WHEN SOCIAL MEDIA BECOME SOCIAL JUSTICE: *Denuncias* inside/outside Chicano/a Studies

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This article explores the connections and lessons learned in confronting heteropatriarchal violence across the various locations of Chicano Studies inside and outside the academy, specifically focusing on lessons that emerge from online zines, social media, and the public denouncement of abusers by two women of color and queer activist zines, QUARREL and MalintZINE. Community accountability practices such as denuncia, harm reduction, and the reclaiming / flipping back of feminine and queer monstrosity are detailed as examples of how the zines document dignity-centered community building alternatives to violence. Bridging the community-academia divide allows us to consider the diverse forms of institutionalization that maintain heteropatriarchy and locate ways to engage various institutional limits that reproduce violence. By analyzing the creative alternatives of community-based accountability processes, this article presents examples of how community activism can support creating greater gender justice within Chicano Studies programs.

Key Words: *heteropatriarchal violence, denuncia, community accountability, cultures of silence, mactivism*

Continued heteropatriarchal violence illustrates the difficulties (and necessities) of taking a long road, long–term approach to social justice. This violence also highlights the limitations of social change strategies that focus on the taking of institutional power and resources. Because heteropatriarchal violence is so pervasive, it is the condition upon which working and socializing norms are constructed. Hence, one of the challenges to confronting it is that once the institutional apparatuses that have created and maintained violence are removed, there will still need to be a long decolonizing process in which those norms of working and socializing are also challenged and revised. Within the context

of Chicano/a Studies, as well as in activist spaces outside the academy, issues such as sexual harassment, gender discrimination, and abusive conduct can go unresolved when organizations lack processes and tools to confront internal abusers. But even when there are ground rules, or, for instance, a campus sexual harassment policy, women and queer folks are often deterred from addressing issues of violence, domination, and oppression within our working and organizing spaces because those who perpetrate abuse frame internal anti-oppression work as divisive, unimportant, or detrimental to the larger goals of the organization or department. In addition, because heteropatriarchal violence is the norm of social relations, we who bear the brunt of it can also simultaneously be its fiercest promoters and perpetrators. The long-term work of addressing complicity with the perpetuation of violence and the various regimes of respectability through which marginalization operates upon differently marked bodies is ignored and devalued when we imagine ourselves to win a better future by simply changing leadership, reforming regulations, redistributing resources, or winning access to institutional inclusion.

The result of this dynamic is that radical spaces designed to transform injustices—such as Chicano/a Studies—can become unsafe for women of color, creating situations where those of us who might be inclined toward this work cannot participate without facing brutality both from within our supposedly safe social justice and Chicano/a orientated spaces as well as within the greater society where Chicanas and Latinas are continually marginalized. Community accountability can then become a strategy for building Chicana/Latina power and for creating spaces that actually practice the values of social justice and anti-oppression that we espouse within our departments and organizing spaces. Toward this effort, women of color and queer folks have launched creative literary and social media responses to heteropatriarchal violence that have opened larger public debates on anti-oppression work and community accountability within academic and activist

spaces in an effort to break through cultures of silence and forge alternative relational practices within our scholarly and activist communities.[1] In addition, these online zines point toward opportunities to do the radical work of Chicano/a Studies without having to rely upon inclusion within the academic industrial complex, in a way taking Chicano/a Studies back to the contexts of the streets, or the laptop and Smart Phone.

Making Zines, Confronting Uncomfortable Scenes

The online blogosphere, social media, and zine revolution has opened interactive textual spaces where before we would have photocopied, cut and pasted, stapled, glued, Xeroxed, and mimeographed our rage and corazón onto the page for the world to see, unsure of how these materials would later be received and utilized. Yet the trackable and interactive capabilities of online formats allows self-publishers to create collective and collaborative conversations through the sharing of and commentary on their texts. The zines *MalintZINE* and *QUARREL* have used the accessibility of the Internet and online publishing formats to open their very intimate and local struggles to a larger network of people interested in anti-violence and gender justice issues within social justice–centered spaces and Chicano/a Studies. They have also engaged social media to bring these conversations together and forge communities of solidarity for survivors of gender violence against currents of isolation and victim bashing. Through these efforts they have innovated and reimagined cultural practices and made a space of radical learning beyond the limitations of school systems and the academy.

The folks at *QUARREL* do not consider themselves a space of Chicano/a Studies, yet their work has informed Chicana activists and students. They are a multiethnic *affinity group* that formed to support victims of violence in anarchist, queer, and people of color activism and arts spaces in the San

Francisco Bay Area.[2] They describe themselves as anticolonial, queer, and feminist. The group has a website where the zine they created can be read or downloaded to print and distribute. The zine itself is roughly one hundred pages of testimony, documentation of community accountability processes, tips, political analyses, graphics, cartoons, manifestos, statements, resources, and articles addressing various forms of heteropatriarchal violence. For many of us who were outside their direct processes but within the communities they organized, the radical nature of *QUARREL* was in their courage to confront organizations and spaces that no one else dared confront collectively, much less individually—including academic spaces, community organizations, arts venues, survivor and social services, night clubs, collectives, businesses, conferences, and street protests. Those confronted talked the talk of radical politics and feminism, working the language in ways that survivors of violence could find difficult to engage and take up without risking further manipulation and harm.[3] Those who committed the acts of violence challenged by *QUARREL* in the zine were skillful users of language and image; this semiotic virtuosity, in fact, characterized many of their methods of aggression.

A more well-known community accountability zine from which we can learn valuable lessons comes specifically from a location within Chicano/a Studies. *MalintZINE* arose from the very public struggle surrounding the attacks on the high school Ethnic Studies and Mexican American Studies program (M.A.S.) in Tucson, Arizona. The zine describes itself as created by women, queers, and people of color, and is rooted in the Tucson struggle, though it does accept related submissions from elsewhere. Occasionally it will publish a piece credited to a particular author, but most of the submissions and editorial content are decidedly anonymous.[4] *MalintZINE* has a frequently updated blog page, a Twitter account, a Facebook page, a Tumblr, as well as a paper format for community organizing and distribution within communities

that may not have Internet access. At the end of 2013, the website has had almost 50,000 visitors and is widely discussed in Latino/a and Chicano/a activist circles engaged with the immigration and Ethnic Studies struggles in Arizona. The express goal of the website is to provide a forum to "document the experiences, narratives, and knowledge of those who dwell in society's margins."[5] Foregrounding a political analysis of complex social marginalization means that the website accepts content addressing the intersections of sexism and homophobia with racism and colorism, body image, ability, citizenship status, colonialism, neoliberalism, age, and class, among other forms of difference. However, the main topic addressed by *MalintZINE* continues to be heteropatriarchal violence and sexual violence within the communities of Tucson and the larger struggle around the M.A.S. program, particularly on the issues of rape perpetrated by the director of the documentary *Precious Knowledge* and domestic violence perpetrated by the former director of M.A.S.

MalintZINE has become a public, widely accessible platform to center organizing efforts and knowledge production on confronting institutional heteropatriarchal violence within Chicano/a Studies and Ethnic Studies in general. The editorial collective is highly conscious of the legacy of organizing and resistance to heteropatriarchy within Chicano/a Studies and radical movements through which their project emerges, frequently republishing historical pieces and popular works by women of color, indigenous feminists, and queer writers of color. The zine's content is widely varied, ranging from testimonials and denouncements of abusers and their supporters to poetry, artwork, analytical essays, manifestos, challenges to the community, ofrendas, survival tips and serves as an open space for survivors to vent their rage, disgust, and hopeful dreams of the future. The effect of *MalintZINE*'s reach is difficult to estimate, but comments to their Facebook page and blog suggest that the zine is creating alliances of solidarity, support, and strategizing

for women and queer folk within the immigrant rights and DREAMER movement, within various labor and worker organizations, within student organizations such as M.E.Ch.A., the United Students Against Sweatshops, and within community groups and cultural arts spaces across the country.

Both zines come from organizing and theoretical practices rooted in Zapatismo, community self-determination, and radical queer people of color practices of anarchism. These political trajectories suggest that while a *QUARREL* piece might invoke the term *self-determination* or one *MalintZINE* piece might invoke *anti-racist community liberation*, the publications stem from a shared politics of autonomy underscoring both projects that is directed toward a strategy of community power building that focuses on personal relationships as much as on the necessity to confront the nation-state and challenge institutional forms of violence. The complexity of this strategy and the ability to do a variety of anti-violence work within this framework is what many commenters on the zines' pages acknowledge as partially drawing them to the virtual community spaces created by the zines. The practices documented by these projects that I discuss are not recipes for confronting violence that can be applied to any situation, nor do they appear to be taken as such by the zines' readers and commentators. Rather, these innovative community accountability practices are varied, distinct, and are rooted in the specific local context of the contributors. This particularity is helpful in that it allows us to consider what could and could not work for our own contexts.

Haciendo Denuncias: Confronting Cultures of Silence

Both *QUARREL* and *MalintZINE* present a variety of speaking and publishing, as well as awareness strategies which I call denuncia that intentionally disrupt cultures of silence—a unique form of heteropatriarchal violence. Both publications directly consider the implications of cultures of silence around

heteropatriarchal violence and discuss at length what practices define and contribute to cultures of silence, such as the direct silencing of survivors or using silencing methods to thwart community accountability processes. The practices of denuncia are thus engaged in order to create an alternative social reality to silence. Some of the practices of denuncia revolve around speaking out, talking back, and giving and listening to voice. Other practices of denuncia involve confronting silencing tactics intended to bar survivors from telling their stories, connect with support networks, locate other survivors, and alert potential victims of abusers in the community or space. The politics and tactics of silencing tend to fall into patterns of attempting to discredit survivors, witnesses, and their supporters by alleging that the accusations of violence are slander, drama, gossip, or fiction. Therefore, opposition strategies of denuncia, for example, may involve taking back and reimagining an empowered identity around practices of creating drama (exposing the fact of violence and demanding accountability), chisme (sharing information about the violence, about an abuser's history, or about someone with sexist intentions and disrespectful behaviors in a space), mitote (a Nahuatl term and practice which has many meanings,[6] but in this case could be the gathering together of people to create spaces of celebration and ceremony outside of intervention and attendance from people in positions of privilege or domination), and metiche (making the personal political and intervening in issues of intimate, domestic, and inner community violences in order to hold perpetrators accountable and disrupt cultures of silence). Interrogating the imposition of silence, exposing the power moves and violence implicit in these attacks, and reclaiming feminized and queer practices of information sharing are an important aspect of denuncia. These information strategies are also an important aspect of harm reduction, which I discuss later.

QUARREL and *MalintZINE* engage a form of denouncing that publicly calls out issues that have been pushed aside and kept quiet. The zines provide space for the

testimonies of survivors and openly examine experiences of how to bear witness to those testimonies. Zine articles examine situations and feelings around having not listened to or believed a survivor and work to rectify the additional violence done to survivors when they attempt to come forward with their stories and begin to demand justice.[7] Within this thread of analysis, the folks at *MalintZINE* and *QUARREL* have begun to address how social relationships need to be shifted in order to support challenges to institutional heteropatriarchal violence as well as explore what social relations motivated by a praxis of radical loving could look like.

Of Dark and Light: Making a Place for Wholeness

Chicana writing against heteropatriarchal violence has harbored a historical preoccupation with the demonization of the feminine and the disciplining of gender and sexuality. In her work, Gloria E. Anzaldúa discusses at length how patriarchal systems of domination have attempted to erase Indigenous concepts of gender and complex, complementary duality through a form of splitting the female self into either the dark, sinister, sexual, and monstrous or the light, good, virginal, and beautiful.[8] This process contributes to the marianismo, or virgin/whore dichotomy that disciplines and represses feminine and queer sexuality. Anzaldúa explored Mexica cultural figures such as Coatlicue, a Mexica creation deity with a snake head and a necklace of human hearts; La Malinche, the highly educated indigenous interpreter for Hernán Cortés that is both credited as the mother of the mestizo race and derided as a raped and used traitor in popular Mexican culture; or La Llorona, the horrific phantasm that haunts the Mexican imaginary searching for her children murdered by her own hand. Through critically exploring these figures, Anzaldúa argues for a queer Chicana feminist project of reevaluation and reclamation of the vilified and monstrously ugly aspects of feminine power that these figures represent. Numerous other influential Chicana feminists, before and after Anzaldúa, such as Norma

Alarcón, Cherríe Moraga, Anna Nieto Gomez, Sandra Cisneros, Helena Maria Villamontes, Ana Castillo, Pat Mora, Lorna Dee Cervantes, Bernice Zamora, Francisca Flores, and Yolanda Lopez have also explored and theorized the reclamation of these figures through a critical embracement of their dangerous monstrosity. By taking the name of La Malinche as the title of their publication, the editors of *MaltinZINE* celebrate the power of the demonized feminine. In the pages of *QUARREL* images of dangerous, ass-kicking women of color turn the horror of violence back at the masculine heterosexual gaze through usurping the power of anger and violence and directing it back at abusers.

In a July 19, 2013, *MalintZINE* piece titled "This Is What the Worship of Silence Looks Like," an anonymous contributor meditates on the connections between racial terrorism and heteropatriarchy. With biting humor the author muses,

> Malintzin, malinche, mala. Vendida o vendio? We are not co-opting our movement. We are not dividing our movement. We are not defeating our movement. We are making our movement stronger, better, more durable and able to stand defiantly alongside our values of social justice and openly confront and dismantle all forms of oppression. Our words may be hard to look at, may be hard to swallow, are not pretty and may make you shudder with unease but are essential in all periods of growth and reflection. Yes, we will be the reflectors of things that go bump in the night and make your heart go pitter-patter.[9]

The author goes on to discuss how in order to confront the processes of demonization that are used to silence resistance to violence one must occupy

the form of the monster, of "the cucuy of all those silent screams in the darkest midnight hours from all the womyn who absolutely collapsed from the inside out because no one had faith in her words."

Both *MalintZINE* and *QUARREL* embrace and strategically reimagine the embodiment of monstrosity through feminine and queer rage as a counter to the processes of normalization that constrict and discipline gender and sexuality through regimes of respectability. The pages of *QUARREL* are marked with images of horror that flip violence back on the heteropatriarchal gaze through the expression of grotesque rage or through subverting images of docile conformity to gender norms. One graphic presents a smiling, emblematic 1950s woman aiming a gun with the caption, "Not gay as in happy, but queer as in fuck you."[10] Another image shows feminine-bodied cats restraining and fiercely kicking a masculine-bodied dog who howls in pain. This use of violent images in a zine dedicated to confronting violence seems contradictory. It also evokes a complicated relationship to practices of hood justice or acts of revenge within communities marginalized by the police state, such as gangs, that use internal community violence as a deterrent or remedy to sexual assault. But I argue that the images of violence within the zine are used to produce a form of comic horror through the reclaiming of the feminine and queer marked as monstrosity or evil that more closely align with the argument by *MalintZINE* to embrace the positions of whore or villain that often gets cast upon survivors of sexual assault.

Part of the requirement of making denuncia is to be bold, ser atrevida, and to strategically employ other such characteristics such as loudness, anger, craziness, strength, power, humor, creativity, and questioning; characteristics that run counter to and subvert norms of white colonial heteropatriarchy. For these practices of bravery and boldness to be engaged from the position of

queer and feminine brown bodies is a disruption to cultures of silencing—but also cuts to the heart of the practices of social control that norms of heteropatriarchy are constructed to preserve. The practices of denuncia that *QUARREL* and *MalintZINE* engage urge us to no longer fear retribution in taking control of our anger or desire, nor to fear taking back and making spaces of alternative power. Additionally, they urge us to question and let go of shame, guilt, stigma, and being marked as loca because these are simply mechanisms of heteropatriarchal social control. While acknowledging that the attacks against those working to end heteropatriarchal violence can drive us crazy, the zines also point to the knowledge of subjugated peoples that crazy is also a place of power, a power of which we can make strategic use. To put it another way: one aspect of the denuncia response to slut shaming is the awareness that la malinche no es una chingada, es una mujer chingona.

Harm Reduction

QUARREL developed in part out of a frustration with community accountability efforts that were unable to stop abusers from moving to new communities and locations and continuing heteropatriarchal behavior and violence. The zine describes the formation of the group as a turn toward direct action and as a method of creating harm reduction where previous community accountability efforts had failed.[11] This shift toward direct action began to consider whether self-defense tactics could be useful for creating community safety. This led to the use of methods of boundary setting and the establishing of safety zones for survivors and vulnerable populations. *QUARREL* explains,

> I don't think about it as banning, banishing or shaming. I think about it as creating a boundary that makes it easier for me to live my life. In the face of unchanging patterns, the community has a right to know about histories of abuse so people can be vigilant in preventing

> further harm. When accountability has failed, when abusive behaviors are clearly present, when people continue to be harmed, then boundaries have to be created in order to buffer survivors and targeted communities from people who perpetrate abuse.[12]

While creating boundaries is not counter to or in opposition to other community accountability methods or the potential processes of healing in which abusers can engage, this process of harm reduction supports those efforts and can be attempted when other processes are unsuccessful.

The *QUARREL* zine presents a variety of strategies, tactics, and approaches that the affinity group calls harm reduction. Harm reduction is a method of accountability employed to deal with folks who continue to abuse and refuse to be accountable for their violent actions. It also presents an alternative to the police state by empowering survivors and communities to take control of their own safety. In its introduction, *QUARREL* suggests possible harm reduction strategies such as confronting abusers, "set[ting] boundaries, present[ing] community demands and shar[ing] information as an act of self-defense."[13] The issue of harm reduction highlights how important communication is in community building, organizing, and working together. Many of the harm reduction methods are similar or coincide with practices of denuncia because they are information or communication-based and challenge violent processes of marginalization and silencing. While harm reduction specifically engages forms of direct action, it also illustrates that information, communication, and relationship-building can be instruments of self-preservation and collective self-determination in situations that involve an abuser who refuses to participate in community accountability, an institution that refuses to address issues of violence, and a society that promotes white colonial heteropatriarchal oppression as a way of life.

Boundary setting can work in conjunction with denuncia because an extensive communication and information process is required in order to create zones of safety and alert community members to the dangers of an abuser's actions. It will take a serious culture shift to allow us to discuss sexual harassment and gender/sexuality-driven violence as something that is not just a personal issue between two people, and thus allowed to be silenced or ignored by the larger collective. Shifting beyond blame-the-victim discourse toward processes of prevention and accountability means confronting cultures of silence that demonize voices of dissent and anger. As both *QUARREL* and *MalintZINE* demonstrate, confronting cultures of silence and informing everyone about an abuser's past or questions or allegations are not gossip of which to be ashamed—it is necessary to survival and violence prevention.

The strategies and methodologies of community accountability are not only applicable to confronting violence, but also to what both zines refer to as *mactivism*, the practice of entering spaces of social justice for the purpose of taking sexual advantage of people in that space, using the activism, art, or scholarship that others are seriously engaged as a pretext for your own sexual conquests, often through tactics that mirror the forms of injustice and violence that the group is actually trying to confront. For example, using women's bodies as territory to be sexually conquered mirrors the behavior of colonial violence through which Indigenous women and women of color have organized over 500 years of resistance. Entering a space of Indigenous women and women of color in order to gain sexual access to their bodies is an act of colonial heteropatriarchal violence, whether anyone consents to have sex or not. The intention and the impact of mactivism in this case is to reproduce the use of sex for domination, and the reactions of survivors and people who consented to sex or dating under conditions in which they were lied to, led to believe falsehoods about their partner or the reality of the relationship, or

otherwise thrown away, cheated on, used, manipulated, or played is a realm of heteropatriarchal violence rooted in coloniality that the zines attempt to confront. Mactivism robs the potential partner of their ability to fully consent to the relationship or sexual activity because the true motives and reality of the relationship (sexual conquest) are intentionally obscured by the abuser who falsifies motivations in a cause (is not honest about who they are) or interest in a loving relationship (is not honest about what they really want or whom they are also seeing) in order to use women and queer folks as objects and increase access to their bodies for self-serving sexual gratification. Creating zones of safety that are free of mactivism and mactivists is highly important for moving closer to communities without violence. It is similar to the efforts made by feminists to break silences and create zones of safety from other forms of sexual harassment and objectification. As a *MalintZINE* contributor explains,

> I need to know which spaces are safe spaces and I need to be able to make informed decisions about the people I am involving myself with or organizing with. I believe that part of the reason why I had no previous knowledge of any man's history of gendered violence was because of a carefully constructed culture of silence. This culture of silence is also a culture of protection [of abusers] and zero accountability.[14]

Collectively Screaming

Both *QUARREL* and *MalintZINE* have made a tactical decision to use anonymity and collectivity as a form of strength building, community defense, and protection for survivors. *QUARREL* states that, "this is in no way meant to protect perpetrators of harm, but meant to keep the zine focused on our experiences and process. Additionally, we want to keep *QUARREL* members safe from police enforcement because some of our targets have

pursued legal action against us and/or survivors."[15] *MalintZINE* took up the subject of anonymity in an essay in order to address negative attacks on the zine's refusal to name contributors and to use a collective voice, except for rare occasions where the contributor has approved of being credited. In the post "Anonymous Is a Woman," the zine explains in depth the harm reduction created by using anonymity:

> Why do (some) people keep complaining that those of us writing original work for this blog are choosing to remain anonymous? Why are you so uncomfortable? Is it a problem because we don't need credit for our words? Are you disturbed because our egos don't need stroking with pats on the back and high-fives? Does it bother you to not have a specific target to aim at when you disagree? Are you afraid that it's your sister, your girlfriend, your mother who's writing—and you don't know?
>
> We speak collectively because of our politics. We do not claim authorship for each individual piece because our experiences are shared by many women. We are creating safety for ourselves and our sisters by speaking our truth. We are unnamed because we are everywhere. You should assume that every single piece that has been published so far was written by a different woman. That's a lot of voices rising in unity![16]

The strategy of anonymity protects the survivors, participants in community accountability work, and contributors to theses zines, but as noted, it also creates a zone of collective safety, empowerment, and a sense of unity among survivors who could otherwise feel extremely isolated. The movement–building aspect of anonymity gives the harm reduction strategy additional power and creates alternative forms of safety for vulnerable and marginalized

communities, especially those confronting violence by abusers with access to the means of institutional and state power.

A Conclusion Without End: Toward Dignity-Centered Relationships

Our challenge in confronting violence is to remake and transform the organizational cultures and practices of social relationships within activist and scholarly spaces at all levels, from the intimate to the collective and public, in a way that centers the support of healing and the construction of dignity-centered relationships. This means doing work to address diverse forms of institutionalization that maintain heteropatriarchal violence and locate ways to engage various institutional limits that reproduce violence, transforming organizational and community cultures and the social norms we use to navigate them. In the pages of *MalintZINE*, contributors discuss candidly the weary labor of confronting female competition, mactivism, lack of trust, and fear of judgment that hampers their ability to unite as women, queers, and marginalized young people in the face of increasing heteropatriarchal violence. Stepping back to address those issues allowed the young activists to engage in critical knowledge production and analyses of power that, as many have noted, speak to the guiding philosophies of Chicana/o Studies and in specific, those of the Tuscon M.A.S., such as *In Lak Ech* and *Panche Be*.[17] What is hopeful about the work of these zines is that they point to experiments in practice and theory that are seeking truth and building a world of mutual dignity and responsible interconnectedness.

Within the pages of *QUARREL* and *MalintZINE*, dignity-centered relationships emerge as political, intellectual, and social goals. A dignity-centered relational praxis challenges us to develop new approaches to dealing with violence. It also challenges us to balance activities that are construed as work and labor with healing, celebrating, and loving. It provides us an option of an afterlife to the colossal moment of the bearing of the testimonial,

toward a different ceremony of sharing stories. It is a way to acknowledge that we can't simply rely on the telling of our stories to heal us and create safety, though storytelling and witnessing are critical aspects of learning from experiences of violence, coming to terms with what has happened, and holding someone accountable. Our stories do have power. But we also need to take action and create processes for transforming ourselves and our communities. Community, like a sense of self, is an action not a thing, we must learn to become ourselves as we come together. Translating a radical praxis of dignity-centered becoming into an institutional space such as the academy, where relationships and human lives are devalued beneath the commodification of products of intellectual labor, can be a daunting task. It may require completely dismantling the academic industrial complex. But if we hope for Chicana/o Studies to become a space where women and queer folks are no longer victims of heteropatriarchal violence, this daunting task may be our work ahead.

Notes

[1] I happened to learn of both of these zines, *MalintZINE* and *QUARREL*, through personal friends who were part of the community accountability processes the zines engaged and who wrote pieces for the zines and shared the project with friends who supported their work and healing. I am not an impartial reviewer of their work, as I am emotionally and politically invested in the success of these projects and the healing of those contributors whom I know and love. This article was shared with members of the zine collectives throughout the drafting and revision process and their feedback has tremendously helped shape this work.

[2] Anonymous. 2013. "Introduction." *QUARREL*. Accessed June 10, 2013. http://poczineproject.tumblr.com/post/49525763949/community-submission-quarrel-zine-2013.

[3] It should be noted that these spaces and organizations are also quite heterogeneous and there were and are members and participants who opposed violence and attempted in some cases to resolve the issues raised by *QUARREL* in some cases. The *QUARREL* documents very openly the letters back and forth between the affinity group and spaces in question, illustrating both the process of approaching community and academic spaces to engage in community accountability and harm–reduction as well as the challenges, disagreements, and lessons learned from these processes.

[4] Anonymous. 2013. "Estamos." *MalintZINE*. Accessed June 10, 2013. http://malintzine.com/estamos/.

[5] Anonymous. 2013. "Estamos." *MalintZINE*. Accessed June 10, 2013. http://malintzine.com/estamos/.

[6] See one definition of mitote refashioned for radical organizing here: "Mitote." *Mitote Digital*. Accessed June 1, 2013. http://ccra.mitotedigital.org/mitote.

[7] For example, see: Anonymous. 2013. "We Will Not Be Sacrificial Lambs No More." *MalintZINE*, August 15. http://malintzine.com/2013/08/15/we-will-not-be-sacrificial-lambs-no-more/ or Anonymous. 2013. "Girl Code Responsibility, Accountability, and *In Lak Ech*." *MalintZINE*, March, 22. http://malintzine.com/2013/03/22/girl-code-responsibility-accountability-and-in-lak-ech/.

[8] Anzaldúa, Gloria E. (1987) 1999. *Borderlands La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: aunt lute.

[9] *QUARREL*, accessed June 9, 2013. http://poczineproject.tumblr.com/post/49525763949/community-submission-quarrel-zine-2013.

[10] *QUARREL*, accessed June 9, 2013. http://poczineproject.tumblr.com/post/49525763949/community-submission-quarrel-zine-2013.

[11] Anonymous. 2013. "Why Direct Action?" *QUARREL*. Accessed June 9, 2013. http://poczineproject.tumblr.com/post/49525763949/community-submission-quarrel-zine-2013.

[12] Anonymous. 2013. "Why Direct Action?" *QUARREL*. Accessed June 9, 2013. http://poczineproject.tumblr.com/post/49525763949/community-submission-quarrel-zine-2013.

[13] Anonymous. 2013. "Introduction." *QUARREL*. Accessed June 10, 2013. http://poczineproject.tumblr.com/post/49525763949/community-submission-quarrel-zine-2013.

[14] Anonymous. 2013. "Culture of Silence." *MalintZINE*, January 28. http://malintzine.com/2013/01/28/culture-of-silence/.

[15] Anonysmous. 2013. "Introduction." *QUARREL*. Accessed December 18, 2013. http://poczineproject.tumblr.com/post/49525763949/community-submission-quarrel-zine-2013.

[16] Anonymous. 2013. "Culture of Silence." *MalintZINEi*, January 29. http://malintzine.com/2013/01/29/anonymous-is-a-woman/.

[17] *In Lak Ech* is a Mayan term that loosely translates to "you are my other self," and *Panche Be* is a Mayan term that loosely translates to "to seek the root of the truth." Both are guiding principles of the curriculum in the Tucson Mexican American Studies Program inspired by the research into Mayan philosophy by Dr. Roberto Rodriguez Cintli. Roberto Rodriguez. 2010. "In Lak Ech, Panche Be, and Hunab Ku: The Philosophical Foundation for Raza Studies." *Dissident Voice*, July 29. http://dissidentvoice.org/2010/07/in-lak-ech-panche-be-hunab-ku-the-philosophical-foundation-for-raza-studies/.