10. Internal Exiles: The Interventionist Public and Performance Art of Asco

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Asco (NAUSEA):

- 1. a feeling of sickness at the stomach, with an impulse to vomit.
- 2. disgust; loathing
- 3. Gronk, Patssi, Gamboa, Herrón
- 4. Collaborations 1972 thru 1976

---Harry Gamboa Jr. and Gronk in "Interview: Gronk and Gamboa"

Formed in the early 1970s by four Chicano artists from East Los Angeles, Asco set out to test the limits of art—its production, distribution, reception, and exhibition. As a collaborative creative corps, the original members of Asco, Harry Gamboa Jr., Gronk, Willie Herrón, and Patssi Valdez, engaged in performance, public art, and conceptual multimedia art. The artists merged activism with performance in response to this turbulent social and political period in Los Angeles and within the larger international context of alternative youth cultures and radical politics of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Asco created art by any means necessary, often using their bodies and guerrilla, or hit-and-run, tactics. The artists banded together through their shared sense of displacement and as an alternative to gangs, violence, and other negative elements affecting the community. Manifesting their ideas in the public arena of the streets, the artists recognized the power of public representation and documentation and expertly learned to circumvent traditional institutions by creating alternative methods of access and distribution. Their work critically satirized and challenged the conventions of modernist "high" art as well as those of "ethnic" or community-based art. The connotations of their self-adopted name, Asco, testifies to the initial effect of the group. Asco

is Spanish for nausea or repulsion with the impulse to vomit. The name acknowledges the response that their street and gallery work provoked, particularly from within the Chicano art movement. Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, the Asco group initiated urban street actions that critically interrogated the social space of Los Angeles, Formed in the early 1970s by four Chicano artists from East Los Angeles, Asco set out to explore and exploit the unlimited media of concept and, in this way, create "conceptual art in urban form" (Sandoval 1980).

This essay discusses the intersections of performance, interventionist public art, and media technologies in the work of Asco while focusing on what their early public art actions elucidate about public space and urban relations in Los Angeles.² After several years of collecting the traces and fragments of Asco's history of production.³ I have come to understand that one of the most salient and dynamic characteristics of their public work was Asco's talent for situating social critique in contested urban spaces. The frequent object of their critical interventions was the normative landscape and official culture of Los Angeles that has repeatedly represented the city's Chicano population as an invisible "phantom culture" (Gamboa 1981: 15). Asco developed a sophisticated visual and theoretical language attentive to the specific geographies of Los Angeles and, in particular, the urban Chicano barrios. Through performance, the artists brought urgent attention to the urban spectacles of violence, police brutality, exploitation, and discrimination. It was here that the geographic and social space of Los Angeles became much more than the site of production; it became the very material for Asco's conceptual art.⁴

Asco and the Ethics of Combat

Without contextualizing Asco's public spectacles, it would be difficult to discern the dynamic interaction between critique and seduction, play and provocation, and activism and abstraction that characterizes them. Thus, I consider Asco's public art in relation to the historical surveillance, suppression, and erasure of Chicano public space and contextualize their aesthetic strategies and interventionist tactics within the practices and activities of the Chicano Civil Rights movement.

Between 1968 and 1973, Chicanos in southern California protested the disproportionate number of Chicano casualties in the Vietnam War and the relationship between this statistic and inequities of education and unequal opportunity for Chicano youth. Gamboa, Gronk, Herrón, and Valdez all attended Garfield High School in East L.A., the nation's largest barrio and a locus of political organization and violence. Harry Gamboa Jr. helped revive *Regeneración*, a Chicano political and literary magazine first published by Mexican anarchist Ricardo Flores Magon in the early 1900s. Gamboa became an editor in 1971 and enlisted Valdez, Herrón, and Gronk to work on the publication. This was the first time the four artists came together to collaborate on a single project. Without formal training, few available models, and even fewer venues for exhibition, *Regeneración* was Asco's collaborative training ground.

While in high school, the artists were involved in a clique of the Chicano youth movement that "rebelled against social victimization by adopting 'an extreme and flamboyant use of language and fashion'" (Dubin 1986: 2). Known as Jetters, members of this group were noted for their wild dress, tricky talk, and sardonic attitudes, and their "extravagance of dress and manner served as a placard for social impotence" (Gamboa 1985). As Gamboa recounts:

With over three thousand predominantly Chicano students faced with unequal opportunities at home and probable overrepresentation in the fields of death in Vietnam, . . . [Garfield] high school gained notoriety as the trendsetter of Chicano fashion, etiquette, violence, and slang. . . . The mutual awareness of the musicians and artists in the midst of social and political change allowed them to convey their shared experience through personal and group expressions of music or art. (Gamboa 1991: 127)

On March 5, 1968, more than one thousand students walked out of five high schools in protest of the substandard educational system in East L.A. By the end of the week, sixteen high schools were involved, and over ten thousand students were on strike during the fifteen-day period. This student boycott for educational reform, known as the Chicano Blowouts, was the first major mass protest against racism undertaken by Mexican-Americans in the history of the United States. This organized, nonviolent student strike "brought the largest school system in the nation to a stand-still and made news across the country; a Los Angeles Times reporter interpreted the strike as "The Birth of Brown Power'" (Muñoz 1989: 64). Nonviolence, however, did not prevail. Students, demanding to address the board of education, assembled in a public park, where they encountered the newly instated Disaster and Riot Training (DART) forces. Student resistance was met with police hostility and violence.

On March 4, 1968, the day before the first planned blowout, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover issued a memo to local law enforcement officials across the country urging them to place top priority on political intelligence work to prevent the development of nationalist movements in minority communities. Gronk, the first to engage in performance and life action art, contributed to the political newspaper Grassroots Forum and Chicano nationalist student publications. Gamboa served as the vice president of the Garfield High School Blowout Committee and contributed to the activist news periodicals Chicano Student News and La Raza. Gamboa's role in organizing the Blowouts made him the target of surveillance by "New Left" internal subversives and un-American activities observers. In testimony before a U.S. Senate subcommittee in 1970, Gamboa was named one of the hundred most dangerous and violent subversives in the United States, along with Angela Davis, Eldridge Cleaver, and Reies López Tijerina; Gamboa's part in organizing the Blowouts was deemed "antiestablishment, antiwhite, and militant" propaganda (Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 1970; 12).

The military resonances of the term "avant-garde" are dually relevant when discussing Asco. Asco's avant-garde strategies were "urban survival techniques" (Gamboa

in Brookman 1983: 6) that emerged from the organized protest movement against the use of Chicanos, and other people of color, as the literal avant-garde in the war in Vietnam. The emphatic characteristic integral to the diversity of work Asco produced is their "ethics of combat." "Ethics of combat" is perhaps the most appropriate phrase to describe Asco's signature form of spatially politicized aesthetics. In the face of crisis, Asco engaged a transverse tactic of heterotopic resistance and deviation.

Through effectively engaged countersites, Asco actualized what several postmodern theorists have called for, and attempted to identify, in contemporary cultural
practices. Scholarship in urban studies, cultural studies, and more recently art history
has undertaken the analysis of the production of space as a conflictual process of domination and resistance to domination (under capitalism) (Deutsche 1992: 42). Marking
the city as the most immediate locus for the production and circulation of power—
"the headquarters of societal modes of regulation" (Soja 1989: 235)—much of this
work either originates from or takes up the particularly overdetermined postmodem
example of Los Angeles. Chicano history, a history explicitly parenthetical in this
work on postmodern cultural geography, is the story of territorial occupation through
legal manipulation working in concert with violence (Gutiérrez-Jones 1995: 100). Situated as an aesthetic coalition of politics and production, Asco's public art recognizes space as a terrain of political practices and enacts the emancipatory potential of a
spatial, aesthetic imagination (Villa 1993: 36). 11

Walking Murals and Other Defacements

On Christmas Eve 1971, Gamboa, Gronk, and Herrón performed their first walking mural, Stations of the Cross, and iconoclastically transformed the Mexican Catholic tradition of the Posadas into a ritual of remembrance and resistance against the deaths in Vietnam. The trio arrived at the corner of Eastern Avenue and Whittier Boulevard in outlandish makeup and costume. Carrying a brightly colored cardboard cross, Herrón led the procession as a stylized calavera-Christ wearing a long flowing white robe with an emblazoned sacred heart. Faithlessly following him were Gamboa, as a zombie altar boy wearing an "animal skull headpiece to ward off unsolicited communion" (Gamboa 1991: 124), and Gronk as Pontius Pilate in clownlike makeup, a burgundy velvet gown, and his signature accessories: a green bowler hat and an excessively large, beige fake fur purse.

Performing the "Stations of the Cross" along a one-mile stretch of Whittier Boulevard, the procession's final rite was held before the U.S. Marines Recruiting Center at the Goodrich Boulevard intersection. Gronk blessed the site with Kress dime-store popcorn and the trio observed a ceremonial five minutes of silence. The fifteen-foot cross was placed at the door of the recruitment center before they fled the scene. Stations of the Cross conceptually, if not efficaciously, staged an urban disturbance to symbolically block any further Chicanos from enlisting at the center that day.

Patssi Valdez joined Gamboa, Gronk, and Herrón for their encore Christmas Eve



Figure 1. Asco, Walking Mural, 1972. Left to right: Patssi Valdez, Willie Herrón, Gronk. Photograph by Harry Gamboa Jr. Used by permission of the artist.

Whittier Boulevard performance in 1972, titled Walking Mural. As a result of the Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War (1970), a peaceful demonstration that turned into a police riot, and subsequent retaliations and urban disturbances, the Annual East Los Angeles Christmas parade had been canceled. Assuming the traditional course of the countermanded parade, the artists staged a public spectacle in which they were both the participants and floats. In the process they advanced the convention of street murals from a static media to a moving performance medium.

Walking Mural was a counterspectacle intervention—a carnivalesque inversion of authority and a reclamation of social space. As public manifestations, Stations of the Cross and Walking Mural are more than reminiscent of social protest. "So much death had been occurring and does occur in East L.A. without any meaning attached to it," Gamboa said in an interview. "We wanted to give people a certain kind of almost gastro-intestinal response" (Sandoval 1978). Asco's theater of social engagement was a form of celebratory protest that merged aesthetics and activism. Improvising absurd imagery and environmental interventions was Asco's calculated tactic to disrupt the perceptual responses of the audience. As Herrón states, "We wouldn't plan it so people could actually come and see it, we would just drop in on everything in its normal pattern" (Brown and Crist 1985). Even if startled spectators and unknowing participants could not precisely decipher their allusive critique, the artists hoped that the very occurrence of these bizarre and unorthodox activities in public thoroughfares would raise questions in the minds of viewers. 14

When asked why Whittier Boulevard was so significant in their performances,

Herrón replied, "Because we felt we'd get maximum exposure there and also because that particular . . . stretch was the focal point of the riots. . . . To this day [1985] the police completely block the street after 10:00 p.m. on weekends so you can't drive through" (Brown and Crist 1985). Chon Noriega and I discussed this notion in relation to the multiple critiques that Asco's public performances actualized. Noriega, emphasizing the last point Herrón alludes to, positioned these critiques as follows:

Part of what they were saying was that the Mural Movement and the Chicano Art Movement had become as frozen as the "frozen revolution" of Mexico that it was referencing, and that its icons had ceased to function in a flexible enough manner for either aesthetic or political ends. . . . [T]hey were also critiquing the fact that in 1971–72, Chicanos could not walk down Whittier Boulevard without being stopped by the police. . . . So they were situating their critique in a space that Chicanos did not have access to—public space. 15

Momentarily retaking control of the landscape, the artists enacted an alternative interpretative practice from the position of those subordinated by urban spatial politics. As Rosalyn Deutsche reminds us, "The unity of public space depends on repressingon establishing—as external to 'the public'—the differences and conflicts as well as outright injustices of urban life; public space becomes an appropriated territory subject to, rather than representing the limit of, regulatory power" (Deutsche 1992: 38-39). Underpinning the dominant social geography of Los Angeles is a disciplinary structure of containment and exclusion maintained by various policing activities and organizations (Davis 1990). The effectively enforced practices of containment and exclusion are accordingly racialized; the production of space for cultural hegemony in Los Angeles, manifest and maintained by its exclusionary and segregated spatial formation, has historically labored to implement and secure the systematic containment of the Chicano population, physical and otherwise. This technique of social-spatial control can be seen as an effort to relegate Chicanos "to a sphere outside the public, to bar admittance to the discursive construction of the public, and in this way, prohibit participation in the space of public communication" (Deutsche 1992: 38). The experienced effects of this prohibitive and disciplinary exclusion were poignantly epitomized in testimony presented to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights investigating continued allegations of police brutality and violations of federal law by L.A. law enforcement agencies during the East L.A. riots of 1970. As one community representative proclaimed, "Whether the law knows it or not . . . we're the public, even if we are brown" (Commission 1970: 13).

Asco took the issues of "minority" representation, access, and inclusion in public institutions to an unprecedented, if mischievous, extreme with the 1972 performance Project Pie in DelFace. This event was incited by a confrontational meeting between Gamboa and a curator at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) concerning the absence of Chicano art in the museum's collection and exhibitions. The

curator's response was that Chicanos didn't make "fine art"; they only make "folk art" or they were in gangs. In reply, Gamboa, Gronk, and Herrón initiated *Project Pie in De/Face*, also known as *Spraypaint LACMA*, by signing their names to all the county museum entrances in gang-style fashion, thereby claiming the institution and all its contents as the artists' own conceptual piece—"the first conceptual work of Chicano art to be exhibited at LACMA" (Gamboa 1991: 125).¹⁶

Project Pie in De/Face crystallized the artists' collective identity as a collaborative performance group. The prejudicial practices of the arts institutions, coupled with directed spatial interventions into a new realm, the west side of L.A., fueled Asco's creative and subversive edge for the next ten years. ¹⁷ In 1973, the group began a series of midnight art productions, the Instructional Destruction Projects, by spray-painting bill-boards and walls on Sunset Boulevard with slogans such as "Pinchi Placa Come Caca" (Fuckin' cops eat shit), "Viet/Barrio," "Gringo Laws = Dead Chicanos," and "Yanqui Go Home." In one such incident, the artists were stopped, searched, and interrogated by three units and six deputies of the L.A. County Sheriff's Department (Gamboa and Gronk 1976: 33).

Symbolic Resistance/Spatial Interventions: Nonplace and the Symbolized Space of Place

The space of non-place creates neither singular identity nor relations; only solitude, and similitude. There is no room for history unless it has been transformed into an element of spectacle.

-Marc Augé



Figure 2. Asco, First Supper (after a Major Riot), 1974. Photograph by Harry Gamboa Jr. Used by permission of the artist.

First Supper (after a Major Riot) was performed on December 24, 1974, during rush hour on a traffic island at Arizona Street and Whittier Boulevard in East Los Angeles. In this performance Asco adopted the act of occupation in lieu of their previously mobile tactics. The traffic island the artists occupied had been built over a particularly bloody site of the East L.A. riots as a part of an urban "redevelopment" project in 1973. Following the riots, the surrounding buildings, sidewalks, and streets were leveled and rebuilt to prevent further public demonstrations. The redevelopment of Whittier Boulevard is an example of urban planning administered as a preventive obstacle and punitive consequence for mass social protest. Transforming the traffic island into a stage for a macabre reenactment of the Last Supper, including elements from Days of the Dead celebrations, the artists memorialized the death and destruction that occurred at the scene years earlier. Beyond identifying the site as a spatial symbol of subordination, First Supper enacts a counterspectacle to mitigate its transformation into a nonplace and spectacle of historical amnesia. 20

Immediately following the occupation of the traffic island, Asco initiated another performance concerning forced immobility and bound constraints. Gronk invented the *Instant Mural* when he fastened Humberto Sandoval and Patssi Valdez to the exterior wall of a liquor store with masking tape. Gamboa's account of the performance provocatively suggests how this enigmatic happening was received: "Several anonymous individuals, concerned about their welfare, offered to help Valdez and Sandoval escape from the confines of low-tack masking tape. After an hour of entrapment, Valdez and Sandoval simply walked away from the visually intimidating, yet physically weak lengths of tape" (Gamboa 1991: 126).

Through Asco's spatial-aesthetic imagination, Instant Mural renders idiographic the "relations of power and discipline inscribed in the apparently innocent spatiality of social life" (Soja 1989: 6). Instant Mural can be interpreted as challenging the fragility of social controls while "actualizing the adhesive relations between society and space, history and geography" (Soja 1989: 223), with specific attention to the locations and functions of cultural identity and gender within this paradigm. In this way, Asco's ethics of combat can be seen as making us, in the words of Edward Soja, "insistently aware of how space can be made to hide consequences from us . . . how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology" (Soja 1989: 6). Given their spatial and historical contexts, Walking Mural, First Supper, and Instant Mural are simultaneously prophetic evocations of space, tactical forms of symbolic resistance, and spatial interventions. In this manner, the "symbolized space of place" constitutes the very material for Asco's urban performances.

When members of a local Chicano gang discover plutonium in cans of spray paint in Lorena's Lament (1981), East L.A. gangs enter into the nuclear age of atomic gang warfare. This fotonovela performance, also known as Last Rites in the Left Lane, occurred on the Fourth Street Bridge at Lorena Street. Twelve performers blockaded the center lanes of the bridge for over two hours; when three LAPD squad cars arrived at the scene, the only evidence of the disturbance found were discarded aerosol cans.

"The bridge," Michel de Certeau contends, "is ambiguous everywhere" and represents a "transgression of the limit, a disobedience of the law of place . . . [and] the 'betrayal' of an order" (de Certeau 1984: 128). The Fourth Street Bridge divides and connects East Los Angeles to downtown. Hollywood has imaged the bridge innumerable times as an abject zone of demarcation in film, as in *Boulevard Nights* (1979) and Mi Familia (1995), and television, as in the popular series CHiPS. The persistent representation of the Fourth Street Bridge as boundary and frontier has invested it with an iconic aura and metonymic power by which to signify the phantasmagoric threat of East L.A. and those who occupy it. Given de Certeau's uncanny interpretation of the bridge as an attack of state, the ambition of a conquering power, or the flight of an exile, the Fourth Street Bridge is the exemplary space, or nonplace, for a dystopic barrio rendition of global politics.

Media Hoaxes

Asco set out to promote an awareness of violence and the foolishness of promoting it (Gamboa in Rupp 1985). Seeing the problems and violence facing East L.A. "as problems because we were right in the middle of it; we wanted to change it. We wanted to reach inside and pull people's guts out" (Herrón in Benavidez 1981). It was this set of shared convictions that made it additionally imperative for them to shatter "people's preconceptions of what Chicano artists should do" (Gamboa in Benavidez and Vozoff 1984; 51).

Decoy Gang War Victim (1974) was both a performance and a media intervention. After closing off a residential city block with flares in the Li'l Valley area of East L.A., Gronk sprawled across the asphalt with ketchup all over him, posing as the "victim" of a gang retribution killing. As Gamboa explains, "We would go around and whenever we heard of where there might be potential violence, we would set up these decoys so they would think someone had already been killed" (Brookman 1983: 7-8). The performance's status as media hoax and counterspectacle depended upon the significantly different purposes to which the documentation was put to use. Asco distributed a photograph of the performance to various publications and television stations, which was accepted by the local media as a real scenario of violence. The image was broadcast, for example, on KHJ-TV L.A. Channel 9, as an "authentic" East L.A. Chicano gang murder and condemned as a prime example of rampant gang violence in the City of Angels. Whether the decoy restored peace to the barrio or was effective in canceling out the media's representation of an actual death is highly unlikely; however, the process exposed the possibility of media manipulation to artists.

Recognizing the power of documentation, the artists appropriated the spectacle of media publicity. This merger of performance and media manipulation became integral to future Asco activities. The artists were all too familiar with the power of photographic documents "to structure belief and recruit consent; the power of conviction and the power to convict" (Tagg 1994: 146). Not only did the mass media represent

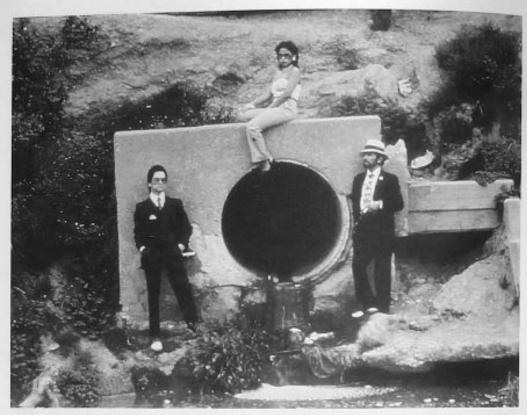


Figure 3. Asco, Asshole Mural, 1975. Left to right: Willie Herrón, Patssi Valdez, Gronk. Photograph by Harry Gamboa Jr. Used by permission of the artist.

crime and violence as East Los Angeles' "major gross product" (Brookman 1983: 8), but also the FBI's COINTELPRO agency targeted Gamboa for "internal subversives' surveillance. This was possible, Gamboa argues, because "they [the FBI] had pictures and I didn't have pictures to prove my point" (Noriega 1996: 214). Thus Gamboa characterizes Asco's work as "conceptually political" (Brookman 1983: 1); that is to say, its themes were often political or violent, or politically violent, or about violence against those who were political. As Kosiba-Vargas concludes, "Asco rendered new interpretations of the Chicano urban experience which emphasized the irrationality of an environment shaped by violence, racial oppression, and exploitation" (Kosiba-Vargas 1988: 4). The impetus was not to create spectacles per se but to bring attention to the spectacular condition of everyday life in the barrio and, through counter-spectacles, to destabilize the power of the media (to represent it as such).

Abject Space, Abject Actions

Asco's spatially politicized aesthetics embodied resistant meanings in order to mobilize resistant readings. In one performance series Asco members appointed themselves municipal officials to East L.A., an unincorporated county territory without a city hall. Asco toured their "municipality" on random site visits, designating various spaces and objects to be civic landmarks, monuments, and preservation zones. In one such

"No-Movie" performance, a storm drain was anointed with the illustrious title Asshole Mural (1975).

The sewer, Stallybrass and White suggest, beyond supplying the fundamental substructure for the city to manage and purify waste, is a symbolic system that functions as, and represents, "the conscience of the town" (Stallybrass and White 1986: 140–41). The social organization of the city's topography is structured by concepts of the body that are, in turn, mapped according to notions of dirt and cleanliness; these mediating ideologies "always-already" inscribe "relations of class, gender, and race" (Stallybrass and White 1986: 125, 130, 145). In Asshole Mural, Asco reverses the symbolic axis of the city's system of spatial purification and organization by memorializing its abject, orificial source.²¹ The artists identify the city's waste disposal system as the city's asshole and claim it as a ready-made mural. By physically and conceptually positioning themselves at the permeable center of the system that demarcates the clean from foul, high from low, east from west, and city from slum, their bodies mediate the contaminant threat.

Traditionally monuments mark, embody, and make visible power relations. Steve Pile describes this process as making space incontestable "both by closing off alternative readings and by drawing people into the presumption that the values they represent are shared" (Pile 1996: 213). Asco's practice of spatially politicized aesthetics is an example of an enacted heterotopia that embodies and actualizes such alternative readings. Asco's performance demonstrates a process of recombinative simultaneity for critical resistance and dialogue: to read monuments as "grids of meaning and power" is also to recognize their active participation in the control and manipulation of space, both real and metaphorical (Pile 1996: 214), both the directly experienced spaces of representation and the conceptual representations of space (Soja and Hopper 1993: 198).

Asshole Mural is, perhaps most important, a performative intervention into the historical process that has produced Chicanas and Chicanas as the categorical blind spot—the "disposable phantom culture" (Gamboa 1981: 15)—of dominant institutions and media. The tactic utilized is to usurp the authority and power invested in the civic heritage industry as spectacle and transform it into a counterspectacle. 22 Asshole Mural is a performative, active invention of monuments, and in the process marks an absence. Asco's aesthetic strategies and interventionist tactics are a project of cultural invention emanating from neither the fragment nor the ruin, but from the absence. This is perhaps the crucial difference and theoretical site of resistance between Asco and the more traditionally defined Chicano art movement.

Asco did not adhere to the prescribed agenda for Chicano artists within the movement to unite and educate "the family of La Raza towards liberation with one heart and mind" (First Chicano National Conference 1969: 3). Neither obviously didactic nor consumable, their work was seen as an unproductive expenditure that did not fulfill the tenets of nationalism within the Chicano movement and potentially obfuscated a nationalist ideology.²³ A substantive distinction between Asco and other Chicano artists and collectives of the time relates specifically to their location within

identity politics and divergent investments in reclaiming cultural traditions and effaced histories. In this respect, Gronk contrasts Asco's work with identity-based and/or community-oriented work: "A lot of Latino artists went back in history for imagery because they needed an identity, a starting place. . . . We didn't want to go back, 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" (Durland and Burnham, 1986: 57).

One of the tenets of the Chicano art movement was resistance, but for many movimiento artists what induced the response of "Asco" was the transgressive deviance of Asco's work. Transgression, as Tim Cresswell reminds us, "in distinction to resistance, does not, by definition, rest on the intention of the actors but on the results of the 'being noticed' of a particular action. . . . It is judged by those who react to it, while resistance rests on the intentions of the authors" (Cresswell 1996: 23).

Asco realized how their actions were deemed transgressive, and how they too were marked as abject; hence their name. Asco strategically aligned themselves with the response their work generated, and from it harnessed, but could not control, the power of the abject. Asco's multimedia works were viscerally inspired and intended to galvanize a response from the community (Gamboa n.d.: 2). In the words of Harry Gamboa Jr., the artists were simultaneously "attracted and appalled by the glitter and gangrene of urban reality" (Gamboa 1998 [1984]: 54). They recognized the psychicsocial power of abjection to structure subjectivity and group identity and to regulate social hierarchies; in turn they appropriated this power to work toward social change. As a result, Asco expanded the social and cultural focus of Chicano politics and the public role of artists working within the Chicano movement.

Social Unwest: Psychogeography of a Phantom Culture

A whole new history remains to be written of spaces—which would at the same time be the history of powers (both of these terms in the plural)—from the great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat.

-Michel Foucault, "The Eye of Power"

I've been going to downtown L.A. as often as possible ever since I realized what public transportation was all about. Every time I get off the bus on Broadway, I lose my identity and spend the rest of the day trying not to find it. The personal void is overwhelmed by the impersonal vacuum of social univest which splatters the environment like a bad choice of colors.

-Harry Gamboa Jr.

"Asco formed a distinct impression in the barrio that self determination was an active term" (Gamboa 1979). The performance and multimedia production of Asco is an aesthetic coalition of politics and production, performance and action; in this way Asco succeeded in creating and effecting social commentary in nontraditional form. Their bodies provided the most immediate form, and the social space of Los Angeles

provided the most effective forum for the materialization of their concepts (i.e., social commentary). In so doing Asco was able to oppose, in an attempt to transform, the terms social subordination and spatial subjection that conditioned their environment and restricted their experience. As a whole, Asco's work can best be characterized and understood as social, spatial, and aesthetic infractions of place (place here as a regulative and hierarchical location that is both social and spatial).

Foucault's concept of the heterotopia, where resistance is conceptualized and reactivated through local knowledges and enlisted in struggles against specific modern techniques of power (Gregory 1994: 297), is artfully performed throughout the work of Asco. Asco's public performance art demonstrates the enacted heterotopia's ability to "mobilize and stimulate a radical and postmodern politics of (spatial) resistance that redraws the boundaries of identity and struggle" (Soja 1996: 154). The point of departure and strategy of signification for Asco's performative work are the ways in which space and place are used to structure a normative landscape. Asco recognized the "city as a signifying practice itself productive of meaning and subjectivity" (Deutsche 1991: 56). Moreover, they recognized the cultural and subjective costs of this normative landscape; they refused the interpellative address of this normative landscape and challenged its power to reconstitute its cognitive foundations and effects.

Asco's spatial-aesthetic imagination, actualized through their ethics of combat, is an apt antecedent to Fredric Jameson's "call for" (and manifestly fulfills his "prediction" of) a "new aesthetic" founded on cognitive maps (Jameson 1988: 347). Jameson contends that each stage of capitalism has produced a unique spatial order. In the current third phase of late capitalism, capitalism is not "visible" in the same way it was in entrepreneurial or monopoly capitalism (Wolff 1993: 226). Condensed into a postmodern hyperspace, the alienated city produces alienated bodies that are "unable to map (in their minds) either their own positions or the urban totality in which they find themselves" (Jameson 1984: 89).24 According to this logic, the cognitive map would provide an apotropaic for the symptoms and effects of the alienated city and supply the salve for "disalienation." Although Jameson persuasively prescribed and "wistfully yearned" for the "conceptual map" of postmodernism, he has not been able to supply it.25 Had he known of the insurgent counterpractices undertaken by the subordinated (and relatively powerless) subjects of "Fortress L.A." (Davis 1990) when he viewed Los Angeles from the Bonaventure Hotel in 1984, this knowledge would have fundamentally conflicted with his formulation for a "practical reconquest of space"—dependent upon a class reductionism and myopia that subsumes the axes of ethnicity and gender.

The city is "lived and experienced in different ways" (Tagg 1996: 180); differentiations of power within the city and uneven positioning in relation to spaces of power result in significant differences in the perception of space (Zukin 1996: 46; Ghani 1993: 51). The control of spatial relations orders and localizes difference, and the spatial mechanisms of subordination mark and interpellate its subjects. The view from the Bonaventure Hotel and the Fourth Street Bridge at Lorena Street are radically

different. Obviously, they are different on account of differences in geographic location and vantage point, but most important, the perception of space is influenced by how the body of the individual viewer is viewed, surveyed, and interpellated in and through space (it affects and conditions what and how one sees.)

Asco's public art exposes the hegemonically enforced yet tacit limits and exclusions of urban space. John Tagg has described how urban planning and the emergence of the modern metropolis in the nineteenth century "systematized and demarcated" the various functions of the city "in a separation that controlled circulation and traced a pattern of dominance, but also orchestrated sights and opened up vistas that marked out a distinct function of the city as spectacle" (Tagg 1994: 84). If spectacle was a distinct function of the modern city replacing, or in opposition to, the city as practice (Suárez 1996: 25), then Asco appropriates the spectacle as their practice for counterspectacle. Asco's (early) performance actions cognitively map the absence of Chicano public space by inventing it: reversing the terms of exclusion, even when unable to reverse the conditions of exclusion, with tactical hit-and-run interventions.

Notes

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The source for my title is the Los Illegals' album *Internal Exile* (1983, lead singer: Willie Herrón). The band's new wave/punk rhythms and critical lyrical interrogations of the geographies of power and violence in Los Angeles are a vital counterpart to Asco's urban performance art.

Urban Exile: Collected Writings of Harry Gamboa Jr., written by Harry Gamboa Jr. and edited by Chon A. Noriega (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), includes critical essays on visual culture, plays and performance scripts, fiction, poetry, and reproductions of mail art and No-Movies.

 Humberto Sandoval has also been considered one of the original members of Asco, as he was involved in Asco performances as early as 1973. However, unlike the other core members, he is not and never has considered himself to be a visual artist.

 For a detailed discussion and analysis of Asco's No-Movies, see C. Ondine Chavoya, "Pseudographic Cinema: Asco's No-Movies," Performance Research 3, no. 1 (1998): 1–14.

3. In his essay "Light at the End of Tunnel Vision," Harry Gamboa Jr. (1998) saliently issues a warning concerning the dangers of historicizing Asco's work: "The viewer must beware that several zombies do not constitute a living or relevant art group. . . . The tangible evidence that remains of Asco is supported by hearsay and conflicting memories of plausible events. The works of Asco were often created in transitory or easily degradable materials that crumble at the slightest prodding and fade quickly upon exposure to any glimmer of hope. It is unlikely that the objects, historical accuracy, or spirit of Asco will ever be recovered" (Gamboa [1994] 1998; 101).

4. Indeed, Asco's public performances not only challenged aesthetic traditions but also interrogated the sanctioned uses of public space and the public domain and how those sanctioned uses set the terms for communal relations, cultural identities, class, and cultural differences. To this end, I extend a new direction currently being mapped out in the analysis of Chicana/Chicano cultural production by scholars such as Jennifer Gonzalez, Carl Gutiérrez-Jones, Michelle Habell-Pallan, and Raúl Villa. Villa's literary analysis approaches the work of Chicano authors in terms of what their work reveals about the constraints and contestations of the hegemonically organized and enforced parameters of Chicano urban space; this approach

has had a profound impact on my methodology and analysis.

5. In a city where only one-quarter of all Mexican Americans graduated from high school, Garfield High "boasted the highest drop-out rate in the nation, with 59 percent of students failing to complete the curriculum" (Gamboa 1987: 13). At a time when Chicanos accounted for less than 1 percent of the University of California's total student population, Chicanos, as a group, suffered the highest death rate of all U.S. military personnel (Guzman 1969). Of U.S. casualties in Vietnam between 1961 and 1969, 20 percent were Chicanos and other Latinos, who at the time accounted for only 10 to 12 percent of the population of the southwestern states and a much smaller percentage of the country as a whole. California was the home of the greatest number of Chicano casualties in the Vietnam War (Guzman 1969).

6. A 1974/75 issue of Regeneración (vol. 2, no. 1) is the first to identify Patssi Valdez, Willie Herrón, Harry Gamboa Jr., and Popcorn (one of Gronk's pseudonyms) as members of Asco. In the archives of Shifra Goldman it is indicated that between 1972 and 1974 they

worked as Midnight Art Productions, taking on the name Asco in 1974.

 At a national level, this was specifically directed against the Black Power movement; in California the political units of the Los Angeles City Police and County Sheriff's Office were additionally ordered to investigate the "Brown Power" strike (Muñoz 1989: 67-68). See also "Taking Back the Schools," part 3 of the video documentary series ¡Chicano! A History of the Mexican-American Civil Rights Movement (produced by the National Latino Communications Center and Galán Productions in association with KCET/Los Angeles, 1996), which includes interviews with Patssi Valdez and Harry Gamboa Jr.

8. However appropriate the analogy "ethics of combat" may be to Asco, it is not specific to them; the term has a layered history. Tristan Tzara used it to describe the work of Rimbaud, according to Kristin Ross, who invokes the quotation to develop her critical hermeneutic of social space in The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 8, and Raúl Villa (1991) finds Ross's sustained spatial reading of Rimbaud a suggestive model for his critical project on the social geographic imagi-

nation in Chicano literature.

9. Derek Gregory, Geographical Imaginations (Cambridge, Mass: Basil Blackwell, 1994); Edward Soja, Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory (London: Verso, 1989) and Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places (Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1996); Margaret Crawford, "Contesting the Public Realm: Struggles over Public Space in Los Angeles," Journal of Architectural Education 49, no. 1 (September 1995): 4–9; Donald Preziosi, "La Vi(II)e en Rose," Strategies 1 (1988): 82–99; Dolores Hayden, The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995); Victor Burgin, In/Different Spaces (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), in particular Mike Davis (1990), Rosalyn Deutsche (1996), and Fredric Jameson (1984).

10. See also Villa 1993, esp. chap. 1.

11. As David Harvey explains, "The evaluation and hierarchical ranking of place occurs . . . largely through activities of representation Struggles over representation are, as a consequence, as fiercely fought and as fundamental to the activities of place construction as

bricks and mortar" (Harvey 1993: 22).

12. A sense of the general public attitude toward the Chicano protests, urban disturbances, and police riots that were centralized in, but not limited to, East L.A. during this period can be surmised in the following statements. An editorial in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner argued, "The attacks against people and property were planned by anarchists who have no respect for the country and the American system of righting grievances and obtaining justice" ("Riot Aftermath," Los Angeles Herald Examiner, September 2, 1970, 12). Los Angeles County Sheriff Peter Pitchess contended, "This was entirely a Chicano activity and they cannot control their own people" ("Violence Breaks Out after Chicano Rally in East L.A.," Los Angeles Times, February 1, 1971, part 1, 1, 3). Contrary to such popular and vehement statements, in October 1970 an advisory committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, assigned to study policecommunity relations in East L.A., concluded that "whenever police were present, disturbances erupted; when the police stayed away, the demonstrations were orderly and calm." Nearly everyone interviewed agreed, "It's ironic that the peace is kept best in East L.A. when the police aren't around" (Commission 1970: 11). As the preceding statements attest, the Chicano protests were characterized as un-American even as the allegations of police brutality continued and with the substantiated conclusions of police-inspired riots. The canceling of the parade and other restrictions on public space are examples of what José Angel Gutiérrez has described as the official legal and extralegal repression of the Chicano community particularly when public opinions and actions are enacted in protest of injustice (Gutiérrez 1986: 28, 30).

13. See Kershaw (1992: 68-70) for an elaboration on this concept.

14. Two accounts regarding the reception of Walking Mural significantly, and interestingly, contrast one another. While one member remembers that "several individuals converted in passing, joined their silent walk through the crowds," essentially producing "art converts" (Gamboa 1990: 125), Herrón remembers, "They ripped my cape. . . . They tore my tail off as they screamed 'putos' [faggots]" (Gamboa 1976: 30).

15. Chavoya, unedited interview transcription, published in slightly different form as "Images of Advocacy: An Interview with Chon Noriega," Afterimage 21, no. 10 (1996): 5-9.

16. See also Gamboa 1990 and Gamboa 1987.

17. Patssi Valdez's discussion of the West Side provides a sense of how significant this change was for the group: "I didn't know the West Side existed. Who had time to think about it? I had to take care of my little sister. I was like a mother in sixth grade. Willie had a car, but we just went from East L.A. to City Terrace, and that was a big deal. We'd have to coast the car. We'd look great, but we couldn't put gas in it" (Burnham 1987: 58).

18. Dolores Hayden has extensively analyzed programs of urban renewal and highway construction and the cultural costs of urbanization by differently affected communities. The "increasing sameness" practiced by U.S. urbanization programs, as Hayden outlines, has detrimentally affected the cultural landscapes of community history and identity. "These projects,"

Hayden argues, "use taxpayers' dollars to muffle history, pave geography, [and] standardize social relations" (Hayden 1995: 100).

19. In addition, Asco conceptually allied their resistance with the literal occupation of islands as an act of anticolonial protest, such as the Native American occupation of Alcatraz Island and the Chicano occupation of Catalina Island. Gronk's diptych painting Terror in Chile, attached to the street sign, generates yet another political alliance with the victims of the

Pinochet regime.

20. Nonplaces are there to be passed through, not occupied, and Asco's occupation is a performative intervention against the non-place-making of Whittier Boulevard. Marc Augé identifies the nonplace as both a symptom and product of supermodernity. Augé's designation of the nonplace is neither prescriptive nor apocalyptic, realizing that the differential relation between place and nonplace is never absolute. The proliferation of nonplaces, however, is directly related to transnational capital and "supermodernity"; indeed, the nonplace is one of its products and mechanisms. Accordingly, the nonplace "designates two complementary but distinct realities: spaces formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit, commerce, leisure) and the relations that individuals have with these spaces" (Augé 1995: 79). The danger within the nonplace, however, is that these seemingly seamless networks of mobility, transportation, and communication "put the individual in contact only with another image of himself [sic]." Nonplaces mediate a "whole mass of relations, with the self and with others" (Augé 1995: 79) and carry with them specific prohibitive, prescriptive, or informative instructions for use (Augé 1995: 96).

21. As Stallybrass and White explain, "The vertical axis of the body's top and bottom is transcoded through the vertical axis of the city and the sewer and through the horizontal axis

of the suburb and the slum or of East End and West End" (1986: 145).

22. Jonathan Crary has described similar strategies employed by the surrealists and other Euro-American avant-garde artists as "turning the spectacle of the city inside out through counter-memory and counter-itineraries" (Crary 1989: 107). He argues that this strategy incarnates "a refusal of the imposed present" (Crary 1989: 107). But whereas such Euro-American avant-garde artists may have attempted to refuse an imposed present by reclaiming fragments of a demolished past in order to implicitly figure an alternative future, Asco's project is clearly not one of cultural reclamation.

23. El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán declared that "Cultural Values of our people strengthen our identity and the moral backbone of the movement. . . . We must insure that our writers, poets, musicians, and artists produce literature and art that is appealing to our people and relates to our revolutionary culture" (First Chicano National Conference 1969: 3). For a more extensive discussion of Asco in relation to Chicano nationalism, see Mario J. Ontiveros II, "ASCO: A Remedy for the Ill-Effects of an Identity in Crisis, or Strategically Walking Experimentally" (paper presented at the "New Perspectives on Chicana/o Cultures" symposium, UCLA, 1997).

24. Jameson laments that the postmodern body has lost its sense of place as a result of the "perceptual barrage of immediacy" (Jameson 1988: 351). An aesthetics of cognitive mapping, Jameson contends, would "endow the individual subject with some new heightened sense of place in the global system" (Jameson 1984: 92). Following Lynch's influential study the Image of the City (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960), Jameson's idea of social totality decries the fact that "urban alienation is directly proportional to the mental unmapability of local cityscapes"

(Jameson 1988: 353).

25. As Steven Connor argues, "Hitherto, Jameson has been able to offer only a map in the future tense, which can cling as a centring principle only to centrelessness itself" (Connor

1993: 229).

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