

The PST Project, Willie Herrón's Street Mural *Asco East of No West* (2011) and the Mural Remix Tour: Power Relations on the Los Angeles Art Scene

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Abstract

This article departs from the huge art-curating project *Pacific Standard Time: Art in L.A., 1945–1980*, a Getty funded initiative running in Southern California from October 2011 to April 2012 with a collaboration of more than sixty cultural institutions coming together to celebrate the birth of the L.A. art scene. One of the Pacific Standard Time (PST) exhibitions was *Asco: Elite of the Obscure, A Retrospective, 1972–1987*, running from September to December 2011 at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA). This was the first retrospective of a conceptual performance group of Chicanos from East Los Angeles, who from the early 1970s to the mid 1980s acted out critical interventions in the politically contested urban space of Los Angeles. In conjunction with the Asco retrospective at LACMA, the Getty Foundation co-sponsored a new street mural by the Chicano artist Willie Herrón, paying homage to his years in the performance group Asco. The PST exhibition program also included so-called Mural Remix Tours, taking fine art audiences from LACMA to Herrón's place-specific new mural in City Terrace in East Los Angeles. This article analyzes the inclusion in the PST project of Herrón's site-specific mural in City Terrace and the Mural Remix Tours to East Los Angeles with regard to the power relations of fine art and critical subculture, center and periphery, the mainstream and the marginal. As a physical monument dependent on a heavy sense of the past, Herrón's new mural, titled *Asco: East of No West*, transforms the physical and social environment of City Terrace, changing its public space into an official place of memory. At the same time, as an art historical monument officially added to the civic map of Los Angeles, the mural becomes a permanent reminder of the segregation patterns that still exist in the urban space of Los Angeles.

Keywords: Pacific Standard Time, Asco, Willie Herrón, *Asco: East of No West*, Mural Remix Tour, power relations, segregation patterns.

Introduction

This article centers on the huge art-curating project *Pacific Standard Time: Art in L.A., 1945–1980*, running from October 2011 to April 2012 in Southern California. The Pacific Standard Time (PST) was a massive Getty-funded curating project, initiated by the Getty Foundation and the Getty Research Institute in 2002 with a grant program of millions of dollars for research, exhibitions, programs and publications. Documenting the Los Angeles postwar art scene through the tumultuous decades of the 1960s and 70s, the PST was launched a decade later with a region-wide collaboration of more than sixty cultural institutions coming together “to tell the story of the birth of the L.A. art scene and how it became a major new force in the art world” (Getty webpage). Los Angeles is the nation’s second art scene after New York City, and in the PST exhibitions documenting “the birth” of the L.A. art scene, the curators included groups of artists traditionally marginalized in major mainstream venues, such as queer and feminist artists, African American, Mexican American and Chicana/o artists, many of whom had already made it into the canon of fine art.¹ Los Angeles is the city with the highest percentage of Mexican descendants in the USA and six PST exhibitions were organized with Mexican American and Chicana/o artists.² One of these exhibitions was *Asco: Elite of the Obscure, A Retrospective, 1972–1987*, running from September to December 2011 at the prestigious Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA). This retrospective exhibition was the first in a major mainstream museum of the conceptual performance group Asco in the USA. Asco was composed of various constellations of East Los Angeles Chicana and Chicano artists, who on the basis of the political framework of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement made statements of their urban experiences as Chicanas/os of racism, marginalization and discrimination, thus acting out critical interventions in the politically contested urban space of Los Angeles from the early 1970s to the mid 1980s through street performances.

In conjunction with the Asco retrospective at LACMA, the Getty Foundation and the nonprofit gallery space LAXART co-sponsored a new street mural in the East Los Angeles neighborhood of City Terrace by the Chicano artist Willie Herrón, paying homage to his years in the performance group Asco. As a physical monument dependent on a heavy sense of the past, the place-specific mural titled *Asco: East of No West* transforms the physical and social environment of City Terrace, changing its public space into an official place of memory. The PST exhibition program also included so-called Mural Remix Tours, taking fine art audiences from the Fowler Museum and LACMA to Herrón’s place-specific new mural in East L.A., an unincorporated, low-income and gang-related area east of the Los Angeles River, where Latinos, Mexican Americans, and Chicanas/os make up the majority of the population. A connection was thereby established between two socio-culturally and spatially segregated contexts in the urban landscape of Los

Angeles, which entailed a re-navigation of Los Angeles' cultural geography along class and ethnic lines by bringing people to parts of Los Angeles they would normally never go.

Although the PST exhibitions of the post-World War II era through the 1960s and 70s included groups of artists traditionally marginalized in major mainstream venues, the curators did little to contextualize the art works to the specific social circumstances of their production. Instead of elaborating potentially progressive cross-referencing curatorial strategies, the art pieces by minority artists were contextualized within a traditional framework of fine art canons by Anglo American artists. By showing art works by artists from minority groups in separate exhibitions, the seemingly race-neutral exhibition program followed a pattern along ethnic and racial lines, dividing artists into racial and ethnic groups.

The curatorial pattern of the PST project illustrates the "ethnic turn" in the mainstream fine art scene, where ethnic affirmation, identity politics and representations of various social identity categories have become mandatory ingredients in art exhibitions all over the world. Identity politics and ethnic affirmation have gradually been recognized as important social issues since the Civil Rights Movements in the 1960s and 70s. The main reasons for the rise of the Civil Rights Movements were various kinds of inequalities, discriminations and social injustices. Today these questions have fallen into the background in favor of ethnic recognition and identity politics, not only of black, brown, red and yellow people, but white people as well. Mathew Frye Jacobson for example, claims in *Roots Too: White Ethnic Revival in Post-Civil Rights America*, that the rise of hyphenated identities in the USA has resulted in a hyphen-nationalism, "draped in a celebratory rhetoric of diversity and inclusion", and that this mode of American nationalism, like previous kinds of nationalism in the U.S., "is founded in large part on white primacy" and also serves "to protect that primacy" (2008: 9). In his book *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit From Identity Politics*, George Lipsitz analyzes the centrality of whiteness to U.S. culture, showing how whiteness works in respect to racialized minority groups such as Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, and Chicanas/os. Lipsitz argues that racism is a matter of interest among white people and that their possessive investment in whiteness always affects the individual and collective life opportunities of non-white people:

Even in cases where minority groups secure political and economic power through collective mobilization, the terms and conditions of their collectivity and the logic of group solidarity are always influenced and intensified by the absolute value of whiteness in U.S. politics, economics, and culture. (2006: 22)

Giving examples of residential segregation and urban renewal in various areas such as East Los Angeles that make minority communities such as Mexican Americans and Chicanas/os disproportionately susceptible to health hazards, Lipsitz notes that "[e]nvironmental racism makes the possessive investment in

whiteness literally a matter of life and death” (2006: 10). Another scholar, Walter Benn Michaels, has criticized the contemporary political debate on diversity in the USA for not dealing with the problem of economic inequality. In *The Trouble With Diversity: How We Learned to Love Identity and Ignore Inequality*, he argues that “the trouble with diversity... is not just that it won’t solve the problem of economic inequality; it’s that it makes it hard for us even to see the problem” (2007: 172). The debate on diversity according to Michaels, “obscures political difference as well as it does economic difference. It makes it hard not only to solve the problem of inequality but even to argue ... about what its solution should be” (2007: 173). Lipsitz argues that “those of us who are ‘white’” can only become “part of the solution if we recognize the degree to which we are already part of the problem – not because of our race, but because of our possessive investment in it” (2006: 22). Other scholars like Nancy Fraser, claim that measures of both recognition of social categories and the redistribution of wealth are vital dimensions for reaching social justice, but that questions of identity politics and the reduction of economical gaps need to be combined. Fraser also claims that an added third dimension of equal representation is necessary for overcoming institutional obstacles in decision-making processes (Fraser 2009).

Given the present segregation patterns of the city of Los Angeles along socio-cultural lines of class and ethnicity, the inclusion of Herrón’s street mural in City Terrace and the Mural Remix Tours to East Los Angeles into the exhibition program of PST highlights power relations on the Los Angeles art scene of fine art and critical subculture, the mainstream and the marginal, center and periphery. This article analyzes the inclusion of Herrón’s site-specific mural and one of the Mural Remix Tours in the PST project with regard to these power relations. I begin with the historical framework of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement with a focus on Los Angeles, a short presentation of the performance group Asco’s street interventions in Los Angeles in the early 1970s, and a brief exhibition history of Asco up to the retrospective at LACMA in 2011 – with which Herrón’s new street mural in City Terrace and the Mural Remix Tours are interconnected.

The Chicano Civil Rights Movement

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, with nation-wide political mobilization and social civil rights movements, Los Angeles became a major site for political upheavals. In 1965, racial and class tensions in southeast and central Los Angeles with growing African American communities fueled the Watts Riots, the most severe riots in the city’s history until the riots of 1992. In East Los Angeles, with the largest concentration of Mexican descendants in the country, the student boycotts took place in the spring of 1968. The walkouts, known as “blowouts”, in five East Los Angeles high schools (Roosevelt, Lincoln, Wilson, Belmont, and Garfield), mobilized over 10,000 students to leave their classes in March 1968 in pro-

test against Anglo American teachers discriminating against Mexican American students, overcrowded and run-down school buildings and the highest percentage of dropouts (over 50 percent) in the nation (Muñoz 2007: 79–80). The unequal educational opportunities of Mexican Americans and Chicanas/os were evidently reflected at higher educational levels. At the University of California, for example, only one percent of the 97,000 students enrolled in 1969 were Mexican Americans and Chicanas/os (Chávez 2002: 63). In April 1968, a month after the walkouts in East Los Angeles, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, giving rise to national race riots, and in June that same year the president candidate Robert F Kennedy was assassinated in the Los Angeles Ambassador Hotel.

East Los Angeles with its rapidly spreading politicizing atmosphere became a primal scene for Chicano nationalism and political mobilization in the Chicano Civil Rights Movement. Compared to identity politics of ethnic groups in the U.S. that are descendants of immigrants, the politics of recognition among Chicanas/os differs as they, annexed as a group in the mid-19th century, consider themselves indigenous and reclaim a heritage that goes back in time to pre-European colonial periods and the Nahuatl-speaking Aztecs in Tenochtitlán, buried beneath the present-day Mexico City. The Nahuatl-speaking Aztecs are believed to have migrated southward from their mythical “homeland” Aztlán, located to the geographical area of northern Mexico/the U.S. Southwest. Chicanas/os in the U.S. Southwest/Aztlán are thus living in the same geographical region as their “ancestors” the Aztecs came from.

The multifaceted Chicano Civil Rights Movement expanded from a disparity of different political organizations. Some were Alianza Federal de las Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Land Grants), which aimed to regain land lost with the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe; the Texas-based La Raza Unida Party, which mobilized Mexican American and Chicana/o voters on a national level; the California-based United Farm Workers, which unionized field-workers and organizing company boycotts; and Centro de Acción Social Autónomo (CASA), which was founded as a help-organization for Mexican immigrant workers. Others were the Crusade for Justice, a Denver-based nationwide student organization, promoting Chicano cultural nationalism; the Los Angeles-based Brown Berets, fighting for educational reform and initiating the student walkouts in Los Angeles; and the Los Angeles-based Chicano Moratorium Committee, protesting against the Vietnam War with draft-age Mexican Americans and Chicanos as its main concern (Chávez 2002).

The anti-war protests in the Chicano Civil Rights Movement against U.S. involvement in Vietnam began with statistics of war casualties. At a Chicano student conference in southern California in December 1967, it was reported that out of those eligible for draft and conscripted into the army, forty-five percent were Mexican Americans compared to nineteen percent Anglo Americans, and of those killed in the war from January 1961 to February 1967, twenty percent were Mexi-

can Americans, who made up only five percent of the total population (Rosales 1997: 179). The disproportionate number of young Mexican Americans and Chicanos dying in the war, at a 3-to-1 ratio compared to Anglo Americans, made the Brown Berets join with a group of college students to mount a major campaign against the Vietnam War. In 1969 they formalized their draft resistance and anti-war alliance by creating the Chicano Moratorium committee, with the UCLA-student Rosalfo Muñoz and the Brown Beret David Sánchez as co-chairs (Chávez 2002: 55).

The Chicano Moratorium organized five anti-war demonstrations in Los Angeles, the first in December 1969 with 3000 protesters (Chávez 2002: 65). The largest demonstration took place in East Los Angeles on August 29, 1970, with a march from Belvedere Park to Whittier Boulevard with more than 20,000 protesters and a subsequent rally in Laguna Park with an additional 10,000 participants. The demonstration ended in a violent riot, initiated by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, resulting in 158 damaged buildings of which four were completely destroyed, four hundred people arrested, an uncertain number injured, and three killed (Chávez 2002: 70). One of the killed was Rubén Salazar, the Los Angeles Times reporter and new director of the Spanish-language television station KMEX, who in public media had been reporting on actions of law-enforcement agencies and police brutality by the LAPD in East Los Angeles (Rosales 1997: 203ff). After the Chicano Moratorium riot in August 1970, the Chicano Moratorium committee organized several demonstrations in 1970–1971 against unprovoked police abuse in Los Angeles (Chávez 2002: 72ff). In September 1970, one month after the Chicano Moratorium Riot, when the Los Angeles Times reporter Rubén Salazar was killed, the park outside which the riots had taken place was renamed the Rubén Salazar Park by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors (Chávez 2002: 137, note 48).

The Conceptual Performance Group Asco

The four original members of Asco – Willie Herrón III, Patssi Valdez, Harry Gamboa, Jr., and Gronk (Glugio Gronk Nicandro) – met in the late 1960s while students at Garfield High School, where 2000 students evacuated their classes during the walkouts in the spring of 1968. Gamboa later recalled that “the environment there was so violent that it was almost like absurdist theatre”, and that “the police came on campus and beat the shit out of kids” (Gamboa quoted in Noriega 2010: 3). The racist attitudes of the teachers at Garfield High School were later remembered by Valdez:

I had this homemaking class, and the teacher used to make the most ridiculous statements in class. She would say, “well you little Mexicans, you better do well in this class for one day you’ll all be cooking and cleaning for other people.” And I

used to think: What! This lady is nuts! I'm not going to cook for anybody! (Valdez 2010)

In the early 1970s they began collaborating on various kinds of visual art projects, taking Asco as a group name, the Spanish word for disgust or nausea with an impulse to vomit. This signification refers to a general feeling that the effects of the Vietnam War gave them. Gronk explains:

the serious side of it was that a lot of our friends were coming back in body bags and were dying, and we were seeing a whole generation come back that weren't alive anymore. And in a sense that gave us nausea – or “nauseous.” And that is ASCO, in a way. It was like, God, our generation is getting wiped out. (Gronk quoted in Rangel 1997)

The signification of *asco* also refers to reactions by the audience in some of their early exhibitions, when they according to Herrón showed their “worst works” (Herrón 2010). Gamboa has said, “The name Asco ... came from people’s reactions to us personally ... [and] to the quality of the work which dealt with violence and themes of depression... . [E]veryone thought it was the name of the group, and we decided to adopt it” (quotation in Chavoya & Gonzalez 2011a: 41–42). Their main visual tool was their own bodies, using posture, body language, gestures, facial expressions, fashion, make-up, and attitude. With the inclusion of melodramatic, ironic and often humorous elements in carefully planned street performances, street actions and staged indoor and outdoor scenes, they made statements about their urban experiences of racism, discrimination, marginalization and visual stereotypes of Chicanas/os in mainstream media. As Valdez later recalled: “You would look at the television and you would never *see* yourself there, and if you did, you were a *cholo* or a *chola*, and you were like: Where *am* I in this picture? I don't *exist* anywhere!” (Valdez 2010).³

Asco's street interventions throughout the city of Los Angeles were partially documented in black-and-white and color photographs by Gamboa, who in 1972 decided to document their street performances and street actions to make sure that they could be presented elsewhere and reach a broader audience (Gamboa 2010). Some of their staged in-door and out-door scenes were explicitly performed for the camera, with the photographs distributed as correspondence pieces. This mail art include the No Mural-series, with photographs of street performances such as *Walking Mural* (1972), *Instant Mural* (1974) and *Asshole Mural* (1975), and their No Movies-series, with film stills from fictive Chicano Movies that were never intended to be produced, and that comprise No Movie awards, No Movie stars and No Movies scripts. About their choice of visual strategies, Gronk explains: “Coming out of a sense of poverty, we used whatever was available. ... We went out and did things and we used hit-and-run tactics. We didn't ask for permission to do any of our products” (Gronk 2010). With limited access to commercial galleries and mainstream museum exhibitions they turned to the streets, addressing their urban social circumstances with people in their immediate surrounding as their

main audience. As Valdez later explained: “No gallery was gonna call us up and say ‘we’re giving you a show.’ And we didn’t wait around for that. We didn’t sit around and complain. We took action. We made it happen” (Valdez 2010). From the early 1970s and up to the mid-1980s, more than forty-five other artists joined Asco in various collaborative activities, some for longer periods, others for one single project (Chavoya & Gonzalez 2011a: 39). The last Asco work with its four core members was a staged performance called *Death of Fashion* at Self Help Graphics & Art in East L.A. for Agnés Warda’s film *Mur murs* in 1980 (Gamboa 1998: 85). According to Gamboa, Asco ceased to exist as a “functioning” group during a “misperformance” at the Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions (LACE) on March 28, 1987 (1998: 86).

Asco’s street art was executed from the political framework of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement, while maintaining a critical distance to essentialist notions of a Mexican heritage. On this ideological strategy, Marco Sanchez-Tranquilino notes:

They seemed at odds, therefore, not only with the agencies of a dominant Anglo culture, but also with those Chicano artists and historians whose sense of cultural identity sprang from the fountainhead of nationalist cultural metaphors – pre-Columbian themes, the iconography of the Mexican Revolution, and the relics of the imagery of an adapted Roman Catholicism – rather than from the exhilaration of cultural cross-dressing”. (1996b, 105)

Herrón and Gronk also painted street murals in the 1970s, individually or in collaboration, adopting a hybrid aesthetic strategy for style, composition, figures and manner of execution (Benavidez 2007). As the street performances by Asco, the street murals by Herrón and Gronk were inspired by the political framework of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement, while maintaining a critical distance to both essentialist notions of a Mexican heritage and to visual stereotypes in Chicana/o muralism of the 1960s and 70s. Gronk has explained that instead of going back in Mexican history for subject matter, “we wanted to stay in the present and find our imagery as urban artists and produce a body of work out of our sense of displacement” (Gronk quoted in Burnham 1987: 408). In the street murals by Herrón, existing gang graffiti on the walls were always incorporated as part of the imagery. Herrón explains: “I embraced graffiti and graffiti became part of my work because I respected the voice of the community. And I added to their voice. I didn’t get rid of their voice and say, ‘My voice is superior.’” (Herrón quoted in Rangel 2000). By incorporating graffiti, Herrón initiated according to Sanchez-Tranquilino “a critical thinking of graffiti as solely signifying vandalism which in turn has led to a deeper understanding of the relationship between so-called Chicano graffiti and Chicano murals” (1996a: 97). Valdez on the other hand has said that during the time she was involved in Asco she didn’t feel connected to the visual work that came out of Los Angeles and her peers there (Rangel 1999). In the mid 1980s, she confessed: “I hated murals. I was sick of them. / .../ I didn’t care what they were

trying to say politically. I just wanted to get rid of these terrible images” (Valdez quoted in Burnham 1987: 408).

Asco’s Street Interventions in the Early 1970s

The new mural by Willie Herron commissioned for the PST curating project pays homage to his years in the performance group Asco, who acted out five interrelated street interventions in Los Angeles in the early 1970s. Four of these were carried out on Whittier Boulevard in East L.A., and three on Christmas Eve when the streets were crowded with pedestrians and Christmas shoppers (Gamboa 1998: 76–80). The first, *Stations of the Cross* (1971), was carried out without Patssi Valdez as an anti-war statement and protest against the disproportionate number of Mexican Americans and Chicanos dying in the Vietnam War. Herrón, carrying a painted cardboard cross and with a skeleton makeup, represented Christ. Gamboa, with his face painted white, was a zombie/altar boy, and Gronk, carrying a bag of unbuttered popcorn, was a Pontius Pilate/Popcorn-figure. The last station in the procession along Whittier Boulevard was in front of the U.S. Marine induction center at Goodrich Boulevard, where they held a five-minute vigil, left the cross blocking the office’s door, and blessed everything with fistfuls of popcorn. Gamboa later stated in a videotaped interview: “So for that particular day, there would be no more Chicanos joining the Marines and going off to Vietnam” (Gamboa 2010). Gronk made a similar statement: “the end of the procession was an induction center for the Marines, and we put the cross up against the building and threw all of our objects that we carried with us, sort of blockading the entrance of the induction center so that no more Chicanos could be inducted that day at least” (Gronk quoted in Rangel 1997).

Their second street intervention *Walking Mural* (1972) was carried out as an action bringing back the Christmas parades on Whittier Boulevard, since the Christmas parades had been cancelled after the Chicano Moratorium riots in August 1970 by the civic leaders and business owners (Romo 2011: 276). Gronk, dressed in layers of green chiffon with the Christmas tree bulbs hanging on him, was a Christmas tree. Valdez, holding red roses in her hands and wearing a black glittered outfit with platform shoes, an open-mouthed tinfoil skull and two small angels wings on her back, represented the Mexican Virgen de Guadalupe (Valdez 2010). Herrón, who had decided to take muralism a step further and wear the mural himself as a “Walking Mural of lost/forgotten souls,” was carrying a mixed media piece with Mexican masks and pre-Columbian heads made of painted and sculpted paper (Herrón quoted in Knight 2011). Gamboa, who had decided to document the procession along Whittier Boulevard to make sure that it could be presented elsewhere and reach a broader audience, later described Herrón’s staging as “a mural that had become bored with its environment and left” (1998: 79).

The hit-and-run-action *Spray Paint at LACMA / Project Pie in De/Face* (1972) was the first Asco intervention staged outside East Los Angeles, executed as a protest against institutional discrimination at LACMA; forty years prior the Asco retrospective at LACMA. Its pre-history was a visit to LACMA by Gamboa in December 1972. As Gamboa later recalled, he had asked one of the curators why the museum never exhibited art by a Chicano artist, and the curator had replied: “Chicanos they don’t do art, you know, they’re in gangs” (Gamboa 2010). In response to this prejudiced and paternalistic answer, Gamboa returned with Herrón and Gronk after the museum had closed and tagged the museum entryways with their graffiti-styled names. Herrón further emphasized a gang-related affinity by applying a typeface typical of gang graffiti in East Los Angeles (see Chastanet 2009). Street graffiti is a social expression that at the time was primarily carried out by male youths, and Valdez later recalled that she was not included in the act of tagging LACMA since the male members in the group didn’t expect her to be able to run fast enough if they were to be chased by the police (Valdez 2010). Instead Gamboa and Valdez returned the next day before the museum walls were whitewashed and Gamboa documented Valdez standing beside the graffiti style signatures by the male members of Asco in photographs. Gamboa explains that with their signatures on the museum walls they “momentarily transformed the museum itself into the first conceptual work of Chicano art to be exhibited at LACMA”, claiming the museum and its contents as a signature ready-made (1998: 79). Sanchez-Tranquilino notes that their signatures on LACMA is a “calligraphic gesture that ... mocked itself: marking, in the gap between *signature* and *placa*, its own impossibility, at the site of an institution that had already marked their work and that of contemporary Chicano artists as Other, ‘outside’” (1996b, 104). With the LACMA exhibition of the Chicano group Los Four two years later, art by Chicana/o artists were exhibited *inside* the museum for the first time. The Los Four exhibition at LACMA in 1974 has in retrospect has been declared “the fist Chicano art exhibition in a mainstream venue” (Museum of Latin American Art 2011: 126). Gronk later recalled that at this exhibition, they “crashed the opening reception of the Los Four exhibition at LACMA”, when each “member of Asco was victimized by anonymous gossip, and each experienced at least one episode of police abuse” (1998: 79). Gronk was the first Chicano artist to have a solo show at LACMA with the exhibition *¡Gronk! A Living Survey, 1973–1993*, organized by René Yañez. Gronk later reflected on this irony and his inclusion in the exhibition of a work referring to Asco’s hit-and-run-action *Spray Paint at LACMA / Project Pie in De/Face* (1972) twenty years earlier:

I think for me, I guess, the interesting thing is twenty years later to be on the inside of the L.A. County Museum and doing a piece, sort of a reference to it, called *Project Pie in Deface*, with using actually a defacement of a clay facial mask that’s slapped onto a wall that I paint. It’s sort of defacing on the inside of the museum, and I doubt very much if they understood or got it – or want to get it or understand it”. (Gronk quoted in Benavidez 2007: 48)

Of Asco's five interrelated street interventions in Los Angeles in the early 1970s, the fourth, *First Supper (After a Major Riot)* (1974), was carried out on a traffic island at the corner of Whittier Boulevard and Arizona Street where a police shooting had taken place during the Chicano Moratorium in August 1970. Executed as a ritual sit-down meal in the midst of rush-hour-traffic on Christmas Eve and borrowing Catholic iconography from the Mexican celebration of Día de los Muertos (Gamboa 1998: 80), *First Supper* reclaimed the area in symbolic memorial of the Chicano Moratorium riot in August 1970 and in protest to police violence. With *Instant Mural* (1974), the fifth of these interrelated street interventions by Asco, Gronk took muralism a step further, just as Herrón had done with *Walking Mural* in 1972. *Instant Mural* refers back to their intervention in public space with *Spray Paint at LACMA / Project Pie in De/Face* (1972). In *Instant Mural*, Gronk 'tagged' Patssi Valdez and Humberto Sandoval on a wall by taping their bodies with crisscrossing strands of low-tack masking tape to the exterior wall of a liquor store at the corner of Whittier Boulevard and Arizona Avenue (Gamboa 1998: 80). After an hour of entrapment, when several passersby had offered Valdez and Sandoval help, they simply walked away from their visually locked position. According to Gamboa, Asco's street intervention *Instant Mural* "challenged the fragility of social control" (1998: 80). With Valdez and Sandoval leaving the symbolic frame of the mural and simply walking away, *Instant Mural* at the same time deliver a message of 'moving on' and seeking change, both of static social patterns and Chicana/o muralism of the 1970s.

Brief Exhibition History of Asco

Parallel with their activities in Asco, the four original members were practicing their individual art, and after Asco dissolved in the mid-1980s they remained practicing artists and have developed their individual careers: Valdez with painting, drawing and prints, Gronk with sculpture, painting and scenography, Gamboa as photographer, writer and multimedia artist, and Herrón with mural painting, prints, lead singer in the punk band *Los Illegals*, and co-owner of a commercial design studio. Working in both the periphery of the city of Los Angeles and its art scene, the exhibition history of Asco record regular exhibitions in mainly Chicana/o- or Mexican American-related centers and galleries, sometimes several in one and the same year (Chavoya & Gonzalez 2011c). The first documented exhibition is *Ahora lo Veras* at the Mechicano Art Center in East L.A. in 1972, with mixed-media works by Herrón, Gamboa and Gronk. In 1973, the year they adopted Asco as their group name (Gamboa 1998: 79), they held an exhibition at the Student Union Gallery of California State University in Long Beach, titled *Da me Asco*, meaning 'to me it gives disgust' or 'it makes me puke'. The following year (1974), they held an exhibition titled *Asco* at Self-Help Graphics in East L.A. In 1975 there was an exhibition titled *Chicanismo en el Arte* held at LACMA that

included individual works by Herrón and Valdez. In this exhibition, three years after Asco's tagging of the exterior walls of LACMA, Valdez hung her aerosol sprayed paintings on the interior walls of the museum.

From the 1980s and on Chicana/o issues were gradually recognized by the mainstream Anglo American society. The first large Chicano exhibition, *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation, 1965–1985*, organized by the Wight Art Gallery at UCLA, toured the country 1990–1993. Ten years later, a second large Chicano exhibition toured the country, *Just Another Poster?: Chicano Graphic Arts in California* (2000–2003), organized by the University Art Museum of the University of California in Santa Barbara. In both of these exhibitions, Asco as a group and its individual members were represented. In 2008 there was a third large touring exhibition, *Phantom Sightings: Art after the Chicano Movement*, organized by LACMA. This exhibition that also toured in Mexico, included several of Gamboa's photographs of Asco's street interventions, such as *Walking Mural* (1972), *Instant Mural* (1974), *The Gores* (1974), *Asshole Mural* (1975) and *Decoy Gang War Victim* (1975) (Gonzalez, Fox and Noriega 2008). Gamboa's documentation of Asco's hit-and-run-action at LACMA, however, known through the distribution of his photographs referred to as *Spray Paint at LACMA / Project Pie in De/Face* (1972), were not included in this exhibition organized by LACMA. In 1983, Gamboa's photographs of Asco's street performances had been included in the exhibitions *A Través de la Frontera* at UNAM (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) in Mexico City. In 2006, Asco was represented in an exhibition at Centre Pompidou in Paris with a title reminiscent of the PST project, *Los Angeles, 1955–1985: Birth of an Art Capital* (Chavoya & Gonzalez 2011c: 424). In 2011, the same year as the Asco retrospective at LACMA, they were included in the exhibition *Crisiss [sic] América Latina: Arte y Confrontación, 1910–2010* at the prestigious Bellas Artes in Mexico City.

The exhibition history of both Asco as a group and its individual members reveals a slow but successive inclusion in the mainstream fine art scenes nationally and abroad. The regularity by which the visual activity of Asco in Los Angeles has been exhibited in Chicana/o- and Mexican American-related galleries over the years justifies their presence in the PST exhibition program documenting the "birth of the L.A. art scene". Asco and/or its individual members were represented in four thematic PST exhibitions.⁴ The presence of Asco in large Chicana/o exhibitions touring the country in combination with their presence in exhibitions at major art institutions in Mexico and France and at LACMA in 1975, 1993 and 2008, paved the way for the large retrospective at LACMA in 2011, the first solo exhibition of Asco at a mainstream art museum in the U.S. The Asco retrospect occupied six galleries on the second level of the Broad Contemporary Art Museum in the LACMA complex and was organized in a linear chronology, exhibiting Gamboa's photographs of staged scenes and street performances by Asco, video recordings of interviews with its four original members, clothes and outfits from a

number of staged enactments, drawings, documentary photographs and various kinds of paraphernalia, such as gallery invitations.

Several reviews of the PST exhibitions were negative. The independent curator and writer Lucia Sanromán criticized the Mexican American and Chicano exhibitions in the PST program for being “a marketing campaign in which the city of Los Angeles, its culture and spirit of youthful insouciance, its previously consistently vilified urbanism, and even its minorities are celebrated and presented to the world for enjoyment and consumption” (2012: 79). Sanromán also questioned the presentation of documentary photographs as art objects and the problematic display of archival material in an art museum, which she claims “objectify the archive and consecrate Asco’s powerful, anarchic, and countercultural gestures, recasting them as ‘contemporary art’ and reducing their potency of embodying a radical alternative to accepted conventions in Chicano and Anglo society” (2012: 82). Connie Butler, chief curator at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, criticized the installation design of the Asco retrospect for being “too sprawling, with too many documentary photos spread too evenly through too large a space” (2012: 49).

To the Asco retrospect at LACMA the museum produced a 432-page catalogue with nineteen essays written by renowned scholars and critics, hundreds of reproduced photographs of works by Asco and its individual members, and seven reprinted articles about Asco from various magazines. Asco’s art activity is thoroughly investigated from a range of different angles in the impressive catalogue, which unfortunately lacks an index. Some of the essays are versions of previously published texts, and five were written by the co-curators and catalogue editors C. Ondine Chavoya and Rita Gonzalez, who note in the introduction essay that the ephemeral, immaterial and ‘live art’ of Asco “frustrates the archive and collecting practices of art institutions and the art market” (Chavoya & Gonzalez 2011b: 19). In one essay written from an art historical perspective, Tere Romo declares the staging by Valdez’ of the Mexican Virgen de Guadalupe in *Walking Mural* (1972), as “the first significant artistic reinterpretation of the Virgen de Guadalupe in the United States and Latin America, as well as within Chicano art” (Romo 2011: 282). A general focus is the archival collections of Asco, their ‘science fiction fantasies’, and Asco’s avant-garde and glam-rock aesthetics in relation to the contemporary Anglo American fine art scene in the 1970s and 1980s. While attention is paid to the political framework of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement and the critical departures of Asco’s visual activity, the significance of their material, urban sociocultural circumstances as Chicanas/os in East Los Angeles, with poverty, police violence, racism and discrimination, have tended to fall into the background.

The New Street Mural by Willie Herrón

The new street mural *Asco: East of No West* by Willie Herrón was scheduled for completion in late October 2011 in the alley behind City Terrace Drive. Paying homage to his years in the performance group Asco, the subtitle of the mural refers to the early activities of the four original members of Asco in the alley behind City Terrace Drive, since it was here, in the garage of Herrón's mother, when the garage was not occupied by gang members, that Herrón, Valdez, Gamboa and Gronk started working with their collaborative visual projects (Herrón 2010). In a videotaped presentation of the mural, Herrón explains: "for me it seemed as a good title to stick with because of where a lot of that energy came from, just always feeling like *we* only know the east side, and the west side doesn't know of *us*" (LACMA webpage). The east-west relationship Herrón refers to in the mural's title is further accentuated by the physical location of the mural, painted high up on an exterior wall in the alley behind City Terrace Drive and facing the freeway system, the inner city of Los Angeles, and further on, Hollywood. Thus, the mural creates a multi-layered vectored relationship between its geographical location in City Terrace and the inner city fine art region of its commission, referring to both (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Willie Herrón's mural *Asco: East of No West* (2011) in the alley behind City Terrace Drive.

Photo: Eva Zetterman. © Eva Zetterman.

The mural *Asco: East of No West* (2011) is painted in black-and-white and based on a black-and-white silver-gelatin photograph by Gamboa, not of the actual street performance *Walking Mural* (1972), as claimed in PST announcements, but from the performance with a staged group-portrait of Valdez, Herrón, and Gronk standing in frozen positions in front of an unidentified wall. Modeled on a photograph from a street performance by Asco in 1972, the mural triggers visual memory and establishes a contact with Asco's interrelated street interventions from the early 1970s. On these references to Asco's non-material 'live' artwork, Herrón explains: "It seemed proper and appropriate to bring that concept full circle and now actually create a mural from a photo of a non-mural, which was entitled at the time *Walking Mural* – and that was my character, I was the walking mural" (Herrón 2011). This ephemeral non-material character of Asco's critical street interventions in the 1970s is with the mural *Asco: East of No West* given permanent visibility by being transformed into one single and materially permanent object. The transformation of the visual memory of Asco is an act of remembering that has been described in *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, as "always in and of the present, while its referent is of the past and thus absent" (Huysen 2003: 3).

The narrative and conceptual trajectories of the mural *Asco: East of No West* activate the immaterial and ephemeral character of Asco's body of work. The medium on the other hand situates the new mural within the body of work by Willie Herrón as a mural artist. A direct visual connection between his new and previous murals is established with the *Moratorium: The Black and White Mural* (1973) that is also painted in black-and-white and based on black-and-white photographs. This mural was executed by Herrón together with Gronk in the housing projects of Estrada Courts and carried out as a memorial to the Chicano Moratorium riots in August 1970 that took place not far from the location of the mural. A general and specific quality of Chicana/o street murals is the engagement of the murals with their environment. This site specific quality with a dialectic dialogue between imagery, subject matter, representation and the locality of execution, creates a spatial connection between the new mural and Herrón's previous murals throughout East Los Angeles in the neighborhoods of Estrada Courts, Boyle Heights, Ramona Gardens and City Terrace (for murals by Herrón see Dunitz 1998). The geographic location of Herrón's new mural in the neighborhood of City Terrace brings about an immediate spatial connection to his previous murals around the same block, a point that became obvious during Herrón's guided tour in the Mural Remix Tour.

The Mural Remix Tour

In October 2011, Willie Herrón toured a group of PST staff members to see his new mural in the alley behind City Terrace Drive. On this occasion, Herrón re-

ceived an announcement of his contribution to the Chicano community and to Chicana/o art in Los Angeles by the Los Angeles County Supervisor Gloria Molina, who was in the alley to dedicate the site (Heibel 2011). This tour was followed by two later free-of-charge Mural Remix Tours for art audiences to the PST exhibition program. A first Mural Remix Tour, co-sponsored by LACMA and the UCLA's Chicano Studies Research Center, was organized in November 2011. To book a ticket to this Mural Remix Tour you had to sign up for a seat through the LACMA website and the tour was quickly booked. A second Mural Remix Tour was held in conjunction with a Performance and Public Art Festival in January 2012. This tour was co-organized by LACMA, the Chicano Studies Research Center at UCLA, and the Fowler Museum at UCLA, and co-sponsored by the Getty Foundation and the nonprofit gallery space LAXART.

I participated in the first Mural Remix Tour in November 2011, a one-day bus tour that according to the Fowler Museum webpage, "Cruise through history and journey through East Los Angeles... highlighting the influential Chicano Art Collective Asco". This Mural Remix Tour started in the morning at the Fowler Museum on the UCLA north campus, where we were given a guided tour of the PST exhibition *Mapping Another L.A.: The Chicano Art Movement* by its co-curator Pilar Tompkins Rivas. After leaving the Fowler Museum, we were transported in a chartered air-conditioned bus from the UCLA north campus to LACMA in the Wilshire district. Several of the participants in this Mural Remix Tour, like the elegant woman sitting next to me in the bus, a former high fashion model now living in Malibu, were paying members of LACMA with first-hand access to these kinds of events through their membership. At LACMA, Ondine Chavoya, one of the co-curators to the PST exhibition *Asco: Elite of the Obscure*, gave us a guided tour of the Asco retrospective. After lunch in the LACMA restaurant, we entered the air-conditioned bus again for our final destination, City Terrace Drive in East L.A. The bus left the LACMA complex on Wilshire Boulevard and slowly cruised through the heavy traffic along Fairfax Avenue, heading towards Rosa Parks Freeway and further transportation along the freeway system through the East Los Angeles area to the neighborhood of City Terrace. Leaving the freeway system and driving along City Terrace Drive, the bus finally stopped in a narrow street beside the alley, where the PST commissioned new mural by Herrón is located. Herrón was standing in the alley awaiting our arrival. When the passengers in the chartered bus had gathered around him, he started explaining his family's ties to the alley where he grew up and his connection to the building on which *Asco: East of No West* is painted (Figure 2).



Figure 2. The Mural Remix Tour arrives in City Terrace. Willie Herrón in profile.
Photo: Eva Zetterman. © Eva Zetterman.

After this brief introduction to the site-specific context of his personal background, Herrón gave us a guided tour of his previous street murals around the block, including *Quetzalcoatl: The Plumed Serpent* (1972), *The Wall that Cracked Open* (1972) and *The Sorrow of Hidalgo* (1976). The tour around the block also included a stop in front of a wall on which Herrón in 1971 had painted aerosol-sprayed portraits and incorporated existing gang graffiti, but that since had been white-washed and painted over with a non-political and neutral decorative pattern. Each mural around the block has a specific pre-history. The well-known *The Wall that Cracked Open* (1972) for example, was painted as a memorial of when Herrón's brother was lethally stabbed in a gang-related attack but survived. During his guided tour around the block, standing in front of each mural and explaining its pre-history and subject matter, Herrón repeatedly held up the exhibition catalogue from the ongoing Asco retrospective at LACMA, showing the page with a reproduced photograph of each mural (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Willie Herrón showing a reproduced photograph in the exhibition catalogue of the wall when it still had aerosol-painted portraits with incorporated gang graffiti.

Photo: Eva Zetterman. © Eva Zetterman.

In the guided tour around the block in City Terrace, Herrón also incorporated a middle-aged man, who as a young local Chicano had been captured standing in front of the mural *The Sorrow of Hidalgo* (1976) in a black-and-white photograph from 1978 by Roger Minick, which was included in the exhibition catalogue. This man joined the group when the Mural Remix Tour arrived in the alley and during the stop in front of the Hidalgo mural, Herrón held up the catalogue, showing the photograph by Roger Minick with the man as a young Chicano while verbally referring to the physical presence of this man standing right next to him. The tour ended with a stop in front of the new mural *Asco: East of No West*. At street level, before climbing the construction set in front of the wall, Herrón held up the exhibition catalogue showing the reproduced photograph by Harry Gamboa from the Asco street performance *Walking Mural* (1972), with Patssi Valdez, Gronk, and himself, standing in front of an unidentified wall (Figure 4). Having climbed the construction set and standing beside the mural explaining its subject matter, he held up the exhibition catalogue again, showing Gamboa's reproduced photograph that the new mural is based on (Figure 5).



Figure 4. Willie Herrón showing the reproduced black-and-white photograph by Harry Gamboa from the Asco performance *Walking Mural* (1972).
Photo: Eva Zetterman. © Eva Zetterman.



Figure 5. Willie Herrón showing the reproduced photograph from the Asco performance *Walking Mural* (1972) that the mural *Asco: East of No West* (2011) on the wall beside him is based.
Photo: Eva Zetterman. © Eva Zetterman.

During his guided tour around the block in City Terrace, Herrón maintained a position where he situated himself as a Chicano in the presence of an inner city Anglo American fine art audience visiting a Mexican American and Chicana/o neighborhood in East L.A, maybe for the first time. As an experienced performance artist with professional and pedagogical skills in collaborating with groups of listeners/spectators, he managed to create a mental bridge for the visiting group that opened up for interpretations of his murals that were based on understanding and sympathy with the specific sociocultural circumstances of being Chicanas/os. The key element that Herrón applied to enable Anglo American listeners/spectators to apprehend and even relate to the subject matter of his murals in their actual location in East L.A., was through the exhibition catalogue from the Asco retrospective at LACMA. By incorporating the exhibition catalogue in his guided tour, the reproduced murals by Herrón as art images in the exhibition catalogue from the fine art context of LACMA became contextualized as art images in their actual geographic location in City Terrace. A connection was thereby established between two socio-culturally and spatially segregated contexts in the urban landscape of Los Angeles, the economically affluent and Anglo American high-status midtown-area of the Wilshire District, and the economically disadvantaged and unincorporated low-status Chicana/o-Mexican American area of City Terrace in East L.A. The art historical significance of Herrón's murals and the appearance of Asco in a mainstream museum art show, physically materialized by the LACMA catalogue, simultaneously opened up a re-navigation of Los Angeles's cultural geography along class and ethnic lines by bringing the visitors in the Mural Remix Tour to parts of Los Angeles that they would normally never visit.

Power Relations on the Los Angeles Art Scene

The Los Angeles art scene is a structured social space where it is decided what is art and what is not; what sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has described as an autonomous field with its own rules (Bourdieu 1996). During the rise of Asco in the early 1970s, the art scene in Los Angeles had an identity that the historian Sarah Schrank describes as “white and male” and “without a historical context or an obviously critical perspective” (2009: 132, 134). Since the Civil Rights Movements in the 1960s, art monuments that represent a more diverse demographic pattern in the city of Los Angeles have been added to its official map of historical landmarks, such as the Watts Tower (1921–1954) in South East L.A., the over eighty murals in the Estrada Courts housing projects (1973–1978) in East L.A., of which the *Moratorium: The Black and White Mural* (1973) by Herrón and Gronk is one, and the huge mural project *The Great Wall of Los Angeles* (1974–1978) by Judy Baca in the San Fernando Valley (Schrank 2009). Even though the Chicano Movement has ceased as a Civil Rights Movement, its legacies have been de-

clared manifest in several different areas, such as identity politics, workplace defense, intellectual traditions, popular culture and visual arts (Rosales 1997: 250). The inclusion in the PST project of six exhibitions with Mexican American and Chicana/o artists of which the Asco retrospect was one, Herrón's new street mural in City Terrace and the Mural Remix Tours are example of such legacies. Herrón's site-specific new mural in City Terrace has, through the fine art authorization of the PST project, officially been added to the civic map of public art monument in Los Angeles. The inclusion of Herrón's new mural and its interaction with Herrón's previous murals around the same block, as well as other site-specific Chicana/o street murals throughout East Los Angeles, add to a symbolic remapping of the official L.A. map of historical landmarks.

In regard to site-specific artworks, art historian Miwon Kwon claims that "site-specific art can lead to the unearthing of repressed histories, provide support for greater visibility of marginalized groups and issues, and initiate the re(dis)covery of 'minor' places so far ignored by the dominant culture" (Kwon 2000: 55). But as Kwon also argues:

inasmuch as the current socioeconomic order thrives on the (artificial) production and (mass) consumption of difference (for difference's sake), the siting of art in "real" places can also be a means to *extract* the social and historical dimensions *out* of places to variously serve the thematic drive of an artist, satisfy institutional demographic profiles, or fulfill the fiscal needs of a city. (Kwon 2000: 55)

Both these perspectives of site-specific art that Kwon reflects on apply to Herrón's new mural in City Terrace. On one hand, the mural gives visibility to Herrón as a Chicano mural painter, to his previous murals around the same block, to Asco's critical street interventions in the politically contested urban space of Los Angeles, to the Chicano Civil Rights Movement and to the unincorporated City Terrace area east of Los Angeles River, where Latinos, Mexican Americans and Chicanas/os make up the majority of the population. On the other hand, the ideological and political significations of the mural's subject matter, representation, medium and physical location are reduced when commissioned, co-sponsored and executed within the Getty funded PST project. The political and social circumstances of Herrón's previous murals throughout East Los Angeles and around the same block stand in contrast to the specific circumstances of the new mural. As aesthetic art objects they become a spectacle. The critical dimensions of Asco's political street interventions referred to by the new mural are also extracted when relocated to the mainstream fine art context of the PST project. Through a change of context, the Mural Remix Tour with an inner city Anglo American fine art audience in the disadvantaged neighborhood of City Terrace is turned into a voyeuristic enterprise of ethnically based class differences. As Walter Benn Michaels claims, such changes of contexts "denies the relevance of class inequality" and "overcoming an obstacle, the obstacle of being working class or poor" (2007: 201). And this denial of socioeconomic circumstances leads accord-

ing to Michaels to a twisted reception: “Where you used to just distract yourself from economic difference by focusing on cultural difference, now you can celebrate economic difference by pretending that it *is* cultural difference” (2007: 201).

To summarize, the transformation through the PST curating project of critical and marginal Chicana/o subculture into mainstream fine art was brought about through radical changes of contexts. These changes of sociocultural, political and historical contexts neutralize the critical dimensions of both Herrón’s new street mural and the street interventions by Asco to which the mural refers. The Mural Remix Tour with the corporeal relocation of a fine art audience by a geographical transportation in the urban space of Los Angeles from west to east – from the Wilshire district in the center to East L.A. in the periphery – relied heavily on taking place within the fine art context of the PST event, since it is this mainstream fine art context that designates what is fine art and considered acceptable on the official map of public art monuments. The geographical relocation of an inner city fine art audience to the unincorporated, low-income and gang-related area of East L.A. was also highly dependent on the significance of the passing of time, thus creating a historical distance to the politically tense environment of East Los Angeles in the early 1970s, characterized by violence, police brutality, anti-war protests and political mobilization in the Chicano Civil Rights Movement. Herrón’s new street mural *Asco: East of No West* (2011) draws greatly on an Anglo American fine art context, and in this context, the mural becomes a complement to Anglo American fine art where it represents diversity. Situated on the civic map of Los Angeles as an officially accepted art historical monument, the mural *Asco: East of No West* in City Terrace is not only a lasting memory of Asco’s critical interventions in the 1970s against racism, marginalization and discrimination. By its geographic location on the urban map of Los Angeles it also becomes a permanent reminder of the segregation patterns in the geography of Los Angeles that still exist.

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Notes

- ¹ Of different etymological explanations of the term Chicano, one is the reference *chica patas* by the Mexican American middle classes to lower classes or new arrivals from Mexico, another is the ancient Nahuatl word *mexicano* with the ‘x’ pronounced as a ‘shh’ sound (Rosales

1997: 252, 261). When the term Chicano was taken up in the Chicano Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s it was to signify political awareness of and resistance to discriminating structures based on race and ethnicity, coupled with a struggle for affirmation, empowerment, and representation, the latter factual and corporeal as well as visual. An acclaimed self-identity as Chicana or Chicano is thereby an identity by choice, not by birth.

² These exhibitions were *Asco: Elite of the Obscure, A Retrospective, 1972–1987* and *Mural Remix: Sandra de la Loza*, both at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *Art Along the Hyphen: The Mexican-American Generation* at the Autry National Center, *MEX/LA: Mexican Modernism(s) in Los Angeles, 1930–1985* at the Museum of Latin American Art, and *Oscar Castillo: Icons of the Invisible and Mapping another L.A.: The Chicano Art Movement*, both at the Fowler Museum.

³ *Cholo* and *chola* refer to male and female participants in Chicana/o youth-gang culture.

⁴ These exhibitions were *Los Angeles Goes Live: Performance Art in Southern California 1970–1983* at Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions, *Under the Big Back Sun: California Art 1974–1981* at the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art, *State of Mind: New California Art Circa 1970* at the Orange County Museum of Art, and *Mapping Another L.A.: The Chicano Art Movement* at the Fowler Museum.

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