INTRODUCTION

MOVEMENTS, MOVIMIENTOS, AND MOVIDAS

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We have not one movement but many. Our political, literary, and artistic movements are discarding the patriarchal model of the hero/leader leading the rank and file. Ours are individual and small group movidas, unpublicized movimientos—movements not of media stars or popular authors but of small groups or single mujeres, many of whom have not written books or spoken at national conferences.

—GLORIA ANZALDÚA, MAKING FACE/MAKING SOUL

The 1960s and 1970s were times of great political upheaval and social transformation across the globe. During this period, Mexican American youth in the United States developed a new and powerful form of political consciousness they called “Chicanismo.” Part of a worldwide youth revolt in the 1960s, their calls for “Chicano liberation” responded to economic inequality, everyday and institutional racism, and the increasingly militant struggle to end the Vietnam War. Within mass-based organizations, through murals and artistic practices, in community-based organizations or small consciousness-raising groups, Chicanas were on the front lines of forging these new cultures of rebellion. Women played significant roles in the major mobilizations and organizations that coalesced into what is now understood historiographically as the Chicano movement era, including both well-known movement formations—like the United Farm Workers, the Crusade for Justice, the land grant movement, and La Raza Unida Party—and numerous regional and national initiatives. Moving within and between multiple sites of struggle, they challenged conventional notions of oppositional subjectivity and created their own, specifically Chicana, praxis of resistance. As Chicanas built on what they learned in multiple movement spaces, they also forged a liberation practice that was shaped by an emergent analysis of the multivalent nature of oppression. Enacting a new kind of política (politics) at the intersection of race,
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class, gender, and sexuality, they developed innovative concepts, tactics, and methodologies that in turn generated new theories, art forms, organizational spaces, and strategies of alliance. This is the praxis documented in Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era.

In her introduction to Making Face/Making Soul, Gloria Anzaldúa articulates the difference between the praxis (theory/practice) of women of color and the grand narratives of “movement” and movimiento that have structured both popular and scholarly conceptions of social change. Anzaldúa’s attentiveness to the minor and the provisional, to the small acts of rebeldía that reshape movement discourses and practices from the inside out—and especially her articulation of the shifting grounds upon which women of color stage their strategies for social change—offers a fruitful critical frame for scholars who wish to uncover the central yet still largely unexplored terrain of Chicana feminist movidas during the movement years.

In conventional understandings, a movida can describe multiple kinds of “moves,” from those undertaken in games and on dance floors to those that take more subversive forms like forbidden social encounters, underground economies, and political maneuvers. For this reason movida often carries with it connotations of not only the strategic and tactical but also the undercover, the dissident, the illicit—that which is not part of approved and publicly acknowledged political strategies, histories, and economic and social relations. When understood as a mode of submerged and undercover activity, a movida operates as both the generative “other” of what is visible, accredited, and sanctioned and as a strategy of subversion. Within this constellation of meanings, movidas are outside of the specular range of large-scale political and social relations. Enacted in backrooms and bedrooms, hallways and kitchens, they are collective and individual maneuvers, undertaken in a context of social mobilization, that seek to work within, around, and between the positionings, ideologies, and practices of publicly visible social relations. Taking up Anzaldúa’s conceptual thread in her book Methodology of the Oppressed, Chela Sandoval identifies movidas as a repertoire of “revolutionary maneuvers” and “technologies” that “grasp meaning—transforming and moving it on both sides […], a political site for the third meaning, that obtuse shimmering of signification that glances through every binary opposition.” The essays in this anthology track an archive of resistance to reveal a broader women of color praxis articulated and mobilized in and between the movements, actions, and organizations that have come to define in retrospect the political narratives of the 1960s and 1970s.

Our focus on movidas as a submerged technology of struggle is not meant to suggest that Chicana activists were not key participants in the major events, planning meetings, and organizational spaces of the Chicano movement. Rather, centering Chicana movidas illuminates a multimodal engagement with movement politics that included acts of everyday labor and support as well as strategic and sometimes subversive interventions within movement spaces. As political actors who were multiply constituted by intersecting social, economic, and
political forces, Chicanas developed and deployed their own political and cultural technologies to navigate the multiple fronts of struggle in which they were engaged. Through these tactical movidas, they named oppressions that had been ignored, subordinated, or not perceived, and they ultimately identified and challenged the marginalization of their communities by outlining the ways in which gender, race, class, and sexuality were mutually constituted. They also opened up spaces for different approaches to organizing with other women and created new countercultures in which they could further develop their aesthetic, theoretical, and political practices. This volume excavates the complex history of movidas that collectively form a Chicana political, aesthetic, and theoretical praxis in the movement years—a praxis that gave rise to a field of knowledge that crossed the boundaries of Chicano studies, feminist theory, and queer theory to generate a new way of thinking about oppression and resistance: Chicana feminist studies.

Much like the “gear shifting” of Chela Sandoval’s “differential subject,” the subversive, transitory, and transactional movement of Chicana movidas destabilizes normative practices and ideologies insofar as these practices and ideologies enact relations of subordination, inequality, or invisibilization. As “minor” strategies and tactics embedded within and between larger movements, Chicana movidas are rarely included in conventional histories of social movements, which all too often structure their accounts of the past on “major” figures, events, and political organizations. For this reason, shifting the critical optic from “movements” to movidas is itself a theoretical movida, one that uncovers and makes manifest the varying strategies through which Chicanas worked to shape multiple social movements from the margins. Notwithstanding their impact on movement organizing and their continued relevance to theories of social change, these deeply consequential movidas have remained at the margins of movement historiography for far too long. Our critical and curatorial movida is to move these theoretical insights, tactical interventions, and political activities from the margin to the center of analysis so that we may gain a richer and more complete understanding of the everyday actors and unrecognized leaders who shaped the political landscape of the movement years.

Projects of historical recovery like the one enacted in the pages of this book present scholars with multiple methodological, conceptual, and interpretive challenges. How does one move historical subjects and their technologies of resistance from the margins to the center, especially when their stories are mostly absent from both the archive and the secondary literature? What operations, techniques, and narrative movidas are required to excavate this history and to mine its insights? Taking our inspiration from the methodological and conceptual innovations—the movidas—of the Chicanas documented in this volume, we propose that such an effort necessitates a shift from a linear vision of movement trajectories to one that maps the heterogeneity and networked connectivities of Chicana praxis in the movement years.5

Mapping movidas is a technique for reading against the grain of dominant historiography in order to examine the array of political, social, analytic, and
aesthetic strategies that Chicanas mobilized to imagine and enact collective social change. It requires us to question commonsense ideas about social movements and to work within (and against) conventional historical accounts of the movement years to upend the logics of remembrance that exile women of color to the historical margins. It means generating our own strategies for reading beyond the usual suspects, spaces, events, and organizational narratives that have shaped our understanding of the past and looking to the interstices and margins, the places where Chicana movidas made social change in small and big ways.

While we are invested in understanding broader movement histories and critical genealogies of participation, conflict, and collaboration, we have focused this collection less on building a comprehensive account of Chicana participation in movement activities than on excavating the stunning heterogeneity of collective forms of praxis generated within, between, and outside of various movements for social change. These experiences and tactics shaped the emergence of Chicana feminism as a field of resistance constituted by alternative networks, counterpublics, and countermemories. While capturing the entire breadth and depth of these activities and strategic deployments would be impossible, in Chicana Movidas we offer scholars, teachers, and students a glimpse into the complexities of Chicana activism in the movement era and at the same time open up a much-needed conversation about contemporary Chicana feminist thought and its relation to the activities and interventions of an earlier generation of Chicana thinkers.

This is a collection of essays that each of us, at one point or another, wished existed: one that destabilizes conventional narratives of what happened in the Chicano movement and women’s movement and pushes against the conceptual silos that keep accounts of these movements (and other New Left movements) separated into discrete historical trajectories. The essays collected in this volume document a series of tactics, spaces, and ideological interventions emblematic of the vast array of Chicana movidas for social transformation. Collectively, they provide an interdisciplinary and transgenerational perspective on Chicana feminist praxis in multiple movement spaces. For example, while the volume includes essays by established and emerging scholars from a variety of disciplinary fields (history, religious studies, anthropology, media studies, creative writing), added to this mix are new essays by an earlier generation of Chicana feminists like Anna NietoGomez, Olga Talamante, Inés Hernández-Ávila, Osa Hidalgo de la Riva, and Martha Cotera, who offer not only critical firsthand perspectives on the organizations, individuals, and events that shaped Chicana movidas in the 1960s and 1970s but also their own historical analyses of the events and organizations in which they were involved. In many ways, this collection brings to the surface a diffuse yet networked alternative archive that has been exiled, until now, to spaces of extrainstitutional memory.

This alternative archive and the essays through which it speaks challenge the ways in which social movement spaces and histories have been conceptualized,
from the wave model that has shaped historiography on feminist mobilizations to the focus on only male-dominated organizations in Chicano movement scholarship—a focus that generates and sustains multiple gender, temporal, and regional exclusions. Indeed, many of the essays included in this volume press productively against the long-standing conceptual boundaries of more traditional frames for understanding the period. For example, in their focus on Chicana mobilizations outside of the US Southwest, several contributors to our collection challenge the spatial logic through which the Chicano movement has been conceptualized in conventional historical accounts. By including essays on women in the Chicano movement in the Pacific Northwest and the Midwest, we aim to expose readers to important emerging scholarship on the network of activists, organizations, conferences, and publications that constituted Chicana feminism on a national scale while also remaining attentive to the particular regional movidas that Chicanas undertook in response to a movement in which they were doubly marginalized as women and as political subjects who did not fit in the spatial logics of the Aztlán imaginary.5

This respatialization of the Chicano movement also expands the temporal frame that has been based on a historiographic consensus that the Chicano movement started in the late 1960s and ended by 1975. Several essays in this volume depart from that chronology altogether, exploring linkages between early articulations of Chicana feminism and the theoretical and political insights of the generation of feminists that rose to prominence in the 1980s with the publication of books like This Bridge Called My Back and Borderlands/La Frontera.6 Such transgenerational networks illustrate how dominant organizing logics in social movement historiography may obscure the complex and shifting ways in which identities intersect and thereby erase the strategic identifications of activists who foregrounded one identity over others at different points in their activist trajectories. For example, Chicana lesbians, many of whom were cultural and political leaders who often organized under the banner of Chicana or women’s rights in the 1970s, would later produce creative scholarship that would define Chicana lesbian feminist theory in the 1980s and 1990s.

Uncovering Chicanas’ strategic mobilizations of identity—and the ways in which they shifted between identifications with women’s liberation, Chicano liberation, “Third World” liberation, sexual liberation, and workers rights movements—requires that scholars look beyond the apparent absence of “out” lesbian voices in the archive of the 1960s and 1970s and develop a broader understanding of how lesbians of color were often multiply insurgent subjects who transferred their knowledge from one movement space—the UFW, for example—into other movement spaces such as women’s art collectives. Indeed, many gays and lesbians were active in Chicano movement organizations, sometimes even in leadership positions, but these spaces were not always conducive to outward self-identification, forcing some activists to negotiate their identities with comrades inside movement spaces. While some Chicana lesbians simply chose not to center
sexuality as a prominent issue at certain points in their organizing, for others the marginalization and even demonization of lesbian identity within some political spaces prompted their distancing from the movement, but these underground movidas nevertheless shaped movement practices and cultures. Without understanding the tactical nature of the strategically shifting identity and consciousness deployed by Chicanas, one could assume that the “lesbian” referenced in archival documents—primarily as an anti-feminist disciplining mechanism used against Chicana feminists—meant that there were no lesbians in the Chicano movement. In this collection we challenge that narrative to show that Chicana feminist lesbians were activists who participated in a number of the major efforts of the movement, from the farmworkers movement to La Raza Unida Party and beyond, often as bridging figures to the next phase in the Chicana feminist movement. Chicana lesbian acts of transfer and translation across multiple movement spaces and temporal generations drew from a living archive of embodied knowledge developed on various fronts of struggle. The “repertoire of resistance” they developed to address overlapping oppressions ultimately shaped the foundational praxis of what we now call “intersectionality.”

These examples demonstrate how something as simple as an established historical chronology such as locating the “movement years” from the late 1960s to 1975 can frame how we understand a period and its implications, not to mention the historical actors who properly belong to it. While we understand and appreciate the need for a cut-off point for the movement era—Without such conceptual bracketing how do scholars engage the distinctiveness of a particular historical moment?—as women of color scholars we also understand how conceptual boundaries like periodization are generated and perpetuated in the focus on some stories over others. Scholarship on the long civil rights movement has demonstrated that the radicalism of the 1960s and ’70s has direct organizational and ideological links to organizing in the Chicano context in the 1940s, and we carry this conversation forward in this collection. Here, we shift the center of our stories about the movement years and demonstrate how such a shift necessarily transforms the conceptual boundaries and explanatory logics that have generated a significant and continuing pattern of exclusion. By mapping the movidas of Chicana feminism across a broad constellation of activities, interventions, and social spaces, this volume not only complicates our understanding of the key organizations and activities of the movement years, it also reveals the conceptual limitations of conventional movement historiography.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC MOVIDAS
Notwithstanding contemporary reevaluations of the movement years, there can be little doubt that the historiography of the Chicano movement, with few exceptions, has been characterized by the absence of Chicana activist visibility. While Chicana Movidas is part of a larger and ongoing scholarly reconsideration of the
Chicano movement period, its genealogy can be traced to a decades-long effort to document Chicana history. This volume would not have been possible without the pathbreaking work of women of color historians and critics who have excavated the terrain before us and opened up a space for the articulation and critical examination of Chicana feminist praxis in the 1960s and 1970s. Among the key markers that suggested a major shift in the historiography of the Chicano movement was the 1990 essay by Alma M. García titled “The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970–1980.” García followed that groundbreaking essay with a 1997 text that might be considered a companion volume, *Chicana Feminist Discourse: The Basic Historical Writings*, a compendium of published writing and speeches by Chicanas in the 1960s and 1970s. The importance of García’s historiographic *movida* in *Chicana Feminist Thought* cannot be overstated. In making accessible a collection of women’s writing from the Chicano movement era, García’s book demonstrated the incredible range of articulations, debates, analyses, and positions of Chicana activists during the period; it represented a proliferation of discourse that had been largely ignored in earlier books on the Chicano movement that in most cases offered only token mentions of women. No longer would scholars and teachers have to search institutional archives to track down the writings referenced here and there in the few published essays on Chicana feminism and movement activism. We now had a volume of works that spoke to the rich and dynamic *voces* and *movidas* of Chicana activists.

Following on García’s important intervention, encounters with the Chicana archive have broken many silences and disrupted consensus narratives of the his/herstoriography, not only through the methods of oral history, archival recovery, and visual culture analysis but also through interpretive practices that reclaim those spaces that single-identity narratives have left out—spaces that speak to Chicana identities at the intersection of multiple oppressions. The works of critical feminist thinkers like Chela Sandoval, Norma Alarcón, Dolores Delgado Bernal, Yolanda Broyles-González, and Maylei Blackwell have challenged the hegemonic narratives that have structured our understandings of the past, whether they be narratives of the women’s movement like the wave model, the “great man” narratives of the Chicano movement, or narratives of feminist theory that reduce and appropriate the key insights of women of color praxis. Their analyses call for careful examination of how consensus and hegemonic narratives are constructed and what they leave out—even as they teach us to be wary of constructing yet another hegemonic narrative within/about Chicana feminism or Chicana activism in the movement years.

A number of Chicana scholars have also proposed a variety of routes of Chicana activist involvement in the Chicano movement era. Historian Vicki Ruiz integrated a chapter on women in the Chicano movement entitled “La Nueva Chicana” into her sweeping historical account of 100 years, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (1998), which begins with the migratory journeys of the 1900s and ends with the community organizing of the
1990s. By centering the participation of Chicanas within the Chicano movement and making their work essential to understanding Chicana/o history, *From Out of the Shadows* opened up a space for other examinations of Chicana activism in the movement years. For example, in her scholarship on women who worked within the Centro de Acción Social Autonomo (CASA) in Los Angeles, the historian Marisela R. Chávez put forward the stories of Chicana activists who worked within a Marxist organization and whose notions of social change were global in scope. Dionne Espinoza also engaged the organizational case study approach in her article on the participation of women in the East Los Angeles Brown Beret chapter, a narrative that challenged the existing stereotype that only men had been members of this organization. She followed this analysis with another incisive organizational study of Chicanas in the Texas Raza Unida Party (RUP) that explored the ways in which women helped build the party despite a top-down leadership structure. Both Chávez and Espinoza highlighted women’s contributions to these organizations as well as the ways in which women created solidarities that empowered them within these groups. Contributing to this wave of reassessment, scholars like Dolores Delgado Bernal, in her study of women in the East Los Angeles blowouts, and Yolanda Broyles-González, in her 1994 study of women involved in Teatro Campesino, argued that to accurately understand Chicanas in movement history we must shift the paradigms of leadership and challenge the discursive frameworks that have relegated women to the margins. Lorena Oropeza and Dionne Espinoza enacted precisely this kind of shift in their edited compendium of the journalism of Enriqueta Vásquez, a Colorado- and New Mexico–based activist. Vásquez had started her activism with Los Voluntarios and the Crusade for Justice and then moved to northern New Mexico, where she wrote a column, “Despierten Hermanos,” for *El Grito del Norte*, the newspaper that Elizabeth “Betita” Martínez cofounded with Beverly Axelrod to document the land-grant struggles in northern New Mexico. Oropeza and Espinoza’s edited volume of Vásquez’s writings centered themes of Chicana identity in relation to indigenous identities, land rights, anticommercialism, peace, and international and Third World spheres.

Vásquez and Martínez were not the only Chicanas who contributed to the development of a vibrant (and frequently feminist) print culture during the Chicano movement. In her 2005 book on Chicana/o resistance to the Vietnam War, *¡Raza Si! ¡Guerra No!*, Lorena Oropeza documented how two Chicanas, Lea Ybarra and Nina Genera, used print media to actively organize their communities in “one of the [Chicano] movement’s longest running anti-draft efforts.” The bilingual pamphlet Ybarra and Genera wrote, printed, and distributed to young Chicanos in front of Selective Service offices, “La Batalla Está Aquí! Chicanos and the War” (1972), stands as an example of Chicanas’ strategic uses of print media in their organizing work. Likewise, Maylei Blackwell has excavated and theorized Chicana journalism and the formation of a “Chicana counterpublic” as a key *movida* that was not confined to the movement era.
Chicana print culture built on the extensive, long-running vision and work of Francisca Flores, cofounder of the League of Mexican American Women and editor of the journals *Carta Editorial* and *Regeneración*. Chicana writers and activists like Anna NietoGomez, who has an essay on Francisca Flores in this volume, and Corinne Sánchez, among others, followed Flores’s example and published their own newspaper (Las Hijas de Cuauhtémoc) and, later, a nationally recognized Chicana feminist journal, *Encuentro Femenil*.

Blackwell’s *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement*, the only published monograph to date that focuses entirely on Chicana activism during the 1960s and 1970s, proposes a new methodology of historical storytelling that she terms “retrofitted memory.” Blackwell tells the story of Las Hijas de Cuauhtémoc: from their difficult experiences on the campus at Long Beach State University, to their community organizing in Los Angeles, to their struggles to make sense of the political conflicts at the first national Chicana conference, held in Houston in 1971. She demonstrates how the print culture that they created to theorize these experiences called attention to women’s historic role in social change and flipped the movement script that relegated Chicanas to the margins, or framed them as traitors for trying to organize women. Through this narrative, Blackwell explores a practice of countermemory that reaches back to examine the Mexican and transnational roots of Chicana feminisms and strategically redeploy fragments of older histories that have been disjunctured by colonial practices of organizing historical knowledge or by masculine renderings of history that disappear women’s political involvement.”21 Because such historical practices fail to engage an intersectional understanding of power and oppression, they cannot apprehend the nature of “multiple feminist insurgencies”—the tactics through which Chicanas, as multiply constituted subjects, work in and between movements even as they engage various fronts of struggle in one movement, such as struggles around gender and sexuality. Nor can they see the exclusions from other movement spaces that often produce the kinds of Chicana *movidas* that are documented in this volume. Blackwell proposes her own *movida* to challenge these logics of exclusion and uncover the Chicana counterpublics they erase. Borrowing from the DJ tactics of mixing and spinning the historical record, *¡Chicana Power! offers a nonlinear and anticolonial approach to Chicana her/story/telling that lays the groundwork for more effectively tracing Chicana *movidas* and their counterpublics.22

Ongoing research projects have enriched and expanded this field of inquiry. For example, Dionne Espinoza’s multisited examination of women’s participation in three major Chicano movement organizations—the Crusade for Justice, La Raza Unida Party, and El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan—spans various regions and diverse political and ideological formations and has increased the breadth and comparative knowledge of women’s activism within many of the Chicano movement’s major organizations as well as less well-known formations in which activists developed new, innovative forms of Chicana consciousness.
Espinoza’s work contributes important analytics to other ongoing research initiatives that are also building the field, like Maria Cotera and Linda Garcia Merchant’s Chicana por mi Raza Digital Memory Collective, an online collection of Chicana oral histories and personal archives that not only offers scholars, students, and community organizations access to new archival sources but also proposes a new way of thinking about Chicana archival praxis. Cotera and Garcia Merchant enact their own archival movida in cyberspace, deploying the democratizing possibilities enabled by “the digital turn” to expand on Blackwell’s DJ tactics and encourage a new generation of scholarship on Chicanas in the movement era.

These monographs and research projects respond to one of the challenges of writing Chicanas into the historiography of the Chicano movement: the fact that they were all too often the invisible subjects of the collective, a conceptualization of community organizing intended to democratize the labor of movement building by not listing an individual name next to an article, photograph, or agenda item. In the context of the patriarchal relations governing many movement structures and labor relations, such collectivizing impulses often erased women’s strategic, philosophical, and organizational contributions to movement activities. Indeed, the famous feminist slogan “Anonymous was a woman” is borne out in our many conversations with women who made contributions as activists, editors, journalists, and photographers but whose names have been left out of the archive. This may explain why historians tend not to interview women and continue to claim that there were no women leaders in the Chicano movement.

Pushing against this assumption, scholars of Chicana activism have shown that Chicana contributions to movimiento initiatives did not just involve the labor of organizing, mobilizing, and building community but also the intellectual labor of writing and producing Chico newspapers and the aesthetic labor of imagining new subjectivities. We know from many interviews with women who worked on movement publications that even though they often wrote several stories or produced photojournalism, they were seldom given bylines or photo credits. This lack of recognition under the guise of collectivism structured an absence into the Chicano print culture of the day as well as in the archival record to which contemporary scholars turn in writing their accounts of the Chicano movement. Such absences in the record replicate the invisibilization of Chicana labor in the 1960s and 1970s and reinforce the need for oral historians and researchers to talk directly to movement activists, explore extrainstitutional archives, and perhaps more importantly, ask the right questions of their sources. More often than not, excavations of Chicana memory have been undertaken from the ground up, with scholars tracking down sources, sifting through personal archives, and conducting lengthy interviews and oral histories.

In many ways the present collection is an enactment of these kinds of archival movidas, one that expands the notion of “archive” to include not only documents (newspapers, letters, reports, and photographs) but also the embodied
knowledges offered in firsthand accounts of participants in social movements. While other modes of producing historical knowledge use oral history, this Chicana methodological movida relies on a deep interpersonal engagement with the archive of embodied knowledge—an engagement that often involves long-term collaboration with primary subjects. Spending time in kitchens and living rooms and other spaces outside the institutional locations that otherwise shape our scholarly work, the contributors to this volume have in many cases developed personal relationships with their sources. As participants entrust materials and memories to them that are not available in institutional settings, a different kind of relationship between scholars and their objects of study take shape, and a different archival landscape emerges. Even as the contents of a recuperated archive challenge conventional knowledge about the movement years, the very process of its recovery demands a different set of scholarly commitments, practices, and accountabilities from those who would excavate its meanings. Doing this work, in other words, has required us to generate our own movidas and to rethink conventional scholarly scripts, both methodological and theoretical. It has moved us into an unknown but not entirely uncharted territory. This collection should therefore be understood as both a corrective to the feminist and Chicano historical imaginaries that have largely structured our knowledge about the movement era and an invitation to reimagine the archive, its meanings, and our scholarly relation to it.

**MAPPING MOVIDAS**

New approaches to understanding the past and new conceptual frames of analysis shift our historiographic gaze to the insurgencies weaving below the surface of multiple movements and attune us to the minor and interstitial acts that comprised Chicana technologies of resistance in the movement years. Mapping movidas is a mode of historical analysis that allows us to chart the small scale, intimate political moves, gestures, and collaborations that reflect the tactics women used to negotiate the internalities of power within broader social movements. It identifies how they tracked and negotiated multiple scales of power within their homes, communities, organizations, social movements, and dominant society. It recuperates both silenced memories and their documentary evidence to tell a story of the intimacies of struggle, challenging the knowledge/power system of traditional archival spaces and methodologies. It looks not only to marches, meetings, and conferences but also to alternative sites of collective action: the kitchens, hallways, and living rooms where Chicanas forged a praxis at the intersection of their identities.

Mapping movidas alters the process of deciding what counts and who matters, offering a different way of seeing the Chicano movement, one that brings to light the organizing that happened both on the side and within major movement formations. It illuminates the flexible strategies of coalition and compromise that shaped Chicana technologies of resistance and brings into greater focus
the independent organizations that Chicanas formed to address their own lived realities. Finally, mapping _movidas_ shows us how Chicanas deployed tactics of remembrance in an effort to recuperate the hidden genealogies of struggle—the _movidas_ that came before them. Collectively, these _movidas_ and the many others that are explored in this book trace a genealogy of Chicana political, theoretical, practical, and analytical approaches born out of their rich and varied experiences. They map a field of resistance, innovation, and transformation that continues to inform Chicana feminist theory today.

In the sections that follow, we map these _movidas_ into four interconnected and overlapping sites of struggle and resistance—“Hallway Movidas” (the hidden insurgencies within and at the margins of political and institutional spaces), “Home-Making Movidas” (making a space for Chicana feminism to live and develop), “Movidas of Crossing” (crossing borders and forging coalitions), and “Memory Movidas” (strategic recuperations of countermemory). The cartography we propose is neither comprehensive nor directive. In fact, unlike most maps, it is meant to _disorient_—to shift our collective center of gravity so that we may better see and feel the technologies of resistance that have shaped Chicana praxis. Weaving the Chicana _movidas_ documented in this volume into our own (admittedly limited) account of these practices, we offer a map of both the collection and the hidden history of _movidas_ that it documents.

**HALLWAY MOVIDAS: WORKING WITHIN, THROUGH, AND AROUND MOVEMENT-ERA HEGEMONIES**

Hallways, passages, kitchens—places in between or outside of the main events—these are the spaces of transit and possibility where Chicanas mobilized strategies to challenge the internalities of power and form new networks of resistance. As a spatial metaphor, the “hallway” locates _movidas_ undertaken within and between movements that did not always address the full array of issues impacting women of color. Hallway _movidas_ index the strategic ways activists met each other in the hallways of meetings, conferences, and political gatherings to address the ways they were excluded, to expand the agenda of the Chicano movement and the women’s movement, or to multiply the social subject enlisted by monolithic visions of social change. Undertaken in interstitial spaces where Chicanas trafficked and exchanged ideas, discourses, and experiences from one movement into another to generate a more complete revolutionary praxis, hallway _movidas_ expanded what Sonia Alvarez, writing in the context of Latin America, has referred to as the “spaces and places” in which feminist consciousness was found, discussed, and deployed. Uncovering these hallway _movidas_ requires not only focusing on unorthodox sites of political formation, but also shifting our analytical lens away from leaders of social movements and toward the day-to-day activities and experiences that shaped Chicana feminist praxis within, between, and outside of movements.
Scholars of the period as well as Chicana feminists themselves have noted that even though women were often the organizational backbone of movements, their labor was just as often devalued. While others have called attention to this gendered division of political labor or called for seeing leadership in a different way to account for the power base of women, what has not yet been explored is how encountering each other in devalued spaces like the kitchen and the hallway—often between sessions, meetings, or conference panels—offered Chicanas a critical opportunity to collaborate, name their frustrations, and devise strategies to address them. Some hallway movidas include “hidden gender insurgencies,” those formal and informal spaces used by Chicanas to expand the impact of the Chicano movement to the whole community, and more particularly to the lives of women and their families.

Critically, hidden gender insurgencies are not always visible to those outside the movement and do not necessarily lead to the formation of Chicana organizations and spaces. Indeed, hallway movidas may also include those instances when women meet and there is no public eruption or (documented) challenge, but the critiques generated are nevertheless advanced in the groundswell of organizing that eventually leads to change. One of the most infamous statements on women’s participation in the Chicano movement came at the 1969 Denver Youth Liberation Conference when it was reported that the Chicana caucus declared that “the Chicana does not want to be liberated.” Notwithstanding this seeming disavowal of feminist goals, we must not overlook the fact that women actively created the space to have a separate Chicana plática (discussion) when they arrived at the Denver conference and found no formal space to address women’s issues. Moreover, Chicanas who participated in the caucus reported that the discussion of the role of women in the Chicano movement led many to eventually engage in a movida of doble militancia (multiple militancy) that involved initiating Chicana study groups, organizations, newspapers, and coalitions while continuing their work within the Chicano movement.

This book demonstrates that Chicana hallway movidas have a genealogy that predates the movement years. In the first chapter in this volume, “Francisca Flores, the League of Mexican American Women, and the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, 1958–1975,” Anna NietoGomez backfills the genealogy of Chicana activism to remind us that the history of Chicana/Mexican American women’s organizing for social change does not begin in the late 1960s. Offering an account of Flores’s efforts to visibilize women and build power for social change in Mexican American organizations of the 1950s, NietoGomez details the early history of this longtime Chicana spokesperson and advocate, widely acknowledged as one of the godmothers of Chicana feminism. As NietoGomez demonstrates, Flores’s hallway movidas ensured Chicana visibility while they also led to the formation of several important organizations including the League of Mexican American Women, established in the early 1960s as a vehicle for recognizing women’s leadership in civic affairs. Recuperating this prehistory,
NietoGomez reveals the genealogical connections between Chicana efforts to establish a number of organizations, service centers, and research initiatives in the 1970s and the work of an earlier generation of activists like Francisca Flores. As evidence of this connection, she offers the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional (National Mexican Women’s Commission), which was founded in 1970s by Flores and became a national organization supporting Chicana achievement in higher education and employment through its Chicana Service Action Center (CSAC) initiative.

The productive nature of these hallway movidas is illuminated in different contexts by Martha Cotera and Leticia Wiggins. Pioneering Chicana feminist Martha Cotera demonstrates in her contribution to this volume that hallway movidas were not exclusive to the Chicano movement. Cotera’s essay, “Mujeres Bravas: How Chicanas Shaped the Feminist Agenda at the National IWY Conference in Houston, 1977,” offers a detailed excavation of the ways in which Chicanas organized before and during the 1977 International Women’s Year (IWY) conference in Houston. The Houston conference was organized to generate a national action plan for US women as a follow-up to the United Nations-sponsored IWY conference held in Mexico City in 1975. In a riveting account based on personal archive and her own recollections of participation in this effort, Cotera documents how Chicanas met in hallways, hotel rooms, nearby restaurants, and other off-site locations to orchestrate the strategies that would ensure that their agenda would be heard within the official space of this groundbreaking national conference. In a similar vein, Wiggins’s essay, “‘Women Need to Find Their Voice’: Latinas Speak Out in the Midwest, 1972,” focuses on the actions of Jane Gonzalez and some fifty other women who challenged their confinement to the kitchen during the agenda-setting process at the 1972 Mi Raza Primero conference in Muskegon, Michigan. Wiggins shows how Chicanas responded to their exclusion by unanimously adopting resolutions to push for gender equality. Led by Gonzalez and Olga Villa Parra, they went on to organize their own conference, Adelante Mujer, in South Bend, Indiana, in 1972, the first of its kind in the Midwest.

Hallway movidas can also work to create new sites for Chicana feminism within unexpected or even hostile spaces, such as the Catholic Church. Though the Church has historically been a place of women’s organizing, it is associated for many with women’s oppression because of the way doctrine is used to justify heteropatriarchy and colonialism. However, close examination of Chicana activism in the Church shows how women crafted realms of freedom inside dominant institutions that are hierarchically organized to exclude women and are therefore not free or safe spaces. As Lara Medina has documented, one of these “realms of freedom” was Las Hermanas, a collective of Mexican American Catholic nuns and laywomen who came together in Texas in the early 1970s to reform the Catholic Church by calling for more cultural awareness, greater commitment to working with the people, and more integration and visibility for women in the Church.26
Susana Gallardo’s essay in this volume, “It’s Not a Natural Order: Religion and the Emergence of Chicana Feminism in the Cursillo Movement in San Jose,” shifts attention from nuns to laywomen who participated in the Catholic Cursillo movement (a series of short courses in Christian teaching for laypeople), examining the ways they mobilized existing structures in the Church to develop a greater sense of their own agency and power. The women Gallardo interviewed reflected on how their participation in the Church-sanctioned activity of the Cursillos gave them an opportunity to read and share their experiences as women. In showing how these laywomen drew upon their own experiences in both secular (activist) and religious spheres to challenge the abstractions of church doctrine, Gallardo reveals how they appropriated priestly privilege/status to transform the Cursillo into a radical spiritual vehicle.

The hallway is a spatial metaphor that signals the interstitial locations through which and in which Chicanas articulated a flexible oppositional consciousness that refused moncausal understandings of oppression and power as well as conventional ideological scripts. As Chela Sandoval has argued, theorizing from her own embodied experiences in feminist, third world, and Chicano movement spaces, this “flexible consciousness” is a key technology of resistance that arises from the necessary identity negotiations that women of color must make as they work within and between multiple movements to combat oppression. Gloria Anzaldúa’s testimonio, "Many Roads, One Path," reveals not only the complex identity negotiations of a Chicana lesbian moving through different political and cultural spaces (many of which excluded her) but also the ways in which the act of “moving” itself produced not only dissident political positionings but also an understanding of how "difference" could be central to the coalitional praxis of women of color. Anzaldúa’s testimony demonstrates that shifting our focus to the strategic operations of hallway movidas complicates simplistic ideological and tactical divides—between “conservative,” “liberal,” and “radical” approaches toward social change—that too often render invisible the ways in which Chicanas crafted spaces of liberation within and beyond the conceptual limitations of existing organizations. Whether in the Church, the university, the political party system, or other established organizations that set the terms of participation, through their hallway movidas Chicanas aptly negotiated those terms or expanded them in ways that inevitably moved them toward alliance building that bridged difference in the interest of collective social change.

HOME-MAKING MOVIDAS: BUILDING CHICANA AESTHETICS, SPACES, PROJECTS, AND INSTITUTIONS

Focusing on the complex interplay between multiple movements and political spaces also reveals the tensions and differences within movement institutions that motivated Chicanas to envision alternative spaces, projects, and institutional
formations. While sometimes a source of division, these tensions were also generative of new Chicana postures, aesthetics, and organizations through which activists sought to express their political commitments and address their multiple and intersecting identities holistically. Indeed, it was this necessity for Chicanas to make a home even in spaces that excluded them that engendered some of the most powerful practices of coalition, community, and movement building to emerge from the era. A focus on Chicana home-making *movidas*—which we define as both their organizing work within existing Chicano movement projects and their efforts to create separate and independent Chicana institutions—not only illuminates the invisible labor that Chicanas often undertook to ensure the success of various movement initiatives (community service, popular education, political organizing, print media), it also reveals the rich history of Chicana-led social spaces, cultural initiatives, and institutions.29

While Chicanas worked within many of the political, artistic, and service institutions of the Chicano movement era, they also created alternative spaces that could better address their visions of social change. Within movement organizations, Chicanas often created safe spaces for young women who felt alienated by the masculinist ethos and patriarchal power structures of revolutionary politics. For example, Chicanas who were active in El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA) and other student organizations frequently formed separate women’s groups to discuss gender issues and develop strategies for interrupting sexist organizational dynamics. Groups like Hijas de Cuauhtémoc in Long Beach as well as Las Chicanas, a San Diego–based group, figured out that they would have to meet separately from MEChA organizations on their campuses in order to be heard and to have the issues that were important to them validated and acted upon. In their meetings they focused on topics that were relevant to their lives as young, first-generation college-going women, such as sexual health, male dominance, and economic issues. In these groups and others like them (the Mujeres Caucus of the Raza Unida Party, for example), Chicanas designed workshops, led meetings and consciousness-raising groups, and organized regional and national conferences focused on social, economic, and cultural issues impacting Chicanas.30

A widespread movement practice was to form study groups in which participants discussed influential readings or “rap groups” to discuss the nature of oppression and how to combat it. Chicanas participating in these informal groups frequently formed counterstudy groups to directly address Chicana experiences or break patriarchal forms of female competition (a dynamic that often played out in movement spaces) that stood in the way of solidarity, community, and radical consciousness raising. These spaces of intellectual exchange allowed Chicanas to tackle revolutionary texts and build their confidence with political theory while also forging a sense of community and what Las Hijas de Cuauhtémoc called *hermanidad* (sisterhood), a feminist counter to the exclusively male *carnalismo* (brotherhood). Chicanas at San Diego State College established a separate reading group where they read a foundational feminist text, *The Woman Question* by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx.31 Hilda Rodriguez recalled that by studying books like this one and
relating them back to concrete examples from her life experiences, she was able to better understand her “struggle for self-identity.” Such texts opened the door to an understanding of women’s subordination for the circle of Chicana student activists with whom Rodriguez organized. At Long Beach State University, Anna NietoGomez and others also turned to a key feminist text in the Chicana reading group they established. Noticing that many of the Chicana freshmen she helped as an Educational Opportunity Program counselor had to give up their dreams of a college education because they ended up pregnant, NietoGomez picked *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, a foundational text in the women’s health movement, as one of the first books to read in her Chicana group.

Chicanas also created new homes in the Chicano movement and society at large through aesthetic *movidas* like teatro, creative and expository writing, art making, altar making, filmmaking, performing, and singing. Through these creative home-making *movidas*, Chicanas imagined their communities and cultures from a woman-centered perspective even as they made their presence known in movement social and political spaces. Groups like Teatro Chicana and Teatro Las Cucarachas and spoken-word performers like Dorinda Moreno engaged in forms of cultural critique that called out the gender politics of movement classics like Corky Gonzales’s epic poem “Yo soy Joaquín” and reimagined Chicano history as a sweeping Chicana herstory from La Llorona (the Mexican legend of the weeping woman) to the female labor organizers featured in the film *Salt of the Earth*.

For the filmmaker and poet Osa Hidalgo de la Riva, this home-making *movida* takes the form of “*mujerista* aesthetics,” a woman-identified, nonhierarchical, politically oriented, and *rasquache* (homemade, vernacular, and repurposed aesthetic forms) practice that rewrites epic Chicano histories and memories of the movement to create blueprints for a better world. In the *testimonio* she shared with Maylei Blackwell in this volume, “Visions of Utopia while Living in Occupied Aztlán,” Hidalgo de la Riva contemplates her own genealogy of matrilineal, lesbian kinship and her affective connections to the untold *lesbiana* undercurrents of the Chicano movement. Her *testimonio* illustrates how lesbians created a home in Chicano culture through art, literature, film, and community-building initiatives. As Hidalgo de la Riva’s *testimonio* suggests, feminist and lesbian movement spaces required no small amount of negotiation and skillful *movidas*. Reimagining and rewriting the ways in which women have been made to feel like outsiders in their own homes and movements, Chicana artists, muralists, filmmakers, and writers have used culture to create spaces where they can holistically exist and be at home within their multiple selves, within the Chicano movement and within society at large.

In her exploration of artist Ester Hernández’s body of work, Maylei Blackwell explores a different kind of personal and political narrative, one that is refracted through Hernández’s primary communicative tool—visual art. Drawing on interviews with Hernández, Blackwell demonstrates how Hernández’s visual vocabulary emerged from her childhood experience in the fields of the
San Joaquin Valley, and how her varied political commitments (to the Chicano movement, the farmworkers, queer politics, and solidarity efforts with Central America) shaped the thematic and formal concerns of her body of work. Blackwell’s essay reveals how Hernández made a home for her multiple selves, as a Chicana, an artist, and a lesbian, through a practice of social and political critique birthed from a female-centered world and told from the point of view of the worker, the migrant, the musician, the weaver. The new aesthetic home Hernández crafts incorporates the spiritual realm as well, syncretically fusing a warrior diosa with the Statue of Liberty, La Muerte with the Sun Maid Raisin Girl, and La Virgen with a terrorist. These hybrid female icons constitute a Chicana feminist cosmology that implicitly critiques oppressive relations: an aesthetic movida that liberates signs, symbols, and icons from their home cultures to challenge the patriarchal and colonial logics embedded within them. Through this home-making aesthetic movida, Hernández shows that what has been relegated to an indigenous past endures in the present, and even opens the way for new possible futures. Hernández’s art, like her life, cannot be easily compartmentalized into any single political, aesthetic, formal, or even temporal box. Instead, as Blackwell argues, her multiply situated obras offer a visual analog for her experience—a theory in the flesh (and paint)—and a way home.

Hernández answered the revolutionary call to create new spaces and organizations that would serve the interests of the community, crafting livable homes for their work within Chicano, third world, and women’s liberation projects. Indeed, “service to the people” was a core principle of radical social movements led by people of color. Collectively they created new institutions or commandeered existing institutions (hospitals, health centers, schools, churches, radio stations) that were not serving the communities in which they were located. These initiatives included the breakfast programs of the Black Panther Party, the medical testing and medical services of the Young Lords Party, the Barrio Free Clinic established by the East Los Angeles Brown Berets, and the employment service of the Chicana Service Action Center. While such efforts were usually focused on service provision to communities in need, they also functioned as spaces for consciousness raising and community mobilization. Not surprisingly, given the crucial importance of such initiatives within movement cultures, conflicts over administrative control, ideological direction, and media attention frequently arose, and the conflicts often had a gendered dimension. While women often led these institution-building projects, they occasionally broke off to form their own organizations due to the unequally gendered division of labor that working within existing organizations often entailed. This dynamic is richly illustrated in Dionne Espinoza’s study of the women Brown Beret members in Los Angeles, in which she reveals that Gloria Arellanes—who was charged by Brown Beret Prime Minister David Sánchez to lead the Barrio Free Clinic—eventually called the male leadership out on the unequal gendered division of labor. When their behavior did not change, she, along with other
Chicana Brown Berets who comprised the core of clinic workers, formed a separate organization, Las Adelitas de Aztlan.\textsuperscript{35}

A focus on Chicana institution-building movidas reveals how their labor inside movement spaces was frequently invisibilized in the tendency to devalue women’s contributions as “volunteer work.” This framing of women’s labor as voluntary (a labor of love) continues to structure absences in the historical record. As Dolores Delgado Bernal has demonstrated, traditional notions of leadership (who stands in front of the mic) can erase the grassroots, organizational backbone of social movements, the hidden labor most often undertaken by women that enables successful movements.\textsuperscript{36} In his chapter on Seattle’s El Centro de La Raza, Michael Aguirre responds to the historical erasure of women’s labor in movement initiatives by demonstrating that much of the organizational and administrative work of getting the Centro up and running and keeping it running fell on the shoulders of women. Nevertheless their involvement and contributions have not been sufficiently recognized. Aguirre’s chapter in this volume, “Excavating the Chicano Movement: Chicana Feminism, Mobilization, and Leadership at El Centro de la Raza, 1972–1979,” documents the participation of women at the heart of this community resource and demonstrates that in order to have a more complete understanding of one of the cornerstones of Seattle’s Chicano movement, we must first understand Chicanas’ foundational contributions to its success. Likewise, Monica De La Torre recuperates the work that Chicanas did to build a key community resource in the Pacific Northwest: Radio KDNA, the nation’s first full-time Spanish language noncommercial radio station. In her chapter in this volume, “Feminista Frequencies: Chicana Radio Activism in the Pacific Northwest,” De La Torre theorizes how the Chicana leadership of Radio KDNA fundamentally transformed the aims and structure of the station’s radio activism by ensuring that Chicanas held positions of leadership. Chicanas at KDNA trained women as radio producers, created content and radio programming unique to the Chicana experience, and implemented antisexist practices within the radio station.

In yet another example of a home-making movida, Alicia Escalante founded the East Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization—one of the earliest Chicana advocacy organizations of the period—to challenge public policies (like the Tal- madge Amendment of 1971) and address their negative impact on women who, like Escalante, experienced racialized and gendered class exploitation. Rosie Bermudez offers a revealing political biography of Escalante in her contribution to this volume, “La Causa de los Pobres: Alicia Escalante’s Lived Experiences of Poverty and the Struggle for Economic Justice,” an essay that documents how Escalante’s understanding of Chicana feminism developed from a struggle against women’s economic marginalization, poverty, and a class-based politics. Drawing from her personal interviews with Alicia Escalante as well as the collection of Escalante materials in the Chica por mi Raza Digital Memory Collective, Bermudez demonstrates that from the start, Escalante approached her social justice work from
an intersectional analysis based largely on her own experiences of poverty and marginalization as a woman of color—experiences that differed from both the dominant paradigms of the Chicano movement and those of the emergent welfare rights movement. While movement narratives have illustrated rural poverty and the hardships of farmwork, albeit with less attention to the experiences of women, Escalante’s biography gives us both a powerful personal narrative about multigenerational urban poverty and a framework for the analysis of racialized, gendered, class exploitation long before there was an understanding of the feminization of poverty.

By the mid-1970s, a burgeoning network of organizations and programs led by Chicanas and focused on their needs developed across the Southwest, Pacific Northwest, and Midwest. These efforts were spurred on by the increase in funding made available through federal initiatives like the Women’s Educational Equity Act of 1974, which included a focus on women who experienced “multiple discrimination based on gender and on race, ethnicity, national origin, disability, or age.”37 Some organizations and initiatives were outgrowths of the various Chicana conferences and meetings that were held in the early 1970s to address the particular social and economic needs of women. Organizations like Chicago’s Mujeres Latinas en Acción, still active today, and Mujeres Unidas de Michigan, which had branches in Flint, Detroit, and Lansing in the 1970s and 1980s, were a direct result of the call to action issued in 1972 at Adelante Mujer, the first national Chicana conference to be held in the Midwest (documented in Leticia Wiggins’s chapter 3 in this volume). Chicanas established other organizations by forming “women’s caucuses” within Chicano-led political organizations such as the Raza Unida Party. One institutional outgrowth of this strategy of caucus formation was the Chicana Research and Learning Center (CRLC), founded in Austin, Texas, in 1974 by Raza Unida Party members Martha P. Cotera and Evey Chapa. As a clearinghouse for educational materials on Chicanas and women of color, the CRLC sponsored independent research and writing and was intended to serve both community education projects and the curricular needs of newly established Chicano studies and women’s studies programs.

In her contribution to this volume, “The Space in Between: Exploring the Development of Chicana Feminist Thought in Central Texas,” Brenda Sendejo draws from personal interviews and archival research to tell the story of the Chicana Research and Learning Center as a critical site for knowledge production by and about Chicanas and women of color in the 1970s. Sendejo demonstrates how the CRLC functioned as an important bridge between the university and the community that ensured that early Chicana scholarship and teaching would remain relevant and accountable to the community. Extending the “bridge” metaphor from institutional space and applying it to the genealogy of Chicana feminism, Sendejo observes that the establishment of the Chicana Research and Learning Center marked a key and, until now, unrecognized bridge between the early work
of Chicana feminists in on-the-ground political struggles and the rise of Chicana feminist studies within the academy.

**MOVIDAS OF CROSSING: BORDERS, COALITION, SOLIDARITIES**

Chicanas often moved between, beyond, and across multiple borders, including those of nationalisms, cultures, social movements, nation-states, histories, languages, and group identities, to make common cause with others who shared their social justice goals. These movements enabled new kinds of relationships, transforming existing approaches to social justice particularly when top-down approaches did not take into account the multiple and intersecting nature of oppression. In and through these movidas of crossing, Chicanas developed a set of methodologies and technologies of resistance that have become central to women of color feminism today. Understanding the strategic importance of difference in successful organizing work, learning to shift the center in order to illuminate the ways in which oppressions impact communities differently, working through the delicate negotiations between self and other, understanding the self in the other—all of these tactics destabilized conventional notions of identity and power and shaped what Chela Sandoval has called a new “hermeneutics of social change.”

In her essay in this volume, “Forging a Brown-Black Movement: Chicana and African American Women Organizing for Welfare Rights in Los Angeles,” Alejandra Marchevsky documents the delicate negotiations between the specificities of identity, race, and language as they relate to a sense of collective identity for Chicanas and African American women on welfare. Challenging “silo” narratives that set up conceptual borders that separate racialized ethnic groups and their organizational histories—as if they exist without interaction—and/or that assume only tensions between the groups, Marchevsky maps the landscape of women of color welfare rights organizing in Los Angeles around cross-racial dialogue. In doing so, she illuminates the ways in which Chicana welfare rights activist Alicia Escalante navigated the points of coalition (and difference) in the experiences of welfare for black women and Chicanas. In a quite different context of organizing—the mainstream women’s movement and the campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment—Martha Cotera’s contribution to this volume, “Mujeres Bravas,” reveals how Chicana feminists brought together a group of women who had felt left out of the proceedings, including self-described “low-income women” and lesbians, across perceived borders of difference to forge a strategic coalition that challenged classism, racism, and heterosexism in the construction of a “women’s agenda” in the 1977 International Women’s Year follow-up conference in Houston.

Such Chicana border-crossing movidas were not limited to social movements in the United States. Indeed, many Chicanas developed a sense of their own identities as marginalized subjects through experiences of organizing with
international and third world liberation struggles. In her essay in this volume, “Tu Reata Es Mi Espada”: Elizabeth Sutherland’s Chicana Formation,” Anнемarie Perez traces the ways in which the journalist and social justice warrior Elizabeth “Betita” Martínez shifted her self-identification as she documented anticolonial struggles around the world including the black civil rights movement and the Cuban Revolution. Perez argues that it was these experiences, along with her growing identification as a Chicana and as a third world woman, that led Martínez to shed the pen name she had adopted in her early career as a journalist, “Elizabeth Sutherland.” In effect, Elizabeth Sutherland became Elizabeth “Betita” Martínez, a transformation that ultimately led Martínez to move to New Mexico, where she articulated a Third-Worldist perspective on Chicano liberation through her work as a journalist and editor of El Grito del Norte newspaper.

Like Elizabeth “Betita” Martínez, many other Chicanas framed their struggles within a global context and identified key points of connection between their experiences and those of women across the world who were also struggling against “the many headed demon of oppression.” They built these connections through journalism, consciousness raising, and travel. Chicanas like María Elena Martínez (state party chair for the RUP) and Hijas de Cuauhtémoc member Sylvia Castillo were instrumentally involved in organizing trips to Cuba for the Venceremos Brigade. Chicanas also traveled to Vancouver, Canada, for the Indochinese Women’s Conference in April 1971 and to Mexico City for the first UN-sponsored World Conference on Women (International Women’s Year 1975), both of which were reported widely in articles and at meetings. In other instances such border crossing involved writing and publishing to raise consciousness about issues impacting women beyond the US nation-state. Chicana writers for the radical press (Elizabeth “Betita” Martínez, Enriqueta Vásquez, and scores of others) regularly reported on liberation struggles in the United States and beyond (Cuba, Puerto Rico, Chile, Palestine, Africa). Working with a group of students within San Francisco State University’s fledgling Raza studies program, the poet Dorinda Moreno edited the anthology La mujer: En pie de lucha (1973), that put Filipinas, Puerto Rican women, Mexican women, Chicanas, and African American women into dialogue. Dionne Espinoza’s essay in the present volume, “La Raza en Canada’: San Diego Chicana Activists, the Indochinese Women’s Conference of 1971, and Third World Womanism,” opens a much-needed conversation about the complexities of Chicana/third world woman identification by focusing on the meanings of third world solidarity for Chicana activists who participated in coaltional transnational spaces or who published reflective pieces about how the third world concept reframed Chicanas’ understandings of oppression, both globally and locally. Espinoza’s essay makes an important two-pronged intervention, first in demonstrating that many Chicanas in the 1970s were aware and active in global decolonial politics (before their engagement with Central American solidarity struggles in the 1980s) and second by inserting Chicana feminists into a narrative of the emergence of global feminism in the 1970s that has rarely included them.
Recuperating the transnational *movidas* of Chicana feminism is key to disrupting a too-narrow contextual frame that figures the development of Chicana and women-of-color feminism as something that can be isolated to the borders of the United States. Too often the emergence of Chicana and women-of-color feminism is exclusively attributed to a feminist critique of nationalism or an antiracist critique of hegemonic feminism. These third world coalitional *movidas* illuminate the various roots and routes Chicana activists took in expressing their feminism, including the third world solidarity and internationalist impulses that allowed them to form new coalitions globally and within their own local organizing contexts. Testimonial narratives such as Olga Talamante’s contribution to this volume, “De Campesina a Internacionalista: A Journey of Encuentros y Desencuentros,” reveal the complex activist routes that Chicana feminists and *lesbianas* have taken through internationalism, leftist party politics, and many other movements and formations. Talamante’s *testimonio* calls into question the scholarly tendency to reduce the complexities of the movement years to a singular movement narrative, even as she demonstrates how that approach fails to accurately capture the holistic way Chicana activists have engaged politics as their experiences and insights traverse multiple movements at one time and over time.

The arc of Talamante’s trajectory, as well as her ability to tell it and make meaning out of it, introduces new ways of writing histories that move across several different movements, documenting what Chela Sandoval has termed “differential consciousness” through an account of lived experience. This *movida* of crossing reveals the stories of those who crossed movements and borders to build new solidarities and insights that are key to development of Chicana feminism. Building on this *movida* of crossing in its method and its content, “María Jiménez: Reflexiones on Traversing Multiple Fronteras in the South,” the essay coauthored by Samantha Rodriguez and Stalina Emmanuelle Villarreal (Maria Jiménez’s daughter), represents a collaborative crossing of generations. Rodriguez and Villarreal’s essay draws from oral history and other interviews to tell the story of María Jiménez, one of the most respected Chicana *activistas* in the Houston Chicano movement and a woman who has remained active in labor, immigration, and transnational Latina/o political movements. Part biographical account of Jiménez’s life and part extended analysis of a mode of feminism that crossed the borders of race, class, gender, and nationality in the interest of social justice, the essay draws equally from Jiménez’s memories of her life as an activist and her critical perspectives on those experiences, illuminating the complexities and contradictions of feminism in the borderlands.

**MEMORY MOVIDAS: COUNTERMEMORY, GENEALOGY, TESTIMONIO**

Often submerged and untold—or discounted as a purely “personal” or “private” epistemology—the practice and deployment of critical memory has been a central
technology in the repertoire of Chicana social movement strategies. Chicana memory *movidas* vary widely and include practices of writing (historiography, poetry, testimonio), collecting (bibliographies, sourcebooks, personal libraries and archives), aesthetic production (film, theater, visual art, slideshows), and even modes of organizing. Chicanas in the movement used collective memory to forge new political spaces and identities for themselves, mobilizing practices of countermemory (either collective or personal) to highlight the unique perspective of subjects at the intersection of multiple oppressions. Chicana memory *movidas* recovered and reworked submerged and fractured historical narratives of women in the Mexican Revolution, first-wave Mexican feminist activism, and the iconography of the *soldaderas*. Chicanas retrofitted *revolucionaria* identities and discourses to enter into the discursive terrain of struggle on which the Chicano movement was staged, shifting that terrain away from the mythic role of women in Aztec cosmology to the historical and material experiences of women’s activism leading up to and during the Mexican Revolution at the turn of the twentieth century.

Chicana historiography produced during the movement years, like Martha Cotera’s self-published *Diosa y Hembra* (a touchstone for early Chicana feminists and widely considered to be the first comprehensive historical analysis of Mexican women in the United States written from a Chicana perspective) departed from the norms of traditional historiography to draw genealogical connections between the lived experiences of indigenous women of the precolonial period and contemporary Chicanas. The book included meditations on the *diosas* of Mesoamerica, recuperations of historical figures like borderlands feminist Sara Estela Ramírez, and a list of contemporary Chicana organizations. As if visualizing this Chicana historiographic *movida*, Anna NietoGomez’s slideshow *La Chicana* (1976), which was later transformed into a groundbreaking documentary in collaboration with Chicana filmmaker Sylvia Morales, offered its own visual remix of history compiled from archival and contemporary photographs, visual art, and indigenous codices. Proposing something more than a countermemory or a contestatory account of what happened, such Chicana memory *movidas* figure history itself as an active site of meaning and contestation, of recuperation and revolution. We see such an approach to history in the labors of Adelaida del Castillo and Norma Alarcón to recuperate the image of La Malinche, in Gloria Anzaldúa’s weaving of poetry, memory (auto)ethnography, and history into an account of borderlands subjectivity that is both deeply personal and collective, in the “theory in the flesh” of Cherrie Moraga, and in the efforts of contemporary Chicanas to make a place for testimonio in their scholarly work.

Storytelling, through testimonio, oral history, or biography, is central to this practice of historical recuperation and its political deployment of memory. More than a simple or transparent narration of what happened, storytelling implies an act of intentional construction that fuses personal narrative with collective experience to shape a story and its meaning. It is a key Chicana memory *movida* that
get to the heart of the politics of telling—whether it be telling personal stories, recovering collective memories, or upending traditional movement histories. Is it enough that a story is told, or do we need to attend to the ways in which the story is told? What material conditions produce the story? What are the relations of power that obscure it or make it possible to be heard? Drawing from Chicana feminist movement practices such as rap sessions, workshops, and women’s caucuses that allowed women to speak about their experiences of oppression—sometimes for the first time—and inspired by third world movements for national liberation, Chicanas developed a feminist practice of speaking out and “speaking bitterness” to name and begin to analyze the sources and conditions of oppression they were confronting. They also drew from Latin American revolutionary traditions of bearing witness to the collective history of a people, mobilizing story as a memory movida that helped to raise political consciousness in its understanding of lived experiences within a collective frame of struggle. This is particularly important for women of color activists whose multiple oppressions were either hidden by the public/private dichotomy or obscured by the “primary oppression” mandate of single-issue movements and identities.

The personal narratives included in this collection are experiential and geared toward collective empowerment and healing for self and others. Similar to the way Rosie Castro, the San Antonio–based Raza Unida Party activist, described Chicana leadership as one that empowers others, many Chicana feminists deploy a narrative strategy of telling that empowers others to tell their stories, to add their voices, and to add to the collective reflection and theorization of shared oppressions and modes of resistance. These calls to “voice” invite a practice of multivocality that echoes the multigenre, multiformat practices of Chicana print communities of the movement era as well as the anthologizing practices that women of color mobilized to create political community and liberatory pedagogies across diverse political sectors. In this volume the call to voice encompasses different modes of storytelling (manifesto and testimonio) and various genres and narrative frames such as biography and oral history. What sets these narratives apart from other traditional forms of testimonio and biography is that the narrators here foreground analysis over pure narration, to make meaning and explore the historical significance of their own history, and to contribute their own modes of analysis to the historiographic record. While much testimonio has relied on an interlocutor from the outside to come and give voice to the subaltern—to those with little access to institutional modes of knowledge production—this collection marks how bearing witness to a movement and writing from the individual “I” can be a key movida that inspires others to voice and incites other strategies for social change.

The multivocal storytelling strategies in this collection also invite different historical imaginaries and different modes of telling that are based in the ways that Chicana and Latina feminists have used the personal and the intimate to speak truth to power and to situate and ground their own “theories in the flesh.”
Deanna Romero’s memoir in this volume, “My Deliberate Pursuit of Freedom,” narrates her early formation as a child of the movement born to parents who were committed activists in Denver’s Chicano movement. While honoring her parents and the Chicano movement generation, Romero also speaks to the lived experience of the individual who is negotiating between the self and the collective and seeking her own path to freedom as a deliberate pursuit. Romero sees herself in the cycle of generations of women who, over time, are breaking from the scripted narrative of Chicana womanhood. From her grandmother to her mother to her own decision to leave her marriage and come out as queer, Romero’s reflective self-analysis offers a gentle weave of insights and observations along with an account of her spiritual journey as a trained health care professional who incorporated non-Western spiritual practices in her holistic approach to community health. Romero’s brief memoir illustrates that it is only through an individual act of self-narration that we can grasp a sense of the complex nature of lived experience in the context of political, personal, and social transformation.

The narratives of Olga Talamante, Gloria Anzaldúa, Deanna Romero, Ester Hernández, and Osa Hidalgo de la Riva in this volume are particularly illuminating in terms of understanding the complex routes of political identity in relation to gender and sexuality. In these accounts, we find no singular coming-out narrative like those emplotted by white lesbian and gay activists onto a gay liberation imaginary. Like many women of this era, their sexuality was woven into their Chicanidad and part of their emerging feminism. Indeed, these narratives of experience demand modes of analysis that do not dissect one element of who Chicana lesbians are from the other parts of themselves. Some women-loving women did/do not identify as lesbian, while others contributed to the formation of distinct lesbian political communities in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s. Many Chicana lesbianas dedicated most of their artistic and organizing energies to the Chicano movement, and found ways to express their sexuality within their Chicanidad, as is richly illustrated by Ester Hernandez’s painting La Ofrenda, which not only illustrates the strength of Mexicanas and Chicanas but also the female-centered erotic power of everyday life. Others, like Gloria Anzaldúa, embraced alternative spaces and coalitional gestures to articulate a fluid, borderlands sexuality. Still others, like Olga Talamante, found ways of coming out after decades of political work while staying in their communities and organizations. The diverse sexual routes of movement work that are illuminated in the narratives of Talamante, Anzaldúa, and Hernández suggest the myriad movidas that Chicanas deployed to navigate the demonization of feminism via lesbian baiting in the Chicano movement. Their efforts to build women-centered Chicana cultural, political, and healing practices are illustrative of the complex negotiations of sexuality in the movement years.

This is not to romanticize or minimize the violence many lesbian and bisexual women experienced in Chicano movement spaces and within the women’s movement. While sexuality has come to be recognized as an integral part of Chicana
identity and struggle, for many years Chicana lesbians were among the most talented leaders of organizations but often suffered the invisibilization of their sexuality at the risk of expulsion from movement spaces. Even emergent Chicana lesbian feminist cultures of the late 1970s and 1980s tended to shun those who challenged normative gender scripts (such as masculine-identified women and other gender “deviants”) as being dupes of the patriarchy or examples of the excesses of capitalist individualism. This is true of community leaders and activists like Diane Felix, who because of her butch presentation was consistently excluded from feminist and lesbian formations. She ultimately felt more comfortable organizing with gay Chicano men, and in 1975 they founded Gay Latino Alliance (GALA), an organization that brought together Chicano power with the gay liberation sentiments of Chicana/o gays and lesbians, many of whom had participated in the United Farm Workers and other Chicano movement organizations in the San Francisco Bay Area and San Jose, California. Diane Felix became a major political and organizing force within GALA in San Francisco. She went on to start Proyecto contra SIDA por Vida (PCPV) in response to the HIV/AIDS crisis and has built political and affective communities through her skills as DJ Chili D, organizing women’s bailes and spinning for queer events nationally and internationally since the 1970s.

While the Chicana lesbian storytelling movidas in this collection give us an intimate understanding of how women navigated the complicating difference of sexuality within and outside their communities, for other women included in this volume, memory movidas involve experimentation with the form of testimonio itself. In her essay, “Manifestos de Memoria: (Re)Living the Movement without Blinking,” Chicana/Nez Perce scholar Inés Hernández-Ávila creates a dialogue between her published poetry, meant to be performed for audiences, and her personal reflections on identity, creativity, and feminism to offer a multigenre narrative of her childhood in Houston, her involvement in the Chicano student movement at the University of Houston, her early years as a poet and academic at the University of Texas at Austin (where she and Gloria Anzaldúa developed the first classes on La Chicana and she published the short-lived Chicana feminist journal HEMBRA), and her organizing work with the Texas Farm Workers and the Raza Unida Party. In its border-crossing form—which draws equally from prose and poetry, recollection and archive, public performance and private reflection—Hernández-Ávila’s chapter maps the borders she has regularly crossed in her own life as a woman who moved within and between Chicano and indigenous communities. It also gives readers a vivid sense of the political landscape of Austin and Houston in the mid-1970s, a context that puts her essay into productive dialogue with Brenda Sendejo’s essay on the Chicana Research and Learning Center, Gloria Anzaldúa’s testimonio, and Rodriguez and Villarreal’s account of the life of Houston–area María Jiménez. Reading across this collection will no doubt incite other such interconnections and overlaps, which suggests the political and affective commitments to movement women that our contributors share as well.
as their commitment to work in collaboration to document and interpret their collective experience and to be accountable to each other for those theories and research practices.

The practice of feminist oral history has been essential to the recovery of women's involvement in the Chicano movement and many other resistance cultures of the 1960s, especially in terms of looking to the intimacy of memory to uncover what has, until very recently, been overlooked by researchers. The same can be said of the painstaking recuperation of a long-ignored Chicana archive. Where other researchers have overlooked the small stories about women sometimes buried in or completely absent from institutional archives, the contributors to this volume have hunted down women's stories from multiple sources—institutional and community-based archives, materials in personal collections, oral histories and interviews—developing research relationships in the process that are built over many, many years. These collaborations are themselves a kind of memory movida, one that builds a shared archive of remembrance and a lived/living repository for multigenerational feminist dialogue and scholarship. Projects like the Chicana por mi Raza Digital Memory Collective embody these collaborative and cross-generational relations of production through the deployment of new technologies that enable an even broader community of scholars, students, teachers, and organizers to share their stories. Indeed, as María Cotera discusses in her contribution to this volume, "Unpacking Our Mothers' Libraries: Practices of Chicana Memory before and after the Digital Turn," it is through practices of memory that Chicanas make key connections between history, genealogy, and personal experience and forge linkages across different generations, geopolitical borders, and political traditions or ideologies. Cotera argues that Chicana acts of memory and memorialization have allowed for the development of new political subjectivities and vocabularies of struggle that draw on prior generations and connect individual experiences of oppression to historical and contemporary collectivities. In and through its efforts to preserve Chicana memory via the collection of oral histories and the digitization of archives in personal collections, the Chicana por mi Raza project enacts and preserves the memory movidas of an earlier generation of Chicanas. As Cotera argues, such recovery projects, which work to recuperate and preserve memory, and in the process "relate new constituencies into coalitions of resistance," suggest new possibilities for memory movidas in the digital age.49

Moreover, in their potential to generate new scholarship on Chicanas, recovery projects contribute to the crafting of new genealogies of struggle. Several of the essays included in this volume (Bermudez, Wiggins, Rodriguez and Villarreal, Chávez) draw from the Chicana por mi Raza digital archive. The project has also spawned numerous partner projects like Tess Arenas's Wisconsin-based digital oral history initiative Somos Latinas and Elena Gutiérrez's Chicana Chicago project, both of which have made substantial contributions to previous efforts to document Chicana and Latina activism in the Great Lakes region.50 Elena
Gutierrez and Virginia Martínez’s contribution to this volume, “La Mariposa de Oro: The Journey of an Advocate,” is a first-person account of her development as a legal voice for Latina issues. This testimonio was part of Elena Gutierrez’s Chicana Chicago project and is an excellent example of how such projects can expand the scope of our understanding of the spaces and places of Chicana activism. Martínez’s testimonio also vividly demonstrates the importance of local as well as national Chicana networks to the development of social justice agendas well into the 1990s.

The memories documented in the Chicana por mi Raza digital archive have also generated new memory movidas like Marisela R. Chávez’s essay in this volume, “Refocusing Chicana International Feminism: Photographs, Postmemory, and Political Trauma,” which centers on the workings of memory and the “silences of the archive.” Chávez’s essay draws inspiration from photographs of Chicanas at the International Women’s Year conference in Mexico City in 1975. The photographs, taken by Nancy De Los Santos, who attended the conference as part of a delegation of Chicanas from Chicago, were uncovered during an oral history interview in 2013 conducted by the Chicana por mi Raza project. De Los Santos’s photographs incite Chávez’s reflection on the research process and the frustration she frequently felt when participants’ vague memories and the lack of archival evidence made it difficult for her to tell the story of Chicanas’ participation in the Mexico City conference. Returning to the historic event via these recovered photos, Chávez admits that while the photos fail to answer all of the questions she originally had regarding Chicanas’ participation in the conference, they do remind her that uncovering Chicana history often requires us to listen to the silences in the archive and find meaning in the absences and gaps of the official record. As Chávez notes, recovering meaning that others may miss means reading between the lines of the archive and engaging stories and lived experiences as a critical site of theory. This signature movida of Chicana feminist memory practice aims to generate political analyses from personal lived experience as a way to create a collective reference of struggle—what Cherrie Moraga calls “theories in the flesh.” Through such memory movidas Chicana feminists theorize from their own experiences and common frames of reference to make sense of the world around them and to name the power relations that structure inequality and produce violence, frequently through processes of invisibilization.

The diverse array of memory movidas—from the act of storytelling and testimonio, to the dialogical and collaborative preservation of memory, to the theories in the flesh that shape our praxis—constitute a key genealogical link between the work we do in this volume and the Chicana movidas it traces. Indeed, we were formed as women of color feminists and scholars in an intellectual and political genealogy that includes organizations like the Third World Women’s Alliance and Hijas de Cuauhtémoc, collectives like Combahee River and Kitchen Table, scholar-poets like Audre Lorde, Cherrie Moraga, Barbara Smith, Merle Woo, Crystos, and Gloria Anzaldúa, among many others. This is the grounding and the
hidden history that inspired us to trace the genealogies of Linda Burnham, Frances Beale, Anna NietoGomez, Gloria Arellanes, Martha Cotera, Dorinda Moreno, Alicia Escalante, Enriqueta Vásquez, Elizabeth Martinez, and many others. As a “middle” or “bridge” generation, we understand that these memory movidas are not just about constructing women of color feminist genealogies or even learning from previous activist strategies. They are also—as they were for the generations before us—about creating an analytic from which to understand power and build a theory that centers subjects who experience multiple and intersecting oppressions, in order to better understand and, more importantly, undo relations of domination and subordination in and through our scholarship. More important still, this collection—our own memory movida—represents a pedagogical commitment to root the next generation within a genealogy of US third world feminist and queer theory. For as much as memoria is a political tradition and a poetic tradition, it is also a pedagogical tradition.

Like most practices of collection (archives, oral histories, libraries), our effort to gather these essays together is a profoundly theoretical and political act. As women of color scholars who have labored to uncover a genealogy of feminist praxis that has been ignored, marginalized, and sometimes actively silenced, we understand that the stories and artifacts we choose to preserve and the ways in which we organize these stories and artifacts into narratives shape the field of knowledge and even the kinds of questions we can ask about the past. We have approached the tasks of collecting and organizing from a theoretical perspective birthed in and through the very Chicana feminist praxis we seek to document in this volume. We offer it in the spirit of a Chicana praxis of memoria and (re)collecting that is invested not only in the lessons of the past but also in what those lessons teach us about the present and how they might offer us the technologies of resistance that can guide us to a blueprint for the future. It is our hope that in bridging these temporalities we can engage in an act of recovery—spiritual and archival—that is also a space of healing: our very own Chicana movida.