, Colorado, and Arizona State Prison (Vol. 4 No. 1 p. 15).

With a focus on finding points of alliance, the editors of *El Grito del Norte* clearly aimed to involve marginalized members of their community in dialogue, and to have an expansive view of who that "community" could include to allow for coalition building. These dialogues often occurred in the letters to the editor section. For example, while their editorial content was harshly critical of Anglo institutions and discriminatory behavior, the editors did publish letters from readers who self-identified as Anglo, whose responses ran the gamut from laudatory to disgusted and occasionally even threatening. Often, the alliances found with white people were on issues of rural poverty and the rejection of materialism and the capitalist model of economic exploitation. In one example, a man wrote for a subscription from South Bend, Indiana, "I'm an Anglo-Saxon who has no land and certainly sympathize with landless people. I work in a factory to exist in the dreariest town in the U.S. I'm so poor I don't even have a wife. If you have a Mexicana to spare, tell her to write me. We landless people who grew up on the land should get together" (Vol. 1 No. 6). Letters like this one that took a positive view of the newspaper were typically printed without editorial comment, but the negative ones were often printed with a rebuttal.

One of the more troubled alliances that became the subject of an ongoing debate in the pages of *El Grito* was the relationship between Mexican Americans and the newly arrived white hippie communities, often referred to as "longhairs." A column from two of the most recently arrived "hippies" was printed in the second issue, describing the stereotypes and behaviors associated with the group, along with some hopes that the better intentioned of the recently arrived hippies would be able to coexist peacefully and respectfully with the Indo-hispano residents, asking "anyone who has thoughts about these recent migrations – or whatever. Write us c/o this newspaper" (Vol. 1 No. 2). Several months later, in a follow up section called "Let the 'Hippies' Speak" two articles were

published, one of which addressed a sexual assault that had taken place in the community, submitted by the same authors who had initially written to the newspaper to start the dialogue. They argued that this incident, in which a young Anglo girl, being considered a 'hippie,' had been raped by five young Chicanos, betrayed a "lack of simpatía between the Chicano and Longhair communities" (Vol. 1 No. 6 p. 8). Interestingly, the authors use a Spanish word to bolster their claim that they are looking to "bridge the gap of unknowing" that existed between their own community and the local Spanish speaking residents. But ultimately they find the reductive and dehumanizing social stereotypes that all marginalized groups are subjected to at fault for enabling the violence: "We feel that such a thing could not occur unless people felt they could 'get away with it', unless there is a general atmosphere in which a person or a group of people is seen as less than human" (Vol. 1 No. 6 p. 8). However, they do not see a possibility for true justice to come from the court system, advocating instead for a community consensus model:

> We ourselves do not think that a court of law, with its abstract legal codes and rigidly defined punishments, is a good place to deal with human conflicts. We believe that justice should grow more directly from the community. Our idea would be more like reconciliation, the way the Pueblo Indian tribunals solve human difficulties without the use of jails (Vol. 1 No. 6 p. 8).

The article goes on to discuss how traditional views of marriage create harmful double standards for women that create the conditions for sexual violence, making the case that promiscuity can be viewed as an immature stage of sexual development rather than a sign of a lack of moral character, and that "the important thing is the attempt not to violate each other's natural life" (Vol. 1 No. 6 p. 8). These dialogues on 'the hippy question' continued into the following year, debating both specific incidents and general attitudes, and in many

cases reminding the hippies at length of the privileges they held even as they rejected mainstream society, including the option to call the cops or bring a court case in a justice system that consistently favored them over and against Mexican Americans. As violent conflicts in rural New Mexico became increasingly common, the editors took the position that hippies should not come to the community, as much for their own safety as for the hardships that their presence put on the long-term residents who were in many ways fighting for their survival.

In addition to negotiating relationships with newcomers, the editors of *El Grito* also aspired to build relationships with indigenous communities, particularly with activist groups. The relationship of the Chicano Movement to indigenous issues and peoples was a contested and evolving one, as Chicano nationalist claims to indigenous identity and land rights that designated the US southwest as "the nation of Aztlán" did not always acknowledge or account for the claims and goals of native peoples and organizations. However, dialogue with indigenous communities and coalition building with groups like AIM allowed for conceptualizations of Aztlán that focused more on living a spiritual connection to the land than to claiming legal rights to a nation state. For example, after interactions with concerned Native American activists, columnist Enriqueta Vasquez "rejected the idea that Mexican Americans should seek sole physical possession of any part of the present-day U.S. Southwest in favor of the idea that Chicanos and Chicanas needed to nurture their sense of cultural and spiritual belonging to the land" (Oropexa xxxix-xl). This change is evident in the editorial outlook of *El Grito* as well, which shows a shift from a local focus on land rights in early issues to broader, coalition-based aspirations in later issues. Early on, the publication dedicated a significant portion of its page real estate to land grant movement issues surrounding communal grazing and the Forest Service. The

articles challenge dominant Anglo historical narratives that memorialize figures like Kit Carson and Davy Crockett, insisting on the importance of learning about corresponding Mexican and Spanish figures in history like Pancho Villa or Juan de Oñate, making connections between those leaders and the most visible leaders of the Chicano movement. In later volumes, particularly after 1970, much more space is dedicated to amplifying not only indigenous voices but their organizations and publications, including by sending reporters to interview activists at Alcatraz, syndicating articles from Native publications, and publishing lists of Native publications offering subscriptions, just as they would for the members of the Chicano Press Association.

Spanish Language and Oral Traditions in *El Grito del Norte*

The Spanish language persisted in New Mexico as a language of governance for far longer than it did in other parts of the U.S. southwest. This was due to both demographics and to its status as a territory until 1912, preserving a linguistic environment very different from other areas that converted in the mid-nineteenth century to English-dominance. New Mexico's "long territorial status allowed its language use to remain distinct from the rest of the nation" (Lozano 7). In this way, both written and oral traditions of the Spanish language were able to be preserved in family and community practices. In addition to the preservation of traditional language customs, settlement patterns and close relationships with local indigenous communities meant that in New Mexico, the Hispano communities adopted, identified with and practiced elements of native cultures. By the eighteenth century, Pueblo and Hispano communities had exchanged tools, crops, and practices to the extent that these "came to embody indispensable aspects of each culture. For example, many 'mixed-blood' villagers with no tribal affiliation nevertheless became familiar with

the spirituality of the landscape that was an intrinsic part of the Pueblo world" (Baca 46-7). The language and perspectives of *El Grito del Norte* reflect both the sense of Spanish as a primary language and an awareness of long term cultural blendedness, the latter reflected in the frequent use of the term "Indo-hispano", not widely used outside of New Mexico.

This sense of cultural blendedness, however, was not without its contradictions. New Mexican dialects of Spanish, most often referred to as "Traditional Southwest Spanish," have long been studied because of their unique qualities. However, they have also been romanticized by both locals and scholars as mythic "ancient" varieties of Iberian Spanish that have survived intact since the sixteenth century.[8] In fact, during the twentieth century, much of the continued maintenance of the Spanish language in New Mexico has been supported by continuous immigration from Mexico and other Spanish dominant countries, replenishing the Spanish speaking populations which would otherwise be overtaken by English. The desire to identify with Iberian rather than Mexican heritage is also based in a reaction to discrimination against Spanish speakers, particularly racialized discrimination against residents of Mexican origin. Residents of northern New Mexicans who are less likely than their southern New Mexican counterparts to have had extensive exposure to language instruction in standard Spanish, and whose speech for that reason deviates more from standard Spanish, are more likely to self-identify with eurocentric terms, constituting an ethnic difference between long term residents of Northern New Mexico and more recently arrived immigrants:

> The ethnic difference shows up in their self-identification in English. Northerners tend to call themselves 'Hispanic,' 'Spanish American,' or 'Spanish' while

[8] The information in this paragraph comes from *The Spanish Language of New Mexico and Southern Colorado: A Linguistic Atlas,* by Garland Bills and Neddy Vigil.

> Southerners prefer ‘Mexican’ or ‘Mexican American.’ In Spanish, on the other hand, both groups label themselves *mexicanos* (very occasionally Northerners will refer to themselves as *españoles* ‘Spanish’). (Bills and Vigil 12)

The complex relationships between language and the racial and ethnic identities of New Mexicans are also reflected in the pages of in El Grito del Norte, where all of the above referenced identity terms are used, in addition to regional terms like “Indo Hispano” and politicized terms like “Chicano.”

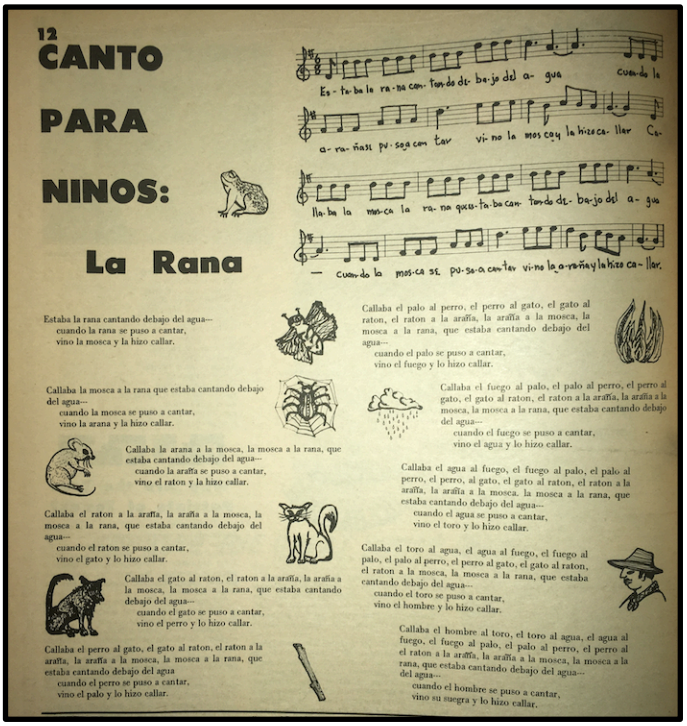
The belief that Spanish was, or should be, the primary language of the community was often reflected in the pages of *El Grito del Norte*. For example, in a letter to the editor that was published in the February 8, 1969 issue, Jose Rodriguez of Santa Fe commented on the ubiquity of discrimination against Spanish speakers and their view of English as a foreign intrusion into the community, despite its institutional status:

> Muy agradecido en recibir el periodiquito chiquito, pero dice mucho a comparación de la prensa reaccionario que habla mucho y no dice nada. Tocante a la descriminación, todos lo sabemos. Yo miro los reportes de los escueleros que están estudiando el Español y le ponen ‘lengua extranjera’ al Español. No se si estoy errado, pero a mi me parece que la lengua extranjera es el Ingles” (Vol. 2 No. 3 p.7).

In this letter, as with most of the Spanish language articles in *El Grito*, tildes and other special characters were added in by hand, evidence of another way in which Spanish speakers were not accommodated, even in the printing tools available, and had to resort to home-made solutions to maintain their familial language traditions. The letter reflects an important conflict that develops in intergenerational language loss, in which the language spoken in community spaces and especially in the home is not the “official” language that is institutionalized through its instruction in schools. Where formal bilingual education was

not available or properly resourced, one response to institutional marginalization was to fortify the oral traditions of the community through recording and distributing them in print.

El Grito del Norte clearly sought to fill some of the unmet needs of the community members who wanted to keep their linguistic heritage alive, most importantly by passing it on to their children. Nearly every issue of the newspaper features a story, game, song, or other creative work from the oral tradition on the back pages, most frequently in the form of "Cuentos para niños." These stories appeared entirely in Spanish, usually with some allegorical lesson and accompanying illustration. Often, the songs and stories featured animal protagonists, some even including musical notation along with the song lyrics, like in the Canto "La Rana," published in the April 14, 1969 edition of the newspaper (See Figure 1). The song, filled with rhymed couplets and jokes, is a song about singing: "Estaba la rana cantando debajo del agua - / cuando la rana se puso a cantar, / vino la mosca y la hizo callar" (Vol. 2 No. 6 p. 12). The song progresses in a cumulative structure, adding a new anthropomorphized character to each line, until finally a man arrives to set up the final lines of the song: "cuando el hombre se puso a cantar / vino su suegra y lo hizo callar" (Vol. 2 No. 6 p. 12). Drawing on fairy tales and folk legends, the short stories are also


12

CANTO PARA NINOS:

La Rana

Estaba la rana cantando debajo del agua--
cuando la rana se puso a cantar,
vino la mosca y la hizo callar.

Callaba la mosca a la rana que estaba cantando debajo del agua--
cuando la mosca se puso a cantar,
vino la arana y la hizo callar.

Callaba la arana a la mosca, la mosca a la rana, que estaba cantando debajo del agua--
cuando la araña se puso a cantar,
vino el raton y la hizo callar.

Callaba el raton a la araña, la araña a la mosca, la mosca a la rana, que estaba cantando debajo del agua--
cuando el raton se puso a cantar,
vino el gato y lo hizo callar.

Callaba el gato al raton, el raton a la araña, la araña a la mosca, la mosca a la rana, que estaba cantando debajo del agua--
cuando el gato se puso a cantar,
vino el perro y lo hizo callar.

Callaba el perro al gato, el gato al raton, el raton a la araña, la araña a la mosca, la mosca a la rana, que estaba cantando debajo del agua
cuando el perro se puso a cantar,
vino el palo y lo hizo callar.

Callaba el palo al perro, el perro al gato, el gato al raton, el raton a la araña, la araña a la mosca, la mosca a la rana, que estaba cantando debajo del agua--
cuando el palo se puso a cantar,
vino el fuego y lo hizo callar.

Callaba el fuego al palo, el palo al perro, el perro al gato, el gato al raton, el raton a la araña, la araña a la mosca, la mosca a la rana, que estaba cantando debajo del agua--
cuando el fuego se puso a cantar,
vino el agua y lo hizo callar.

Callaba el agua al fuego, el fuego al palo, el palo al perro, el perro, al gato, el gato al raton, el raton a la araña, la araña a la mosca. la mosca a la rana, que estaba cantando debajo del agua--
cuando el agua se puso a cantar,
vino el toro y lo hizo callar.

Callaba el toro al agua, el agua al fuego, el fuego al palo, el palo al perro, el perro al gato, el gato al raton, el raton a la mosca, la mosca a la rana, que estaba cantando debajo del agua--
cuando el toro se puso a cantar,
vino el hombre y lo hizo callar.

Callaba el hombre al toro, el toro al agua, el agua al fuego, el fuego al palo, el palo al perro, el perro al el raton a la araña, la araña a la mosca, la mosca a la rana, que estaba cantando debajo del agua--
cuando el hombre se puso a cantar,
vino su suegra y lo hizo callar.

Figure 1: "Canto Para Ninos: La Rana," *El Grito del Norte*, Vol. 2 No. 6 p. 12. Image courtesy of OU Western History Collections.

primarily protagonized by animals, as in “La Zorra y El Coyote” (Vol. 2 No. 4 p. 8). Most of the animal protagonists are to some degree anthromorphized or turned into humans, as in “El Conejo Goloso” (Vol. 2 No. 5 p. 12) and “El Pajaro Verde” (Vol. 2 No. 12, 14). Other stories were serialized, as in “Las Aventuras de Bertoldo,” the story of a tamalero who, in picaresque fashion, is accused of a robbery and must prove his innocence through the sharpness of his wit to the governor in Santa Fe (Vol. 2 No. 7). He succeeds, and is invited to live in the palace, to the chagrin of the governor’s wife. In a subsequent issue under the headline “Mas Aventuras de Bertoldo,” the editors summarize the previous installment:

> Como vimos en la primera aventua de Bertoldo (EL GRITO, 14 de junio), pasaron cosas extrañas cuando el tamalero Bertoldo visitó al gobernador en el palacio en Santa Fe. Como el gobernador era un viejo gordo y aburrido, se divirtió mucho con este jovencito pícaro. Pero la gobernadora se enojó a ver que su Excelencia tenia un muchachito pobre como su amigo. (Vol. 2 No. 9 p. 16)

In this passage, the authors make a direct reference to the picaresque tradition, emphasizing the connection between the Spanish literary tradition and local culture by referring repeatedly to the local setting. The authors also use the Zia sun symbol, the same that appears on the state flag of New Mexico, as a transitional marker between the summary of the first installment and the new narration of the second part. In the second installment, Bertoldo overcomes many life-threatening obstacles, but his demise ultimately comes from lack of access to the traditional community medicine:

> Bertoldo se enfermó de comer tanta comida tan rica. Y pidió que lo dejaron irse. Pero el gobernador pensó que sus médicos podrian curarle, y ni le dejó irse, ni mandó al monte a buscar las yerbas que Bertoldo pedia para curarse. Pensó que sus

> médicos del palacio sabian mas que los pobres. Pero sus médicos no lo podian curar, y después de pocos dias Bertoldo se murió. (Vol. 2 No. 9 p. 16)

Like many of the "Cuentos para niños," this story attributes significant value to the folk wisdom of poor and rural characters, reinforcing the value of knowledge that comes from traditions preserved in these communities. References to the medicinal use of herbal remedies or "remedios" were a frequent example of the depiction of this kind of knowledge as powerful and lifegiving.

Another feature that reflected the oral traditions in the region was the publication of poems that followed Spanish language traditions. Many of these were corridos about current events from local poets like Cleofes Vigil. A section called "Corazón del Norte" featured local artists and craftspeople, including literary pieces and submissions from local school children, as well as profiles that featured photographs of the creators and their work. One of the issues featured four corridos praising Reies Lopes Tijerina for his efforts in the courthouse raids. The corridos were from four different poets, three from New Mexico and one from Texas. The explanatory text that introduces them details their role in the community and their connection to the oral tradition:

> Cantar de lo que pasa en su pueblo, en su tierra, es una tradición Antigua en Nuevo Mexico. Ayer, como hoy, los poetas tenían sus cuadernos, donde escribieron los versos de sus corridos. Pero la página escrita es como una petaquilla estrecha para los corridos – Es cuando el poeta mismo se para en una fiesta o una reunion a entonar su sentimiento que los corridos viven verdaderamente. En estas partes tenemos muchos poetas" (Vol. 2 No. 3 p.7).

This commentary on the relationship between the written and oral tradition indicates that the editors of *El Grito del Norte* were well aware that the printed page was only a part of

the language tradition of the community served by their newspaper. Carlos Monsiváis commented on:

> El número de ejemplares impresos de un periódico puede ser casi simbólico… Esto es secundario. La cultura oral multiplica el radio de acción de las noticias y, por igual, aunque no del mismo modo, alfabetizados y analfabetos en el país se estremecen con poemas heroicos y editoriales flamígeros, y su respuesta influye en los propios periódicos. (Monsiváis 22)

This symbiotic relationship between oral traditions and newspapers would also be observed in other elements of *El Grito del Norte*, particularly the regular columns authored by local personalities.

Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez and the Cronista Tradition

One of the most consistent credited contributors to the paper was Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez, a Chicana activist from Colorado.[9] Born into a family of farmworkers in the southeastern part of the state in 1930, Vásquez had faced discrimination in the segregated rural community of Cheraw where she grew up, as well as in Denver where she had moved in search of better employment opportunities. She married Herman Tafoya, a New Mexican man with whom she had two children. However, her husband, a Korean war veteran, was an alcoholic and physically abused her. After several years of suffering domestic violence, she separated from Tafoya and raised her children as a single mother. Securing employment opportunities and resources for her children, as well as escaping her husband's abuse, prompted moves to Pueblo, Colorado, to Culver City outside of L.A., and finally back to Denver, where her political activism began in earnest. She

[9] The biographical information in this section comes from Lorena Oropeza's article, "Viviendo y luchando: The life and times of Enriqueta Vasquez."

joined the Mexican American civil rights group American G.I. Forum in 1964, and later through her skills and commitment earned a position as a director of a War on Poverty program, Project SER (Service, Employment, and Redevelopment). When Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales founded the Crusade for Justice in 1966, she joined immediately. She fell in love with Bill Longley, an activist and close friend of Gonzales, and when the two married, they both changed their names – combining "Longeaux," the original form of Longley reflecting Bill's French ancestry, with Enriqueta's birth name Vasquez to create a shared last name. In April 1968, at Gonzales's request the couple relocated to northern New Mexico to start a Chicano school for the Crusade for Justice.

That same summer, *El Grito del Norte* was founded, and Vasquez published a column on racial discrimination under the title "Despierten Hermanos" in the first issue. The column became a regular feature in which she commented on social issues using a conversational writing style, spinning anecdotes into broader lessons about culture, politics, and community. The majority of the columns were written in English, but would frequently close with a passage in Spanish that formed a sort of epilogue in which she would urge her readers to think critically about the assumptions and stereotypes of society. Closing the columns this was "was a way of not only summarizing but also amplifying her message" (Oropeza xxxv). Vasquez also used Spanish "whenever she sought to strike at the emotional heart of an issue" (Oropeza xxxv) as well as leaving certain untranslatable ideas out of English texts. For example, in a column titled "WORK WORK WORK dice El Patrón en Washinton," published in 1972, she writes: "We may be poor in money, but we have much wisdom that money cannot buy. It is this wisdom that we value so highly for ése es el corazón and the legacy of mi raza, y ése es el espíritu de Aztlán." (Vásquez 23). These blended sentences are not only significant for their content but also linguistically interesting

for their use of specifically Chicano dialects of English and Spanish. In the title, for example, the all-caps English command and the Spanish attribution actually represent different voices, and in this case it is the Spanish language voice that narrates and comments on the power structure and value system represented by the English command. Vasquez's code-switching within sentences heightens the expression of conflict and constant transition between opposing value systems, with English representing dominant economic structures and Spanish representing ethnic and land-based traditions.

Through these writings, Vásquez follows in the style of the "cronistas", tied to traditions of costumbrismo and the preservation of "home" cultures as part of the immigrant and minority press in the US. As Kanellos explains, writing about cronistas in the US Hispanic press earlier in the century:

> the *cronistas* were very influenced by popular jokes, folk anecdotes and vernacular speech, and in general their columns mirrored the surrounding social environment. It was the *cronista*'s job to fan the flames of nationalism and to enforce the ideology of "México de afuera." He had to battle the influence of Anglo-Saxon immorality and Protestantism and to protect against the erosion of the Spanish language and Mexican culture with equally religious fervor. But this was always done not through direct preaching but through sly humor and a burlesque of fictional characters in the community who represented general ignorance or admiringly adopted Anglo ways as superior to those of Hispanics (Kanellos 45).

This tradition is clearly carried on in Vasquez's columns. Her writing style in general was conversational, often asking questions in a Socratic style to encourage her readers to think critically about social norms and the institutions that governed them. This sly humor also came through frequently in her columns, particularly when talking about attitudes of racial

superiority: “You know, just studying the lifeless Gringos one can really feel sorry for them and wish that one could help them with their superiority problems. I think the minorities can do just this and I think that we can do it by sharing of ourselves” (Vol. 2 No. 2). Where she wanted to invoke traditional points of view, she wrote entirely in her native tongue: “several columns appeared entirely in Spanish including those that Vasquez wrote under her mother’s name, Doña Faustina” (Oropeza xxxv). Clearly, Vásquez understood how the Spanish language was associated with the knowledge and wisdom of older generations, and invoked that “voice” to speak on topics of folk wisdom such as natural medicine, as she did in the column “La Voz de Nuestra Cultura” which was published alongside a photograph of her parents (Vol. 3 No. 14/15 p. 27). In this way, Vásquez’s writing in *El Grito del Norte* went beyond her own individual perspectives to represent multiple generational voices, which she presents as a source of education.

Like the cronistas, Vásquez also argued for the protection of Spanish and the rejection of materialist Anglo values. In an article published under her own name called “Teach True Values, Says La Raza Mother” Vásquez critiques the eurocentrism of the local school curriculum, which creates what she sees as a failure of the school system to provide an education culturally relevant to the children of New Mexico and instead indoctrinates them into subservience to a materialist culture. She argues that parents must become involved in the schools and cannot always defer to the teachers, who “have turned the schools into a factory that conditions people into becoming machines” (Vásquez 34). A culturally relevant education, in her view, must encourage critical thinking and must include the Spanish language. She ends the column, as she frequently did, with a call to action in Spanish:

> Tenemos que hablar con nuestros hijos, tenemos que hacer preguntas en las escuelas, tenemos que insistir que se nos enseñe nuestra lengua para hablarla propiamente. Tenemos que acordarnos que las escuelas y los maestros no saben todo, que la enseñanza viene de la gente a la que sirven. Tenemos que aprender a pensar por nosotros mismos. (Vásquez 35)

Here, like in many cronista columns, mainstream Anglo culture is seen as an immoral influence and an eroding force against traditional values, but Vásquez argues further that the self-confidence from rejecting narratives about cultural inferiority will allow Mexican Americans to engage in critical thinking and gain a truly beneficial education.

In February 1972, Vásquez published a column specifically addressing local prison conditions (Vol. 5 No. 1). The issue was dedicated to Rito Canales and Antonio Cordova, Chicano Movement activists who had been killed by police in New Mexico during the previous month. The article, “More abuses at Santa Fe Pinta”, highlights the testimony of guards who said they were instructed to beat and tear gas prisoners. She writes: “The essence of the testimony presented was to reveal what so many people feel to be undercurrent truths.” After describing the dysfunctionality of the prison and the attempts of the prisoners to organize against corruption and inhumane treatment, Vásquez makes a structural critique of the prison system as a whole:

> The basic attitudes of all of us and our views as to crimes and criminals must be re-evaluated. What are prisons for? Oppression, punishment, or rehabilitation? Now, when we are speaking of rehabilitation it is not hard to know what the needs of rehabilitation are. Just ask the prisoners and they can more than adequately give the answers as to their needs. Surely this is just and humane, after all, they are locked up in a wall and wire fence. They are not going anywhere, so what is wrong with

> listening to what can better prepare them for the day they leave confinement? (Vol. 5 No. 1)

Rejecting infantilizing views that characterize prisoners as unable to understand their own needs, Vásquez asks readers to sympathize with prisoners and also to consider ex-convicts as potential leaders whose inclusion could help to solve some of the structural failures of the prison system: "The 'qualified' people to work with rehabilitation are community-oriented people, many of which may be ex-cons. A portion of the parole board should be composed of these same persons." In this way Vásquez values the experiential knowledge of those who are incarcerated and posits a definition of community that does not automatically exclude the incarcerated from civic life.

Health and Bodily Autonomy in *El Grito del Norte*

One recurring concern related to bodily autonomy expressed in the pages of *El Grito del Norte* was the issue of health care, especially the quality and availability of care to rural populations. Problems of health care and ideas for their solutions were the subject of a double page spread of articles published in the April 14, 1969 issue of the newspaper. The editors introduce the topic under the headline "What is Happening to Our Children? - Medical Care in New Mexico," giving an overview of statistics on the number of doctors and dentists in the state compared to the overall population, statistics which put New Mexico towards the bottom of rankings of US states (Vol. 2 No. 6). The editors also outline the many obstacles that Spanish speaking populations may face in accessing quality health care – poor road conditions and long travel distances, discrimination, and economic barriers – and make an argument for the importance of having the option of turning to traditional or modern medicinal practices, including preventative care:

> The Spanish and Indian people of the north have long depended for health on the cures they find in nature. Some of these *curanderos* are probably better 'doctors' than those with college degrees. But that is no excuse for the state and the nation not doing more. They should take measures that will prevent people from getting sick – especially children – not just cure them" (Vol. 2 No. 6).

The articles on the double page spread include a feature on a new methodone treatment program available through an organization called "Quebrar," an article about the lack of medical care in Rio Arriba County, and a section called "The People Tell Their Problems... La Gente Habla" that describes specific examples of the difficulties that local families faced in accessing quality health care, including poor communication, long wait times, or the need for children and adult members of the family to see separate doctors. Three of these accounts were written in English, and one lengthy account of a hospital visit after an accident was written in Spanish, as told to *El Grito* by the sister of the accident victim. Her statement illustrates an example of another frequent problem, the reluctance or refusal to offer medical care and services based on economic status, which was experienced from the moment the family arrived at the hospital: "Cuando su mujer llegó alli en el cuarto de emergencia lo primero que preguntaron era que si tenia aseguranza, un trabajo o dinero para pagar. Ella les dijo que no tenian ni uno de estos." (Vol. 2 No. 6). The account goes on to describe the dismissive and inattentive attitudes of the medical staff, who were not willing to even clean the blood from the victim's face, a task that was finally done by the family members. The details included in the accounts of these incidents are all meant to reinforce the editors' position, outlined in their introductory statement, that "Good health is not a matter of handouts; it is a human right" (Vol. 2 No. 6). Two additional features focus on potential solutions to these problems: a summer program organized by the Student

American Medical Association (SAMA) to address rural health needs in Appalachia, and on a pilot program at Hope Medical Center in Estancia that would provide a family nurse practitioner to see patients, giving basic health examinations, testing, and advice as well as conducting phone consultations. With a broad range of examples, including government statistics and individual testimonies, *El Grito* builds a community narrative around issues of health and access to health care.

Another issue of bodily autonomy of great importance in *El Grito* was the right to cure one's own body using herbal remedies, an issue that is in many ways inseparable from land rights. Without access to garden plots, farmlands, or uncontaminated fields in which to gather wild plants curanderas and other healers could not secure ingredients for these remedios, many of which require planting and harvesting at specific times and from soil free of chemicals in order to be effective. The body of folk knowledge known as curanderismo is referenced continuously throughout the papers, in both the reporting and commentary on local events and the fictional pieces. As mentioned earlier, the "Cuentos para Niños" made frequent references to "yerbas" that had curative properties, and these "remedios" frequently played a central role in the narrative structure of the stories, as for example in "Los Tres Hermanos," in which the youngest brother receives from his father "un pajarito de colores" that teaches him how to gather herbs, which are used to heal an entire village (Vol. 2 No. 3 p.11). Enriqueta Vasquez's columns also discuss and defend this practice, particularly those that she authored under her mother's name, as Vasquez's mother, Faustina, was a curandera. Additionally, there are some references to discriminatory practices and even criminalization of folk medicine. The August 20, 1971 issue of the magazine referenced conflicts with the police and law enforcement agencies in

which many Chicano families were targeted in a statewide drug raid in which people had their "remedios" confiscated as "drugs" (Vol. 4 No. 7 p. 2).

Of all the Movimiento publications examined in this study, *El Grito del Norte* likely has the richest possibilities to offer researchers as a collection of literary and historical texts. In addition to many of the characteristics shared by other Movimiento papers, such as a focus on the rights of the incarcerated and the development of a "third world" international framework to analyze issues of human rights and social justice, *El Grito* contains many elements that set it apart from other Movimiento publications: the explicitly feminist stance of the publication, along with the unique regional language practices it preserved through the oral tradition, the personalities of the regular columnists who followed narrative traditions of Spanish language cronistas, and discussions of health care access and traditional folk medicine. All these attributes contribute to the uniqueness of this publication as a space where shared narratives were created and passed on, and where a participatory model of journalism allowed discussions of bodily autonomy to take place in a public way that included marginalized voices in the discussion.

III. *Con Safos* of Los Angeles

Los Angeles was a center of some of the most visible activism of the Chicano Movement, with the "Blowouts" in 1968 involving the direct participation of thousands of high school students who walked out to protest discriminatory and inadequate public schools, attracting considerable media attention. The city was also closely connected both geographically and logistically to the development of Chicano Studies as a discipline in academia, with several local activist leaders like Vicky Castro and Carlos Muñoz Jr. going

on to become leaders in education. Some of the most prolific and visually experimental Movimiento publications, such as the newsletter-turned-magazine *La Raza*, were produced and published in Los Angeles. *Con Safos* magazine was produced in this context, out of a desire to elevate Chicano culture according to artistic and literary, rather than solely political, standards. The founding members were Ralph López Grijalva-Urbina, Arturo Flores, Rudy Salinas, Antonio Gómez, Frank Sifuentes, Peter V. Fernández, and Gil Gonzales, who were joined in later issues by John Figueroa and Oscar Castillo to form the editorial board. While the members of *Con Safos* did participate in some activist efforts, such as attending the LA Moratorium on the Vietnam War in 1970 and organizing community writing workshops, for the most part they maintained their publishing focus on literary and artistic production as a priority over community organizing or political objectives.

The focus on literary production over activism may have been based out of experienced in academia, as many of the *Con Safos* staff members had attained higher education and even advanced degrees. Arturo Flores, for example, had a masters in English literature as well as editorial experience (Junge 43). His experiences in academia revealed a disconnect between the curriculum in literature classes and the lived experience and creative production of Mexican Americans in the US southwest:

> At Cal State, I had tried to take some courses that might lead to Chicano lit, but they didn't. For example, I took a comparative literature course in the Spanish Department. But all they had was Spanish writers of Mexico and South America - nothing that represented the literature of the southwest and what's now called "Chicano culture." (Junge 45)

The recognition of a need for representation of Mexican Americans in academic literary spaces was shared by others as well. The idea for the magazine, in fact, had come to Ralph "Rafas" López Grijalva-Urbina in an academic context while he was a junior at California State University. As it was against academic traditions for English and Spanish to coexist literary publications, he saw the need for a journal "dedicated to the development of Chicano literary genres" that could have "a bicultural viewpoint" (Junge 4). To hold the copyrights, the editors founded "Con Safos, Inc.", described as "a private nonprofit corporation dedicated to the expression and reflection of life en los barrios de los estados unidos del norte" (Vol. 1 No. 4). Though authors on the editorial board did sometimes sign their work using only their nicknames, the written works published in *Con Safos* are almost all attributed to individual authors, unlike other Chicano Movement periodicals which published many uncredited articles. This focus on attributing individual authorship may have been in part tied to efforts to institutionalize Chicano Studies as an academic discipline and to follow the conventions of art and literary publishing, for example with the formal names of editorial roles assigned to the "board" and copyright statements for materials. However, following these conventions did not change the perception of these artists as a radical political threat, and like other Movimiento activists, they were surveilled by the FBI.

Con Safos was ostensibly a quarterly magazine, but like other Chicano movement periodicals, was published on an irregular schedule. The editors did not use conventional numeration practices to assign the volume and magazine issue numbers, and so the Volumes do not correspond to publication year; Volume 1 includes Nos. 1-4 published in 1968 and 1969, and Volume 2 includes Nos. 5-8 published in 1970-72. In issue 6, the editors added a section addressed to librarians with details on the approximate publication

date of each issue and the availability of back issues. The price of the magazine was also raised in issue 6 from 50 to 75 cents, and from $2.00 to $2.50 for a subscription for four issues. Editors explained that the publication schedule would change depending on the availability of funds and content:

> CON SAFOS is the only quarterly published twice or maybe thrice a year. We don't publish until we have material that 'says it,' and money to pay the printer. But in all events A YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION WILL GET OUR READERS FOUR MEMORABLE ISSUES IF IT TAKES A HUNDRED YEARS. Aguántense. (Vol. 2 No. 7).

This passage is a good example of the editors' tendency to thumb their nose at conventions of capitalist publishing culture, like production timetables, while at the same time aspiring to enforce a standard of selectivity and prestige that was necessarily exclusive, as connoted by the references to the magazine as a "quarterly."

In addition to defending and uplifting the creative expressions of barrio lifestyle and urban Chicano experiences, the publication helped to develop a distinctive Chicano aesthetic (Junge). The humorous drawings that accompanied multilingual language play from the earliest issues, such as the "Mesa de Contentos" drawn on the Table of Contents page, were contributed by Arthur Camargo. The covers are mostly done in bright colors and the pages include many highly stylized, handwritten headlines and bylines, cartoons, illustrations, and drawings on photos. A significant percentage of space in the magazine's pages is dedicated to visual art in many forms, including drawings, photocollages, woodcut prints, sketches, and photography. Especially in later issues, the visual style is visceral and even aggressive – handwritten and printed text intermingle, drawings and prints are boldly rebellious. This signature aesthetic style was shepherded primarily by two visual artists:

Sergio Hernandez, who did many signature pieces for Movimiento publications, and Gilbert Sánchez Luján, who went on to become one of the first well-known Chicano artists as part of "Los Four."

Like the staff and most of the authors, the gender representation in *Con Safos* is overwhelmingly male centered, and at times, profoundly sexist. Maxine Borowsky Junge, a contributor to the magazine whose book *Voices from the Barrio* offers extensive documentation of the magazine and its editorial board, explains:

> Within its time and culture, "Con Safos," was an unquestionably a male endeavor. Of approximately 131 stories, essays and poems that were printed in the magazine, a mere eight were by women. Within the editorial group only one woman is ever mentioned and she is called "la delivery bag" and (once) in the editorial list of the magazine "la chinadera" (Junge 9).

The use of "la delivery bag" and a corruption of the crass phrase "la chingadera," used when the name of an object cannot be remembered, reflects the tendency of the magazine to dismiss the labor of women as transactional and marginal, as well as the tendency to objectify women. The most notorious objectification appeared in issue 8, in which a nude photo of a young woman was used as an illustration to request subscriptions. This gender bias did not go without criticism and occasioned impassioned responses from the community, in the form of angry letters to the editor and threats to boycott the publication. The *Con Safos* members themselves acknowledged their discriminatory behavior in interviews from Junge's 2016 book, in which uncredited work done by women on the magazine was finally acknowledged, including a recognition that Ruth Robinson, who worked with Eliezer Risco on *La Raza* magazine, had taught the *Con Safos* staff the publication process and did all the typesetting for the first two issues (47-8).

Language Use in *Con Safos*

The use of the phrase "con safos" or C/S was based in muralism, graffiti, and other types of architecture-based writing and visual art that were prominent in urbanized Chicano communities, especially in L.A. "'Con Safos' or C/S were drawn on wall murals and other objects in the barrio as a form of protection, signifying that what had been done should not be drawn over or vandalized and that whatever might be added would come back to hurt the perpetrator" (Junge 142). There are various theories about the linguistic origins of this phrase, but the idea of inscribing protection over one's writing and creative expression is a consistent theme. In this way, the *Con Safos* title alludes to the importance of both claiming space for written expression and of the barrio as the cultural point of origin.

From its inception, *Con Safos* was conceived as a bilingual project, which would develop Chicano literary styles through unapologetic use of the language of the barrio in written form. The English dominant pieces in the magazine far outnumber the Spanish dominant texts, perhaps reflecting California's earlier transition to English dominance as well as the educational background of several *Con Safos* members who had majored in English literature in college. While other Movimiento publications focused on maintaining the use of Spanish as an essential part of Chicano cultural heritage by publishing in both languages, *Con Safos* sought a specifically literary recognition of Chicano dialects that focused more on contemporary and regional language use than on Spanish language traditions. The playful and creative aspects of code-switching were highlighted. Several recurring features of the magazine consciously canonize these ways of speaking through strategies that are typical of institutional efforts to standardize language use, such as producing a glossary of dictionary definitions with parts of speech, origin and usage notes, as well as vocabulary quizzes on Chicano slang in the form of "Barriology Exams."

In the back of each issue of *Con Safos*, a glossary of terms was provided. Each of the glossary sections was unique, including different layout designs and terminology, sometimes focusing on idiomatic expressions with their translations into standard English or offering dictionary-style definitions including the part of speech. The glossary in issue 4, for example, had two columns – one with a list of English slang phrases and their meanings in standard English (such as "Dig - Enjoy, pay attention" and "33rd day of July - A long jail sentence, small chance for parole"), and the other with Spanish words and phrases and their English translations (such as "Ese es otro pedo – That's another story, thing" and "Jalar - to work") (Vol. 1 No. 4 p. 49). The glossary in issue 5 includes a section on idiomatic expressions, most of which are in Spanish, and includes the parts of speech for vocabulary words, identifying some as "slang". In issue 6 the authors expanded the glossary into two pages and identified it a "glossary of caló" (Vol. 2 No. 6 p. 48-49). Along with the parts of speech, the definitions include the italicized word *caló*, giving the dialect the same status as standard languages that are institutionally recognized through print. In the vocabulary, there is a heavy emphasis on barrio slang, especially related to the themes of prison, drugs and alcohol, policing, and verb phrases of daily life.

Another feature of the magazine was the "Barriology Exam," which documented the unique language features of caló, Spanglish, and urban slang. This feature typically consisted of multiple choice or short answer questions designed to test knowledge of barrio slang and culture. Most of the Barriology Exams were developed by Antonio Gómez, who in another instance of the editorial board's focus on giving academic titles to their collaborators, was credited as "Barriologist Emeritus." In issue 8, the Barriology exam appears as a double-page spread trivia game that can be played on a monopoly style board. The rules indicate that the users are supposed to each flip or toss 24 separate coins, one for

each “square” or question, with missed attempts going to the “College” square and wrong answers landing the coin in “Jail,” where they become bail money available to other players. Each player must keep track of his squares and the player with the most wins, or “In case of a tie, throw chingasos for the bail money” (Vol. 2 No. 8 p. 14-15).

Sexuality and Bodily Autonomy in *Con Safos*

Like other Movimiento publications, *Con Safos* made space for discussion of bodily autonomy, including the fast-changing social norms and deeply held personal beliefs around sexuality. During this time, many Chicana feminists were pushing back against the sexism and misogyny in movement spaces. Perhaps one of the most telling exchanges surfaced in the letters to the editor that came in response to the “Love Letter to the Girls of Aztlan,” which appeared in issue 6 as one of the “Tres Cartas de Zeta.” The author of the controversial letter was also one of the most high-profile authors published in the *Con Safos*, the activist lawyer and novelist Oscar “Zeta” Acosta. He contributed regularly to the magazine in the form of lengthy prose pieces and fictionalized letters. In issue 5, ten of the fifty pages were dedicated to his short story “Perla is a Pig.” In issue 7, published at an expanded size of 65 pages, a lengthy twelve-page excerpt of *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* was prominently featured, with complementary artwork from Gilbert Sánchez Luján (“Magu”) illustrating the story as well as in color on the front and back cover. The excerpt was meant to serve as the first installment in a serialization of the novel, telling the story of Acosta’s travels and misadventures up to late 1967, including a fictionalized version of his first meeting and early friendship with Hunter S. Thompson. In issue 8, readers are informed that Acosta “finished his manuscript and sold it to Rolling Stones” and so “faithful readers of C/S who can’t wait to finish the Brown Buffalo are permitted to read

it in Rolling Stones without committing heresy; however, if you can wait, we will finish off the Buffalo for you in the next issue. Y despues, ya no jodan con buffalos – por favor" (p. 9). Of course, that issue never saw print, and not long after the publication of his 1973 novel *Revolt of the Cockroach People*, Acosta disappeared in Mexico, presumed dead.

In addition to the short story and novel excerpt, Acosta also published several fictionalized letters in *Con Safos*, signed simply as "Zeta". These epistolary works are written in a rambling prose, at times verging on stream-of-consciousness, addressing various topics of the Movimiento including legislative battles, labor issues, and the fault lines of the conflicts engendered by the rapid social change taking place within Chicano communities. In one of the most controversial pieces in the magazine, "A Love Letter to the Girls of Aztlan," which appears below an illustration of a faceless, naked female body with a small figure of a man standing on her breasts and a pad lock and chain wrapped around her legs, Acosta scolds Chicanas for being sexually unavailable and for the feminist organizing they have done. He further laments that because Chicanas were absent, it has been white and light-skinned women that have initiated him sexually, and suggests that the poems and speeches from the Symposium on the Chicana were "copied from some white woman's notes" (Vol. 2 No. 6 p. 29). He particularly attacks the idea of women's equality, asserting that the Chicana feminists' ideas were simply an aversion to housework and clerical work.

The next issue of the magazine published lengthy responses to this piece in the "Mitote" section, as the letters to the editor were called. The responses reflect the contentious nature of understandings of bodily autonomy within the Movimiento, particularly in terms of women's sexuality. The first, a rejection written with a tone that is at times affectionate but firm in its rebuttal, was signed by "Una Chicana de Pittsburg" who

pushed back against the reductive caricature Acosta had written of Chicana women: “The girls of Aztlán have always been around, in all shades and sizes, ages, degrees of sexual appetite, and intellect” (Vol. 2 No. 7 p. 60). She brings another voice into the discussion, citing a conversation she had with a nineteen-year-old Chicana who explained that the decision to uphold traditions of chastity or engage in sexual activity should be left to the individual, and pointing out that the conservative behaviors Acosta decries were standards set and enforced by older men of the community. She continues: “Sor Juana de la Cruz lived years ago and the Mexican machos’ male chauvinism hasn’t been liberalized much in all these years. Zeta, *corazon*, it is you who have the key that will unlock all those lovely brown legs... the key is to accept us as we are.” The editors added a footnote to the reference to Sor Juana, stating that her poems were printed in the same issue. Fittingly, “Hombres necios” was printed in full, with a translation into English by Chicana feminist leader Bernice Rincón. The letter writer concludes with a call for greater respect for women’s autonomy: “Ya basta con los reproches y regañadas y rhetoric, what we need is machos who see us as something more than a body to take frustrations out on” (Vol. 2 No. 7 p. 60).

The second response letter from Yolanda O. Rodriguez echoes many of the concerns of the Chicana de Pittsburg, referring to Acosta’s position as a “sex hang-up." She addresses Acosta as well as the broader Movimiento: “Para ‘Zeta’ y para otros que piensan como él: Your letter addressed to the girls of Aztlán is a good example of the Chicano mentality prevalent in the movement” (Vol. 2 No. 7 p. 60). She reminds him that sexual experimentation can have broadly different consequences for women, especially under social and cultural arrangements that put childcare responsibilities entirely on women. “If today you don’t find some of us boozing it up, or smoking pot, it’s because we are taking

care of those brown babies which some fun-seeking young men gave us forgetting certain responsibilities attached to child rearing – las madres abnegadas no pudieron olvidar a sus hijos. When one plays, one pays." Ultimately, she asserts that the movement will not be successful if Chicanas are not included in a substantial way. "We are crying for a revolution but at the same time, men such as yourself are humiliating and destroying the guiding force, the spirit of change by shamefully assigning us a non-verbal, non-policy making role" (Vol. 2 No. 7 p. 60). Both responses to Acosta's letter reflect important topics in broader debates about the role of women that were taking place in the Movimiento, particularly around sexuality and bodily autonomy. By publishing these letters even though they were highly critical of the author, the editors positioned *Con Safos* as a space for debate within Chicano communities and signaled that there was space for dissenting voices who did not agree with the magazine's content or representations.

Con Safos and Incarceration

While the language-focused sections of *Con Safos* included many words and phrases associated with the criminal justice system and its abuses, the magazine did not focus as consistently on the issue of incarceration as other Movimiento publications did. However, there was still effort to make space for the contributions of los pintos, particularly in a section in issue 4 called "Notes from the Joint," which published three poems and a short story from authors who were incarcerated. The introduction to the special section explained the editorial intent: "The 'man in the joint' must have an outlet to communicate to others his feelings, experiences, and opinions so that some understanding can be established in regards to his incarceration and subsequent re-entry into society. This section of *Con Safos* provides that" (Vol. 1 No. 4 p. 37). Significantly, this piece in the late 1969

issue of *Con Safos* was one of the earliest publications of Raúl R. Salinas's well known poem "Un Trip Through the Mind Jail," which became widely known after being published in the inaugural issue of the journal *Aztlán de Leavenworth* on cinco de mayo in 1970 (Mendoza 50). The poem dealt with nostalgia for home spaces and was written as a tribute to his memories of La Loma neighborhood in Austin, is dedicated to all the Chicano neighborhoods across the southwest that existed only in memories after their occupants had been displaced by development or gentrification (Vol. 2 No. 6). Salinas, also attributed as raúlrsalinas, first became known for his poetry and activist work in 1968 while he was incarcerated at Leavenworth, and later published two volumes of poetry that have been widely anthologized (Mendoza 42). The underground press publications that circulated at Leavenworth, including *El Grito del Norte*, formed the core of the educational texts available inside, and so like other incarcerated activists and writers, Salinas's work was heavily influenced by these writings (Mendoza 48).

Although, in total, ten issues of *Con Safos* were developed by the editorial staff between 1968 and 1972, the last two issues of the magazine were never circulated or printed. Junge offers an account of the disappearance of the last two issues, one of which was in development and the other of which was ready to go to the printer:

> In the middle of the night, at two or three in the morning, when nobody was there, according to Arturo Flores, the FBI raided the entire three floors of the Gates Street building which the Episcopal Church of the Epiphany provided for the community and which housed a number of activist groups including Con Safos and some other Chicano magazines. The FBI took everything – manuscripts and photographs – and escaped with the complete ready-for-print paste-up of the issue of the 'C/S' magazine which was never seen nor heard of again (Junge 162).

Though only eight issues of the magazine were ultimately published, *Con Safos* had a significant impact on the discourse and aesthetic directions of the Movimiento, creating literary space for speech and written expressions that had been historically marginalized and excluded from institutional recognition. Though not completely inclusive, the contents of the magazine still reflected a range of voices, as Antonio Gómez explained: "We published writers with academic credentials, men doing time in the joint, kids living in housing projects, dudes living the 'vida loca,' middle-aged story tellers from the oral tradition and some writers that went on to become nationally recognized" (Junge 106). The publication reflected broader themes and conflicts within the Chicano movement, including debates on sexuality and concerns for the incarcerated. The linguistic and visual experimentation of *Con Safos* was particularly impactful, claiming new kinds of privileged space for creative expression that had been marginalized and stigmatized. Creative features like the "Barriology exam" were reproduced as re-localized variants in other publications, including Houston's *Papel Chicano*. Ultimately, the *Con Safos* project documented a transformative period in Chicano literature and publishing.

IV. *Papel Chicano* in Houston

The community newspaper *Papel Chicano* was first published in the Magnolia neighborhood of Houston in August 1970, the same month that the Mexican American community mobilized to oppose the scheduled pairing plan for the Houston Independent School District (HISD). The federal ruling on *Ross v Eckels*, the Houston integration case that was filed by African Americans in response to *Brown v Board of Education* in 1954, had been issued in May 1970, mandating "the implementation of an integration plan for

Houston that allowed students to attend the schools nearest their homes" (San Miguel 74). However, HISD had taken advantage of the fact that Mexican Americans were not yet legally recognized as a minority group to draw up a plan that largely did not affect Anglo children but created the statistical appearance of integration by classifying Mexican American children as white. This classification was in line with legal precedents and had been accepted as advantageous by many Mexican Americans in organizations like LULAC, who used this status as part of their legal strategy to fight discrimination (San Miguel 48). However, the disruptive and clearly racist pairing plan, along with the increasing visibility of the Chicano Movement's calls for "Brown Power" led Mexican Americans in Houston of various political beliefs to unite around a demand to be recognized by the HISD as a distinct ethnic and racial minority. The legal battles and social conflicts over whether Mexican Americans could be considered white in HISD's desegregation plan would form the principal focus of *Papel Chicano*'s local coverage.

The summer of 1970 was a time of intense organizing in the Chicano Movement, with many cross-regional alliances being formed and large-scale events being planned in the lead-up to the Moratorium on the Vietnam war that took place in L.A. on August 29. It was also a time of many new publication initiatives and the rapid growth of the Chicano Press Association. In many ways, *Papel Chicano* was sustained by the syndication facilitated by the CPA, which provided as many as half of the articles in some issues. Most frequently, the syndicated content was sourced from *El Gallo*, *El Grito del Norte,* and *Ya Mero!* of McAllen, Texas. However, like other Movimiento publications, *Papel Chicano* reprinted articles freely from other major news outlets like the Associated Press, as well as from local magazines like *La Verdad* of Crystal City. In addition to covering the highly controversial HISD integration plan, the local content written by the editorial staff of *Papel*

Chicano addressed issues of broader concern to el Movimiento including poverty, police brutality, drug use in the community, and racial discrimination. The paper also supported organizing projects of the Chicano movement, dedicating significant space to highlight activist initiatives such as voter registration drives, and including educational articles defending the Spanish language and Mexican culture as part of Chicano heritage and birthright. Some of these *Papel Chicano* articles were used in lessons taught at the "huelga schools," which were run by a network of volunteers for the Mexican American children who were out of school during the boycotts of HISD (San Miguel 102).

Like other Movimiento publications, *Papel Chicano* had varying practices for assigning work titles and attribution to the content they published. While most articles were attributed to an individual author, a significant number were listed as CPA publications or attributed to another CPA publication with no author name. The communal nature of *Papel Chicano* staff was emphasized by crediting contributors as an undifferentiated group under the header "Familia Chicana," in most issues most without specific job titles. In early issues, contributors were often credited using only their first name. The reference to the editorial staff as "La Familia" and "Familia Chicana" was continued through all issues of the newspaper, and in some cases even young children were included in these credits. In a few of the issues, the production staff was credited according to categories of work: Production, Business Management (in some issues called Finance), Office Operations, and Distribution. Among the founding members were writer and activist Maggie Landron, Kris Vasquez who was initially listed as the Managing Editor, and Johnny Almendarez who contributed much of the original photography. Some *Papel Chicano* contributors were also members of the group that organized the boycotts of HISD, the Mexican American Education Council (MAEC) including Eduardo Lopez, who wrote opinion articles in

support of the boycotts, and Otto Landron, who served as vice chair of MAEC. Other regular contributors included Pedro Navarro, Carlos Calbillo, Enrique Hernandez, Guillermo Herrera, and Rosita Morales. Most of the editorial credits listed at least 15 contributors and "un chorro de mas" of volunteers who were not credited by name. Overall, while there was an emphasis on giving authorial credit for individual pieces of writing, no copyright statements appear in the newspaper, and the other work of producing the paper was often credited in a communal way that resisted the hierarchical and specialized structures of traditional publishing roles.

The first few issues of *Papel Chicano* listed 5141 Clay as the temporary headquarters of the paper, which was later moved to a more permanent headquarters at 6919 Avenue N. The latter address was also identified as the location of the "Mexican American Cultural Corporation," which advertised events in the paper such as a "Raza Art Show" hosted on Cinco de Mayo that featured theater performances, a fashion show, poetry readings, and a visual art exhibit (Vol. 1 No. 12). These cultural events were tied to the mission of promoting participation in the Chicano Movement. In terms of distribution, *Papel Chicano* was widely circulated in Houston. By the fifth issue, the publication listed 34 local businesses where *Papel Chicano* could be purchased, at locations in Magnolia, North Side, Denver Harbor, Second Ward, Sixth Ward, El Dorado, Port Houston, and Downtown. The paper was also distributed on street corners in downtown Houston. In a 2016 interview, Carlos Calbillo described his experiences distributing the paper and his perceptions of community response:

> The reception of the community was rather mixed. A lot of people would pick it up, it cost 10 cents, you could buy it at the convenience store. And a lot of people liked it. We also sold it on the street in downtown Houston - ¡*Papel Chicano*! - And

> sometimes conservative High-Spanics would walk by and shoot me the finger, 'Get that crap out of here' – because our community is diverse in their views. (Calbillo)

Despite the hostile reception from some of the more politically conservative members of the community, *Papel Chicano* formed relationships with local businesses, who in addition to serving as distributions centers for the paper also purchased ad space.

The practice of selling business advertising in order to raise funds set *Papel Chicano* apart from many other Movimiento publications. In the first issue, the editors published a notice that "¡Papel Chicano will publish business ads and want ads for reasonable prices," listing a phone number for an advertising editor (Vol. 1 No. 1 p. 3). By the third issue, ads from a range of local businesses were published. Over time, the advertising in its pages grew in quantity and size, and by the final year of publication made up a substantial portion of the newspaper's content. The ads took up significant page real estate, and in one instance even took the form of a full-page sponsored article with photos advertising the newspaper's support for the Buena Suerte Records Corporation based out of Temple, Texas. The two issues published in October 1971 came with a full color, four-page insert with coupons for a local department store. In addition to making space for paid business advertisements, *Papel Chicano* also served as a non-commercial community space. In a column called "¿Que Hay de Nuevo?" the newspaper offered free space for event publicity, especially if the effort was for a charity or community beneficiary:

> Any organization, church, community center, or any other money making or fun event will be printed in this column as a public service. This includes dances, raffles, beer parties, garage sales, bazaars, that are done to raise money for worthy causes. Also softball and baseball games, boxing matches, church events, youth activities that are coming up in the communities. (Vol. 1 No. 1)

In addition to encouraging attendance at community events, many of the articles published in the pages of *Papel Chicano* were oriented towards connecting community members to public services or informing of them of their rights. For example, there was extensive coverage of local elections and information on voter registration drives. In one issue, readers could consult an exact replica of a voter registration form with information about the topics of upcoming votes in both English and Spanish. The accompanying article listed deadlines for registration as well as contact information for the local organization leading registration drives in the Chicano Community, "Projecto V.E.R." (Vol. 1 No. 10 p. 16). Later issues included several informative pieces about tenant rights, including an article with an example of an eviction notice and a checklist of questions for tenants to consult to make sure their lease is legally adequate (Vol. 2 No. 8 p. 15). All of these examples illustrate the centrality of print culture to community building during the Movimiento era and show how these publications served many social functions at once.

Language use in *Papel Chicano*

Papel Chicano was an English-dominant publication, although there was a consistent presence of Spanish-language content throughout the life of the newspaper. Some of the Spanish-language articles had an orientation in community service and civic activism, like the articles authored by Texas Rural Legal Aid. Additionally, several regular contributors wrote columns that were entirely in Spanish. These included Eduardo Lopez, who had a regular opinion column called "Despierten Ya Mejicanos" that covered political issues, and Guillermo V. Herrera, who wrote articles on Mexican history and culture on subjects like the origin of tequila. Herrera also authored writings on canonical figures of Spanish literature, as in a brief biographical article in Spanish on Sor Juana Inez de la Cruz

that included an editorial note on the importance of women's access to education and participation in social movement activities:

> Hoy en dia el chicano por mostrar su machismo detiene a su mujer de participar en los projectos de comunidad o a sus hijas en no mandarlas a los colegios. La mujer tanto como el hombre deben de aprovenchar toda la educacion que esta al la mano para que sean el orgullo de sus hijos (Vol. 1 No. 10 p. 12).

These sentiments are very much in line with the historical feminist writings in defense of women's access to formal education in the Spanish literary tradition. Another contributor, Rosita Morales, did translations of Spanish poetry, and in one instance published a Spanish translation of an article that had been originally published in English ("La Mujer Todavia Impotente," Vol. 1 No. 13 p. 11).

While most of the articles were in either English or Spanish, save for certain key political terms of the Movimiento which always appeared in Spanish like "carnalismo," there were a few pieces that heavily utilized code-switching. For example, a piece called "Brown Power!" by Pedro Vasquez gives a narrative account of a recent conflict at a HISD school board meeting:

> We were at the chante. Relaxing, cuando the telephone tiro un grito. Maggie answered it and soon we were getting the news that there had been un pleito between the MAYO's and the local Chota down at the White Palace of the School Board. […] Pues we got our tape recorder, our pencils and scratch pads and took off to the Chicano Juelga Administration office (Vol. 1 No. 4 p. 2).

Vasquez goes on to describe the scene outside the office, where members of MAYO (Mexican American Youth Organization) and MAEC were upset about what had happened and in disagreement about what to do next. Ultimately, priority was put on getting the 9

members of MAYO who had been incarcerated out of jail. Vasquez includes direct quotes from four participants, who described their frustration with being denied a place on the agenda and a chance to speak at the meeting and the conflicts they had with the police when they had tried to take the stage. In addition to including multiple perspectives, the article also shows community members with different views negotiating and agreeing to a collective course of action. Interestingly, the whole article uses the first person in the style of New Journalism, signing off with "At this point I decided to end the interview and let John Castillo, Jr. report on the arrest and details" (Vol. 1 No. 4 p. 2). The readers of *Papel Chicano* would find Castillo's account on the next page, under the headline "Confusion at HISD." This gesture of signaling the end of a text to allow another voice to step in and take over, uncommon in traditional print journalism, is more akin to what might be found in a conversational setting, in which turn taking or passing the mic would allow for multiple voices to shape the narrative. These authorial choices signal an awareness of responsibilities to a specific community, favoring the narrative perspective of a participant in events over a less personal style that would signal the objective authority of an individual journalist.

In addition to its appearance in articles aiming to establish a conversational and unconventional writing style, code-switching and language play was also the subject of cultural features in *Papel Chicano*. Some of the emphasis on code-switching was a direct result of the influence of *Con Safos*. Two of the members of *Papel Chicano*, Johnny Alemendarez and David Martinez, briefly experimented with making their own version of a "Barriology" feature, which they explain was inspired by content published in *Con Safos*:

> One of the most beautiful cosas of C/S was the Glossary, or the lista of Chicano words and their meanings. Chicano words are those used by the Raza of the barrios.

> So after we finish reading it, we had a few beers and then appointed 'dos batos' as BARRIOLOGISTS. So aqui tenemos una lista of words that are neither English nor Spanish, but sometimes a mixture of both or sometimes puro loco y puro chicano. (Vol. 1 No. 4).

The glossary published included several words to name body parts and clothing, as well as the terms "Simon" and "Sirol" to mean "yes, yeah, or sure," and "Chale" and "Nel" as other ways of saying no. In the next issue, the editors thank several people who wrote to the paper with ideas for other words to be added, including the verbs "Awitar" for "to chicken out," and "Refinar" for "to eat," and the word "Chisca" for bicycle and "Rolas" for records (Vol. 1 No. 5 p. 4). In that same issue, the editors also printed a letter to the editor with negative feedback on the Barriology feature that argued that it was a waste of print space and a distraction from the true issues of the Chicano Movement: "How in the hell are you going to fight the establishment with your precise vocabulary of the barrio?" (Vol. 1 No. 5 p. 12). The editors published a direct response to the letter writer in which they defended the feature, writing that

> For so many years you and other Mexican-Americans have been told how lousy your Spanish is by both the whites and the Mexicanos educated in Mexico that the Chicano actually believes this fallacy. […] In Texas many say "y'all" and in the north they say "youse" for you, but the people that use these words are not ashamed of them. In fact they are proud of them because they give them a distinction of coming from a certain part of the country – an identity. The same way with language from the barrio – it gives the Mexican American a distinction of coming from here – born and raised as part of the Southwestern Spanish culture. It is an identity, not a burden; it is the intimate language between friends, and no amount of

> "proper learning" is going to change the understanding between friends (Vol. 1 No. 5 p. 12).

Despite the impassioned defense, the newspaper did not publish any more "Barriology" features in subsequent issues. However, the practice of code-switching and language mixing did continue throughout the publication, such as in the headline "Hell No, No Vamos" from the cover story on another school board protest from February 1971, or a headline from September of that same year about the dismissal of the Superintendent of the school district that read "George Garver Fired Por Terco" (Vol. 2 No. 2 p. 2).

Public Schools, Race, Language and Bodily Autonomy in *Papel Chicano*

The principal local concern of *Papel Chicano*, particularly during the first year of publication, was coverage of the Houston Independent School District's integration plan and the community response to its failings. Many of the voices in *Papel Chicano* argued that the HISD plan, which would "integrate" the black and Mexican American communities while leaving white districts and resources unchanged, was racist and unfair. By only collecting data on two racial categories, black and white, a binary that categorized Mexican American students as Anglo, the HISD aimed to create data that would pass for legal compliance with the federal court's desegregation order without meaningfully addressing the inequity and discrimination that students of color faced in the HISD. Racial identity was at the center of this legal battle, and with the pressing need to make the case that Mexican Americans should be recognized as a distinct minority group, *Papel Chicano* became a space in which racism and white supremacy could be discussed and challenged. However, the persistence of anti-black racism among some members of the Mexican American community made it difficult to form alliances with the African American community:

> A few prominent African American leaders supported Chicanos in their efforts to expand the desegregation plan to include Anglos, but others were suspicious about the motivations for the boycott. Some believed that the boycott was a racist reaction to integration; others did not trust the Mexican American community and believed they were 'Johnny-come-latelies.' (San Miguel 207-8).

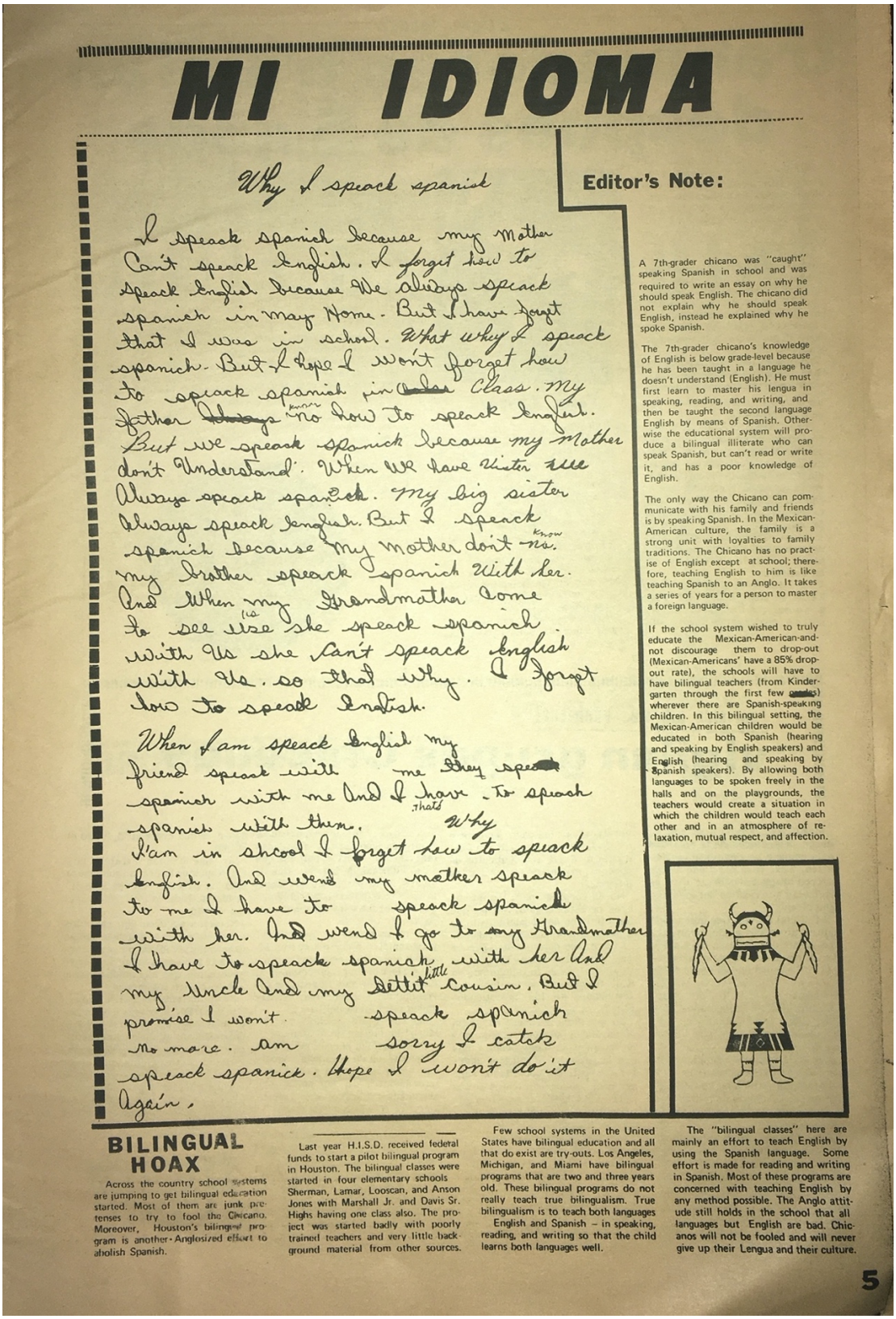
By the time Mexican Americans called for a boycott of HISD, African Americans had been organizing for over a decade in protest of inequality in local schools. Because of differences in priorities, as well as racial prejudices between the two communities, African Americans largely did not support the boycott. However, leaders of MAYO, the NAACP, and other groups publicly stressed the importance of solidarity between the groups, which "discourag[ed] racial prejudice against African Americans and [challenged] the underlying racism in many of the students' decisions to boycott the schools" (San Miguel 105). In dialogue with broader discussions of the Movimiento, Mexican Americans used *Papel Chicano* as a space to negotiate their understanding of what it meant to adopt a racial identity based on mixed indigenous and Spanish origins.

Social justice activists and researchers have long been critical of the repressive and punitive disciplinary practices of the US public school system, a confluence that in the 21st century is referred to as the "school-to-prison-pipeline." Though this exact terminology was not used by Movimiento activists, the criticisms of the HISD published in *Papel Chicano* show a clear awareness of this institutionalized harm. In the issue published on February 20, 1971, the editors published a double page spread with a collage of elements. A hand-drawn illustration of a square brick building labeled "H.I.S.D." runs along the top of the pages. The building has vertical bars on the windows, through which children can be seen showing various emotions including sadness and anger. One child shows fear of imminent

corporal punishment, as an angry adult has raised an object in their hand in preparation to strike the child. Below the illustration is a photocollage of portraits of picketers outside the school board with signs that say “It’s not integration, it’s discrimination,” “Hell no, no vamos,” “Pairing no! Neighborhood schools yes,” and “Why don’t they pair River Oaks and Bellaire?” (Vol. 1 No. 12), the latter referring to two of the Anglo school districts not affected by the pairing plan. Beneath the photo collage, a lengthy article called “Adelante MAEC” covered the ongoing protests of the school board’s integration plan, as well as the activists’ creation of “Huelga schools” which were organized as alternatives to bussing.

One of the central complaints of the activists asking for changes in the HISD was the discrimination against and lack of programs for Spanish speakers. The prohibition of Spanish signaled a lack of respect for natural speech expressions of their children, an inextricable part of their bodily autonomy. One of the clearest documented examples of this practice in the HISD comes from the second issue of *Papel Chicano*, under the title “MI IDIOMA” (See Figure 2). Beneath this headline, a child’s handwritten essay was reprinted. An editor’s note published alongside the handwritten essay explains that the essay, written in itself as a punishment, is reproduced in its original form as the student wrote using the English he had so far acquired. In the essay, the student lists the people in his life that he relates to exclusively in Spanish – his mother, his grandmother, any visitors that come to his home, his uncle, his cousin, his friends at school. “But I promise I won’t speak spanich no more. Am sorry I catch speak spanick. Hope I won’t do it again” (Vol. 1 No. 2). The teacher, without at all responding to the content of the essay, had made some cursory corrections – striking out “no” and writing in the word “know” – and returned the essay to the student. By reprinting the essay, *Papel Chicano* editors transformed a document that was meant to serve as a punishment into evidence of the cultural inadequacy of the school.

The violence of the erasure in the relationship is laid bare for the reader to see. Underneath the child's essay is an editorial piece arguing for bilingual education in schools. In this way,



MI IDIOMA

Why I speack spanish

I speack spanich because my Mother Can't speack English. I forget how to speack English because We always speack spanich in may Home. But I have forgt that I was in school. What why I speack spanich. But I hope I won't forget how to speack spanich in Class. My father knows no how to speack English. But we speack spanich because my Mother don't Understand. When We have Visitor We Always speack spanich. my big sister always speack English. But I speack spanich because my mother don't know. my Brother speack spanich With her. And When my Grandmather come to see us she speack spanich With Us she can't speack English With Us. so that why. I forgot how to speack English.

When I am speack English my friend speak with me they speak spanich with me And I have to speack spanich with them. That's Why I'am in shcool I forget how to speack English. And wend my mother speack to me I have to speack spanich with her. And wend I go to my Grandmather I have to speacke spanich with her And my Uncle And my little Sittit Cousin. But I promise I won't speack spanich no more. am sorry I catch speack spanich. Hope I won't do it Again.

Editor's Note:

A 7th-grader chicano was "caught" speaking Spanish in school and was required to write an essay on why he should speak English. The chicano did not explain why he should speak English, instead he explained why he spoke Spanish.

The 7th-grader chicano's knowledge of English is below grade-level because he has been taught in a language he doesn't understand (English). He must first learn to master his lengua in speaking, reading, and writing, and then be taught the second language English by means of Spanish. Otherwise the educational system will produce a bilingual illiterate who can speak Spanish, but can't read or write it, and has a poor knowledge of English.

The only way the Chicano can communicate with his family and friends is by speaking Spanish. In the Mexican-American culture, the family is a strong unit with loyalties to family traditions. The Chicano has no practise of English except at school; therefore, teaching English to him is like teaching Spanish to an Anglo. It takes a series of years for a person to master a foreign language.

If the school system wished to truly educate the Mexican-American-and-not discourage them to drop-out (Mexican-Americans' have a 85% drop-out rate), the schools will have to have bilingual teachers (from Kindergarten through the first few grades) wherever there are Spanish-speaking children. In this bilingual setting, the Mexican-American children would be educated in both Spanish (hearing and speaking by English speakers) and English (hearing and speaking by Spanish speakers). By allowing both languages to be spoken freely in the halls and on the playgrounds, the teachers would create a situation in which the children would teach each other and in an atmosphere of relaxation, mutual respect, and affection.

BILINGUAL HOAX

Across the country school systems are jumping to get bilingual education started. Most of them are junk pretenses to try to fool the Chicano. Moreover, Houston's bilingual program is another-Anglosized effort to abolish Spanish.

Last year H.I.S.D. received federal funds to start a pilot bilingual program in Houston. The bilingual classes were started in four elementary schools Sherman, Lamar, Looscan, and Anson Jones with Marshall Jr. and Davis Sr. Highs having one class also. The project was started badly with poorly trained teachers and very little background material from other sources.

Few school systems in the United States have bilingual education and all that do exist are try-outs. Los Angeles, Michigan, and Miami have bilingual programs that are two and three years old. These bilingual programs do not really teach true bilingualism. True bilingualism is to teach both languages English and Spanish – in speaking, reading, and writing so that the child learns both languages well.

The "bilingual classes" here are mainly an effort to teach English by using the Spanish language. Some effort is made for reading and writing in Spanish. Most of these programs are concerned with teaching English by any method possible. The Anglo attitude still holds in the school that all languages but English are bad. Chicanos will not be fooled and will never give up their Lengua and their culture.

5

Figure 2: "Mi Idioma," *Papel Chicano*, Vol. 1 No. 2 p. 5. Image courtesy of OU Western History Collections.

the editors joined direct evidence of abusive and discriminatory attitudes from school staff alongside editorial comments and calls to action, curating a multi-layered expression of the structural barriers that the Mexican American community was facing as well as proposing solutions to address the problems at their root.

In late 1971, the newspaper showed signs of disruptions that resulted in irregularities in the publication schedule. In November 1971, issues 6 and 7 were dated out of sequence and the address of the paper changed again, this time to a residential address at 424 Hahlo. After not printing an issue for several months, the editors authored an article called "PAPEL Needs Volunteers" that appeared in the issue that was published June 1, 1972, explaining the precarious situation the newspaper was in:

> Papel Chicano is in trouble. We have reached the point that our staff is so small that any problem big or small prevents us from publishing either regularly or frequently. […] All of the work is done of a volunteer basis. Nobody gets paid. But we are asking for your help. We desperately need more staff people. […] Without more staff people, there is only one thing that can happen to Papel Chicano. It will cease to exist. (Vol. 2 No. 10)

Papel Chicano did, in fact, cease publication that summer. By September, the key issue that had mobilized the community and filled the pages of the paper had been resolved in the courts with the legal recognition of Mexican Americans as a distinct ethnic minority (San Miguel xi). Although *Papel Chicano* had a short publication life, running for only two years, the publication provides extensive documentation of activist efforts and networks in Houston, and formulates important questions about segregation, inequity, and bodily autonomy in US public schools, topics that still urgently require attention today.

V. *Regeneración* of Los Angeles

Regeneración, first published in Los Angeles in 1970 and led by Francisca Flores, contains some of the most prominent feminist writing of the Movimiento era. By the time Flores took the editorial helm of *Regeneración*, she already had decades of experience in organizing and progressive politics. She was born in San Diego in 1913 and spent several years in a sanatorium as a teenager due to a difficult battle with tuberculosis that left her with one lung (Flores). There, she met many veterans of the Mexican Revolution and formed a women's group to discuss politics, but from an early age she felt like an outsider among Mexican nationals, and she also sensed the sexist and exclusionary ideas held by men: "I knew that the men didn't take us seriously. They only wanted us to make tortillas. They couldn't accept that we had our own ideas" (Flores). Early on, her activist work was though the Ladies' Auxiliary leagues of LULAC and the G.I. Forum, two Mexican American civil rights organizations that extended membership to men only. In her work with the G.I. Forum, Flores was in a leadership role writing for and publishing *Carta Editorial*, which had been founded in 1963 to report on the political activities of the G.I. Forum (Blackwell 135).

Regeneración had its origins in this political newsletter, in which Flores's strong stance on feminist issues is evident. For example, in the May 2, 1966 issue of *Carta Editorial*, in reporting on the "Outstanding Women in Politics Achievement Award Banquet" that she and Ramona Tijerina Morín had organized, Flores did not shy away from using the word "feminist" to describe Mexican American women who were politically active in their communities (NietoGomez 40). This event and the language Flores used to

describe it are one example of Flores demanding space for women in the Movimiento. Not willing to accept a position on the sidelines, she "played a pivotal role in creating a political space where Chicanas came together to form three Chicana feminist organizations in Los Angeles" (NietoGomez 50). Those organizations were the League of Mexican American Women, the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, and the Chicana Service Action Center.[10]

In 1970 *Carta Editorial* was renamed and reimagined as a political magazine. In choosing to name the publication *Regeneración*, the magazine was linked to the earlier publishing work of Ricardo Flores Magón, a figure that was frequently invoked in Chicano Movement periodicals such as *El Grito del Norte* and *El Gallo*. Flores Magón had published the newspaper *Regeneración* in San Antonio, Saint Louis, Canada and Los Angeles in the first decade of the 20th century in support of the Mexican Revolution (Kanellos 21). Flores Magón's *Regeneración* became the most influential border paper in Mexico in terms of social change, with many of the ideas published there being incorporated into the 1917 constitution (Kanellos 23). Los Angeles's *Regeneración* aimed to have a similar social impact on widening the political imagination of Mexican Americans, and focused on setting a progressive agenda for political institutions and building power through electoral politics and community organizing.

Like other periodicals of the Chicano Movement, the publication schedule of *Regeneración* was irregular. Initially, the magazine cost 50 cents, or a one-year subscription was offered for $5.00. When the 10th magazine was issued in early 1971, the

[10] For a detailed overview of Flores's work in these organizations, see: NietoGomez, Anna. "Francisca Flores, the League of Mexican American Women, and the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, 1958-1975." *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era*. Edited by Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell. First edition, University of Texas Press, 2018.

language was changed to reflect that the magazine would be issued 10 times per volume. By the time the third issue of the second volume appeared in 1973, the magazine had changed their publication schedule to five times per volume. But these changes were not only motivated by material constraints; there was an evolving sense of adapting the publication to the community needs and striving to have a unique presence in the publishing field, as evidenced by the editorial message in the first issue of the second volume:

> *Regeneración* in the past has been a magazine basically presenting the issues and actions of La Raza. Other Chicano publications have concerned themselves with the task of explaining barrio lifestyle. In lieu of repeating the format of those journals with this issue, we wish to expand this concept of interpretive reporting. (Vol. 2 No. 1)

In this passage, the editors express a vision for their role in the community and print media field was shaped by circumstances and a desire to create spaces to fill unmet needs rather than duplicating the mission of existing publications and creating competing spaces.

One of these unmet needs was for Chicana feminist voices to be heard. In male-dominated publications like *Con Safos*, Chicanas had some success pressuring editorial boards to include feminist writing, but this representation was still limited and marginalized. Another strategy was to develop their own feminist publications, and *Regeneración* was one of these small but influential periodicals that kept feminist issues at the forefront (García 8). The feminism expressed in the pages of *Regeneración* was bolder and less apologetic than the measured and more traditional expressions published in other publications. Many feminists, including Enriqueta Vásquez and others that published in *El Grito del Norte*, aimed for a compromise position that argued for increased agency and

recognition for women, highlighting their leadership but not challenging the primacy of Chicano nationalism. The conflict between the sexist culture dominating the Chicano Movement and the urgent need for feminist ideas to be recognized and heard was nowhere more apparent than at the 1969 Denver Youth Conference, when the representative of the women's caucus shocked many participants by stating "It was the consensus of the group that the Chicana woman does not want to be liberated." Vásquez's response, published in *El Grito del Norte*, showed the conflicted feelings behind her hesitation to challenge this antifeminist statement:

> As a woman who has been faced with living as a member of the Mexican-American minority group, as a breadwinner and a mother raising children, living in housing projects, and having much concern for other humans plus much community involvement, I felt this as quite a blow. I could have cried. Surely we could have at least come up with something to add to that statement. I sat back and thought, Why? Why? Then I understood why the statement had been made and I realized that going along with the feelings of the men at the convention was perhaps the best thing to do at the time" (Vol 2).

Vásquez was not alone in accepting this logic, which was a result of widespread stigmatization of women and feminist ideas that kept Chicanas in a defensive stance an inhibited their ability to freely express their feelings and ideas, for fear of being labeled a traitor or "vendida":

> 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 (Blackwell 141).

This conflict over competing visions of women's participation in the Movimiento surfaced again at the first national Conferencia de Mujeres por La Raza in Houston in 1971, when nearly half of the women in attendance, including Enriqueta Vásquez, walked out.[11] Among those who stayed were several women who worked on *Regeneración*, including Francisca Flores, Anna NietoGomez and Elma Barrera (Acuña, *Occupied* 398). These women, along with others like Bernice Rincón, were among the most important early foundational thinkers of Chicana feminism, and would publish much of their early work in the pages of *Regeneración*.

Language Use, Literary Traditions, and Establishing a New Canon in *Regeneración*

Regeneración published predominantly in English, but Spanish words and phrases appeared on almost every page, in many cases serving as headlines. In articles that employ codeswitching, the writing style fluidly integrates Spanish words into English prose. For example, in "The Time is Now" editorial: "The long months of planning and execution of the successful Chicano Moratorium against the war in Vietnam was both a tremendous success and a derrota for the Mexican people of the Southwest" (Vol. 1 No. 8 p. 2). In other instances, Spanish is heavily used for the closing statements to summarize the sentiments of an article. One example of this use of Spanish can be seen in the closing passage of Anna NietoGomez's article "Chicanas Identify," which pushes back against negative stereotypes

[11] The fifth chapter of Maylei Blackwell's *Chicana Power!*, "Interpretive Dilemmas, Multiple Meanings: Convergence and Disjuncture at the 1971 Conferencia de Mujeres por La Raza," gives a detailed account of this pivotal moment in Chicana feminist history.

and dismissals of Chicana feminists and argues for the urgency in addressing issues of sexism and the marginalization of women in the Chicano Movement:

> Chicanas tienen el derecho del movimiento / si no, muere la fuerza del nuestra Raza. / If internally we are afraid or indifferent to our growing pains, our dreams shall starve our bodies. / Oh Chicanas […] / No se asusten / Juntense y resuelvenlo / Porque si no, / La unidad y la libertad / MORIRA / Si nadie se preocupa. (Vol. 1 No. 10. p. 9)

In many ways, this short essay follows the language use patterns of Enriqueta Vásquez in her *Despierten Hermanos* columns, with a clear and detailed logical argument about a social problem laid out in English, followed by an emotional appeal and call to action in Spanish. In this way, even while English was the dominant language of information exchange and reporting in *Regeneración*, Spanish played a privileged role in establishing relationships between the author and their audiences.

In addition to hosting bilingual dialogues between members of the Mexican American community, *Regeneración* also consciously created space for the development of a new literary canon. As Chicano Studies departments were being established in various universities and book publishing initiatives were newly launched, *Regeneración* advertised the new opportunities available to Chicano and Chicana writers, including prizes, awards, and publishing opportunities. There was also an emphasis on becoming part of a broader literary field. For example, a section called "Mundo Femenil – Esfuerzo literario" published three reviews of Anthologies as well as two books from U of NM press, with notes explaining the inclusion of non-Chicano authors:

> As writers, we will be able to write the same stories or history of our people in ways acceptable to our sensitivities. Many Anglos, sensitive to the Southwest and its

> people, have tried to set it down honestly and sympathetically; however, when we read it, it may come through as patronizing. However, in order to improve and perform in the field of literature, we have to read what others are saying about us also. (Vol. 2 No. 3 p. 28).

Because of this attention to the requirements of literary conventions, the editors of *Regeneración* paid much closer attention than some other Movimiento publications to attribution and copyright. In the first few issues there was no copyright statement, but in during the first year of publication a copyright statement was included on the editorial credits page. The magazine also developed more scholarly content in later issues, for example publishing complete bibliographies for its research-based pieces (Vol. 2 No. 3 p. 21). This reflected a broader trend in the early 1970s of increased representation of Mexican Americans in institutions of higher education and a focus on developing academic methodologies for Chicano Studies.

Another feature of *Regeneración* that emerged with the increasing attention to making space for literary works was the "Rincón Poético." Typically printed on the back cover or inside cover, "Rincón Poético" was one of the few features of the publication that was fully bilingual. Some issues include side by side Spanish and English reproductions and translations of the same work. For example, Bernice Rincón's translation of Sor Juana's "Hombres Necios" was published in the issue dedicated to Chicanas, next to the full Spanish text that includes the author's full name and her birth and death dates (Vol. 1 No. 10). Other issues feature poems that are presented without translation. For example, Abelardo Delgado's Spanish language poem, "El Imigrante" and the English language "Stupid America" were circulated widely, often published together in various Movimiento publications, including in *Regeneración* (Vol. 1 No. 9 p. 23-24).

A 1973 issue of *Regeneración* included more selections of poetry and a significant amount of space dedicated to visual art. Among the poems were translations, including Gabriela Mistral's "For the Saddest of Mothers," translated from the Spanish by Langston Hughes. Like much of the rest of the issue, the poem maintains a strong emphasis on women's lived bodily experiences:

> And though your little hands flutter about looking for toys, you will have for your toys only my breasts and the beads of my tears, son of mine. Why did you come, since the one who created you hated you when he felt you in my belly? But no! For me you came; for me who was alone, alone until he held me in his arms, son of mine! (Vol. 2 No. 3 p. 27).

In addition to publishing poetry in translation, Regeneración also published other pieces by canonical writers of Spanish literature, including Carlos Fuentes' book review of John Womack Jr.'s *Viva Zapata: Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*, which was published in three installments in late 1970. The editors made sure to note that the Fuentes' review was reprinted with permission from *The New York Review*. By publishing translations of canonical works in English, the editors of *Regeneración* made the Spanish literary canon accessible even to Chicanos who couldn't read Spanish, as was more often the case in California where Spanish language use was not easily preserved among second and third generation immigrants.

Women's Experiences of Incarceration in *Regeneración*

Many Movimiento publications focused on incarceration primarily as a male issue and largely did not consider those who were incarcerated in women's prisons. However, on several occasions *Regeneración* featured the writing of women who were incarcerated. One

example of this coverage appeared in the special issue on women published in 1971. At the time, the California Institute for Women (CIW), also called Frontera, was the only women's prison in California. An informative article called "Women at Frontera, CA" provides an overview of Mexican-American Research Association or MARA, which was founded as a support group for Chicana women at the (CIW). The article offers statistics showing the high rates of participation of Chicanas in the educational programs offered at the prison, as well as the importance of social support for successful navigation of the parole process. MARA, which was made up of members from educational institutions like Cal Poly, UCLA, and Chicano organizations like MECHA, as well as by formerly incarcerated volunteers, had the goal of offering both emotional and material support to the women in CIW. "This is not just spiritual support, because, through these outside influences and involvements, there are now more job, educational and training resources available to her on parole" (Vol. 1 No. 10 p. 8). Having been founded in 1970, MARA was an example of the broader nationwide trend of organizing across prison walls that formed a major part of social justice activism of the time period.

In a companion article called "Lack of Communication," Marlo Jurado, a member of MARA, offers an opinion piece on the social situation of Chicanas in prison. She argues that Chicana women should be able to form alliances on principles and not simply on racial ties, and that ultimately this goal could be achieved through improved communication:

> The Chicana woman in prison is usually the first to complain but the last to speak up. It seems like my brown sisters are afraid to voice their opinions and feelings. We know that there is a communication problem between us and the administration, but the worst problem is the lack of communication between ourselves. In a recent study made by the Educational department at CIW [the California Institute for

> Women] it was found that about 85% of the Chicana Women in prison are here because of hard narcotics (heroin). Many medical authorities who have studied narcotic addiction have come to believe that a lack of communication is often the main reason that people use drugs. (Vol. 1 No. 10 p. 8)

Here, the author expresses confidence in her understanding of the root causes of social problems, analyzing problem of drug use among Chicanas as a public health issue that could have a social cure.

Similar themes surface in another article from a 1973 issue of *Regeneración*. In a column called "California Institute for Women" Mary Santillanes describes the psychological and social effects of incarceration on women and their relationships:

> The appearance of this prison is of quiet and serenity and beauty. The life of this prison is unrest, tension and turmoil. They lock up your body knowing that your heart and your mind are not here; but they try to imprison those also. They want to make machines of us, smooth running machines that can only operate at the time a button is pressed. The irony of this, is that the button pressers are more corrupt and deadly than we who are here […] I have also seen the injustice done to all my sisters behind bars. They have attempted to turn us against each other, failing to realize that we are all united in this oppression. We are all forced to suffer. We are all under the same giant hand. (Vol. 2 No. 3 p. 27)

This description, markedly less hopeful than the articles from 1971, describes the antagonistic relationship between incarcerated women and the stewards of the prison industrial complex, who act not as individuals but as a disembodied "giant hand" that only does harm. In this passage, the total submission and surrender of bodily autonomy demanded by the prison system is dehumanizing and creates a fracturing of the self.

The fracturing of the female body recurs as a visual theme throughout the same issue where this description of incarceration appears (Vol. 2 No. 3). The entire issue is covered in women's bodies and faces, with representations and distortions of female bodies illustrated with fractal repetition, but they are notably not sexualized. The cover shows an illustration of women of various ages, some clearly young children, others with lines showing age. As a composite image, the edges of each portrait blend into each other, with the shadow under a child's jaw forming dark hair to frame a face looking off into the distance. In the foreground, children's small limbs are resting on their faces. In the background, one of the women looks at the viewer through vertical bars, her eyebrows carefully stenciled and arched in what could be an interrogative or defiant expression, reflecting an aesthetic similar to the plucked brows and dark lips that are "hallmarks of pachuca style" (Ramírez xi). Inside the pages of this issue, many of the images in this issue show barbed wire as a recurring feature, particularly in the artwork of Harry Gamboa. A large double page collaborative centerfold spread by two artists, Willie Herron and the artist known as Gronk (Glugio Nicandro) shows a woman giving birth while shackled, a policy still practiced in many prisons in the United States (See Figure 5). These visual representations of women contrast sharply with other publications from a similar time period such as *Con Safos*, in which representations of women were nearly all sexualized.

Bodily Autonomy, Sexuality, and Women's Health in *Regeneración*

One unique feature of *Regeneración* was the frank and detailed discussions of women's health issues, including issues of sexuality. The above referenced 1973 issue (Vol. 2 No. 3) is written almost entirely by women authors and illustrated with a diverse range of loosely abstract renderings of women's bodies and faces. The content is focused

entirely on women's issues, including a series of informative articles and short fictional pieces dedicated women's health and sexuality. An article called "Runaway shops and Mexico" by Guillermo Flores describes the effects the Border Industry Program has had on a feminized labor force. This program, promoted by US and Mexico Presidents Johnson and Díaz Ordaz, disproportionately affected women, who made up 80% of the factory labor force. In plain language, the article describes how economic policy can have significant negative impacts on women's health and safety, particularly in regard to sexual violence. The article enumerates the social costs of this program, which include family separation and sexual stigmatization of women workers:

> Too often they must choose between their family (parents) or a job. The result has been traumatic for some women who have been forced to live in the company-owned apartments near the plants. In Mexico, for unmarried women to leave their families often means to be totally rejected by their parents. And many Mexican men have viewed unmarried women workers as prostitutes whether or not they were. (Vol. 2 No. 3 p. 12)

In addition to the sexual stigmatization that came with leaving the family home to enter the work force, this new labor structure also undermined the traditional family structures. The reversal of the old system, where women's participation in the economy was marginal and men were the primary breadwinners, was "very threatening to many 'machos.' The result has been an increase in violent crimes – especially murder, rape, and suicide amongst young males." (Vol. 2 No. 3 p. 12). The article finds a direct link between economic disenfranchisement and violence, and explains the gendered nature of this violence. The article closes with a section focusing on class-based resistance, mentioning strikes in various Mexican cities despite government opposition, making sure to add in a note to the

reader that “PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) is the ruling party of Mexico and serves the interests of Mexico’s capitalist class,” then making comparisons between a women-led strike at the Mexican firm Rivitex and the strikes at the US-based clothing manufacturer Farah that were widely supported by the Chicano Movement. While the rest of the article is in English, the final section includes some code switching, with a call for working class solidarity across national borders.

Another article that makes connections between broad institutional narratives and how they shape the beliefs of individuals is “Sexual Stereotypes – Psychological and Cultural Survival: A Description of Child Rearing Practices Attributed to the Chicana (the Mexican-American woman) and its Psychological and Cultural Implications.” The author, Cecilia C-R Suarez, then an Associate Professor at California State Polytechnic and the Chairwoman of the National Chicana Foundation, uses a conversational writing style to critique sexual stereotypes about Chicanas and their effects. She describes common stereotypes that have been perpetuated by academic researchers who have legitimized discriminatory views of Mexican American families, and particularly mothers, which are then used as justification to deny them opportunities for education and employment: “Chicanas are usually counseled as non-college material - for aren’t they going to get married right away and have many babies?” (Vol. 2 No. 3 p. 21). The article ends with a call to reject stereotypes that reinforce cultural hierarchies positioning Mexican American women in subservient roles, pointing out the increasing number of Chicanas in leadership positions.

Another unsigned article called “Truth or Consequences” describes the change in focus in Chicana political organizing from acting on an auxiliary model in service to the men’s groups to a model more focused on defining the unique needs of woman and

demanding equal representation. The authors bring up a previous article by Sylvia Delgado which discussed the health issues involved in changing social norms about women's sexuality: pregnancy, birth control, abortion, family planning and venereal disease. Delgado's article, titled "Young Chicana Speaks Up on Problems Faced by Young Girls," also describes the dangers of socialization that perpetuates harmful myths about virginity in order to make girls feel that they do not have true autonomy over their sexuality.

> If a male has picked what he feels is a virgin, he has a selfish need to keep her to himself alone, in a room, untouched and only for him to use. Many girls have turned down birth control because the man feels that, if the fear of getting pregnant is lost, she will go with anyone she wants. A girl always had her choice and right to go with anyone she pleases, pill or no pill. (Vol. 1 No. 10 p. 7)

Delgado forcefully denounces the social stigmas that lead women to make decisions about their sexual activity based on other people's (especially men's) ideas and desires rather than prioritizing and planning for their own reproductive health. Carrying on this conversation, the authors of "Truth or Consequences" assert that the issue of venereal disease, briefly mentioned by Delgado, "has become critical among all youth across the country as a consequence of greater, earlier, freer sex involvement" and "has not been discussed sufficiently nor in any degree of detail. Because we are particularly concerned with women's mental and physical health, we want to discuss it more seriously" (Vol. 2 No. 3 p. 33). The authors then go on to provide detailed information about contraction of venereal disease, the treatments available, and how the symptoms may differ in women and men.

Recurring in *Regeneración*, particularly in the issues that focus on exclusively on women, are depictions of women's bodies as they navigate the contradictions between the sexualized expectations of behavior versus their own bodily needs, experiences, and

perceptions. The social issues addressed in academic and informative articles are also taken up in fiction. In Sylvia Delgado's short story, "Cigarettes, Sirens and Other Paraphernalia," shares the inner monologue of a narrator as she daydreams and navigates a series of social encounters largely shaped by the behavior of the men around her, and playing with the literary idea of the siren, who attracts men. On a break from work, she goes into a restaurant to order a meal, and has to repeat herself twice to override the impositions of a man who is trying to order for her: "I didn't wish to hurt Miguel, as in his mind, I was undoubtedly doing. He'd never talked to me before, only waved. But I didn't wish to share his company" (Vol. 2 No. 3 p. 22). She notes a sexual interest in a different man in the restaurant, but does not catch his attention, Later that night, after a night of heavy drinking with a friend, the protagonist finds herself alone in a parking lot. She is approached by a man she had noticed earlier in the evening, and under the pretense of protecting and helping her, forces himself on her. The protagonist resists, but her inner monologue shows her second guessing herself, sensing that others would judge her and find that because she had been drinking alcohol and was wearing revealing clothing, she did not have the right to withdraw consent: "'Let me go.' How could that of sounded. I was alone, loaded, with a low top… to anyone it was my fault" (Vol. 2 No. 3 p. 24). Despite her misgivings, the narrator continues to resist, even while feeling like she is doing something wrong simply for attempting to set boundaries: "For some reason, I don't know, I felt I had done something wrong. 'Just leave me alone.' I began to cry. With every move I made I felt wrong. I was wrong because I fell, because I was drunk, because I pulled his hair, because everything I ever did was wrong" (Vol. 2 No. 3 p. 24). Notably, the story addresses sexual assault from the point of view of the person who was harmed, but does not offer a resolution to the assault. The story simply ends with the protagonist again alone in the

parking lot, with a sense that she is being watched by an unknown presence. Delgado's short story is a powerful commentary on stereotypes about women's sexuality and how they perpetuate sexual violence against women.

Regeneración ceased publication in 1975. However, many of the authors embarked on other publishing projects that continued the lines of creative and social inquiry that had found space in the pages of the magazine. *Regeneración* included bold voices from the feminist movement, who used a variety of literary genres to define a distinctive political identity for Chicanas, pushing back against social stigmatization and advocating for better access to education, employment, and social services.

Conclusions

In 2012, after Arizona's ethnic studies laws went into effect, many of the books that formed part of the growing canon of Mexican American literature were banned from school curriculum, and the classroom copies boxed up and moved to offsite storage. The list of banned books included Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales's *Message to Aztlán*, as well as Elizabeth 'Betita' Martinez's *500 years of Chicana women's history / 500 años de historia de las chicanas*, complement to the 1976 book *450 anos del pueblo Chicano / 450 years of Chicano history in pictures*, which had been produced in the years immediately following her work on *El Grito del Norte*. The majority of books on the list were from Mexican American authors, including Rudolfo Anaya, Gloria Anzaldúa, Ana Castillo, Sandra Cisneros, Demetria Martinez, and Tomás Rivera, but other authors including James Baldwin, Paolo Freire, and bell hooks also made the list. The censorship was not limited to

twentieth century works: even Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience* was banned from the school's core curriculum.

In response, a group of authors and activists formed a coalition, calling themselves librotraficantes, to make the banned books available in Arizona. Travelling in a caravan from Houston to San Antonio to El Paso, then to Mesilla, New Mexico and Albuquerque, and finally arriving in Tuscon, the librotraficantes hosted teach-ins and other community events at every stop along the way, laying the groundwork to establish a network of underground libraries where the community could access and engage with these works in a public way. The group, initiated by Tony Diaz and the latino writers group Nuestra Palabra, worked in partnership with allied groups including Debbie Reese's American Indians in Children's Literature. Tuscon high school students, some of whom had chained themselves to the chairs of the TUSD school board members to protest the 2011 vote, continued to organize in partnership with educators in their community (Phippen). In January 2012, the students continued their protests, walking out to attend an ethnic studies teach-in that included lectures from University of Arizona professors (Reese).

In many ways, the concerns, demands, and actions of these Mexican American students echo those voiced during the Chicano Movement. Though 21st century activists have many digital tools at their disposal, print culture remains an important element of community building, as evidenced by the centrality of print media to the librotraficantes' activism. Regardless of the technology used to record them, the creation and exchange of stories allows communities to negotiate questions of representation, identity, and power whether through creative fiction or historical narratives. However, access to institutional space and resources that facilitates the creation and distribution of these stories on a large scale is not a given, and in many ways is becoming more difficult for marginalized

communities to attain. As of this writing in late 2019, funding for tribal colleges, historically black colleges, and Hispanic-serving institutions is actively being cut in US congress. Nationally, the professional practice of history and literary study are threatened by the economic dismantling of the institution of tenure in US universities. Still, the creation of alternative spaces and formats for these practices continues in many forms, both within and outside of university contexts. Print media remains essential to the education of people who are incarcerated in prisons and detention centers in the US. The organization Critical Resistance publishes a bilingual print newspaper, *The Abolitionist/La Abolicionista*, which provides free subscriptions to incarcerated people, just as Movimiento periodicals did. Founded in 2005, *The Abolitionist/La Abolicionista* has distribution in all 50 states. This is evidence that bilingual print media remains an important space for marginalized people to have critical conversations about bodily autonomy and for those who are incarcerated to stay connected to the world outside of prison. Across the US, alternative publishing in the form of zines, open educational resources, and academic journals that publish research exclusively from contingent faculty are all evidence of resistance to elitist and exclusive models of publishing, showing capacity for adaptation in the face of institutional failures.

As educators work to create culturally relevant curriculum, teaching materials that complicate and disrupt dominant narratives are invaluable in helping students to develop critical thinking skills. The periodicals produced as part of the Chicano Movement contain many texts that interrupt stereotypical and simplistic narratives, reflecting regional variations in language use and political priorities among Mexican Americans in different parts of the US southwest. These publications provided an important space for the negotiation of differences and show that even within a movement premised on ethnic unity,

participants in el Movimiento were not a monolith. Many historians, particularly those working in Chicano Studies programs, have consulted these periodicals as primary sources for texts interpreting and retelling the stories of the activists and organizations that shaped social justice initiatives during the movement years. However, these periodicals are also important as literary texts. They contain important evidence of the efforts of Mexican American communities to preserve Spanish language traditions in spite of discrimination and institutional obstacles. Projects like the *Multilingual Anthology of American Literature* (Shell and Sollers) and the *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage* series (Kanellos) have worked to expand the field of American literature beyond the eurocentric, English-language focus it has traditionally had in the US. Similarly, Chicano movement periodicals are an important tool in reframing American literary traditions to include voices with other reference points.

This study features only five of the many periodicals that were produced as part of the Chicano Movement press. Even within this relatively small sample, the regional variation in language use and publication priorities shows the diversity that existed among the participants of the Chicano Movement. In addition to serving as primary tools for community organizers, these periodicals were also key spaces of experimentation for authors who would later become canonical figures of Chicano literature. Movimiento periodicals planted seeds of influence for the genre blending, code-switching, and aesthetic experimentation that characterize later groundbreaking works like Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera.* In many ways, these texts are also an early precursor to the McOndo writers, who brought a new critical acceptance of English and US geographies as part of Latin American literary traditions with the publication of the anthology *Se Habla Español: Voces latinas en USA* in the year 2000.

This thesis has examined language use and bodily autonomy in five periodicals of the Chicano Movement. The digitization of these publications could facilitate research on their literary and historical significance, as well as allow for their incorporation into ethnic studies and social justice focused curriculum projects, particularly if they are made available to the general public online and not kept behind university paywalls. Future research projects could focus on authors like Elizabeth 'Betita' Sutherland Martinez who, despite producing a prolific body of writing on race and social justice, has received little scholarly attention. Additionally, the function and circulation of Chicano Movement periodicals in prisons and the impact they had on organizing, education, and the production of prison literature could be investigated from both historical and literary perspectives. These texts add another, multilingual layer to narratives about the underground press movement in the US which have so far not focused on Spanish language materials. As some of the earliest published experiments bilingual literature in the US, these texts challenge dominant narratives about Spanish and English language literary traditions that still largely remain within the mental frames of "official" languages and national borders. Ultimately, Chicano Movement periodicals document a unique and dynamic moment in the history of US print culture, and their literary and historical value should not be overlooked.

Bibliography

Primary Texts

Con Safos. 1968-1972. Los Angeles, California.

El Gallo. El Gallo News, Inc, 1967-80. Denver, Colorado.

El Grito Del Norte, 1968-1973. Española, New Mexico.

Papel Chicano. 1970-71. Houston, Texas

Regeneración. 1970-75. Los Angeles, California

Secondary Texts

Acuña, Rodolfo. *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe.* Rutgers University Press, 2011.

---. *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*. 4th ed., Longman, 2000.

Anzaldúa, Gloria, et al. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. Fourth edition, 25th anniversary. Aunt Lute Books, 2012.

Baca, Damián. *Mestiz@ Scripts, Digital Migrations and the Territories of Writing*. 1st ed., Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Bakhtin, M. M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. University of Texas Press, 2010.

Bills, Garland D., and Neddy A. Vigil. *The Spanish Language of New Mexico and Southern Colorado: A Linguistic Atlas*. University of New Mexico, 2008.

Blackmer Reyes, Kathryn. "Elizabeth Sutherland / Elizabeth 'Betita' Sutherland Martínez Bibliography, 1960—2013." *Social Justice*, vol. 39, no. 2/3 (128-129), 2013, pp. 12–25. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24361554.

Blackstock, Nelson. *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom.* Introduction by Noam Chomsky. Pathfinder Press, Ninth printing, 2009.

Blackwell, Maylei. *Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement*. 1st ed.., University of Texas Press, 2011.

Blawis, Patricia Bell. *Tijerina and the Land Grants: Mexican Americans in Struggle for Their Heritage*. 1st ed., International Publishers, 1971.

Castillo, Ana. *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma*. Forward by Clarissa Pinkola Estés, Twentieth Anniversary updated edition, University of New Mexico Press, 2014.

Castillo, Debra A. *Redreaming America: Toward a Bilingual American Culture.* State University of New York Press, 2005.

Calbillo, Carlos. Interview. *Creation of The Papel Chicano | Civil Rights in Black and Brown*. 24 June 2016, https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/creation-of-the-papel-chicano.

Churchill, Ward., and Jim Vander Wall. *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars against Domestic Dissent*. South End Press, 1990.

Córdova, Teresa. "Power and Knowledge: Colonialism in the Academy." *Living Chicana Theory*. Edited by Carla Trujillo. Third Woman Press, 1998.

Davis, Angela Y. *Abolition Democracy: Beyond Empire, Prisons, and Torture*. Seven Stories Press 1st edition, Seven Stories Press, 2005.

---. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* Seven Stories Press, 2003.

Depenbrock, Julie. "Federal Judge Finds Racism Behind Arizona Law Banning Ethnic Studies." *NPR.Org*, www.npr.org/sections/ed/2017/08/22/545402866/federal-judge-finds-racism-behind-arizona-law-banning-ethnic-studies. Accessed 4 Nov. 2019.

Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States.* Beacon Press, 2014.

Duran, Robert J. "Policing the Barrios: Latinos and the American Police Over the Years." *Hispanics in the U.S. Criminal Justice System: Ethnicity, Ideology, and Social Control*. Edited by Martin Guevara Urbina and Sofía Espinoza Álvarez. Second edition, Charles C Thomas, Publisher, Ltd, 2018.

"Elizabeth 'Betita' Sutherland Martínez: A Life in Struggle." *Social Justice*, vol. 39, no. 2/3 (128-129), 2013, pp. 1–150. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/i24361549.

Espinoza, Dionne, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell, eds. *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era*. First edition., University of Texas Press, 2018.

Feeney, Mary, et al. "A Century of Mexican and Mexican American Press: Preserving the Past Online." *Microform & Digitization Review*, vol. 40, no. 4, Jan. 2011. DOI:10.1515/mdr.2011.020.

Flores, Bill. *Francisca Flores*. 1996, https://web.archive.org/web/20100713191513/http://www.clnet.ucla.edu/research/francisca.html. Accessed August 8, 2018.

García, Alma M. *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings*. Routledge, 1997.

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. *Golden Gulag - Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. University of California Press, 2007.

Gómez, Laura E. *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*. University, 2007.

Gómez-Quiñones, Juan and Irene Vásquez. *Making Aztlán: Ideology and Culture of the Chicana and Chicano Movement, 1966-1977.* University of New Mexico Press, 2014.

Guenther, Lisa. *Solitary Confinement: Social Death and Its Afterlives*. University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

Harjo, Joy. *Soul Talk, Song Language: Conversations with Joy Harjo*. Edited by Tanaya Winder, Wesleyan University Press, 2011.

Hoffman, Abraham. "Books: Where Are the Mexican Americans? A Textbook Omission Overdue for Revision." *The History Teacher*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1972, pp. 143–50. JSTOR, *JSTOR*, doi:10.2307/492633.

---. "Chicano History: Problems and Potentialities." *The Journal of Ethnic Studies.* College of Ethnic Studies, Western Washington State College, vol. 1 no.1, Spring 1973.

---. *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression; Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939.* University of Arizona Press, 1974.

Junge, Maxine Borowsky. *Voices from the Barrio: The Story of the First East Los Angeles Chicano Literary Magazine*. 2016.

Kanellos, Nicolás. *Hispanic Periodicals in the United States, Origins to 1960: A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography*. Arte Público Press, 2000.

Kellar, William Henry. *Make Haste Slowly: Moderates, Conservatives, and School Desegregation in Houston*. 1st ed.., Texas A&M University Press, 1999.

Lee, Michael A. "Forgotten Alliance: Jews, Chicanos, and the Dynamics of Class and Race in Denver, Colorado, 1967–1971." *Shofar*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2012, pp. 1–25.

Loeb, Catherine. "La Chicana: A Bibliographic Survey." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1980, pp. 59–74. *JSTOR*, doi:10.2307/3346038.

López, Dennis. "El Grito Del Norte, Chicana/o Print Culture, and the Politics of Anti-Imperialism." *Science & Society; New York*, vol. 79, no. 4, Oct. 2015, pp. 527–54.

Lozano, Rosina. *An American Language: The History of Spanish in the United States*. University of California Press, 2018.

Mariscal, George. *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975*. University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

McMillian, John Campbell. *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America*. Oxford University Press, 2011.

Mendoza, Louis. "The Re-Education of a Xicanindio: Raúl Salinas and the Poetics of Pinto Transformation." *MELUS*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2003, pp. 39–60. JSTOR, *JSTOR*, doi:10.2307/3595245.

Monsiváis, Carlos. *A ustedes les consta antología de crónica en México*. 1ª ed., Era, 1980.

Montenegro, Gowan, Seel, Stevens, Antinori, Goodale, Weiers. *State of Arizona House of Representatives Forty-Ninth Legislature Second Regular Session 2010*. HB 2281. https://www.azleg.gov/legtext/49leg/2r/bills/hb2281s.pdf.

Mora, G. Cristina. *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats, and Media Constructed a New American.* University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Nabokov, Peter. *Tijerina and the Courthouse Raid*. 1st ed., University of New Mexico Press, 1969.

NietoGomez, Anna. "Francisca Flores, the League of Mexican American Women, and the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, 1958-1975." *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era*. Edited by Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell. 1st edition, University of Texas Press, 2018.

Oboler, Suzanne. *Behind Bars: Latino/as and Prison in the United States*. 1st edition, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Olguín, B. V. *La Pinta: Chicana/o Prisoner Literature, Culture, and Politics*. 1st edition, University of Texas Press, 2010.

Oropeza, Lorena. "Viviendo y luchando: The Life and Times of Enriqueta Vasquez." *Enriqueta Vasquez and the Chicano Movement: Writings from El Grito del Norte.* By Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez. Edited by Lorena Oropeza and Dionne Espinoza. Texas: Arte Público Press, 2006.

Paz Soldán, Edmundo, and Alberto Fuguet, editors. *Se habla español: voces latinas en USA.* Alfaguara, 2000.

Penfield, Joyce, and Jacob Ornstein-Galicia. *Chicano English: An Ethnic Contact Dialect.* JBenjamins PubCo, 1985.

Perez, Annemarie. "'Tu Reata Es Mi Espada': Elizabeth Sutherland's Chicana Formation." *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era*. Edited by Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell. First edition., University of Texas Press, 2018.

Pérez-Torres, Rafael. *Movements in Chicano Poetry: Against Myths, against Margins*. Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Phippen, J. Weston. "How Teachers Started Smuggling Books to Save Ethnic Studies." *The Atlantic*, July 2015, www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/07/how-one-law-banning-ethnic-studies-led-to-rise/398885/.

"Precious Knowledge | Ethnic Studies in Arizona | Independent Lens | PBS." *Independent Lens*, http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/films/precious-knowledge/. Accessed 4 Nov. 2019.

Ramírez, Catherine Sue. *The Woman in the Zoot Suit: Gender, Nationalism, and the Cultural Politics of Memory*. Duke University Press, 2009.

Reese, Debbie. "TUSD School Superintendent Pedicone Scolds University Professors." *American Indians in Children's Literature (AICL)*, 30 Jan. 2012, https://americanindiansinchildrensliterature.blogspot.com/2012/01/tusd-school-superintendent-pedicone.html.

Rojas, Guillermo. "Chicano/Raza Newspaper and Periodical Serials Listing." *Hispania*, vol. 58, no. 4, 1975, pp. 851–63. JSTOR, *JSTOR*, doi:10.2307/339884.

Ruíz, Vicki. *From out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America*. Oxford University Press, 1998.

San Miguel, Guadalupe. *Brown, Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston*. 1st ed., Texas A&M University Press, 2001.

"Solitary Confinement: Torture in U.S. Prisons." Center for Constitutional Rights, Mar. 2017, https://ccrjustice.org/node/2542.

Stavans, Ilan. *Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language*. 1st ed., Rayo, 2003.

Thompson, Heather Ann. *Blood in the Water: The Attica Prison Uprising of 1971 and Its Legacy.* Pantheon Books, 2016.

Trujillo, Carla, editor. *Living Chicana Theory*. Third Woman Press, 1998.

Vásquez, Enriqueta Longeaux. *Enriqueta Vasquez and the Chicano Movement : Writings from El Grito Del Norte.* Lorena Oropeza and Dionne Espinoza, eds., Texas: Arte Público Press, 2006.

Velazquez, Mirelsie. "Solidarity and Empowerment in Chicago's Puerto Rican Print Culture." *Latino Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, Mar. 2014, pp. 88–110. *DOI.org (Crossref)*, doi:10.1057/lst.2014.3.

Vigil, Ernesto B. *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent.* University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.

Villanueva, Tino. “A Brief History of Bilingualism in Poetry.” *The Multilingual Anthology of American Literature: A Reader of Original Texts with English Translations.* Edited by Marc Shell and Werner Sollors. University Press, 2000.

Ward, Churchill and Jim Vander Wall. *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI’s Secret Wars against Domestic Dissent.* Foreword by John Trudell; Preface by Brian Glick. South End Press, 1990.

Watts, Brenda. “Aztlán as a Palimpsest: From Chicano Nationalism Toward Transnational Feminism in Anzaldúa’s Borderlands.” *Latino Studies; Basingstoke*, vol. 2, no. 3, Dec. 2004, pp. 304–21.