En el Frente (On the Front): How Activist-Designers in the Chicano Movement Developed a Distinctive Visual Language to Fight for Social Justice in the U.S.

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SUGGESTED CITATION: Canchola, A., & Duttweiler, J. "En El Frente: A Study of Chicano Newspaper Covers." Dialectic, 5.1 (2023): pgs. 76-106.

Published by the AIGA Design Educators Community (DEC) and Michigan Publishing.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3998/dialectic.2691

STABLE URL: https://journals.publishing.umich.edu/dialectic/article/id/2691/

Abstract

Note: In this essay, the term "Chicano" is used because it was the identifier claimed by historical participants in the Mexican American Movement in the United States throughout the 1960s and 1970s. The Mexican American Movement is a term that has been expanded since its inception in the mid-1960s and that has addressed many different social, cultural, political, and economic issues, but it mostly focused on four: land ownership, workers' rights, and educational and political equality. In the context of this discourse, the authors offer that the Mexican American Movement is synonymous with the Chicano Movement. The authors also utilize the contemporary term *Latinx* to refer to a person of Latin American origin or descent. ²

Along with other civil rights movements like Black Power, women's liberation, and gay rights that were initiated and sustained in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s (and beyond), the Chicano movement (also known as *El Movimiento*) advocated for social justice by using independent publications to amplify its message. Independent publications are defined in this context as periodicals produced without approval from established publishers and presses or against the wishes of a dominant governmental, or institutional group. ³ Newly accessible and affordable design technologies such as offset printing and production technologies brought about a rise of independent publish-

ing in the U.S. in the 1960s—especially in urban American settings—and helped fuel the rise of the American activist-designer. The ability to utilize these types of publications to disperse information quickly to targeted audiences allowed for the correction of at least some of the disinformation about the Chicano movement that had begun to appear in the traditional, American "white press," and in the so-called mass media of the time. 4 For example, the independent Los Angeles newspaper and magazine La Raza observed in 1969 that neither the Los Angeles Times nor the Herald Examiner published many stories about Mexican-Americans, and in the stories they did print, 80% had been, in the words of one scholar, "sensationalized reports of crimes allegedly committed by Mexican-Americans." 5 Activists within the Chicano community designed and wrote these publications to serve as a record of social, political, cultural, and economic events, and encourage their readerships to act by unionizing, boycotting products, and marching in demonstrations to advocate for social justice. After documenting and critically analyzing the Chicano publications archived at research centers at universities in California and Texas, the authors observed the repeated usage of a unique genre of formal patterns utilized in the compositions of the cover designs of many of these Chicano publications. The authors are using these critical observations to posit that these graphic compositions constitute a distinctive Chicano visual language that consists of original, stylized deployments of imagery, icons, and masthead typography, and that this visual language was operationalized to visually communicate the socio-cultural locations of the issues these publications were addressing in ways that would effectively resonate with their particular audiences. The visual languages that affected the compositions of the covers and, in some cases, the interior page spreads of these independent Chicano publications (i.e., newspapers, newsletters, flyers, and small magazines intended for readerships in areas such as Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California) were critical to the formation and sustenance of the Chicano visual and socio-cultural identity and the role these played in visually communicating the ideals of the Chicano movement across the American southwest.

The visual essay and narrative organized for Dialectic is titled *En El Frente*, which translates from Spanish to English as "On The Front." It documents and analyzes some of the ways that the assertions and formal arrangements of these uniquely Chicano visual language elements and compositions were used in these publications by the designer activists who created them to advocate for social, economic, and political justice in and around their communities. Between approximately 1966 and late 1979, over 300 Chicano publications from 150 communities (mostly in the American southwest, but also in Chicago, Illinois, Brooklyn, New York and Washington, D.C.) were designed and distributed across the United States, and together they constitute an important addition to the predominantly white American design canon. ⁶ By making this particular historical analysis of periodical publications designed and written by Chicanos more accessible to contemporary design practitioners in the U.S. and around the world, the authors seek to expand the canon of historical approaches to engaging in and executing visual communication design processes in ways that might positively influence these processes, particularly in the U.S., so as to make them more broadly informed, equitable and inclusive.

- 1 Grigg, Jenny. "Materials and Tools as Catalysts of Invention in 1 McBirney, J. "The Chicano Movement," *CommonLit*, 15 May 2017. Online. Available at: https://www.commonlit.org/en/texts/ the-chicano-movement (Accessed March 25, 2023).
- 2 Ramos, E.C. "Notes to the Reader," *iPrinting The Revolution!*The Rise And Impact Of Chicano Graphics, 1965–Now,
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 Princeton University Press, 2020: pgs. 6-7.
- **3** McMillian, J. C. Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011: p. 3.
- **4** Andrade, F. M. "The History of 'La Raza' Newspaper and Magazine, and its Role in the Chicano Community from 1967-1977." PhD diss., California State University, Fullerton, 1979: p. 19.
- **5** Andrade, F. M. "The History of 'La Raza' Newspaper and Magazine, and its Role in the Chicano Community from 1967-1977:" p. 5.
- **6** Estrada, J. "Chicano Movements: A Geographic History," *Mapping American Social Movements Through the 20th Century.* Online. Available at: https://depts.washington.edu/moves/Chicano_geography.shtml (Accessed April 5, 2022).

En el Frente (On the Front):

How Activist-Designers in the Chicano Movement Developed a Distinctive Visual Language to Fight for Social Justice in the U.S.

ALEXANDRIA CANCHOLA & JOSHUA DUTTWEILER

A Contextual Analysis of the Front Covers of Chicano Independent Publications

The turbulent economic, political, and societal unrest that shook many areas in the U.S. during the 1960s and 1970s fueled the cultural conditions necessary to facilitate the activation of the group that evolved into the radical minority Chicano movement (or El Movimiento), as well as the rise of movements and campaigns for social justice that were facilitated by other parallel American political and socio-cultural groups. These included but were not limited to Black Power, women's liberation, and gay rights. 7 The Chicano movement was an initial attempt to shape a unified ideology that served the interests of the Mexican American working class. Independent publications written, designed, and distributed by Chicanos served as important engines that guided and drove the construction and sustenance of the Chicano movement. They proved to be instrumental in helping Chicanos establish communities and helped define both their collective and more localized identities. These publications proved to become, in the words of one scholar, the "primary educational tool and propaganda [vehicles that supported]... the movement," and helped to articulate a definition for what it meant to be Chicano. ⁹ They recorded and critically analyzed the injustices and violence faced by Chicano communities across the U.S., and issued and promoted calls for Chicano workers to unionize, boycott products, and march in demonstrations as ways of organizing and advocating

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Verso, 2007: p. 26.

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Revolution! The Rise And Impact Of
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Princeton, NJ, USA: Smithsonian
American Art Museum, in association
with Princeton University Press,
2020: pgs. 24-25.

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Institutional archives visited: Special Collections and Archives, Mary and Jeff Bell Library, Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi, Texas; Department of Special Research Collections, UC Santa Barbara Library, UC Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California; Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Edinburg, Texas; Institute of American Cultures, Chicano Research Center Collections, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California; Special Collections, USC Libraries, Chicano and Latino Studies, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California.

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"Grafica Latina, About," Grafica
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13

McMillian, J.C. <u>Smoking</u>
Typewriters. p. 4.

for social justice. ¹⁰ This visual essay and the narrative that accompanies it explores and examines how various aspects of their graphic design work supported their missions.

The authors began their endeavor by visiting the Special Collections archives at the Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi, the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, the University of California at Santa Barbara, the University of Southern California, and the University of California at Los Angeles. Each of these Special Collections housed editions of independent Chicano publications that had been published in the 1960s and 1970s in California and Texas. Both of these states were hubs of several organizations that were integral to the development and sustenance of the Chicano movement and the social, economic, and political activism that it guided and fueled during the 1960s and 1970s. 11 These archives house the corpus of Chicano independent publications that were written, designed, and distributed in the U.S. during this time. Critically assessing the graphic design of these publications, which also involved comparing and contrasting the different thematic and aesthetic approaches that were undertaken by their designers, would have been difficult-to-impossible without being able to see and contemplate their wide variety firsthand, as many of them have not been digitized. Analyzing them has the potential to reveal new design knowledge and understandings, which could not have been shared without this undertaking. This process of studying these publications within these archives, and particularly the designs of their covers, and then compiling and curating a collection from among them to understand and expand the historical canon to include the work of Chicano designers and authors is akin to that of other contemporary research projects such as Gráfica Latina and The People's Graphic Design Archive. 12

As the 1960s progressed and newly improved offset printing processes made the printing of a broad array of publications more affordable, the production and distribution of independent publications across the U.S. (and much of the rest of the so-called developed world) became much more widespread. ¹³ Within the American Chicano community, the number of publications grew rapidly, from less than 10 at the end of 1964 to more than a hundred by the end of 1969. ¹⁴ There was great diversity among these publications, which included newspapers published by non-governmental organizations, such as The United Farm Workers' *El Malcriado (The Spoiled One)* and The Texas Farm Workers' Union *El Cuhamil*, the Brown Beret's *La Causa (The Cause)* and *Regeneración (Regeneration)*, as well as newspapers

Estrada, J. "Chicano Movements:
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American Social Movements Through
the 20th Century. Online. Available
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17

Andrade, F. M. "The History of 'La Raza' Newspaper and Magazine, and its Role in the Chicano Community from 1967-1977:" pgs. 18-19. published by independent community publishers, such as *Caracol (Snail)*, which was published in San Antonio, Texas and *El Grito del Norte (The Cry of the North)*, which was published in Denver, Colorado, and independent publications produced by university students, such as UCLA's *La Gente (The People)*. The Chicano Press Association was created by activists in 1969 to serve as an internal organ of communications between these publications and their readerships by sharing a given community's local stories about history, literature, and news-based concerns with other Chicano publications across the U.S. ¹⁵ This helped this diverse but philosophically united group of publications maintain consistent communications and helped galvanize support for the Chicano cause across the country. ¹⁶

These publications strove to give voice to the issues that mattered most to American Chicanos during this time, covering politics, labor rights, economic, and social justice concerns to counter and correct much of the disinformation disseminated in many American mass media portrayals of the Mexican American experience, or to supplement a lack of information about it that was then all-too-prevalent in the traditional, mostly white-controlled American media of the time. ¹⁷ These publications were an important, and, in some American locations, the only means for Chicano audiences to gain information about, much less interact with, the Chicano movement.

Chicano newspapers were typically distributed on urban street corners, where they were stacked in piles for passersby to pick up. To attract reader attention, the newspapers that comprised the Chicano Press often adopted popular American underground press cover styles of the day that incorporated compositional approaches such as the use of photographic collage and simple line drawings to communicate ideas of outrage, protest, rebellion, and freedom. They also incorporated several distinctive visual elements into these designs that, as the 1960s gave way to the 1970s, became recognizable as some of the key components and motifs inherent in the visual identity that sought to communicate the core ideas that informed the Chicano movement. These components and motifs can be seen throughout the array of Chicano press newspaper covers that are depicted within this visual narrative, such as imagery that represents or is derivative of Aztec, Mayan, or Olmec art, are deployed within geometrically simple combinations of shapes and linework in asymmetrically balanced compositions. By incorporating art and design work that was socio-culturally significant and relevant to their Chicano target audiences, the designers of many of the Chicano press newspapers were able to

Rodriguez, E. "Covering the Chicano Movement:" pgs. 219-220.

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Garcia, M. T. Chicano Generation—
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California Press, 2015: p. 15.

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Heller, S. "The Daily Heller:
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August 15, 2022).

visually communicate messaging that helped mobilize these historically underrepresented groups toward social, political, and economic action. ¹⁸

The En El Frente ("On The Front") visual narrative has been designed to function as its own independent Chicano publication. The authors seek to engage and enlighten the audiences for our work and the readers of this piece by emulating the front pages of historic Chicano newspapers. In each section of the visual essay, the authors imitate important elements of editorial design and analyze design decisions made by Chicano activists and activist designers to make the techniques visible to readers. We employ the unique visual style of those publications in our work by incorporating iconography rooted in Mexican and Mexican American art and design work, as well as bold phrases that were featured in posters of the Mexican revolutionary period (November 20, 1910-February 5, 1917). Like the Chicano activists, the use of iconography in this visual essay creates a conceptual and historical connection to the ongoing fight for social justice that historically faced the Mexican people. The visual connection to the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and the figures of Pancho Villa, Emiliano Zapata, and La Adelina empowered and unified the Chicano movement by emphasizing references to the revolutionary heritage of many Mexican American people. 19 Like the Mexican Revolution, the Chicano movement strove to empower the poor and the working class by advocating for, and, in some instances, directly or indirectly implementing social and political reforms. ²⁰ Additionally, the authors make use of printing methods and imagery that art historians Charlotte Benton, Tim Benton and Ghislaine Wood refer to as "Aztec-inspired art deco," ²¹ a genre of art and architecture that employs heavily stylized, geometrically basic, block-printing techniques, as well as the incorporation of syncopated patterns comprised of abstract forms. ²² Examples of this can be seen in the visual essay En El Frente's masthead (page 1), and in the decorative page borders (pages 2, 4-6) as well as in the 1971 and 1972 versions of front covers of La Gente (page 9). 23

As we navigate our present moments of civil and societal unrest in the United States, and the ongoing fight for social justice that has and continues to accompany it, revisiting parallel moments in American history provides an opportunity to learn from how and why past designers devised the visual communication strategies that they did, and then created and disseminated work guided by these to promote and foment advocacy and activism. Many current cultural, social, technological, economic, and political issues that affect the lives of Latinx communities in the U.S., such as working in unsafe

conditions, earning non-livable wages, and having to deal with immigration insecurity and police violence, bear striking resemblance to the labor strikes, deportation policies, police violence, and lack of equitable education occurring in many areas of the U.S. during the 1960s and 1970s that inspired the Chicano movement. The authors hope that this critical examination of the visual languages, imagery, and compositional structures employed across the design of many independent American Chicano newspapers published during the late 20th century encourages contemporary designers, historians, and design students to consider the power of community-focused publications to facilitate positive action and social change. Whether the intent is to provide a means to alter undesirable sets of circumstances or as a means to engage and support contemporary design practice, gaining a deeper understanding of the design decision-making that guided the development of this work has the potential to yield new design work that is relevant and actionable.

The increasing disappearance of community-run newspapers whether this occurs in the U.S. or anywhere else in the world, and whether these appear in print or as online entities—results not only in less-wellinformed societies, but in the creation of an information vacuum that, especially since the widespread advent of social media, tends to be filled with mis- and dis-information. ²⁴ Social media platforms allow for individuals to report their often myopically informed, not deeply considered opinions on local levels and these platforms utilize algorithms that control the visibility of certain types of content, and, "can modify patterns of individual exposure in opaque ways, often prioritizing content that provokes extreme reactions from users." 25 In other words, these algorithms can and do limit what many social media users see and read within narrowly confined realms of content and context. The gradual consolidation of news companies over the past 20 or so years has left many American communities without the ability to add their critical perspectives to the often singularly biased, white-majority national news stories that have become prevalent across the U.S. The effect of not reporting, much less analyzing, locally sourced and relevant information is felt widely in the United States and has resulted in the kinds of societal polarity that exacerbates issues such as immigration, labor rights, policing, and responses to the Covid-19 pandemic.

In closing, the authors advocate for contemporary designers in the U.S., along with design researchers, scholars, historians, and students, to look to the designer activists that helmed the independent Chicano publications

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Hendrickson, C. "Local Journalism in Crisis: Why America Must Revive Its Local Newsrooms," <u>Brookings</u>, 12 November 2019. Online. Available at: https://www.brookings.edu/research/ local-journalism-in-crisis-why-america-must-revive-its-local-newsrooms/ (Accessed August 4, 2022).

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Ardia, D., Ringel, E., Fox, A., & Ekstrand, V.S. "Addressing the Decline of Local News, Rise of Platforms, and Spread of Mis- and Disinformation Online," Center for Information, Technology, and Public Life (CITAP), UNC Center for Media Law and Policy, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 22 December 2020. Online. Available at: https://citap.unc.edu/local-news-platforms-mis-disinformation/ (Accessed February 15, 2021).

that were published in the 1960s and 1970s for cues regarding how they might effectively advocate for social, economic, and political justice. A few examples of independent publications from contemporary designer-activists or organizations are described as follows.

- Isabel Ann Castro, co-founder of *St. Sucia*, a contemporary Latina/x feminist magazine based in San Antonio, Texas from 2014 to 2018 that covered topics such as reproductive justice, education, gender identity, and immigration, used this publication to describe her experiences of creating a contemporary publication as a continuation of the independent Chicano publications that operated in the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s. ²⁶
- Guadalupe Pardo is a south Texas-based Latinx designer and artist who began producing the zine *The History of Policing in the Rio Grande Valley* in 2019, which makes use of archival material from independent Chicano publications from the 1960s and 1970s to help frame and inform their examination of the history of abusive policing in Texas' Rio Grande Valley. ²⁷
- Latinx artist Julia Arrendondo writes about her experiences involving the independent publishing of zines such as *Guide to Being Broke and Fabulous*, *Guide to Being Alone*, *Easy Magic*, *and Baltimore Break-ups*: A *Pop-Up Memoir*, as "a practice of empowerment... sharing iconography/narratives that attract like-minded individuals... when no other platforms were available for support." ²⁸
- Sherwood Forest Zine Library in Austin, TX, USA holds an archive
 of work by contemporary artists and designers who have produced
 independent publications exploring topics such as labor movements, activism, and other grassroots efforts that have paralleled
 the content that was published in independent Chicano publications across the U.S. from the 1960s and 1970s. ²⁹

Contemporary iterations of these types of publications continue to empower local communication from activist-designers who communicate directly with their communities, and who provide valuable information concerning their collective well-being and assistance as they advocate for social, political, and economic justice. They, and the independent Chicano publications that appeared in the U.S. during the 1960s and 1970s that preceded them, can serve

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Zapata, C. "Don't Mess with Tejanas: Texan Feminist Artists And Zine Publishing As Resistance," Hemisphere: Visual Cultures Of The Americas 12 (2019): pgs. 98-104.

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at: https://www.juliaarredondo.com/
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"Striketober/Labor Zines," Sherwood
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sherwoodforestzinelibrary.org/copy-of-black-issues-policing-prote
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"Striketober/Labor Zines," Sherwood Forest Zine Library, 5 January 2022. Online. Available at: https://www. sherwoodforestzinelibrary.org/copy-of-black-issues-policing-prote (Accessed July 15, 2022). as inspirations for contemporary designers, students, researchers, scholars, and historians who seek to address and combat disinformation and injustice both within contemporary Latinx communities and beyond them.

Visual Essay Image Citations

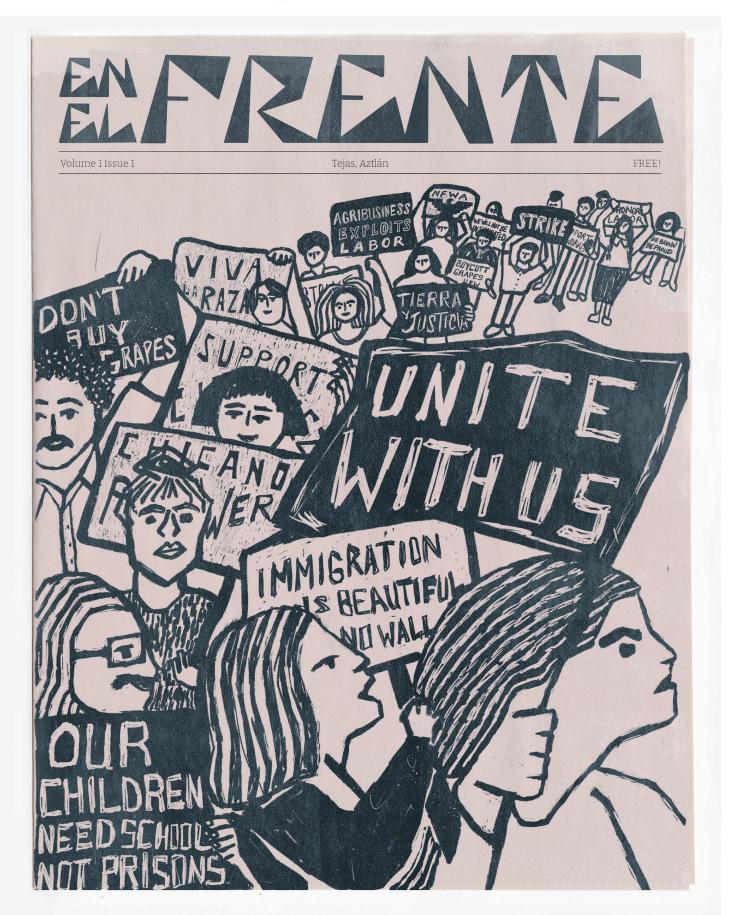
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- and Archives, Mary and Jeff Bell Library, Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi, Texas.
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- Department of Special Research Collections, UC Santa Barbara Library, UC Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.
- Chicano Newspapers, 1962-1986, Boxes A1-A195, Chicano Historical Newspaper Collection, Chicano
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- Cuhamil, 1975-1978, Edinburg Chicano Collection 116, Boxes 1-2, Texas Farm Workers Union, Special
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LA LOMITA, 1973



EL MALCRIADO, 1968

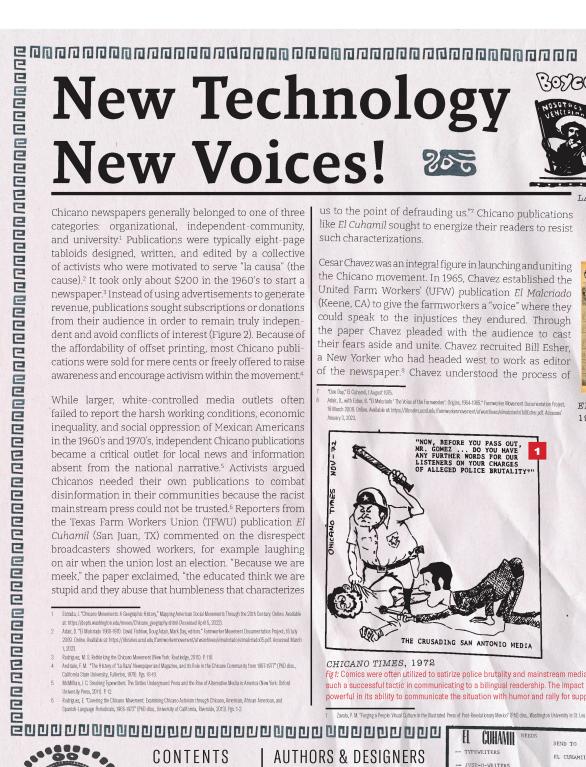


Fig 1: Comics were often utilized to satirize police brutality and mainstream media because it was such a successful tactic in communicating to a bilingual readership. The impact of this technique is powerful in its ability to communicate the situation with humor and rally for support.

Imagery



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AUTHORS & DESIGNERS

Ioshua Duttweiler Alexandria Canchola

COVER ILLUSTRATOR

Alexandria Canchola

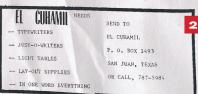


Fig 2: This solicitation, featured in a 1976 issue of El Cuhamia identifies a few of the tools and supplies needed by the designer-activist seeking to communicate their message through print. The comical phrase, "in one word everything," suggested their current lack of resources.

EN EL FRENTE

producing the newspaper from typing and paste-up to the late-night search for cover images. The Farm Worker Press did not have much equipment to put the paper together; they began with an IBM executive electric typewriter and eventually upgraded to a "Justowriter" machine that typed copy into tidy columns. To save on photography expenses, the Press relied on scissors and glue to cut pictures out of newspapers or magazines. This economically efficient system served the movement without taking funding away from the union. At the height of distribution, El Malcriado had a bi-weekly circulation of over 10,000 copies.9

The activists responsible for putting out most of these publications were volunteers who were not professionally trained in design, but their work became visually refined as time progressed (Figures 8 and 9).10 A comparison between the first issues of El Malcriado and the last shows that the page design shifted over time, eventually showcasing standard features of publication design such as use of a column grid, exceptional typesetting, and a consistent typographical hierarchy. Because the publications were typically designed by small collectives working collaboratively, it's difficult to determine if one specific person oversaw layout.11 Gloria Arellanes, from the Brown Beret's organizational newspaper La Causa (Los Angeles, CA), commented on how Chicanas in the organization determined the layout, wrote stories, and created graphics together in the evenings after the Beret's free clinic closed for the night.12 Caracol (San Antonio, TX) was the only publication we researched that listed the designer alongside traditional roles such as typesetter, illustrator, and editor.

Supporters of the movement were recruited to work on the newspapers. Carlos Marentes explained that he did not have funds to donate to the Texas Farm Workers Union (TFWU) so Antonio Orendain, leader of the TFWU, suggested he get involved by working on the newspaper. Marentes recalls that a member of the Board of Directors told him that he was in charge of TFWU's newspaper El Cuhamil: "It is your duty, your responsibility." Marentes proudly shared that when he

9 Rodriguez. "Covering the Chicano Movement." P. 68.

10 Rodriguez, "Covering the Chicano Movement," P. 41

McMillian. Smoking Typewriters. P. 11. Rodriguez. "Covering the Chicano Movement" P. 84 IES TIEMPO!, 1971

Fig 3: This imagery, which shows an eagle devouring a snake, refers to the foundation myth of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan. In this story, the Aztec leader Huitzilopochtli ordered his people to settle in the place where they encountered this scene. This famous image is part of the Mexican coat of arms and found on the Mexican flag. Chicano activists used this symbol to make an intentional ideological connection between the historical Aztec empire and modern Chicano identity.²

began, they published 500 papers every month and at the end of his tenure they were printing 3,000-5,000 papers every two weeks across the nation.¹³ Anna Nieto Gomez, one of the founders of *Hijas de Cuahtémoc* (Long Beach, CA), a groundbreaking publication of Chicana feminist activism discussed how they would assemble the newspaper: "We typed"

out the articles with an electric typewriter, we used cement glue to paste the writings, poetry, and artwork onto newspaper layout boards. When we were finally ready, we set up public speaking engagements to raise money to pay the printer." Access to common tools, a passion for the cause, and the necessity to rapidly spread information inspired activist teams to continually publish.

EN EL FRENTE

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A BILMOULA FUELCATION
SERVING NORTHERN SANTA CLARAC COUNTY

IES TIEMPO

VOLAME ONE, NUMBER 5

DECEMBER, 1971

² Garcia, H. R. "Beholding Chicano History: Iconography and the Chicaro Movement," Athanor 37 (March 2019); pgs. 53-58, https://doi.org/10.33009/fsu-athanor116673.

Rueda, C. "Oral History Interview of Carlos Marentes." South Texas Stories, 9 September 2018. Online. Available at: https://library.tamucc.edu/exhibito/s/sto/ftem/276 (Accessed September 1, 2022).

⁴ Gemez, A.N. "50 Years of Chisana Faminism. Celebrating the Hijas De Cueahitémoc." UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center. YouTube. 18 November 2010, 2155. Availatir est https://www.obicano.ucla.edu/peemts/ ponel-and-performance-50-years-chicana-faminism-celebrating-hijas-de-cusaut/SICSMARmoc. (Accessed 1 September, 2022.

UNITY! S THROUGH ICONS

A key distinction of the Chicano movement was a call to the former glory of the Mexican-controlled Americas in today's Southwestern and Western United States. This mythical and ancestral region, known as "Aztlán," evokes Chicano identity and pride as descendants from great Mesoamerican civilizations that predated colonial dominance and Anglo theft of land. 15 Aztlán was a rallying call to embrace this new identity: "la raza" or "the race." It was important for Chicanos to find pride in their Mexican heritage (indigenous ancestry, specifically) during a time of heightened racial and ethnic discrimination.¹⁶

Chicano publications referenced Aztlán in both name and imagery and were critical in building the imagination of this mythical land, making it a reality through print. Titles such as Hijas de Cuahtémoc (Long Beach, CA), El Latino Americano (San Diego, CA), ¡Es Tiempo! (Los Altos Hills, CA) show symbols, graphics, and patterns inspired by Mexican Mesoamerican traditions (Figures 3-7). They were typically placed near the masthead where readers could quickly identify symbols connected to the Chicano movement even when a newspaper was folded. Common in editorial design, covers often displayed their city and country of origin as a location in Aztlán instead of the modern United States. ¡Ahora! was distributed from Center, Colorado, Aztlán; Barrio from Corpus Christi, Tejas, Aztlán; and Regeneración II from El Valle, Tejaztlán (a clever Spanish word combination referring to the Rio Grande Valley of Southern Texas).

Many of the publications from this period were influenced by the

- Rodriguez, "Covering the Chicano Movement," P. 18-19.
- Fernandez, J. "Reimagining the Mexican Revolution in the United Farm Workers' El Maloriado (1965-1966)." (MA thesis, University of California, San Diego, 2018). P. 21.
- Rodriguez, Rethinking the Chicano Movement, P. 123.



EL GALLO, 1978

EN EL FRENTE



EL ALACRAN, 1971

Fig 4: The tripartite head is composed of three faces: one (white) facing the viewer and two profiles, one (green) pointing left and the other (red) right. This image symbolizes the colonized heritage of the Chicano people: half Spanish and half indigenous, together they form the whole Chicano figure in the middle. This "mestizo" figure glorifies the transcultural history of the Chicano people, celebrating the complexities of their rich history.

3 Mahler, K. "Reclaiming Aztlán: The Visual Rhetoric of Pre- Columbian Imagery in Chicano Murals," Summer Research, 2011. Online. Available at: , https://soundideas

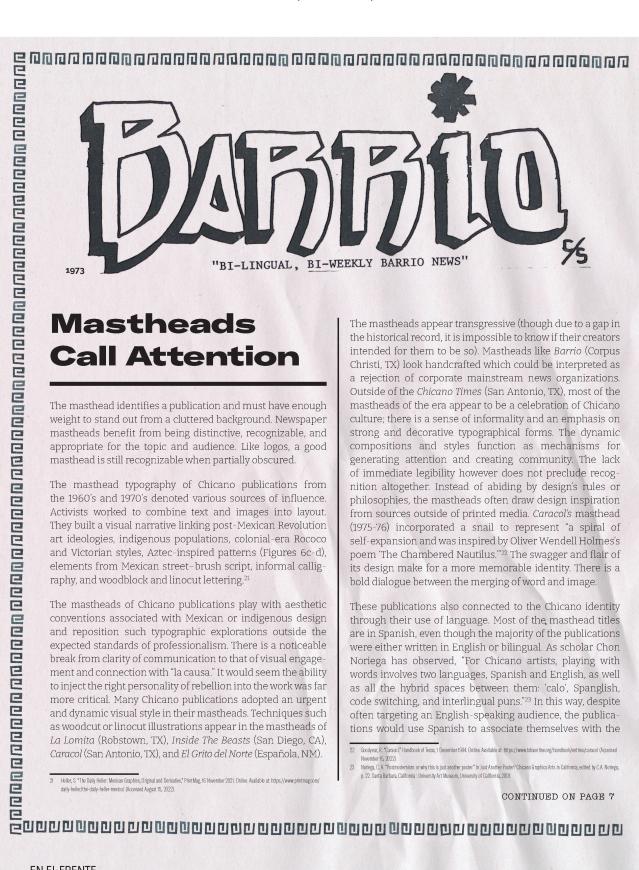
design and visual iconography of the United Farm Workers (UFW) and looked to showcase affiliation with the cause. Logos provided visual consistency and political unity across these widespread publishers. El Malcriado, (Keene, CA) the official newspaper of the UFW used an upside-down Aztec pyramid as its logo (Figure 5). The UFW's recognizable branding was visually sparse and simple enough to replicate by photocopying, becoming the unofficial emblem and cultural icon of the Chicano rights movement.18 El Malcriado aided the UFW's notoriety, relying on the geometric "Aztec" eagle. Nuestra Lucha (Toledo, OH), ¡Ahora!, ¡Es Tiempo! and La Lomita (Robstown, TX) also used a variation of the eagle to visually unify the greater UFW movement (Figure 7).19

This logo was stamped by growers on the bags of grapes to show solidarity with union workers. Strikes and boycotts helped build recognition of the eagle icon throughout the country. One grower, Henry Ryder, asked to sign a contract with the United Farm Workers Union solely to win back customers. "I just want that Union label so that I can sell my grapes."20 The black eagle icon featured on publications, campaigns, and products gave people a way to visually connect the union's efforts and messaging.

Taparta, C. "Branding 'Death' In A High-Tech Boycott: United Farm Workers and The Wrath Of Grapes Campaign." Jollas: Journal of Latino/Latin American Studies, 10.1

Andriade. "The History of "La Raza". Pgs. 18-19.
Cohen, J. "Cringo Justice The United Farm Workers Union, 1967-1981." Farmworker Movement Documentation Project, February 2008. Online, Available at https://





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Fig 8: Over the years, El Cuhamil's masthead iconography subtly changed

The image of the shaded oak tree continued to be refined and simplified.

By using the farm worker icon, they visually separated themselves from

the United Farm Workers Union by branding themselves with unique iconography created specifically for the Texas Farm Workers Union.

El Malcriado "La Voz del Campesino" 1965-1971



1972-1975

Fig 9: El Malcriado was rebranded only once during its twelve-year run. The switch to an all caps condensed sans-serif reflects a shift to a more commanding tone. The photo background evokes a sense of unrest that feels more closely aligned with the sentiment of the Chicano Movement.

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movement. Intentional design decisions like screaming headlines, shocking images, Chicano symbolism, and bilingual typesetting encouraged readers to mobilize and fight injustice. *¡Ahora!* (Center, CO) is representative of this strategic design strategy – a publication title in Spanish with bilingual articles to communicate with multiple audiences.

Not all the publications of the era rebelled against conventional newspaper design. In fact, those that didn't often saw higher readership. El Malcriado had the largest circulation and appealed to a wide range of audiences, seeking partnerships with political allies to impact legislation. With only one rebrand, El Malcriado's masthead changed little over the course of its twelveyear run (Figure 9). Its enduring identity contrasted with other publications that struggled to settle on a visual identity. Transformations of El Cuhamil (San Juan, TX), La Gente (Los Angeles, CA) and Caracol show evolution in the masthead over time. El Cuhamil (Figure 8) was in constant flux, with elements of its masthead changing almost every year. Loud, bold, decorative lettering shifted to simplified typographic forms that looked polished but lacked the personality of its initial brand.

At their core, the mastheads capture cultural spirit and Mexican heritage to create Chicano identity.



Fig 10: Translation: "The voice of the farm worker" This slogan was featured prominently in early editions of El Malcriado and was updated in 1972 to "The official voice of the United Farmworkers" conveying a more authoritative voice to the newspaper.

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CARACO September 1974 August 1975 September 1976 May 1971 March 1972 1969 IBASTA VA! April 1973 March 1977 ALAMBRES NEL September 1976

oreciendo

May 1979

An Index of Chicano **Mastheads**



1968-1973

te HIJOS De CUaUhtémoc



1968-1973

ALANAEA

DE AZTLÁN

La Vos De La Justicia

25¢







1979



1980

EN EL FRENTE

March 1978







CARACOL, 1975

Fig 11: This linocut detail is by Elizabeth Catlett, a black artist who used a grant from the Rosenwald Fund to travel to Mexico City in 1946. There, Catlett worked with the Taller de Gráfica Popular, a printmaking collective focused on using art to advance revolutionary and social causes. In this image, Catlett draws attention to the hard labor endured by the Chicano people and the physical toll taken on their bodies.

Worth a Thousand Words

As illustrated on the covers of these publications, the bond between art and activism was key traits of the Chicano movement. These covers were printed with a combination of bilingual text and bicultural imagery relying on cultural specificity, symbols, and visual metaphors to convey their message. Artwork within these publications was blended with Mexican iconography, Catholic religious symbolism, and self-referential pre-Columbian-inspired motifs (Figures 6a-d), creating a distinct aesthetic to advance the Chicano movement. Important figures from the Aztec culture, like deity Quetzalcoatl, appeared in order to establish connection between the movement and the mythology of the Aztec empire (Figures 6a). Pictured on the covers of Chicano publications from the 1960's and 1970's were scenes of revolution, solidarity, indigeneity of the community, labor, boycotts, and motherhood. These representations contrasted with the negative stereotypes of Chicanos present in mainstream media.

Beginning in 1965, the United Farm Worker's (UFW) national boycott of California table grapes, known as the Delano grape strike, influenced the art and design of Chicano publications across the country. The papers urged readers to join the boycott in solidarity. Perhaps because the UFW's leader, Cesar Chavez, admired the woodcuts and pen-andink drawings that emerged from the Mexican Revolution, the UFW's paper, El Malcriado (Keene, CA), "drew a link between the farm workers' struggle for justice in the U.S.A. and the peasant struggle for justice in the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920)." Important figures of the Mexican Revolution, like Emiliano Zapata, graced the early covers of El Malcriado along with well-known slogans like "Better to die on your feet than live on your knees..." 24

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²⁴ Adalr, with Esher. "El Malcriado 'The Voice of the Farmworker' Origins, 1964-1965."



EL MESTIZO, 1975



LA CAUSA, 1969



BARRIOS UNIDOS, 1976

Boycotts

Community CATHOLICISM



EL GRITO, 1971



BRONZE, 1968



LA GENTE, 1972

Revolution

MOTHERHOOD

indigenous roots



EL MALCRIADO, 1965



Andy Zermeño was the first artist commissioned by Cesar Chavez to create artwork for the UFW. Zermeño used cartoons (Figure 12) to communicate broadly across bilingual and bicultural audiences. His iconic characters Don Sotaco, Don Coyote, and El Patroncito were often published both inside and on the cover of El Malcriado. Don Sotaco portrays a union farmworker striking against agribusiness and representing the capacity of the individual to stand up in the fight against oppressive institutions. Don Coyote was a sleazy labor contractor who cheated farmworkers, and greedy El Patroncito was the pompously powerful agribusiness employer.25

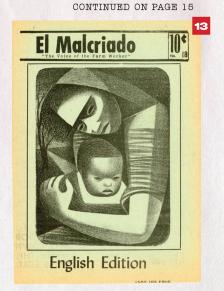
Many other publications including El Cuhamil (San Juan, TX), published in South Texas, borrowed this comic style.

With the Civil Rights Movement taking place simultaneously, El Malcriado showcased an alliance with this parallel movement by including an image created by Black artist Elizabeth Catlett of a Black Madonna and Child (Figure 13) printed in 1965, on the cover of the newspaper's 18th issue. In the following issue, El Malcriado's editor Bill Esher described the movement's excitement as more Americans confronted the injustices suffered by vulnerable populations.26

Doug Adair, a writer for El Malcriado, speaks of the "explosion of activity in the student and especially Chicano communities" as activists visited the El Malcriado office asking how to begin their own newspapers. The UFW supported their endeavors by providing them with a type of mentorship, offering guidance on layout and paste-up, as well as permission to use stories and cartoons from El Malcriado in their own publications. This camaraderie between publications also existed between organizational and independent-community newspapers. Adair comments, "We also had an easy relationship with the radical and alternative press."27 These partnerships between publications allowed for an aesthetic cohesion to develop across Chicano publication design.

Many Chicanas were involved in the movement, and some even created publications that were entirely female led. In the publication Hijas de Cuahtémoc (Long Beach, CA) women shared their perspectives and experiences. Anna Nieto Gomez, founder, remembers, "The newspaper was beautiful, the cover page was a graphic of a strong looking woman holding a machete breaking out from underneath a gigantic net." While some arms of the movement told women to return to their traditional roles, publications like Hijas de Cuahtémoc offered demonstrations of resistance (Figure 15). For Gomez, being an activist offered women the opportunity to work as equals with men. Women made their own decisions and over time the Chicano Press shared women's resistance with published essays by Chicana feminists who wrote about the conditions of and for women in the movement 28

Adair, with Esher, "El Malcriado 'The Voice of the Farmworker' Origins, 1964-1965."



EL MALCRIADO, 1965

EN EL FRENTE

²⁵ Chatfield, L. "Introduction by LeRoy Chatfield," Farmworker Movement Documentation Project. Farmworker Novement Documentation Project, March 2008. Online. Available at: https://libraries.ucsd.edu/ armworkermovement/ufwarchives/snoc/00-MDVEMENT%20INTRODUCTION.pdf. (Accessed January 3, 2023).

²⁶ Chatfield. "Introduction by LeRoy Chatfield."







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Biography

Alexandria Canchola designs, illustrates, and creates immersive large-scale installations that are inspired by personal and socio-culturally informed narratives, explorations of diverse color palettes, experimentations with letterforms, and filmmaking. Her idiosyncratic approach to design stems from her desire to empower diverse groups of people and individuals, and make a positive difference in their lives by crafting and disseminating engaging and meaningful design and artwork. She has fulfilled many creative and design-rooted roles on behalf of publications, small businesses, and non-profits as she striven to synthesize their original, creative ideas with hers.

Alexandria has a Bachelor of Arts from University of Texas at Austin, and an MFA in 2D Design from University of Texas Rio Grande Valley. She is an Assistant Professor at Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi who eagerly working to assist her students in their quest to construct and acquire knowledge so they may fully understand the power they wield as designers in communicating ideas that have the potential to instigate and sustain positive change. She can be reached via email at: alexandria.canchola@tamucc.edu

Joshua Duttweiler is a designer, artist, and educator. His multi-disciplinary practice encompasses personal, collaborative, and client-based projects that are focused on social justice and community building. Largely inspired by his ever-changing locations, his work is a critical exploration of historical and present-day societal systems and constructs. Joshua asks his audiences to consider the spaces they occupy from a wide variety of perspectives as means to allow them to hear and respond to new voices.

Joshua holds an MFA in Graphic Design from Boston University in Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. He regularly exhibits and curates work nationally and internationally. He currently resides in Corpus Christi, Texas where he is an Assistant Professor at Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi. As an educator, he seeks to empower his students to positively change the world with their empathetically informed, original ideas for creating visual communications, systems, and services. He can be reached via email at: <code>joshua.duttweiler@tamucc.edu</code>