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Flying under the radar with the Royal Chicano Air Force: The ongoing politics of space and ethnic identity

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Flying Under the Radar with the Royal Chicano Air Force:
The Ongoing Politics of Space and Ethnic Identity

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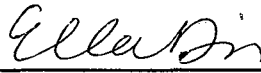
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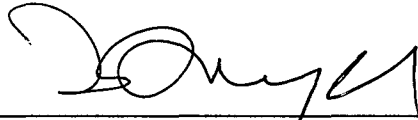
APPROVAL PAGE

This Dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
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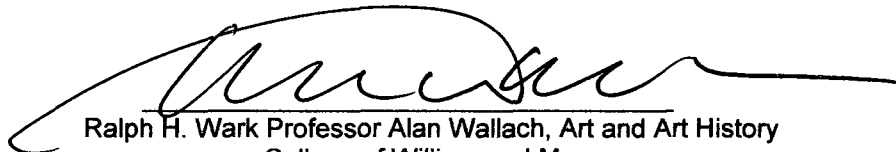


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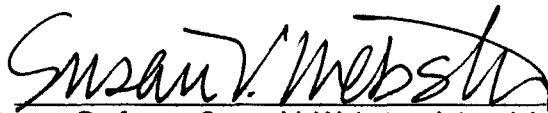
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ABSTRACT PAGE

This dissertation explores the Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF), a Chicano/a arts collective that produced numerous murals in Sacramento, CA, for over forty years. Grounded in Mexican and US aesthetic traditions, their murals reflect cultural hybridity and re-imagine US history through a Chicano/a perspective. Many of their works were and are located in Sacramento's Chicano/a barrios, while others occupy interethnic, public space in the vicinity of the State Capitol. By encoding hidden Chicano/a iconographies within each mural, the RCAF offers what scholar Alicia Gaspar de Alba calls "alter-Native" narratives of American history because they posit "Other" views of local history, which trouble larger frameworks of US history.

The exposition begins by exploring the RCAF's origin's-story—or, how the group emerged in the 1960s and '70s Civil Rights Movement, and also in relation to events of the early twentieth century. Both the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and the 1942 Bracero Program in the US impacted Mexican Americans in meaningful ways that resonate in the memories and biographies of the RCAF. After locating the group's historical antecedents, Chapter Two examines the rise of public art in the wake of the 1960s and '70s civil rights era, which reflected ethno-political activism as well as ethnic self-actualization.

Chapter Three explores issues of gender in the RCAF, since most of the artists that comprise the group are male. Chapter Four provides a historical overview of their murals, all of which convey messages and themes of historical inclusion and intervention. Chapter Five proposes a theoretical framework on the notion of 'remapping' and how it's been used in American Studies, Literary Studies and related intellectual fields.

Finally, Chapter Six enacts a remapping by rethinking Sacramento's history according to the murals and historic spaces of the RCAF. As a conclusion, this chapter also charts the RCAF and Chicano/a art's movement into institutional space, both literally—through museum and library collections—and figuratively—in perceptions and paradigms of US art history.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to every artist, member, student, and supporter of the Royal Chicano Air Force. I also offer this manuscript in the memory of the late Ricardo Favela, Jennie Baca and Armando Cid.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Flying Under the Radar with the RCAF began on December 23, 2000, when I met Esteban Villa and Juanishi Orosco for the first time, right next to their tunnel mural, “Light Art in Sacramento Energy Resources in Unlimited Movement” (L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M.). I had just returned from my first semester of graduate school in American Studies at The College of William and Mary. I was enrolled in a course that focused on ‘narrative’ and the different methods and models for telling history. I was young, naïve, and underexposed; but I was aware of the course’s emphasis on written texts and western traditions. “What about other non-linear, non-written forms of telling history?” I thought. To capture a memory unlike those discussed and studied in class, I decided to write a paper about murals; and one mural in particular had captured my imagination.

My first meeting with Esteban and Juanishi began life-long friendships that changed my life in meaningful ways. These men and their organization not only shaped my studies, my intellectual point of view, and my research; but they also shaped my worldview and my consciousness. I cannot repay them; but no payment is necessary. In fact, while their friendships and guidance have meant everything to me, I am only one of countless students and young people that the RCAF has mentored and taught over their forty-year service to the Chicano/a community.

So, I would like to thank Esteban Villa for his constant support—through phone calls, mail correspondence, coffee and lunch. I would like to thank Juanishi Orosco for his kindness, wisdom, and his support as well. Along with these two artists, I would like to thank and acknowledge José Montoya, Stan Padilla, Dr. Sam Rios, Lorraine Garcia-Nakata, Juan Carrillo, Juan Cervantes, Juanita Polendo, the late Ricardo Favela, and the late Armando Cid. Thanks to Tomás Montoya, Stephanie Sauer, Graciela Ramirez, Sam Quiñones, David and Melinda Rasul, Eddie and Simona Hernandez, and many

other members of the RCAF who contributed their time, stories and materials to my project.

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Mr. Güereña's strong support also prompted me to ask him to serve on my dissertation committee to which he graciously agreed. Along with thanking him for his service, I would like to thank and acknowledge my dissertation advisor, Dr. Leisa D. Meyer and the other committee members: Dr. Charles McGovern, Dr. Alan Wallach and Dr. Susan V. Webster.

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I would also like to acknowledge all of the young scholars who researched and wrote about the RCAF over the years. While there have been many, one scholar's work indelibly shaped my analysis. In 1997, Christopher Martínez, a young Berkeley McNair Scholar, published "Reclaiming Space: Poetry, Music, and Art of the Royal Chicano Air Force" in *The Berkeley McNair Journal*. It was Esteban Villa who first made me aware of his fine article in December 2000. Over the years, my ideas flourished around Mr. Martínez's early frameworks; and, as I grew older and more refined in my studies, I was constantly in awe of his intellect—as a young undergraduate at UCB.

Between 1996 and 1998, Mr. Martínez examined the unprocessed RCAF files that were recently collected at CEMA in Santa Barbara. The essay he wrote from this preliminary material was visionary, and it resonates across several academic fields now in the twenty-first century, when urbanism and spatial complexities are at the forefront of many disciplines. Christopher Martínez had also spent time, like I did many years later, interviewing José Montoya and Esteban Villa, and he quickly learned the *value* of this *invaluable* experience. I like to think that my project also honors his work.

Last but never least, I would like to acknowledge and thank my mother, Cristine Diaz, and my father, David Diaz. Thank you for your support, both financial and

emotional, over the last ten years of this journey. My mother is an extraordinary dissertation coach and should consider it professionally. My father is an idealist who always esteemed tradition, education and the fact that his daughter was studying at the second oldest college in the United States of America. But how do you say thanks to the people who made your dreams possible? I can only attempt to do so in the future, when, perhaps, another young dreamer who loves books, ideas and writing needs help in every way. I love you both and thank you.

**Flying under the Radar with the Royal Chicano Air Force:
The Ongoing Politics of Space and Ethnic Identity**

For many years, urban history was dominated by a kind of “city biography” that projected a single narrative of how city leaders or “city fathers”—almost always white, upper- and middle-class men—forged the city’s spatial and economic structure, making fortunes building downtowns and imposing order on chaotic immigrant populations. This narrative tradition in urban history bore many similarities to the ‘conquest’ histories of the American West.

—Dolores Hayden, The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History, 1997¹

Political borders, geographic boundaries, and discursive categories have shaped late twentieth century historical knowledge. We cannot escape the boundaries that our Chicana/o minds have inherited as we take imaginary journeys beyond the Río Bravo into Mexico and Latin America or across the Atlantic Ocean to Asia, Africa, and Europe, traversing borders and centuries to link time and space. To learn history, we categorize time linearly and map regions geographically.

—Emma Pérez, The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas Into History, 1999²

There is no such thing as politically neutral space; nor does space exist devoid of meaning. The physical spaces in which we live intersect with the figurative spaces in which we remember our lives. Often, we take these intersections for granted. Driving or walking through a built environment, one wonders out loud or knows instinctively that the building on the left is “where I had my first job”; the street on the right is “where I used to turn to go home.” Moments like these seem trivial, but they illuminate a navigation system that each of us invokes while moving through a neighborhood, a town, or a city. American sculptor and installation artist Vito Acconci comments on this process, or “the sense of place” that we seek out when moving through the physical world. “When ‘place’ is embodied concretely enough to be ‘sensed,’” Acconci writes, “Either it is a ‘historical place,’ a preservation or re-creation of the place it once was, as if in a time capsule; or it is a ‘virtual place,’ the importation of another place far away from this one in space or time that you visit as if in a space capsule, or a time machine.”³ Acconci claims that when we know a place, we know it either as a place in time, or as a time that has past in a given place; either way, all space is bound up in time, and all time manifests in space.⁴

Investigating the different meanings of space in modern times, Acconci realizes that we are never left alone with our memories in public places. Instead, there are historical monuments and commemorative plaques; there are public parks, walkways and buildings with numerical addresses; there are commercial districts and residential zones. A sense of order is imposed on our seemingly private, autobiographical maps of individual experiences. These public markers, designated areas, and common infrastructures create a specific vision that guides us through every location of our lives.

My use of universal pronouns is purposeful. The trouble with “we,” poet and writer Adrienne Rich wrote in her “Notes Toward a Politics of Location” is that that “we did not know whom we meant when we said ‘we.’”⁵ Assuming a universal experience of space emphasizes the politics of space—both as a built environment and as an abstraction. Ethnic identity, as well as other identities like race, class, gender and sexuality, remains disruptive to the construction and maintenance of a universal “sense of place” in the US. By “universal sense of place,” I mean to suggest hegemonic notions of what and who is American. These beliefs and assumptions are created and recreated across the US through a network of regional “nodes or hubs.”⁶ Visual artist and scholar Suzanne Lacy explores the recreation of hegemonic notions of what and who is American in San Jose, California, where in 1994, Robert Graham’s sculpture *Plumed Serpent* was at the center of local controversy.

Graham created the artwork following protests against the installation of “a statue of an early mayor, Capt. Thomas Fallon, astride his horse, planting the U.S. flag that signified victory over Mexico.”⁷ Members of San Jose’s Mexican American community opposed the statue. “After four months of intense controversy, the city council established a historic art advisory committee” to preside over Captain Fallon’s placement and to commission artwork that captured “other” local histories.⁸ Director of the Aztlán Academy Javier Salazar served on this committee and remarked that “San Jose’s

current Latino residents are highly educated in their sense of cultural values, in who they are and their relationship to families. We have a right to express who we are. San Jose is our place too.”⁹ An interpretation of the pre-Colombian god Quetzalcoatl, *Plumed Serpent* was “intended to occupy a place of prominence in the center of San Jose.”¹⁰ But as Lacy notes, Italian American architect Sal Caruso opposed the monument’s location. “In justifying his opposition to the Quetzalcoatl sculpture,” Lacy writes,

the architect referred to his own ethnic Italian heritage in parallel to that of Mexican-Americans. We all have a story to tell, he says, why this Mexican one and not another? He struggled to centralize his experience, to reclaim the priority of perception of the world before the audience of public artists and administrators. He had nothing against Mexican culture, he says; this was about fair play, and whose memory would be in the center of the city.¹¹

Disagreements over whose memories are displayed in the “center of the city” are ongoing in the US. They continue to take place in the parks, plazas and other civic centers that have come to define public space in the American social imaginary.¹²

Lacy’s description of San Jose’s public art controversy in the mid 1990s also intersects with late-twentieth century battles over historical representation in the canons of American literature, history and art. Canons are spatial abstractions and, like monuments, they erect a particular vision of what and who is American. Lacy understands the master narrative at work in “American” cities like San Jose. On the Fallon monument, she writes, “the equestrian urge in San Jose should come as no surprise to us. The memorial impulse in this country ... has been largely triggered by war, victory, and conquest.”¹³ In regards to Caruso’s reaction to *Plumed Serpent*, Lacy claims that he invoked a familiar American origin-story, one that assumes a universal experience and pattern of immigration. Yet she reminds readers that “a man of Italian origin is not in the same country as a man of Mexican heritage, in the California of proposition 187 and disintegrating affirmative action.”¹⁴ Referring to the passage of state laws in 1994 that restricted access to education and medical care for children of

undocumented immigrants, Lacy exposes Caruso's assumption of a "universal sense of place" in San Jose; or his expectation that his ethnic identity and historical memory are relatable, if not identical, to the autobiographical maps of Mexican Americans who live and *remember* in a city founded "in 1777 by Mexican farmers and families."¹⁵

In "Flying under the Radar with the Royal Chicano Air Force," I extend Suzanne Lacy's analysis of the politics of space and ethnic identity in San Jose to another hub of the regional network that attempts a universal sense of place in California, and the nation at large. In the downtown districts of Sacramento, California, a local Chicano/a arts organization has produced murals inside and outside the capital city's official spaces for forty years. Founded in 1969 by Chicano/a artists, educators, community activists and organizers, the Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF) is grounded in a working-class sensibility that advances community-first programs, services and art. RCAF murals are especially important to the group's shared Chicano/a perspective because they reimagine local history through an ethnic identity that challenges conventional histories of the west. In doing so, their murals intervene on what Urban Historian Dolores Hayden calls the "city biography" of "urban history." As a "narrative tradition," the city biography focuses on the historical beginnings and achievements of "city leaders or 'city fathers'—almost always white, upper- and middle-class men," who "forged the city's spatial and economic structure, making fortunes building downtowns and imposing order on chaotic immigrant populations."¹⁶ While Hayden identifies this historical practice as a written tradition, it is also a built one, evident in the public monuments, tourist districts, and various architectures that are preserved or recreated in the origin-stories of most American cities.¹⁷

In what follows, I will briefly acquaint readers with the RCAF's collective vision for Chicano/a art, history, and identity by addressing the politics of space and representation in the making of one of their more prominent murals, "Light Art in

Sacramento with Energy Resources in Unlimited Movement,” or L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. (1984; 1999).¹⁸ Similar to Robert Graham’s *Plumed Serpent*, the RCAF’s L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M inserted a historical point of view into the “center of the city” that was unlike previous public artworks.¹⁹ After outlining the RCAF’s collective values and particular vision for Sacramento history, I turn to their place in US and Chicano/a art histories. The rise of public art in the wake of the 1960s and ‘70s civil rights movements reflected ethno-political activism as well as ethnic self-actualization. The RCAF contributed significantly to the 1960s and ‘70s Chicano Movement and the national community mural movement. These larger historical categories typify scholarly interpretations of the RCAF, many of which attempt to subvert the “narrative tradition in urban history” that Hayden claims “bore many similarities to the ‘conquest’ histories of the American West.”²⁰

Escaping the “boundaries” of US “conquest histories,” however, proves difficult when historicizing a 1960s and ‘70s Chicano/a arts collective, using the available historical and scholarly sources. US historical frameworks—from periodizations and geographical categories—abound in Chicano/a history. Referred to elsewhere as “Colonized History,” US historical conventions are inadequate for understanding Chicano/a history and, even, “American” history more generally.²¹ Chicana historian and theorist Emma Pérez is aware of the influence that US “historical knowledge” has on Chicano/a history; her investigation of its *place* in Chicano/a history is helpful for understanding the RCAF’s historical consciousness across multiple borders of time, space and identity.²²

The RCAF has long directed its efforts toward placing Chicano/a art prominently within the public spaces of downtown Sacramento, following decades of community mural-making and related activities in the city’s Chicano/a barrios. As they aimed to create beautiful and arresting public art, they worked to reclaim Chicano/a history and perspectives in space. I argue that their work balances these different goals, but often in

conflict with the goals of civic and public authorities. Murals like L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., for example, testify to the RCAF's effort to *rewrite* Sacramento's city biography. In the early 1980s, the RCAF was commissioned by the Arts in Public Places program, an agency of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission (SMAC), to create a mural for a pedestrian underpass in the city's West End.²³ The area to cover was enormous—nearly two-hundred feet of cement wall on both sides of a tunnel that connects the Downtown Plaza to Sacramento's historic and tourist center, "Old Sacramento."²⁴ RCAF artists Esteban Villa and Juanishi Orosco were the primary muralists on the project, each taking on one of the walls. Villa's mural became known as the 'north wall'; while Orosco's mural is known as the 'south wall.'²⁵ Along with a SMAC liaison, a committee comprised of local area artists, residents, and public servants oversaw the project.²⁶ The committee requested a mural that was not overtly ethnic or culturally-specific; instead, they mandated "that the mural be abstract and geometric in nature."²⁷ Orosco and Villa delivered a multidimensional design that celebrated technological development in the Sacramento Valley, as well as the area's natural resources; but both artists' did so from an alternative perspective of local history.

Orosco's mural, for example, directly referenced the area's original inhabitants, the Nisenan and Miwok, as well as the greater Native American diaspora.²⁸ He especially wanted to capture a pre-Columbian understanding of time and space in the tunnel, challenging the "Political borders, geographic boundaries, and discursive categories" that Emma Pérez claims "shaped late twentieth century historical knowledge."²⁹ Blending indigenous symbols and images from the Pueblo and Maya, Orosco also painted sacred places, like Chichén Itzá, a Mayan temple located in the Mexican state of Yucatán. Thinking about space and time three-dimensionally, Orosco planned a ceiling suspension-system that would harness two large crystals. Made by

hand, the crystals would refract sunlight in the tunnel at particular times of day.³⁰ He explained,

I had a friend who worked with glass and stained glass and I proposed two tetrahedron crystals made from glass and suspended on these two overhead shafts, which were water spillways from the overpass. They'd be encased in fine wire mesh with a clear glass rod going through them. The prisms would've been horizontal to the walkway and as [light] hit the tetrahedrons, it would spit light into a rainbow. It would do so around sunrise, from the east and then around 3 p.m., from the west.³¹

Referring to his friend, Roger Scott, Orosco partnered with the local architect to create the glass art pieces. Essentially, Orosco wanted to recreate “the serpent shadow” that appears on the Mayan pyramid during summer solstice in a pedestrian underpass of downtown Sacramento. The desired effect, however, was more than aesthetic novelty. His elaborate designs paid homage to pre-Colombian architecture and technological capabilities. In thinking about *energy resources in unlimited movement*, Orosco wanted to recognize an “other” history of technology, one that considered the resource management of ancient civilizations.³²

Orosco's insertion of an indigenous point of view into a very public space in Sacramento was complimented by Esteban Villa's north wall design. Villa's mural participated in the larger “Light Art” concept, but primarily addressed the West End's transition in the 1970s from a working class and multiethnic district, to a tourist attraction that framed Sacramento history in the mid-nineteenth century and, specifically, during the California Gold Rush. Drawing on the familiar “wild west” depiction of most Northern California cities and towns, the official website for “Old Sacramento,” announces the city as founded in 1849.³³ Despite this popular portrayal of California (and the rest of the US Southwest) in mainstream history and culture, Sacramento's West End was an impoverished district during the 1950s and '60s; it was home to a working class bachelor population, multi-ethnic families, and the general urban poor.³⁴ More fully investigated in Chapter Four, these communities were uprooted in the late 1960s and early '70s, when

city officials launched a redevelopment campaign that resulted in “Old Sacramento.” Many Chicano/a residents relocated during this time to another downtown neighborhood, the Alkali Flat.³⁵ In a written rationale for L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., the RCAF acknowledged the West End’s recent past, explaining to the APP committee that they wanted “to leave something beautiful for the people who used to live there.”³⁶

Needless to say, the RCAF’s original plans were turned down in 1980, largely due to Orosco’s crystals and suspension system.³⁷ By 1982, they returned to the project and endured a series of battles with members of the APP committee.³⁸ Villa and Orosco reacted to this round of rejection in different ways. Following the elimination of his “Light Art” proposal in 1980, Orosco had completely redesigned the south wall. His new mural was full of color, but had no identifiable imagery. Esteban Villa, on the other hand, had escaped the committee’s objections until 1983, when they requested that he make his mural more like Orosco’s south wall.³⁹ Yet Villa relied on the committee’s demand for “abstract” art and barely altered his design.⁴⁰ Thus, when the RCAF returned in 1999 to renovate L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., Orosco took the opportunity to create an entirely new piece, replete with indigenous imagery; he also painted a version of his earlier “Light Art” concept.⁴¹

Meanwhile, Esteban Villa simply repainted his original mural. In July 2000, local *Sacramento Bee* columnist R.E. Graswich commented on the “terrific restoration of the wall murals lining the K Street tunnel between the Downtown Plaza and Old Sacramento.”⁴² He added that one of the walls “contains hidden messages and images.” Referring to Villa’s mural, Graswich mused,

This news comes with a wink from the artist, the legendary Esteban Villa, whose design was able to fool a committee of city officials on the lookout for such shenanigans. Villa isn’t saying much (obviously), but hints pedestrians will be rewarded if they look deep inside the designs for farm laborers and a farm truck. “In the Royal Chicano Air Force, we fly below the radar,” he said.⁴³

Villa's funny remark on flying "below the radar" illuminates a tradition in the RCAF since 1969. After he and his colleague José Montoya formed a Chicano/a arts group with several friends, associates and students from Sacramento State University, they decided to call themselves the "Rebel Chicano Art Front."⁴⁴ The name referenced an earlier arts collective to which Montoya and Villa belonged; it also epitomized the political and ethnically-conscious climate of the 1960s and '70s Chicano Movement.⁴⁵

By the late 1960s, many racial and ethnic Americans faced intolerable levels of social, political, and cultural exclusion. Across the US Southwest, the growing Civil Rights Movement was "known among Mexican-Americans as the Chicano Movement or *el movimiento*."⁴⁶ Mexican Americans organized around similar issues as those of other underrepresented communities, particularly the formation(s) of a self and group consciousness. Art historians Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez add that "The emphasis placed by Civil Rights leaders on self-definition and cultural pride sparked a revision of standard histories to include the previously unrecognized accomplishments of women and minorities as well as a re-examination of the standard school curriculum."⁴⁷ Chicano/a communities in California, Texas, and the Southwest were home to many leaders of *el movimiento*; but, typically, Chicano/a history has focused on César Chávez in California, Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales in Colorado, and Reies López-Tijerina in New Mexico. Prevailing emphasis on these three leaders frames the geographical locations of the Chicano Movement, as well as its goals, which concerned labor equality, representation in education, and land rights.

The RCAF marks another spot on the map of Chicano Movement history through their leadership in Sacramento. Established at the height of the Chicano Movement, the RCAF's brand of leadership reflects a particular set of values that are exemplified by the story of L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., starting with the differences between Juanishi Orosco's south wall and Esteban Villa's north wall. Unlike most arts collectives of the 1960s and '70s

community mural movement, the RCAF did not believe in or practice aesthetic uniformity.⁴⁸ RCAF collectivism centered on principles of labor, and not western standards of art, which often espouse individual creativity as the foundation of artistic genius.⁴⁹ Creating *for* and *with* the people (in their case, non-trained artists, students, the elderly and each other), the RCAF believed that collaboration produced the highest form of Chicano/a art.

Moreover, the RCAF included non-artist members who initiated and advanced community programs like the Breakfast for los niños, a food service for inner-city school children; and Barrio Arts, an arts education program that connected the local California State University in Sacramento to Chicano/a community centers, like the Washington Neighborhood Center.⁵⁰ Created by José Montoya in 1972, Barrio Arts offered college credit to university students who enrolled in classes in which they instructed and worked with inner-city youth and the elderly. A two-way street, Barrio Arts also provided vital resources, activities and opportunities to local children and other neglected urban residents.

Programs and services like these reflect the diversity of RCAF interests and work in local Chicano/a barrios. But the RCAF was also deeply political. Many of its original members grew up in farmworking families, from the fields of the Sacramento Valley to those of San Joaquin Valley. This common experience solidified a particular class consciousness in the group, most observable in their artistic contributions to the United Farmworkers Union throughout the late-twentieth century.⁵¹ Recalling Graswich's editorial on L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., Villa had in fact hidden a farm truck and farm laborers that pedestrians could detect "if they look deep inside the designs." In addition to the truck and farmworkers, Villa hid other images in the north wall, including a UFW eagle and a man holding a gun. Artistic acts of encoding symbols and images into their murals and other art work was an important part of the RCAF's Chicano/a consciousness; it was

also a common practice amongst many Chicano/a artists who emerged during the 1960s and '70s.⁵²

Returning to the story of the RCAF's name change—from the “Rebel Chicano Art Front,” to the Royal Chicano Air Force—many people confused their acronym with that of the Royal Canadian Air Force. It was a brilliant coincidence. Soon, members began donning air force apparel and accessories—from aviator glasses and captain's hats, to flight goggles and their own customized pilot's wings.⁵³ A lingo also quickly emerged in the group. In a 2004 interview, José Montoya recalled the origin of one important RCAF phrase and “myth.” He and members of the RCAF had met a Chicano/a culture and arts group from New Mexico in the early 1970s. Known as “La academia de la nueva raza,” the group “suggested that if we were in the air force, we should have airplanes.”

Montoya continued,

their being from New Mexico and everything built out of adobe, said, “We'll make you an airplane out of adobe.” And we said, “Wow. That's incredible. What a beautiful concept, man.” If our planes ever crash, well you know, it just becomes a new mound in the landscape. If it lands in the water, it becomes a part of that landscape. Ecologically sound.” So that's how the myth of the adobe-flying Royal Chicano Air Force came to be.⁵⁴

Claiming to fly “adobe-airplanes” and identifying as “pilots of Aztlán,” the RCAF developed a unique vernacular for affirming their commitment to Sacramento's Chicano/a communities, to Chicano/a art and, most importantly, to each other. Such expressions continue to serve RCAF members and artists in this way. [Fig. 1 & 2] Villa's clever remark in 2000, regarding hidden images in L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., exemplifies his continued investment in the collective identity. “In the Royal Chicano Air Force,” Villa stated, “we fly below the radar.” I have entitled my analysis “Flying under the Radar with the RCAF” in order to honor the group's collective persona as I explore their navigation of space and ethnic identity in Sacramento's built environments.

By framing the RCAF as leaders of Sacramento's Chicano/a community and also of the Chicano Movement, my goal is not to privilege the group as heroes in Chicano/a history. There were countless other Chicanos/as involved in el movimiento and in the creation of a Chicano/a art history. Extraordinary acts and works were being done by ordinary Chicanos/as throughout the US Southwest. Juanishi Orosco referenced this larger community of Chicano/a artists and groups across California in an interview:

The main focus is the collective. Self Help Graphics and there was a forerunner to that one—Mechicano Art Center was the forerunner to Self Help. They came out of Chicano Boulevard. And then, Los Four in L.A. and then the other main group in L.A. was 'ASCO'; they were of the whole movement; they were the left bank of the movement. Gronk, Willie Herrón and Patsi Valdez. 'Asco' means, you know—'gross.' I mean, you know, you get sick, you get revolted. 'Asco' is asco. They used that as their ortecas. All those elements together created an environment for Self Help to come into existence. And it was the Sister—Karen [Boccalero]. She's the one that pulled it together, but there are a lot of other characters on that scene. There was the cat Felix, and there was Leonardo Castellano.⁵⁵

Orosco focuses on the entire historical collective, across region and time, underscoring the RCAF's importance within the multitude of Chicano/a artists and groups that worked to fulfill Chicano Movement goals. But Orosco was not simply listing off individuals—or naming names—as a way of idolizing a few figures in the Chicano Movement or in the early Chicano/a art scene. Rather, his contextualization of the RCAF was relational, challenging the notion that the RCAF is an exceptional model of Chicano/a history.

The exceptionalist model of Chicano/a history to which I refer developed out of Eurocentric traditions in US history. In *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas Into History* (1999), Emma Pérez unpacks these traditions in 'Chicano history' by analyzing their limitations on a comprehensive Chicana history.⁵⁶ Pérez uncovers the interconnections between Mexicana activism during the Mexican Revolution of the 1910s, and Tejana activism during the early twentieth century. She claims both as prototypes of Chicana feminism.⁵⁷ In doing so, she challenges the geopolitical and

temporal boundaries that traditional US history enforces between Mexicana, Chicana and Latina histories. Pérez calls these geopolitical and temporal boundaries in US history “tropes,” or a common set of names and descriptive phrases that define US history through physical locations and chronological contexts.⁵⁸ She writes,

Historians assign names to epochs and regions that reflect spatio-temporal characteristics: the Trans-Mississippi West, the frontier, the Renaissance, the Progressive Era, the Great Depression, the sixties. Within these categoric spaces, we continue to conceptualize history without challenging how such discursive sites have been assigned and by whom. One fundamental result of such traditional approaches to history is that these spatio-temporal models enforce a type of colonialist historiography.⁵⁹

In the assigned names of “epochs and regions,” Pérez discovers more than a simple arrangement of historical events. Eurocentric points of view exist in each of these “sites” of history; and, together, they reflect an ordering of US history that moves linearly through space and time and, for the most part, from the east to the west. The term, “American West,” for example, is a part of this tradition; it manifests in the built environments of cities like Sacramento through the gold rush and railroad themes of pseudo- historical districts geared toward mass-consumption and tourist audiences.⁶⁰

International and Public Affairs Professor Gary Y. Okihiro agrees with Pérez, extending her claim to all marginalized histories in the US, and accounting for its predominance in American city-centers. According to Okihiro, traditional US history is a “Colonized History” because it overemphasizes “the elite at the expense of the masses and ... this imbalance has resulted in the writing of mythical histories.”⁶¹ He adds that the “primary characteristic of ‘colonized’ history is that it is the view of the outsiders and not the people themselves.”⁶² Historian Antonia I. Castañeda demonstrates Okihiro’s point by personalizing the consequences of colonized history’s “primary characteristic.” Writing about the historical experiences of her mother and other Tejana migrant workers, Castañeda poignantly asks, “In the battle over history, which is fundamentally about who

gets to define the stories being narrated, will the defining come from the realities of lived experiences, like those of my mother and other Tejana farmworkers, or will it come from the abstract principles that have ordered and organized U.S. history to date?”⁶³

Sharpening her definition of the “abstract principles” that order and organize US history, Pérez turns to historian Hayden White and his notion of metahistory, or the “study of thought in which an intrinsic philosophy of history arises.”⁶⁴ Metahistory is not history—or the “normative understanding of past events” in a given society; rather, it is the examination of the system of thought that has led to a commonly understood, national past.⁶⁵ From a metahistorical perspective, then, Hayden claims that “all historical interpretation can be identified within four tropes.”⁶⁶ By “tropes,” both White and Pérez describe a set of collectively agreed upon symbols that represent a nation’s historical past. Often, these symbols are figures of speech or human beings that take on spatial and temporal significance. Tropes are a “‘way of characterizing the dominant modes of historical thinking’ in which the ‘deep structure of the historical imagination can be identified.’”⁶⁷ The image of Abraham Lincoln, for example, implicitly symbolizes the American Civil War, African American slavery and its abolishment; but I would also argue that Lincoln historicizes the locations of the US South and the US North.

In her chapter endnotes, Pérez illustrates the tropes of US history through what she calls the “Great Events of U.S. History.” These events are “marked by dates such as 1776, the signing of the Declaration of Independence; 1861-1865 the Civil War; 1942-45 World War II, etc.”⁶⁸ Pérez also notes that Chicano history falls “outside of these great events” since a clear textual preference for the “regional history of the eastern seaboard” dominates “how U.S. History is taught and written.”⁶⁹ She supports her claim of “East Coast-centrism” in US history by reminding readers that the “Civil War is privileged as the historical moment that changed the face of the Union. The Southwest, however, had

already been changed drastically by the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846-48, but this split is not recognized in U.S. history.”⁷⁰

There are other moments in the “Great Events of US History” where Chicano history is excluded. In American civil rights history (a period that Pérez describes with the trope, “the sixties,”) there are several well-known precursors to the 1964 Civil Rights Act that are used as background for this “Great Event of US history.” *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) is chief among these historical antecedents. Yet in 1947, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and Mexican American lawyers succeeded in desegregating a number of Southern Californian schools in the landmark case, *Westminster v. Méndez*.⁷¹ The Westminster decision set a precedent for NAACP lawyers, who argued *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. Most American students—from the east coast to the west coast—do not consider Westminster when thinking about school desegregation. Thus, this important historical event in Chicano/a history is not “intrinsic” to the “dominant modes of historical thinking” in the US.

Certainly, Pérez acknowledges that “the sixties” in the US brought about new scholarly methods and perspectives, following the 1960s and ‘70s civil rights movements. Many racial and ethnic minority scholars advanced research and arguments that challenged the status quo of US history. Moreover, in the 1990s, Pérez recognizes that emerging interdisciplinary programs, like “American studies, cultural studies, women’s studies and, even postcolonial studies are reinscribing how U.S. history will be formulated.”⁷² Yet despite the academic interventions on American history, Pérez claims that Chicano historians “tended to build a discipline that mimics the making of the frontier.”⁷³ In other words, Chicano historians recreated the organization system of US history while attempting to redress the absence of Chicano histories and perspectives in the national consciousness.⁷⁴

The recreation of US historical paradigms in Chicano history began in the 1970s, according to Pérez, when Chicano historians “constructed a distinct knowledge of Chicano history in the twentieth century, a knowledge that manifests four periods and four dominant modes of thinking.”⁷⁵ The “four periods” function as the “‘Great Events’ of Chicano history” and they are temporally divided between “(1) the Spanish Conquest of 1521; (2) the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846-48; (3) the Mexican Revolution of 1910 (leading to post-revolution migrations); and (4) the Chicano/a movement of the 1960s and 1970s.”⁷⁶ Pérez claims that any Chicano historical text on one or more of the four periods “practices one or more of the four modes of interpretation”; these are as follows: “(1) ideological/intellectual –‘Chicanos are heroes/intellectuals’; (2) immigrant/labor—‘Chicanos are immigrant laborers/colonized workers’; (3) social history—‘Chicanos are also social beings, not only workers’; and (4) gendered history—‘Chicanos are also women.’”⁷⁷

For Pérez, the periodization of Chicano history is problematic because its tropes respond to the “Great Events of US History.” In other words, all Chicano history happens in relation to colonial encounters, war and annexation.⁷⁸ Subsequently, all of the “historical modes of interpretation” are Eurocentric, since “Chicanos/as become historians under spatio-temporal bounds dependent on a colonial moment.”⁷⁹ Pérez elucidates her point by critiquing the origins of the “Chicanos are heroes/intellectuals” analysis. Attempting to counter the demonization of Mexican Americans after the US-Mexico War of 1846—1848, Pérez writes,

Much of the literature published in the 1960s and 1970s signaled Mexicans as the forgotten heroes and heroines of the frontier. This move towards oppositional history denounced works by Walter Prescott Webb, for example, who valorized the Texas Rangers. Américo Paredes’s *With His Pistol in His Hand* and Julian Samora’s *Gunpowder Justice* vehemently disparaged the Texas Rangers’ anti-Mexican, racist practices. As these Chicano scholars condemned historical injustices, they also constructed the heroes, such as Paredes’s Gregorio Cortez.⁸⁰

In the Chicano historian's self-conscious desire to validate Chicano existence, leader emulation became paramount. Echoing patriarchal mythos in US (and all western) history, Chicano historians created a pantheon of leaders and heroes in history and also in scholarship. Thus, Américo Paredes's case study of Gregorio Cortez would render Paredes an intellectual hero of Chicano history, once the field was established.⁸¹ 1970s Chicano writers and historians like Ernesto Galarza, Rodolfo Acuña, Juan Gómez-Quiñones and Luis Arroyo are included in this early formation of a Chicano history.⁸²

The "ideological / intellectual" concept of the heroic Chicano in oppositional Chicano/a history is not exclusive to late-twentieth century historical writing; it is also evident in visual expressions of the period.⁸³ Antonio Bernal's 1968 murals, which were painted on the two walls of Teatro Campesino's original headquarters in Del Rey, California, engage the "Chicanos are heroes" perspective. On one wall, Bernal created a line of male and female pre-Columbian dignitaries. Art historian Shifra M. Goldman notes, "There is little doubt that this scene was borrowed from the Maya murals of Room I in the temple at Bonampak, Chiapas, Mexico."⁸⁴ On the opposite wall, Bernal painted an identical line of leaders, including Mexican Revolutionary figures, Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata, led by a soldadera. Next in this line, Bernal painted Joaquín Murieta, a legendary nineteenth century "outlaw" from California. Murieta is followed by César Chávez, Reies López Tijerina, a Black Panther resembling Malcom X, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Goldman comments that the murals "are organized processionally on a single ground line and are painted with unmodeled brilliant color against a plain background. Bernal applied the Maya style to modern as well as ancient personalities in order to establish a stylistic homogeneity."⁸⁵

Yet Bernal's aesthetic organization of these figures can be interpreted in other ways. On one hand, Bernal's lines of pre-Colombian figures, Mexican revolutionaries, nineteenth century Mexican Americans, and twentieth century civil rights "leaders"

visualizes Pérez's notion of the "Great Events of Chicano History." This reading suggests that Bernal interpreted each era through its corresponding hero. On the other hand, Bernal could also be highlighting the interconnections of these historical moments through collectively understood icons, proposing an ongoing history that is constantly (re)informed by the past, present, and future. Either way, all historical periods are framed by heroes.

Pérez's critique of Chicano history, particularly the interpretive mode of "Chicanos are heroes/intellectuals," troubles my presentation of RCAF history because I use certain voices and not others. The consequence of this "historical interpretive mode" is that it marginalizes the work and agency of previously marginalized historical contributors. The goal of all US civil rights movements was to "include the previously unrecognized accomplishments of women and minorities."⁸⁶ By privileging a few voices of the RCAF (as leaders or heroes) in this historical narrative, I risk defeating the very purpose of the collective work and sociopolitical movements in which they participated.

Each of the members I interviewed also expressed an interest in creating an inclusive record of the RCAF. José Montoya, listed names of men and women involved in the collective's establishment and longevity:

We all came to lift the community up but it's very crucial that although everything was RCAF, what needs to be told are the names involved. Esteban [Villa], Dr. Senon Valadez, and Dr. Sam Rios were instrumental in starting the Breakfast for Niños Program. We helped. Jenny Baca was the cook; Juanita Polendo [Ontiveros] was there as well. So we were definitely involved. Different academic members as well. Just so that when this comes out, it's more than Montoya and Villa.⁸⁷

Montoya's concern that his interview represent "more than Montoya and Villa" responds to the twentieth century Chicano/a historical consciousness that Pérez posits. He asked that my historical account of the RCAF not frame himself and Esteban Villa as the organization's heroes; rather, it should include the many other voices of Chicana artists

and social workers, as well as Chicano members who were not necessarily artists, but contributed in the sociopolitical arenas.⁸⁸

Moreover, RCAF artist Stan Padilla challenged the singular vision of the RCAF as a phenomenon in Chicano/a history when he commented on the group's latest mural, "Eartharium" (2003).⁸⁹ Padilla and Juanishi Orosco were the primary designers for this piece, and Esteban Villa also contributed significantly in one particular section.

Examined more closely in Chapter Four, "Eartharium," presents viewers with a pristine view of the Sacramento Valley. Highlighting the rivers that comprise the Sacramento Valley's water system, "Eartharium" also accurately represents the four directions from the mural's exact location in downtown Sacramento.⁹⁰ Padilla reflected on many details from "Eartharium," particularly his depictions of wildlife. He explained that the salmon heading up-stream near the American River's confluence with Sacramento River are part of a complex story about historical succession and the history of the RCAF:

So if you look at our latest mural, "Eartharium." Have you seen it? The circular one? Well the salmon going upstream ... may look like a salmon, but think of the salmon. He goes against his stream. And the salmon going upstream and what is that? That's what we were. We were people who remembered who we were and what we had to do. We just had to do it. And that was upstream. Against the hill. the RCAF, to me, the whole principle of the air and everything. This is coming out of a long, ancient stream. We're only the currents; we're the current, the caboose, or one of those; but the train has been going a long way and there are many cars in there. We're just one of them. The one in this time; the current stream.⁹¹

More than a simple nature mural, "Eartharium" fuses multiple cultural and spiritual symbols with several historical contexts that have shaped Sacramento. As Padilla is aware, salmon were an important part of the city's development, both as a sustainable resource during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and, much earlier, as a food source for the Nisenan and Miwok.⁹²

But Padilla's metaphor also encompasses the late-twentieth century, providing even more context for the history of Sacramento. He likens the freshwater fish to the

RCAF, his arts collective that created a local Chicano/a consciousness through their community murals, inner-city arts programs, and cultural centers, several of which have sustained into the twenty-first century.⁹³ The connection he posits between the nature of the salmon and the nature of the RCAF is nothing new, however. Padilla makes this clear when he acknowledges the “long, ancient stream” out of which the RCAF emerged. He mixes the metaphor and the RCAF changes shape, transforming from the salmon, into the river’s current or “the caboose” on the train of time. From this perspective, Padilla contends that the RCAF is only “one in this time,” the “current stream” against which history ebbs and flows.

Padilla’s mixed metaphor is an appropriate illustration of the RCAF’s collective Chicano/a consciousness. Often, they skip passed the confines of traditional histories and blend historical contexts, events, “creation stories” and cultural symbols in murals that commemorate the history of Sacramento and its local Chicano/a community. Returning to L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., for example, Juanishi Orosco commented on the changes he made in 1999, to his 1984 mural. In a tour of the south wall, Orosco narrated the different images and scenes in his mural. Pointing to a huge turtle, Orosco explained that it “represents Turtle Island.” He continued,

This was the name given to this landmass by the Indians. It also represents slow, geological time. On its back, it carries Baktun. Baktun is a Mayan glyph and he’s carrying ten thousand years on his back. These white marks above him symbolize new civilizations. ... Out of this pre-Colombian heritage comes the eagle, carrying the new century in its talons. But right below it, is a hidden eagle. It’s hidden within the water and stars. ... It’s a UFW Eagle. And the two eagles together convey that these are the two histories—the two energies—that supply the painted mandala of crystals. They spread the light; they spread the spirit. All these white dots around it are the Milky Way, the center of the galaxy. All of this—the water, the light, the energy—flows out of the crystal and into this image of land. This land is a slice of the northern hemisphere. The woman is the symbol and guardian of the Sacramento Valley. Above her there are two sets of hands. They’re holding axes. Again, the cosmic twins. In Hopi religion, they keep the earth balanced and make sure we don’t spin off axis.⁹⁴

Several historical epochs, geographical locations, belief systems, ethnic and political movements converge in Orosco's enormous record of Sacramento's history. Moving from symbols and figures of North America's "pre-Columbian heritage," Orosco incorporates icons of US history and popular culture, like the eagle, "carrying a new century in its talons." But his North American Bald Eagle has a twin, a UFW eagle "hidden within the water and stars." The significance of their corresponding meanings is purposeful and powerful. They convey the "two histories"—the making of the US and the making of the Chicano/a diaspora, both a part of each other's shared past and present vision.

For the RCAF, all directions of history are represented and all space is sacred in their murals that mark Sacramento's built environment. From the four directions in "Eartharium," to "Turtle Island" and other message-based imagery of L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., the RCAF engages Sacramento's history from multiple angles and many points of view. Their vision of history is one that most "western" historical models and methodologies do not account for. The excerpts from the interviews with José Montoya, Stan Padilla and Juanishi Orosco reveal the many points of view I should consider when telling the history of the RCAF. Montoya wishes to tell a story of his organization that has many tellers; Padilla wishes to tell a story that is aware of itself and the various times, places and people who comprise it; Orosco seeks a perspective that considers spirituality and cultural heritage as historical method. Although my historical account relies on personal interviews with seven RCAF members, it also includes other voices from the group through the use of secondary sources. In order to address my concerns over privileging certain RCAF voices, as well as citing interviews in other texts, I borrow Gary Okihiro's rationale on the importance of oral history in Ethnic Studies:

Oral history offers an alternative way of conceptualizing history and a means by which to recover the past. And while oral history does not maintain that each individual's view of history is equally legitimate or that

every voice must be heard, it does argue that by going directly to the people for historical documents, a more valid variety of history can be written.⁹⁵

I believe that all of the RCAF's voices are legitimate, but every voice does not need to be heard in order to tell their collective story. I go directly to the voices of the RCAF when I explore the significance of military service, the GI Bill and the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) in the group's formation and social activism. Issues of gender are an important and somewhat controversial topic within the collective. Many members addressed gender in their interviews, and I rely on several secondary sources to balance the male perspective with the voices of two Chicana RCAF artists, Lorraine Garcia Nakata and Irma Lerma Barbosa. As Okiihiro asserts the importance of going "directly to the people for historical documents," I am confident that the excerpts I have selected from published interviews with Barbosa and Garcia Nakata say what needs to be said to create a "more valid variety of history." Lastly, the first three chapters are biographical and explore the influence that larger social changes have had on the RCAF's "master" narrative, as members' continue to reproduce their history in the twenty-first century.

For all of my objections to linearity and standards in US history, my chapters move chronologically. The first chapter represents the pre-histories of the RCAF. In Chapter One, I frame the memoirs and personal anecdotes offered to me by RCAF members in relation to the larger fields of Chicano/a Studies. For example, I explore memories of childhood and labor in relation to the broader historical periods of immigration that precipitated the 1960s and '70s Chicano Movement. Chapter Two focuses on the origins of the RCAF's collectivism, their community network, local accomplishments and ongoing commitments to the Chicano/a communities. Chapter Three examines RCAF memories that concern gender. While original philosophies persist in many of the members' everyday lives, their perceptions of the past are shaped by ensuing decades of gender equality movements and other sociopolitical changes.

Chapter Four presents a history of the RCAF's murals in Sacramento. Beginning with the 1960s and '70s, the Chapter analyzes the different spatial politics that they confronted and negotiated as they made murals first for their Chicano/a community and, towards the 1980s and '90s, for interethnic audiences. It concludes in the twenty-first century, introducing readers to the RCAF's contemporary work and breaking out of the confines of the 1960s and '70s Chicano Movement context.

Following Chapter Four, I step back from the history of the RCAF, their muralism and their Chicano/a consciousness in order to set the stage for the heart of my analysis. Chapter Five contemplates remapping as an intellectual trend that, I argue, is firmly entrenched in the artistic creativity that came out of the 1960s and '70s civil rights era and intellectualized in the 1990s. Artists of color innovated representations of identity and history that largely shaped the jargon, frameworks and discourse in several scholarly fields in the US. Finally, Chapter Six attempts an intellectual remapping of urban space and local history by charting the various locations and sites that are meaningful to the RCAF's historical memory. Moving back and forth between lived experiences and the historical contexts that frame the RCAF, I intend to paint my own mural of this prolific Chicano/a arts organization.

Chapter One: “The Early Years” - The Evolution of a Chicano/a Arts Collective

“My mother was always telling me, ‘Son get a job in the shade. Just get a job in the shade.’”—Ricardo Favela, July 20, 2004

Most historical writings on the RCAF begin with a version of how the group got its name. One of the oldest versions appears in a 1979 article by Charles Hillinger. A staff writer for the *LA Times*, Hillinger quoted José Montoya on the origins of the RCAF:

“We started out as a group of artists and poets teaching at California State University, Sacramento, calling ourselves the Rebel Chicano Art Front ... But right from the start, everyone began confusing our abbreviation, RCAF, with the Royal Canadian Air Force. So we capitalized on the confusion and renamed the group the Royal Chicano Air Force.”⁹⁶

Montoya’s account is complimented by a photograph that accompanies the article. Entitled “Generals,” the image shows Montoya, Esteban Villa, Ricardo Favela, Juanita Ontiveros and several others decked out in captain’s hats, flight goggles, bomber jackets and aviator sunglasses.⁹⁷ Villa is kneeling and holds one end of a plaque, while Juanita Ontiveros holds the other side. The plaque is emblazoned with the RCAF’s acronym and a pair of pilot’s wings. [Fig. 1]

The story of the RCAF’s name is an effective way for introducing this Chicano/a arts collective; it frames the artists, their artwork and their collective worldview within a late twentieth century context and, specifically, the 1960s and ‘70s Chicano Movement. But many of the members I interviewed reflected on events that occurred before the 1960s and ‘70s. These recollections are sociological antecedents attached to larger historical events that, for the artists and members of the RCAF, led to the group’s formation. For example, the majority of the artists and members are from northern or central California, with the exception of José Montoya, who was born in Escaboza, New Mexico. Most members have childhood memories of field or cannery work in rural towns, while others grew up around the railroad yards of Roseville, California. Still, there are a few other members who were raised in the urban centers of Southern California or the

Bay Area. Their working-class realities and experiences with rural poverty were shaped by early and mid twentieth century immigration waves between Mexico and the US. Childhood experiences led to their later participation in the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) and the Chicano Movement.

José Montoya, Esteban Villa, Juanishi Orosco, Armando Cid and other members also served in one of the branches of the U.S. Armed Forces. Older members served during the Korean Conflict, while younger members were enlisted during the Vietnam War era.⁹⁸ All of those that served in the Armed Forces had access to the G.I. Bill, which opened the doors to higher education. Their previous experiences with the Armed Forces, coupled with the accidental good fortune of choosing a name that had another meaning, led to the RCAF's "performance" of a militant Chicano/a arts group. It is important to reflect on these precursors because they shaped the RCAF's guiding philosophies and informed their collective identity. Thus, I have decided to begin the story of the RCAF by first exploring a selection of the group's early memories of family, farmwork, military service, and education.

Moreover, historical events that took place prior to the RCAF's formation resonates with Chicana historian and theorist Emma Pérez's critique of the four tropes of Chicano history.⁹⁹ Despite historical periodization in Chicano/a history, members of the RCAF weave in and out of the twentieth century, connecting childhood memories of farmwork with first impressions of art school as young adults. When remembering the origins of their Chicano/a consciousness, many of the RCAF members I interviewed did not begin with "the Chicano/a movement of the 1960s and 1970s."¹⁰⁰ Instead, they claimed Chicano/a consciousness as an identity and an experience that they had been living all along and far earlier than the late twentieth century context that the "Great Events of Chicano History" provides.

The majority of the RCAF's members worked in California's agricultural fields as children or young adults during the 1930s, '40s and '50s. The predominance of Chicanos/as in the US's agricultural sector was pushed by economic hardship and population displacement after the Mexican Revolution of 1910, and pulled by the enactment of the US's Bracero Program in 1942.¹⁰¹ The labor relationship between Mexico and the US shifted throughout the twentieth-century, and entire communities of farmworkers were comprised of both American-born and immigrant working families. According to historian Alma M. Garcia, the first wave of Mexican immigrants partly relied on "the railroad system built under the Díaz regime [that] transported the mass migration of Mexicans to the American southwest. Hundreds of thousands of Mexicans made this trip across the Rio Grande. ... the 1930 Census show that the total population of Mexican immigrants actually grew from 367,510 in 1910 to 700,541 in 1920."¹⁰² Escaping the social and economic upheaval that resulted from the Revolution, Mexican workers (and their emerging Mexican American children) moved to California, Texas and the Southwest in the 1920s and '30s.

Coinciding with this wave of immigration from Mexico to the US, many Mexicans and Mexican Americans internally migrated to urban areas in the US Southwest. Anti-immigration sentiment and changing immigration policies in the US impacted existing Mexican and Mexican American communities in the Southwest. Professors Harry P. Pachon and Joan W. Moore elaborate:

Mexicans were deported in the 1930s at the time of the Great Depression, imported in the 1940s as agricultural braceros due to the labor shortage caused by World War II, and deported in large numbers again in the 1950s (Operation Wetback). Efforts to regulate Mexican immigration and deportation were not complete, and Mexican workers floated into southwestern cities for the labor opportunities during and after World War II. Settlements in urban areas also coincided with a mass movement out of the oppressive Texas environment in the 1940s.¹⁰³

1940s Mexican immigration was heavily regulated as “the U.S. government joined with the Mexican government and designed the Bracero Program to guarantee a steady supply of Mexican immigrant workers.”¹⁰⁴ These Mexican workers were mostly needed in the agricultural industries because of the US’s involvement in WW II and, later, during the 1950s Korean Conflict.¹⁰⁵ Ratified by Congress as Public Law 45, the Bracero Program was active from 1942 until 1964; it guaranteed workers minimum wages, adequate housing, and the right to terminate employment at any time and return to Mexico.¹⁰⁶ Yet numerous scholars (like George J. Sánchez, Rudolfo F. Acuña, Vicki L. Ruiz and others) have shown how such guarantees were largely neglected by American employers and not available to most farmworkers.¹⁰⁷

To date, many Americans are unfamiliar with the economic, cultural and political legacies of the Bracero Program, even as new bracero-style programs are proposed and supported by both major political parties in the US. Moreover, bipartisan support of guest worker programs has coincided with a growing national debate over legal and illegal immigration.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps if the Bracero Program was included in what Emma Pérez calls the “Great Events of US History,” contemporary immigration and labor policies would reflect lessons learned from this enormous immigration policy.¹⁰⁹ In *No One is Illegal* (2006), for example, coauthors Justin Akers Chacón and Mike Davis acknowledge that the Bracero Program was unable to control immigration flows since “for every bracero recruited, several workers were denied entry. Many crossed over anyway, encouraged by growers eager to increase the pool of undocumented workers.”¹¹⁰ Of the five million braceros officially allowed to work in the US during the twenty year program, an “illegal” immigration system emerged and, as Chacón and Davis argue, “became the preference of U.S. capital, which ultimately dismantled the last vestiges of ‘legal’ migration. Undocumented workers were now responsible for providing their own transportation, housing, and food while still working for subsistence wages, relieving the U.S.

government of the last of its responsibilities.”¹¹¹ Combined with the “informal networks that link farmlands across the country to cities, villages, and towns across the Mexican landscape,” the western market’s demand for “illegal” immigrants also influenced mainstream culture, as “illegal” and “undocumented” became common vocabulary.¹¹²

Alma M. Garcia also notes that the Bracero Program did not exclusively bring new immigrants or “illegal” ones into the US’s agricultural fields. Rather, it transformed a number of existing temporary workers into permanent residents. “During the years of the Bracero Program,” Garcia writes, “approximately 350,000 changed their status from temporary workers to immigrants living on a permanent basis in the United States.”¹¹³ Emphasizing the importance of internal migrations, historian Antonia I. Castañeda expands on Garcia’s point, arguing that geopolitical changes to the US-Mexico border in the nineteenth-century should also be considered in twentieth-century immigration frameworks: “The first Mexican-descent workers to migrate internally within the United States as mobile seasonal laborers were neither foreigners nor Mexican immigrants. They were Californios, Tejanos, Nuevo Mexicanos, and native-born U.S. citizens made exiles, aliens, and foreigners in their native land.”¹¹⁴ Contemplating seventeenth and eighteenth century Spanish settlers in what is now the US Southwest, Castañeda implies that the contemporary border should not determine US immigration (or even national) history. Rather, the movements of people, which often predate or result from border changes, should be firsthand knowledge in all historical fields.

Members of the RCAF are personally connected to the immigration waves of the 1910s and the 1940s Bracero Program, as well as the internal migrations to which Castañeda refers. RCAF artist, Stan Padilla, recalled the role of the railroad in moving his grandfather in-between geopolitical borders during the Mexican population surges of the early twentieth century:

My family's been here nearly one hundred years. The first ones came to the valley. And so that was what a real Mexican American was. I just did an interview downtown on that. So we're talking about all this and I go, "Oh, no I was here before the Chicanos were even invented or came about." Yes, near the turn of the century. With the [Mexican] Revolution, they came up, one of my grandparents, my Yaqui grandparents, they walked out. You know, with amnesty and then from there, then you had to get out of there and so about that time, you could ride the railroads. Before that [time] brown skins couldn't ride the railroad. And he took the railroad and just took it as far as you could go. And so this is railroad area.¹¹⁵

By clarifying that his family arrived in the US during the early twentieth century (and not among the immigrants of the 1940s Bracero Program), Padilla offered insight into the politics of Chicano/a identity. Padilla's designation of his arrival time on the map of "American" citizenship simultaneously responds to current tensions over undocumented immigrants (or immigrants altogether in the US) and challenges historical assumptions that Chicano/a identity originated in the 1960s UFW and Chicano Movements. Asserting that "I was here before the Chicanos were even invented or came about," Padilla challenges the historical mode of interpretation that dates Chicano/a identity to the 1960s. His rejection of the "start" date for Chicano/a identity is historically accurate according to his own family's period of migration; and as a historical actor, Padilla's personal history seeps through the temporal divides of Chicano/a history's "Great Events."

The notion that Chicano/a identity is a recent phenomenon results from the late-twentieth century context that Emma Pérez claims organizes Chicano Movement history.¹¹⁶ Scholarly understandings of the term "Chicano/a" convey that the identity first emerged in the 1960s, with the UFW's critique of farmworking conditions during the Bracero Program. Alma M. Garcia claims that the UFW's political victories over the agricultural industries inspired ensuing participants of the Chicano Movement:

In California, Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta organized migrant farm workers into the United Farm Workers Union whose strikes, boycotts, and victories against the state's agribusiness would become the soul and

inspiration of the Chicano Movement, as well as a national and international symbol of the struggle for social justice and equal rights.¹¹⁷

With the precedents set by the UFW well received by Chicano/a communities throughout the Southwest, political activist, Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales, organized the National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Boulder, Colorado, in 1969. The meeting defined many essential concepts around which the Chicano Movement formed.

Of particular importance was the introduction of a guiding document—a manifesto—mainly written by Chicano poet Alberto Urista, or Alurista.¹¹⁸ El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán reconfigured Chicano identity, geographically invalidating the immigrant status or foreign-born connotations attached to the term:

In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage but also of the brutal “gringo” invasion of our territories, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlán from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny.¹¹⁹

For young Mexican American, who were born into migrant families that labored in the fields and were politically and culturally marginalized, the National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference and El Plan were critical redefinitions of their racial and ethnic identity. On the heels of the meeting in Boulder, students met at the University of California, Santa Barbara, “in a conference that became one of the most crucial Chicano events.”¹²⁰ Historian F. Arturo Rosales adds that many participants in the Santa Barbara meeting had “attended the Denver Youth Conference and ... the Chicano student community was ready to implement a higher education plan.”¹²¹ The Plan de Santa Barbara was “a design for implementing Chicano Studies programs throughout the University of California system.”¹²² A political and intellectual leadership was emerging in California and in parts of the US Southwest.¹²³ Through these largely attended meetings

and the creation of guiding documents and doctrine, “the term Chicano became canonized,” Rosales writes, “especially among the Mexican-origin intelligentsia.”¹²⁴

By framing the term “Chicano” in this way, I do not mean to suggest that it was a static identity, fixed in a historical moment or meaning; nor do I mean to suggest that it was universally used by Mexican Americans as a term of empowerment, sanctioning a diaspora of people living and working in urban and rural centers inside the US’s borders.¹²⁵ There were and are numerous differences between Mexican and Mexican American communities across the US, especially concerning racial and ethnic identification.¹²⁶ On the use of “Chicano” as a universal category, Rosales also notes that “while the term has at times almost disappeared as a self-reference term, it is as strong as ever at universities.”¹²⁷ Although I do not completely agree that “Chicano” has “almost disappeared,” it largely persists, in the twenty-first century, on college campuses in California and at some universities in Texas and Arizona.¹²⁸

Nevertheless, for the RCAF, the term “Chicano” was of the utmost importance. Recalling the primary message of *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*, the RCAF adopted the viewpoint that, as Chicanos/as, they were not immigrants, or “new” people in America. Instead, they were indigenous peoples or the ancestors of original inhabitants. By 1969 and ’70, RCAF artists and members were deeply immersed in the Chicano/a consciousness taking place at universities and colleges in California. They fused this “intellectual” Chicano/a consciousness with their commitment to the UFW and working class issues.

The politics of Chicano/a identity—what it means, who it includes and when—also interweave throughout José Montoya’s personal narrative. Not a native Californian, Montoya’s reflections expose the complex process of defining Chicano/a identity according to the regional (spatial) divides in Chicano/a history. Contemplating his family origins, Montoya recalled,

Some never have been traced to Mexico at all, but they're Mexicans from when [New Mexico] had the word, "Mexico," and Mexico was known as, "New Spain," before Santa Anna lost his leg in the mine. And so there are members of my ancestors who came from Chihuahua—they arrived from there. But for all intensive purposes, those mountains of New Mexico were really all the Montoya family knew and understood. ... The ones that came from Chihuahua came at the beginning of the [Mexican] Revolution. [The native ones were] Pueblo and some claimed Apache, Pueblo and Castellano. The Castellano family had a legitimate thread because they came intact. A family from Spain—they arrived in Cuba from Spain. From Cuba, they brought them to Louisiana and then across Texas and some made it to northern New Mexico and some to southern Colorado. Some of my relatives claim Hispano. I claim more of the Chihuahua Mexicano—that we were Mexicanos. You know, some parts of my relatives would cringe at that word. I had a step-grandfather, who was a justice of the peace, and he missed his Castellano ways. He would say, "There's nothing Mexican about the Hispanos. They are indigenous mixtures. It was Apache or Pueblo." Yeah, it was an interesting mix. But when we first came to California, we realized it was a different mixture. There are more Mexicanos; there's more Mexican-ness than Spanish-ness. And in Hanford, California, in school, they thought I was Portuguese. And we were amazed that what was the Portuguese language was Spanish. But I was never able to pick it up.¹²⁹

Covering nearly two centuries of family migrations and settlement, Montoya broached the regionalism often attached to Chicano/a identity. Although he claims Hispano ancestry as a marker of his indigenusness—his connection to a nonimmigrant population—Montoya's ancestors "would cringe" at the idea of being linked to this ancestry.¹³⁰ Clearly, he adapted his "native" ties to New Mexico to align with the principle set forth in El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán.

To understand the distance, time, and social changes that Montoya traveled in order to forge his ethnic identity, it's important to elaborate on the history of New Mexico's Hispano communities. Rafaela G. Castro offers this insight:

The people of New Mexico have historically been called Hispanos, or Spanish Americans, and the culture from this region has been distinct from other Spanish heritage people of the United States because there was less migration to this territory than to other parts of the Southwest. The Hispanos of New Mexico are descendants of the Spaniards who settled during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the culture was preserved, sheltered, and isolated for many years. Located primarily in northern New Mexico, the region was pastoral and agricultural, and very Catholic. ... After Mexico's independence from Spain, its

northernmost lands, what is now the Southwest, were neglected by Mexico City ... Mexico ruled the area only for twenty-seven years, from 1821 to 1848, at which point New Mexico became part of the United States.¹³¹

Racial and class hierarchies of the past turned into cultural and linguistic traditions once New Mexico became part of the US Southwest in the middle of the nineteenth century.¹³²

Montoya's family were cattle ranchers and subsistence farmers in the mountains of New Mexico.¹³³ When they migrated to California's Central Valley during the 1940s and became field workers in an agricultural community, he experienced "more Mexican-ness than Spanish-ness." The predominance of "Mexican-ness" in California's Central Valley pertains to the historical relationship this area shares with the Bracero Program. The ethnic lines that Montoya's Hispano ancestors drew between themselves and Mexicans shifted for Montoya in the mid-twentieth century, as he became a part of a laboring class and, later, aware of the Chicano/a consciousness that developed through ensuing generations of this class. Yet Montoya is not fragmented halves of an ancestral whole; he blended and merged the different strains of his ancestry, synthesizing temporal and regional components of his ethnic identity. His invocation of Hispano roots as a native tie to the land does not imply a higher class background or Spanish ancestry. Rather, it echoes the Chicano Movement's Plan de Aztlán; it declares that he is not imported labor, but one of the "native born U.S. citizens" that Antonia I. Castañeda asserts were present in the area that became the US Southwest after 1848.¹³⁴

Although Juanishi Orosco's stories about his family are more directly connected to the history of the Bracero Program, they continue to exemplify the porous borders of Chicano/a identity in the lived experiences of history. He explained,

I was born in Lincoln, California. My family had moved up here from the Salinas Valley and my parents met in the Salinas Valley—both of them immigrants. My father [was] from Zacatecas and my mother from Jalisco. And they met there and they started a family there. And because of health reasons—my father was getting arthritis or whatever it was in that wet environment. He's from Zacatecas [which is] high-plateau desert. And so

they moved to Lincoln, where my mother's older sister lived. He started working in the Lincoln clay works at Gladding-McBean, and my mother in the canneries. And then I was born there and I'm one of seven kids. We only lived there for a couple of years and then they got job offers here in Rancho Cordova, when it was a rancho. It was several thousand acres of grape fields and orchards and vineyards and cattle. This was back in the '40s, the late '40s. I was born in '45 and so this was in the '40s. So they got hired onto the ranch there and I grew up in the fields, when there was ranch.¹³⁵

Born a few years after the Bracero Program's inception, Orosco's parents worked before, during, and after "Public Law 45." Orosco's memories are different than Padilla's, yet both men perceive their ancestries as Chicano. Together, their lived experiences exemplify the malleable relationship that historical actors share with history, official policies, and borders. Whether one arrived after the Mexican Revolution or during the Bracero Program, working and living conditions for Chicano/a farmworkers were consistently difficult, offering little opportunities for occupational change. Ricardo Favela, an RCAF artist who was born in Kingsburg, California, in 1944, grew up in the neighboring farm town of Dinuba. He recalled a conversation with his father, after graduating high school in the early 1960s:

He says, "You know, you have two choices. You either continue your education or you come to work in the fields with me." So that's when I found out what college was about. I went to college because I didn't want to work in the fields. Now that's a hell of a way to go to school. But that's what it was for me. And my mother was always telling me, 'Son, get a job in the shade. Just get a job in the shade.' She was just concerned about me getting out of the field work.¹³⁶

A "hell of a way to go school," Favela had been working in agricultural packing sheds prior to his graduation, after years of field work alongside his family.¹³⁷ In an interview conducted at Sacramento State University, Favela speculated on his father's immigration from Durango, Mexico, to the US: "I have a sneaking suspicion that he came in as a bracero, in the forties and fifties perhaps, and was able to attain a green card."¹³⁸ Finding work in California's fields, and eventually as a truck driver, Favela's father met his mother in the San Joaquin Valley. The youngest of eleven siblings, Favela moved

with his family around the small towns of the area, following the crop seasons.¹³⁹ The only one of his siblings to graduate high school, Favela acknowledged that the task had not been easy, but believed it was a critical step in escaping the circumstances that many young Chicanos/as faced in farmworking communities: “I realized that the majority of my peers were destined for an existence of drug or alcohol abuse, prison time, or a lifetime of grueling work in the farm fields. This epiphany was the catalyst that motivated me to continue my education, in an effort to break free from this predetermined path.”¹⁴⁰

Descriptions of “the predetermined path” were a common reflection for all RCAF artists whose childhoods took place in the fields. Orosco recalled, “We were farmworkers; our parents were farmworkers, and we knew what the conditions were. My father died not knowing what it was to earn a buck and a quarter.”¹⁴¹ Working conditions in California’s agricultural fields did not meet the Bracero Program’s official standards. Farmworkers faced inadequate living conditions, lack of basic sanitation, and contact with pesticides like DDT as crop dusters sprayed the fields while people picked produce.¹⁴² Farmworkers labored “from four in the morning to way past six in the afternoon, [with] maybe a twenty minute lunch break.”¹⁴³

RCAF artist Esteban Villa described the farmworker experience as “unrelenting hunger and deprivation that trapped me into a corner of life and . . . forced me to fight my way out by using my creativity.”¹⁴⁴ Literally meaning, “one who works with his arms,” the bracero’s hunger and deprivation extended far beyond basic survival needs, as Villa’s description suggests. [Fig. 2] Villa, who was born in Tulare, California, in 1930, related the legacy of insufficient education that farmworking families often endured:

I’m one of the few people that got through Bakersfield. My parents were born in Mexico. I know my father’s from somewhere around Durango. [He had] very minor education, I’m sure. I don’t even know if they could read or write. I don’t think they could. Farmworkers are very humble people. And [I had] eight brothers and sisters. We were born in the United States, after my parents moved here. . . . At that time, I think you were supposed to keep children in school—my parents knew that much. And they didn’t

force me out. I raised myself more or less because they were always working in the fields. In the morning, they'd be gone and they'd be gone at night when I'd be sleeping. That was if we go by decades, which would be 1930 to 1940.¹⁴⁵

Villa's recollection of his family's educational background moves the "historical" depictions of 1940s and '50s braceros beyond the confines of harsh working and living conditions—beyond the fields.¹⁴⁶ Many farmworkers, like Villa, did not like the work regardless of the conditions. They desired more life options, and not simply better housing, wages and protections under the law. Young Chicanos/as, like Villa, wanted to do something else with their lives: "I think it was the importance of school, for whatever reason, it was better than home. I had school work, art supplies, and field trips. I loved it. My brothers and sisters never did finish. ... I'm the one that was in the academic world because I went out to become a teacher."¹⁴⁷ The desire to do more with one's life became a major intellectual and artistic agenda for Villa and, later, would influence the RCAF's community activism.

While Villa's parents "knew that much" and let him attend school, many young Chicanos/as did not have the same flexibility. Often, children were needed in the fields in order for their families to survive. Antonia I. Castañeda, who also grew up in a migrant family, adds depth to the experience of farmwork when she elaborates on the divisions of labor based on race and gender:

Farm labor, no less than any other work force in the United States, was hierarchical, stratified by race and gender. Mexicans, both male and female, and their children, too, were stoop labor. Anglo men were the foremen, the crew bosses, the tractor drivers, the irrigation ditch tenders. Anglo women worked inside the twine-cutting sheds, the canneries, the fruit-packing houses. Women were paid less than men, Mexicans were paid less than Anglos, and Mexican women were paid least of all.¹⁴⁸

Castañeda's explication of the intersections of race, class and gender in the US's agricultural fields resonate in Favela's recollections of his mother. "Paid least of all," Favela's mother was born in San Diego, California, and "spent much of her life enduring

the hardship of domestic labor before working in the fields, and later as a labor camp cook.”¹⁴⁹ Favela explained that his mother’s advice for him to “get a job in the shade” came from her own experience with the raced and gendered economic system under which farmwork operated. She preferred cooking “better than working in the fields ... because she was under shade and didn’t have to go out in the fields.”¹⁵⁰

Not all members of the RCAF grew up exclusively in California’s agricultural fields. While Orosco’s father worked for a time at the “Lincoln clay works at Gladding-McBean,” his mother labored in the local canneries. RCAF artists Rudy Cuellar and Juan Cervantes grew up in families that worked for the railroads. Juan Cervantes commented, “Rudy and I went to high school together [and] to elementary school [in] Roseville—grew up there. And when I talked to him [about] going back into school instead of working in the railroads like our dads were, we went to Sierra [College].”¹⁵¹ Moreover, Stan Padilla simply asserted that his family “didn’t really do farmwork. Roseville, Lincoln, all over that area is all the canneries; and the dry yards in Elverta, but mainly it was the canneries.”¹⁵²

Remembering his adolescence in Northern California’s cannery communities, Padilla provided intimate details on his community’s segregation:

You just kind of stayed in your place, didn’t make waves, and lived within a small family. [You] mainly just lived with the family and with the related families, extended families. And then mainly the rest, you just left all the rest of the people alone and it was just like, fine, go to school with them and stuff; but you didn’t mix with them.¹⁵³

Padilla’s impressions of the ethnic divides within the cannery culture of the 1940s and ‘50s are echoed in historian Vicki L. Ruiz’s study of Mexican American women’s labor history in the US Southwest. Relying on a wide range of primary documents and oral histories, Ruiz examines working relationships, mutual aid societies, and unionization in the agricultural and cannery industries in Southern California throughout the twentieth-century. Observing how ethnic divides were enforced, Ruiz relates Erminia Ruiz’s encounters with community segregation:

While racial/cultural boundaries could blur in Arizona's agrarian communities, in southern Colorado, ethnic boundaries appear relatively fixed, with racial/class divisions cropping up even within groups of Spanish-speaking workers. Born in Walsenberg, Colorado, in 1921, Erminia Ruiz was considered the daughter of a "mixed marriage"—her father was a Mexican immigrant, her mother a Hispana born in nearby Trinidad. She remembered that Mexican union families (those associated with the Industrial Workers of the World) tended to stick together. On Saturday night, they would gather at someone's house for music, food, dancing, and fellowship.¹⁵⁴

Taking it a step further and uncovering the social divisions that occurred around class and union affiliations, Ruiz's description of the "mixed marriage" of Erminia Ruiz's parents reveals the agency that individuals enacted in their everyday lives. Although ethnic divisions were enforced, people like Erminia's parents defied social expectation.

Padilla also went against his community's social norms as a young child and later as a young man. Recalling that segregation was expressed not only at work but at school, Padilla disregarded the boundary and traded food with other non-Chicano/a students:

There's a story [about] when I was little. I never had a cheese sandwich before. And then these kids had cheese sandwiches and stuff like that. I'd never seen that kind of food before and so I used to trade all my food, which they thought was great, for the cheese sandwiches. Everyone still laughs at me because of that. But I've always [been] an adventurer. You know, other people—and one of my grandfathers' was very progressive and he used to say, "There's only one god. There's only one people. Yeah, they're all different and this and that, but basically all the same."¹⁵⁵

Padilla's childhood inclination for diversity, spirituality, and multiculturalism informed a great deal of his life choices. His universalist perspective would be evident in the artistic vision he brought to the RCAF. Padilla, who met his Chinese American wife in the cannery community, reflected on his migration from Roseville to San Francisco, California:

Then I met my wife and she's Chinese-American. This was a cultural wasteland and we were, you know, it's not happening. So then one time I said, "I'm going to art school. Do you want to go?" We packed up and moved and became the scandal of the world. She was disowned and the whole thing. First off all, at that time, we weren't married yet, but you

couldn't marry cross—interracially at that time, in '61, in that era. And you know, interracial things were, I mean it was a big deal. It was like, oh my god. And my family wasn't too happy. And they didn't know anything about the Chinese culture. That's my grandparents, but my parents were pretty good about it. So I went to art school, the San Francisco Art Institute. So we went to the city and became urbanized. You know, it was just for us. We were two provincial kids and went to the city to find our way in the world. I got very involved in everything. But we still maintained our roots, you know, our traditions and cultures and everything. But then I went really crazy. There were Persians, Armenians and everything. I just loved everybody and every culture—Chinatown, Japantown. And went to school and all that. And at the art institute, that was the '60s, so it was the Cultural Revolution—the Civil Rights era.¹⁵⁶

The “scandal of the world,” Stan and Roz Padilla left their cannery town that frowned upon interethnic marriage and headed toward a city they believed would be more welcoming. Critical to Padilla's recollections on becoming “urbanized” is the association he makes between diversity, multiculturalism and the city.

The ethnic and cultural diversity that San Francisco offered Padilla also shaped the early years of other RCAF artists. RCAF member Dr. Sam Rios was born and raised in the Bay Area, moving to Sacramento to attend college as an undergraduate in Anthropology in 1970.¹⁵⁷ Likewise, RCAF artist, Juan Carrillo grew up in San Francisco and attended the University of California, Berkeley, where he first made contact with future RCAF members, José Montoya and Esteban Villa.¹⁵⁸ At UC Berkeley, Carrillo participated in numerous Chicano/a intellectual developments, particularly the Chicano/a organization, Quinto Sol, and their prolific journal, *El Grito*. Established in 1967 by UC Berkeley professor and anthropologist Octavio Romano, *El Grito* was, as its subtitle claimed, *A Journal of Contemporary Mexican Thought*. It “served as a forum for a variety of themes, graphic arts and literature.”¹⁵⁹ Romano also founded Quinto Sol Publications, “which published the first significant Chicano novels of the 1970s.”¹⁶⁰ Both the journal and the publishing house reflected the Chicano/a intellectual discourse that was emerging on university campuses in the late 1960s and early '70s.¹⁶¹

Additionally, while on campus, Carrillo witnessed several important interethnic collaborations. In 1969, when the separate racial and ethnic student organizations—namely The Afro-American Studies Union (AASU), the Mexican-American Student Confederation (MASC), and the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA)—established the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), Carrillo was involved in the shared effort. Their collective call for a Third World Studies Program would become UC Berkeley’s Ethnic Studies Department later on that year.¹⁶² Carrillo’s exposure to interethnic networks broadened his perspective on social justice as encompassing a variety of marginalized racial and ethnic groups in the US, and not exclusively the Chicano/a diaspora.

At a 2007 roundtable discussion held in the University Library Gallery at Sacramento State University, several of the RCAF artists’ gathered to discuss the history of their organization. Carrillo was present and lightheartedly teased the other members about the regional affiliations they attach to Chicano/a identity. A clear sign of the group’s continued camaraderie, the moment also provided further insight into the differences between urban and rural Chicanos/as as well as distinct labor histories:

I’m a Bay Area guy, you know; I’m a San Francisco guy. I come here and I start to meet all these valley guys. And they just—they were insufferable. [Laughter] I listened to all this stuff about farmworkers and you know, “the real Chicano comes out of the valley.” So anyway ... the education happened outside of the classroom at Berkeley and it continued here. The education of—the whole reanalysis of things, including what is art, what is history, what is sociology, what is anthropology, if it doesn’t consider our experience, our reality.¹⁶³

Referring to the intellectual transformations that each RCAF member would undergo at Sacramento State or because of the collective, Carrillo’s banter questioned predominant assumptions about Chicano/a identity. His urban background and interethnic collaborations in college challenged the specific labor histories and regionalisms often assumed in Chicano/a historical consciousness. Although his comments were humorous, they nonetheless uncovered the nuances of lived history, and how RCAF

members as individuals imagined themselves in relation to a specific identity that was collectively enforced.

Other RCAF members who were not originally from urban centers, like Stan Padilla, lived for periods of time in San Francisco or Los Angeles. These members were not enrolled in college like Padilla or Carrillo during the Vietnam War era, but served in the Armed Forces. They pursued the GI Bill and were able to live elsewhere while pursuing higher education. Upon his honorable discharge from the Armed Forces during the Vietnam War, Armando Cid did not return to Northern California, but resided in Los Angeles: “I just got out of the service and was looking for—well, basically to get into art school. I went to the Art Center College of Design ... I was the only Mexican on the whole campus there. At night, I was working at the LA Times. I was a copy editor reading copy at night. Going to school in the day time.”¹⁶⁴

In an amusing anecdote, Cid explained the circumstances of his return to Northern California in the late 1960s. Cid recounted that while working and attending school in Los Angeles, he came upon a protest taking place on Whittier Boulevard in East Los Angeles:

My aunt lived in East LA and on Sundays I would go down there to get some menudo. ... One day I was walking out there and I saw all these cop cars; they were everywhere. Helicopters, you know. It looked like the stuff we just got out of—the service—because I was going to school on the GI Bill. ... I thought I was back over there again, getting ready to pick up some rifles. ... Everybody was going towards, you know, down Whittier Boulevard, marching down to my aunt’s house. So I said, “That’s the quickest way to get down there.” So I jumped in line with them. So, I’m going to go get some menudo at my aunt’s house and we’re all going down Whittier Boulevard. ... So little did I know, you know, the gas starts to fly—tear gas everywhere; helicopters are running around. The police are beating people on the head and I’m standing right there in the middle of all this and looking around and I said, “I think I better go home and see what the action is up North.” Anyway, the following week I turned in my resignation into the campus and said, “I’m going home.”¹⁶⁵

Like Carrillo—and all RCAF members—Cid used humor to convey a key historical moment in Chicano/a consciousness: The Chicano Moratorium March of August 29,

1970. On this day, thousands of Chicanos/as and other supporters marched through East Los Angeles, down Whittier Boulevard toward Laguna Park. An organized protest against the disproportionate death toll of Mexican American soldiers in the Vietnam War, the march is well recorded and studied in Chicano/a history for the violence that occurred between participants and the police.¹⁶⁶ Cid's tale is full of quixotic smoke and mirrors. The unassuming hero of the tale, he downplays his participation in the march as he merely was on his way to his aunt's house.

Similar to Cid, Juanishi Orosco was eligible for the GI Bill for his service during the late 1960s. Orosco had been moving around California and testing out different junior colleges:

I grew up in Rancho Cordova, went to school up at Folsom and after that I did four years in Los Angeles. I tried that [city] and I tried San Francisco. None of them really settled in. I came back here and started going to junior college. That was in '65 at Sac City. I went to [Sacramento City Junior College] first and that was in 1965 and then I got drafted by the army for the Vietnam War. So I did two years in the army in the 101st Airborne Division. I never went to Vietnam because although my Division was getting ready, I got out before they shipped the Division out. So when I came back here in 1967—68, I enrolled at American River College and started doing my art.¹⁶⁷

In the midst of his formative years in which he “tried” out various cities, Orosco was drafted. He was able to get back on track with school because the GI Bill provided funds for college. Professor Saul Schwartz notes that the “express purpose of the GI Bill is ‘restoring lost educational opportunities to those service men and women whose careers have been interrupted or impeded by reason of active duty.’”¹⁶⁸

Both Cid and Orosco's military service and access to benefits under the GI Bill are connected to larger sociological and historical contexts that led to an unprecedented Chicano/a presence on college campuses in the late 1960s. The Vietnam War GI Bill (enacted in 1966) provided many Chicano/a veterans with a chance to go to school and F. Arturo Rosales also points out that this means of entrance coincided with the

emergence of other assistance programs and population growths. The 1950s baby boom had created a larger Chicano/a generation in the '60s, and "a sheer weight of numbers put them on campus."¹⁶⁹ Meanwhile, Equal Opportunity Programs were also initiated during the era, funded through President Johnson's War on Poverty.¹⁷⁰ In April 1969, "the California Legislature passed Senate Bill 1072 (the Harmer Bill) which established EOP at the California state institutions of higher learning."¹⁷¹ RCAF artist Rudy Cuellar remembered that in 1971 and '72 his friend and colleague, Juan Cervantes, worked at "EOP, which was ... the Educational Opportunity Program. He got me into the university. Otherwise, I wouldn't of—I wouldn't have been able to do the paperwork."¹⁷² While attending school, Cervantes worked at Sacramento State University as a student counselor, one of the admissions services provided by the university's EOP office. From admissions assistance, academic tutoring and financial aid, Equal Opportunity Programs at the California State University and University of California systems benefitted generations of Chicano/a students and other underrepresented groups.¹⁷³

Incorporating numerous interviews with Chicano/a students of the era into his foundational work on the Chicano Movement, F. Arturo Rosales also highlights the relationship between Chicano/a veterans, larger student populations, and the advent of Chicano/a organizations. An excerpt taken from an oral history with Carlos Montes reveals these connections:

Carlos Montes, who became a Brown Beret leader, was a nineteen-year-old student at Los Angeles College in 1967. He had nothing more than a simple aspiration to succeed in America by going to college. But joining MASA (Mexican American Student Association) represented a departure from this path. "I was a student ... involved in student government ... I was student body parliamentarian ... Associate Student Vice President and saw a sign announcing ... an organizational meeting that said MASA meeting. ... So I went to one of the first meetings ... organized by older, GI Chicanos ... going to college on the GI Bill."¹⁷⁴

The “GI Chicanos” greatly influenced the structures of Chicano/a student organizations, and many RCAF artists had firsthand experience with military service when they entered into Chicano/a student groups. Taken together, the recollections of Stan Padilla, Juan Carrillo, Juanishi Orosco, Armando Cid, Rudy Cuellar, and Juan Cervantes exemplify the sociological changes at hand in the 1960s, as well as the federal and state policies that had created new channels to higher education for many Chicanos/as during the late twentieth century.

Like their younger counterparts, Esteban Villa and José Montoya’s educational opportunities also resulted from the GI Bill, but from a different period of US history; both men had access to benefits under the GI Bill for their service during the Korean Conflict.¹⁷⁵ Villa served in the Army’s transportation department.¹⁷⁶ On his service from 1949 to 1953, he recalled,

We loaded and unloaded cargo ships just like they do in Oakland and San Francisco. In fact, we were trained there. Actually trained by the longshoremen on how to do the loading and unloading. My unit was mixed. There was—I met a lot of nice guys from different parts of the country. There were Mexicanos from New Mexico, East LA, and the valley. It was a good experience. But I got out in ’53. We didn’t go into Korea because of the atomic bomb testing. So we were spared from the 50,000-some-odd young men that were killed.¹⁷⁷

Like Montoya’s immersion into 1940s Chicano/a culture in California’s Central Valley, Villa encountered different groups of Mexican Americans from all over the Southwest during the 1950s.¹⁷⁸ Because the exposure occurred during his service years, Villa became aware of highly organized, collaborative efforts amongst soldiers who claimed different strains of a shared Mexican ancestry.

The importance of collective action within a diverse ethnic group continues to shape Villa’s perspective in the twenty-first century. Accounting for the RCAF’s multiple artistic styles, Villa explained that their aesthetic diversity is bound up in Chicano/a identity:

The colectiva versus the individual—it was okay because even though we're a collective, you can identify my style of art against José's, Juanishi's, Cid's, Cervantes, Max Garcia and so on. So it's okay. ... We're all the same, but different, and it works. It's like the word 'Chicano,' for example. They want to use 'Hispanic' but there's no need to do that. You have to keep the word and start reshaping history.¹⁷⁹

Villa's claim that there is room for individual styles within the RCAF (and all Chicano/a arts collectives) reflects the original goals of the 1960s and '70s Chicano Movement.

Guiding documents like El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán called for a united cultural arts community that was in service to the Chicano Movement; it did not purport a unified aesthetic. Scholar Christopher Martínez elaborates,

Chicano artists came together during the Chicano Movement in structured groups [that are] multifaceted, fluid organizations—sometimes formed as collectives—that seek to empower the development of the alternative structures deemed necessary to fulfill community needs and aesthetic goals. Such groups often have been created because mainstream cultural institutions are inaccessible to the Mexican American community.¹⁸⁰

Making art an educational and occupational opportunity for the community was central to the RCAF's philosophies and the meaning behind Villa's choice of words, "The colectiva versus the individual." Using the Spanish word for "collective," interspersed with the English phrasing, "versus the individual," Villa alluded to a definition of collectivism that is ethnically bound.

His esteem for artistic collaboration supports this reading. He likened the importance of maintaining collective arts practices to the preservation of a Chicano/a consciousness in history. Aware of the assortment of ethnic identities housed under the Eurocentric term, "Hispanic," Villa's remarks are deeply involved in a complex discourse concerning representation, history, and ethnic identification. He claims the idea of the collective as "Chicano/a," and suggests that individualism is "Western" or "Hispanic." Villa suspects that if nomenclature were to change, Chicano/a historical validity would be lost and the people who identify as Chicano/a would become ahistorical, without

memory. The only solution, according to Villa, is to “start reshaping history” in acknowledgement of the continued existence of Chicano/a peoples in the US.

This excerpt (from one of our interviews in 2004) is not the only example of Villa’s ethnically bound definition of collectivism. His remarks in a 1999 *Sacramento Bee* article are seemingly harmless observations on a cultural detail of the capital city; but they reveal important insight into how Villa interprets Chicano/a history, art and identity. Commenting on the renovations to the RCAF’s mural “Light Art in Sacramento Energy Resources In Unlimited Movement,” or L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. (1984; 1999), Villa explained the impact that he would like the work to have on the people of Sacramento: “I want them to not be afraid of art and to learn how to look at art . . . I want this mural to let some of the Mexican American-Hispanic painters develop the style that is fitting to our heritage.”¹⁸¹ For Villa, “Chicano/a” is the most ethnically and historically accurate identity because it was garnered by a collective movement of people who had been swept to the margins of history. “Mexican American-Hispanic,” however, is an agglomeration of histories and census-approved labels that are symptoms of what he believes to be an assimilative attitude.¹⁸²

Interestingly, Villa’s challenge to “Mexican American-Hispanic painters” to “develop the style that is fitting to our heritage,” suggests that there is in fact a unique style to Chicano/a art. This line of thinking contradicts other statements in which he claims that the RCAF practiced community collaborations and not aesthetic uniformity. But the contradictory messages expose the complexity of how Villa defines his ethnic identity and continues to resist assimilation. He suggests that learning “how to look at art,” from a specific perspective—one of community participation and social change—is a style of art in itself; and this approach to art is a choice that is similar to choosing one’s ethnic identity. Chicana scholar Alicia Gaspar de Alba explains that by “rejecting outwardly imposed labels” like those that Villa lists, and choosing to identify as

Chicano/a, “artists and activists were making a political statement about their lives, a proclamation of emancipation from the homogenizing labels and manifest destiny of oppression inscribed by Anglo America through its discriminatory political structure and other ethnocentric cultural institutions, including its educational system, its mass media, and its arts industry.”¹⁸³

Returning to his coming of age as a Chicano artist, Villa went back to the Central Valley in 1953, after being honorably discharged from the service. He took several art classes at East Bakersfield Junior College. While enrolled, Villa met instructors who were visiting from the California College of the Arts (CCA).¹⁸⁴ He recalled,

Some teachers that were from there—from CCA—went to my school. They taught art there. They told me I was showing some talent and skills and that I was a good painter, a good artist. They said, “Why don’t you apply over here?” I thought, “Oh my god! That’s all the way in Oakland. I can’t leave Bakersfield and my family. What am I going to do?” But I went. I was twenty-three when I finished the junior college and twenty-five when I started at CCA. I just went to school on the GI Bill full time with little jobs here and there.¹⁸⁵

Villa’s “little jobs here and there” during college were necessary because of the changes that the US government made to the Korean Conflict GI Bill. “The Veterans’ Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952” differed from the 1944 law, which had allowed for 48 months of education. The 1952 GI Bill only paid for 36 months and did not directly cover college tuition. “Instead, veterans were paid subsistence checks, which were also to cover their college expenses. The effect of the changes was that the benefit no longer completely covered the cost of the veteran’s education.”¹⁸⁶ Subsequently, Villa “worked for Canadian Dry, loading trucks ... after school. I was twenty-eight or twenty-nine when I graduated.”¹⁸⁷ Despite his need for extra income, Villa was one of several Chicano/a artists that entered a college arts program on the 1952 GI Bill and “began to work in progressive American vanguard styles such as Abstract, Pop, Minimalist, and Conceptual art.”¹⁸⁸

Although aesthetically important to Villa's work, exposure to the leading trends in American art created new frustrations for the young artist when he arrived at the CCA in 1955. As "much of the avant-garde felt a need to expand the ever-shrinking audience for visual art and to regain a sense of relevant interaction with society," artists from working class and ethnic backgrounds were "unwilling to choose between art and activism," challenging "the basic assumptions of the avant-garde ideology and practice as such."¹⁸⁹ As a first generation college student, Villa's alienation at the CCA reflected the trend. Growing up "hungry for art" in Bakersfield's farmworking community, Villa compared his hometown to "a desert," adding that "it's a metaphor for the lack of art and culture. I didn't have it inside my house, inside my home or my parents' home."¹⁹⁰ He assumed the CCA would provide an opportunity to grow as an artist in "relevant interaction with society," but quickly discovered that the curriculum did not engage *his* "society," or any aspect of his ethnic identity.

In fact, Villa left the CCA after one year, returning in 1958.¹⁹¹ He did not directly connect his departure to the school's lack of Mexican art history, but the two are related. He revealed the connection when he recalled returning to school and meeting José Montoya. Montoya had transferred to the CCA from San Diego City College.¹⁹² Villa mused, "there was only two Mexicans on the whole campus—me and José. A gang! They said, 'Oh my god, there's two of them now.'"¹⁹³ Aside from befriending Montoya, Villa found that not much else had changed at the college: "Again there was no nada—no cultura that we could identify with. Nothing to identify with and no teachers; and no interest by the other professors. So it was kind of like being in the middle of the desert again. There was nothing there. Chicano art didn't exist."¹⁹⁴ It seems that Villa's cultural and artistic "desert" extended beyond the Central Valley's fields and all the way to Oakland's arts college. By likening the scarcity of cultural, artistic, and educational opportunities for impoverished day laborers in Bakersfield to the Eurocentric focus of the

academy—(ironically, the symbol of all such opportunities)—Villa poignantly conveyed that his desire for education involved a culturally-specific consciousness-raising.¹⁹⁵

Like his future colleague, José Montoya also benefited from the Korean Conflict's GI Bill, which greatly affected this generation of student veterans. Sociologist Charles B. Nam writes that “almost half of all veterans of World War II and the Korean Conflict used the benefits for education and training. ... Of special significance is the fact that some of the veterans may have not attended school at all if it were not for the GI Bills.”¹⁹⁶ José Montoya was one such student, explaining “the reason that we were able to afford the best art schools in the world was simply that we were veterans. We fought in Korea. So we could pick and choose. ... I just knew that now I could go study and become a cartoonist. That was my big dream. If not a cartoonist, maybe an illustrator.” Montoya's “big dream” reflected working class values and access. For Montoya, art was not only a creative process, but also an occupational identity. Since “commercial art was the only thing I knew anything about and ... what I had been instructed in high school,” he geared his artistic tastes toward “illustrations in *Colliers* or some of those old magazines. ... the biggest of all was to go work for Walt Disney.”¹⁹⁷ Equally as important to Montoya's artistic vision is the certain influence that US mainstream art played in his lifelong class consciousness, which also shaped his Chicano art practices.¹⁹⁸

When he arrived at the CCA in 1958, however, Montoya began to seek out more than commercial art training. He noticed the visible absence of Mexican and Chicano/a art history. He recalled,

So along the way, [we] discovered fine arts and discovered Mexican art. But not in the schools. We used to ask why we didn't hear about and why they went so quickly on the three Mexican muralists—Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros. And that was it. And we knew there was more. We knew that there was pre-Columbian art. We were definitely aware of that by the time we started, but we never got any of that in school or got any training. We didn't get any of the art professors to acknowledge that there was an incredible cultural treasure waiting for us or there for us to tap into. ... It was simply [that] western art was the thing—American Art and European

Art. Everything else was viewed more anthropologically, archeologically—put down. I guess, outside of briefly mentioning Orozco, Siqueiros and Rivera, that's all we had. So I think the reason was really clear: it was an imposition on western art.¹⁹⁹

An “imposition on western art,” Chicano/a art history and its Mexican influences troubled the “idea of a ‘universal’ culture, a single idea of beauty and order.”²⁰⁰ As Montoya mentioned that “everything else was viewed more anthropologically, archeologically—put down,” pre-Colombian artifacts, and twentieth century Mexican muralism’s use of indigenous imagery, were treated as exemplars of an ancient past. Theorist and art critic Lucy R. Lippard writes that the consequences for assigning pre-Columbian arts and Mexican art history to the fields of anthropology and archeology is that it “freeze[s] non-Western cultures in an anthropological present or an archeological past that denies their heirs a modern identity or political reality on an equal basis with Euro-Americans.”²⁰¹

But the denial of “a modern identity or political reality” for Chicanos/as in US schools only partially addresses the fallout from these institutional divisions. “Euro-American” identity also becomes fixed, limited to an east-west praxis of “Euro-American” history.²⁰² Mexican muralism and art, for example, undoubtedly influenced Chicano/a visual culture; but so did the US’s 1930s—‘40s federal art programs. The Works Progress Administration and the Federal Art Project (WPA-FAP) set precedents and established channels for 1960s and ‘70s Chicano/a muralism. As the US government aimed to provide comprehensive economic relief during the Great Depression, “the Mexican government’s projects provided important models [as] the Roosevelt administration attempted to come to the aid of artists who had been thrown out of work.”²⁰³ Scholar Alan W. Barnett argues that during the 1930s and ‘40s, American “artists were seen as an important national service ... doing murals for post offices, schools, and other public buildings throughout the country.” Over a hundred community

centers were also established that “provided training and exhibition space for neighborhood people” under the “Federal Art Project between 1935 and 1943.”²⁰⁴

Further, there were four major arms of the US government’s art programs that either overlapped or succeeded one another. They were the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP) from 1933 to ‘34; the Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture from 1934 to ‘43; the Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP) from 1935 to ‘39 and the Works Progress Administration’s Federal Art Project (WPA/FPA) from 1935 to ‘43.²⁰⁵ The programs under each of these entities not only created public arts “to beautify public buildings in America,” but they also set forth an idea of government funded public arts for the US.²⁰⁶ Specifically, the 1934—’43 Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture appropriated one-percent of funds “allocated by Congress for the constructions of public buildings ... for artistic decoration.”²⁰⁷ Such an allocation would resonate in the 1970s, when “Arts in Public Places” ordinances were adopted in many urban art centers like Sacramento and Philadelphia, due to widespread community support and demand.²⁰⁸

Rivera, Siqueiros and Orozco were each commissioned at various times during the 1930s to create murals in the US; in doing so, they worked with many New Deal artists. Ben Shahn, for example, assisted Rivera on the 1932 mural in the Rockefeller Center that Nelson Rockefeller destroyed in 1933 because of the portrait of Lenin he refused to remove.²⁰⁹ David Alfaro Siqueiros also spent a good deal of time in the US, particularly in New York. In 1936, he instructed a political arts workshop at the St. Regis Gallery as a featured artist during their “Contemporary Arts” exhibit. Jackson Pollock was a participant, assisting on floats for the upcoming May Day Parade. José Clemente Orozco lived in the US from 1927 to 1934, painting several murals, most notably “The Epic of American Civilization,” which he painted at Dartmouth College between 1932 and ‘34.²¹⁰ Many “Mexican” murals from the WPA-FAP era exist today, including Rivera’s “The Making of a Fresco Showing the Building of a City” (1931) located at the San

Francisco Art Institute (SFAI) and one of four works he painted in the Bay Area during the 1930s.²¹¹

Murals by Mexican artists in the US and other historical records of transnational exchange during the period reveal a history of Mexican influence on American art, despite “the common assumption that European or Western ideas represented the pinnacle of ‘civilization.’”²¹² In *Dimensions of the Americas* (1994), art historian Shifra M. Goldman argues that “modern Latin American art for the most part has been held in low esteem and considered as ‘second class’ to that of Europe and the United States, except at very special junctures.” The “junctures” represent large moments of economic and political change (like the US’s Great Depression) and Goldman states that there are “four periods in which a strong U.S. interest in the art of Mexico and Latin America can be clearly seen.”²¹³ Her organization of the “cultural exchanges” between the US and Mexico describe a distinct set of stages, or isolated moments in which Latin American art was “valid” in the US, or allowed entry into the western aesthetic. Yet Goldman’s line of thinking does not consider US interest in Mexican art and cultural exchange as a constant—a web of influence between a 1931 fresco at the SFAI and a 1960s Chicano/a artist viewing it en-route to class.²¹⁴ Goldman’s framework elides transnational acts taking place before, in-between and after “the Great Depression of the 1930s,” or, as literary scholar Emory Elliot argues, the reality that “many, if not most, intellectuals, writers, and artists of color in the United States in the twentieth century were internationalists and universalists before the concept of the transnational emerged.”²¹⁵

Irene Pérez, for example, a Bay Area Chicana artist and co-founder of the 1970s *Mujeres Muralistas*, recounted meeting Emmy Lou Packard, an American artist who worked with Rivera on his San Francisco murals. Pérez recalled that Packard “painted the mural at Coit Tower. ... She was very helpful. We consulted with her, and she told us a lot about the technical stuff and about working together as a group. It was exciting to

have a historical connection with somebody who worked with Rivera!”²¹⁶ The connection to Rivera and the arts philosophies he espoused were passed onto Pérez and her comadres through Packard, exemplifying what Elliot calls “a fluid transnational cultural borderlands.”²¹⁷ American murals of Mexican descent and the sociopolitical messages they carried were not muted or invisible until the next period of US interest in Mexican art. Instead, they seeped through the “Great Events of US history,” creating “political and cultural centers of contact and exchange” in-between the spatiotemporal borders of two national narratives.²¹⁸

An ethnically conscious Chicano/a art developed out of, or, rather, in-between the art histories of the US and Mexico. Not exclusively “American” or “Mexican,” Chicano/a art “combines mainstream as well as experimental pan-American genres and styles with elements of Mexican, Euro-American, Native American, and Chicano/a popular culture to produce a truly New World mestizo/a art.”²¹⁹ Perhaps nonwestern art histories were omitted from Montoya and Villa’s education at the CCA because they challenged the pedagogical framework that “European or Western ideas” stood alone at the top of the cultural summit, “while everything else from the thought of Confucius to Peruvian portrait vases, was second rate, too exotic, or ‘primitive.’”²²⁰ Chicano/a artists (and many minority American artists of the civil rights era) were creating a “New World mestizo/a art” that ultimately exposed the relativity of aestheticism by blending multiple forms and styles. Alicia Gaspar de Alba explains, “although not technically a value in the same sense that freedom or individualism are values, *mestizaje* functions as a value in that it celebrates the racial and cultural mixing inherent in Chicano/a existence.”²²¹ If a central element of the Chicano/a aesthetic is mixture, then it is never a finished work of art, or the image of perfection; rather, it is always in the midst of mixing, transitioning into the next point of contact and exchange.

The notion that the western aesthetic is not universal, but shaped by ethnocentrism and colonial legacies, is powerfully elucidated by Lucy Lippard, who again sheds light on the systems of power that are masked by standards of quality:

Ethnocentrism in the arts is balanced on a notion of Quality that “transcends boundaries”—and is identifiable only by those in power. According to this lofty view, racism has nothing to do with art; Quality will prevail; so-called minorities just haven’t got it yet. The notion of Quality has been the most effective bludgeon on the side of homogeneity in the modernist and postmodernist periods, despite twenty-five years of attempted revisionism. ...Time and again, artists of color and women determined to *revise the notion of Quality into something more open, with more integrity*, have been fended off from the mainstream strongholds.²²²

Confronting established measures of quality as racist, classist, and exclusionary systems became a central bond between Montoya and Villa when they met at the CCA. Their founding and guidance of the RCAF would respond to the cultural, historical, and educational alienation they felt at the CCA. As Montoya added that “what was good about art school in those days was that there were a lot of political causes.” The exclusion they felt in the classroom led them to forge bonds outside of the school and in the Bay Area’s emerging Chicano/a arts circles.

In the next chapter, I explore Villa and Montoya’s introduction and the advent of the Mexican American Liberation Art Front (MALA-F), which formed after they had graduated and became high school art teachers in different towns in Northern California.²²³ They returned to the Bay Area in the summer of 1965 on professional development scholarships from their respective high schools; they continued to move in their own migratory circle throughout the decade.²²⁴ Back and forth between Northern California, the Central Valley, and the Bay Area, Villa and Montoya arrived at Sacramento State University in 1969, with clear ideas about collective formations, Chicano/a art, and community activism.

Chapter Two: The Royal Chicano Air Force, 1969 and counting

“The signature was the RCAF. And the name, it was the initials for ‘Rebel Chicano Art Front.’ And people would see ‘RCAF’ and they would wonder what connection we had with the Royal Canadian Air Force, the real ‘RCAF.’ And somebody just at one point said, ‘Hey, we’re not the Royal Canadian Air Force. We’re the Royal Chicano Air Force.’ And everybody dug it and it stuck.” —José Montoya, July 05, 2004

“Situating one’s politics, indeed one’s very life, toward community empowerment was a given among Chicano student activists. Forging bonds of community with one another and, most importantly, with the worlds they literally or metaphorically left behind crossed ideological borders as they created diffuse and at times competing organizations. Whether one assumed the mantle of cultural nationalism (working only for Chicanos) or longed for third world liberation, sustaining connections to a world outside the university proved crucial. ... Success was measured in terms of social justice, not material wealth.”
—Vicki L. Ruiz, From Out Of The Shadows, 1998 ²²⁵

Despite the lack of courses on Mexican and Chicano/a art history at the California College of the Arts in Oakland, California, Villa and Montoya discovered that opportunities to learn and collaborate abounded in the 1960s Bay Area.²²⁶ Montoya was “astounded” by the world outside of the academy. “Going to parties that were really leftist [and] Marxist,” Montoya and other emerging Chicano/a artists like Salvador Torres, Patricia Rodriguez, René Yañez and Irene Pérez began “considering the power of the collective.”²²⁷ He recalled,

The whole notion of existentialism was rampant and it seemed to encompass all of our simple actions of being Chicanos—dressing the way we did, acting the way we did, and fighting the way we did. Drinking and carousing bereft of rhyme or reason. La Locura impressed our professors. They were studying us as models of existentialism. We didn’t even know what the hell the word meant. ... There were fundraisers for fair play for Cuban Committee. And we had to sit and say, “Well we just came from fighting the Commies in Korea. Now we’re learning that there was more to it than what we were told.” We were lied to in Korea so badly that they still don’t want to talk about that war. So we became politicized and that had a big psychic development. [Politicization] became a psychic development for us in terms of delving into the different political ways of seeing the world and listening to scholars and philosophers that sounded like they knew what they were saying.²²⁸

Their “psychic development” along political lines catalyzed Montoya and Villa to join other Chicano artists in the Bay Area and form MALA-F, or the Mexican American Liberation Art Front. Infused with Chicano/a humor, the political message of the

organization's name is obvious in translation as "MALA-F" in English means, "the bad 'F.'" This early collective contributed to an important social network for future RCAF artists. It also helped define the RCAF's Chicano/a art philosophies. In this chapter, I explore the national and international ideologies that influenced the RCAF's unique Chicano/a consciousness and artistic worldview. In addition to their philosophies, I explore the institutional and grassroots channels that led to the RCAF's formation and proliferation by examining individual members' recollections in relation to larger historical changes in the US during the late twentieth-century. After reviewing the foundational history of the RCAF, I address one of their earliest battles over space and representation in the 1970s, when they initiated a student mural campaign on campus at Sacramento State University (CSUS). It was cut short by the university's administration.

Alongside Montoya and Villa, founding members of the MALA-F included René Yañez, Manuel Hernández-Trujillo, and Malaquias Montoya.²²⁹ Their goal was to integrate art into the "Chicano social revolution sweeping the country."²³⁰ Several future RCAF artists also came in contact with Montoya and Villa during the rise of MALA-F. Their 1969 Oakland art exhibit, "New Symbols for La Raza Nueva" introduced Juan Carrillo to Esteban Villa; and Carrillo's involvement with Quinto Sol's journal, *El Grito*, acquainted him with José Montoya's poetry. He recalled:

I knew José because we had established in Berkeley—as a student group—a journal, *El Grito* and we had solicited some work from José to publish. So I knew him. I knew Esteban because he was living in Oakland while I was at Berkeley and we had organized an exhibit in Oakland. So I got to know him and René Yañez. René was an artist and we were interested in artwork for *El Grito* and we published some of his work in the journal.²³¹

While Carrillo became familiar with the MALA-F, Stan Padilla also "heard of them, met them at conferences and saw their work. But it was happening all over the place. ... it was all over San Diego, San Francisco, Fresno, and L.A."²³² What was "happening all over the place" was widespread rejection of past grievances and of ongoing social,

political, educational and occupational barriers for Chicanos/as in the 1960s. Chicana scholar Alicia Gaspar de Alba elaborates:

Like their African-American counterparts marching behind Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Chicanos/as were not only underrepresented in higher education, middle-class neighborhoods, and white-collar jobs, but also denied access to many restaurants, hospitals, movie houses, and other public places. They had no authentic political representation. They faced deportation and fragmentation of their families. They attended segregated schools in which their names were “Americanized,” their native language forbidden and replaced by English, their culture derided, and the history of their people reduced to “Remember the Alamo.”²³³

Alluding to the deportations of Mexicans and Mexican Americans during 1954’s Operation Wetback, public school segregations in California prior to the 1946 federal court ruling in *Westminster v. Méndez*, and various restrictions on language and cultural practices, Gaspar de Alba compares the experiences of Chicanos/as in the US Southwest with that of African Americans in the Southeast.²³⁴ She does so by using a well-known image of civil rights protestors “marching behind Dr. Martin Luther King” in order to frame the space and time of the US civil rights movement. Her conscious nod to “African-American counterparts” raises important concerns amongst many Chicano/a historians, and other racial and ethnic scholars, regarding the official story of the US civil rights movement, especially over whom it includes and who it does not.

The American Civil Rights Movement is a “Great Event” of US history, and some scholars believe that it has been raced as Black and situated in the 1950s and ‘60s US South.²³⁵ In her analysis of Mexican and Mexican American women’s activism and the social networks that influenced the agency of the Chicana generation, historian Vicki L. Ruiz remarks on the Chicano Movement’s peripheral place in US civil rights history:

Whether one views the Chicano Student Movement as a political quest or as a nationalist struggle, one cannot subsume its identity under the rubric of ‘Me too.’ ... the Chicano Movement was very much its own entity with its own genesis. However, in the U.S. history textbooks, Mexicans are typically relegated to the end of the book and pictured either as followers of Cesar Chávez or student activists emulating African Americans.²³⁶

Ruiz critiques the notion that the Chicano Movement would have never happened had it not been for the Black Civil Rights Movement. Acknowledging cross-cultural influence and intersections in the Chicano Movement is a precarious position for Chicana/o scholars; highlighting interethnic activism takes on unintended meaning against the dominant historical backdrop that assumes “a rubric of ‘Me too’” for “other” American civil rights movements. The assumption that Chicanos/as piggy-backed on the Black Civil Rights Movement obscures important multicultural collaborations and interethnic influences in the Chicano Movement *and* in the Black Civil Rights Movement. Tensions over the number one spot in US Civil Rights History, however, is the consequence and failure of a national history that has marginalized the diversity of its own historical moment—and the minority histories that emulate the master narrative.

Whether or not one views the Chicano Movement as the chicken or the egg in US civil rights history, many young Chicanos/as did in fact participate in African American demonstrations and multiethnic Vietnam War protests. This exposure changed their outlooks on their own civil liberties. Future RCAF artist, Lorraine Garcia Nakata, for example, grew up in “Marysville [and] Yuba City,” but went to “San Francisco a lot” where she “did the whole thing ... the rallies, the protesting ... being around the Black Panthers. All of that was a really big experience for someone like myself.”²³⁷ The Chicano Movement championed the rights of a specific ethnic group, but many of its members participated in multiple civil rights causes and several social networks. This reality should not diminish the potency of ethnic solidarity within this “great event” of Chicano/a history; rather, the mixture—the *mestizaje*—of *el movimiento* should be another particularity that defines it.

Returning to “the whole thing” by which Garcia-Nakata and her future RCAF colleagues were surrounded, MALA-F hosted “gatherings of artists at René Yañez’s house,” where they developed what Juan Carrillo claimed was “the whole idea of artists

being activists; artists tackling political questions; artists working to develop community and expand educational opportunities; and telling our own story.”²³⁸ Carrillo’s emphasis on the importance of these exchanges also formalized the MALA-F’s “commitment to the United Farm Workers struggle,” a central cause for the RCAF once Villa and Montoya initiated the group in Sacramento.²³⁹ Formally, MALA-F only lasted for one year, but the trail it blazed was evident in the philosophies of the RCAF. Scholar Christopher Martínez expounds on the group’s significance:

MALA-F held many meetings that provided opportunities for discussion of the philosophy and definition of Chicano art (Goldman, 1994, 168). In 1969, the group had an exhibition entitled, “New Symbols for La Raza Nueva” in Oakland at La Causa Center which housed a Ford Foundation program that worked with Mexican American students. This exhibit showcased the work of MALA-F members and put forth its mandate that artists (and exhibits) should be in service to la comunidad, the community. Members of the MALA-F believed that Chicano artists should reject western European aesthetics in order to “visually project images of *el hombre nuevo* (the new man): the Chicano who had emerged from the decolonization process” (Ybarra-Frausto, 1991, 130). The MALA-F experience, especially its cultural nationalism and philosophy regarding the Chicano artist’s role in the community, was to influence Montoya and Villa and to affect the formation of the RCAF. One could say then that MALA-F was the precursor to the RCAF.²⁴⁰

Indeed, MALA-F was a precursor to the RCAF’s community-minded philosophies, which also mandated that Chicano artists “reject western European aesthetics” and project an ethnically conscious “Chicano who had emerged from the decolonization process.” The absence of *la mujer nueva*, or the new Chicana, in Martínez’s description of MALA-F’s Chicano consciousness is powerful.²⁴¹ In his efforts to underscore the importance of the decolonization process that was first introduced in the MALA-F and later implemented in the RCAF, Martínez omits half of the people who helped the collective realize its vision.

Gender relations were not as one-dimensional in the MALA-F or the RCAF as Martínez’s avoidance of the topic suggests. The social networks in which their decolonial philosophies developed were not exclusively male; the MALA-F and future RCAF artists interacted and collaborated with numerous Chicana artists, particularly the women who

formed the Bay Area's Mujeres Muralistas in the early 1970s. Furthermore, upon establishing the RCAF in Sacramento, several women worked as artists in the group and many others became organizational members. The RCAF's working class values, which espoused respect for all types of work and service to the Chicano /a community and to the collective, were accepted by both men and women members; but such values were also entwined in patriarchal gender norms that reified certain divisions of labor. Now in the twenty-first century, RCAF members' remember gender roles according to the group's community-first platforms and collective arts philosophies. Before examining the RCAF's gender relations (the focus of Chapter Three), the collective needs to be contextualized by its original philosophies and the socialization that took place around these beliefs.

Returning to the obfuscation of diversity and multiculturalism in US civil rights history, the 1960s and '70s community mural movement evidences a pattern of contact, influence and solidarity amongst the seemingly disparate civil rights movements in the US. It has been extensively documented by artists and scholars Eva Cockcroft, John Pitman Weber and James Cockcroft's foundational text, *Toward A People's Art* (1977), John Beardsley's *Art in Public Places* (1981), and Alan W. Barnett's *Community Murals* (1984).²⁴² During the 1960s and '70s, artists and residents of various communities inscribed local walls with vibrant images of their particular historical and social contributions to US history. In the spring of 1967, for example, the "Wall of Respect" was painted by some twenty artists on a semi-abandoned, two-story building, located on the southeast corner of 43rd and Langley in Chicago.²⁴³ The Organization for Black American Culture (OBAC), along with artist William Walker, created a mural that showcased Black history and key figures in a predominantly Black neighborhood. Walker and the "Wall" are considered the founders of the community mural movement—a movement that was mainly concerned with representation. As Cockcroft and company note, "The wall

proclaimed that black people have the right to define black culture and history for themselves, to name their own heroes.”²⁴⁴ Within barrios and the inner-city neighborhoods, loud declarations of racial and ethnic pride could be seen on the project walls, tenement facades, and the interiors of community centers.

Frank Fierro’s 1974 “Orale Raza!” became one of these powerful statements, proclaiming Chicano/a pride at East Los Angeles’s Estrada Courts. Fierro’s mural functioned on multiple levels for its primary audience because it “‘reclaimed’ not only the repressed positive imagery of US Mexicans, but also the walls of the barrios which had historically served only to restrict them.”²⁴⁵ Art historian Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino explains,

Orale Raza! . . . is an exuberant greeting to all Chicanos. The literal English translation of this greeting is awkward, meaning: “Right on! Mexican American people.” However, the idiomatic Chicano translation would be closer to “Right on! My people,” or even, “my community.” The greeting establishes a cultural recognition between the Chicano muralist and the Chicano viewer acknowledging both as belonging to the national Chicano community.²⁴⁶

Sanchez-Tranquilino emphasizes the insider/outsider status that determined a viewer’s ability to “read” Chicano/a murals. His interpretation highlights the relationship that Fierro created between himself—the artist—and his audience, a predominantly Chicano/a community. Like Walker’s “Wall,” “Orale Raza!” boldly hailed the surrounding community in its greeting, simultaneously marking the area as a specifically Chicano/a space.²⁴⁷

Creating Chicano/a cultural solidarity through murals and other arts practices was a stated principle of El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán from which Chicano/a artists took their cue. El Plan called for a body of work, and a practiced style, that surpassed aesthetics—or pushed past the idea of art for art’s sake—and politically and publicly identified artists with the empowerment of the Chicano/a communities.²⁴⁸ Painting murals during both the community mural movement and the Chicano Movement, the RCAF created works like, “Emergence of the Chicano Social Struggle in a Bicultural Society.”

Designed and directed by Villa, “Emergence” greets the community in the way that Frank Fierro hailed viewers at Estrada Courts. Painted in 1969 in a gymnasium–like space at the Washington Neighborhood Center (WNC), the mural and center are located in Sacramento’s Alkali Flat and caters to young Chicanos/as in the community.²⁴⁹

“Emergence” is very important to Sacramento’s Chicano/a history on multiple levels. It is the first Chicano/a mural to be painted in Sacramento and, in terms of community mural movement history, it is a contemporary of the “Wall of Respect” in Chicago. [Fig. 1]

That “Emergence” exists in the twenty-first century is an enormous feat for any 1960s and ‘70s community mural, a point that muralist and historian John Pitman Weber makes in his 2003 essay, “Politics and Practice of Community Public Art: Whose Murals Get Saved?” Pitman Weber calls for an update to popular perceptions of community murals in US history in order to galvanize preservation efforts for these quickly vanishing murals. “All of the community murals,” Pitman Weber writes,

Whether abstract or figurative, assert moral claims to public space, claims concerning the history, identity, and possible future of the surrounding area. Developers may prefer a blank slate, without the cultural or thematic specificities of an existing art. Thus, art may become an important symbolic element in struggles over public space.²⁵⁰

“Emergence” continues to exist primarily because of its location; the WNC remains an intra-ethnic space for Sacramento’s Chicano/a community. By ‘intra-ethnic space’ I mean to suggest physical spaces in which a predominantly homogenous population gathers, interacts, collaborates, and (re)produces ethnic and cultural affiliations. The Washington Neighborhood Center is one of the last Chicano/a-serving and directed organizations in the Alkali area of Sacramento. In a sense, “Emergence” and the walls on which it is painted represent a last stand against the urban renewal efforts taking place in this Sacramento district. The RCAF’s “moral claim” to the WNC as a historically Chicano/a space is explored in more detail in Chapter Six, when I remap Sacramento according to the murals and historic spaces of the RCAF.

“Emergence” is also important to Chicano/a art history because its content and form embody transnational influences between Chicano/a artists and Mexican art history. 1960s and ‘70s visual productions of Chicano/a space—Chicano/a consciousness and representations of that consciousness—transcended the geopolitical borders enforced in US history, art and cultural studies. Chicano/a artists searched for a “language that would express their own experience [and] looked to Los Tres Grandes—the Mexican muralists Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco and especially David Alfaro Siqueiros.”²⁵¹ Along with twentieth century Mexican muralism, Chicano/a artists studied nineteenth century Mexican lithographer José Guadalupe Posada as well as Mexican cultural productions, often considered folk art or handicrafts by western institutions. Villa recalled that his only aesthetic link “was the fact that my roots go back to Mexico and Mexico is very rich in culture, architecture, pottery, silver, guitars, puppetry, foods, mariachis, tile, and even some early people. I looked at José Guadalupe Posada, Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, José Clemente Orozco. I looked at that and it opened my eyes.”²⁵² Opening his eyes to what Chicana scholar Alicia Gasper de Alba calls “alter-Native” forms of art and history, Villa and many Chicano/a artists began to see “the popular arts,” or as Lucy Lippard describes them, the “*milagros, monitos*, home altars, low-riders, and decorated cars” as “subjects for art, as works of art in themselves.”²⁵³ Their community murals reflected this new found ethnic consciousness and cultural pride as they “employed strong Indian motifs, glorified interpretations of Chicano history and romantic allusions to mundane life in the barrios.”²⁵⁴ Chicano/a imagery was not only inspired by the art of early twentieth century Mexican muralists, but also by the social philosophies that they espoused.²⁵⁵

In an effort to harness the social values of the Mexican Revolution and inspire a particular nationalism across the war torn country, the Mexican government invited artists to create murals on public buildings throughout the 1920s and ‘30s.²⁵⁶ Diego

Rivera's 1934–'35 "Epic of the Mexican People—Mexico Today and Tomorrow," located at Mexico City's Palacio Nacional, exemplifies the creation of murals as a readable past. The mural shows the history of Mexico's diverse populace—from its indigenous beginnings with the Mexica empire, 1521's Spanish conquest, to nineteenth century Mexico's Porfiriato; next, the mural details the ensuing revolutionaries from the country's south and north, who emerged in the first decades of the twentieth-century; it arrives at western industrialization and the production of a disenfranchised but increasingly conscious class of workers on both sides of the US-Mexico border. Each historical period that Rivera represents builds on top of the other; the central thread throughout the mural is the ongoing struggle—the very fight—of the "Mexican" people to ascend and reach a level of society that celebrates its national strength through its unique mixture—its *mestizaje*.²⁵⁷

Rivera offered many artistic statements that complemented his visualization of *mestizaje*—the mixture of indigenous and Spanish civilizations with twentieth-century industrial and economic influences from the US. In 1930, he stated:

Mexican mural painting made the masses the hero of monumental art. That is to say, the man of the fields, of the factories, of the cities, and towns. When a hero appears among the people, it is clearly as part of the people and as one of them. Also for the first time in history, from the semimythic past to the real, scientific, foreseeable future, an attempt was made to portray the trajectory of the people through time in one homogenous and dialectic composition. This is what has given their [the muralists'] work universal value, since this attempt is a real and new contribution to the content of monumental art.²⁵⁸

Rivera's artistic rationale reinforces the connection between Mexican nationalism and Chicano/a consciousness; but it also reveals the distinctions between a national pastime and the ethnonational agendas of Chicano/a murals in the 1960s and '70s. By "ethnonational," I mean to suggest the desires and actions of a specific ethnic group that seeks economic, social, and political independence due to a lack of interest in their welfare from the nation in which they reside. The reverberation of Rivera's "man of the

fields, of the factories, of the cities, and towns” several decades later in the murals of the RCAF and other Chicano/a arts collectives is not as “universal” as the guiding tropes of Chicano/a history suggest.

Chicano/a visual culture certainly builds on Mexican *mestizaje*, but it also possesses layers of transnational and geopolitical mixtures that are unique to the proliferation of Chicano/a communities. The US-Mexico border altered Rivera’s “trajectory” of people “through time in one homogenous and dialectical composition.” Chicano/a communities not only mixed with, but added to the local cultures, languages and traditions. More of a web than a “trajectory,” Chicano/a art, and murals in particular, narrate the similarities and differences between Chicano/a communities across the US Southwest. In his exploration of “Chicano Ethnicity, Cultural Hybridity, and the Mestizo Voice” (1998), Rafael Pérez-Torres argues that Chicano/a *mestizaje* is shaped by three critical moments that conceptualize its cultural and racial mixtures. These events include the Spanish conquest of the “Aztec Empire in 1521,” the “appropriation of Mexican lands by the United States” at the close of the Mexican-American War, and, insightfully, “the third [historical moment] is ongoing.” Pérez-Torres explains,

The current controversies over immigration, employment, and border control in the Southwest are but the latest series of conflicts informing Chicano *mestizaje*. For a century and a half, the fluid movement of populations between Mexico (and increasingly Central America) and the United States has complicated and enriched the Chicano and mestizo identity formation.²⁵⁹

Pérez-Torres’s third category is a spatiotemporal moment that cannot be pinned down or mapped. A constant variable, Chicano/a *mestizaje* evades the confines of US History and the periodization of Chicano/a history.²⁶⁰ The “fluid movement of populations” is not a recent phenomenon, but an ongoing process, and the “current controversies over immigration” are “the latest series.” There is no period or event that can neatly categorize, define, or *border* the history of Chicano/a *mestizaje*.

Pragmatic and literal attempts to do so, to manage immigration and to police the border, provide some insight into the exclusion and misrepresentation of Chicano/a art in American art history. As political leaders, consumer trends, war and treaty agreements close, re-open and reseal the US-Mexico border, hegemonic assumptions and cultural standards of what and who is American are affected, and ideas of “Quality” in art are not immune. Chicano/a murals have never been universally valued in US Art History because they developed outside of American art institutions (although in dialogue with American art) and in violation of western standards of Quality. If the Chicano/a diaspora is hegemonically perceived as a “foreign” body within the US—as a recent phenomenon and not a historical presence—Chicano/a visual culture is also seen as illegal in, and, thus, an imposition on, the “universal value” of American Art. As I discuss at length in Chapter Six, Chicano/a art remains “Inside/Outside the Master’s House.”²⁶¹ Borrowing the phrase from Alicia Gaspar de Alba, who provides a critical investigation of the history and politics of the 1990s “Chicano/a Art Resistance and Affirmation” exhibit, institutional acceptance of Chicano/a art is ambiguous. While certain arts practices, such as Chicano/a posters and altars (now dubbed installation art) have become highly collectible, other forms, like Chicano/a murals, continue to go unacknowledged in American Art history.

Falling outside the “Great Events of US History,” the community mural movement reflects another point at which Chicano/a art departs from Rivera’s “trajectory of the people through time in one homogenous and dialectic composition.” Chicano/a murals (and all community murals of the 1960s and ’70) were not officially sanctioned by city councils, governing boards and official commissions as representations of public art or as contributions to American art history.²⁶² Further, community murals addressed local concerns first and “national” issues only by implication, despite prevailing assumptions that 1960s and ’70s Chicano/a consciousness was a universal platform that identified

with multiple grievances—from workers' rights, students rights, to women's rights and land rights. In their analysis of the community mural movement, artists and scholars Jane Weissman and Janet Braun-Reinitz claim that a community's consensus was the central building block for a 1960s and '70s neighborhood mural: "Historically, starting with the earliest walls of respect, community murals rarely speak to national or international issues. Rather they were, and continue to be, deeply rooted in local concerns. ... the essential element in developing these murals is consensus."²⁶³

Juxtaposing the 1978 mural, "We are not a Minority," created at the Estrada Housing Project in East Los Angeles by Mario Torero and the Congreso de Artistas Chicanos de Aztlán, with the RCAF's 1969 "Emergence," exemplifies Weissman and Braun-Reinitz's point. Both murals incorporate different icons—Ché Guevara in the former, and the United Farm Workers' huelga bird in the latter. The different icons suggest more than the breadth of Chicano/a iconography. As the image of Ché echoes the infamous World War II posters of "Uncle Sam," who points directly at the viewer and demands *his* enlistment, Torero and company employed Chicano/a mestizaje to speak back to US mainstream culture's interpretation of Chicanos/as as illegal immigrants.²⁶⁴ This is an issue of particular importance to Southern Californian communities (and other "border towns,") both Chicano/a and otherwise.

Meanwhile at Sacramento's Washington Neighborhood Center, the striking image of the UFW eagle, known as the huelga thunderbird, is at once a backdrop for the entire scene in "Emergence," and a protective vessel for the central male figure. The man is couched in the blue, womb-like center of the bird; he emerges from the bird, with a cross in one hand and a book in the other. The images suggest that only through the UFW, faith and education, will the Chicano be prepared for "Bi-Cultural Society." As "Chicano motifs like *placas* or the *huelga* thunderbird appear constantly with such heroic figures as Ché Guevara and Cesar Chávez," they are not arbitrarily used.²⁶⁵ In this

juxtaposition, the emblems connote different regional investments in labor, in urban vs. rural issues, and in the distinct debates that proximity to the US-Mexico border elicit. Positing a “trajectory of the people through time in one homogenous and dialectic composition” for Chicano/a murals is problematical if it does not account for the particularities of Chicano/a communities.²⁶⁶

Returning to the populist aesthetic that Rivera painted and advocated during the 1930s, which Chicano/a artists adapted to fit their local community concerns, Mexican muralists also brought specific organizational agendas to their government-sponsored, public art. Alan W. Barnett writes, “The painters, particularly Rivera and Siqueiros, came to the project with an idea of cooperative and democratic art that was connected to their socialisms and that they believed had roots in the traditional modes of work in the Mexican village.”²⁶⁷ Establishing a collective group, the “Syndicate of Technical Workers, Painters, and Sculptors,” the Mexican muralists produced public artworks that evenly distributed the labor and were “usually headed by a master artist.”²⁶⁸ Treating mural-making as any other form of work, members of the Syndicate labored equally, but were directed and supervised by a main artist.

Arts collectives during the 1960s and ‘70s community mural movement organized in similar ways. While they emulated the Mexican “syndicate,” they also modified features to fit their political commitments. The authors of *Toward a People’s Art* elaborate:

The collective idea, itself the direct expression of a political philosophy advanced by New Left organizations, came to the fore mainly with the student movement, the counterculture, and certain community organizations. One type of mural collective that grows directly from these sources is that which involves students or youths located at, or around a college campus.²⁶⁹

Citing New Jersey’s People’s Painters as an example of a student-based collective that operated like a “brigade,” the authors’ comment that their practice of “artistic anonymity”

resulted in a “single collective style distinct from individual styles of the group’s members.”²⁷⁰ This aesthetic approach opposed a hierarchical ordering of members when the People’s Painters created several murals at Livingston College in 1972.

Unlike the People’s Painters, the RCAF did not practice aesthetic uniformity. As Villa claimed in an interview, and I discuss in Chapter One, his art style is identifiable “against José’s, Juanishi’s, Cid’s, Cervantes, Max Garcia and so on. ... We’re all the same, but different.”²⁷¹ Eva Cockcroft and her colleagues account for the differences between collectivist philosophies by claiming that ethnonationalist groups operated under social, and not aesthetic values: “Within the Chicano movement, which is sensitive to the many historical precedents for communalism in its Indian and Mexican heritage, the collective form has been a frequent mode of organization. Rather than at a university setting, the national or ethnic collective tends to work within the neighborhood of its people.”²⁷² Although the RCAF worked “within the neighborhood of its people,” it slips through the authors’ categories because it encompassed artists both inside and outside the university, as well as members that were union activists, educators and various contributors to social welfare. Armando Cid explains his organization’s diversity:

Anytime you have a collective that thinks and expresses themselves in terms of working for the community, working for your own people, and making these connections happen because there’s many different communities that were involved. There’s students, there’s elders, there’s farmworkers, you know, we got people in prison. There’s a lot of things that we need to get involved with and what I found was that the more you look at how we started and how we continue is that you have to not stop and look at the past but look at how we’re going to keep this thing going.²⁷³

The RCAF was similar to the People’s Painters in its development “around a college campus,” but it also worked within Sacramento’s Chicano/a neighborhoods. Moreover, they worked collectively on arts and social projects, but did not enforce a uniform aesthetic. Vicki L. Ruiz draws attention to this characteristic of 1960s and ‘70s Chicano/a organizations. Short of calling it a distinction for Chicano/a collectives amongst the many

coalitions that emerged across the civil rights movements, Ruiz claims that Chicano/a students took advantage of the resources that universities had to offer, but remained committed to their “sending” communities, which were often external to academia: “Whether one assumed the mantle of cultural nationalism (working only for Chicanos) or longed for third world liberation, sustaining connections to a world outside the university proved crucial. ... Success was measured in terms of social justice, not material wealth.”²⁷⁴ As Cockcroft and company note that “various mural collectives ... come and go with regularity,” perhaps the RCAF’s multiple sites of engagement across several Sacramento communities sustained it into the late twentieth-century, and continues to guide them in the twenty-first century.

Although I do not believe that Cockcroft et al intentionally categorize ethnonational arts collectives as existing outside of universities and academic communities, they fail to mention the RCAF, which was fully operational at the date of their publication.²⁷⁵ Moreover, the RCAF’s Barrio Arts Program (ca., 1972) brought university students into the local Chicano/a neighborhood to create art and murals;²⁷⁶ not all of the university students working in Barrio Arts were Chicano/a or ethnonationalist in their artistic perspectives.²⁷⁷ Barrio Arts was Montoya’s vision, a program granting college credits to students to work with the community on neighborhood arts projects. Initially managed by Montoya and Villa, Ricardo Favela became the director in 1977 and supervised the program until his untimely death in July 2007. An innovation in college curriculum, Barrio Arts was not the only program they developed, however. In what follows, I explore the other services enacted by the RCAF in tandem with the factors that led to their establishment.

After El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán was endorsed in 1969 at the National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference, another conference took place in Santa Barbara in April of that year. Chicano/a students held a symposium at the University of California, Santa

Barbara, where they adopted a platform for higher education. El Plan de Santa Barbara was an important step in creating Chicano Studies Programs and establishing the student organization, Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA). During this transformative year, Montoya attended Cinco de Mayo events sponsored by Sacramento State's Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), which eventually became the university's MEChA chapter.²⁷⁸ Reciting poetry and exhibiting some art, Montoya was well received by Chicano/a students, who told him about a "Master's program that was happening at Sac State, where the head of anthropology had put together a program [to] teach the Chicano teachers ... from any discipline, but they had to have at least three years experience."²⁷⁹

The Mexican American Education Project (MAEP) was initiated in 1968 and originally under the direction of the Anthropology Department and Professor, Clark Taylor.²⁸⁰ In 1970, the MAEP's directorship was shared by Professors Clarence Johnson and Steven Arvizu. Professor Duane Campbell, hired by the Program in 1969 to develop curriculum, became a co-director later in 1970, replacing Johnson.²⁸¹ Funded through grants from the US Office of Education, the program was "the largest of its kind in the nation" and aimed to improve education for Mexican American children by "training both experienced and inexperienced public school personnel in predominantly Mexican-American areas."²⁸² To do so, MAEP offered an "Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program" that culminated in an M.A. in Social Science, and a "Prospective Teachers Fellowship Program" that was "designed to lead to a Bachelor's degree in Education over a four-year period."²⁸³ Both programs offered stipends or scholarships to participating students "who normally would not have the chance to attend college without the grant."²⁸⁴ In a historical note on Bilingual and Multicultural Education at Sacramento State, Campbell writes that at the time of MAEP's founding, "the CSU system only had 30 Mexican American graduate students in the entire system." Every year of MAEP's

five year run (1968—1973), Dr. Campbell notes that it “produced 25 graduate students ... in Sacramento alone.”²⁸⁵

Montoya applied for entrance into the Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program in 1969, meeting Clark Taylor who he recalled “was part of the pack; the brains that put the program together and what they were intending was to ... train us on how to become agents of change. That was the word, ‘agents’. The notion that wherever we came from, once we got our M.A. degrees, we were to go back and begin advocating for change— become agents of change.”²⁸⁶ Excited by the program, Montoya was disappointed when Taylor informed him that it was full for the academic year. Placed on a waiting list, Montoya would be called if “somebody dropped out ... they already had selected the twenty-three. And out of twenty-three, eighteen were Chicanos and the rest had to be Black and Anglo.” Fortunately, “somebody dropped out,” and Montoya was selected for the program. Thinking that Villa would also be interested, he asked if there was any more room, “but nobody had dropped out.” Still, Taylor and MAEP faculty were “overwhelmed with [Villa’s] art ability ... So they decided to hire him and put him on staff. He was on the staff as the artist, illustrator, and designer of the Mexican American Project.”²⁸⁷

MAEP officially transitioned into the Education Department’s bilingual education program in 1974, and, according to Dr. Sam Rios, is “part of the School of Education today that produces the bilingual teachers. The need for bilingual education never went away so the School of Education finally made it part of the curriculum.”²⁸⁸ Intended to create channels for educated “Mexican American” students to work in Sacramento’s Chicano/a neighborhoods, MAEP also motivated future RCAF members (and other Chicano/a students) to further their careers by obtaining Master’s Degrees.²⁸⁹ I think this is an important point to make in light of Cockcroft et al’s categorization of ethnonational collectives as tending to work within Chicano/a neighborhoods and not within academia.

Certainly, working with the community and young people was a program incentive for teachers like Montoya; but the desire for more education, and subsequently, more leadership positions in the development of educational pedagogies and instruction also drew professional Chicanos/as to the campus. Dr. Sam Rios's reflections on MAEP support this claim: "The people who graduated from the program are like a who's who list in this state's education administration and departments. It was probably one of the most successful teacher training implementations of the era."²⁹⁰

Juan Carrillo's "chance to go to Sac State for a Master's program," for example, not only led him to the RCAF but also advanced his career. After completing his M.A., he went onto instruct at Consumnes River College in 1970.²⁹¹ In 1978, he took a position at the California Arts Council, and became the Deputy Director of Programs. By the end of his twenty-seven career, Carrillo had served as the Council's interim director.²⁹² His professional advancement was directly related to the social network nurtured by both Chicano/a students, community members and built into the MAEP's infrastructure. He explained,

By virtue of being a part of the Mexican American Education Project, we were told by a community advisory council connected to the Project that we were expected to be activists—they basically said to us, to our faces, "You are ours!" You know, 'your ass is mine' kind of a thing. They said, "You're here and we brought you here to go through this education and then go out into the world and make change in education." That was the whole purpose. ... While Esteban and José were becoming the focal point for the artists' portion, other programs began because we were connected to a larger community of activists in Sacramento.²⁹³

The MAEP's organizational structure included an advisory committee comprised of MAEP instructors, residents of Sacramento's "Mexican American" neighborhoods and local community activists and workers.²⁹⁴ The advisory committee facilitated a sense of ownership over the MAEP and an increasing sense of place on the college campus for Chicano/a communities. Thus, as "other programs began" in local Chicano/a neighborhoods, "student activism on the campus, often including the students in the

Mexican American Education Project (MAEP), established the Ethnic Studies and Chicano Studies programs on campus.”²⁹⁵ Larger academic changes also included new faculty positions, and Montoya added that “community activists went and demanded that the Art Department hire us. ... We went with enough community supporters, including Brown Berets and community activists, and demanded that they hire us. So they ended up hiring me; they hired Esteban, and then Eduardo Carrillo.”²⁹⁶ Villa was hired as an Associate Professor of Art in 1969; Montoya, who completed his MA in 1971, was also hired as faculty in the art department.²⁹⁷

After receiving permanent positions at the college, Montoya and Villa began to seek out Chicano/a students on campus. Some of these students already knew who they were and were pursuing them in their own ways. Ricardo Favela, for example, was finishing his undergraduate degree in 1969 when he began to hear about Villa and Montoya. He recalled that he had been “walking a real tight fence line because there weren’t any Chicanos here on campus. I was—I felt like I was the only one.”²⁹⁸ Adding that he believed his decision to stay at Sacramento State was “because I had to meet these two guys,” he continued his humorous but emotional account of meeting Villa:

The way I wound up meeting José and Esteban [was] that a mutual acquaintance of ours, a friend named Mike Medina, who is a lawyer and was the director of the concilio, which is an umbrella organization that brings in all kinds of Chicano things like La Raza Drug Effort [and] Breakfast for Los Niños. So it kind of does the facilitating for all the reporting and the writing and looking for funding and all that stuff for all those people and all these folks that are all grassroots and don’t know how to do that stuff. And so Mike Medina told Esteban about me. He says, “There’s this young Chicano dude that just had some shows over here and is having a show over here at the concilio.” So Esteban went down there to ... check out my show. [The concilio] was downtown ... somewhere on 6th Street, 5th Street ... that was the old concilio and where they had my show. And so Mike told Esteban and he went and saw it and came looking for me at various times. Now what made it difficult for me to finally hook up with Esteban was that there was another Villa teaching here. Carlos Villa turned out to be a Pinoi [Filipino] ... I wasn’t sure if I was meeting Esteban or if I was meeting Carlos, so I kind of didn’t want to feel stupid so I never approached Carlos. ... Finally I was able to make a connection with him. And what happened was that he came into the

ceramics—I was working in ceramics—and he came right to the door as I was leaving and he was coming in. And we met there at the door. And Esteban said, “Orale.” And when he said, “Orale,” I said, “Orale, you’re Villa.” And he said, “Yeah and you’re Favela. Let’s go get a cup of coffee.” And that was the beginning. We got a cup of coffee for the next 34 years!²⁹⁹

In Favela’s masterful tale of meeting Villa, he listed several important RCAF places and programs. The “concilio” over which Favela glossed was the Sacramento Concilio, Inc. It was located in the Alkali Flat at 1912 F Street during the 1970s.³⁰⁰ As Favela explained, the Sacramento Concilio was a vital membership association for all Chicano/a nonprofit organizations during the late twentieth century. It helped acquire funding for many RCAF programs like Barrio Arts and “Breakfast for Los Niños,” a service that provided school children with morning meals. It also assisted the “La Raza Drug Effort,” a prevention program that served the local community.³⁰¹

The RCAF was a part of the Sacramento Concilio Inc. when it established the “Centro de Artistas, in the 1970s and 1980s, to join their artistic work to such barrio-based social services and political projects,” including “the Chicano Culture Committee, the Alkali Redevelopment Committee (housing projects), and the Human Development Unit of Sacramento Concilio.”³⁰² Established in “1970, in a room of the Washington Community Council headquarters at 14th and E Streets,” the Centro quickly became the “structural base for muralists in Sacramento (applications for funding, locating walls, signing contracts, and other logistical, not to mention spiritual support.”³⁰³ The primary site for RCAF poster production, the Centro also offered “classes for small children, high school students and senior citizens.”³⁰⁴ By the mid-1970s, it “included fine arts exhibitions, open to anyone.”³⁰⁵ Moving to various locations in Sacramento, the Centro responded to the isolation Montoya, Villa, and their emerging student-base experienced in the art department at Sacramento State University (CSUS).³⁰⁶ On campus, Montoya recalled that he and Villa found themselves “in a situation where the university was not

ready to have us.”³⁰⁷ They took advantage of their unwanted presence as their “academic positions gave them the creative freedom to initiate programmatic exchanges between the university and the barrio.”³⁰⁸ The two professors also relied on the networking skills they honed in the Bay Area’s Chicano/a art circles, and turned to their growing community for support. Montoya recalled, “We all came to the consensus that we were really not that well received at the university. But we had entered into activism ... so we knew the community very well and we talked to some community leaders of various referral programs and [asked] their help in providing space, and in some cases, a little bit of money.”³⁰⁹

Returning to Favela’s introduction to Villa, his memories on meeting Montoya are equally impressive in their skillful rhetoric. When he and Villa went for a routine coffee break at Sacramento State’s Roundhouse, they were immersed in a conversation “about art shows, Chicano art; and ... things that haven’t been done yet.” Favela glimpsed over “Esteban’s shoulder and down the walk, here comes José. I said, ‘Oh wow,’ you know? And I was going to go out there to meet him, but ... he never broke cadence.”³¹⁰ As Montoya joined the men in the coffeehouse, Favela reminisced:

I’m like this, you know saying, “Wow, this is trippy. This is the guy I wanted to meet.” And Esteban looked around and says, “Oh Favela, have you met my compadre, José? This is my compadre, José.” And I said, “Oh wow, I have wanted to meet you, man.” I told him, “I heard your thing in the quad and you read that poetry. Where are you from?” He says, “I’m from Fowler.” I said, “Oh.” And Esteban’s from Tulare. And I said, “Well you know what? I’m from Dinuba.” And so that was the trilogy right there.³¹¹

Favela’s recollections highlight the immediate connection Villa and Montoya made with the Chicano/a students who were either enrolled in the university art department or involved in arts productions on campus. Along with Favela, Villa and Montoya recruited Rudy Cuellar, Juan Cervantes, Armando Cid, Irma Barbosa, and Juanishi Orosco. They also brought in an “English major working with concrete poetry (Louie ‘The Foot’

Gonzalez) and a graphic designer (Max Garcia,)" to form an arts collective.³¹² The artists in the collective officially numbered twelve by the mid 1970s, including Lorraine Garcia Nakata and Stan Padilla.

Many RCAF artists tell similar stories about the origin of their collective's name. Clearly, it is connected to the meaning of MALA-F, but Villa and Montoya did not exclusively coin the group's name. Instead, a series of collective deliberations took place, as Villa recalled:

[We] were with a group of teachers and students and at some of our get-togethers on campus, we started talking about—it was just kind of like, "Hey, let's start an art collective in Sacramento." "Okay." And, "What are we going to call it?" "Okay, maybe the Hispanic Art Core, or the Mexican Art Core." And somebody said, "the Rebel Chicano Art Front," because of the times, you know, 'rebel' and 'Chicano.'³¹³

Initially called the Rebel Chicano Art Front, the RCAF represented more than Chicano/a artists by the early 1970s. Many of the non-artist members worked in the community, in education—both college and secondary—and local government. Rosemary Rasul and Jenny Baca maintained administrative positions with the RCAF, supplying necessary funding for various community programs; Senon Valadez and Dr. Sam Rios were influential in the initiation and implementation of the Breakfast for Niños Program. Jenny Baca also served as the breakfast program's cook and Gina Montoya and Melinda Santana (Rasul) served as coordinators. Juanita (Polendo) Ontiveros contributed to RCAF's labor activism and continues to work on behalf of the UFW.³¹⁴

Another integral member of the RCAF's auxiliary network was Joe Serna. Serna was a teacher for the Mexican American Education Project during its five year term.³¹⁵ Continuing to teach Ethnic Studies and government courses at CSUS beyond the MAEP, Serna went onto serve as a city councilman for 18 years and Sacramento's mayor in 1992, until his death in 1999.³¹⁶ Born into a farmworking family in Stockton, California, Serna picked produce as a child and young man. The UFW and César

Chávez were very important to Serna; his relationship with the RCAF developed out of a shared personal labor history and political necessity. Juan Carrillo recalled,

Joe became part of the [RCAF] circle, broadening, widening the circle because of his work in the political process; just straight out organizing in that world of elected politics. The rest of us were not of that world. Joe was our connection to that world and Joe used us and we gave him what he needed. If he needed bodies to hang things on doorknobs, we were there; if he needed silk-screen posters, we were there. And certainly we were there because Joe's interest in the farmworker movement and the RCAF's interest in that coincided. So Joe was very much a part of the circle. He was not an artist. In fact—there was a time he wanted to make some posters and Joe said, “No, I just want one color.” And he became ‘One-Color Joe’ to us. We used to give him a bad time with his nickname, ‘One-Color Joe.’ Artists, you know, put all this work into their creations and Joe just wanted it to say, “Boycott Grapes!”³¹⁷

Serna's commitment to the UFW and to the RCAF's working class sensibility was also matched by the work of his spouse Isabel Hernandez-Serna. Hernandez-Serna began teaching for Ethnic Studies at CSUS in 1970 and also taught teacher education and Spanish courses. She became Assistant Vice President of the college's Academic Affairs Department in 1994, focusing on equal opportunity programs and student retention.³¹⁸

With channels well established in the community through the Centro, the university and local government, the RCAF's expanded collective realized a “practical body of knowledge ... both in their concrete administration of the Centro and in the praxis of the group's specific cultural and art activities.”³¹⁹ The RCAF continued “widening the circle,” by reaching out to Chicano/a art groups across the state. Prior to his career with the CAC, for example, Juan Carrillo represented the RCAF on the Concilio de Arte Popular. This entity emerged in “the late ‘60s and early ‘70s—when Chicano groups began to appear, centros began to also appear up and down this state, and we met as artists.”³²⁰ Wishing that he could “recreate ... the excitement, the hope, the energy of all these people who would gather—the debates, the arguments, the fist fights on occasion, even the love affairs,” Carrillo described the network of

communication and collaboration that the arts concilio created for a numerous Chicano/a organizations: “Artist groups in different cities would host a gathering and artists would come from various parts of the state and there would be great meetings. ... people were meeting each other and a world was formulating. It was a coming together of people ... and creating a sense of people-hood.”³²¹ The gatherings led the artists to formalize a statewide organization, El Concilio de Arte Popular. “The primary objectives of this organization,” a planning document announces, “would be to solidify Chicano/Latino artists into one body that can more effectively deal with the urgent questions of economy, health, culture, sexism, racism, legal, and all other needs basic to the artist as a worker.”³²² One such gathering of “Chicano/Latino artists” took place on February 8, 1975 in Sacramento at the Washington Neighborhood Center on 16th and D Streets.³²³

As a representative of the RCAF’s Centro, Carrillo served on the board of the Concilio de Arte Popular with Gloria Amalia (Flores) Pérez, who “worked at the California Arts Council, which was established in 1976. She came in right at the beginning, pretty much hired by Luis Valdez who was on the Council; he was appointed by Governor Jerry Brown.”³²⁴ Carrillo’s reflections on the advent of a statewide organization, “following years of artists groups forming and meeting,” emphasizes the web, and not trajectory, of Chicano/a history. According to Carrillo, El Concilio de Arte Popular pre-dated, and, actually, catalyzed the “sense of people-hood” amongst regionally distinct and unique Chicano/a arts collectives. His observation of the “world” that “was formulating”—a Chicano/a social network—echoes Juanishi Orosco’s notion of a relational RCAF history, and not an isolated moment or phenomenon in Chicano history.³²⁵ Through the council of popular arts, the RCAF was a part of a large social network—a web—of Chicano/a arts collectives and their respective communities.

Along with the RCAF’s participation in a statewide arts consortium, they also helped pave the way for the creation for a local Chicano/a headquarters and arts space.

In February 1972, the RCAF supported Phillip “Pike” Santos and Teresa “Tere” Romo who, along with Chicano/a university students and residents of the Alkali Flat, opened La Raza Bookstore on 1228 F Street.³²⁶ La Raza Bookstore’s first location had previously “housed the UFW headquarters in Sacramento in 1967 and ’68.”³²⁷ A home for Chicano/a scholarship and resources, the Bookstore “survived largely through the efforts of the community, in cooperation with the professors of Sacramento State University.”³²⁸ Throughout the 1970s, Teresa Romo, and student volunteers like Pete Hernandez and Francisca Godinez, worked with “the Educational Opportunity Program at Sacra Estate and Sacra Concilio,” shelving all textbooks for the college’s Ethnic Studies classes.³²⁹ Joint ventures established La Raza Bookstore’s foundations and, by 1980, the Galería Posada was added to the organization. Like the Centro de Artistas Chicanos, La Raza Bookstore and the Galería Posada (LRGP) has moved over the years, with two of its locations being of particular importance. These locations amongst other meaningful sites of RCAF history will be explored in Chapter Six.

As the RCAF advanced their serious social activism and community agendas, humorous moments abound in their reflections of the era. Many people began to mistakenly refer to the collective as an “air force” because their acronym was identical with that of the Royal Canadian Air Force. RCAF artists promoted the humorous connection and the collective’s notoriety increased as reporters highlighted the sardonic origins of their militaristic image. Interviewing Luis Valdez in 1992, *Sacramento Bee* Art Correspondent, Victoria Dalkey, relayed how Valdez “remembers [the RCAF] ‘dressed up as World War II pilots, flying into San Juan Bautista one night in ’71 in a noisy squadron of Volkswagen buses and parking in an empty lot, one by one, as José Montoya, wearing goggles and one of those dog-eared pilot’s caps, flagged them in.”³³⁰

Contemplating Valdez’s rumination, Victoria Dalkey added that “behind the lighthearted, long-running joke” over the RCAF’s name and demeanor “was a serious

purpose: to discover, reclaim and nourish their Chicano cultural roots.”³³¹ Reclaiming “cultural roots” was a call to arms of sorts for the RCAF, and as they fought for the representation of Chicano/a culture and history, they also were deeply concerned with labor rights, and the UFW. César Chávez believed that Chicano/a artists were an invaluable resource for union members, especially the RCAF. In 1989, a letter written by Chávez was included in an announcement for an RCAF poster exhibit. He wrote, “The special relationship the United Farm Workers and Royal Chicano Air Force has had over the years is evidence of the significance art plays in the people’s struggle. Over our 26 years of struggle RCAF has inspired and helped through its art countless of Raza in the fields to continue La Huelga.”³³² During the height of the UFW movement, the RCAF primarily “inspired” union members with their silkscreen poster-making. Retired California State Assemblyman, Phil Isenberg, explained that the RCAF “became in some sense the graphic arts arm of the union in the Sacramento Valley. They would do the arts. They would do the posters.”³³³

Well documented by Chicano/a scholars, Chicano/a silkscreen posters are regarded for their aesthetic achievement and creation of classic Chicano/a iconography.³³⁴ Yet Chicano/a posters were originally conceived as a way in which to reach the people; the posters exemplified the practice of Chicano Movement philosophies.³³⁵ In the 2001 exhibition catalog for “Just Another Poster? Chicano Graphic Arts in California,” Montoya explained, “The poster! La palabra! The word! That most decisive conveyor of the information crucial in inviting a community to attend an important presentation regarding the historical truths of an earlier epoch.”³³⁶ 1960s and ‘70s Chicano/a artists created a distinct genre of message-based art that expressed “the goals of and issues central to the struggle, creating powerful graphic messages that raised awareness and aroused conscience.”³³⁷ Specifically, the RCAF’s posters informed Sacramento’s Chicano/a communities on local legislation affecting their

neighborhoods, UFW issues, cultural events and local resources. Such art continues to be of critical importance today.

One particular poster vividly captures the politics and values around which the RCAF forged their group identity. "In Search of Mr. Con Safos," created by Ricardo Favela and printed by Louie 'the foot' Gonzalez in 1989, was used as the feature image for Favela's poster exhibition in October 1989 at the Lankford & Cook Gallery in Rancho Cordova, California.³³⁸ [Fig. 2] As was typical of RCAF art shows, all donations and money from poster sales went to the Barrio Arts Program and "the Art Student Supply and Materials Fund," indicated by a press release from 1989. The exhibit also traveled to the Millicent Rogers Museum in Taos, New Mexico in January 1992.³³⁹ The image was a re-creation of Favela's "Huelga/Strike" poster "produced in 1976 in support of the UFW's International Boycott of Safeway supermarkets and grape products."³⁴⁰ Scholar Pedro Arroyo writes that "the poster shows several RCAF members (left to right Villa, Montoya, Favela and Pete Hernandez) dressed as pilots, riding a jeep as if they have just landed on a runway in front of Safeway, where they are about to organize a boycott of the supermarket in support of Cesar Chavez's farm worker's union."³⁴¹ The image is famous in the RCAF and continues to be used for various events, including the group's 2007 show, "The R.C.A.F. Goes to College." This exhibit featured a collection of RCAF posters and contemporary art in the University Library Gallery at Sacramento State between February and March 2007. [Fig. 3]

Perhaps the poster's mixture of humor, ethnicity and activism is why "In Search of Mr. Con Safos" has become a major group icon. A 1989 tribute to the RCAF by Luis Valdez elucidates the poster's powerful subtext:

Estos vatos se dejaron caer y volvaron... Lose translation: these were heavy dudes and they flew. Exact translation—*Que viva el RCAF!*—for The Royal Chicano Air Force ... served in meritorious homefront action during the Grape Strike, the Vietnam Conflict and the Grenada Invasion,

to the everlasting glory of all fellow Americans with a social conscience and a sense of humor. They're still flying.³⁴²

Valdez's association of California's "Grape Strike" with "the Vietnam Conflict and the Grenada Invasion" reveals that the RCAF's militant façade functioned differently in regards to audiences and circumstances. Often, the RCAF worked with the UFW on labor rights campaigns in Northern California, which could be as dangerous as fighting on any battlefield. Hector Gonzalez, a UFW photographer and RCAF member, explained, "César Chávez and the RCAF were brothers. Every time he came to town he would always call on them for security."³⁴³ Doing Chávez's security had significant effects on the RCAF because it exposed members to a sobering reality. Juan Carrillo recalled working security for Chávez at a local speaking engagement:

[Chávez] was speaking and someone was spotted with a rifle. There's certainly enough stories of people dying in this country on freedom marches of one kind or another ... so there's a sense of your mortality when you're involved in politics in this country—unpopular politics. But you're moved by the spirit of knowing that that's the only way change comes: if you put it on the line.³⁴⁴

The connections Valdez makes between the UFW labor strikes and the Vietnam War era complement Carrillo's memories. In the midst of civil unrest, social protest and death threats, the RCAF's militant persona certainly relieved racial and social tensions, offering solidarity through humor, as well as a sense of security in their presence. But the group's militant personae also defended their unpopular politics as the RCAF supported the UFW's commitment to obtaining civil liberties for all American farmworkers, legal or illegal.³⁴⁵

Taking the RCAF's comical air force image one step further, Alicia Gaspar de Alba rethinks this "artistic recycling of material culture with a vernacular Chicanesque (Chicano + baroque) flair," as a form of Rasquachismo.³⁴⁶ In her brilliant textual analysis of the 1990s CARA Exhibition, Gaspar de Alba defines rasquache as "a theory and praxis of popular pleasure as a uniquely working-class strategy of resistance to

dominant aesthetic codes in the art world, otherwise known as the 'Quality' issue."³⁴⁷

Deconstructing how Chicano/a rasquache functions, Gaspar de Alba first critiques western notions of pleasure and popular culture, noting that the "Frankfurt School and the postmodernists, even critics of postmodernism such as Roland Barthes and Frederic Jameson see popular culture as a weapon of hegemony that manipulates the audience through pleasure. The masses, the argument seems to run, are controlled by the hegemonic messages couched in the pleasures of the text."³⁴⁸ From this standpoint, popular culture reflects a low level of "Quality" and all potentials for its subversive meaning are lost because it interpellates the masses into proper subjects of the dominant culture.³⁴⁹

But with Rasquachismo, Gaspar de Alba argues a "subversive power of popular pleasure," which unlike hegemonic pleasures that "exert social control by producing meanings and practices in the interest of power," undermine "the meanings and values of hegemony and thereby evade being controlled."³⁵⁰ Using media scholar John Fiske's *Understanding Popular Culture* (1989), Gaspar de Alba further explains,

"High" culture, for example, is said to uplift, edify, and inspire, while "low" culture merely entertains, amuses, or distracts. The former occupies the spiritual, mental domain and is considered "good for the soul"; the latter focuses on the excesses of the body—eating, drinking, vocalizing, being physically stimulated rather than mentally challenged or spiritually renewed. Fiske finds popular pleasures inherently subversive because they "arise from the social allegiances formed by the subordinated people[;] they are bottom-up and thus must exist in some relationship of opposition to power (social, moral, textual, aesthetic, and so on) that attempts to discipline and control them."³⁵¹

Referencing the RCAF's well known motto, "locura cura," or "craziness cures,"

Montoya's recollections on the CCA (presented at the beginning of the chapter) are powerfully subversive when re-read as rasquache: "Drinking and carousing bereft of rhyme or reason. La Locura impressed our professors. They were studying us as models of existentialism. We didn't even know what the hell the word meant." In poetry,

comparative literary scholar Raúl Homero Villa claims that “Montoya is saying little, but implying much”;³⁵² I believe Homero Villa’s insight also applies to Montoya’s memories of the university, and specifically, to the art school from which he graduated. Montoya’s sarcastic retort of not knowing “what the hell the word meant” maintains his working class identity as he obfuscates “cultural meaning to an outsider while flagging those meanings for a knowing insider.”³⁵³ The RCAF’s “bottom-up” socializations around “local customs, folk traditions, vernacular forms, and everyday life” is how this royally Chicano/a air force created “a unique aesthetic and social practice” that opposed “the ideology of individualism at the core of ‘art for art’s sake’” and melded a “syncretic identity” that engaged “personal/political artistic discourses.”³⁵⁴

One such “artistic discourse” in which this “adobe airplane flying” collective fused art and social context involved their art shows.³⁵⁵ Along with Centro art exhibits in which they included works by untrained artists and children, the RCAF organized exhibitions that broke “art world” rules. Their defiance of curatorial traditions was not well received by the university art department. Montoya recalled,

Sac State went crazy when we had our first RCAF exhibit; it was at the college and they freaked out; they thought it was going to be me, [Eduardo] Carrillo and Esteban. But we said, “No, it’s the whole RCAF.” Remember they were our students. But the Sac State Art Department said, “You can’t show an exhibit with students. You have to keep that teacher-student relationship.”—Whatever that meant. So, we finally got to have a show of the whole collective and young people. But the signature was the RCAF.³⁵⁶

Despite faculty objections, Montoya and Villa displayed “professional” works with those of their students. Moreover, as Montoya states, the show signage announced the RCAF and not the individual artists on display. Such curatorial decisions undermined the hierarchy implicit in western standards of “Quality.”

They were not alone, however, in their populist values and collectivist practices.³⁵⁷ Other art professors at CSUS also challenged art world rules and avante

garde ideology. Juanishi Orosco recalled attending his Professor Carlos Villa's exhibit in the student gallery, a space reserved for student art shows. It was during this exhibit that Orosco first met Villa, Montoya and Favela—of whom he had heard, but not met after transferring to Sacramento State from American River College in 1971.³⁵⁸ With great enthusiasm, Orosco recounted the introduction:

I walk in to check his show out and here comes José and Esteban and Favela. [They] come walking in and they were like, "Hey, what's up?" And I was kind of like frozen, you know. And nobody said a word. They walked up; they stood right next to me; we're all looking at the work. And José said, "Okay, let's go." I'm like, "Okay." That was it. That's how I joined the group—just by osmosis. They walked in and I walked out with them. They knew and I knew. ... And from that moment on, I was part of the group. And we started creating the group. We started expanding at that point and then we were heavily involved in the UFW, MEChA, and student movements on campus. So right off the bat, we went to work, creating art for the movement. You know, going to rallies and marches and UFW stuff, down to Delano. It was just a revolution. I mean, it was on. And it was very much alive and that was my introduction to the revolution. I was looking for it. It found me and I found it. And they kind of knew that I was doing murals. And Villa was doing murals and so I just kind of latched onto Villa; we were like two magnets together. So we started doing murals in the community.³⁵⁹

Expanding on the social concept of the Chicano/a poster, Villa and Orosco, as well as several other RCAF artists like Armando Cid, created message-based murals throughout Sacramento's Chicano/a barrios. From La Raza Bookstore's storefront mural, "Por la Raza United Flight," designed by Armando Cid in 1973, to the interior and exterior murals that Juanishi Orosco designed in 1974 for the Sacramento Concilio Inc., many early works were destroyed when property ownership and neighborhood demographics changed.³⁶⁰ Such murals impacted local Chicano/a identity, visually articulating an emerging cultural consciousness and history in Sacramento. Although these murals exist only in slides and photographs, some RCAF murals remain in Sacramento's Chicano/a districts; they are tucked away in the corners of Chicano/a neighborhoods and in need of serious repair; or they have been restored and returned to their original vibrancy, defining Chicano/a space into the twenty-first century. [Fig. 4]

In the Alkali Flat's Washington neighborhood, one of two original murals by Armando Cid remains.³⁶¹ Infusing indigenous symbols with a sociopolitical agenda, the murals were tile mosaics, which Cid and his assistants Juan Ramirez and Elias "Junior" Baca named "Ollin." The term means "change" in Nahuatl and was intended to honor the Aztec sun deity "Ollin Tonatiuh" or "Movement of the Sun."³⁶² The first "Ollin" was completed between 1973 and '74 on the façade of the Washington Square apartments, located at the corners of 10th and E streets. On the back of this housing complex, Cid and his crew created the other "Ollin" between 1976 and '77.³⁶³ "Over the past 33 years, the murals became an important part of the neighborhood's identity, culture and history."³⁶⁴ The name and design of both murals not only reflected Cid's and the RCAF's Chicano/a consciousness, but they were also testaments—what Homero Villa calls a "graphic *testimonio*"—to the residents, students and community activists who preserved the integrity of the Washington neighborhood during a period of urban redevelopment.³⁶⁵

In 2008, the mural facing the park was removed because it had "experienced extensive damage."³⁶⁶ The Washington Square Apartments underwent a facelift and the renovations destroyed the "Ollin" mural on the posterior façade of the apartment complex. Cid was "commissioned again to repair the East Mural and re-design the West mural with the original concept in mind."³⁶⁷ Upon his death on July 13, 2009, Cid "had modified the original drawings and was preparing for the reinstallation of the mural."³⁶⁸ Jose S. Talamantez, Chief of Programs at the California Arts Council and Cid's spouse, added that "I have Armando's new drawings for the piece and I am working with Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Council to get the new mural installed. Regarding the mural facing 10th Street, it is in need of repair and will be addressed after we finish the first mural."³⁶⁹ [Fig. 5]

Both of Cid's original "Ollin" murals were constructed around the time that a small common area at 10th and D Streets was "officially designated Zapata Park." The park,

along with the Washington Square Apartments, was “part of a package of hard-won concessions—such as a new elementary school with increased community involvement and support for cultural activities—negotiated by the Alkali Redevelopment Committee, an advocacy group for Chicano public-housing projects working through the Centro de Artistas Chicanos.”³⁷⁰ Residents like Armando Cid and Dr. Sam Rios joined local community activists like Tim Quintero on the Alkali Flat’s Project Area Committee (PAC).³⁷¹ The PAC campaigned against encroaching city and private development in the area during the implementation of the 1973—1990 Alkali Flat Redevelopment Plan.³⁷² Alongside of this local political organization, the Cultural Affairs Committee (CAC) emerged via the RCAF’s Centro, implementing cultural events that focused on access to public space in Chicano/a neighborhoods. The CAC held the first Fiesta de Maiz in 1976 at Zapata Park that included a coming of age ceremony for children from the “Zapata Park Housing Project.”³⁷³ As Raúl Homero Villa notes that Cid’s murals “put the RCAF artistic signature on the park,” both “Ollins” testified to the multiple ways in which the RCAF implemented their social aesthetic, creating Chicano/a space through multiple organizations, councils and committees.³⁷⁴

Better known than the “Ollin” murals, the RCAF’s 1977 Southside Park Mural is recognized as an archetypal “People’s Park” amongst Chicano/a scholars.³⁷⁵ Located at 7th and T Streets, the mural covers the entire expanse of an outdoor stage, including side walls and steps.³⁷⁶ Six of the twelve RCAF artists painted separate stage panels in their specific styles, reflecting the RCAF’s respect for aesthetic diversity within their collective.³⁷⁷ Because of the different depictions of Chicano/a history and culture, the mural’s narrative form avoids linearity or chronological ordering of Chicano/a history. Instead, multiple perspectives of the pre-Colombian, Spanish and American ancestries that comprise Chicano/a identity are presented. Esteban Villa’s panel exemplifies the mural’s celebration of cultural mixture, blending abstract concepts and pop art with

Chicano/a iconography. In the center panel, Villa painted a priest-like figure with a newborn in its arms. Alan W. Barnett suggests that the figure is a woman and reminiscent of the figure he painted at San Diego's Chicano Park in 1975: "Villa painted another *mujer cosmica* with a child in its arms and the three-faced *mestizaje* at the bottom."³⁷⁸ Juan Cervantes's panel frames the far right side of the mural with another perspective of *mestizaje*: a UFW farm laborer who is silhouetted by Quetzacóatl. Barnett reads Cervantes's image as a literal depiction of the deity's return, but I read it as symbolic recognition of the "Aztec"—or warrior spirit within the Chicano/a worker and organizer. With other panels created by José Montoya, Juanishi Orosco and Stan Padilla, the final walls were designed by Lorraine Garcia Nakata who flanked the "outer wings" of the stage with two large female figures.³⁷⁹ [Fig. 6 & 7]

A hub for "Chicano holiday celebrations (Cinco de Mayo, 16 de Septiembre,) neo-indigenous activities, a series of 'Barrio Olympics,' car shows and a variety of other formal and informal community cultural events," Southside Park Mural validated the park as a meaningful Chicano/a place.³⁸⁰ Community support for the mural was matched by the city council's approval and financial endorsement; not only did the City pay for the paint, but it also "prepared the surface of the structure for the mural" and made "a number of other plumbing and electrical improvements."³⁸¹ Who paid for what is an important detail of the RCAF's history in Sacramento, as well as the group's distinct place in Chicano/a history. [Fig. 8] From a general standpoint on Chicano/a history, for example, Homero Villa accurately contextualizes the RCAF's park mural within the "grassroots spatial actions in the late 1960s and 1970s."³⁸² But his description proves limiting when he claims that Southside Park Mural is one in "a similar chain of events associated with the founding of Chicano Park in Barrio Logan, as well as other urban Chicano parks during the same period."³⁸³

Although the RCAF's "spatial appropriation" and "graphic embellishment" of the stage "reinvigorated political-cultural public use of the park," neither they nor residents of the Southside neighborhood "mobilized" against city and local authorities for access to the park; there were no public protests or disputes to reclaim and then defend the land against various city intrusions—like those in Logan Heights in 1970.³⁸⁴ As Homero Villa himself acknowledges, the park had fallen into disrepair due to redevelopment taking place on the other side of the city—the opening of the Downtown Plaza in 1971 and the ongoing reconstruction of K Street and the West End in the late twentieth century.³⁸⁵ Ironically, Esteban Villa also recalled that the only opposition they faced was from another "disenfranchised group"—the homeless community who turned to Southside Park for refuge: "This park was a dump. Nothing but winos and alcoholics and prostitutes were in this park. And they didn't want us here at all. They said, "What do you people want? Go back to the university. This is our park and you're going to take it away from us." [We said] "No, we want to make it better."³⁸⁶

Southside Park Mural was financed by local officials and government entities because it bettered the neighborhood at a comparatively lesser cost than redevelopment or other investments—which Villa explained in more idealistic terms: "Not only are we doing a pretty painting, aesthetically pleasing for everyone to enjoy, but, you know what? It has ramifications for beautifying the whole city."³⁸⁷ By the time the RCAF began their epic mural at Southside Park, they had established ties with and in the local government; they also possessed members that were officials and liaisons for their successful art programs and services in Sacramento's Chicano/a communities. I agree with the thematic web that Homero Villa threads between Chicano/a "social actions" throughout California; Southside Park should be recognized as one of many "Chicano Parks." But it should also be recognized as its own Chicano/a Park, embodying a unique place in the many spaces that the RCAF created for Chicano/a history in Sacramento.

Unlike Southside Park Mural and the remaining “Ollin” mural in the Washington neighborhood, none of the 1970s RCAF murals at Sacramento State were preserved. To date, the campus has one student mural from the 1970s era—“ Tlaloc” (1972) painted by Enrique (Henry) Ortiz on the interior of an administrative building—and “La Cultura,” which was painted in 1970 but destroyed in ’76.³⁸⁸ It was recreated in 1978 and renovated in ’99. With the exception of these two murals, the college has no other artifacts—no “graphic testimonios” of the Chicano Movement or the larger civil rights era. In fact, all student murals’ disappeared by 1982, as local writer Robert Sommer mused, “Gone but fondly remembered are the splendid murals that festooned buildings on the CSUS campus in the early ’70s until they were painted over in 1974 as part of a preventative maintenance program because they might someday fade.”³⁸⁹ [Fig. 9]

Sommer’s version of the events avoids controversy, nostalgically glossing over the politics of public space and access to that space. In reality, the campus whitewashing of Chicano/a student murals was more than the mistake of an overzealous grounds crew. Alan W. Barnett remarks that “when Esteban Villa and José Montoya returned to their teaching at Sacramento State University after summer vacation in 1976 [they] found that seventy student murals on campus had been white washed.”³⁹⁰ An executive order had been passed by the California State University Chancellor Glenn Dumke, who mandated all murals be removed due to “an ‘offensive’ mural done by Black students at Long Beach State. Executive Order 113 required the removing of all murals on all state campuses and established a moratorium on wall art.”³⁹¹ In addition to the Executive Order, Sacramento State’s president James Bond also enacted a policy which required the pre-approval of all public art projects by the college president and then by a committee that the president appointed.³⁹²

These policies directly targeted the student and Chicano/a murals that the RCAF created at Sacramento State. In 1974, for example, “Pandora’s Box” was removed as it

was being painted by Esteban Villa and his students on an exterior wall of the campus pub.³⁹³ Chicano/a murals, with their bold colors, direct messages and ethnonational iconography, were supported—even paid for—in one part of the city, but faced scrutiny, official disapproval and removal in the public spaces of the university. The drastically different reception that RCAF murals received in local Chicano/a neighborhoods and at the university raises questions about the nature of exclusion in US history, art and culture. These questions concern what is nationally valued as history; what is preserved as a historical artifact; what is treated as a valuable work of “American” art.

As will be further explored in Chapter Four, the destruction of murals like “Pandora’s Box” suggests that the politics of ethnic identity and public space literally collided on campus during the 1970s. Moreover, the painting, destruction and repainting of “La Cultura” mural also alludes to a more poignant struggle over access to public space at the university than most of the available records of the event convey. For the RCAF, the official removal of their murals and those of their students at Sacramento State during the ‘70s led them to respond in innovative ways—with what Rafael Pérez-Torres calls “strategic mestizaje.”³⁹⁴ By the 1980s, the RCAF was winning metropolitan art commissions and began creating murals in official spaces of the capital city; yet their murals remained completely Chicano/a. The RCAF encoded Chicano/a iconography and motifs into the imagery of their public murals, regardless of their location. By the 1990s, the hidden images and subtexts of their Chicano/a murals were common knowledge, even mentioned in the city newspaper from time to time. While the RCAF relied on strategic mestizaje to “articulate subjectivity outside dominant paradigms,” they also defined their Chicano/a subjectivity from *inside* the official spaces of the capital city, influencing Sacramento’s local history and consciousness in both obvious and undetectable ways.

Chapter Three: The RCAF's Chicana History

“So try and imagine then if there was not ethnic or Chicano art. Same thing if there was no women’s art, no Women’s Studies. Now that would be a very—how would you describe that? How would you write that up as to what’s missing? You know, if women were not given the opportunity to contribute in their way?” —Esteban Villa, January 07, 2004

***“José told me I would have to become a general of women.”
—Irma Barbosa in María Ochoa’s Creative Collectives, 2003³⁹⁵***

The absence of “la mujer nueva” in Christopher Martínez’s description of the Mexican American Liberation Art Front (MALA-F) is significant to the history of the RCAF in many ways. To begin with, the MALA-F is considered the forerunner to the RCAF. Art historian Shifra M. Goldman writes that “the RCAF grew out of the Mexican American Liberation Art Front (MALA-F).” She adds that while the MALA-F lasted for only one year, “during that year [they] held widespread discussions among Chicano artists seeking definitions and a philosophy of Chicano art.”³⁹⁶ The RCAF ideologically aligned with the MALA-F and its exaltation of a particular ethnonational identity, pre-Colombian spirituality, and working-class politics, evidenced by the group’s partnership with the UFW. Upon adopting the MALA-F’s ideological platforms, the RCAF also enacted its predecessor’s rejection of “western European aesthetics,” making art for and with the Chicano/a community in order to address their political, educational and social needs.³⁹⁷

Yet, as Christopher Martínez also acknowledges, the MALA-F primarily envisioned its rejection of western standards of art through “el hombre nuevo,” or the “Chicano who had emerged from the decolonization process.”³⁹⁸ Locating the origins of the RCAF’s collective arts values in the male-centered beliefs of an earlier organization historicizes the RCAF’s sexism. But Martínez is not the only scholar to assert that the RCAF formed under the doctrine of the MALA-F; nor is he the only one to treat the RCAF as a male-only organization.³⁹⁹ He borrows this description of the MALA-F’s artistic philosophies from Tomás Ybarra-Frausto’s 1991 essay, “The Chicano Movement / Movement of Chicano Art.” In doing so, Martínez contextualizes his historical

connection between the two arts collectives and validates the absence of Chicanas throughout his entire analysis of the RCAF. Nevertheless, he remains mindful of the omission and further explains it in an endnote:

There were no women artists involved in the MALA-F. But during the Chicano/a Movement, the resistance of Chicanas to the cultural oppression of the majority was matched by their resistance to the intracultural roles through which males dominated many aspects of family life and community. Chicana artists focused on their cultural identity using the female lenses of narrative, domestic space, social critique, and ceremony, which filtered these experiences, contradictory roles, and community structures.⁴⁰⁰

I wonder if Martínez would have arrived at the same conclusion that “there were no women in the MALA-F” if he had considered the Bay Area’s Chicano/a art scene as a social network—replete with partnerships, friendships and other connections between artists like René Yañez, Malaquias Montoya, Esteban Villa, Patricia Rodriguez and Irene Pérez. Of course in terms of its official members, no Chicanas were counted as founding fathers of the MALA-F. But Chicanas formed many collectives that publicly worked on murals and non-domestic artwork. Moreover, “female lenses of narrative, domestic space, social critique, and ceremony” were central to numerous RCAF-related arts programs and annual events. Clearly Martínez’s concern over excluding Chicana artists from his analysis of the RCAF is informed by late twentieth-century Chicano/a consciousness, and the gains of 1970s to ‘90s gender equality movements. In his endnote, he attempts to convey a particular and, somewhat separate, space for Chicana visual arts; but he fails to see the intermixture of cultural, social and ceremonial themes in the Chicano/a art practices of the RCAF. In this chapter, I will explore several of these Chicana themes that remain highly valued in the RCAF.

Martínez’s emphasis on the MALA-F’s visual “projections of *el hombre nuevo*” typifies historical interpretations of the RCAF’s gender relationships. Despite the fact that the RCAF did not ideologically privilege artists over its other members, academic narratives about the Chicano Movement have undermined the importance of task

equality in this particular group.⁴⁰¹ By “task equality,” I mean to suggest a shared, ideological appreciation of all types of work that the group performed to uplift Sacramento’s Chicano/a community, and to sustain the organization. Thus, when Martínez writes that RCAF carried out the “important *task* of redefining and transmitting *through artistic expression* the ideology of a community striving for self-determination and community empowerment,” it is Martínez, and not the RCAF, who favors “artistic expression” over the group’s other services, programs and efforts.⁴⁰²

I believe that scholars like Martínez adhere to notions of Chicana invisibility in the RCAF because they have translated the patriarchal paradigms of the Chicano Movement into their historical methodologies. The “patriarchal paradigms of the Chicano Movement” are well-known and explored by many scholars. Historian María Ochoa, for example, observes that the Chicano Movement was problematic because its civil rights platforms were constructed on a “traditional hierarchical family structure, men were allocated a central space from which to operate and women were relegated to a subordinated position.”⁴⁰³ Scholar Alicia Gaspar de Alba is more to the point, adding bluntly “el Movimiento was deeply sexist.”⁴⁰⁴ Historical analyses of the Chicano Movement often contend that sexism and restrictive gender norms alienated Chicanas from leadership and public positions; many historical frameworks for the Chicano Movement designate Chicanos like César Chávez, Rudolfo “Corky” Gonzales and Reies López-Tijerina as the major leaders—or founding fathers—of el Movimiento.⁴⁰⁵

Scholarly studies of the RCAF’s history, then, follow suit; they perpetuate gender exclusions in contemporary understandings and popular perceptions of this Chicano/a arts collective. RCAF artists find the absence of Chicanas in scholarship about their group uncomfortable because the exclusion denies RCAF values, as well as the gains of the broader civil rights era. In the epigraph that begins this chapter, Esteban Villa reveals the fundamental problem with eliding Chicana participation in the RCAF and in the

Chicano Movement: “So try and imagine then if there was not ethnic or Chicano/a art. Same thing if there was no women’s art, no Women’s Studies. ... how would you describe that? How would you write that up as to what’s missing? ... if women were not given the opportunity to contribute in their way?”⁴⁰⁶ Villa’s recollections of his life as an RCAF artist seem to counter contemporary claims of chauvinism. In light of existing equal opportunity programs, resources and gender awareness, his reflections also signal changes in late twentieth-century Chicano/a consciousness.

Ironically, if gender was applied as a complex category of analysis for uncovering Chicana agency in the RCAF, their collective history would reveal an enduring legacy of women’s activism and participation. In what follows, I explore the group’s record—from meeting minutes, grant applications and news articles, to photographs, letters, artwork and oral histories—in order to better understand gender roles in the RCAF. With the primary sources and voices in mind, I examine how scholarly interpretations (mine included) have erected a particular identity for the RCAF. I will also consider how the patriarchal ethnonationalism of the Chicano Movement played out in an arts collective that, at least in its philosophy, valued labor equally and had many Chicana members. Like all dominant ideologies, the Chicano Movement’s guiding philosophies and sociopolitical agendas were adapted and customized in the everyday routines and business of Chicano/a organizations. The RCAF’s practical implementation of the Movement’s liberationist ideology is no exception.

The Chicano Movement’s civil rights platform—what Ochoa describes as “blossoming egalitarianism”—was overshadowed by layers of intellectual and ideological androcentricism, evidenced in guiding documents like *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*. While the Plan requested that Chicano/a “writers, poets, musicians, and artists produce literature and art that is appealing to our people and relates to our revolutionary culture,” it also argued that Chicano/a “cultural values” were “a powerful weapon to defeat the

gringo dollar value system and encourage the process of love and brotherhood.”⁴⁰⁷

Christopher Martínez writes that El Plan was the Chicano Movement’s “most influential expression,” and scholar Alicia Arrizón points out that its “carnalismo,” or “the unity of brotherhood” affirmed an ethnic and cultural solidarity while dismissing “the idea of sisterhood.”⁴⁰⁸ The consequence of this ideological trap for Chicanas was twofold. In the immediate historical circumstance, Chicanas who fought against racial and class discrimination were “labeled by the patriarchs and their female allies traitors to the Chicano Movement” if they challenged “internal oppression” based on gender.⁴⁰⁹ In the formation of a collective historical consciousness, carnalismo also influenced Chicano/a history over the long-term, producing tropes and frameworks that denied female agency and legacies in the periods that came to define a shared history.⁴¹⁰

Most intellectual investigations of the RCAF adhere to the patriarchal lines that are drawn around Chicano Movement history. Attempting to advance arguments about the ethnic and racial politics of urban space, Chicano/a art, and the social imaginary, scholars like Alan W. Barnett, Christopher Martínez and Raúl Homero Villa imply or assume an enforced culture of sexism in the RCAF. In doing so, they perpetuate inaccuracies about the RCAF. With the exception of mentioning Lorraine Garcia Nakata’s “celebration of womanhood,” for example, Barnett offers no other details about the female figures she created at Southside Park, or any substantial mention of Chicanas in the RCAF. Ironically, he turns to the group’s murals at Chicano Park in San Diego in order to explore the real and symbolic presence of Chicanas within their collective consciousness:

On the other side of the pylon where [Juanishi] Orosco painted the couple rising from a field, Esteban Villa depicted a giant *Mujer Cosmica*, inspired, he says, by the idea that “women hold up half the sky.” Her body is tattooed, he explains, with the names and images important to him—Che, Allende, Tio Ho (Uncle Ho Chi Minh), and his own father, Antonio. ... During the RCAF’s brief stay in San Diego, one of their number, Rosalinda Balaciosos returned from the International Women’s

Conference in Mexico City and inspired her fellow artists Antonia Mendoza and Celia Rodriguez to join her in a doing a mural about women around the world. ... The Chicana artists clearly intended to break through inhibitions of their own people and raise consciousness, but they also provoked protest from the barrio. There was some resentment that the mural was done by a group of nonresident painters who imposed their imagery and could pick up and go.⁴¹¹

Briefly speculating that the “controversy” was caused by the women’s depiction of female nudity, Barnett abruptly ends the discussion of Barrio Logan’s reaction to the RCAF’s Chicana mural.⁴¹² He moves onto critique the “nearly naked *indio* [that] was a frequent motif” in Chicano murals of the period: “One of the recurring characteristics in the murals of Chicanos had been their affirmation of their flesh, their strength and sexuality, but almost exclusively in the works of men.”⁴¹³ Failing to address whether or not local residents also resented the naked Indian murals that Villa and Orosco painted, Barnett does not scrutinize their resentment of the “nonresident painters” as a guise for the conventional gender system outlined in Chicano Movement ideology. In other words, he does not consider if local opposition to the mural had more to do with *who* was painting as opposed to *what* was painted. He also does not comment on the fact that these Chicana muralists were counted as members of the RCAF.⁴¹⁴ [Fig. 1 & 2]

“Celebrations of womanhood” are somewhat present in Barnett’s survey of RCAF murals, if not in his analysis of their collectivist philosophy that espoused community service and activism in Sacramento’s Chicano/a barrios. In his examination of Southside Park Mural, Barnett privileges the artists over other members of the RCAF; he writes that the “RCAF painted the old concrete structure and *then* proceeded to turn it into the site of its Mexican and indio ceremonies each year.”⁴¹⁵ Suggesting that the artists’ were solely responsible for the community events that took place at the park, Barnett elevates their labor by driving home the point that the mural was a crowning achievement of the community mural movement: “Here was an exemplary instance of a mural that continued to be used after the painting was completed. The *work itself* was done by trained artists

and students.”⁴¹⁶ Recognizing artists as the principal workers in recreating Southside Park as a meaningful site for the Chicano/a community, Barnett deems the mural a singular act from which all of Sacramento’s Chicano/a programs, ceremonies and events would later appear.

Unlike Barnett, Christopher Martínez acknowledges that the mural was part of a collective effort that began in the early 1970s, when “the RCAF and Centro de Artistas Chicanos had begun to use the park as a designed site for community-wide activities.”⁴¹⁷ Martínez does not elaborate on what “community-wide activities” took place at the park at the time, but they must have pertained to the various Chicano/a organizations to which the RCAF and the Centro were connected. Directly across the street from Southside Park at 7th and T Streets, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church was an original location for Breakfast for los niños in early 1970s. A food service for low-income families and children, Breakfast for los niños was housed in the Church’s Holy Angels School Building, after moving from its earlier location in the Washington neighborhood at 630 9th Street.⁴¹⁸ The program returned to the Washington neighborhood in the Alkali Flat, specifically 509-511 12th Street in 1978. Dr. Sam Rios, Senon Valadez and Rosemary Rasul were original directors for the Breakfast program during all of its location changes; Rasul continued to manage the service while also serving as the Director of the Washington Community Council.⁴¹⁹ RCAF members who directed the Breakfast for los niños Program while it operated across the street from Southside Park are important figures in the history of the mural. Rosemary Rasul, for example, played a key role in its creation. Recalling his tenure as the director for the Centro during the 1970s, Ricardo Favela elaborated on the mural negotiations that he and Rasul led with Sacramento’s Recreation and Parks Director:

Rosemary and I wound up being the ones that were going to negotiate with ‘Doc’ Solon Wisham, he was a good old Georgia boy. He had these pants that were like ‘cross-hatch’ pants and white buckskin shoes. And

'old Doc' was a real warrior and veteran of the city hall so—but we were able to convince him ... for permission to paint on the Southside Park Memorial backdrop. 'Doc' was the Director of Parks and Recreation. And so we would provide the man power and even the material because we had already amassed a lot of color and mural color paints from other jobs that we'd done. So we were able to provide the paint. So all we needed from them was their permission. I mean, their blessing, and then we'd take care of the rest and that's what we did and we painted Southside Park. It came out really well.⁴²⁰

RCAF members who helped secure access to the park's stage for the mural are central to the collective effort that began in the early 1970s and, ultimately, led to the RCAF's symbolic reclamation of space. That a Chicana was one of two administrators to preside over negotiations for the mural with local authorities testifies to the Chicana presence in the RCAF; it also illuminates the group's Chicana leadership.

Martínez's primary concern, however, is to brand the RCAF and their murals as exemplars of Chicano art, and not representative of Barnett's more generalized history of the US's community mural movement.⁴²¹ He affirms the RCAF's place in a Chicano art tradition by emphasizing its "activist practices," or the "work that the RCAF did within Chicano barrios."⁴²² Yet in his assertion of "RCAF organized community activities," he fails to acknowledge the members who arranged the majority of the RCAF's community events and programs. For the large majority, these members were Chicanas. Along with Rosemary Rasul's participation in the creation of Southside Park Mural, by the mid 1970s, Chicanas contributed to the RCAF on every level. Both Lorraine Garcia-(Nakata) and Irma Barbosa were/are original RCAF artists. Meanwhile, Celia Herrera Rodríguez and Simona Hernandez associated with the group.⁴²³ Gloria Rangel and her sister Irma were singers in the RCAF Band, another important cultural group that performed at annual events like Cinco de Mayo and the Fiesta de Colores.⁴²⁴ Juanita Polendo (Ontiveros) was a labor organizer, UFW contributor, and board member of the Centro de Artistas Chicanos.⁴²⁵ At one time, Jennie Baca also served (with Juanita Polendo) on the board of the Centro. Baca, along with Lupe Portillo, coordinated the Breakfast for los

niños Program throughout the 1970s.⁴²⁶ Tere (Teresa) Romo, Gina Montoya, Melinda Santana (Rasul) and Francisca Godinez worked for various RCAF-related organizations, from La Raza Bookstore and the Centro de Artistas Chicanos, to the Cultural Affairs Committee.⁴²⁷ Martínez's omission of these women's names and positions marginalizes their contributions to the history of the RCAF; it also distorts the particularities of the RCAF's collective values.

While Martínez claims Southside Park Mural as “a collective visual signature and graphic testimony to the group's artistic vision,” Homero Villa's position is quite similar: “This project was like a collective visual signature and graphic *testimonio* of the group.”⁴²⁸ Homero Villa's analysis of the RCAF's Southside Park Mural is part of his larger examination of Chicano/a social-spatial interventions that originated in Chicano Movement activism. Relying on Chicano/a art and literature to explore themes of “geographic displacement” and the modern Chicano/a response—or a combination of literal and figurative reclamations of Chicano/a identity—Homero Villa explores Southside Park Mural as both a real and imagined Chicano/a “text.” He uses Esteban Villa's 1985 song, “Southside Park” to consider how “the Rebel Chicano Art Front meld practical interventions in urban place politics with textual representations of the same into a particularly rich form of barriological praxis.”⁴²⁹

Skimming the Chicano/a history attached to the RCAF's appropriation of the stage, Homero Villa echoes Barnett and Martínez's proverbial gloss of park-related activities—from “Chicano holiday celebrations” to the “neo-indigenous ceremonies.” Interestingly, he supports the description with a report made by José Montoya to the Concilio de Arte Popular:

May proved to be our busiest month as we took on “5 de Mayo” at Southside Park. Traditionally it involves a collective effort on the part of all the Chicano community organizations, college MEChAs, and high school MAYAs to organize a big Jamaica [bazaar] plus Mercado [market] at Southside Park. Involving such things as entertainment, security,

publicity, booths[,] the Centro this year also had the added pressure of finishing a mural there at the park for the occasion. *It was as though the park was finally acknowledged to be a part of our barrio—a Chicano Park.*⁴³⁰

Homero Villa misses critical clues about the RCAF's collaborations with other Chicano/a organizations and community workers in Montoya's report. For example, Montoya notes that Cinco de Mayo activities "traditionally" relied on a "collective effort on the part of all the Chicano community organizations," revealing that holidays and other events were taking place at Southside Park and other locations well before Favela and Rasul got the city's approval to paint the stage. In fact, the report is dated 1976 and, though Montoya mentions that the RCAF was busy painting the mural, in reality, they did not finish the stage until 1977.⁴³¹ His update to the Concilio authenticates the Chicano/a social network in which the RCAF artists participated, and troubles Homero Villa's conjecture that "the mural dedication was both a practical action and a symbolic declaration that the park *would be* used for Chicano holiday celebrations."⁴³² According to Montoya's synopsis, the park was already a meaningful site for Chicanos/as and, thus, Southside Park Mural was one of many "practical and symbolic" declarations.

Homero Villa's main motivation for using primary sources and documents in his treatment of the RCAF is to substantiate his literary analysis of Chicano/a spatial reclamations. Subsequently, he emphasizes Montoya's description of Southside Park Mural as a "Chicano Park" because it advances the "People's Park" theme that he plots throughout California, from San Diego and Los Angeles, to Berkeley and Sacramento.⁴³³ For Homero Villa, Southside Park Mural sets the stage for a close reading of José Montoya's 1975 poem "Until They Leave Us A Loan."⁴³⁴ An epic tale told by the poem's protagonist Elías, the verse recounts "how the Chicano community took over a Sacramento park that had previously been the exclusive province of the middle- and upper-middle-class white residents in its area."⁴³⁵ Elías and his Chicano friends are

aware of the racial divides that define the boundaries of Sacramento's neighborhoods, as he explains to Montoya, his primary listener: "Back then, José, we knew / McKinley Park as Clunie Pool. / Fancy, ese, with a high-board / y todo el pedo—and strictly / for gavas."⁴³⁶ Allowed to "look at the pool," but not use it, Homero Villa writes that young Chicanos made "*rasquache* leisure use of the Sacramento and American Rivers running through the city"; eventually they are also denied access to these areas.⁴³⁷ Elías explains, "Pero después que'l county / sent the sheriffs to / halt our brown nakedness / at both rivers."⁴³⁸ Denied permission to swim in the rivers during a hot summer month, Elías and company take over "Clunie Pool" where "we swam and we peed / in the water for three days / and three nights / ... / a bronze / smelter, ése, in the heat / of July and a glistening, blue-silver fish hatchery in / the moonlight, / are you on / to that one?"⁴³⁹ Homero Villa interprets the virile images and Elías's tone as a humorous but symbolic reclamation of land through sexual dominance: "The poem enacts a male-centered sexual narrative common to many resistance struggles."⁴⁴⁰ There are no Chicanas involved in the "reconquest" of McKinley Park, only descriptions of well-endowed older sisters "who turned out way, way / ahead of all the others in / every respect, know what I mean, ése?"⁴⁴¹ In addition to the Chicana body that is seen but not touched at the pool, Elías recalls "the Rose Garden right / there, carnal, in front of / the police academy was the / place a lot of vatos lost / their maiden-heads and began / to wonder why white chicks / fucked and ours went to / catechism."⁴⁴²

Although Homero Villa acknowledges the poem's male-centered point of view, he fails to consider if Elías's voice is Montoya's personal choice based on the performative traits of the RCAF. In other words, the hyper-masculinity with which Montoya characterizes Elías echoes a form of *rasquache* that is expressed in the RCAF motto, "locura lo cura."⁴⁴³ Instead of reflecting on the particulars of the author, Homero Villa

attempts to rationalize the poem's sexism by paraphrasing Elías's description of the cultural events that take place at McKinley Park after its "reconquest":

Without minimizing the implications of this male-centered narrative, it must nevertheless be emphasized that the long-term result of the spatial action was to re-create the once exclusively white park as a broad-based Chicano community space. This fact is made clear by Montoya's identification of several festive cultural activities enacted in McKinley Park that would become trademark of RCAF-led uses of Sacramento's parks. These include neighborhood picnics, community cook-offs ("menudo bowl"), family reunions, athletic tournaments ("Barrio Olympics"), and special fund-raising events.⁴⁴⁴

Certainly, the point of Homero Villa's literary analysis is not to locate a real Chicana presence in José Montoya's poem about an imagined spatial reclamation. But by not elaborating on the "festive cultural activities" that he calls RCAF "trademarks," he minimizes the actual Chicana presence in the RCAF; he also fails to address the very real figures and events that Montoya purposely names in the poem's cultural inventory.

Elías's record, for example, is embellished with funny anecdotes and detailed memories about real people and events: "the annual menudo / bowl—¿y quién empezó los / Barrio Olympics? / You heard about Villa taking first place for bogarding las' year? / Que pulmones del indio, verdad? / Y cuando la Jenny y el Sam have / a family reunion ... / and then there was the fundraiser / for little Joey--¿te acuerdas?"⁴⁴⁵ Poking fun at Esteban Villa whose lungs helped him win that year's Barrio Olympics, Elías also names Dr. Sam Rios and his sister Jennie Baca as the annual planners of the community's large family reunions. In customary Caló form, Montoya introduces both figures with articles—"the Jenny" and "the Sam," connoting their iconic status and, more importantly, their equal standing in the Chicano/a community and the RCAF. The "fundraiser for little Joey" refers to a young Chicano, Joey Flores, who was diagnosed with leukemia in 1973. In 1974, local Chicano/a organizations held a fundraiser for Flores as a 1974 poster created by Ricardo Favela indicates. The event was sponsored by "the Washington Neighborhood and Chicano Agencies" and did in fact take place at

“McKinley Parque.”⁴⁴⁶ Thus, in poeticizing an imagined Chicano reconquest—what Homero Villa calls a “sort of reverse Manifest Destiny”—Montoya draws on very real experiences and people. Moving in and out of a real and a figurative spatial reclamation, Montoya calls out to the Chicano *and* Chicana members of the RCAF, who implemented its community-based aesthetic, realizing—not just imagining—the collective’s artistic vision.⁴⁴⁷ [Fig. 3]

Disregarding the Chicana members who ran various programs and worked alongside the artists in service to Sacramento’s Chicano community discounts the RCAF’s guiding philosophies; it also reduces the complexity of Chicana activism in this particular organization. The artists and members of the RCAF made their guiding philosophies clear in the stated goals of the Centro de Artistas Chicanos; they included “1. Preservation of Mexican/Chicano aesthetic values through art. 2. Education of members of Mexican/Chicano community to cultural heritage, and thereby enhancing self-image on a community level. 3. To raise consciousness of non-Chicano community members to the value and richness of Chicano culture.”⁴⁴⁸ The Centro implemented these goals, particularly the “reinforcement of positive cultural values” through “public projects [that] serve the total community’s need for cultural enrichment with classes, art exhibits, community events, etc.”⁴⁴⁹ Recalling the various resources and programs that he and other RCAF members created for the community, Dr. Rios stated:

Women were instrumental to the health and sustainability of the RCAF community programs. Women like Rosemary Rasul and Jennie Baca. With the Cultural Affairs Committee, the women were intimately involved in all of the festivals and activities like Cinco de Mayo and the Christmas parties at Southside Park. Without women running the programs, there wouldn’t have been any programs.⁴⁵⁰

Dr. Rios’s emphasis on Chicana involvement in RCAF programs challenges the presumption of Chicana marginalization across all fronts of the collective. Moreover, he disputes the intellectual trend of esteeming the RCAF’s contributions to Chicano/a art

history and literature at the expense of their very own philosophy—their deep investment in creating art not for its own sake, but for the sake of their Chicano/a community. In terms of Breakfast for los niños, for example, Dr. Rios and Rosemary Rasul saw their work as more than nutritional enrichment; they also aimed to “provide experience for children of a cultural and learning character.”⁴⁵¹

Dr. Rios’s memories of the programs and events that are now central to the RCAF’s legacy is echoed by José Montoya, whose recollection of Chicana agency pertains to how he values labor in the RCAF:

There’s people that accused us of [being] macho oriented. We agree we’ve had a lot of problems with women artists simply because there really weren’t that many women artists. But the critics forget that there were a lot of women in the RCAF. So, when people say that the RCAF was a specifically male thing, they are privileging the artists over all other components of the RCAF. You couldn’t tell my comadre, Jennie Baca, that she wasn’t RCAF. Jennie [Baca and] Rosemary Rasul were powerful ladies. They were the proposal writers and the administration that kept our airplanes flying. When they gave us our orders, we went and did it. Juanita [Polendo] Ontiveros was another. And my daughter, Gina [Montoya] grew up in that.⁴⁵²

Montoya’s disagreement with the notion that “the RCAF was a specifically male thing” is based on his clear opposition to the division of *any* labor. From Montoya’s perspective, the RCAF valued all forms of work—from making art to making breakfast for children. Guarding the integrity of the group’s working class sensibilities, Montoya resists “privileging the artists over all other components of the RCAF.” It is on these terms that he challenges the “idea of the collective self implicit in *carnalismo*,” or the “unity of brotherhood” that Alicia Arrizón contends was embedded in El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán.⁴⁵³ As previously stated, “carnalismo” espoused an ethnic and cultural solidarity for the Chicano Movement, but rejected “the idea of sisterhood.”⁴⁵⁴ While El Plan denied gender equality, it endorsed labor equality, declaring that “art was necessary but not privileged or special,” and that “individuals could be both workers and artists.”⁴⁵⁵ Such

beliefs deconstructed the rules and standards of the Western aesthetic, if not patriarchal ones. Herein lies Montoya's egalitarian notion of the RCAF's collective arts values.

Juan Cervantes's remarks on the absence of signatures on RCAF posters and murals convey a working-class, communal mentality that aligns with Montoya's attitude. He recalled, "Somebody just asked me, 'How come your name's not on a lot of things?' We never bothered because it belonged to everybody. And now we're still fighting for that—that it belongs to everybody."⁴⁵⁶ The fight for the "collective signature" on RCAF creations informs Cervantes and other members' concerns over their historical memory, since they continue to advocate what María Ochoa calls "movement politics." In thinking about the values of historic and contemporary Chicana art groups, Ochoa argues that "it is crucial to emphasize the indivisibility of Chicana/o artistic production from Chicana/o activism."⁴⁵⁷ Her framework for understanding the social aesthetic of Chicana/o artists is relevant to contemporary RCAF artists, many of whom continue to practice to the collective's original philosophies. In 2007, for example, Cervantes and other RCAF members founded the Centro Dos, reviving the RCAF's traditional collective arts center that advocates community-building and consciousness-raising through a shared arts practice. Cervantes along with Juanishi Orosco, José Montoya, Dr. Sam Rios, Lupe Portillo and Juanita Ontiveros, hosted art sales, "Chicano Movie Nights," and other events that maintained the center and also provided local student scholarships.⁴⁵⁸

Stepping back from the preexisting historical interpretations of the RCAF, the historian concerned with Chicana contributions and roles in this organization must rethink the grant proposals, photographs, newspaper articles and various meeting minutes with fresh eyes and with new questions. She must ask what counts as "art work" in a Chicano/a arts collective that opposed western art paradigms and hierarchical notions of individualism? Are the murals the only "graphic testimony" to the group's artistic vision? Or does the money earned to fund the murals count as part of their

“collective signature”?⁴⁵⁹ What about food preparation, materials coordination, bookkeeping and other essential tasks that Chicana members’ performed while RCAF artists’ painted? Do the public offices and community positions through which many Chicanas helped secure the space for the murals count on equal terms as the “graphic embellishment” of the Chicano artist?

On a loose and typewritten document entitled “Southside Park Mural,” discovered amongst a folder of contracts, newspaper clippings and other RCAF papers housed at UC Santa Barbara’s California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives, most of the RCAF members involved on the project are named in six categories.⁴⁶⁰ José Montoya, Juanishi Orosco, Stan Padilla, Esteban Villa, Juan Cervantes and Lorraine Garcia-Nakata are listed under “Artists.” The document also lists Dr. Sam Rios as an “Artist” and Rudy Cuellar as an “Assistant.” Several of Villa’s sons and one of Montoya’s are identified under “Apprentices.” A category for “Photographers” includes José Montoya, Sam Rios and Sam Quiñones. The designation “Facilitator/Laison” mentions Ricardo Favela, but not Rosemary Rasul, revealing that the document is not entirely accurate according to the recollections of Ricardo Favela.⁴⁶¹ Interestingly, “Clara Cid, Frances Gonzalez, Juana Polendo [Ontiveros] and Jennie Baca” are named on the document under “Food Coordination.” That these “women’s work” is recognized with the “Artists,” “Apprentices” and “Assistants” indicates that “Food Coordination” was counted by the group in the projected overhead for the mural. While not complete, this simple record presents a bigger picture of the work that was done to create Southside Park Mural and to transform the space into a “Chicano Park.”

The roster of names is significant to the RCAF’s history if the historian suspends androcentric presumptions of historical evidence that devalue the work done by Chicanas within conventionally feminine jobs and roles. Failing to consider the coordination of food—from planning, purchasing, cooking, packaging and transporting—

as community activism and vital to the mural's completion reduces the complexity of Chicana consciousness. Searching for a new framework in which to intellectualize the "lives of Tejana and other migrant women," historian Antonia I. Castañeda asks critical questions about "canonic categories of historical analysis" that frame "the history of the west" within the paradigms of US history. She argues that Chicana histories mean different things to regional history and the national canon because they introduce "concepts of the body as well as dispossession, displacement, and appropriation that require new ways of conceptualizing family, household economies, and the agency of working-class women. It is a question not just of inclusion, but of construction."⁴⁶² In the construction of a Chicana history, a process that involves locating the "creation stories of Chicana historiography," there are many boundaries that must be crossed in order to reconfigure the "nature of primary sources" and "the nature of evidence."⁴⁶³

With Castañeda's proposal in mind, such records more than "tack-on" Chicana voices in RCAF history and in the "gendered history" of the Chicano/a historical canon.⁴⁶⁴ Returning to Zapata Park, where Armando Cid designed both "Ollin" murals on the anterior and posterior façade of the Washington Square apartments, Gloria Rangel was central to the first Fiesta de Maiz that took place there. She is easily missed in a photograph from the RCAF's collection at the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives (CEMA). She kneels amongst the neighborhood children that are gathered around her in their costumes. [Fig. 4] A pristine "Ollin" mural appears behind Rangel and the group. It is a perfect backdrop for a Chicana-led spatial reclamation that was deeply invested in ceremony. Rangel, along with other members of the predominantly Chicana Cultural Affairs Committee (CAC), planned annual cultural events in conjunction with RCAF artists throughout the 1970s and '80s.⁴⁶⁵ For the Fiesta de Maiz, Rangel instructed the children on the "dance that they offered up during the ceremony."⁴⁶⁶ Meeting minutes from March 1976 indicate that she was quite busy in the two months leading up to the

ceremony as “David [Rasul] suggested that costumes and dance workshops get started as soon as possible, Fiesta es 2 ½ months away, June 6th.”⁴⁶⁷ The minutes from the CAC meeting, signed “GM” for Gina Montoya, also mention the location for the “Costume and Ojo de Dios workshops [at] Centro de Artistas.”⁴⁶⁸ Weaving indigenous designs and colors around a cross structure (typically regarded as a crucifix), ojos de dios were perceived as symbols of spiritual syncretism.⁴⁶⁹

Expressions of religious mixtures between pre-Colombian spirituality and Catholicism in Chicana/o rituals were particularly important in the early years of the Movement and in the RCAF. But as Tomás Ybarra-Frausto remarks, “Especially prevalent were ceremonials that stressed neo-indigenous elements. Ancient and surviving Indian cultures were valued as root sources ... Reenactment of indigenous rituals gave the modern Chicano community access to the now mythical sources of its cultural identity.”⁴⁷⁰ RCAF artists and CAC members emphasized the indigenous components of their ethnic and racial identities because, as Shifra M. Goldman explains, the “cultural nationalist philosophy” of the Chicano Movement endorsed “anti-Europeanism” and “an insistence on the importance and glory of the brown-skinned Indian heritage.”⁴⁷¹ Ybarra-Frausto’s and Goldman’s observations resonated for Juanishi Orosco, who informed Alan W. Barnett in the early 1980s that the ojo de dios that he painted in his mural at San Diego’s Chicano Park had nothing to do with Christianity: “Orosco says that the cross overhead is not Christian but formed by the intersection of farm workers’ thunderbirds and also suggests the vortex of a pyramid as seen from above.”⁴⁷²

Orosco’s interpretation of a non-Christian cross in his depiction of a “god’s eye” suggests that indigenous imagery and rituals provided a certain point of view for the RCAF, solidifying an ethnonational identity that legitimized Chicano/a existence in the US (as an indigenous population) and, specifically, their presence in Sacramento.

Moreover, the imagery and rituals that he and the rest of the RCAF used to express their “cultural nationalist philosophy” were predominantly female-centered. The Fiesta de Maiz celebrated “the new harvest in June” and, “in a symbolic way, the new harvest is seen to be the new people who are born to continue the culture and spirit of our ancestors.”⁴⁷³ Based around the pre-Columbian goddess, “Xilonen,” the Corn Festival honored “all women who will bear the new children that will become a part of our community in the days to come.”⁴⁷⁴ In another description of the Fiesta de Maiz, all stages of the ceremony center around female maturation; it concluded with the symbolic sacrifice of the female for the sake of a plentiful harvest: “Everyone raises their arms, w/ tremendous voices they ask the gods to help the corn- / At the end the girl was covered w/ corn; flowers & sacrificed- / This is were [where] the girl would go to the gods-before the Aztecs- / Xiloni was the god of Love, Peace, Flowers-”⁴⁷⁵ Obviously, words like “sacrifice” are loaded from a critical perspective of patriarchy; one wonders if the performance of a ceremony that symbolically offered a girl to the gods is really that liberating, or even supportive of gender equality.

But for Chicana members of the CAC, gender autonomy was rooted in these cultural celebrations, communal performances, and the collective mandate to publicly honor indigenous customs, traditions and spiritual ways. Chicana activists, cultural workers and artists planned a great deal of female-centered holidays in Sacramento’s Chicano/a neighborhoods. While the Fiesta de Maiz was especially “important because it is a community tribute to the young women who will become wives and then mothers,” the CAC also planned an annual Dia de la Madres.⁴⁷⁶ Their Mother’s Day celebration took place every May 10th, adhering to the traditional date of Mother’s Day in Mexico and involving a community “cena, musica [and] children’s skits.”⁴⁷⁷ Chicanas working through the RCAF and the CAC were forging a customized cultural identity for themselves, their organization and their community. Analyses of the Fiesta de Maiz should not assume

that this “neo-indigenous tribute” was an expression of the RCAF’s and CAC’s “internal oppression” of women any more than the conventional Mother’s Day holiday celebrated in Mexico and in the US. Gloria Rangel and her CAC colleagues elevated Chicana consciousness by bringing their community together to perform, witness and honor femininity through a series of female rites of passages, ceremonies and mainstream holidays. [Fig. 5]

Ethnic Studies Professor Laura E. Pérez sheds light on the complex ways in which Chicanas represent (and customize) spiritual and cultural identity through the visual arts. Pérez argues that Chicana artists and cultural practitioners conceptualize their spiritual identities outside the dominant paradigms of western art *and* Chicano art. They do so through “sustained reflections on what is in fact a more complex picture of hybridized spiritualities whose compass navigates *through*, rather than *to*, dominant forms of Christianity.”⁴⁷⁸ The Fiesta de Maiz, for example, was planned, instructed and performed by Chicanas, literally demonstrating a Chicana activism and leadership in Sacramento’s Chicano/a community. As a ceremony, it symbolized female centrality amidst the androcentric framework of Catholicism—or the all-male trinity of the father, the son and holy ghost. In terms of the RCAF’s ethnonational vision, ceremonies like the Fiesta de Maiz countered Eurocentric perspectives of religious syncretism and mestizaje, or the notion that indigenous civilizations were the sole recipients of cultural, racial and spiritual change. In the midst of the RCAF’s multiple manifestations of Chicano Movement ideology, Chicana-centered ceremonies and spiritual performances were a primary means through which “the modern Chicano community” accessed “mythical sources of its cultural identity.”⁴⁷⁹

Another important Chicana method for navigating “*through*, rather than *to*, dominant forms of Christianity” pertains to altar-making. Practiced throughout the Chicano Movement, Laura E. Pérez writes that “Chicana/o artists transferred the

popular, domestic altar into the art-installation and related forms at least as early as 1972, when Galería de la Raza in San Francisco started organizing altars with community participation around the Days of the Dead.⁴⁸⁰ In Sacramento, public displays of Chicana/o altars began with the Centro de Artistas and the Cultural Affairs Committee's Dias de los Muertos celebrations, which also started in the early 1970s. The Centro organized "Mascara Workshops" and "Community and Family Altars," as well as an annual procession through St. Mary's Cemetery on 21st Avenue.⁴⁸¹ In photographs of the RCAF's 1978 altars that were constructed at the Washington Neighborhood Center, the fusion of pre-Columbian deities, the Virgen of Guadalupe and other Latin American saints is paramount to the collaborative designs. [Fig. 6, 7 & 8] Moreover, details from the photograph descriptions reveal that Chicanas and Chicanos participated equally in assembling the altars.⁴⁸² Many RCAF artists and former CAC members continue to create Day of the Dead altars; Lupe Portillo, a former Breakfast for los niños coordinator and CAC contributor, oversaw the community altars built at St. Mary's Cemetery in November 2006. [Fig. 9]

Mixing Catholic symbols, saints and statues of the Virgen de Guadalupe with food offerings, pre-Columbian idols and "homemade" crafts, Chicana/o altars demonstrate a wide-ranging discourse on the "syncretic process."⁴⁸³ What gets mixed, combined and rearticulated often pertains to the multiple cultures, communities, politics, and other affiliations in which the altarista is engaged. The RCAF's Chicana/o altars typically fuse spiritual beliefs with humor and politics as their offerings to "recently departed kin" contain tequila, cigarettes, pan de muertos, marigolds, UFW iconography and calaveras—or "broadsides of satirical verse embellished with drawings of skulls and skeletons based on the art of José Guadalupe Posada."⁴⁸⁴ During the summer of 2008, for example, Josie Talamantez created an altar for Joe Serna Jr. to honor his passing and to celebrate the establishment of the Serna Archives at Sacramento State University

(CSUS). In a fusion of spiritual symbols and political emblems, Talamantez mixed native corn, simple food offerings, ojos de dios, black and white photographs, a “Califas” newspaper, a baseball hat, bandanas and other signs of Serna’s farmworker background and UFW affiliation. [Fig. 10]

Talamantez also drew attention to Isabel Hernandez-Serna’s place at the newly founded archives by including a set of novios, or a papier-mâché wedding couple, at the top of the altar. In the middle of her assemblage, Talamantez placed a photograph of Joe and Isabel. Referencing Kay Turner’s expansive study of Mexican and Mexican American women’s altars, Laura E. Pérez notes “the empowering spiritualities that are expressed through their highly personal, religiously unorthodox altars. The preservation of ‘herstories’ appear repeatedly in Chicana art articulated through religious visual culture.”⁴⁸⁵ Honoring Joe Serna Jr. as a local leader of the Chicano/a community and an icon of Sacramento politics, Talamantez also commemorated Isabel and her story in the record room that now houses Joe Serna Jr.’s official papers. Isabel passed away in 2000 and Talamantez’s gesture was tactically subtle; she appropriated a popular matrimonial symbol to mutually honor both figures in their own *holy union*. Furthermore, Talamantez relied on the “female lenses of narrative” that Christopher Martínez refers to in his endnote on the realm of Chicana art.⁴⁸⁶ Assembling her altar outside the “domestic space,” Talamantez recreated the institutional space of the university archive as a sacred space in which to remember both Joe Serna Jr. *and* his wife Isabel Hernandez-Serna.

There are many variations of Dia de los Muertos altars throughout the Chicano/a diaspora, especially in Chicana/o art centers like San Francisco and Los Angeles. But the important place of ceremonies in Sacramento’s Days of the Dead is a major departure from the carnival-like processions that occur in San Francisco’s Mission District, or the parties that takes place at various arts galleries in Los Angeles. The

procession through St. Mary's cemetery, for example, takes place in the late afternoon, when "Mexican and non-Mexican people of all ages gather ... near the cemetery for a march to the graves of their loved ones."⁴⁸⁷ Carrying flowers and other offerings to gravesites, the service culminates in a Catholic rosary at an outdoor altar that is primarily assembled by Chicanas. "Since the Catholic religion is a paramount influence in the lives of most Chicanos," Tomás Ybarra-Frausto writes, "it is natural that artists gain inspiration from religious imagery and practices."⁴⁸⁸ At Dia de los Muertos in 2006, Lupe Portillo directed the community altar at St. Mary's Cemetery. The altar was first created at an outside platform by Portillo, two of her daughters and several other women. I attended the assemblage with Juanishi Orosco on November 2, 2006. When it began to rain, Portillo directed the growing group to gather up the altar and move it to the cemetery's patio enclosure, where they reassembled it around the base of a holy family statue. Within a half an hour, the elaborate offering was complete. Before the rosary was given by a local priest, a community member blew a conch shell and directed the gathering to pay respect to "the four directions." A danzante indigena blessed the altar with sage. Armando Cid and José Montoya were amongst the crowd.⁴⁸⁹ Pérez observes that altar-making has been "a terrain of female agency for indigenous, mestiza women," and Portillo's guidance of the 2006 community altar conveys that the RCAF's collective vision of art not for art's sake, but for the sake of the community, continues to guide Sacramento's altaristas in their annual offering to those who have passed away.

The importance of ceremony, as a conduit for the "mythical sources" of Chicano/a identity, locates a Chicana presence in the RCAF's artistic vision.⁴⁹⁰ But, many women were also politically active and in charge of organizations that were essential to the practical applications of the RCAF's worldview. As previously mentioned, Teresa Romo was among the student leadership that founded La Raza Bookstore in 1972. During the 1970s, Romo worked for the Sacramento Concilio and was a member

of the Cultural Affairs Committee. She also served on the Alkali Flat's Project Area Committee (PAC) with another Breakfast for los niños coordinator, Jennie Baca.⁴⁹¹ Olga Cid contributed to the PAC as editor of the *Alkali Flat Review*, a bimonthly and bilingual newspaper for local residents that covered local propositions and elections, as well as the latest information on the redevelopment of the Alkali Flat and Washington neighborhood.

As La Raza Bookstore expanded into the Galería Posada, it became an institution of RCAF history, largely due to the efforts of its predominantly Chicana leadership.⁴⁹² Josie Talamantez directed La Raza Galería Posada (LRGP) during the 1980s. Romo also returned to the Bookstore, serving as its director during the 1990s.⁴⁹³ Along with sustaining Romo's efforts to preserve LRGP's original Chicano/a poster collection, former Executive Director Marisa Gutiérrez fortified the organization during economic hardship by expanding its funding base and revenue in 2004—'05.⁴⁹⁴ After a difficult move from the 7th and O Streets Heilbron Mansion in 2004, LRGP moved across town to a renovated warehouse at 1421 R Street; this move led to another relocation in 2006 to 22nd Street between J and K Streets. The move also marked the return of Francisca Godinez, another former Chicana who had worked at the bookstore as a student intern during the 1970s. Godinez served as interim director in 2006 until June 2008, when the current executive director Marie Acosta was appointed.

Clearly, the RCAF was and is not an exclusively male organization. Despite the fraternal vision of Chicano Movement doctrine and the academic histories that perpetuate assumptions of Chicana invisibility in the group, a dynamic "sisterhood" was actively thinking, speaking, planning and creating within and amidst the "brotherhood." Moreover, the RCAF's mixed ranks was not an atypical phenomenon in an otherwise gender divided Movement; the RCAF's Chicana sisterhood had many contemporaries. Los Angeles's Chicano/a performance group, ASCO was founded in 1972 and included

Patssi Valdez in their groundbreaking “conceptual art performances.” Works like “Instant Mural” (1974) in which Valdez and Humberto Sandoval were taped to a wall on Whittier Boulevard by the Gronk tested “the boundaries of the mural form,” questioning “our own complicity in the perpetuation of boundaries which confine us by exposing their frailty (masking tape).”⁴⁹⁵ Judith Hernández also contributed to Los Angeles’s Mechicano Art Center, collaborating on murals at “the Ramona Gardens Housing Project from 1973 on.” Later, Hernández joined Gilbert Sánchez, Frank Romero and others in Los Four, and “produced murals as individuals and as a group.”⁴⁹⁶ Judy Baca’s “Great Wall of Los Angeles,” is a vanguard of Chicano/a art history and widely-recognized by historians of community muralism. Shifra M. Goldman notes that in 1976 “under the auspices of the Social and Public Art Resource Center” Baca “began what was to be the longest mural in Los Angeles, possibly anywhere.” The “Great Wall”, also known as “Tujunga Wash Mural,” was completed in sections over several summers, from 1978 to 1983.⁴⁹⁷

Along with their contemporaries, the RCAF also shared Chicana art history through their prototype, the Mexican American Liberation Art Front (MALA-F). Although Christopher Martínez describes this early collective as an all-male arts group, its Chicano members did not produce art or their ideologies in a vacuum. They were a part of a diverse social network, which involved many Chicana artists, including several who formed the Mujeres Muralistas in the 1970s. Unlike the MALA-F, this Chicana arts collective sustained throughout the decade, with continuing partnerships between many of the original artists.⁴⁹⁸ The Mujeres Muralistas included founding members, Patricia Rodríguez, Irene Pérez, and Graciela Carrillo, as well as assistants like Ester Hernández. They worked with the MALA-F before, during and after its brief tenure. In *Creative Collectives* (2003), María Ochoa explores their development and, later, the Comadres Artistas in Sacramento. Both Chicana arts collectives share history with the Chicano Movement and ties to the RCAF artists. Ochoa, for example, mentions that

MALA-F artist, “Malaquías Montoya, a muralist and silkscreen artist, recalled that Pérez, Rodríguez, and Hernández also studied at the East Oakland graphics workshop he founded and coordinated.”⁴⁹⁹ Studying with Chicano artists, the Mujeres Muralistas worked side by side with their male colleagues to establish “their own organizations as venues for exhibition, performance, and convocation.”⁵⁰⁰ They also helped found the Mission District’s Galería de la Raza in 1970, alongside René Yañez, co-founder of the Galería and artistic director for several years. Certainly, gender divisions plagued the Chicano Movement; but at this critical juncture in 1970, efforts to create public space for Chicano/a communities was a common goal across gender lines because of “the absence of institutions that respected Chicana/o cultural work.”⁵⁰¹ This line of reasoning does not explain or excuse sexism; rather, it responds to questions about Chicana support and advancement of a movement that internally oppressed them.

Creating a number of murals in San Francisco’s Mission District, the Mujeres Muralistas also participated in the “graphic embellishment” of Chicano/a space.⁵⁰² Commissioned in 1974 to create “Latinoamérica,” one of the eminent murals of the era, they worked in and under the public eye.⁵⁰³ In an interview with Ochoa, Ester Hernández provides a firsthand glimpse of the gender roles at hand during the era and the ease with the Mujeres Muralistas defied expectations:

A couple of the guys doing murals out there came around now and then to offer their help. But we would just kind of tease them or joke with them. We weren’t into fighting or trying to run their asses out of our area. We really didn’t do that confrontational type of stuff. The weak men were intimidated, and the strong men, the men who were sure of themselves and their worth, didn’t feel threatened. They were really supportive. Fortunately, I would say the really important people, the men who were really leaders, like René Yañez, Rupert García, and Malaquías Montoya, were very open and helpful. They were smart enough to realize that we were making a special, much needed contribution.⁵⁰⁴

Hernández’s recount of the sexism she and her colleagues faced while creating “Latinoamerica” is tempered by positive encounters with Chicano artists who were

formerly of the MALA-F. Her phrasing of gender tensions is interesting because she framed the issue externally. To Hernández, gender discrimination existed in the poles between “weak” and “strong” men, implying that the subordination of Chicana artists had nothing to do with their abilities. Her emphasis on male colleagues who were more concerned with the “contributions” that *all* Chicana/o artists made to their visual culture supports the community arts platform of the Chicano Movement and aligns with the ethnonational agenda of El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán.

Ethnic solidarity and collective action towards community betterment oftentimes outweighed gender divisions for Chicana artists. Emma Pérez clarifies Hernández’s point when she discusses how women of color negotiate the multiple sites of their identity in relation to history-telling:

Although historians of women questioned traditional history that excluded women, excluded the way gender carved history, women of color historians questioned how feminism, too, had its flaws ... The gendered history that many women of color contemplated ... claimed that one could not study women of color without reflecting upon the intersections of race and class with gender.⁵⁰⁵

Indeed, “feminism, as a methodological tool” had unleashed “systems of thought from restrictive categories” in which Pérez argues that “Chicana history had been trapped.”⁵⁰⁶

But for Chicanas on the front lines of the Chicano Movement, feminism seemed to come at the expense of group solidarity and, more importantly, cultural values—which greatly shape Chicana/o identity. On her memories about “Latinoamerica,” for example, Hernández added, “We weren’t really trying to do the whole feminist thing. Even though that’s how *they* wrote about it, it wasn’t true. We already knew our own strength.”⁵⁰⁷

Hernández does not explain what or who she means by “they”; but I read her comment as a general resentment of academic interpretations of her art and her organization as being feminist. While many women did do the “confrontational type of stuff” and put gender equality at the forefront of the Movement, there were many methods and ways to

do so. In fact, it can be argued that Hernández's creation of Chicana/o murals (and art) in itself was a feminist act, particularly if juxtaposed with Alicia Gaspar de Alba's question: "If art-making was considered a legitimate and powerful form of activism during the Movement, weren't Chicanas involved in the dual process of resistance and affirmation through art?"⁵⁰⁸

Elaborating on the "dual process" of affirming the Chicano Movement, but resisting gender discrimination, Gaspar de Alba paraphrases the thoughts of several Chicana artists and art historians whose work advanced Chicana self-determination during the era:

According to Yolanda M. López, one of the foremothers of Chicana art, *Mujeres* was an extremely important group for the empowerment of Chicanas in el Movimiento, for they challenged the sexist and stereotypical notions within the Chicano Art Movement that women were physically not able and politically not "meant" to create murals, to build and climb scaffolding, to be on public display and withstand the comments of passersby. Precisely to mitigate these limiting sexist assumptions, Judith Baca produced *Woman's Manual: How to Assemble Scaffolding*, which Shifra Goldman tells us, "was intended to help remedy women's socialization," by instructing women artists on the logistics of "working outdoors on a large scale ... and knowing how to handle tools and successfully construct such large objects as one- or two-story scaffolds."⁵⁰⁹

Although Ester Hernández took issue with the *Mujeres Muralistas* being labeled as part of the "whole feminist thing," she climbed scaffolding and painted murals on the walls of Balmy Alley and other public spaces in San Francisco. Judy Baca also produced instructions that helped her Chicana colleagues "working outdoors" and "on public display." Such acts challenge assumptions of Chicana invisibility and subordination within the Movement. In Hernández's assertion that "We already knew our own strength," she conveys how the lived experience is often more complicated than historical interpretations that fail to consider the strategic ways in which Chicanas furthered their careers, their issues and Chicana/o consciousness outside and inside the "dominant paradigms" of the Movement.⁵¹⁰

For Stan Padilla, historical analyses that omit a Chicana presence in the RCAF impose intellectual limitations on their history; such oversights also influence his contemporary historical consciousness. He explained,

The women were always active and always have been in all the movements. It's always been there, but again, it's the need for voice; it's the living voice. The viewpoint that children should be seen but not heard was the same thing for the women; that they should be seen there supporting us, but not saying anything. And I'm just going, "Now that doesn't fit in with all the rest of this thing." I'm about truth.⁵¹¹

Padilla's opposition to gender discrimination in the RCAF challenges the broader ideological trap of patriarchy; he disapproved of the actual marginalization of women in the Movement, and historical notions / assumptions of Chicana invisibility. For Padilla, the truth of the RCAF is that there were moments of gender exclusion and inclusion; the "need for voice," then, is the need for a historical framework that conveys these gendered contradictions as well as other realities of an ideologically imperfect Chicano *and* Chicana organization that believed in communal arts practices and an ethnonational consciousness rooted in working class values.

Padilla's rejection of the patriarchal adage that women should be seen and not heard also derives from the Chicana intellectual consciousness that developed during the Movement since, as Alicia Gaspar de Alba claims, "Chicana feminists learned as early as the seventies that something was wrong with the revolution."⁵¹² Emma Pérez's framework on the "four periods and four dominant modes of thinking" in Chicano/a historiography offers insight into women's historical invisibility until the 1970s when, she argues, Chicana/o scholars added that "Chicanos are also women." Because of this revisionism, primary documents were reconsidered and reinserted into the historical record and, for Pérez, integrated into the other spatiotemporal categories of Chicano/a history.⁵¹³ Ana Nieto-Gómez, for example, was a "lone feminist voice in the early Chicano male-centered nationalism of the 1970s."⁵¹⁴ Nieto-Gómez's 1974 work charted

the poor retention rates of Chicanas in secondary schools and the exclusions women faced in Chicano/a communities and the Movement.⁵¹⁵ Likewise in 1978, Carmen Tafolla's epic poem, "La Malinche," gave voice to the degraded, indigenous "mother of Mexico" in order to counter the invisibility (the voicelessness) of Chicanas in the Chicano Movement. "La Malinche" performed what Stan Padilla deemed the "living voice" of Chicanas. The poem's opening line, "Yo Soy La Malinche" directly responded to Rudolfo Gonzales's 1967 ethnonationalist poem, "Yo Soy Joaquin."⁵¹⁶ Citing the significance of Tafolla's poem to contemporary Chicana consciousness, Mary Louise Pratt contends, "by invoking and challenging [Gonzales's] landmark text, Tafolla identifies her poem as an analogous foundational project, but this time for a specifically female subject and perhaps a Chicana nationalism."⁵¹⁷

Nieto-Gómez's social science research and Tafolla's verse are not solitary Chicana achievements in a predominantly Chicano discourse. Rather they are surrounded by numerous scholarly and creative works that have moved Chicana subjecthood toward an autonomous ethnonational consciousness.⁵¹⁸ In 1982 and 1990, for example, Anna Macías and Elizabeth Salas put forth historical works that traced the participation of Mexican women in the Revolution of 1910 in order to posit a web of influence for Chicana subjectivity. Anna Macías's study of middle-class women's participation in the Mexican Revolution challenged class-based definitions of the *soldadera* as a rural and poor woman who accompanied military units.⁵¹⁹ Claiming a continuity between Mexicana revolutionary efforts and Chicana feminists, Macías countered claims that Chicana feminism was created by Anglo society. Prior to her research, for example, Macías writes that with the exception of "occasional references to *soldaderas*, most historians of that revolution have ignored the active role of Mexican women as precursors, journalists, propagandists, political activists and soldiers."⁵²⁰ In terms of Chicano Movement ideology, Macías's work confronted the working-class

sensibility that had translated into sexism for Chicana activists and intellectuals. Salas elaborated on Macías's implicit critique of Chicano history, claiming that a Chicana "military" tradition dates to Pre-Columbian war goddesses and legendary warriors, but the connection between "myths and real women" is "often obscured by scholars."⁵²¹ Rethinking the soldadera and pre-Columbian pantheon outside Chicano Movement imagery, Macías and Salas charted predecessors of Chicana consciousness across the map of a predominantly Chicano history.⁵²²

Chicana artists also challenged the patriarchal order that seemed to exclude and / or confine Chicana identity, particularly in the visualization of mestizaje as an ethnonational symbol. In her 1978 oil and pastel Guadalupe triptych, Yolanda López restructured the paternal ethos of the Chicano Movement, replacing the traditional image of the Virgen de Guadalupe with a portrait of herself—the modern Chicana artist—a portrait of her mother, a working class seamstress, and her grandmother, a Chicana elder. Alicia Arrizón writes that López's "act of self-representation is inherently divine," and her reading applies to all of López's "Guadalupe work," which displaced the traditional figure and inserted alternative female forms within Guadalupe's mantle and golden rays.⁵²³ In more ideological transgressions of the Chicano Movement's creationist stories, López's 1978 assemblage "Love Goddess" placed "Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* carefully within the Virgin's mandorla" and in "Nuestra Madre," López inserted the "creator-destroyer goddess Coatlicue" within the Virgin's robes and golden crown.⁵²⁴ Clearly, López was reconceptualizing Chicana identity from the inside out, reclaiming it as a gynocentric icon of the Movement

Likewise, Judy Baca's 1979 "Uprising of the Mujer," a pastel work that she adapted to a portable mural, strikingly depicts a dark haired woman with an open hand holding two coins. Arrizón writes that Baca's "assertion of the *mestiza* body performatively echoes Gloria Anzaldúa's 'new mestiza consciousness.'⁵²⁵ The native

woman's posturing conveys the duality of her uprising; on one hand, her anticipatory crouch and direct eye contact with the viewer reveals that she is aware of socioeconomic injustices that native peoples face in the global market; but in her other hand she holds the coins, the symbol of economic power, establishing that her awareness is gynocentric; she is a woman that recognizes her worth *first*. This new mestiza consciousness that Baca envisions suggests that it is perfectly plausible "for a woman to subscribe to the identity politics of Chicanismo and at the same time adopt a feminist politics of identity."⁵²⁶

For the majority of their careers, Chicana artists in the RCAF also explored the new mestiza consciousness in their unique aesthetic choices. From her epic native women guarding the entrance to the RCAF's stage mural at Southside Park, to her contemporary works that focus on the female form, Lorraine Garcia-Nakata continues to create and recreate Chicana subjectivities. In 2005, La Raza Bookstore and Galería Posada (LRGP) hosted "RCAF: 37 Years of Culture con Cultura," a retrospective on the collective's iconic images and contemporary works. Garcia-Nakata presented "Facio Nova Omnia II: Colonia" and "Facio Nova Omnia II: Indigena."⁵²⁷ The 8-foot-tall, pastel figures are intended as one piece, or as a diptych with intentional religious references. Garcia-Nakata's "monumental" women comprise "one in native garb, the other in colonial costume."⁵²⁸ [Fig. 11]

Exhibit curator René Yañez remarked in *The Sacramento Bee* that the figures "deal with gender politics and imperialism."⁵²⁹ I would add that they deal with the gendered politics of imperialism because Garcia-Nakata politicizes mestizaje. In her depictions of female indigenous and colonial bodies, Garcia-Nakata uses shades of color that are not traditional for pre-Columbian imagery in Chicano/a art. Although her color choices are not the bold, primary hues often associated with Chicano/a art, Garcia-Nakata's lighter shades do not invoke softness; instead, they create a mystical aura,

suggesting a distance from the viewer. The figures also sharply differ in their posture. While the colonial woman is turned completely away from the viewer, the indigenous woman looks slightly over her shoulder, revealing that her face is partially masked. Garcia-Nakata explains that the positioning of the figures is meant to convey that they are on a journey “to make a new way, a revised thinking. The Indigenous woman initiates the journey, looking over her shoulder, inviting the Colonial woman to join her.”⁵³⁰ Their positions dispute any expectation of passivity, or receptivity to the seminal logic of *mestizaje*—the literal mixture that will take place through their bodies.

Moreover, the colors of each woman’s apparel coordinate in interesting ways; the effervescent blue of the colonial woman’s skirt trails down the bolt of cloth that lines the native woman’s back. The earth tone of the colonial woman’s bodice is also the tone of the native woman’s skin. The references hint at an intimacy, or familiarity between them that is not because of the conquest or the new world. In grand proportions, Garcia-Nakata disrupts the “uncritical idealization” of pre-Columbian spirituality in the works of “male-centered, heterosexist Chicano nationalist thinkers.”⁵³¹ She configures a Chicana spiritualism within an autonomous Chicana aesthetic. Like her colleagues Santa Contreras Barraza, Yolanda López, Juana Alicia and many others, Garcia-Nakata explores “the possibilities of mixing European and Mexican Indigenous art histories and visual arts languages,” from a perspective that attempts a “post-Christian or Christian-bending beliefs, in a process that is inadequately described as syncretism.”⁵³²

Complementing Garcia-Nakata’s work at the 2005 RCAF retrospective, Celia Herrera Rodríguez installed a “pre-Columbian altar and includes a gauzy woman’s dress, stones and tiny packets of tobacco wrapped in colorful papers.”⁵³³ Rodríguez is not often cited as an RCAF artist in much of the scholarship on her conceptual installations and performance art.⁵³⁴ She is mentioned by Alan W. Barnett in his review of the RCAF murals at Chicano Park and the creation of the Chicana mural “Female

Inteligentsia,” which caused the local controversy.⁵³⁵ Shifra M. Goldman also cites Rodríguez (as well as Rosalinda Palacios and Antonia Mendoza) in her description of this mural; yet Goldman refers to them as the “RCAF women,” and not the Chicana artists “who had returned inspired from the first International Women’s Conference of 1975 in Mexico City.”⁵³⁶

Originally from Sacramento, Celia Herrera Rodríguez received her bachelor’s degree from CSUS in Art and Ethnic Studies in the 1970s. During her early arts education, Rodríguez took several courses with Esteban Villa, and in 1987, she earned an MFA from the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.⁵³⁷ Official membership or acknowledgment of past membership in the RCAF does not elude Herrera Rodríguez because of her gender. In 2006, for example, she aptly entitled her exhibition at U.C. Davis, “Sola, pero bien acompañada: Celia Herrera Rodríguez.”⁵³⁸ Describing herself / her work as ‘alone, but in good company,’ Herrera Rodríguez conveys that she does not identify herself as an artist-member of *any* group. The biographical notes she provided Cherríe Moraga for the 2006 exhibition monograph support this claim:

Herrera Rodríguez’ undergraduate work in Ethnic Studies at CSU, Sacramento introduced her to several Northern California Native artists and teachers, as well as to the contagious energy and political vision of the RCAF, a Sacramento-based Chicano arts collective. These early influences are what forged into Herrera Rodríguez’ political vision and art practice the necessary link between the struggle of Northern Native Peoples to regain and retain cultural and legal sovereignty, and the mandate of Xicanos, as an indigenous people, to refuse to relinquish the right to self-determination.⁵³⁹

Locating herself as a “link” between “Northern Native Peoples” and “Xicanos, as an indigenous people,” Herrera Rodríguez does not define herself by one affiliation; rather, she is a member of many tribes.

Moreover, Moraga’s meditation on Herrera Rodríguez’s use of tobacco adds insight into the tobacco she “wrapped in colorful papers” for her altar at the RCAF’s 2005 show:

Mainly associated with Lakota tradition, here the tobacco ties are made of paper, acknowledging the traditional sacred use of paper as a medium of prayer throughout the continent – from the Precolumbian Mexica culture to the contemporary spiritual practices of the Huichol and Otomí. The ties in this exhibition link a continent through shared prayer and the divisions imposed by a Spanish- and Anglo-America dissolve in the act.⁵⁴⁰

Mentioning the matrilineal ancestry to which the tobacco ties also refer, Moraga illuminates how Herrera Rodríguez's altars move through time and space in a veneration of past and present indigenous cultures.⁵⁴¹ A link between historical epochs, continents and cultures, the tobacco ties visualize Herrera Rodríguez's "alternative" perspective of mestizaje—as a mixture between native spiritualisms, and not with European religions. Her altars resonate with the "neo-indigenous" emphases in RCAF and CAC community activities, ceremonies and murals.

Alongside Garcia-Nakata and Herrera Rodríguez, Irma Barbosa also participated in the 2005 RCAF show; she exhibited a "clever image of UFW leader Dolores Huerta on a \$50 bill, playfully inscribed with a pun: 'In Dios We Trust.'"⁵⁴² Reminiscent of the RCAF's poster art, which often mixes humor with social protest, Barbosa's presentation of Huerta on a fifty dollar bill reconfigures the ultimate symbol of capitalism within a Chicana economic vision. Barbosa also added another iconic image of the Chicano Movement to her design—the silhouettes of UFW marchers who, in her rendering, carry American flags instead UFW ones. Barbosa's image playfully reminds viewers that the dream of economic equality has yet to be realized, since farmworkers' continue to struggle in the twenty-first century.

Read another way, however, Barbosa's vision of fair pay critiques the status quo of the current UFW. She challenges the reverence with which the UFW is treated in Chicano/a history, as well as in the RCAF, by asking viewers to judge the union by its present political agenda. During the 1980s, for example, César Chávez redirected the "labor militancy in the fields," which had once forced the "omnipotent growers" to coexist

with the UFW, into “supporting and funding Democratic candidates’ campaigns.”⁵⁴³

Historian Mike Davis claims that the UFW’s pro-worker agenda shifted toward an alliance with the Democratic Party:

To placate mainstream political forces and appear more respectable and moderate, Chávez shifted UFW strategies to include such moves as attacking undocumented workers. ... Chávez also purged the union’s leadership of radicals and concentrated power in his own hands. Those in the leadership who weren’t fired resigned when it became clear that Chávez would have the final say over virtually everything. The union’s power deteriorated.⁵⁴⁴

During this era of “mainstreaming” the UFW, Chávez made choices that altered the union’s political philosophy and centralized its power. UFW President Arturo Rodriguez and union co-founder Dolores Huerta advanced this modified vision, pushing the UFW as a lobbying firm that attempts change through legislation, and not on a grassroots level.

“In Dios We Trust,” then, questions the unquestioned veneration of the UFW in Chicano/a history and contemporary consciousness. With the farmworker’s economic dream yet to be realized, Barbosa asks viewers to decide if the UFW has become more of a political emblem and less of a working union. In terms of the 2005 RCAF exhibition, Barbosa’s piece was powerfully loaded for Chicano/a viewers and artists who consciously align with the early principles of the UFW. Although criticizing the UFW was dangerous terrain for Barbosa, it was also extremely reminiscent of the RCAF’s original working class values, which were often communicated through sharp and witty imagery.

With Barbosa’s contentious piece in mind, *Sacramento Bee* art correspondent Victoria Dalkey claims that “the inclusion of women in an RCAF show is a new but welcome wrinkle.”⁵⁴⁵ Dalkey offers no further details on the “wrinkle” that the Chicana artists’ caused; nor does she discuss the RCAF’s reaction to any of the images that the Chicana artists’ exhibited. Since there are no other clues about the source of the

“wrinkle,” Dalkey’s comment stands alone; it suggests that the RCAF was discontent over “the inclusion of women” in the 2005 show.

Despite Dalkey’s glib remark, historical evidence of Chicana artists planning, exhibiting and participating in RCAF art shows abounds, challenging the presumption that the RCAF was an all-male organization. Members and artists of the Centro de Artistas Chicanos, for example, requested funds in 1979 for a Chicana Artist Exhibit that took place in June 1980 and featured six women, including “Lorraine Garcia” and “Celia Rodriguez.”⁵⁴⁶ The budget description conveys that “Lorraine Garcia” was the principal coordinator for the show.⁵⁴⁷ In 1988, LRGP celebrated its “Quinceañero,” commemorating its fifteen-year anniversary with an RCAF art show that included Irma Barbosa. Along with images by Juan Carrillo, Barbosa’s drawing, “Sacra-Momento,” is the only artist’s work featured on the cover of the exhibit catalogue. Interestingly, Barbosa’s image portrays a community gathering at Southside Park; amidst several Chicano Brown Berets, a mariachi and a few other young men, a Chicana Brown Beret stands with her arms folded in the middle of the group; another Chicana, more pedestrian in attire, stands near her. The group of young people congregates below a tapestry of the Virgen de Guadalupe, hung over the central panel of Southside Park Mural.⁵⁴⁸ [Fig. 12]

Returning to the RCAF’s 2005 show, Josie Talamantez suggests that the “wrinkle” may have been caused by internal disputes over curatorial choices and designs, instead of overt sexism. In a 2003 article on the pending exhibit, Talamantez reveals that the show’s original date was fall 2004, six months before it actually opened. Also, according to Talamantez, the exhibit integrated three organizational components, reflected by the original title, “RCAF Pasandola Con Gusto: A validation of the present; remembrances of the past; and a tribute to the future.”⁵⁴⁹ Although the actual exhibition incorporated elements of each component, especially technological advancement in

digital printmaking, it did not realize three independent sections. Consequently, the show was renamed “Royal Chicano Air Force: 37 Years of Culture con Cultura” in order to emphasize the reflective component of the earlier design.⁵⁵⁰ Perhaps internal disagreements during the planning stages of the show concerned its conceptual changes, and not the artists who exhibited.

Lastly, Talamantez gives readers reason to believe that Barbosa’s artwork may have caused tension amongst the RCAF. Reviewing the RCAF’s history of community-based programming and services, Talamantez focused on their political commitment to the UFW: “Dolores Huerta, Co-Founder of the United Farm Workers, referred to the RCAF ‘... as a model artist collective that should be replicated in every city.’”⁵⁵¹ Entrenching the RCAF within a UFW context, Talamantez validates a particular political and class consciousness for contemporary members, one that comes with Huerta’s seal of approval. Barbosa’s depiction of Huerta on a fifty dollar bill is counterintuitive to the identity that Talamantez proposed. Reconfiguring traditional Chicano/a iconography as a critique, and not a validation of the RCAF’s guiding philosophies, Barbosa disrupted the RCAF’s Chicano/a consciousness, altering the “mythic narrative” of their “autotopographical” exhibition.⁵⁵² In other words, the inclusion of Barbosa’s work, and not Barbosa, challenged the “spatial representation” of the RCAF’s group identity.⁵⁵³

Whether or not Barbosa’s work challenged the collective vision for this exhibit, she vividly recalled incidents and memories of sexism in interviews with historian María Ochoa. Ochoa interviewed Barbosa and other founding members of the Co-Madres *Artistas* collective in Sacramento. Following a successful collaborative exhibit in 1992, Barbosa formed the Co-Madres *Artistas*, along with Carmel Castillo, Laura Llano, Mareia de Socorro, Helen Villa, and Simona Hernandez.⁵⁵⁴ Yet Barbosa and “most of the artists knew each other before the collective was established, and in some cases their relationships had spanned more than thirty years.” Ochoa adds that the Co-Madres

Artistas actively contributed to the “cultural institutions that are central to the Sacramento Valley Chicana/o community, such as the Royal Chicano Air Force, begun in 1969, and the Galería Posada, founded in 1972. Over the years, the La Raza artists who would later form the Co-Madres Artistas encountered each other at RCAF or La Raza Galería Posada events.”⁵⁵⁵ Like the Chicano/a social network in which the MALA-F developed, the Comadres also did not emerge in a vacuum. If, as Christopher Martínez claims, MALA-F was the precursor to the RCAF, then the RCAF was also the predecessor of the Co-Madres Artistas.

Ochoa’s approach to Chicana art history is innovative; she navigates a Chicana-centered narrative across the spatiotemporal divides of Chicano history; she primarily uses oral histories to do so; and she shows great ease with subverting the notion of historical objectivity:

As a Chicana native to California with some college training as a visual artist, I shared a somewhat similar background with many of the mujeres whom I interviewed. My ethnic, sexual, cultural, and class status as a “peer” of the artists complicated my role as interviewer. ... I was uncomfortable with the legacy of cultural observation that this form of research implied.”⁵⁵⁶

Relying on a Chicana strategy for bearing witness to her own presence in the history that she tells, Ochoa’s “Interpolation of the Self” section evokes the “testimonio” and contributes to “the critical attention” that scholars like Norma Cantú, Norma Alarcón and Antonia I. Castañeda have paid “to the genre in the last two decades.”⁵⁵⁷ The “testimonio” is a process that engages the Chicana/o scholar in self-reflexive prose as a method for reconceptualizing her intellectual field, which ranges from history, literature, geography, psychology, and several interdisciplinary ones. Ochoa testifies to her own experience as an act of “self-construction and contestation of power.” She creates a “relational” history between herself and the Chicana artists she examines to ultimately

produce a “women-centered space in *opposition* to masculinist or white feminist frameworks.”⁵⁵⁸

Operating in this Chicana tradition, Ochoa entitles chapter one, “Movements,” and does not assign a specific gender to the Chicano Movement. She also designates another independent (possibly, separate) subsection, “The Movement of Chicanas.” In this segment, she advances a gynocentric account of Chicana artists who navigated “the nexus of the Chicano Movement and U.S. third world feminism,” where the “artists of Mujeres Muralistas and Co-Madres strongly identified with the Chicano Art Movement, [but] did not conform their images of themselves or other Chicanas to fit its prevailing sexism.”⁵⁵⁹ Ochoa’s recognition of an independent Chicana self-awareness proves especially challenging when she turns to Irma Barbosa’s memories of the RCAF.

Introducing Barbosa to her readers, Ochoa describes her “as the lone Chicana artist who worked with the Royal Chicano Air Force, although other women were affiliated with the RCAF in other capacities. ... Her role as the sole female artist in an all-male group was the subject of speculation by women and men alike.”⁵⁶⁰ Regarding Barbosa as the only woman artist in the collective not only omits Lorraine Garcia-Nakata and Celia Herrera Rodríguez; but it also trivializes the vital contributions that “other women” made to the RCAF’s artistic vision. Furthermore, her oversight of the RCAF’s Chicana members and cultural practitioners is especially difficult to reconcile with her earlier claims of the “indivisibility of Chicana/o artistic production from Chicana/o activism.”

I believe that Ochoa does not explore Barbosa’s memories in more complicated terms because conventional understandings of Chicano Movement history suffice. Deeming the patriarchal paradigm of Chicano Movement history as an accurate for tool for historicizing the RCAF, Ochoa establishes a valid basis in which to share Irma Barbosa’s memories; but, in doing so, she also demonstrates “how gender narratives (or

any liberationist narrative) can cast a simplistic shadow over complex realities.”⁵⁶¹

Despite the collectivist philosophy that guided the RCAF to not privilege certain forms of labor over others, (which, ironically, Ochoa mentions numerous times as characteristic of Chicana/o arts collectives,) she chooses to summarize Barbosa’s reflections and not analyze them. Immediately following her introduction, for example, Ochoa provides Barbosa’s memories of the RCAF:

At the start women that were associated with the RCAF never painted. They were enabling within the community by trying to help with grants and funding and holding down jobs. But as much as we were all working hard, these women didn’t trust me. They thought I was some kind of tramp because I worked as an artist, side by side with the men. So I knew I had to handle myself a certain way in order to get their respect. So I’d be sitting around in my combat boots, while the girlfriends would be fluttering around the men like butterflies.”⁵⁶²

In her “combat boots,” Barbosa used the RCAF’s sardonic military image for more than group solidarity. She was also dressing strategically, subverting Chicano/a gender expectations by performing machismo in order to gain acceptance as an artist from both the men and the women. Her memories resonate with Alicia Gaspar de Alba’s explication of the “traitor” label given to Chicanas who resisted the gender oppression enforced by “the patriarchs and their female allies [in] the Chicano Movement.” Gaspar de Alba posits an “Adelita/Malinche” binary for Chicanas like Barbosa, who directly confronted sexism in the Movement. In this binary, Gaspar de Alba conveys that the rules of patriarchy were enforced across gender:

“Adelitas,” depicted in the popular Mexican revolutionary song as loyal supporters and followers of their men ... or “Malinches,” Eve-like traitors of *la Causa*, perniciously pursuing their own individual interests. Both terms derived from male interpretations of history and served male fantasies of women. Though historically both Malinches and Adelitas are constructed as “loose-women,” women who have stepped outside the boundaries of their gender to dictate their own sexual destiny, what we see in the Malinche/Adelita dichotomy is the difference, respectively, between the bad whore, who sells her body to outsiders, and the good whore, who offers her body for the sake of *la Causa*.⁵⁶³

Attempting to avoid the traps of the patriarchal binary, Barbosa cross-dressed and handled herself in “a certain way in order to get their respect.” In doing so, however, she also revealed a deep investment in the patriarchal ordering of Chicano/a gender norms.

Barbosa’s descriptions of how she was perceived by women in the RCAF and, in turn, how she perceived other women evokes José Montoya’s concerns over the assumption that the “RCAF was a specifically male thing.” Explaining that the women in the RCAF “thought I was some kind of tramp because I worked as an artist, side by side with the men,” Barbosa viewed these women as “girlfriends,” who were “flittering around the men like butterflies.” As she made great efforts to define herself outside the “Adelita/Malinche” binary and “dictate [her] own sexual destiny,” Barbosa perceived “other women” as the group’s “Adelitas.” Recalling Ochoa’s claim that Co-Madres Artistas “did not conform their images of themselves or other Chicanas to fit” gender stereotypes of the Chicano Movement, Barbosa’s gendered language suggests otherwise.

Delving further into Barbosa’s memories, Ochoa investigates two incidents in which Barbosa countered the tenets of the RCAF’s collectivism and encountered gendered fault lines. The first pertained to Barbosa’s artistic style, and the other to the group’s ranking system. Having trained with “master artist Tarmo Pasto when he was a professor at Sacramento State College,” Barbosa studied conventional fine arts and “employ[ed] traditional design elements in the composition of her paintings.”⁵⁶⁴ Feeling that her style was not accepted by the RCAF, who created “from a perspective of graphic artists and ... preferred instead to use bold designs and colors,” Barbosa recalled, “I was told that I needed to distance myself from Tarmo Pasto because my paintings were ‘too soft, too pastel,’ that they weren’t vibrant ‘like the Aztecs.’”⁵⁶⁵

Barbosa’s experiences challenge Esteban Villa’s assertion that the RCAF provided room for multiple styles. Clearly, Barbosa believed that her gender informed the group’s

opinion of her artistic style. But deciding what was “vibrant ‘like the Aztecs’” was much more complicated for the RCAF than overt sexism towards one of their Chicana artists.

Stan Padilla’s recollections on the RCAF’s mural, “Metamorphosis,” indicate that definitions of Chicano/a art and iconography were changing as the Chicano Movement developed. “Metamorphosis” was designed and completed over four years, from 1977 to 1980. The mural is located between 4th and L Streets, directly across from the State Capitol building. During the installation, the large butterfly endured widespread disapproval. Padilla recalled,

Up to that time, you know, so-called Chicano murals had to have a certain iconography. You know, a huelga bird, a pyramid, Aztec calendars—the old Mexican grocery store calendars and stuff. If it didn’t have that, well then it wasn’t Chicano. And that’s what bugged me because ... it’s a stereotypical viewpoint of the world and my whole idea was to help the world. What we [the RCAF] were doing is we were actually developing a vocabulary that can speak to all these things. ... the “Metamorphosis” butterfly was a real turn around ... because we were critiqued heavily by everybody, including our own. And by that time, our own people were gravitating to us and were faithful to us; and then our liberal supporters were going, “Well, that’s not a real Chicano mural. Where’s the power-fist? Where’s the bird?” We’re going, “I don’t speak monolingual here. I can speak several tongues.” ... I never did so much huelgaism. I mean, I did do all that stuff. I’m a scholar of pre-Hispanic art and everything. I know the symbology and all of that. Part of it was to retrieve our soul; to retrieve back in time and pull back and get some of that gentleness—like our own yin and yang. You can’t have one without the other. But that was what was being presented [in “Metamorphosis.”] And it was like you can’t have acidity without a base or it just burns something up. You can’t have all sun without shade. ... Often times, [the RCAF] called me the navigator in it all. And that’s a great concept [because] you get the planes flying and you get the runway ready. But where in the hell are you going? You don’t know where you’re going and you’re not leading your people towards something that is relevant and principled and it doesn’t have a future. You know, it’s like a shooting star; [it’s] great; it’s beautiful, but where does it go? ... So, butterflies represent what? [They represent] this change, you know, the whole metamorphosis from the caterpillar and when it goes on the ground and doesn’t have a big perspective. Move on to its next stage in which it takes its very self to sacrifice. It wraps itself and cocoons, which is a meditative state; it’s actually a transmutation. [It] really transforms, to change forms, which is what we were doing; we were changing [and] it was radical, especially for our own people. Our own people were just going like, “What the hell are these people doing?”⁵⁶⁶

The RCAF was not simply painting “vibrant like the Aztecs” when they tested the cultural boundaries of what was considered conventional Chicano/a iconography. Chicano/a art historians substantiate Padilla’s reflections that “Chicano murals had to have a certain iconography. You know, a huelga bird, a pyramid, Aztec calendars—the old Mexican grocery store calendars and stuff. If it didn’t have that, well then it wasn’t Chicano.”

Shifra M. Goldman, for example, writes that “one of the first issues Chicano artists addressed in the 1960s was the question of their Indian heritage.”⁵⁶⁷ Symbols, images and figures from indigenous history were a visual “embracing of pre-Colombian cultures in order to stress the non-European racial and cultural aspects of their background.”⁵⁶⁸ Goldman adds that indigenous imagery articulated the “question of racial identity” put forth in *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*, with its declaration of a “Bronze People with a Bronze Culture.”⁵⁶⁹ As union workers, student activists, and land reformists merged and populated the platforms of the Movement, Chicano/a visual culture incorporated representations of these issues and became characteristic of Chicano/a iconography. Tomás Ybarra-Frausto explains,

Artists soon codified themes, motifs, and iconography which provided ideological direction and visual coherence to mural and poster production. In the main, this artistic vocabulary included referents to pre-Colombian, Mexican, Chicano, Anglo American, and international sources. The search was for a visual language that was clear, emotionally charged, and easily understood.⁵⁷⁰

The RCAF’s “Metamorphosis” took the “clear, emotionally charged, and easily understood” language of Chicano/a visual culture and integrated a vision of the future world; one that was flourishing in harmony with nature, animals and families. The large mural does not convey nostalgia for pre-Colombian society or political solidarity and struggle; rather, it imagines an outcome for the civil rights movement; and, as Padilla explained, without such visions, “you’re not leading your people towards something that

is relevant and principled ... it doesn't have a future. You know, it's like a shooting star; ... it's beautiful, but where does it go?"

Moreover, the future world that "Metamorphosis" envisions is not gender neutral. In response to criticism of the mural, Padilla said that he "can speak several tongues," and elaborated on the imagery that the RCAF chose for "Metamorphosis": "Part of it was to retrieve our soul; to retrieve back in time and pull back and get some of that gentleness—like our own yin and yang." With the "power-fist" and the "huelga bird" visibly absent, "Metamorphosis" was interpreted as too gentle, and not confrontational enough for audiences accustomed to traditional Chicano/a iconography. Perhaps Padilla and his RCAF colleagues were contemplating the numerous Chicana-led traditions in Sacramento, like the CAC's ongoing cultural calendar, as they planned the mural in 1978. Completing the butterfly mural by 1980, after nearly two decades of the Chicano Movement, Padilla's memories of "Metamorphosis" convey that the RCAF was ready "to change forms, which is what we were doing; we were changing [and] it was radical, especially for our own people."

With "Metamorphosis" in mind, the criticism that Barbosa received for her art style reflects more than simple gender discrimination in the RCAF. During the 1970s, her color palette and technique fell outside the accepted Chicano/a iconography and practice, both of which were influenced by patriarchal doctrines like El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán. Yet "Metamorphosis" also faced sharp disapproval from "our own people" and "our liberal supporters." One wonders if it was only Barbosa's gender that caused her colleagues to critique her work. Perhaps Barbosa's artistic vision tested the immediate boundaries of what was and was not Chicano/a art. Perhaps her colleagues' resisted her style and point of view because it suggested a different or, even, a new path for future Chicana/o art?

If RCAF criticism over Barbosa's style is more complex than her interview with Ochoa suggests, her memory of being denied rank in the RCAF testifies to overt sexism. Recalling an incident involving the "RCAF's tradition of incorporating military language and dress in their public appearances and conferring rank on members,"⁵⁷¹ Barbosa poignantly narrated to Ochoa:

One night we were hanging out, sitting around a bonfire. The guys were drinking, and everyone was kickback. José says, "Well, tonight's the night we're going to give Irma her general's wings." One of the guys objected. He said, "No, this is not right. She's a woman. ..." Blah, blah, blah, he went on. This member was famous for having fits, throwing tantrums. So nobody wanted to make him mad because he would hold a grudge, and then he wouldn't help on the next project. I didn't get my rank as a general. I was hurt and pissed, you know? José told me I would have to become a general of women.⁵⁷²

Denied access to rank within the collective, Barbosa's recollections expose real gendered divisions of labor that the RCAF ideologically opposed. Regardless of the invaluable work many Chicanas' performed in the RCAF, reconciling Barbosa's memories with those of Montoya, Dr. Rios, Cervantes and Padilla is a difficult task. Still, the legacy of Chicana/o social networks offers insight into Chicana consciousness and traditions in the RCAF.

In response to being denied a general's rank, Barbosa heeded Montoya's advice, organizing an independent women's collective that practiced its own blend of art in service to the community. She explained that by "studying with a world-renowned artist ... I already had a foot in the door. So I just went through that door Pasto had opened for me. Then I didn't worry about being a foot soldier. I made myself a general, and I didn't need to announce it. I just lived it by bringing along other women who had creative abilities and leadership qualities."⁵⁷³ Esteban Villa was (and continues to be) supportive of Barbosa and the Co-Madres Artistas. In 1994, he introduced the group in their first exhibit catalogue, "Story/Visions from the Cactus Tree: A Catalogue of Fine Art." Ochoa notes,

Retired art professor and founding RCAF member, Esteban Villa, introduces the catalog by framing the collective's art with a description of each artist's style and strengths. Villa's introduction is similar to those found in most exhibition catalogues—in that he provides the audience with a visual and historical context of the works contained within. It is a playfully respectful piece. Because he taught each of the Co-Madres Artistas, he is able to reflect on their development as artists. ... He also comments on the groups' external and internal dynamics.⁵⁷⁴

Recalling the artists of the Mujeres Muralistas artists, who worked and studied with MALA-F artists, Barbosa and her comadres also engage(d) with Chicano artists in the RCAF. Ochoa provides an excerpt from Villa's introduction in which he extends the concept of individual styles within the RCAF to the women's collective: "Co-Madres Artistas and the community are synonymous. The contribution to the community by each member adds to the pride of the group. Individualism within the group is encouraged. It's a revelation to see each artist develop her style and aesthetic appeal."⁵⁷⁵ Villa's contemporary take on the women's individual styles challenges assumptions of simple sexism in the RCAF; his comments also suggest an evolution in his and the group's collective Chicano/a consciousness.

For my purposes, what is most interesting about the notion that "el Movimiento was deeply sexist" is how the RCAF remembers sexism, especially in light of the advancement of gender equality movements.⁵⁷⁶ Certainly, the Chicano/a consciousness espoused by the RCAF continues to draw on the tenets of the Chicano Movement; but it appears that only an idealized belief system, such as labor equality and communal activism, remain in their collective memory. During a 2007 roundtable discussion, for example, nine of the twelve RCAF artists were present to speak about the "early days," their poster art, and the circumstances that led each of them to the collective.⁵⁷⁷ The panel was supposed to last for two hours. Dr. Sam Rios served as its facilitator, explaining that he had predetermined questions for each of the artists to answer. But gender was at the forefront of the evening and dominated most of the allotted time; and

as the majority of the discussion was spent on women's experiences in the RCAF, Lorraine Garcia-Nakata took center stage.

Asked how she came to join the RCAF, Garcia-Nakata responded by moving between memories of the 1960s and '70s Chicano Movement, her identity as an RCAF artist, and her contemporary gender consciousness (Chicana self-actualization) that was/is shaped by the feminist gains of the 1970s to '90s. Listening to her nuanced responses, I was amazed at the skill with which she navigated her audience of multiple listeners—from her RCAF colleagues and historical mentors, college students of multiple races and genders, community people and academics. Garcia-Nakata recalled,

José Montoya and my mother and my older brother, Carlos, knew each other from Yuba College and that was when José was in Wheatland. ... [I] went to Yuba College and my older brother Carlos was really kind of important because by that time he started working here at [Sacramento] State. ... he told me one day that he wanted me to meet some artists and so we actually came into Sacramento and went to Esteban and Helen's house at the time. And he thought that it would be good for me to meet these guys because, you know, I already—I'd known since five that I was going to be an artist. I'd been painting for nine years by then and so that was my major. And I remember going to the house and I think it was Esteban and Rudy and 'Ishi and possibly José. ... It was a good contingent of the RCAF guys there; and one of the things as a woman, I think coming into that mix, and I have to thank my older brother Carlos for that and that is that he said, "This is my sister. And she's an artist." And then, you know, we started our whole discussion and, you know, that was really the beginning of my RCAF experience. But it was really later that I really understood the significance of what he was doing: "This is my sister." And he also said, "She's an artist," and that also said a whole other thing. And, you know, it's one of those kind of things where they figured out really quickly [art] was something I was skillful in and passionate about; and so it really did have an impact later because even as we'd be together at meetings, you know, we'd sit down and I'd be sitting in the circle with the guys, you know, when they'd go to talk about art. So it really set up a dynamic. ... A combination of the RCAF, the whole movimiento—all of that, that really took everything that I knew and sort of added a whole other lens to it that really kind of grounded me as a person ... what is possible in terms of an arts and cultural worker. ... I became very interested in ancient cultures like the Olmecas, Toltecas, and it became part of what we were drawing. So anyway, to make a long story short, I owe a great deal to my—well, they're like hermanos. Everybody at this table. We've known each other for many years; and we know each other's children's children. And had it not been for the RCAF, I think it would have been a very different experience. And being one of the

few women that were actually painting—I myself and maybe one other painter—it was always very interesting, I think, as a woman to work with the guys. Both having been a tomboy as a kid, it was very easy for me. And then also those two things that my brother said in the beginning.⁵⁷⁸

Recalling María Ochoa's claim that the Chicano Movement was constructed along a "traditional hierarchical family structure," Garcia-Nakata evoked this framework for several reasons. She wanted to tell *herstory* and the ways in which gender carves all histories, as Emma Pérez writes; but she also wanted to preserve her identity as an RCAF artist. Throughout her entire narrative, she repeated the "implicit carnalismo" of the Chicano Movement's ideology by restating the words of her older brother, Carlos, who "presented" her to the RCAF. In another moment, she extended the trope of "brotherly love" to her colleagues in the RCAF. Although Garcia-Nakata chose her words wisely, her thoughtful navigation moved *herstory* as a Chicana artist in the RCAF through, across, and, ultimately, out of Gaspar de Alba's "Malinche / Adleita" binary. She was not a Malinche, nor a "camp-follower." Her body was not sold or given for free to "la Causa." Rather, as an artist, she worked autonomously before, during and after the RCAF, since she had "known since five that I was going to be an artist. I'd been painting for nine years by then and so that was my major."⁵⁷⁹

Upon her entry into the RCAF, the men—and not Garcia-Nakata—"figured out really quickly [art] was something I was skillful in and passionate about; and so it really did have an impact later because even as we'd be together at meetings, you know, we'd sit down and I'd be sitting in the circle with the guys, you know, when they'd go to talk about art." For Garcia-Nakata, it was "a combination of the RCAF" and "the whole movimiento" that "really took everything that I knew and sort of added a whole other lens" to whom she already knew she was. Becoming "grounded" as "a person," and not as a pole in a patriarchal binary, Garcia-Nakata performed what Chela Sandoval calls differential consciousness. In other words, she maneuvered through and across the fault

lines of the Chicano Movement's patriarchal ideology, and the fraternal logic that played out in numerous 1960s and '70s Chicano/a art collectives, especially concerning perceptions of labor and art.⁵⁸⁰ From a new subject position, Garcia-Nakata's spoke inside and outside the demands of 1960s and 1970s Chicano/a consciousness; her final thoughts support this claim: "And being one of the few women that were actually painting—I myself and maybe one other painter—it was always very interesting, I think, as a woman to work with the guys. Both having been a tomboy as a kid, it was very easy for me. And then also those two things that my brother said in the beginning." First and foremost, Garcia-Nakata acknowledged her autonomy—her self-actualization from its very beginning, "having been a tomboy as a kid." Once her identity was established and publicly recognized, Garcia-Nakata then found it "very easy" to conclude on "those two things" her brother said.

Garcia Nakata's thoughtful response to a *simple* question reveals the complexity of the Chicana artist's experience during the 1960s and '70s Chicano Movement, as many navigated between the seemingly polarized fronts of Chicanismo and feminism. Of course, in terms of its official membership, no Chicanas were members of the MALA-F. But no Chicanos were original founders or members of the Bay Area's Mujeres Muralistas or, later, Sacramento's Comadres Artistas. Meanwhile, the RCAF had numerous Chicana members. Taken together, the MALA-F, the Mujeres Muralistas, the RCAF and the Comadres Artistas are integral parts of a larger social network that built the fields of Chicano/a art.

Historical evidence reveals that Chicanas were essential to the original formation of the RCAF, filling its ranks as its community services and political arm grew. The Co-Madres included a handful of former Chicana RCAF members, who established an independent group on their own terms but in dialogue with the RCAF. Finally, Chicanas of the RCAF did focus on "intracultural" activities via "narrative, domestic space, social

critique, and ceremony,” but these were prominent and visible in the Chicano/a neighborhoods that the RCAF served. Scholarship should not assume that the work women did to redefine their “intracultural roles” took place behind the closed doors of the Movement, or in the endnotes of Chicano Movement history.⁵⁸¹ Women and men negotiated, exchanged and, sometimes, resisted conventional gender norms in their collaborative efforts to reach community “self-determination and community empowerment.”⁵⁸² Attempting to translate the ethnonational consciousness that Chicanos and Chicanas practiced and preached, Alicia Gaspar de Alba asks, “Were women and men resisting and affirming the same oppressions? Yes and no.”⁵⁸³

Chapter Four: The Politics of Ethnic Identity and Space

“Here’s a little satire on Americanism. That’s mom’s apple pie and right there’s a basketball hoop that you see on garages where kids play. It’s a very American thing to do. What I did with this apple pie is when nobody was looking, I took out the green apples and put green jalapeños in it. So there’s a little humor.”

—Esteban Villa, December 23, 2000

“It was not that they wanted a piece of the ‘American pie,’ they wanted the freedom to bake their own pan dulce.”

—Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out Of The Shadows*, 1998 ⁵⁸⁴

In the introduction to *Toward a People’s Art* (1977), historian Ben Keppel recalls that “during my teenage years in Sacramento, the California state capital, located in the central valley, I had first admired the synthesis of artistic aesthetic and direct political message in the Chicano murals that appeared downtown in the seventies.”⁵⁸⁵ Certainly, the early Chicano/a murals that “appeared” to Keppel as a young man were created by the RCAF. This Chicano/a arts collective had embarked on a citywide mural campaign that encompassed remote and insulated spaces within the barrio—like a recreation room in the Washington Neighborhood Center—as well as places considered the most public in Sacramento—like the campus of the California State University. By 1979, the RCAF had “painted 15 murals in Sacramento, including a major work depicting various aspects of the Chicano culture on the outdoor stage at the city’s Southside Park.”⁵⁸⁶ Keppel must have seen many of these murals, including Armando Cid’s 1973 “Por la Raza United Flight” at La Raza Bookstore at 1228 F Street. But while Keppel admired the “artistic aesthetic and direct political message” of this storefront mural and others like it, those that the RCAF painted at the California State University during the 1970s did not survive the decade, let alone the year they were created. RCAF murals housed within Chicano/a barrios typically sustained their communities, and were not painted over until major demographic shifts occurred due to redevelopment. John Pitman Weber writes that the greatest threat to a community mural’s longevity is the very community that paints it: “The loss of the early murals has little to do with their real or perceived aesthetic quality

but everything to do with the short span of urban America, as neighborhoods change and property changes hands. A new owner commonly either has no identification with the mural or sees the wall as simply a rental space.”⁵⁸⁷ Although neighborhood and property changes explain the loss of community murals over time in Sacramento’s Chicano/a neighborhoods, these factors do not explain the university’s removal of RCAF and other community murals during the 1970s. [Fig. 1, 2, 3 & 4]

The different receptions that RCAF murals received in Sacramento’s Chicano/a barrios and at the state university are important chapters in the histories of the RCAF, the Chicano Movement and the community mural movement. I will engage each of these historical perspectives when I explore how the politics of ethnic identity in the 1970s played out in real time and in real space; I will also consider how the systematic removal of their collective murals at Sacramento’s California State University (CSUS) did not deter them from creating ethnonational murals in the 1980s and ‘90s. In fact, during the decades following the community mural movement and the civil rights era in Sacramento, the RCAF entered a new phase of public art, winning contracts and commissions to create murals in the more interethnic spaces of the capital city. Several scholars claim that the 1980s and ‘90s reflect a politically muted and culturally “celebratory” period of American muralism. According to John Pitman Weber, “critical imagery virtually disappeared after 1980 and was increasingly replaced by celebrations of ethnicity or historical themes.”⁵⁸⁸ But “critical imagery” in the RCAF’s later murals did not disappear. The artists began to encrypt and encode Chicano/a iconography and ethnonational perspectives into their murals outside “the Chicano/a part of town.”⁵⁸⁹

Infusing their interethnic murals with alter-Native perspectives of (local) American history, the RCAF revealed a collective ease with hybrid forms. In one section of the mural, L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. (1984), for example, Esteban Villa painted a piece of apple pie. He explained that the pie was “a little sarcasm on Americanism—that’s Mom’s apple pie

and right there is a basketball hoop that you see on garages where kids play. It's a very American thing to do. What I did with this apple pie is when nobody was looking, I took out the green apples and put green jalapeños in it."⁵⁹⁰ Redefining an American icon from the inside out, Villa reinvented its cultural value by infusing the exterior of the archetype with new content.

The RCAF's ease with political, cultural and, sometimes, comical fusions, however, is not unique to their Chicano/a arts practice. As Chicano/a Studies scholar and literary critic Rafael Pérez-Torres claims, Chicano/a artists and cultural practitioners often use, perform or represent *mestizaje* in their work as a means by which to express Chicano/a "subjectivity outside dominant paradigms."⁵⁹¹ Drawing on Pérez-Torres's theory, I will uncover the RCAF's "reliance upon creolization and border crossing as both technique and metaphor for aesthetic expression," extending his notion of strategic *mestizaje* to include the interior spaces of dominant paradigms. As the RCAF continues to create Chicano/a murals in the twenty-first century, they not only articulate Chicano/a subjectivity "outside dominant paradigms," but also *inside* the official spaces of the capital city. In 2001, for example, the RCAF created the Joe Serna Jr. Memorial Fountain at the CSUS campus; and in 2003, they painted "Eartharium" inside a building for the Capitol Area East End Complex that houses several offices for the state government.⁵⁹² Both of these murals literally and figuratively address Chicano/a subjectivity in obvious and not so obvious ways.

Typically, Chicano/a scholars treat 1960s and '70s Chicano/a murals as an extension of another "creative phenomenon" that began in the early twentieth century and in Mexico.⁵⁹³ Art historian Guisela Latorre claims that Chicano/a muralism's "historical connection to the Mexican mural renaissance is quite self-evident. Nearly half a century prior to the flowering of Chicano/a muralism in California, the state had already become an important site for Mexican muralism."⁵⁹⁴ Referencing murals by José

Clemente Orozco, Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros, Latorre's association between the two mural epochs is a political maneuver; she subverts the presumption of a border between Mexican and Chicano/a art history in order to challenge geopolitical definitions of "American" art history.⁵⁹⁵ Her connection also echoes the civil rights platforms that the Chicano/a generation put forth in the 1960s and '70s:

One of the major projects Chicano/a activists, artists, and scholars undertook during *el movimiento* was the recovery and recuperation of Chicano/a and Mexican history, a history, that of course, predated the encroachment of Spanish colonialism and Anglo-American expansionism. This history reclaimed a crucial piece of cultural information that had been denied to most of these activists in the US public school system.⁵⁹⁶

Esteban Villa's recollections on growing up in northern California and attending public school support Latorre's gloss of the educational exclusions that Chicanos/as counteracted during the Movement.⁵⁹⁷ In candid terms, Villa recalled his incorporation of pre-Columbian imagery into his art as an act of "recovery and recuperation":

In the beginning, I didn't know what I was doing, you know, I would use, for example, some of these Mayan, little deities. You know those little Mayan gods? And I would just rip them off the books, the anthropology books. Like somebody [would] say, "Hey did you do that little Mayan drawing there at the restaurant there in the kitchen?" [I'd reply] "Yeah, why?" And he says, "I don't think that's for food; that's when they sacrificed people and had them for dinner." Cannibalism. When they ate the heart and stuff. "You don't want that in a restaurant, do you?" "Okay, no." "Don't paint that anymore." "Okay, I won't." So I was all incorrect. But you know what? I was really trying. I just wanted anything to make a connection with something—anything. Because I was coming already from European, French Impressionism, German Expressionism, Dutch Realism, Italian Renaissance, you know. I was already coming from that. And when I landed here in Sacra in '60, I wanted my own influence.⁵⁹⁸

Wanting his "own influence" of course meant an aesthetic point of view that considered a south-to-north axis for American art history. Villa's humorous anecdote about "cannibalism" also alluded to an important issue that Latorre develops in her textual analysis of 1960s and '70s Chicano/a murals. In *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California* (2008), Latorre explores the Chicano/a appropriation of indigenous imagery in their early Chicano/a art. Initially crude and unrefined, Villa's

integration of “little Mayan gods” into his artistic style revealed what Latorre claims was a proclamation of “an indigenous identity as an identifying marker of the Chicano/a experience in this country.” She adds that “many of the indigenist images and ideas [that] Chicana/o artists and thinkers embraced did not come directly from their own personal indigenous experiences but from their process of politicization and self-education that prompted them to study Mexican history and culture.”⁵⁹⁹ Villa’s effort “to make a connection” with pre-Columbian imagery and Mexican muralism in his artwork exemplified a regional phenomenon in the late 1960s and ‘70s; Chicano/a artists throughout the US Southwest were deeply engaged in the reconfiguration of pre-Colombian motifs and Mexican revolutionary figures and themes in their community murals and poster art.

But while 1930s Mexican muralism inspired the artistic styles and populist ideologies of 1960s and ‘70s Chicano/a muralists, both public art movements began under entirely different economic circumstances and administrative processes. Latorre is also aware of these differences, noting that the social realities Chicano/a artists “faced as members of a racialized U.S. minority contrasted greatly with that of Rivera, Siqueiros, and Orozco, who formed part of an elite group of artists in Mexico with training from the San Carlos Academy and even in Europe.”⁶⁰⁰ Latorre draws on other scholarship to bolster her claims, particularly that of Alan W. Barnett, Eva Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez. While “high-placed government officials and recognized artists ... led the way to public art” in Mexico, Alan W. Barnett argues that the late twentieth century’s “community murals were grass-roots from the beginning.”⁶⁰¹ “Instead of well-funded projects in government buildings,” Eva Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez contend that 1960s and ‘70s Chicano/a “murals were located in *barrios* and ghettos of the inner cities, where oppressed people lived.”⁶⁰²

In addition to the different economic and social circumstances between the 1930s Mexican muralists and the Chicano/a artists of the 1960s and '70s, Chicano/a muralism also developed outside the US's official public art channels. As previously mentioned, the Works Progress Administration and the 1935 Federal Arts Project (WPA-FAP) set important social and cultural precedents for the 1970s community mural movement; they left a history of public murals on the walls of schools, post offices and other public places for an ensuing generation of socially conscious artists.⁶⁰³ Following the termination of the WPA-FAP, the General Services Administration (GSA) was created in 1949 and, later, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) was established in 1965. Public art became regulated and professionalized in the late 1970s, after the Department of Labor implemented the 1973 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Over time, CETA merged "a number of existing federal job training programs to help unemployed, underemployed, and disadvantaged individuals."⁶⁰⁴ Cockcroft and Sanchez note that "CETA introduced hundreds of young artists to muralism bringing public art to the 'heartland' for the first time since the 1930s."⁶⁰⁵ With CETA programs hiring and training cultural workers and artists, the NEA funded state arts councils that, in turn, funded metropolitan arts commissions, which hired local artists to create public art and arts programs throughout US cities and towns.

But during the early years of the community mural movement, "neither government support nor large-scale grants were necessary to initiate a mural project."

The authors of *Toward a People's Art* explain,

In the case of the very first murals, either walls were taken over by the community, as in some areas of Chicago condemned for "urban renewal," or walls belonged to friendly community organizations, or walls were donated by sympathetic landlords (who sometimes helped to subsidize the mural). An artist, a group of artists, or a community group with limited funds wanting to do an outdoor wall could subsidize their own painting.⁶⁰⁶

William Walker's 1967 "Wall of Respect" mural is frequently mentioned as the model of self-reliance and community collaboration during the early community mural movement. Painted on "a semiabandoned two-story building" in the South Side of Chicago, the mural was created by "some twenty black artists "and local residents."⁶⁰⁷ In fact, the collaborative process was an essential component of the mural's success; Walker and his colleagues consistently consulted local residents through informal meetings and in more organized workshops about the themes, historical figures and icons of the mural. As the authors of *Toward a People's Art* note, the mural "rapidly became an undeclared landmark" and local residents began "insisting on impressing their own stamp on the work. Many opposed the inclusion of Dr. King, demanding Stokely Carmichael instead."⁶⁰⁸ Highlighting the role of local history, identity and community consensus in the mural, as opposed to the adaptation of a broader political perspective, the authors of *Toward a People's Art* also mention that the mural "embodied a unique moment—the moment when a large public group of black artists in different media could collaborate publicly in direct contact with the community on the basis of being black."⁶⁰⁹ Black heroes, images and icons took center stage on a wall in the intra-ethnic space of Chicago's South Side. As Guisela Latorre writes that community murals served as "platforms for alternative educational experiences," I would add that they also served as ethnonational markers, mapping the interior spaces of intra-ethnic neighborhoods.

Meanwhile, on the west coast, Esteban Villa "had heard about the *Wall of Respect*, which was created a year before his first mural."⁶¹⁰ Alan W. Barnett notes that during the late 1960s, Villa was "taking his students from the studios of the Art Department at Sacramento State College to paint in the barrio."⁶¹¹ Although the RCAF's commitment to Chicano Movement ideology led them to establish many community arts programs and centers in Sacramento's Chicano/neighborhoods, José Montoya recalled

that their departure from CSUS also pertained to the art department's indifference to their presence on campus:

So those were the things that we brought as RCAF art instructors to the neighborhood. Esteban was in charge of teaching silk-screen classes; Eduardo Carrillo taught muralism and taught Barrio Arts classes for children, high school students and senior citizens. ... the art department was glad to get us out. So there were three Chicano art professors at Sac State at that time because there was tremendous push for them. Equal opportunity and all that. So where there had never been a Chicano in the art department—all of the sudden, there were three professors. And there were excuses for not being more cordial. One was that we were trying to force it on them. That they never really had intentions. So they were trapped—short of space, materials and so on. So we took that as a good opportunity to convince them that we would raise our own money. Just allow the students to go and work in the community. So silk-screening was started by Esteban. And it was in the community council, which was just around the corner from the center. And el barrio programa started with the mural program, followed by the educational Barrio Arts programs. It included young kids in the neighborhood and then we did something that we got credit for—eventually—high school credits for high school students to come and participate in the program.⁶¹²

Montoya's memory of the art department's lukewarm reception to the "three Chicano art professors" suggests that the RCAF partly originated through institutional exclusions.

That the RCAF's Chicano/a aesthetic is shaped by institutional exclusion is a provocative point to make about the collective, (as well as their persistent self-image as an outsider's organization that continues to subvert conventions and traditions of western art.) However, in the immediacy of the moment at CSUS, the barriers that the art department put forward did not prevent Montoya and the emerging RCAF from realizing a truly community-based organization; rather, as Montoya suggests, they turned institutional exclusion into "a good opportunity." Shut out from classrooms and resources on campus, Montoya "was left on his own to devise a classroom and a program," and did so when he first "obtained a room in the Washington Neighborhood Council area."⁶¹³ [Fig. 5]

Located at 16th and D Streets in the Alkali Flat, the Washington Neighborhood Center (WNC) was an integral gathering place for the Chicano/a community during the

1960s, '70s and beyond. Esteban Villa explained that the Center “used to belong to the Catholic Church. And then they were using it kind of like—as a place for meetings and get-togethers. And then it was donated to the Mexican community of the barrio and [the community] took it and we held classes there with a lot of the young kids.”⁶¹⁴ In 1969, the neighborhood council and WNC administrators asked Villa to paint a mural on site as part of their “Summer Youth Study program.”⁶¹⁵ Along with local Chicano/a youth who used the Center, Villa and his university students painted “Emergence of the Chicano Social Struggle in a Bi-cultural Society” in 1969.⁶¹⁶ On a tour of the mural in 2004, Villa elaborated on the circumstances that led to the mural’s creation:

That’s how I painted that first mural. “Well, we’ve got a wall in here.” [I asked,] “Well how much—what do I need?” “Just start painting.” You know, I’d bring my students and start. [I’d ask,] “Don’t I need permission? Papers to fill—insurance, money, paint?” “No, just start.” [I said,] “Okay.” So we did it. We had our—brought paints from the art department, without them knowing about it. Brushes, students, manpower. So yeah, it has a history. This happens to be the only place in Sacramento that let us use their backyard so to speak to establish social and community organizations to improve people’s lives. Improve children’s [lives,] staying in school, old, parents with nutritional classes, English-speaking classes. It’s big. It was a huge difference in those early years, you know in 1968—’69 and still here.⁶¹⁷

Villa’s reflections on “Emergence” further substantiates the descriptions that Eva Cockcroft et al provide in *Toward a People’s Art*, regarding the self-sufficient nature of the community mural movement. Asked by the WNC to paint a mural with and for the community, he relied on his own resources—“paints from the art department” and “brushes, students, manpower”—to complete a collaborative mural on a community donated wall. The importance of self-determination in the RCAF and in the local Chicano/a community was key factor in the mural’s completion. While RCAF artists often cite the lack of official support for their early murals as symptomatic of a larger devaluation of Chicano/a art in the US, they also exalt the do-it-yourself mentality that pervaded Chicano/a barrios during the late 1960s and ‘70s. [Fig. 6]

Like the “Wall of Respect,” “Emergence” boldly exalts a history and iconography that represented Sacramento’s local Chicano/a experience. Restored by Villa and his students in 1994, “Emergence” graphically showcases “symbols and images of the farmworker’s struggle, the Brown Berets, and the social climate” of the Chicano Movement.⁶¹⁸ Alan W. Barnett describes the mural’s main figure as that of a “naked howling man of knotted muscle [who] is bursting out of his constriction and the wall.” On both sides of the man, “other figures stream outward, one a Brown Beret gripping a rifle, the other a woman who carries books titled *Principles of Education—Aztlán and El Grito*.”⁶¹⁹ Below the Brown Beret and the woman holding books, “the painters pictured a *calavera* with daggers in it, an indictment on the current condition of Chicanos, and a pregnant woman with a child coming forward, suggesting the future.”⁶²⁰ Barnett’s analysis primarily focuses on the nakedness of these figures, which he reads as demonstrative of the Chicano/a generation’s growing self-awareness: “The emphatic flesh and bone rendered roughly by big patches of color and thick, shadowy line was a powerful way of expressing the anger and energy of people who were becoming conscious of their possibilities.”⁶²¹ Becoming conscious of pre-Columbian and Mexican histories, cultures and art, RCAF artists were also connecting with the concept of *mestizaje* as a basis for their ethnonational identity.

In his own interpretation of the work, for example, Villa identified details of the “bi-cultural reality” that Chicanos/as faced during the 1960s and ‘70s. His understanding suggests that the contemporary Chicano/a community continues to encounter many of these issues. He explained,

See this special figure? If you notice [in] one hand he has the cross, which symbolizes religion. And the other one is a book; you know, it’s a—what’s more important, church or state? Should a country be run by the religion, the church, god, or should it be run by the courts and the state? So that’s what that is right there and then behind it is the farmworkers’ struggle.⁶²²

Pointing out the broader spiritual and political questions that “Emergence” raises, Villa touched on a topic to which many local Chicano/a residents would be sensitive, given that Sacramento was a major site of UFW activism during the 1960s, ‘70s and beyond. Behind the central image of the man holding a cross and book, Villa and his students painted an imposing UFW eagle, the icon of the union and the farmworkers’ movement. As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, the UFW was (and is) an important aspect of Chicano/a identity across northern and central California, including the barrios of downtown Sacramento. Guisela Latorre is also quick to mention that “various members of the Royal Chicano Air Force came from farmworker families and had experienced first-hand the harsh working conditions in the fields and the ravages of pesticides.”⁶²³ As Villa recalled earlier that the Catholic Church donated the WNC to the community during the Chicano Movement era, the Center was actually started by the “Fremont Presbyterian Church as an outreach program in 1952.”⁶²⁴ Regardless of the religious denomination, however, the connection between Sacramento’s Chicano/a community and its religious organizations is as real as the building that houses “Emergence.” Historians like Vicki L. Ruiz and F. Arturo Rosales have documented the dynamic relationships that Mexicans, Mexican Americans and Chicanos/as formed with the Catholic Church. From early twentieth century mutual aid societies, to union solidarity and support, religion took on different meanings and roles during the 1960s and 1970s Chicano Movement. The church became an important vehicle for Chicano/a organizing, unionizing and consciousness-raising.⁶²⁵

The RCAF and the Cultural Affairs Committee utilized spaces in the Our Lady of Guadalupe School at 730 S Street throughout the 1970s, for example. Our Lady of Guadalupe was one of the original sites of Breakfast for los niños, the Centro de Artistas Chicanos and several other RCAF community programs. Villa’s interpretation of “Emergence” is complicated. On one hand, he acknowledged the political role that

religion plays in Chicano/a consciousness; on the other hand, he alluded to the limitations of faith-based politics. He even referenced a more “democratic” perspective, or the separation of church and state, which is a political philosophy considered more “Western” than Chicano/a, but nevertheless a critical influence on Chicano/a civil rights consciousness. In the layers of his interpretation, Villa revealed his ease with the hybrid forms that had developed from a lifetime of experiences as a farmworker, a war veteran, a student, an artist, an educator and a local community member.

Barnett’s interpretation of “Emergence” does not address the local Chicano/a audience that Villa describes in the struggle between religious and political ideologies. Instead, Barnett advances a broader commentary on the Chicano/a aesthetic; he reads the naked figures as an expression of Chicano/a art’s neo-indigenous spirituality—as representative of an earthy yet ethereal self-awareness:

The visualization of the naked or seminaked body as a symbol of the totality of human powers—intellectual and spiritual as well as physical—was to remain a major resource of Chicano art. ... This elemental sense of human energy and its connection with the earth was to give Chicano murals a unique character that combined the physical with the visionary.⁶²⁶

Barnett’s analysis of “Emergence” is perfectly plausible and relevant. Indigenous imagery and motifs were instrumental in the major public murals of the RCAF. Yet by privileging a broader, more general perspective of Chicano/a art, he skews the localized issues and actual historical circumstances that Villa continued to identify throughout the mural. Turning to other images and details, Villa added:

The title of it [is] “Emergence of the Chicano Social Struggle in a Bi-cultural Society.” And what makes it ... first a Chicano mural [is] I think it was the first of its kind that actually used the word ‘Chicano’ in a mural as you see it right there. So that’s the Brown Berets ... and then all the people that have died in the barrio and in the canneries are symbolized by—see those daggers on that skeleton? And every dagger is every death, whether it was through accident in the fields, the student shootings, overdose, you know, shootings, stabbings. And over here, is the struggle to survive. That’s why you see this woman there armed with what is an education. You know, the principles of education, *El Grito*—the

magazine from Berkeley. Anyway, this side symbolizes hope and the other one over there is struggle. Dare to struggle, dare to win. This one right here is, if you notice this skeletal Posada figure ... this is to Posada. Now this is a woman giving birth to life again—a recycle of life. You see that little baby down there? There's another one to be born. This one's already born and is reaching out for survival. Dare to win, dare to struggle. So this is hope.⁶²⁷

Certainly, Villa perceived “Emergence” as an epic mural; but he also viewed it as specific to the Chicano/a community that used the center, lived in the neighborhood, and worked in the local canneries, fields or railroad yards. The Alkali Flat was home to several canneries, beginning in the late nineteenth century, with the Sacramento Packing and Drying Company at 6th and G Streets and, later, in the 1930s, the Libby, McNeill and Libby fruit cannery at 17th and C streets.⁶²⁸ During the packing industry boom, “the Alkali Flats became a center for Mexican businesses and residences” due to the “increasing number of Mexicans working in the food packing and railroad industries.”⁶²⁹

Sacramento Union reporter Lance Armstrong writes that “names such as Libby, McNeill and Libby and Bercut-Richards are no strangers to local residents” since Sacramento’s “position as a former cannery capital remains one of its many historical claims to fame.”⁶³⁰ Armstrong’s emphasis on a local identity that’s rooted in a particular industry and laboring class is even more exact in Villa’s interpretation of the mural: “All the people that have died in the barrio and in the canneries,” Villa explained, “are symbolized by ... those daggers on that skeleton.” After pointing out the mural’s commemoration of the Chicanos/as living and working in the Alkali Flat, Villa also mentioned the journal *El Grito*, revealing its connection with the RCAF’s history. (Recall, that Villa and Montoya were living in the Bay Area and involved in the MALA-F when *El Grito* was established.) As a student activist, Juan Carrillo was introduced to José Montoya through “the magazine from Berkeley” and, eventually, to the RCAF. Lastly, the local and regional experiences that Villa connected throughout the mural culminated in the thematic framework he posits between Chicano/a aestheticism and Mexican art

history. As “every dagger” symbolizes “every death “in the Alkali Flat and surrounding Chicano/a barrios, the skeleton figures also evoke those created by José Guadalupe Posada during the Mexican Revolution. Thus, in his visual analysis of his mural, Villa mixed the local with the regional, and the regional with the international; he crisscrossed through different times and spaces of history. For Villa, there are no essential boundaries—no geopolitical borders and epochs that divide art, history or ancestry; Chicano/a art, after all, is a mixture of several “people, places, and things.”⁶³¹

Stepping back from visual analyses of “Emergence” and returning to the steps involved in its creation, another essential component of RCAF muralism pertains to their collaborative process. The concept of painting a community mural within an actual community was an important part of making murals for the RCAF; they believed it defined them not only as artists, but also as Chicanos/as.⁶³² A collective course of action was implemented throughout the entire “Emergence” project—from the neighborhood council’s request for a mural and the donation of space, to the individual and group strategies used to gather resources and complete the work. The RCAF appreciated the reach of the community mural as an “effective way of communicating with people” on multiple levels.⁶³³ Not only could a mural “relay the history, culture, and social conditions of Indio / Mexicano / Chicano people on a large scale,” but, as José Montoya explained, the whole process “was about keeping the community organized for change and raising people up.”⁶³⁴ This process was also reciprocal since, as Guisela Latorre notes, “Chicano/a artists who invited local community members to collaborate in the creation of murals ... underwent a radical process of what Paulo Freire would call *conscientização*, or ‘conscientization,’ through which they became conscious of their own oppression [and] of their own potential and power to bring about change at an individual and collective level.”⁶³⁵

The impact of making community murals was not lost on the RCAF artists; each of them became deeply invested in their group identity, their brand, and their collective point of view. The sheer volume of murals they created in the 1970s under the RCAF mantle and (initially) without institutional support attests to their social vision and art values. In 1974, for example, Juanishi Orosco and Malaquíás Montoya painted “Farmworkers Program Building Mural” on an interior wall of the Sacramento Concilio at 1911 F Street. In 1975—’76, Esteban Villa, Ricardo Favela and Louie Gonzalez painted, “When Your Mother Asks You Who You Are” at the Concilio on an interior wall of the council’s dining hall. Armando Cid also painted “Para la Raza del Barrio” and “Reno’s Mural” in 1976 on the façade of Reno’s Café in the Alkali Flat at 12th and D Streets. Reno’s Cafe was the home of José Montoya’s “One More Canto,” a Tuesday night Chicano/a poetry series that attracted poets from all over northern California. [Fig. 1—4] Established in 1976, the series lasted for four years at “the Reno Club.” “More than 200 people jammed into Reno’s Café” in 1979 to listen to “16 Chicano poets. Whether the poets were local and unpublished or had several anthologies to their credit, the 3-year-old festival, entitled ‘One More Canto,’ is for the people by the people.”⁶³⁶ Although the “One More Canto” series ended at Reno’s Café, Ricardo Favela recalled that it continued in the “poetry nights over at Luna’s. Luna, Art Luna, that’s poetry—that’s where the Reno Club went.”⁶³⁷

Outside the main “grid” of downtown Sacramento, the RCAF made murals in the surrounding Chicano/a enclaves. Their Centro de Artistas Chicanos, for example, was located in several different places throughout its twenty-plus-year existence. One of the most important locations was 2904 Franklin Boulevard.⁶³⁸ As early as 1979, the RCAF had wanted to move the Centro to “the Franklin-Fruitridge area, where the Chicano population is rising.”⁶³⁹ By 1982, the Centro was up and running in this southernmost section of the city. It housed the Barrio Arts Program, the RCAF Danzantes, and the

RCAF Graphic and Design Center.⁶⁴⁰ The Franklin-Fruitridge area became one of the largest Chicano/a neighborhoods in Sacramento during this time; but before the 1980s, it had also been the site of a Mexican American neighborhood. In fact, the “far south side on both sides of Franklin Boulevard” was known as “Barrio Alegre.”⁶⁴¹ Named after “Lupe Franco’s landmark Spanish theater, Teatro Alegre,” a working class barrio emerged during the 1940s with “countless Mexican enterprises.”⁶⁴²

Meanwhile, Aeronaves de Aztlán, an automotive co-op administered by the RCAF’s Centro was located at 3670 Sacramento Boulevard. “Cognizant of the barrio’s need for its own art,” the RCAF was also aware of the need for Chicano/a business.⁶⁴³ They addressed this need in the mural they created on an exterior wall of the garage.⁶⁴⁴ Painted by Juan Cervantes and Louie Gonzalez in 1979, Shifra M. Goldman writes that it “depicted a proud Chicano mechanic holding a wrench and surrounded by billowing clouds, a blazing sun, and an eagle.”⁶⁴⁵ Although the mural was “visible to everyone,” it was “‘readable’ by only a few,” delivering a particular message to a Chicano/a audience.⁶⁴⁶ On his outstretched arm, for example, the Chicano mechanic dons a UFW flag as an armband. The hand in which he holds his wrench is also clenched, reminiscent of the iconic power-fist that’s often associated with the Chicano Movement. The image exudes the do-it-yourself attitude that the RCAF exalted in their early murals. Moreover, the Chicano’s outstretched arm also anticipates the arrival of the eagle, which hovers to his left. Clearly, the scene recalls an important pre-Colombian motif on the founding of Tenochtitlan—or the image of an eagle perched on a cactus with a serpent in its mouth. But in the RCAF’s mural, the founding story is reconfigured to address the spatial concerns of the local Chicano/a community. Latorre elaborates, “The indigenist aesthetic that many California muralists generated was indeed the symbolic counterpart to the more concrete claims for public space that their work required.”⁶⁴⁷ The “Aeronaves de Aztlán” mural fused pre-Colombian history with Chicano/a iconography, announcing

that a Chicano/a establishment was open and ready for business along an important commercial corridor. [Fig. 7]

Ease of access to physical space in Sacramento's Chicano/a barrios initially overshadowed any proprietary concerns for the RCAF artists. For Montoya, murals like "Emergence" and "Aeronaves de Aztlán" were models of "the only true Chicano art" because they "toed the political lines of el Movimiento, art of liberation, art of protest, working-class art."⁶⁴⁸ Along with the RCAF's community arts programs and centers for silkscreen poster-making, the Chicano/a community provided the space for the RCAF to visually articulate Chicano/a identity in the most clear and certain terms. Reflecting on the group's early murals, for example, Ricardo Favela explained why "Emergence" is "considered the oldest Chicano mural" in the area. He continued,

One of the reasons it's a Chicano mural is the word 'Chicano' is on it. And there might be some other ones that may have been done, but no one knows because they don't say 'Chicano.' Esteban did that in 1969, I believe, with his students. And he and I did several more murals before—one at the Washington Community Council and we did one at the concilio, the farmworker building. Those are all gone.⁶⁴⁹

Favela's simple focus on the mural's title addressed the politics of ethnic identity and space during the 1960s and '70s. Naming and self-definition were critical issues for many racial and ethnic groups during the civil rights movements. Not only did Villa and his students paint a graphic mural full of message-based icons and ethnonational imagery, but they also spelled out to whom the mural was addressed—the "Chicano" emerging in the folds of a "Bi-Cultural Society." That Villa painted the mural "with his students," was also not lost on Favela. "Emergence," as well as the murals he created with Villa, embodied the cooperative spirit in its form—or the collaborative process out of which the mural developed.

In addition to the particular Chicano/a aesthetic that RCAF murals embodied, Favela also touched on the loss of their early works. Threats to the permanence of

RCAF murals grew endless by the late 1970s and today, most of their early murals are gone. Juanishi Orosco remarked that the RCAF's murals were "wiped out [because] the community back then didn't own the buildings; so whenever their funds ran out, the repainting of the buildings [happened.] You know, we lost quite a few of them. We were doing quite a few murals; I think the one at the Washington Neighborhood Center is I think the only one that still exists."⁶⁵⁰ With the exception of one of Armando Cid's original "Ollin" murals in the Washington neighborhood, Orosco's assessment is accurate.⁶⁵¹ The group's do-it-yourself attitude aided them at the height of their mural campaign; but any immediate advantages of less government involvement did not prove beneficial over time. [Fig. 8]

In fact, all throughout the late twentieth century, building ownership was subject to change and neighborhoods were rezoned for commercial redevelopment. In his firsthand account of Chicago's community mural movement, John Pitman Weber elaborates on the pros and cons of making community murals without official sanction or protocol:

The lack of municipal involvement was often an advantage. There were—and in Chicago there still are—no government permissions to delay work. On the other hand, there is also no recourse, no requirement for notification, such as nominally required by California law. A few artists early on used one-dollar-per-year leases. Normally these ran for only five years and were voided upon sale. With few exceptions, a new owner removes existing murals. Or, less commonly, a new director of a center, without personal connection to the art, will remove a mural.⁶⁵²

As Pitman Weber observes, local connections to a community mural were vital for its survival. Often, community consensus determined a mural's lifespan. Community artists Jane Weissman and Janet Braun-Reinitz elaborate on the role that "consensus" plays in community mural-making:

The essential element in developing these murals is consensus. Artists working with community organizations usually find that consensus already exists around a single issue seriously affecting local residents: affordable housing, gentrification, health care, drugs crime. Artists may be presented

with a theme that is agreeable to all: ethnic solidarity and cultural pride, pride of place and neighborhood history, heroes and icons, the joys and values of learning.⁶⁵³

As an example of the consensus process, Weissman and Braun-Reinitz mention the 1996 mural, “We’re Still Waiting” and its central image of “children at a stoplight waiting to safely cross the street.” Although the scene seemed harmless, Weissman and Braun-Reinitz explain that there were “underlying tensions of a six-year neighborhood campaign to get a street light at a dangerous, unmarked intersection used by patrons of three day care centers, a library, and a park.” Finally, “with the installation of a four-way stop sign, the mural—no longer needed to energize the community—was replaced.”⁶⁵⁴ “We’re Still Waiting” articulated a community’s grievance and performed a collective action; it did not merely exist, but was deeply engaged in a local dialogue. Subsequently, when the community was successful in their collective call for action, the mural’s removal was a natural stage of its collaborative process.

While Weissman and Braun-Reinitz make a strong case for the role that community consensus plays in the lifespan of community murals, John Pitman Weber contends that institutional disinterest also determines the fate of 1960s and ‘70s murals. On a national level, city arts commissions and conservation groups fail to protect community murals because they are not considered important works of art by museums and art historians, or valuable features of local architecture by urban redevelopers.⁶⁵⁵ Pitman Weber adds, “Municipal establishments perhaps never viewed them as anything but temporary, quick dress-ups that could also be sponsored, or at least tolerated, as cheap window dressing for down-at-the-heels areas or interesting adjuncts to ethnic tourism, which happily could also keep restless teenagers busy.”⁶⁵⁶ Challenging the notion of community consensus, Pitman Weber wonders if local acceptance of a community mural’s destruction is influenced by the official “consensus” that deems community art as “temporary” solutions to urban blight and poverty.⁶⁵⁷

When the RCAF initiated a mural campaign at Sacramento State University (CSUS), community consensus was not a factor, nor a vague consideration for campus officials. The RCAF's murals and those of many students were consistently removed by the administration. It seemed that what was good for one community in Sacramento was not good for another. Dr. Sam Rios lamented that only one mural from the 1970s remains on school grounds: "There's 'Tlaloc' by Henry Ortiz in Sacramento Hall. That's the only community mural left."⁶⁵⁸ Ortiz painted "Tlaloc" in 1972 on an interior wall near an entrance to the administrative building.⁶⁵⁹ Ironically, it sits below a line of photographs that display former university presidents. One president of particular importance was James Bond (1972—1978). Bond oversaw all public art projects after the Board of Trustees passed a policy on September 26, 1973, requiring that proposals for public art first receive the "approval of a special committee designated by the president" and then the consent of "the president himself." Next, the designs were to be "submitted to the Chancellor's Committee on Campus Planning, Buildings and Grounds for recommendation to the Board of Trustees for action."⁶⁶⁰

In 1974, Villa and his students were in the midst of painting "Pandora's Box" on the exterior of the campus pub when "a security officer arrived to tell them that it couldn't be done."⁶⁶¹ According to student reporter Jim Austin, the mural "was to represent the story of Pandora's Box ... but with a modern twist, as can be ascertained with representations of rockets, jets, hyperdermic needles, etc."⁶⁶² Officially deemed a "defacing [of] the walls" by assistant to the Dean of Students David Perrault, the mural was painted over "within the hour." Villa commented in the college newspaper that the administration either didn't "want anything controversial or they don't like color."⁶⁶³ All kidding aside, Villa and his students did not have the proper permission to paint on university walls; upon further inquiry into the matter, Alan W. Barnett learned that "the state chancellor's office in 1979 had no recall of these events but pointed out that it had

retained the authority to approve all exterior art on campuses between 1973 and 1977 when it delegated this responsibility to the presidents of the individual universities and colleges.”⁶⁶⁴

Recalling his remarks in the college newspaper, Villa contextualized the removal of “Pandora’s Box” in more serious terms. In doing so, he laid bare what was at stake during the 1970s for the RCAF as they struggled for equal access to public space as well as public visibility:

It should go on record that we definitely do not—with our art—want to destroy this country. That’s not our purpose—to be destructive and bring down the government. It seems that way, and we’ve been accused of that. But not as educators, you see. You don’t build up the democratic process or a two party system with destruction. In fact, education is constructive and what was interesting is what they were opposed to—our connecting with history.⁶⁶⁵

For Villa, who and what had legitimate access to public space at the local state university concerned more than campus murals; conflicts over space also concerned his and his students’ rights to access particular histories and cultural perspectives.⁶⁶⁶ Official recognition of such access was also at issue for Villa. The creation of community murals—in this case, student murals on campus—was an integral component of Villa’s Chicano worldview; subsequently, he viewed the murals that he and his students created as an extension of his ethnic identity.

So the stakes were high then when, according to Barnett, he and José Montoya returned to school in the fall of 1976 and discovered that “seventy student murals” had been whitewashed during the summer. Villa “flew into a rage and began painting an impromptu mural until restrained by security personnel. The mural survived only forty-five minutes, he says, and Villa himself hardly lasted longer, since efforts were made to fire him for defacing public property.”⁶⁶⁷ In another report of the event, Villa was “outside of the SSU cafeteria,” painting an unsanctioned mural when he “was stopped after about

an hour by campus police. He said campus painters promptly blotted out his beginning.”⁶⁶⁸

The systematic removal of student murals at CSUS led Villa and the rest of the RCAF to take a public position that adhered to their quasi-militant persona: “For every mural whitewashed or demolished,” they declared, “we will paint two more.”⁶⁶⁹ Further vowing “to continue their assault on blank walls and to promote Indian art and culture with more murals,” the RCAF took their campaign off campus and into other public places deemed off limits. On November 7, 1978, “Mr. Villa began working on the tunnel walls under Interstate 5.”⁶⁷⁰ Painting “one of the major entrances to Old Sacramento,” Villa and his students redefined the “walkway between the K Street Mall and Old Sacramento.”⁶⁷¹ Interestingly, the muralists were at the future site of the RCAF’s 1984 mural, L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. Yet, at the time of the unauthorized painting, Sacramento Housing Authority director, William Seline, remarked bluntly in *The Sacramento Bee*, “I can tell you right now that it won’t remain.”⁶⁷² Villa claimed that the impromptu mural was an attempt to “bring more attention to how murals are being painted over throughout the city without proper permission from the artists.”⁶⁷³ His challenge to the status quo was swiftly countered by the police, as Ricardo Favela made clear in the letter he wrote to Mayor Phil Isenberg following the altercation. While working on the mural, Favela explained, “Sacramentos ‘finest’ decided to ask Mr. Villa for his permission slip (obviously forgetting Mr. Villa’s many fine contributions to the city.) ... this is just information I thought you’d be interested in, and don’t be surprised if you receive a midnight call from me asking you ... to get Mr. Villa and probably myself out of jail.”⁶⁷⁴ Although the tone of the letter is humorous, Favela conveyed the RCAF’s resolve in their commitment to making community murals in public places: “We welcome whatever help you may deem necessary for the continuation of aesthetics and spiritual ceremony as a way of life. Again, I remain yours truly, in community growth.” Both Villa’s action and

Favela's letter were ethnonational acts that engaged larger "questions of free expression," and tested "the ability of students and faculty to pursue regular curricula without administrator interference."⁶⁷⁵

The RCAF was not alone in their ethnonational acts; concerns over access to public education, representation and space grew in the Chicano/a community during the mid-1970s. Back on campus, for example, Chicano/a artists, students and local community members challenged the "accidental" removal of the 1970 mural "La Cultura" at CSUS. Along with the other student murals destroyed during the summer of 1976, due to Chancellor Dumke's Executive Order and President Bond's enforcement, "La Cultura" was "cut up into library shelving."⁶⁷⁶ Painted on "six wooden panels," the mural was "mounted onto the front of Lassen Hall," which originally served as the college library. According to university archivist Kurt Kuss, "La Cultura" was painted by Ed Rivera, "a Sacramento police officer and former Sac State art student [who] spent two years working on the mural. It was donated to the University by the Concilio, a local service organization to the Chicano and Spanish speaking community."⁶⁷⁷ Two years after the mural was destroyed, President Bond apologized to the Sacramento Concilio and Rivera was contracted to replicate the mural. The 1978 reproduction was renovated during the summer of 1998 and rededicated in the fall of '99.⁶⁷⁸

The majority of articles written in the 1990s and early twenty-first century are similar to Kuss's brief synopsis and neglect several important details regarding the mural's community history. Dr. Rios, for example, agreed with Kuss that "President Bond saw that he had made an error when he ordered to remove—paint over and destroy them." But Dr. Rios also added that "the original mural was painted by MAEP students. And there was an inscription on it that read, 'This mural is to bridge the gap between the community and the university.' Bond scrapped it and then commissioned Ed Rivera to redo a new mural."⁶⁷⁹ Meeting minutes from a "Sacramento State College (SSC)

Planning Meeting” evidence that as early as 1968, “Ed Rivera *and* [the] Mexican American Youth Association (M.A.Y.A.) asked to paint mural on front of library.”⁶⁸⁰ Between 1968 and ’69, a campus committee “approved schematic for M.A.Y.A. mural, ‘La Cultura.’” Finally by June 5, 1969, “Aguirre and Rivera from M.A.Y.A. asked for approval to place mural on front of the library building.” Campus Planning Committee Chairman Willis Black “moved that the mural project be approved [and] the motion passed unanimously.”⁶⁸¹ The Mexican American Youth Association (MAYA) was a forerunner organization to the college’s MEChA chapter, coinciding with the establishment of the Mexican American Education Project (MAEP) in 1968. Certainly, a large majority of MAYA’s membership comprised undergraduates and graduate fellows in the MAEP, supporting Dr. Rios’s claim that “the original mural was painted by MAEP students.”

Kurt Kuss’s blurb on “La Cultura” also mentions that the mural “was donated to the University by the Concilio.” The Sacramento Concilio, Inc. was a “Mexican-American community agency” that represented the majority of Chicano/a organizations in Sacramento, including the RCAF’s Centro de Artistas Chicanos.⁶⁸² As early as November 1974, Concilio members and supporters inquired with college officials about the protection of “La Cultura,” after the Board of Trustees passed the campus’s 1973 public arts procedure. Elena Caro, for example, sent a memo to campus administrator Norm Better, asking about the “status of the mural due to remodeling plans.” In December 1974, Better sent a memo back to Caro and “assured Elena that there were no plans for removal of mural.”⁶⁸³

Upon the mural’s destruction in 1976, the Sacramento Concilio formed a mural committee to ensure that “La Cultura” was repainted on campus. The committee drafted many reports on the mural, providing details about its collaborative process:

Under the direction of Ed Rivera and Jorge Macias, a large number of people of all ages participated in developing the mural, with the understanding that this cultural gift would be accepted and respected by the people of CSUS. Actual negotiations with university officials assured that the effort was in compliance with official procedures and that the product would stand for the future benefit of all students ... These understandings were solidified by a public ceremony with vast publicity in which the President, the artists, and community representatives dedicated the creation. The Chicano community and a significant portion of the CSUS academic community was shocked when in August of 1976 and without warning the mural was destroyed.⁶⁸⁴

Further substantiating that Rivera was not the only creator of "La Cultura," the mural committee's report also connects the original project with the Chicano/a community outside of the Chicano/a student body. Although written in positive terms, the committee's report distinguishes the "Chicano community" from the "CSUS academic community." The subtle distinction suggests that during the late 1960s and early '70s, a clear boundary existed between the university and the local barrios; the mural, then, was to bridge the gap that Dr. Rios had recalled was stated in its original inscription.⁶⁸⁵

The Sacramento Concilio and mural committee were also assisted by Isabel Hernandez (Serna). Hernandez and her colleague Jose Pitti wrote a letter to President Bond in 1976 regarding the "removal and destruction of the mural." Bond responded with a request for more "background information on mural."⁶⁸⁶ In October 1976, Hernandez, Juanishi Orosco, Ed Rivera and others toured the "remainder of mural panels," which had been "painted over" or "used for campus need."⁶⁸⁷ The mural committee continued to meet with Bond and other campus officials throughout 1976 and '77. Meeting minutes convey that their main objective was to repaint the mural in the exact place where it had been destroyed: "Location: we still want old library."⁶⁸⁸ The mural committee's director, Henry Lopez, presented all requests, details and timelines along with a formal letter to President Bond in June 1977. Lopez's letter conveys that the reproduction would draw on many segments of the Chicano/a community, akin to the collaborative process that led to the first mural: "Many hours have been spent in meetings with the mural

committee, community people, local artists ... regarding the destruction of La Cultura mural and its rebirth. ... The mural will be designed by Edward Rivera, the artist of the old mural and he will be assisted by local community people and students.”⁶⁸⁹

Whether or not destroying “La Cultura” was an administrative mistake, the racial implications and cultural segregations were real upon its removal; it became symbolic of the larger battle over public space and access to that space during the era of national civil rights movements. The terms and context in which the committee framed their official “Statement of Need” makes this clear:

While conflict and violence occurred on many campuses during the late 1960’s and early 1970’s, the CSUS campus survived turmoil with a minimum of destruction. This was in part due to the active involvement of ethnic students and faculty and community agency personnel in attempting to relate the services of the university to their respective communities. ... the destruction of the old mural has been seen by Chicanos as a sign of disrespect for their cultural integrity by CSUS officials. A new mural will help rebuild the image of cooperation and respect on the CSUS campus between the entities involved.⁶⁹⁰

The mural committee’s tone is strategic. Highlighting the fact that CSUS remained secure during a period of “conflict and violence” on many college campuses, the mural committee also subtly reminded President Bond that they were responsible for that stability. “Ethnic students and faculty” had been key ambassadors for CSUS in the barrios and other inner-city neighborhoods. But with the destruction of the mural and the “disrespect” it caused, the mural committee pointed its finger; keeping the peace at CSUS was now up to campus officials.

In fact, the tone of the mural committee’s “Statement of Need” echoes an earlier mandate put forth by the Mesa Directiva, an executive board that formed in Sacramento during the fall of 1971. Chaired by Steve Arvizu, Mesa Directiva represented “Chicanos from EOP, Chicano Studies Faculty, MECHA, Sacramento Concilio, Mexican American Education Project ... Chicano Organization for Political Awareness, R.C.A.F., Chicano Financial Aids Staff and Chicano elected representatives.”⁶⁹¹ Along with Arvizu, Joe

Serna was elected “treasurer for the group,” and their central issue was “parity on the Sacramento State College campus for Chicanos.”⁶⁹² Mesa Directiva’s platform appeared in the college newspaper on December 7, 1971, along with a poem by Olivia de San Diego that declared, “I’m Brown, I’m Beautiful / I’m a Chicano / Y sabes que, white man, Pig, Educator / No chinges conmigo mas!” The combination of Mesa Directiva’s platform and San Diego’s poem in the college newspaper was clearly a radical move. Citing the 14th Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Mesa Directiva declared that Sacramento’s “Mexican American community is neither receiving adequate educational attention, nor are its members equitably represented as practitioners in the public service field.”⁶⁹³ Finding the environment at CSUS “unacceptable,” Mesa Directiva stated that “the ethnic breakdown of students, faculty and employees at SSC do not accurately reflect the parity which federal statutes would dictate.” It was during this public debate and political climate that “La Cultura” was created, destroyed and recreated.

Despite the accessibility of primary documents archived at the CSUS library, as well as the numerous local and living eyewitnesses to the original mural’s creation, most campus retrospectives claim that Ed Rivera was the only artist involved; subsequently, “La Cultura” is not perceived as a community mural, but as an authored piece, typical of the western tradition. In 1999, student reporter Ramiro Arceo covered the rededication ceremony at which Rivera signed the mural:

Rivera, who studied at CSUS in the 1960s, before transferring to the San Francisco Art Institute, completed the exterior mural in 1978. ... “The mural was done by Ed initially many years ago, but somehow it was destroyed,” Leonard Valdez, director of the multi-cultural center said. Originally, the same mural was painted in sections on wooden panels in 1970, explained Rivera, but they were accidentally destroyed. ... The current mural, repainted directly on the building is still missing one thing: the signature of the artist. ... Rivera did not sign the mural originally, because at the time he painted it, there was a lot of political turmoil. Since he was a police officer doing art as a hobby, he could not participate in the movements going on at the time. “I couldn’t go out and demonstrate in the movement with Cesar Chavez, he said. “I had to protect my job, which was my livelihood.”⁶⁹⁴

Although it seems a rather odd rationale for not signing the mural, Rivera's memories provide even more insight into the political climate and racial tensions at Sacramento State during the 1970s. Clearly, he felt that identifying himself as an artist branded him as a part of a "movement"; that he used "Cesar Chavez" to exemplify "the movements going on at the time" also reveals that he perceived them be racial. Perhaps Rivera (and other members of the local police force) viewed mural-making as a racial activity—as an illegal act expressive of a particular ethnonational politics. Rivera's characterization of an "us" against "them" environment challenges assumptions that the RCAF's name and militant demeanor was a "lighthearted, long-running joke."⁶⁹⁵ As *Sacramento Bee* Art Correspondent Victoria Dalkey claims that there was a "serious purpose" behind their air force farce, perhaps the RCAF's "assault on blank walls" was more calculated than the humorous interpretations afford. Perhaps each mural was a strategic intervention on the public spheres from which they had been denied access to as artists, as residents, as students, as teachers, and as Chicanos/as.

Throughout the 1970s, the RCAF learned how to navigate Sacramento's many different terrains. The ease of access to wall space in local Chicano/a barrios catalyzed a prolific community mural movement that, unfortunately, was not sustainable. Many of the RCAF's early works were destroyed when property ownership changed hands. But official supervision of public space at the university also did not protect RCAF murals or those of other students. Campus administration systematically destroyed public art that did not comply with their standards. In addition to their community mural campaign, the RCAF also moved beyond the barrio and university, further pushing the spatial boundaries of downtown Sacramento. When they painted an unsanctioned mural in a pedestrian walkway underneath the Interstate 5 onramp, the RCAF became more visible in the local, mainstream consciousness. Soon, their ethnonational agenda overlapped

with larger civic concerns about public space, art and free expression in the capital city.⁶⁹⁶

In 1977, for example, the RCAF was directly involved in the establishment of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission (SMAC) and the Arts in Public Places (APP) ordinance;⁶⁹⁷ they were also the recipients of a host of CETA programs through the Centro de Artistas Chicanos.⁶⁹⁸ Ricardo Favela recalled that the RCAF received “the very first Art in Public Places building. Armando Cid was the one that did it ... it was a grant for \$10,000 dollars for a mosaic on Zapata Apartments at Zapata park down in the Washington Neighborhood ... two mosaic panels that are still there; it was the very first one implemented, and we did that.”⁶⁹⁹ Favela’s recollection illuminates how public art funding changed in Sacramento during the mid 1970s. Local government agencies were becoming major sponsors of community art and, specifically, RCAF murals. But while the “Ollin” murals were “officially” funded, they were advocated for by the Alkali Flat’s Project Area Committee (PAC) and the Sacramento Concilio. Both nongovernment organizations funded the “Ollin” murals through a larger revitalization grant provided by the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency (SHRA).⁷⁰⁰

Although Cid’s murals were not the first works sponsored by the APP, Favela’s point is a valid one; RCAF artists were active in Sacramento’s public arts administration.⁷⁰¹ In fact, once the APP was implemented, SMAC launched a competition for public art to accompany a new parking structure “on the lot bounded by K Street, L Street, 3rd Street and 4th Street.”⁷⁰² Sacramento had entered into the next phase of a 30-year redevelopment plan, first implemented in 1950 by the city council and the newly conceived Sacramento Redevelopment Agency.⁷⁰³ The original plan was broken into three major phases and the redevelopment of Sacramento’s West End—the quarter adjacent to the Sacramento River—was first on the list.⁷⁰⁴ In the 1960s, city planners reconfigured the riverfront district into a historic center known as “Old

Sacramento.” Constructing new government structures and residential complexes, the Redevelopment Agency also oversaw the widening of Capitol Avenue, the creation of department store buildings, and the construction of the Interstate 5 onramp. By the 1970s, city planners turned their attention to the capital mall and its extension to the K Street mall via the new parking structure at K and L Streets.⁷⁰⁵ Due to the APP ordinance, \$150,000 was available in 1977 for public artwork in the four locations that the parking structure would provide.⁷⁰⁶ The RCAF proposed a “65-foot-long, four-story mural” to adorn “the east wall of the garage on Fourth Street, facing Macy’s and the K Street Mall.”⁷⁰⁷ SMAC approved the design in 1978 and in ‘79, Stan Padilla, Juanishi Orosco, Esteban Villa and a crew of RCAF members began work on “Metamorphosis.”⁷⁰⁸ [Fig. 9]

Completed by 1980, “Metamorphosis” generated quite the local buzz in the media. In *Sacramento Magazine*, for example, Jane Goldman described the mural as a “psychedelic mixture of symbols, a combination of hard-edged geometrical designs and fanciful parades of realistic figures.”⁷⁰⁹ At first glance, the RCAF’s big, yellow butterfly seems indicative of the community mural movement’s final days. Gone were the militant icons of earlier RCAF murals created in the midst of the Chicano Movement. As previously mentioned in Chapter Three, “Metamorphosis” replaced the huelga eagle and power fist with familial scenes, cosmic imagery, and the natural world, all of which unfold on the wings of a majestic Monarch butterfly. “Metamorphosis” was a departure “from the overtly nationalist vocabulary of the late sixties and early seventies” because, as Guisela Latorre explains, Chicano/a artists began “to take interest in a variety of issues, including environmental concerns.”⁷¹⁰ Juanishi Orosco conveyed this aesthetic shift in his description of the images he featured in his section of the mural:

Orosco says the second level represents the physical manifestation of the “primal energy on the earth’s surface. The Tree of Life sprouts out of the right side of this panel, as animals and plants pick up the vibrations

from the central figure of a drummer Orosco says is “beating out the heartbeat of the earth mother.” A giant tortoise reminds us that “in ancient myth this continent was called Turtle Island,” he adds. And the twin towers of Rancho Seco show “what man is doing with the energy that’s at his disposal. Whether that’s good or bad is left to the viewer.”⁷¹¹

Mentioning Sacramento’s nuclear power plant Rancho Seco, Orosco carefully avoided a position on nuclear energy or resource management.⁷¹² His description of the indigenous imagery and worldview in his panel are also extremely general, and not specific to the Nisenan or Miwok Indians, who were early inhabitants of the valley.⁷¹³ Although Orosco seems concerned with man’s relationship with nature, technology and spirituality, his interpretation is vague, lacking the direct ethnonational message evident in the group’s earlier murals.⁷¹⁴

In fact, most scholars would agree that “Metamorphosis” typifies the “decorative” artwork that replaced the community mural movement. Similar to John Pitman Weber’s claim that “critical imagery virtually disappeared after 1980,” artist and scholar Michael D. Harris categorizes African American murals into distinct periods, with “1967—1975” representing the era of “Art for the People,” and “1975—1990” reflecting a transition “From Revolutionary Effort to Creative Decoration.”⁷¹⁵ In “Urban Totems: The Communal Spirit of Black Murals,” Harris asserts that post-1975 murals were no longer based on community consensus. Instead, they reflected “individual initiative” and “individual creativity.” This was largely “due to the support of various educational and governmental institutions and publicly sponsored arts agencies.”⁷¹⁶ The late 1970s and early ’80s signaled the end of community muralism because individual artists were receiving direct grants and commissions for public artwork.⁷¹⁷

Eva Cockcroft and Holly Barnett–Sanchez agree with Harris that government programs transformed the community mural movement. Although initiatives like CETA generated important exposure and experience for young artists, Cockcroft and Barnett–Sanchez assert that it also “created an implicit (and sometimes real) threat of censorship

that tended to dilute the content of these walls. The depoliticization of muralism in the late 1970s also corresponded to decreased social activism after the end of the Vietnam crisis.”⁷¹⁸ Government involvement in community art was a double-edge sword for the community mural movement. Unlike the “force, specificity, and conviction” of late 1960s and early ‘70s murals, those funded by government agencies and city arts commissions carried “more general, wishful, positive images.” Further, the mural-making process had also changed, as the former era’s collective practice was retooled it into something more individually-based.⁷¹⁹

Certainly, the RCAF was not the only arts collective to crossover from community muralists to commissioned public artists during the late 1970s and early ‘80s. But they stood out in two important ways, both of which challenge the idea that “Metamorphosis” was an apolitical mural and, therefore, a step away from the Chicano/a aesthetic. First, the RCAF incorporated the collaborative process into the making of “Metamorphosis.” Reflecting on the planning stages for their first official APP mural in Sacramento, José Montoya recalled that “even after we got them to O.K. our work—legitimate artwork—the restrictions were really detrimental to what we were trying to do with murals. Our art idea was, first of all, to get young people to understand the importance of art in general.”⁷²⁰ The RCAF held fast to their community-serving principles and resisted the individualized process of the public art commission. In fact, an original roster lists seventeen names “of all the persons involved in the actual production of the mural project.”⁷²¹ The roster includes Stan Padilla, Juanishi Orosco, Esteban Villa, Ricardo Favela, José Montoya, Lorainne Garcia, as well as several children of the RCAF and students of the group’s professional artists. Both the size and the composition of the mural team are important because they reflect the RCAF’s “communal consciousness,” or their belief in creating art not for art’s sake, but for the sake of the people.⁷²² Tomás Ybarra-Frausto and Shifra M. Goldman elaborate: “The notion of an artistic team collaborating on a public mural

can be found in the early writings of [David Alfaro] Siqueiros; however, the inclusion of (often untrained) community participants as painters appears to be unique to the U.S. street mural movement of the 1970s.”⁷²³

In addition to their use of the collaborative process for creating “Metamorphosis,” the mural’s location is also of special significance. Located on L Street across from the State Capitol district, José Montoya revealed that “Metamorphosis” honors the site of Ernesto Galarza’s first home in Sacramento.⁷²⁴ In “Life in the Lower Part of Town” taken from *Barrio Boy* (1971), Galarza recalls his experiences in Sacramento: “418 L St, our refuge in a strange land. ... Once the routine of the family was well started, my mother and I began to take short walks to get our bearings. ... we noted by the numbers on the posts at the corners that we lived between 4th and 5th streets on L.”⁷²⁵ “Metamorphosis” is well named. In terms of Sacramento’s history, the mural honors what was once the “lower part of town,” where Mexicans, Chinese, and other working-class immigrants lived during the early twentieth century. By the 1950s and ‘60s, redevelopment efforts had transformed the West End into the most official landscape in Sacramento.⁷²⁶

From a Chicano/a perspective, “Metamorphosis” articulated a historical certainty—perhaps legitimacy—of a Mexican and Mexican American presence in the Sacramento Valley prior to the 1940s. Certainly, the Chicano/a generation was conscious of their indigenous ancestries that were hardly new to the region; but Galarza’s early twentieth century home in Sacramento exemplified the Mexican and Mexican American presence in the US long before the Bracero Program; hundreds of Mexicans like Ernesto Galarza found refuge in the industrious Sacramento Valley during the decades following the Mexican Revolution. In the late 1960s and early ‘70s, the notion of home, or Aztlán, was an important trope for Chicano/a artists.⁷²⁷ In “Aztlán in Tejas” (2002), art historian Constance Cruz explains how the mythic homeland played a key role in Chicano/a self-actualization: “The concept of Aztlán was introduced during

the 1960s as both a geographic and symbolic locale around which Chicanos/as could rally. It quickly became a conceptual driving force behind much of the art produced during this era, especially in California.”⁷²⁸ For the RCAF, “Aztlán” was a powerful visual tool in many of their early 1970s murals. Often, they used it to reference the locations of Chicano/a space—like “Emergence” and the “Ollin” murals, tucked away inside principal Chicano/a barrios in Sacramento; they also used Aztlán to explore the politics of identity in the US, as José Montoya explained while reflecting on the mythic homeland as a tool for consciousness-raising :

To be given that information when you are looking for your roots—is very liberating; it emboldens you; it empowers you. It lets you know that you have a very legitimate claim to what you are talking about—as being part of this land. And what keeps us viable is the memory, and it’s that memory that people are trying to eradicate.⁷²⁹

For Montoya, the eradication of Chicano/a memories is part of a larger historical process that obscures the Chicano/a presence in the cities and towns that make up the nation.⁷³⁰

The RCAF had worked to restore Chicano/a history and space throughout Sacramento during the late 1960s and early ‘70s, and their murals in the 1980s continued to make Chicano/a lives, stories and history visible. As the built environment and demographic areas changed in Sacramento throughout the twentieth century, “Metamorphosis” articulated these changes while also marking a site of Chicano/a history.

The RCAF’s next officially sponsored mural expanded on the concept of Aztlán that they found significant in the placement of “Metamorphosis.” Officially complete by August 1984, L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. stands for “Light Art in Sacramento with Energy Resources in Unlimited Movement.”⁷³¹ The title reflects one of the major themes of the murals: technological advancement in the Sacramento Valley. The movement of time is conveyed by a white line that runs through both walls of the mural, which Esteban Villa also explained represents motion.⁷³² Covering 193-feet of the cement walls that line the underground walkway between the downtown plaza, the K Street Mall and Old

Sacramento, L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. also challenges the historical assumption that murals painted after 1975 were decorative and apolitical. Not intended as two separate works, L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M.'s north wall was designed by Esteban Villa and Juanishi Orosco designed the south wall. It was renovated in 1999 due to poor condition and graffiti. During this time, Villa's original designs were repainted, while Orosco redesigned the entire south wall. In the late 1970s and early '80s, the RCAF faced many obstacles in realizing their original vision for L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. and Orosco's alterations reflect this; but their original designs incorporated pre-Columbian notions of time and accounted for the demographic shift that occurred in the West End during the 1950s and '60s. Juanishi Orosco reflected on the ethnonational perspective that they brought to the mural: "Regarding the original concepts, during that time, we had just finished the butterfly mural—Metamorphosis—and everything that we were doing in the community, aside from these two particular murals, was very political, very huelga-this, Chicano movement and ethnic studies."⁷³³

In fact, during the entire making of "Metamorphosis," the RCAF had remained interested in the tunnel that they were denied access to in 1978. Villa had attempted to paint student murals in the tunnel and was stopped by local police.⁷³⁴ After the confrontation, the RCAF pursued the tunnel through the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. A letter from SMAC's Executive Director Bill Moskin indicates that by 1979, the RCAF was making headway: "At their June 6th meeting, the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission approved the concept for improvements on the 'K' Street Pedestrian Underpass and recommended that the Centro de Artistas Chicanos work with Roger Scott ... in preparing a proposal for artwork at this site."⁷³⁵

The RCAF's idea for the tunnel murals had evolved from the unplanned ones that Villa originally created with his students; Roger Scott's involvement in the project reflects their conceptual progression. A local architect, Scott planned to design and hang three

glass prisms throughout the tunnel that would “light the floors, walls and ceilings, emoting colors similar to colors used in the wall murals in interesting graphic patterns.”⁷³⁶ Villa and Orosco planned to make six tile mandalas out of kiln-fired tiles. Known throughout the Southwest, mandalas are geometric designs that represent an array of Native American spiritual beliefs and customs. The south wall mandalas, for example, represent Kachina headdresses, while the mandalas on the north wall are symbolic of “ojos del dios,” or the practice of wrapping a cross in Indio colors, conveying the religious convergence between indigenous cultures and Catholicism. Although each of the mandalas is completely tiled, they were originally intended to contain mirrored surfaces at their centers. At various times throughout the day, the mandalas would catch the sunlight from Scott’s prisms and create a “rainbow shower.”⁷³⁷ Orosco explained,

In the original idea, a round, aluminum dome—a glorified hubcap—and highly polished would be in the middle. So as light splits from the prisms it would bounce light off the domes. So you’d walk through a shower and rainbows would bounce back and forth. It only happened twice a day. It was playing off the serpent shadow at Chichén Itzá and the summer solstice. It would be a similar phenomenon, an event.⁷³⁸

The use of natural light was central to the cohesion of the mural’s multiple components and themes. Orosco and Villa wanted to comment on technological innovation and industrial change; they also wanted to honor the primordial energy of the natural world and past civilizations.⁷³⁹

The entire project was shelved in 1980, when funds from the Federal Economic Development Administration were not received and the city was in the midst of completing other improvements “adjacent to the Holiday Inn and Lot G Parking Structure.”⁷⁴⁰ By 1982, “the K Street Underpass [was] one of the last connections between Old Sacramento and downtown to be treated.”⁷⁴¹ SMAC and local city agencies resumed their support of the collaboration between the Centro de Artistas Chicanos and Roger Scott, stating that “when finished, the Underpass should offer a pleasant and

positive experience to pedestrians and be a unified and complete design.” Allotting a \$60,000 budget, they divided the commission at “\$20,000—Roger Scott, \$40,000—Centro de Artistas Chicanos.”⁷⁴² In July 1982, the Centro submitted their proposal to SMAC and the APP committee, stating that they were “cognizant of the fact that not too long ago, old town was the active trading, bartering and social center for most Chicanos in Sacramento.” They also maintained their support for Roger Scott’s prism concept:

Mr. Scott’s enlightened and exuberant approach to creativity has been unerringly complimentary to our own philosophy ... Given the time/space significance of the underpass as the connector of the old to the new and vice versa, - and certainly in keeping with the sensitive nature of the area’s historical implications – every conceivable effort has been made to both enhance and ennoble the future impact of those ramifications by creatively fusing the most advanced achievements of modern technology with aspects as ancient as the Sun itself!⁷⁴³

Along with the geometrical designs that represented environmental development and technological advancement in the Sacramento Valley, L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. acknowledged a recent migration story in Sacramento history.

The Redevelopment Agency’s efforts over the last thirty years prior to the tunnel’s renovation had resulted in a demographic movement (or exodus) of working class people and Chicano/a families from the West End to the Alkali Flat. The capitol mall project was the first of the redevelopment zones, and families and individuals “displaced by the three West End projects relocated into the Alkali Flat area.”⁷⁴⁴ Local historian and community development consultant Deb Marois, explains that “by 1970, Hispanics were the largest minority group in the Alkali Flat comprising 37% of the area’s total population.”⁷⁴⁵ The redevelopment period also produced a major shopping corridor and a freeway overpass unprecedented in the area. The former neighborhoods and ethnic spaces of the West End were reconceived as “Old Sacramento,” a historical park oriented toward the nineteenth century gold rush and the early twentieth century’s railroad boom. Both historical themes were popular attractions for tourists. The RCAF

perceived the tunnel as a spatiotemporal passageway, moving people through these major historical changes that occurred underneath the ageless light of an ancient sun. Roger Scott felt that the interaction between the sun, his prisms and the RCAF's tile mandalas would "signal to the pedestrian that they are walking thru two reflectors which again reminds them of passing through time and space. In essence, this part of the tunnel becomes a 'time warp.'"⁷⁴⁶

By December 1982, however, the APP committee "rejected the prism idea proposed by Roger Scott as not being technically feasible for the site."⁷⁴⁷ In a letter to the Centro de Artistas Chicanos, SMAC's coordinator for the APP committee, Jennifer Dowley, stated, "You are now the sole artist/designers being considered for the underpass." Dowley also relayed that the Commission expected them to "work within the original budget of \$40,000" and that "the mural be abstract and geometric in nature."⁷⁴⁸ After Scott's prism concept was rejected, the RCAF was asked to rethink the entire design of the mural. [Fig. 10]

Compromising their original theme of technological advancement, rooted in ancient resources and historical movements of people proved difficult for the RCAF. By February 1983, they were locked in a heated debate with the APP committee over what (and who) the mural should represent.⁷⁴⁹ Dowley explained in another letter to the Centro that the APP committee wanted the "development of the North Wall in a similar manner to the South Wall."⁷⁵⁰ They also noted that "the use of words is discouraged as it will encourage graffiti. So too, are images (e.g. faces, hearts) that might attract graffiti."⁷⁵¹ In handwritten notes from a meeting on April 21, 1983, the APP committee asked the Centro about the letters "E.T." which were to appear in Villa's mural: "E.T.? How does it relate to anything? Very Hollywood. We are Sacramento."⁷⁵² In response, the Centro stated that "E.T. means 'Eternal Tunnel,'" reinforcing the concept of space and time travel that Villa, Orosco and Scott had originally proposed. But the Centro also

added that the mural's concept honored a very recent past: "Old Town History Barrio. We want to leave something beautiful for the people who used to live there."⁷⁵³

According to the handwritten meeting minutes, the APP committee was nonresponsive to the Centro's pointed answer; instead they returned to their "concern" over the difference between the north and south walls: "2 sides are so different [was it] planned that way?"⁷⁵⁴ Villa responded to their concern: "Trust the integrity, perceptions of artists."⁷⁵⁵ Recalling that the RCAF did not practice aesthetic uniformity in their arts collective, the panel's opposition to their mural-making process must have been highly offensive. In fact, in a follow-up meeting between the Centro and Jennifer Dowley, José Montoya specifically addressed the APP Committee's "Group-busting tactic" and asked her, "do they resent that we work as a family, as a collective?"⁷⁵⁶

Five days following the April meeting, Dowley sent a letter to the Centro indicating that changes needed to be made, and that if they did not satisfy the APP committee, "the Committee may discontinue negotiations with the Centro."⁷⁵⁷ The Committee's mandated changes included: "2. Reflect a positive attitude, emphasize the human scale and transitional nature of space. 3. Create a pleasant experience for pedestrians moving through the Underpass. 4. Use abstract imagery."⁷⁵⁸ Juanishi Orosco recalled the extreme requirements put forth by the Committee, adding:

It wasn't the city officials that censored it but the arts commission panel that were our peers; it turns out that there were also full professors at the university [on the arts commission panel.] ... They freaked and we literally had to battle them. ... They were opposed to us doing the imagery that we normally do. What they wanted and dictated—they were very specific about it. They wanted us to design something very colorful, very general, very blah that people would just walk through and not necessarily even look at the walls. That was what they wanted, but we're going, "that's not what we do." They specified in the contract no faces, no identifiable imagery, no farmworkers, no words—nothing that was identifiable culturally or otherwise. And they did not want people to stop and look at it. They just wanted a sense of color, shape and form—and thank you very much. So we fought that tooth and nail.⁷⁵⁹

Referring to David Rible and Pam Johnson as his artistic peers and to Robert Else as the art professor from CSUS, Orosco's memories span the four years it took the RCAF to get L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. made. Ultimately, to move the project forward, Villa heeded some of the committee's requirements and adapted details in his design for the north wall; Orosco had already revamped the south wall, after the committee's rejection of his earlier plans with Roger Scott's glass art installations. In 1999, when the murals were renovated due to environmental damage and graffiti, Orosco completely redesigned his mural; Villa chose to simply repaint the north wall.⁷⁶⁰

Orosco elaborated on the changes he made in the *Sacramento Bee*: "It finally came out what I've been holding back for 15 years ... I feel relieved, like a big weight has been lifted off my shoulders."⁷⁶¹ What "finally came out" in Orosco's south wall was the original idea he had for the "rainbow shower" that was only possible through Roger Scott's glass prisms.⁷⁶² In a December 2000 tour of L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., Orosco explained that he "painted the prism. So it's a painting instead of how I conceived it."⁷⁶³ He also created identifiable figures, such as a "man & woman going upstream," replacing a former section of colorful but indistinct shapes. He added that the man and woman "are the cosmic twins ... In Hopi religion, they keep the earth balanced."⁷⁶⁴ Orosco incorporated several pyramid structures and other indigenous motifs to convey the "the collision of worlds" during the "flux of immortal time."⁷⁶⁵ [Fig. 11 & 12]

In one brilliant section of the mural, for example, he explained how the mixture of Mesoamerican spiritualities is a metaphor for the massive geographical and societal changes across the Americas:

The angel carries the light forward and toward her—that woman in labor. The woman is giving birth to the new century, the future. Her baby is the new millennium. Also, look closely at her hair, and turn your head sideways. Her hair flows into the Americas, even Cuba. We're all Americans. Next to her, the animal world is looking to the future. And they are skeptical as they witness the transformation. The giant turtle at the end of the animal world represents Turtle Island. This was the name

given to this landmass by the Indians. It also represents slow, geological time. On its back, it carries Baktum. Baktum is a Mayan glyph and he's carrying ten thousand years on his back. These white marks above him symbolize new civilizations.⁷⁶⁶

The representation of colossal change is a purposeful frame for the south wall's next scene, which incorporates the national symbols of the US and Mexico. Orosco explained that when "the laser moves to the next image ... there's a blending. The red, white, blue, red and green are all together. It is the national flags fusing. There's an ongoing fusion between these two nations. The fusion moves back to the animal world and the huge butterfly symbolizes constant evolution, constant change."⁷⁶⁷ Contemplating the racial, ethnic and cultural fusions taking place in our own geopolitical moment, Orosco considered the convergence of Mexico and the US as one of many in a series of powerful and ancient fusions, like that of the animal world and the civilizations of man. The blending of the flags fades into an enormous butterfly and tapestry, which Orosco explained is "a never-ending process" of change. [Fig. 13 & 14]

While Orosco redesigned the south wall of L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., Esteban Villa claimed that during the renovation, "I worked very hard to keep it as it was (16) years ago."⁷⁶⁸ There was no need for Villa to reinvent his mural in 1999 because in 1983, he had encoded the elements that the APP committee wanted him to change. [Fig. 15 & 16] In December 2000, Villa pointed to a section of gold, angular shapes at the far west end of the mural and explained,

These buildings right here are Old Sacramento. Those are the beginning. A long time ago, the farmworkers were picked up right here at what is Old Sacramento. Now it's a tourist place. Ask Juanishi, he knows. This mural is going to show a historical beginning of how they used to pick up farmworkers right here ... nobody wanted to live here with all the Mexican restaurants and bars. One cantina after another. So that's what this depicts in my mural. And then over here, right here next to it, is how they started to destroy some of the old cantinas and bars. Right over here is the destruction of it.⁷⁶⁹

Villa used the APP committee's request for "abstract imagery" strategically, capturing the historical presence of Mexican business and workers in the West End before the 1950s and '60s redevelopment. He continued to expose the Chicano/a history hidden in the north wall as he moved along the white line, pointing out the "famous farmworker truck, where they used to stop over here. There are people sitting down on the bench. Here are the wheels. The back of the truck."⁷⁷⁰ Difficult to discern at first, the truck is disarming once detected. It is painted from a rear-end view, with the gate open and men sitting sideways above the rear tires. [Fig. 17]

Describing the natural resources available in the Sacramento Valley, Villa also commented on scenes from the local nightlife—a stage, a martini glass and stars that spell "E.T." He explained, "They used to have night clubs over there, so that's champagne or a martini. And then this is a stage with entertainment—'E.T.'—entertainment tonight. Some people, well they say, 'extra-terrestrial.' But no. They said, 'Don't put any letters like E.T.' So I said, 'Okay' and then I put letters with stars."⁷⁷¹ While Villa recalled the APP committee's reaction to his use of letters in the mural, he avoided explaining what the initials originally stood for—the "Eternal Tunnel." In fact, Villa remained strategically ambiguous when describing other symbols and images along the white line: "Now the whole time, the white laser beam is moving throughout nature, technology, [and] man's building up of the land. See here below the nature? Some people think he's holding a guitar; others say it's a gun. I don't know."⁷⁷² Whether or not the man holds a gun or a guitar is inconsequential; for Villa, the uncertainty of the man's instrument symbolizes both the best and worst of mankind's progress. [Fig. 18 & 19]

If more elusive in his explanations of certain images and lettering, Villa was very specific about the mixtures that take place throughout his mural. In a final view of the north wall, he described a grouping of images that he identifies with the capital city:

Next, Sacramento athletics—baseball, a football field and an evening cityscape. All the area has to offer. And then look up top above the football and in the evening view of the buildings. [Villa pointed to a UFW Eagle.] So the mural focuses on land, labor, the elements—fire, water, wind, earth. And then it ends with technology; see here this computer chip.⁷⁷³

For Villa, the UFW Eagle symbolizes the labor that helped build the Sacramento skyline and also makes “all the area has to offer” possible. The north wall’s final scene, then, is not a random collection of images; rather, it’s a synthesis of ideas that centers on a working class perspective of Sacramento’s built environment. Villa pays homage to the hands that built the city, as well the industries that sustain it. From the most basic elements—“fire, water, wind, earth”—to the most complex technological achievement—the computer chip—Villa posits the worker as the catalyst that moves technology and society forward.

The act of hiding a UFW Eagle, a farmtruck, letters and other readable icons within the north wall illuminates one of the ways in which Villa used *mestizaje* as a tool for expressing Chicano/a subjectivity, despite the APP committee’s official guidelines. In “Chicano Ethnicity, Cultural Hybridity, and the Mestizo Voice” (1998), Rafael Pérez-Torres claims that “outside racial discourses, in a cultural context, *mestizaje* foregrounds the aesthetic and formal hybridity of Chicano artistic formation.”⁷⁷⁴ A well-worn tool of the Chicano/a artist, *mestizaje* is a method “for strategic movements among distinct racial or ethnic groups (Indigenous, African, Hispanic, Asian, Caucasian) *and* strategic reconfigurations of cultural repertoires (mythic, postmodernist, nativist, Euro-American).”⁷⁷⁵ *Mestizaje* not only articulates a mixture of races, cultures and histories for Chicano/a consciousness; it also provides an aesthetic method for defining that consciousness, often outside prevailing models and standards of US art, history and culture. Citing the paintings of visual artist Barbara Carrasco, which “simultaneously quote Aztec codices and the Flintstones,” Pérez-Torres also notes the “ironic rhumba

version of the Disney *Jungle Book* song ‘I Wanna Be Like You’” by Los Lobos. Both exemplify how Chicano/a artists procure self-definition and self-determination through (as opposed to against) these dominant forms.⁷⁷⁶ Mestizaje is at once a performance, articulation, visualization and pathway for Chicano/a aesthetic production.⁷⁷⁷ In other words, mestizaje creates “what Homi Bhaba has called “the Third Space of enunciation,”” allowing “us to see that what appeared to be an either/or situation is in reality a situation of both/and.”⁷⁷⁸

In their desire to articulate Chicano/a subjectivity outside the “dominant paradigms” of public art in Sacramento, the RCAF had maintained L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M.’s alter-Native perspective of history and space through a combination of strategies. The APP committee had created many obstacles for the RCAF and their particular vision for the tunnel mural—from the exclusion of Roger Scott’s glass prisms, to asking Villa to completely redesign the north wall in 1983. But they navigated the politics of this public space for twenty years (1979 to 1999), outlasting many of the committee’s original members and remaining committed to their original design. Ultimately, by 1999, they achieved their vision. The tunnel had in fact become a time warp. L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. is *both* a visual account of Sacramento’s historical development of the West End *and* a record of its own creation. Reflecting on the history of the making of L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., José Montoya remarked, “To us, the irony of L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. is the fact that we reclaimed a territory that was ours on K Street, which had Mexican stores and restaurants. That was the connecting thoroughfare to old Sacramento—to the river. And there was a movie house, there were stores, there were restaurants.”⁷⁷⁹ The design, redesign and preservation of L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M.’s north and south walls are integral parts of the RCAF’s history, as well as the story of the West End’s built environment.

While the RCAF remained committed to their collective arts philosophies and Chicano/a worldview, by 2000, they were no longer making murals outside the dominant

spaces of the capital city. Their transition from community muralists to public artists did not mean that they made murals devoid of critical imagery, however. They continued to articulate Chicano/a subjectivity across a spectrum of readability and detection. After successfully renovating L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., for example, the RCAF received a city commission to restore Southside Park Mural.⁷⁸⁰ On October 20, 2001, they rededicated the landmark Chicano/a mural.⁷⁸¹ But the widely celebrated occasion followed the unveiling of a more somber RCAF monument. On October 5, 2001, the Joe and Isabel Serna Memorial Fountain was dedicated at Sacramento State University (CSUS). Joe Serna, Jr., had passed away on November 7, 1999, while serving as Sacramento's Mayor.⁷⁸² Almost a year after her husband died, Isabel Hernandez-Serna passed away on September 19, 2000.⁷⁸³ A shock for the entire Sacramento community, their passing was particularly difficult for the RCAF. Both Joe and Isabel had contributed greatly to the academic culture at CSUS and had impacted generations of students; they were also lifelong supporters of the RCAF. [Fig. 20 & 21]

Esteban Villa and Ricardo Favela designed the Serna Memorial after they were contacted by Bob Arellanes, assistant to the CSUS president Donald Gerth.⁷⁸⁴ The fountain, which is ten-feet-wide and fourteen-feet-long, was intended for the Serna Plaza, located at the east entrance of the campus.⁷⁸⁵ More of a three dimensional mural, it incorporates bold colors, labor icons and other identifiable objects that not only honor Joe and Isabel's personal histories, but also commemorate the local Chicano Movement. Both sides of the fountain, for example, have brick benches that also hold two open books. The pages of the books contain poems written for Joe and Isabel by English professor Olivia Castellano and José Montoya. According to Favela, the books "signify the fact that they were scholars and academic people."⁷⁸⁶ But they also symbolize the Chicano Movement's call for educational equality, both as a presence on school campuses in the US, as well as in the national curriculum.

The fountain's basin is also brilliantly tiled, representing an aerial view of Sacramento's agricultural lands. Along with Larry Ortiz and Scott Conlin, Villa and Favela produced "300 six inch square tiles" to "depict the San Joaquin Valley, vineyards, farm fields and produce."⁷⁸⁷ Water pours down into the pool from overarching columns that are painted white and blue at their bases to emulate the sky and clouds. The top of the columns are crowned by two strikingly black UFW Eagles. The presence of the huelga birds, along with the books and tile mosaic of Sacramento's agricultural fields, is not lost on the knowing viewer. From educational equality to labor rights, all social and political mandates of the Chicano Movement are incorporated into the monument. Where once numerous student and Chicano/a murals were whitewashed and destroyed, now a bold, colorful, three-dimensional mural honors the legacies of two former farmworkers at a major entrance to Sacramento State University.

Following the Serna Memorial Fountain's dedication in 2001, the RCAF created "Eartharium" in the lobby of the State of California's General Services Department. Located off of 16th and L Streets, the building houses several state government agencies and is a part of the Capitol Area East End Complex (CAEEC).⁷⁸⁸ In January 2003, Juanishi Orosco, Stan Padilla and Esteban Villa completed "Eartharium" on a "ten foot high soffit," which Villa added is "the first 360 mural that we've ever done. Three-sixty, the full—like a dome."⁷⁸⁹ Juanishi Orosco was contacted by art consultant Tamara Thomas after she heard about the successful renovation of the RCAF's Southside Park Mural.⁷⁹⁰ Thomas had been appointed by the Art Selection Panel, the committee that was organized to oversee the APP contracts for the buildings of the CAEEC.⁷⁹¹ Orosco met with Stan Padilla and they developed a landscape motif that accurately represents the four directions: "We were true to the purpose. So east is east and west is west."⁷⁹² Orosco painted the skyline, complete with references to the "Hopi Twins." Stan Padilla

designed and painted the landscape and rainbow. Villa designed the agricultural lands of the Sacramento Valley.⁷⁹³ [Fig. 22]

Creating a nature mural seems apolitical and reminiscent of Guisela Latorre's claim that after 1975, Chicano/a artists pursued other topics in their murals, especially environmental themes. But the mural engages alter-*Native* perspectives of land, space and history that challenge the presumption that it is more scenic than message-based. To begin with, Orosco stated that they had wanted to paint the four directions accurately and in relation to Sacramento. Their precision with the mural's location was central to their concept of "Eartharium" as a "bio-compass" for "the Sacramento Valley and beyond, from the Sierra foothills to the Pacific coast." Orosco and Padilla's design "centered on Sacramento as a place where the rivers meet, creating a 'Sacrament', a special place."⁷⁹⁴ Understanding nature as the origin of all healthcare is certainly a political point of view in the twenty-first century. But, their attention to the four directions is also an ethnonational nod to the indigenous groups who lived in the Valley prior to European contact. Moreover, their recognition of the Spanish renaming of the "Feather River" to "Rio del Santissimo Sacramento" in 1808 reveals that the RCAF artists' valued the convergence of these civilizations, and the spiritual and religious mixtures that comprise the Chicano/a worldview.⁷⁹⁵

Their emphasis on "Eartharium" as a "bio-compass" for the Sacramento Valley and beyond raises another point of consideration about the mural's location. "Eartharium" is housed in a state government building that is directly down the street from the State Capitol. Reflecting on the vistas that "Eartharium" incorporates, Esteban Villa elaborated on the significance of its location during a brief tour of the mural in June 2004: "We're standing in Sacramento and you're looking at the four directions. This is looking east and you can see the Sierra Nevada over there and the river, the American River, coming up there towards like where you live and then some of the foliage—like a

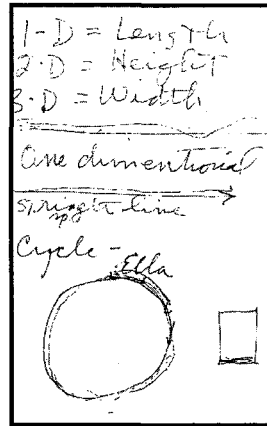
poppy, the state's flower."⁷⁹⁶ Referring to my parents' home in Auburn, California, Villa next turned south and added, "That's where the sun is at high noon. Up there, you see the sun sets south. It'd be like looking towards San Diego and then moving up. And then we're looking west and you see the Buttes and you see Contra Costa—that's (if I'm not mistaken) Mount Diablo over there."⁷⁹⁷ After commenting on the river "that continues with all the wildlife," Villa pointed to the section of the mural that he painted and lowered his voice:

See this green valley? This here, I painted over here on the west side and, you know, just off the record here, you see those quilted patches? The fields and there's the thunderbird—there's an eagle. Yeah, you see the tail down below and way up at the top, the head of the eagle? Very subtle. So it's like, *la vida de las farmworkers*.⁷⁹⁸

Hidden within the agricultural lands of the Sacramento Valley, Villa had painted a UFW Eagle.⁷⁹⁹ The eagle is incorporated into the patchwork of the "green fields," with the triangular shape of the bird's tail and the rounded angle of its head being the most prominent details of its body. Once detected, the angles of the eagle's wings become clearly visible and the enormity of its presence in the "nature" mural is profound. In the lobby of a government building, within walking distance of an important symbol of public space and power—the State Capitol—another symbol flies below the radar, honoring a Chicano/a presence and contribution to the building of California's capital city. [Fig 23]

Chapter 5: Remapping—Definitions and Usage in US History, Literature, Art and Culture

***“Centuries of neglect of ethnic history have generated a tide of protest—where are the Native American, African American, Latino, and Asian American landmarks?”
—Dolores Hayden, The Power of Place, 1997.⁸⁰⁰***



—Sketch by Esteban Villa, January 07, 2004. A visual aid presented to me during a conversation about how I should tell the RCAF's history.

Remapping Sacramento according to the RCAF's murals and historical spaces is a validation project; and I have discovered that the project is as much about validating remapping as a theory and practice, as it is about rethinking US history, art and culture from an alter-Native point of view. For Chicana/o Studies scholar Alicia Gaspar de Alba, “alter-Nativity” is a form of remapping because it “contests the ethnocentric academic practice of categorizing marginalized indigenous cultures as ‘subcultures’ or objects of discovery (e.g., the Quincentenary).”⁸⁰¹ Citing the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus’s arrival in the Americas as an origin point for US history, Gaspar de Alba explains that “alter-Nativity underscores the relationship between ‘Other’ and ‘native,’ particularly in the neighborhood of Popular Cultural Studies as well as in the exhibition agendas of mainstream museums.”⁸⁰² Typically, populations that were indigenous to the Americas prior to European contact are framed in US history, museums and other cultural constructs by colonial encounters; Gaspar de Alba contends that this starting point for US history classifies indigenous peoples as “Other,” or as outside the interior spaces of American identity. Asserting that the ‘discovery model’ in US history continues

to shape perceptions of what and who is and isn't American, Gaspar de Alba concludes that alter-native perspectives of history are deeply political; they problematize "insider/outsider dynamics of ethnographic methodology and ethnographic criticism, both of which serve to ground analytical practices in Cultural Studies."⁸⁰³ From the RCAF's perspective, remapping the capital city according to their murals and gathering places is an alter-Native perspective of US history because it rethinks who and what is included in the local histories that make up the nation's master narrative.⁸⁰⁴ National tensions over US history, culture and identity resonate throughout the RCAF's local history; recognizing the Chicano/a community's historical presence in the US was a driving force behind their murals during the early days of the Chicano- and community mural movements. They also developed many strategies for maintaining their collective arts values and ethnonational agenda during the more official decades of public art in Sacramento, the 1980s and '90s. Finally, in the twenty-first century, the RCAF continues to insert Chicano/a consciousness into the public spaces of the capital city whether or not it is officially acknowledged.

In January 2002, for example, I asked Esteban Villa what he thought about remapping Sacramento according to the murals and gathering places of the RCAF. We were standing across from "Metamorphosis" having walked through the K Street tunnel to revisit L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. Villa thought the idea was excellent and said, "The map of Sacramento does not include my work. People should know about this work—the cultural arts of the city."⁸⁰⁵ Villa was captivated by the notion of creating a map and his comments proved helpful over the next four years as I began to consider what remapping means as a physical act and as an intellectual metaphor. Standing in front of "Metamorphosis" with Villa in 2002, I realized that we had already started remapping in December 2000, when I first interviewed him and Juanishi Orosco about L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. By January 2002, I was well-versed in all of L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M.'s hidden

images and meanings; but the history of “Metamorphosis” had not yet been shared with me. In fact, it would be two more years until José Montoya told me that “Metamorphosis” was created at the site of Ernesto Galarza’s first home in Sacramento.⁸⁰⁶ [Fig. 1]

Villa’s concern with the “map of Sacramento” pertains to conventional understandings of space in western traditions and thought. In “Remapping Knowledge: *X Marks the Spot*, but on which Map?” (1993), literary critic and theorist Donald Bruce examines the popularity of the “mapping metaphor” in academic paradigms for literature, history and science. Bruce states, “in its common-sensical form,” mapping “is built around a particular notion of space. In general, this space has been specifically a Cartesian form of space.”⁸⁰⁷ The ‘reference lines’ that comprise a ‘Cartesian coordinate system’ are uncompromising in their directions; as one line moves vertically, the other moves horizontally, and each is known as a ‘coordinate axis.’ They create a point of ‘origin’ where they meet, and the mapping of space always takes place around this intersection. Bruce adds that this traditional understanding of space “is static, easily mappable, undialectical, extensible. It is our existential space, the space we *know best*, but as we have known since the beginning of the twentieth century, it is not the only type of space.”⁸⁰⁸

In fact, other spaces have existed, emerged or remained concealed all throughout the twentieth century, particularly in the figurative spaces of historiographies, literary canons and art histories.⁸⁰⁹ What happens if, for example, “Metamorphosis” and L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M are the reference line—the coordinate axis—around which historical space is defined? In other words, if the RCAF’s murals become the origin point from which we move forward (or backward) in Sacramento’s history—what stories, perspectives and memories are made visible? Historian and theorist Emma Pérez reminds us in the *Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas Into History* (1999) that US frameworks have relied on two “systems of thought” for organizing history. One system

functions “linearly, which is the sanctioned European and Euroamerican historical method”; the other functions “vertically, which is Foucauldian.”⁸¹⁰ It is no coincidence that both of these trajectories—these historical points of view—follow Cartesian logic and create a ‘coordinate system.’ It is also not a coincidence that Pérez lists the “pre-Columbian” method, or the ‘axis’ that functions “cyclically,” after the “sanctioned European and Euroamerican” method and the Foucauldian model. Although the “Pre-Colombian” method is a counterpoint to western historical frameworks, it too conforms to patriarchal conventions, eliding female voices from the dominant historical narrative.⁸¹¹ Pérez claims that her “task” is to deconstruct each of these historical traditions, even the cyclical one, in order to expose that the historical “space we *know best*” is no longer implicit or known. Donald Bruce notes that such postmodern approaches to telling history—like that of Emma Peréz, are both “disturbing, and of course exciting” because “the authority of the old maps is now seen as limited, and areas of ‘fuzziness’ are appearing elsewhere, not only at the edges of the maps.”⁸¹²

In order to remap Sacramento according to the RCAF’s murals and gathering places as meaningful sights/sites of history, I must first expound on the relationships between actual space—the urban built environment—and the conceptual spaces of historical classification, literary canons and traditional art history in the US. I contend that literal space is shaped by figurative space; in other words, the built environment of capital cities and other urban centers imitate or reflect the abstract and theoretical orderings of American history, literature, art, culture, etc. The late twentieth century debates over citizenship and immigration, for example, have continued into the twenty-first century; and they typically center around real places—like the US-Mexico border, and more specifically, Judy Baca’s 1993 *Danza Indigenas* monument in Baldwin Park, California. In 2005, the monument became the site of a large protest between anti-immigration groups like Save Our State (SOS) and opponents of such organizations.

The monument, which will be explored further, became a contested zone—a point of origin between two diverging lines drawn in the sand over who is and who isn't American.

Turning to more theoretical examples of remapping, I will also examine how it emerged in the 1990s as the “conceptual tool in contemporary analytical discourses.”⁸¹³ From Urban Studies and American Studies, to Ethnic Studies and Comparative Literary Studies, remapping was used to reveal the real segregations, borders and divides permeating US history, literature, art and culture. In *The Power of Place: Urban Landscape as Public History* (1997), urban historian Dolores Hayden reevaluates the built environments of “ordinary” neighborhoods in downtown Los Angeles, which hold “the history of activists who have campaigned against spatial injustices.”⁸¹⁴ Although she focuses on concrete historical happenings in Los Angeles—from labor history and economic shifts, to policy changes and demographic movements—Hayden's urban remapping relies on artistic interpretations of history to make the invisible lives of ethnic Americans visible once more.⁸¹⁵ Similarly, American Studies scholar Shelley Fisher Fishkin reviews American literature across the entire twentieth century in “Interrogating ‘Whiteness,’ Complicating ‘Blackness’: Remapping American Culture” (1995). She argues that interracial and cross-cultural influence between ‘black’ and ‘white’ literature was always occurring but was previously denied in academic disciplines. Fisher Fishkin argues that the denial of mixtures was due to larger institutional and social segregations based upon notions of a racially pure, American (white) identity. In turn, literary and Ethnic Studies scholar José David Saldívar addresses the configuration of borders in American culture in *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies* (1997). By examining the regional particularities of literature, poetry and art across the US Southwest, Saldívar intervenes on hegemonic understandings of where American begins and ends.

Alongside scholars who were busy remapping their intellectual fields, artists and creative writers were confronting historical archetypes that deeply shaped identity politics in the US. The performance art of James Luna, for example, challenges how Native Americans are institutionally remembered and disseminated into mainstream consciousness. Marisela Norte's creative prose offers an alter-Native perspective of historical change through her personal memories of a major boulevard in East Los Angeles. In company with Luna and Norte, Helena Keefe and Stephanie Sauer have remapped space in the twenty-first century. Their unique perspectives offer several 'lines of reference' that bring those "areas of 'fuzziness'" at the "edges of the maps" into the center of American culture, history and identity.⁸¹⁶

Moving between the real spaces where citizenship and immigration are currently debated in the US, to those more figurative in which the arts and humanities are decided upon and classified, this Chapter documents what many cultural critics feel is undocumented in US history. Omitting a particular people's historical presence in the US by not documenting their contributions to the built environments, visual cultures and local stories of American cities and towns perpetuates commonsense notions of who is and isn't "American." In "Public History and the Study of Memory" (1996), historian David Glassberg considers the correlation between local histories and hegemonic perspectives of US history: "Few can deny that the question of whose version of history gets institutionalized and disseminated as the public history is a political one, and that public history embodies not only ideas about history—the relation of past, present, and future—but also ideas about the public."⁸¹⁷ Glassberg's observations on mainstream perceptions of what and who comprises the "American" public resonates in the current political climate in which illegal immigration and documentation are disputed daily by the media, politicians and various scholars. In 2007, for example, New York governor, Eliot Spitzer, proposed issuing driver's licenses to noncitizens as an accountability measure for the

state of New York; he faced extensive national opposition. Whether or not Spitzer's proposal was shortsighted, the idea "touched off a national debate over whether issuing licenses to illegal immigrants would make the state more secure or improperly extend a privilege to them that should be reserved for legal residents."⁸¹⁸

Moreover, the year before Spitzer's media debacle, the "Secure Fence Act" was signed by President Bush in 2006. Allocating \$1.2 billion to the Department of Homeland Security, the DHS is currently erecting a 700-mile fence between the US and Mexico.⁸¹⁹ The construction of a fence and disputes over driver's licenses follow sweeping demographic changes in the US after the 1994 signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement—a treaty that historian Mike Davis characterizes as a "paradox," since "a barricaded border and a borderless economy are being constructed simultaneously."⁸²⁰ Contradictions between legislation and economic policy, however, do not send mixed messages about who has a legal right to be "here" and who does not. Gloria Anzaldúa acknowledged this cultural reality well before NAFTA and the US's recent illegal immigration debate: "Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them* ... The prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants ... *Gringos* in the U.S. Southwest consider the inhabitants of the borderlands transgressors, aliens—whether they possess documents or not."⁸²¹

Along with the racial and cultural divides that Gloria Anzaldúa claims the US-Mexico border erects in the national consciousness of the 'American public,' many alternative perspectives of US history have emerged in the civic spaces that surround the borderlands. In 1993, for example, Judy Baca created *Danza Indigenas*, an open-air portico that allows for the free movement of people; the symbolic doorway disrupts hegemonic understanding of the US-Mexico border as a fixed system, or as a real spatial divide. Located in Baldwin Park, California, next to the city's Metrolink Commuter Rail Station, *Danza Indigenas* consists of a platform that surrounds an archway. Multiple

inscriptions in different languages are engraved on both sides of the twenty-foot high sculpture. In May 2005, one inscription incited national controversy. The etched phrase, “This land was Mexican once, was Indian always and is, and will be again,” inflamed the anti-immigration group, Save our State (SOS).⁸²² The disputed quote was taken from Gloria Anzaldúa’s *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987); it provides an alter-Native perspective of the US-Mexico border because it recognizes indigenous peoples, Spanish settlement and Mexican sovereignty in the area that became the US Southwest, after the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

According to writers of “La Voz,” a quarterly publication on US-Mexico border relations and immigration, “SOSers staged a demonstration there demanding that the city remove the monument, if not the words themselves by July 1st of 2005.” SOS members were not alone; their on-site protest “brought out a large group of defenders of the monument who accused them of racism.”⁸²³ Members of the SOS countered charges of racism by questioning the meaning of another inscription: “It was better before they came.” Many believed the statement was directed at Anglo Americans, who had displaced Mexicans in the region during the nineteenth century.⁸²⁴ But Judy Baca claims the “words are supposed to memorialize the jeers aimed at Mexican immigrants who began moving into Baldwin Park after World War II.”⁸²⁵ According to Baca, the inscription was purposely ambiguous since the term “they” refers to the town’s unique heritage and California’s succession of ‘foreign’ populations.⁸²⁶ [Fig. 2]

To compare Baca’s monument with the US’s current border fence destabilizes hegemonic investment in the national borders between Mexico and the US.⁸²⁷ Danza Indigenas is a thoroughfare, a permeable corridor between several times, places and peoples. As a city funded public artwork, the archway is an official space; but it does not officially separate the US from Mexico. Rather, it is an entrance as well as an exit, an

ambiguous door through which to pass. *Danza Indigenas*, and its myriad of inscriptions, conveys the ebb and flow, the movement of borders and people in history and space. In thinking about predominant directions in US history—the linear path of the “European and Euroamerican historical method” and the “Foucauldian” framework that Emma Pérez claims is based on hierarchies of power—*Danza Indigenas* is a compelling intervention on both. From an alter-*Native* perspective of US history, *Danza Indigenas* is a point of origin where historical lines meet and blur. All geopolitical change, demographic movements and ‘legal’ rights to the land coexist in a mixture of historical voices inscribed on an open doorway.

Baca’s monument resonates with *L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M.* and the RCAF’s notion of the tunnel as a time warp. A passageway between two places, *L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M.* was intended to make pedestrians aware of historical change over time, observing the movements of indigenous peoples across America, while narrating the histories of Sacramento’s West End and the Alkali Flat. Both of these districts were also shaped by several historical periods—from the indigenous cultivation and settlement of the Sacramento Valley, to the nineteenth century contributions of European, Anglo American and Mexican settlers. Engaging multiple perspectives of US history, urban redevelopment, time and space, *L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M.* moves viewers through an alter-*Native* version of Sacramento’s history; the north and south walls do not function linearly or separately; rather, they interact at each tile mandala and simultaneously describe Sacramento’s industrial and agricultural developments, demographic shifts and changing built environments.

Rethinking the local histories of towns like Baldwin Park and Sacramento, Baca and the RCAF’s public artworks innovated concepts of remapping in the late twentieth century. The discourse was shifting from an established center towards multiple peripheries. The importance of memory, experience and identity—in other words,

historical subjectivity—was testing the dominant practice of theoretical mapping. In “Notes on Travel and Theory” (1989), for example, James Clifford argued that theory had traveled; it was “no longer naturally ‘at home’ in the West—a powerful place of Knowledge, History, or Science, a place to collect, sift, translate, and generalize. ... this privileged space is now increasingly contested, cut across, by other locations, claims, trajectories of knowledge articulating racial, gender, and cultural differences.”⁸²⁸ Intersections between geopolitics and identity (race, gender, sexuality and nationality) were becoming central locations on territorial maps. Adrienne Rich’s self-reflexive prose illuminates the movement.⁸²⁹

It was in the writings but also in the actions and speeches and sermons of Black United States citizens that I began to experience the meaning of my whiteness as a point of location for which I needed to take responsibility. It was in reading poems by contemporary Cuban women that I began to experience the meaning of North America as a location which had also shaped my ways of seeing and my ideas of who and what was important, a location for which I was also responsible.⁸³⁰

Rich’s realization that her identity is a location—both a predetermined spot and yet capable of moving like the borders of any nation-state—did not appear out of thin air. The 1960s and ‘70s civil rights movements brought the working class, ethnic minority men, and all women to universities and other institutions. Subsequently, “a new American urban social history” began to emerge, “a history that takes ethnic diversity as a starting point and recognizes disparate experiences of class and gender as well.”⁸³¹

Similar to Rich’s investigation of her own “point of location” on the map of American identity, artists like James Luna were busy exploring the consequences of geopolitical borders and US history on Native America.⁸³² Recalling Alicia Gaspar de Alba’s definition of “alter-Nativity” as a method for exposing the “relationship between ‘Other’ and ‘native’” in the “exhibition agendas of mainstream museums,” Luna’s 1985 “Artifact Piece” was a “critical parody of the ethnographic museum.”⁸³³ Art historian Jane Blocker writes that “Luna composed a display on the Native American,” lying for several

days amongst the Kumeyaay exhibits at the Museum of Man in San Diego.⁸³⁴ Luna wore a loincloth and placed signs next to his body that 'mapped' his history as an American Indian. Providing biographical details like, "The burns on the fore and upper arm were sustained during days of excessive drinking," another sign satirized the types of scars on his body: "Having been married less than two years, the sharing of emotional scars from alcoholic family backgrounds (was) cause for fears of giving, communicating, and mistrust. Skin callous on ring finger remains, along with assorted painful and happy memories."⁸³⁵ [Fig. 3]

Luna mimicked the traditional method for interpreting an indigenous body on display. Like a map key or legend, Luna's placards exposed the dubious nature of institutional knowledge by impersonating objectivity. Blocker elaborates: "By transcribing these scarified signs and pretending to decode their meanings, Luna objectifies the script that is etched in his skin. The contusion, the burn, the callous in this case function, like Queegueg's tattoos and Tonto's folded arms, as signifiers for mysteriousness, wildness, the body's 'self-knowledge.'"⁸³⁶ Surrounding himself with the customary signs of the ethnographic museum, Luna challenged the authoritative basis on which the Modern Museum of Man defines who and what is an authentic Native American. His signs were playfully deceptive, mocking the viewer's implicit trust in the accuracy of such signs and, more broadly, the entire museum-system.

Along with his performance of a Native American body on display in an ethnographic museum, Luna also explored the insider-outsider status of Native America through a literal and figurative mapping of an American Indian Reservation.⁸³⁷ In "I've Always Wanted to Be an American Indian" (1992), Luna presents photographs of La Jolla Indian Reservation and incorporates brief demographic notes on his community.⁸³⁸ He begins the map with a picture of a posted road sign along Highway 76 in North County, California. As the sign states, readers are "Entering La Jolla Indian Reservation"

and subsequent pages take them through the interior spaces of a contemporary reservation. Following the entrance sign, viewers see images of young children dressed in contemporary clothes juxtaposed with shots of the rural landscape and decaying buildings. Luna intersperses the pictures with statistics and facts about the 355 people living on the reservation.⁸³⁹ In one list, he reports: “During the last five years on the / Reservation there have been and/or are now: / Two men who have lost limbs due to diabetes / Three murders / an average unemployment rate of 47 percent / fourteen deaths.”⁸⁴⁰ In another, Luna writes: “Thirty-nine births / Forty-five government homes built / A tribally run store and campground / a raceway built on a tribal member’s property / A developing volunteer fire department / two people who have graduated with master’s degrees.”⁸⁴¹ Immediately following this list, another road sign appears: “Leaving La Jolla Indian Reservation.” Luna’s map is literal on purpose. The simple form powerfully exposes the numerous ways in which Native Americans are simultaneously inside and outside the national consciousness. Like “Artifact Piece” in which he uses his body to ‘map’ historical and racial assumptions about Native Americans, Luna frames these stereotypes within the real borders of a reservation. He uses the road signs that mark actual space to symbolize where his identity begins and ends in US history and popular culture. Yet, by laying bare the everyday lives of his community in real time and space, Luna also subverts the reservation’s physical boundaries and those of US history. [Fig. 4]

Both Adrienne Rich’s prose and James Luna’s artwork exemplified an emerging trend in the late-twentieth century amongst writers, artists and scholars who were rethinking the boundaries of US history and the borders of American identity; this *new* style of self-expression, what James Clifford deems “to know who you are means knowing where you are,” relied heavily on concepts of mapping and other land-based analogies.⁸⁴² Donald Bruce paraphrases the era’s mapping rhetoric:

“Spaces,” “sites,” “points of entry,” “enunciative position” are terms that recur constantly, to the extent that one is surprised when spatial metaphors are *not* involved to explanatory ends. Discussions of cultural phenomena, of meaning, of representation, of discourse are regularly figured in *spatial* terms ... At present, the use of the spatial metaphor, specifically in terms of the mapping and reconfiguring of social, semantic, representational and many other types of “space,” is becoming just as paradigmatic as was the use of mechanistic and biological metaphors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁸⁴³

With a nod to the guiding tropes of past eras, Bruce offers context for “the mapping metaphor” at work in the late twentieth century and essential to Dolores Hayden’s *The Power of Place* (1997).⁸⁴⁴ For Hayden, remapping is a real act; she moves through the built environments of downtown L.A. in order to recover the memories of the “Invisible Angelenos.”⁸⁴⁵ She asks, “Where are the Native American, African American, Latino, and Asian American landmarks?” to illuminate the relationship between the neighborhoods of downtown Los Angeles and the figurative space of US history. The absence of racial, ethnic and women’s histories in local Los Angeles history has heavy consequences for “what it means to be an American,” since “identity is intimately tied to memory: both our personal memories (where we have come from and where we have dwelt) and the collective or social memories interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbors, fellow workers, and ethnic communities.”⁸⁴⁶ Hayden finds that where there had been no “official” markers for public reflection in downtown L.A., early African American enterprise, pan-ethnic women’s labor organizing, and Japanese American commerce—histories all bound up in space—were erased from the mainstream consciousness of the people living and working in the area.

But before introducing the three preservation projects in which her organization, The Power of Place, was involved, Hayden frames her textual “remapping of downtown Los Angeles” from a working class perspective since each “shift in the economic development ... brought about some change in the work force, and in the landscape.”⁸⁴⁷ Positing the real spaces of the built environment as the “narrative path” for her analysis,

Hayden also references literary critic and theorist Fredric Jameson who “intuited ‘the need for maps’” as spatial concerns inevitably became more prominent in the US political sphere.⁸⁴⁸ Hayden speculates that a “politically conscious mapping would enable citizens to situate themselves in relation to both spatial and social forces.”⁸⁴⁹ With these points of reference in mind, Hayden’s map not only accounts for buildings that are already city landmarks, but also those that need “broader social interpretation; buildings important to social history that are not now designated as landmarks but should be; and vacant sites of historic importance,” where no traces of the former buildings exist, but whose significance can be recaptured through public art and other commemorative designs.⁸⁵⁰

The three preservation projects that comprise Hayden’s text include the Bidy Mason memorial, the Embassy Auditorium workshops that focused on Latina and Russian Jewish labor leaders, and the preservation of a remaining block of Los Angeles’s Little Tokyo. From 1987 to the late ‘90s, downtown L.A. was the site of an exciting and dynamic act of urban remapping. Hayden’s organization, The Power of Place, was founded in 1984 and worked with the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency, urban designers, community members, graduate students and historians to “situate women’s history and ethnic history in downtown [and] in public places.”⁸⁵¹ The fact that Bidy Mason’s homestead “had become a parking lot” by 1986 reflects historical preservation choices in US cities and towns through the late twentieth century.⁸⁵² Covered by asphalt, 331 Spring Street, the historical site of Mason’s home, was “an unlikely place,” Hayden notes, “for any kind of history project.”⁸⁵³ Mason, a nineteenth-century slave woman, had petitioned the courts for her freedom in 1856, once her owner moved to Southern California from Mississippi, by way of Utah in 1851.⁸⁵⁴ Upon legally winning her freedom, she became a well-respected midwife, land owner and business leader; she also founded the Los Angeles African Methodist

Episcopal Church. Yet Mason's historical presence had gone "untapped," which Hayden argues is a similar fate for "most working people's neighborhoods in most American cities ... The sense of civic identity that shared history can convey is missing."⁸⁵⁵ The once meaningful sight/site of history turned parking lot was now owned by Los Angeles's Community Redevelopment Agency.⁸⁵⁶

The Power of Place worked with local community members, historians and local city agencies to honor Mason's life and legacy on Spring Street.⁸⁵⁷ After a public workshop at UCLA, which included students and faculties from the Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning and the African American Studies Program, artists were employed to reinterpret the historical site of Mason's home.⁸⁵⁸ Especially important to the memorial was artist, Sheila Levrant de Bretteville, who designed an 81-foot-long installation wall. Hayden writes that Levrant de Bretteville's permanent piece "transformed a marginal alley behind several large buildings into a significant public place" because of its dynamic approach to historical narrative. The timeline organized Los Angeles history according to decades and "told the story of Los Angeles's development from a tiny Mexican town to a thriving city." It interspersed Los Angeles's evolution with the "story of Mason's walk across the country, arrival in Los Angeles, her suit for freedom, and her thriving practice as a midwife."⁸⁵⁹ By locating Mason on the map of Los Angeles's larger historical context—the demographic shifts and changes to the built environment brought about by annexation, abolition, industry and economic development—the wall "encouraged a viewer to contemplate change on Spring Street in both space and time."⁸⁶⁰

In addition to the wall's integration, and not juxtaposition, of Mason's life with the changing city, Levrant de Bretteville's interpretive work also crossed another spatiotemporal boundary. Her purposeful inclusion of objects and tools that were central to Mason's historical experiences brought viewers into direct contact with the history the

timeline represents. Hayden notes, “Youngsters ran their hands along the wagon wheels pressed into the wall, or traced the shapes of the midwife’s bag, the scissors, and the spools of thread.” Helping viewers “claim history as their own,” the wall’s unique interaction with a contemporary audience made the nineteenth century as ‘real’ and as ‘present’ as the late twentieth century. Hayden concludes, “Today, long after the meetings and the legal negotiations are over, the wall remains as a new public place, one that connects the life of a remarkable woman with family history, community history, and the city’s urban landscape changing over time.”⁸⁶¹

Levrant de Bretteville’s interpretation of the traditional timeline proved effective for another conservation project in which *The Power of Place* was involved. In 1986, “the buildings on the north side of First Street, between San Pedro Street and Central Avenue, were nominated as a National Register Historic District” and “the last intact block in Little Tokyo” was officially preserved.⁸⁶² Hayden writes that the sheer size of the historic area—thirteen buildings that had been the site of numerous Japanese businesses and a Buddhist Temple—presented a new challenge: how to (re)tell a forgotten history from a communal, as opposed to individual, perspective. Levrant de Bretteville and two Japanese American artists, Sonya Ishii and Nobuho Nagasawa, designed a timeline for the sidewalk “that would carry the history of the street into the twenty-first century.”⁸⁶³ Consulting with the local community, Levrant de Bretteville and her colleagues created “*Omoide no Shotokyo (Memories of Little Tokyo)*,” which incorporated “quotations from residents, time lines for the historic buildings, and drawings by Sonya Ishii,” all of which were carved into the pavement. Further, “an oversize replica of the camera Toyo Miyatake used at Manzanar [was] constructed by Nobuho Nagasawa.”⁸⁶⁴ Toyo Miyatake was a Japanese photographer interned at Manzanar relocation camp in Owens Valley, California. Prior to his internment, Miyatake had run a studio in one of the original thirteen buildings of the landmarked district.

Nagasawa's reproduction of Miyatake's camera and Sonya Ishii's drawings of "detention bundles" vividly captured the historical displacement of Japanese Americans in the 1940s and the permanent demographic change in Little Tokyo.⁸⁶⁵

Despite the nod that Hayden gives to the artists, residents, researchers and various city administrators involved in the Power of Place projects, she is aware of the uncertainties and compromises that historical collaborations can cause. Hayden addresses these issues when she reflects on aspects of the process that she, as a historian, had to come to terms with. Her meditation also raises questions about who gets to tell history and how. She writes,

All of the participants in such a process transcend their traditional roles. For the historian, this means leaving the security of the library to listen to the community's evaluation of its own history and the ambiguities this implies... It means working in media—from pamphlets to stone walls—that offer less control and a less predictable audience than academic journals or university presses do. It also means exchanging the well-established roles of academic life for the uncertainties of collaboration with others who may take history for granted as the raw material for their own creativity, rather than a creative work in itself.⁸⁶⁶

"Exchanging the well-established roles of academic life" Hayden found herself collaborating with "others" who, in her words, "take history for granted as the raw material for their own creativity, rather than a creative work in itself." Although Hayden appreciates "public art as a route to public memory," she confesses that working with artists, as well as the other project participants, is an uncomfortable process for the traditional historian. Cross-community collaboration is akin to interdisciplinary studies and, as Hayden notes, "interdisciplinary, community-based projects are not always easy to accomplish" since borders must be crossed, methods must be blurred and multiple points of view must be valued.⁸⁶⁷

Hayden's concern over *The Power of Place's* historical method—both as an organization and as a historical analysis of downtown Los Angeles—is valid given the reception she received in the pages of "academic journals." Elizabeth G. Grossman's

review, “A place for everyone,” lambastes the text on every level, especially Hayden’s collaborative approach to remapping Los Angeles’s “working landscapes.”⁸⁶⁸ Grossman contends,

Hayden seems to have little patience with those who may want their stories told differently. She disparages “compensatory histories” that tell only of the successes of members of an ethnic group, insisting that Americans need to hear stories of “bitterness and difficult times.” ... by failing to engage sympathetically or dispassionately with the issue of conflicting values, Hayden makes the story of the Power of Place less inspiring.⁸⁶⁹

Addressing the very issue that Hayden candidly discloses—her anxieties about “less control and a less predictable audience”—Grossman’s critique is contradictory. If Hayden was dispassionate with the projects and impatient with participants who wanted to “tell only of the successes of members of an ethnic group,” then why does she predominantly write about downtown L.A.’s forgotten heroines? Focusing the majority of her historical analysis on Biddy Mason and, more briefly on the early twentieth century labor organizers Rose Pesotta, Luisa Moreno and Josefina Fierro de Bright, Hayden certainly does tell “of the successes.” Along with a twenty-five page historical biography on Mason that precedes the nuts and bolts section of the memorial, Hayden also makes a point to mention that Mason’s grandson tried to keep his grandmother’s home open as a community center for African American youth in 1905; in the 1970s, Hayden adds that two local women attempted to commemorate Mason and the site of her home.⁸⁷⁰ Incorporating details like these into the main body of her text reveals that there is nothing disparaging in Hayden’s analysis of the power of places.

Grossman also concludes her pointed critique on a confusing thought, considering her earlier claim that Hayden’s analysis is neither impassioned nor objective: “In the end, her commitment to the cause in which she so clearly believes has led her to write a book that is more *hagiography* than a critical analysis of the work of a radical, innovative, accomplished organization.”⁸⁷¹ Having just criticized Hayden for failing to

take a position on her own historical remapping of downtown L.A., Grossman's final assessment deems Hayden's work too sympathetic, or one of "compensatory histories" to which she refers. But the reverence with which Hayden treats Bidy Mason reflects her commitment to the collaborative approach for telling public history. Mason was the figure that the local residents and the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency wanted to focus on—not necessarily Hayden.⁸⁷² Positioning herself as a historian who dares to leave "the security of the library" and "to listen to the community's evaluation of its own history," Hayden shared the process of telling history with the people around her.⁸⁷³

Perhaps what Grossman perceived as a failure "to engage sympathetically or dispassionately" actually pertains to Hayden's consciousness of her role in each of the projects. Hayden understands that she is not the authoritative voice—or the only voice—in her analysis, which also explains her reticence on the commissioned artworks. Grossman reads Hayden's modest remarks on the public artworks as a deficiency: "What is most disappointing, particularly given Hayden's gift for design analysis, is her minimal discussion of the physical projects themselves."⁸⁷⁴ But Hayden's "minimal discussion" of the artwork pertains to the Power of Place's collaborative process, which gave "less control" over the public history to the official historian. Having worked with artists, community members, researchers and planning commissions, Hayden curtails her authoritative voice in the textual interpretations of the Power of Place projects; in doing so, she extends the collaborative process to her readers, who form their own opinions and participate in the concept of a shared, public history.

This collaborative process is especially apparent in an artistic production that materialized through another Power of Place project. In 1991, Chicano artist, Rupert Garcia, was commissioned to create the poster for the organization's "'La Fuerza de Unión,' a public workshop at the Embassy Auditorium, to explore the published and

unpublished history” of Rose Pesotta, Luisa Moreno and Josefina Fierro de Bright. Los Angeles’s commercial hub had shifted by the late nineteenth-century, and the Embassy Auditorium was located in the center of commerce at Ninth and Grand in 1914.⁸⁷⁵ The building was an important gathering place for many industry unions and their leaders. Rose Pesotta was the first female vice-president of the ILGWU (International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union).⁸⁷⁶ Originally from Russia, Pesotta arrived in L.A. by way of New York in 1933. Hayden writes that “in the year of her arrival in LA, Pesotta led a dressmakers’ strike at the head of about 1,600 female garment workers.”⁸⁷⁷ The day before this strike was declared, “the Embassy Auditorium was the scene of a mass meeting between female dressmakers and male cloakmakers.”⁸⁷⁸ Further, Guatemalan-born Luisa Moreno had been labor organizing in Florida and San Antonio prior to “coming to Los Angeles to work with cannery women.”⁸⁷⁹ Moreno became a vice president for the UCAPAWA (United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers Association) and worked with Josefina Fierro de Bright for El Congreso, “the first national Latino civil rights organization.”⁸⁸⁰ Fierro de Bright was born in Mexico and grew up “in farm labor camps as the daughter of a *bodera* who served meals to migrant workers in Madera, California.”⁸⁸¹ Trading her studies at the University of California at Los Angeles for labor organizing, Fierro de Bright became the executive secretary of El Congreso and, as Hayden writes, her “activities brought her time and again to the Embassy Auditorium from 1939 to the mid-1940s.”⁸⁸²

After a concise biographical essay on the three women, Hayden provides minimal details about Garcia’s design; she notes that the poster was a four-color silkscreen and included “portraits” of the “remarkable organizers.”⁸⁸³ Looking more closely at the artwork, this reader notes an important historical and aesthetic tradition at work in Garcia’s interpretation of the labor leaders. Not only was the poster a four-color silkscreen, but it also invokes Amado M. Peña’s 1974 silkscreen, “Mestizo,” as well as its

contemporary, “La Mestizaje” (1991), by Judy Baca. Peña and Baca’s works are not portraits of three, separately bordered figures; rather, Peña and Baca’s designs depict figures with “tripartite heads,” connecting all three entities ancestrally, spiritually and ideologically.⁸⁸⁴ Alter-Native in their perspectives of US history, Peña and Baca’s posters disrupt western notions of linear and chronological history-telling by remapping time and space ancestrally; they mix and blur spatiotemporal boundaries often politically demarcated and hegemonically assumed after war, annexation and economic development.⁸⁸⁵ Chicana scholar Alicia Arrizón writes that “Both Peña and Baca seek to authorize the cultural hybridities that have emerged as the result of historical transformations” and, in doing so, both artists “reinscribe the three distinct cultural legacies (Chicano, indigenous, and European) at once.”⁸⁸⁶ [Fig. 5, 6 & 7]

Garcia drew on this Chicano/a aesthetic tradition and iconography to articulate an interethnic pantheon of historical women for the Power of Place project. Pesotta, Moreno and Fierro de Bright were different women from distinct races, classes and national backgrounds.⁸⁸⁷ But, as Garcia’s poster conveys, they are in fact connected in a lineage of leadership, political ideology and, most importantly, a valuable sight/site of meaning—the Embassy Auditorium.⁸⁸⁸ Despite Hayden’s concern with artistic interpretations of history and the Power of Place’s reception in academic circles (both the organization and the text), she works through and across multiple approaches for telling history, creating space for artists to use history as the “raw material” for their artwork. Garcia’s poster added another layer of meaning to the Power of Place’s project at the Embassy Auditorium, and, subsequently, advanced the whole point of Hayden’s analysis of historical collaborations and shared public history.

Garcia’s creative emphasis on hybridity—the tangible mixture and legacy of influence between the labor leaders who used the Embassy Auditorium—parallels the ideas encompassed in Shelley Fisher Fishkin’s remapping of American culture vis-à-vis

American literature. While remapping is a very real act for Dolores Hayden, the process is more of an intellectual metaphor in Fisher Fishkin's "Interrogating 'Whiteness,' Complicating 'Blackness': Remapping American Culture" (1995). Fisher Fishkin questions the institutional divisions between "white" and "black" literature that inform(ed) mainstream perceptions of "American" culture. She begins her essay with the thoughts of Ralph Ellison, who in 1958 reproached "White Americans for being 'so absurdly self-deluded over the true interrelatedness of blackness and whiteness.'"⁸⁸⁹ Ellison went largely unheard by academics, until the 1990s, when scholars began to consider the notion. Fisher Fishkin notices this new development and even mentions her book, *Was Huck Black? Mark Twain and African-American Voices* (1993). Suspecting that her "work might be a part of growing trend," Fisher Fishkin asserts that literary criticism in the '90s was revealing that "some of our culture's most familiar (and canonical) texts and artifacts turned out to be less 'White,' on closer look, than we may have thought."⁸⁹⁰ Toni Morrison's *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992) had also summoned "whiteness' [to] the table to be investigated, analyzed, punctured and probed." Claiming that there were *other* ways to read "Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Twain, Cather, and Hemingway," Morrison argues that these "founding fathers" of American literature utilized "racial (not racist) language" in the eye-dialects of their (now) epic narratives.⁸⁹¹ Morrison's reinterpretation of canonical prose *marked* "'whiteness' as an imaginative, social, and literary construction."⁸⁹²

Sensitive to the segregations of the past, Fisher Fishkin does not let history repeat itself in her 1990s remapping project. Rather, she allows for porous spaces between the decades by identifying preliminary arguments for cultural and literary "interrelatedness." With Ellison's 1950s claim in mind, she traces the African American influence on white literature to the 1980s, noting an anthology edited by Eric Sundquist on Harriet Beecher Stowe in which Robert Stepto "demonstrated the importance of

investigating the African-American roots of canonical American fiction.”⁸⁹³ Likewise, Russell Reising’s *The Unusable Past: Theory and the Study of American Literature* (1986) “posited” Fredrick Douglass as central to what Fisher Fishkin calls the “territory” of the American Renaissance. Fisher Fishkin writes, “In his imaginative juxtaposition of analyses of passages from Douglas and Thoreau ... Reising demonstrates affinities and intersections previously missing, for the most part, from discussions of either writer.”⁸⁹⁴ I find Fisher Fishkin’s use of “territory” to describe a period in US literature—what Emma Pérez would call a “great event” of US history—indicative of the language that scholars used in the 1990s to articulate and politicize their remapping methodologies.

At the same time that critics began to rethink the “whiteness” of the American literary canon, scholars of African American literature began to reconsider what was deemed “white,” and, thus, not “black” in their academic fields. The “‘blackness’ of African-American culture” had resulted from the “essentialist paradigms” of Black Studies Programs in the 1970s and ’80s, which attempted “to recover” and esteem “black writers and black texts.”⁸⁹⁵ Fisher Fishkin points to de facto cultural and racial segregation as the responsible party for the false (but historical) severances between “black” and “white” literary distinctions: “The historically Jim Crow nature of the curriculum had helped prompt scholars and teachers of black studies to emphasize the texts, writers, and chapters of history that struck them as being the ‘most black’ and the ‘least white.’”⁸⁹⁶ Black Studies Programs began to turn away from this limited perspective because it neglected cross-cultural influences, and also failed to address the presence and experiences of African Americans with “middle-class backgrounds.”⁸⁹⁷

Denying the “interrelatedness” of the “black” and “white” text in order to merit the African American experience runs parallel to the self-conscious desire to validate Chicano/a existence in the US. Chicano/a scholars erected academic programs and paradigms that affirmed Chicano/a letters and life in the US before and after annexation

of the southwestern regions. Yet, as Emma Pérez has argued, in the production of Chicano/a history, the guiding tropes of US history (the great events) were maintained and perpetuated. The trope of the heroic Chicano became as troubling to Chicano/a Studies Programs once *other* historical voices, like those of Chicanas, were recognized as being absent from, or silenced in, the scholarly fields. Excavation of these voices took hold in the 1990s, with many scholars locating antecedents and precursors of the Chicana voice before, during and after the Chicano Movement.

Fisher Fishkin, however, does not make this pan-ethnic connection with Chicano/a Studies, or any other Ethnic Studies Program. Instead, she returns to her exploration of 1990s discourse, noting that Henry Louis Gates Jr. also forecasted the '90's turnabout in 1984. In *Black Literature and Literary Theory*, Gates Jr. argues, "in the case of the writer of African descent, his or her text occupy spaces in at least two traditions: a European or American literary tradition, and one of the several related but distinct black traditions."⁸⁹⁸ Black writers, like Richard Wright, were reading and responding to "a wide range of white writers from the United States and abroad, including Dostoevsky, Theodore Dreiser, and Mark Twain."⁸⁹⁹ Fisher Fishkin further demonstrates the reciprocal relationship between the "white" literary tradition and African American authors by referencing interviews she conducted with Ellison, Morrison and David Bradley, who were in dialogue with "white" literature—and white authors—in their "black" prose and scholarship.⁹⁰⁰

Turning in a different direction, Fisher Fishkin's nuances her survey with autobiographical notes from the very critics at work reassembling the canon. Her tactful use of an unpublished paper by Michael Eric Dyson is especially revealing. Excerpting statements from a 1994 symposium in which Dyson stated, "Ellison owed his habit of a critical style of reading, and the title of his first book of essays, to T.S. Eliot," Fisher Fishkin cites a personal anecdote that he made during the presentation: "[Dyson] tracks

his own sensitivity to the nuances of language, literature, and learning to ... his early teens, making him ‘the only boy on my block, and undoubtedly in my entire ghetto neighborhood, who simultaneously devoured Motown’s music and Dana’s *Two Years before the Mast*.’”⁹⁰¹ Like the African American literatures that Dyson was connecting back to “European-American culture,” he and other African American scholars were recognizing the “fruitful symbiosis” of “white” and “black” cultures in the real times and spaces of their private lives.⁹⁰²

The point of Fisher Fishkin’s survey of “over a hundred books and articles” published during the 1990s, and across separate fields is twofold. On one hand, it organizes her three-prong strategy that determines the historically imagined construction of “whiteness” reflected in the American literary canon and mainstream American culture’s investment in that “whiteness”; it also supports her interrogation of race-based categorizations of black culture and letters by moving through a myriad of scholarship on the intermixtures of music, prose, other sights and sounds that were visible between the intimately bound histories of “whites” and “blacks.” Both segments culminate in a third section that Fisher Fishkin entitles “Remapping American Culture.” Thus, her lengthy study of over a decade of scholarly revisions and research simultaneously organizes her thoughts, and also validates her remapping of the literary canon and cultural studies. One could argue that before she begins her final section, her remapping of American culture is already complete.⁹⁰³

Still, Fisher Fishkin is compelled to make her remapping of all things “American” clear. She states that the perpetuation of a “patently false monocultural myth” derives from an “unequal distribution not of talent but of power,” masking our “multicultural reality.”⁹⁰⁴ Remapping American culture—in this case, American literature—disrupts the racism that “deformed scholars’ understanding of twentieth-century life and thought not only in the United States but throughout the world.”⁹⁰⁵ There is no “world,” however, in

Fisher Fishkin's remapping; there is only a "one-drop' rule," which refers to the history of race-based legislation across the US South during the Jim Crow era, 1876—1964.⁹⁰⁶ The "one-drop' rule" was/is the notion that a person with any African ancestry was/is black and not white. In the early twentieth century, twenty-nine southern states passed statutes to officially segregate everything 'black' from everything 'white' in American homes, families, culture, and public space.⁹⁰⁷ In the 1990s, Fisher Fishkin turns this former legal policy on its head by suggesting that "if we apply to our culture the 'one drop' rule that in the United States has long classified anyone with one drop of black blood as black, then all of American culture is black."⁹⁰⁸ Fisher Fishkin's attempt to bring attention to the real mixtures at work in American literature and culture is good; but in her "effort to move the stories we tell about who we were closer to the realities of who we are," her definition of the "we" is exclusionary and troubling.⁹⁰⁹ She fails to consider other policies of exclusion that took place outside the spatiotemporal borders of the US's Jim Crow South and the black / white binary she tries to diffuse.

There are numerous examples of other raced-based exclusions that effected mainstream perceptions of US literature, history and culture. In *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (1996), comparative literary scholar Lisa Lowe explores the history of social and political exclusions in the US towards Asian America. Examining the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, Lowe points out that this race-based policy was not a state statute or representative of regional racism; rather, this law was federal and, according to Lowe, "distinguished Asian immigrants along racial *and* citizenship lines."⁹¹⁰ She argues that federal exclusions distanced "Asian Americans—even as citizens—from the terrain of national culture," and that "this distance has created the conditions for the emergence of Asian American culture as an alternative cultural site and the place where the contradictions of immigrant history are read, performed, and critiqued."⁹¹¹ Employing

the land-based terminology of 1990s scholarship, Lowe's text examines the effects of participating in a national culture at a distance or, in other words, from the periphery.

In *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies* (1997), José David Saldívar also explores what's missing in Fisher Fishkin's perception of the US's "multicultural reality."⁹¹² Saldívar asks, "What changes, for example, when culture is understood in terms of material hybridity, not purity?"⁹¹³ In order to account for the hybridity of American culture, Saldívar argues that scholars must "redraw the borders between folklore and the counterdiscourses of marginality, between 'everyday' culture and 'high' culture, and between 'people with culture' and 'people between culture.'"⁹¹⁴ In "redrawing" these borders, Saldívar also considers the axis around which national canons are organized. Following a south-to-north trajectory on his "cognitive map," he examines numerous scholars, writers, poets and artists at work in the US Southwest before, during and after the nineteenth century.⁹¹⁵ He makes long distance connections, for example, between Américo Paredes, José Montoya, and Carmen Lomas Garza to uncover the multiple ways in which "dominant Anglocentric discourse suppresses regional difference."⁹¹⁶

Saldívar's notion of a south-to-north trajectory for a remapped American Cultural Studies also draws on many scholars who have contemplated the historical presence of peoples of Mexican descent living in the region that became the US Southwest prior to annexation. He cites historian George J. Sánchez, for example, whose *Becoming Mexican American* (1996) examines the "ambivalent Americanism" of Mexican American communities that moved "back and forth" between the border before and after the Mexican-American War. Saldívar writes that *Becoming Mexican American* "deserves our attention not only because of the way it fundamentally debunks Oscar Handlin's traditional 'uprooted' model of American urban 'ethnogenesis' in Chicago and New York City but also because it spatially remaps what Shelley Sunn Wong calls the universal

myth of the American *Bildung* (1994, 124).⁹¹⁷ Sánchez's work uproots the "cultural and sociospatial myth" that Ellis Island is the "central immigrant space in the nation" and presents "an alternative American *Bildung*," with Los Angeles International Airport.⁹¹⁸ There is room for such a notion when one considers the immigration tales of America from different directions, particularly from the south. For example, a bit later in his text, Saldívar writes, "Like the scores of brown maids and gardeners with their brooms and blowers working all over California, isn't it time that we sweep away once and for all this Manichaeian construction? Might not a sweeping, even crude, transnational South-North mapping (using the interpretive power of liminality) be more appropriate?"⁹¹⁹

With his question in mind, Saldívar claims that the suppression of "regional difference" in American literature is a discriminatory practice that centralizes power across the peripheries of the US.⁹²⁰ In other words, if over 'there' is commonly framed and understood as being the same as (it has always been) over 'here,' then the margins—the borderlands—of the nation-state are easily enforced and maintained. Questioning the axis of power that determine the official maps of US literature and history, Saldívar makes visible the other sights/sites of meaning in the "complex self-fashionings brought about by the bloody U.S.-Mexico borderland conflict."⁹²¹ Participating in 1990s remapping rhetoric, Saldívar politicizes his reconfiguration of institutional frameworks by likening the boundaries of academic disciplines and methodologies to those of contested "geographic territories."⁹²²

Because Saldívar is concerned with spatial relationships between the US-Mexico border and American Cultural Studies, Américo Paredes's "*With His Pistol in His Hand*": *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1958) is especially important to *Border Matters*.⁹²³ Paredes's text touches on all components of Saldívar's remapping argument; it validates Saldívar's use of personal reflections throughout his scholarship, and informs the spatiotemporal connection he makes between nineteenth century corridos in South

Texas and late twentieth century Chicano/a poetry in the US Southwest. In Chapter One, for example, Saldívar introduces himself to readers, breaking the fourth-wall of historical scholarship:

I lived in the center of the periphery, in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, where the Rio Grande enters the Gulf of Mexico. A map of the lower Rio Grande border, from the mouth of the river “to the two Laredos,” as Américo Paredes puts it, “shows a clustering of farming towns” and sprawling urban contact zones along both riverbanks, “with lonely gaps to the north and to the south.”⁹²⁴

Locating his physical “self,” and not only his subject, in the “center of the periphery,” Saldívar echoes Paredes’s self-reflexive tone that had “declared” neither he nor his ancestors in South Texas were immigrants.⁹²⁵ From this perspective, Texas’s 1845 appropriation was an imposition of a border that resulted in the imposition of numerous and new socioeconomic, political and cultural boundaries for a preexisting society. Saldívar also informs readers that “*With His Pistol in His Hand*” was originally Paredes’s “doctoral thesis presented to the Department of English at the University of Texas, Austin in 1956.”⁹²⁶ Using family history as a scholarly framework for his dissertation (and later publication), Paredes disrupted “Anglocentric” renderings of the US Southwest by applying a south-to-north analysis of the “hegemonic border.”⁹²⁷

Like Paredes, Saldívar’s work also cannot be “contained within the boundaries of the traditional university.”⁹²⁸ Elaborating on the brief autobiographical note from his first chapter, Saldívar begins his last chapter, “Remapping American Cultural Studies” with several pages of personal anecdotes. He frames his memories with very sophisticated questions that he answers in opposition to expectations of scholarly objectivity: “How do U.S.-Mexican border paradigms strive for comparative theoretical reach while remaining grounded in specific histories of what José Martí called, ‘Nuestra América,’ Our America? What do such projects tell us about the cultures of U.S. imperialism and the cultures of displacement?”⁹²⁹ Saldívar doesn’t immediately answer his inquiries with a

literary or “scholarly” critique. Rather, in homage to his predecessor, he spends several paragraphs telling readers about who he was as a young man, having “spent the first half of my life at the mouth of the Rio Grande in South Texas.”⁹³⁰ He tackles the “spatial representations and the politics of geocultural identity” by inserting his own ancestral history and migration into the remapping of American culture, locating “Our America,” as a more inclusive sight/site of meaning.⁹³¹

Upon his introduction to American literature at Yale in 1973, Saldívar notes, “I knew nothing about America.” Yet it appears that he was aware of a handful of pedagogical rules concerning what constitutes history and American culture. He knew from his education in South Texas “all the hard facts about regional hegemony and global colonialism’s cultures, for culture, my teachers believed, always lived somewhere else—never in our own backyards.”⁹³² Wandering a moment longer, Saldívar recalls the strange New World of New Haven, and the “rather different musics of America—from Walt Whitman’s ‘I Hear America Singing’ to the Funkadelics’ ‘One Nation Under a Groove’ and Ruben Blades, *sa/sa* national anthem, ‘Buscando America.’” Reflecting on these cultural encounters, Saldívar looks up for a moment at his reading audience to validate his anecdote: “The point of these brief personal remarks is not to demonstrate a Manichaeian clash of identities and affiliations but to begin mapping out the phantasmatics of Nuestra América’s borders in our own complex time.”⁹³³ Saldívar’s “point of entry” into the US’s fantasies of difference, or the constructed illusions of what and who is not American, echoes Michael Eric Dyson’s memories on growing up reading Richard Henry Dana while listening to Motown.⁹³⁴ Thus, the “fruitful symbiosis” between “white” and “black” cultures applies to “brown” culture, if Saldívar’s “point of location” is included in Shelley Fisher Fishkin’s remapping discourse.⁹³⁵ Moreover, Saldívar’s multicultural exchange takes place in the center of the center—the US Northeast, and in New Haven, Connecticut, no less. In other words, he extends Paredes’s trajectory

across hegemonic sites/sights of meaning, exposing how regional particularities come together in the center (as they do in the peripheries) to interact and create American identities that are mixtures of many cultures. Like Adrienne Rich's experience of her "whiteness as a point of location," Saldívar also takes "responsibility" for his identity's location on the map of *his* America.

Saldívar's arrival at a remapped study of American culture has many steps, however. In order to track his path to this final (but ongoing) destination, it is important to return to *With His Pistol in His Hand*. For Saldívar, Paredes is the ultimate border crosser. His analysis of nineteenth century corridos, for example, "transgresses various disciplines and theoretical boundaries: folklore, ethnography, musicology, history, and literary 'theory.'"⁹³⁶ Along with the self-reflexive tone throughout Paredes's text, Saldívar contemplates his argument that the corrido is a valid source of US history.⁹³⁷ Sung in the *wrong* language, corridos, or story-songs, document Chicano/a resistance to the geopolitical and cultural changes brought about by the land disputes, wars and annexations of the 1840s. For Paredes, "El Corrido de Gregorio Cortez" lyricizes an "alter-Native" experience of manifest destiny in the aftermath of "the Civil War, the English-speaking invasion of the borderlands, and the French invasion of Mexico." As Gregorio Cortez "resisted arrest by Sheriff Morris ... 'con la pistola en su mano,'" the ballad is not meant to recount the individual, and thus, isolated experience of a singular "border man" caught between shifting definitions of law and order.⁹³⁸ Rather, "El Corrido de Gregorio Cortez," is a social metaphor, what Saldívar deems a "social text," gathering and decimating the commonly lived experiences of the Chicano/a diaspora.⁹³⁹

Moving beyond the nineteenth century, but maintaining Paredes's south-to-north perspective, Saldívar claims that the "*corrido* can change through time and accommodate new Chicano perceptions and experiences."⁹⁴⁰ He connects nineteenth century border ballads with the poetry of the RCAF's José Montoya because Montoya

utilizes oppositional strategies in his poems “to decenter a monolingual, Anglocentric literary tradition and to recenter an ethnopoetic Chicano practice that Américo Paredes ... theorized in the late 1950s and early 1960s.”⁹⁴¹ Interspersing Spanish and English with Caló, Montoya marries the subversive content of his poetry with a linguistic cadence that reinvents the “Anglocentric literary tradition” as Chicano/a one. In “Pobre Viejo Walt Whitman” (1969), for example, Montoya says,

When the good grey poet
Imposed his virile image
Upon an impotent people no
Envisionó en su locura
Stoop-shouldered junkies
Aching to get straight and
Hip-swinging he-men
Abrazandose en callejones oscuros.
And now he reappears, much,
Much later in far-off Lhasa
Un monje solitario and he
Abhors the sight his third eye
Sees as he stirs the dying
Brasas of his dry yak dung fire
Which emits little warmth.⁹⁴²

Montoya’s mixture of Spanish and English catapults Whitman into a late twentieth-century barrio. Moreover, he clearly identifies with (or as) Whitman, echoing Fisher Fishkin’s argument about the interpenetration of “black” and “white” literature. Like Richard Wright, who was engaged with “a wide range of white writers from the United States and abroad, including Dostoevsky, Theodore Dreiser, and Mark Twain,” Montoya was also influenced by canonical Anglo-American poets.⁹⁴³

The linguistic and literary mixtures infused in “Pobre Viejo Walt Whitman” sharply criticize social conditions in the barrio and reject romanticized perceptions of the American dream.⁹⁴⁴ Montoya is uncomfortable with Whitman’s rendering of the working class, particularly in regards to “I Hear America Singing.” Where Whitman hears “The carpenter singing his, as he measures his plank or beam” and “The mason singing his, as he makes ready for work, or leaves off work,” Montoya sees “Stoop-shouldered

junkies/ Aching to get straight and / Hip-swinging he-men” huddling in alleys, out of work and addicted to drugs.⁹⁴⁵ Yet Montoya’s response to Whitman’s working class pastoral is lost in translation for English Professor Olivia Castellano; she compartmentalizes his linguistic mixtures and canonical references by disregarding the poem’s cultural hybridity. In her introduction to Montoya’s 1992 anthology, Castellano writes, “Montoya brings to mind Walt Whitman, the grey poet. However, this brown Chicano poet celebrates his people in starker and more powerful terms. In his stylistic versatility, Montoya more closely resembles Pablo Neruda, especially Neruda’s early surrealist period and his later socio-political reformist poetry.”⁹⁴⁶ Castellano’s assertion of who Montoya “more closely resembles” begs the question, why can’t he be similar to both? Favoring the least “white” and the most “brown” of canonical poets, Castellano enforces presumed borders between Anglo American and Chicano/a literature. The notion that Montoya’s poetry (or, even, Montoya) “more closely resembles” Neruda, and not Whitman, brings to mind Black Studies Programs that focused on “the texts, writers, and chapters of history that struck them as being the ‘most black’ and the ‘least white’” during the “historically Jim Crow nature of the curriculum.”⁹⁴⁷

Stepping back from Saldívar’s remapping of American culture and the connections it allows between the corrido and Chicano/a poetry, I believe it’s important to explore what’s missing in his reading of Montoya’s poetry. In his effort to legitimize the “ethnopoetic Chicano practice,” Saldívar makes several oversights that expose an investment in the very “Anglocentric literary tradition” that he so diligently works to debunk. Saldívar privileges print culture over other forms of historical narrative. He writes, “Montoya’s early poems give the impression of a new, Chicano sensibility: namely, its power to dramatize otherness and to bring *readers* into electrifying contact with social forms wholly different from Anglocentric ones.”⁹⁴⁸ The notion of “readers” for Montoya’s “early poems” obfuscates the history of social bardism in the Chicano

Movement. In other words, in their original context, Montoya's "early poems" were not meant for "readers," but for listeners. They were announcements—proclamations of a common experience that centered on a particular ethnic consciousness and working class sensibility. Recall from Chapter Two that Montoya came to Sacramento "in '70—in '69 ... to read poetry and show my work to the Chicano/a students. ... The students really loved my poetry and they liked my artwork and they told me about ... a Master's program that was happening at Sac State."⁹⁴⁹ If Montoya's "early poems" were an "attempt to decenter a monolingual Anglocentric literary tradition," they did so out loud. Saldívar misses the public forum in which the poems' summoned a Chicano/a *listening* audience to gather, organize and participate in a growing social network. [Fig. 8]

Saldívar also emphasizes the publication history of Montoya poetry, noting that he "gave nearly all of his early poems to the Chicano academicians Herminio Ríos and Octavio I. Romano in the late 1960s for their volume, *El Espejo / The Mirror* (1969)." This was the "first anthology of Chicano poetry," and includes Montoya's "La Jefita" and "Los Vatos."⁹⁵⁰ In regards to these poems, Saldívar explains that "although little is known of the occasions for the poems, one thing is certain: one can see in them the emergence of a major Chicano poet offering a counterpoetics of aesthetic resistance and cultural critique."⁹⁵¹ Yet as Montoya's memories indicate, there is historical context for his poetry. In fact, on the very "occasion" that he read his poetry at Sacramento State, Ricardo Favela was listening in the audience. Recalling "a thing called Cinco de Mayo that was happening here on campus," Favela explained,

This was in 1969—'70. ... I went out to the quad with my two Anglo friends, which I had been 'pal-ing' around with for all that year. And we went down there to the quad so I could see José's—I saw his paintings. I said, "Wow, these are nice paintings, man." And then José was reading poetry and he read these two poems that just blew me away. And I'll tell you why. He read "La Jefita," which is "The Little Mother," y "Los Vatos," which means "The Dudes." And when he read those, I was flabbergasted. I said, "How does this guy know me? How does he know where I came from? I don't even know him, but he's talking about me." Because "La

Jefita” was certainly my mother and the vatos were certainly the vatos I hung around with. That’s why I left Dinuba—because I was hanging around too much with the guys. And I turned to Jimbo and I was going to tell him something [but] I say, “Nah.” And I turn around over to Jerry and I go, “Nooo.” And I just stood looking and I just said to myself out loud, “I’m going to meet this guy. I don’t know where or when, but I’m going to meet this guy.” And about two weeks later, I had the opportunity.⁹⁵²

Favela’s memories reveal that there are multiple spatiotemporal contexts at work in Montoya’s poetry. Relevant to the moment in “1969—‘70” at Sacramento State that led to introductions and the creation of a major Chicano/a arts organization, the poems also illuminate social spaces and historical circumstances that, for Montoya and Favela, transcend the historical periods in which they are set. “La Jefita,” for example, begins by describing the poem’s location: “When I remember the campos / y las noches and the sounds / of those nights en carpas o / Bagones I remember my Jefita’s / Palote / Click-clock; clik-clack-clok / Y su tocesita.”⁹⁵³ Montoya locates the poem in the real spaces of a labor camp—the fields and, specifically, the tents—conjuring the sounds of his mother working at night, while he and his bracero family slept. Idolizing his mother in the dialogues of his memory, Montoya’s poem is an ode that somewhat pastoralizes the Chicana farmworker: “¿Que horas son, ‘ama? / Es tarde mi hijito. Cover up.” Although Montoya nostalgically addresses the politics of domestic space—a space in which he swears “she never slept!”—his mother’s exhausting predicament is not obscured by a happy song since, in the morning, she firmly orders her children to work: “Y la jefita slapping tortillas / ¡Prieta! Help with the lonches! / ¡Calientale agua a tu ‘apa!”⁹⁵⁴ The scene from Montoya’s memory resonates for Favela across the different times and regions of their shared labor histories. Their bond, first catalyzed by “La Jefita,” reflected their commitment to the UFW and became a major component of their work in the RCAF during the 1970s and ‘80s.

Additionally, in “Los Vatos,” Montoya’s movement across the different times and spaces of US history is central to the poem’s social critique. He begins with a prelude

that not only identifies that he is the poem's narrator, but also locates him in the contemporary moment:

*Back in the early fifties, el Chonito and I were on the
Way to the bote when we heard the following dialogue:*

*Police car radio: Pachuco rumble in progress in front of Lyceum
Theatre. Sanger gang crossing tracks heading for
Chinatown. Looks big this time. All available
Westside units . . .*

*Cop to partner driving car:
Take your time. Let 'em wipe each other out.*

That attitude was typical then. Has it changed?

Below I sing of an unfortunate act of that epoch.⁹⁵⁵

Montoya's prelude informs listeners that he is amongst them, present in their time and space but in the midst of a memory from the 1950s, when he and his friend were on their way to jail. Concluding the prelude, "Below I sing of an unfortunate act of that epoch," Montoya announces another spatiotemporal shift, specified in the first lines of the poem's main text: "They came to get him at three o' clock / On a Sunday afternoon that summer of '48 / Five of them and a guitar in a blue '37 Chevy."⁹⁵⁶ Montoya's details are playful and purposeful; they overwhelm listeners with different dates, numbers and amounts in order to distort their sense of place and time.

Heading out on a "cruz," the young pachucos embark on a day's journey that leads to the demise of the poem's protagonist, Benny. Saldívar explains that pachucos "were young Chicanos who flaunted the zoot suit in the late 1930s and 1940s. They came to national attention in June 1943 when U.S. military men attacked them on the streets of Los Angeles in what are known as the zoot suit riots."⁹⁵⁷ Although a sufficient description of the pachuco, Benny is less of a historical figure and more of a social metaphor, indicated by the prelude's final stanza: "Cop to partner driving car: / Take your

time. Let 'em wipe each other out. / That attitude was typical then. Has it changed?"

Daring his audience to respond to the rhetorical question, Montoya interrupts the historical distance that he posits in the poem's prelude and interjects an analogous context: the dangerous times and social climate that Chicanos/as faced in the late 1960s and '70s.

Favela was not a pachuco from the historical "epoch," but he responded to Montoya's rhetorical question, recalling that he had left "Dinuba—because I was hanging around too much with the guys." Attending college in Sacramento was a decision to escape the dire conditions for young Chicanos/as in California's central valley during the 1960s. But Favela's intimate connection to "Los Vatos" is rendered invalid in Saldívar's deconstruction of the poem's "border-form." Despite the value that Favela's memories potentially add to his analysis, Saldívar argues that Montoya employs the corrido only to advance a universal model that "bridges the gap" between nineteenth century corridos and twentieth century Chicano/a poetry. He writes,

"Los Vatos" ... through its conscious *corrido*-like form, recapitulates the pachuco experience in its relation to "racial formation" and reduces both experience and vision to a paradigm ... "Los Vatos" thus can be read as an intellectual or artistic social text that bridges the gap between the world of the mind and the world of real affairs, between past and present, between desire and action. It draws on a historically and ideologically specific U.S.-Mexico border form and on the content of individual and collective experience.⁹⁵⁸

Saldívar's emphasis on the poem's formal qualities is aptly interpreted. Like the corrido, "Los Vatos" is a social text that "sings" of social dilemmas and perils faced by both the pachuco and his Chicano descendant during different "epochs" of US history. But the connection Favela feels with "Los Vatos" is not due to Montoya's paradigmatic strategy; rather, his connection is more tangible, made real by Montoya's negotiation of space and time, which allows Favela to crisscross historical epochs and locate his story in the tale that "Los Vatos" tells.

Assuming that “little is known of the occasions for the poems” hinders Saldívar’s connection between the corrido and Chicano/a poetry. Ultimately, Saldívar wants readers to see both as “social texts,” constructing an ethnonational identity that configured an alter-Native perspective of westward expansion. But he validates the poems through their publishing history, and not through personal histories of RCAF members.⁹⁵⁹ Certainly, Montoya’s emergence as a major Chicano poet is historically valid. His tenure as a Sacramento Poet Laureate is well documented and he is a frequent primary source of, or citation in, Chicano/a scholarship.⁹⁶⁰ But this is not the only thing “certain” about the value of his poetry. Saldívar’s disregard for the social space of Montoya’s “early poems” reveals an underlying investment in western standards of what is and is not a significant contribution to US history and the American literary canon.

Saldívar’s lack of attention to the actual social spaces in which Montoya performed poetry is difficult to reconcile with his analyses of other political spaces. He is aware of the implications of gendered space, especially regarding the western literary tradition that privileges text over alternative methods of telling history. Yet he introduces his interpretation of Carmen Lomas Garza’s “Cuadros de Familia / Family Pictures” (1990) by likening the paintings to Sandra Cisneros’s *House on Mango Street* (1985). In other words, Saldívar reads Lomas Garza’s pictures, which are “distinctive South Texas *monito* paintings (depicting cartoonlike figures),” as valid because they are readable images that “reveal her to be a poet ... for she articulates domestic and geopolitical spaces.”⁹⁶¹ In her collection of fourteen paintings that narrate “the complex predicaments of gendered social space,” Lomas Garza explores “rooms with a difference” in response to assumptions about the “aesthetics of the *domesticana*.”⁹⁶² In Lomas Garza’s painting, “Tamalada” (1988), for example, Saldívar shows how the visual poet “takes us to her parent’s kitchen, where the family is making tamales. The entire family is depicted in the

unalienated sexual division of labor”⁹⁶³ The gendered divisions of labor that Montoya captures in “La Jefita” play out differently in Garza’s domestic space, “for in the painter’s household,” Saldívar writes, “*todos ayudan* (everybody helps.)”⁹⁶⁴ [Fig. 9]

Saldívar’s understanding of Lomas Garza’s “household”—as a space in which gender identities are performed and circumvented—implies that space is always meaningful for the people who live and work in it, as well as those who critique, interpret and/or intellectualize it. But the absence of the space in which Montoya recited his “early poems” lingers, particularly in his reference to Juan Bruce-Novoa’s 1974 essay, “The Space of Chicano Literature.” He writes that Bruce-Novoa calls for “for a new kind of literary space in Chicano/a literary studies” because literature “becomes a space for responding to chaos.”⁹⁶⁵ Saldívar appreciates Bruce-Novoa’s resistance to “Euromodernist fascinations with the rhetoric of temporality,” but hesitates over his framework that “assumes the epistemological, phenomenological, and anthropological priority of language (literature) over social space. The preexistence of an empty space is simply taken as a given, and only the space of (Chicano/a) writing is dealt with as something that must be created.”⁹⁶⁶

Saldívar’s unease with Bruce-Novoa’s thesis pertains to the multiple spaces in which Chicanos/as worked during the 1960s and ‘70s Movement. Not only did Chicano/a artists, poets, scholars and activists demand representation of Chicano/a history, literature and culture in scholarly canons and disciplines; but they also petitioned school boards, academic departments and other institutions for the inclusion of Chicanos/as in student populations and faculties. The advent of the Mexican American Education Project at Sacramento State exemplifies the duality of the Chicano Movement’s spatial concerns. Yet Saldívar treats Montoya’s poetry recitals at Sacramento State as empty spaces, inconsequential to the formation of the RCAF within the Chicano Movement era. Montoya’s poems served Sacramento’s Chicano/a community before they ever served

literary criticism or scholarship. By suggesting that “La Jefita” and “Los Vatos” are important only as published texts for reading audiences, Saldívar privileges “language (literature) over social space.”⁹⁶⁷

The social spaces inherent to RCAF poetry and songs are meaningful sights/sites of Chicano/a history for Raúl Homero Villa in *Barrio Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture* (2000).⁹⁶⁸ Analyzing Esteban Villa’s 1985 “Southside Park” as an articulation of real spatial concerns, Homero Villa achieves Bruce-Novoa’s supposition that literature “becomes a space for responding to chaos.” A “pointed critique of the dominant consumer culture and hegemonic urban renewal,” Villa’s song invites listeners to gather at an “alternative public space,” instead of Sacramento’s Downtown Plaza Mall.⁹⁶⁹ Villa sings,

Southside Park / after dark / in the
moonlight
Southside Park / a summer day / in the
sunshine

Children come and play all day
And mama dreams the hours away / oh
oh yea

Pretty faces shining bright
Everything’s gonna be alright / oh oh yea

Southside Park / a summer day / in the
Sunshine
Southside Park / a summer day / in the
Sunshine

Daddy likes to play handball
And those of you who hate the Mall
There’s el Southside.⁹⁷⁰

Villa’s song turned poem celebrates the park as a meaningful gathering place, while critiquing Sacramento’s history of social-spatial exclusions, both of which are central to Sacramento’s Chicano/a history. “In an effort to wrest the park from increasing

dereliction,” Homero Villa writes that “the RCAF and Centro de Artistas Chicanos had begun to use the park as a designated site for community-wide activities.”⁹⁷¹ [Fig. 8]

As a space and as a song, “Southside Park” responds to the urban chaos brought about by the redevelopment of a major Sacramento residential district and thoroughfare in less than fifty years.⁹⁷² As previously mentioned, from the 1950s to the ‘90s, the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency (SHRA) implemented a redevelopment plan with three major phases. The city’s West End was reconfigured into a tourist-friendly, historical district, while a commercial mall was developed next to Capitol Park. Known as the Downtown Plaza, the mall connects to an earlier redevelopment zone, the K Street Mall on the east end, and “Old Town Sacramento” on the West End. City planners’ hoped that these new areas would “entice suburban middle-class consumers back into an ailing downtown corridor adjacent to the State Capitol.”⁹⁷³

But the redevelopment of downtown Sacramento also catalyzed an internal migration of people from the “aggrieved communities of the downtown area, principally Chicano, but including African Americans, the homeless, and other poor area residents.”⁹⁷⁴ Thus, Villa’s invitation to “those of you who hate the Mall” to join him at “el Southside,” reveals the common ground that seemingly disparate groups share in a “broader conflict over the use and meanings of public and pseudopublic urban space.”⁹⁷⁵ Across race, class and gender, Sacramento’s “aggrieved communities” are adept at reading the “invisible signs of exclusion to ‘undesirables.’” The Downtown Plaza and “Old Town Sacramento” were designed by “dominant planners” to enforce socioeconomic boundaries in their creation of “psuedopublic urban space,” or in other words, urban areas made to look like they are open to the public.⁹⁷⁶ Thus, the Downtown Plaza and adjoining redevelopment sites offer no *place* for the “knowing reader or listener” of Villa’s simple song.⁹⁷⁷

The form of Villa's song is also integral to his response to the urban chaos. Unlike the "border-form" of the corrido, which Saldívar esteems as the major precursor for late twentieth century Chicano poetry, the bolero is characterized as a feminine form of music. Homero Villa writes, "The bolero typically expresses longing or nostalgic sentiments for a person (usually a woman) or a place (a town, a region, or a nation: 'mi tierra'), and here these sentiments are transposed by Villa to describe the more idealized aspects of the barrio park."⁹⁷⁸ The sense of longing that Villa creates through the song's form reflects a larger history of Chicano/a interventions on public space. Sociopolitical battles over actual space are central to Homero Villa's examination of Chicano/a poetry. Subsequently, San Diego's Chicano Park is both a central location and a major example of ethno-poeticism in his analysis. In 1970, Chicano/a residents of San Diego's Logan Heights "drew their line in the sand," mobilizing "to stop the bulldozers" from building a Highway Patrol station on land that was previously designated for the creation of a public park.⁹⁷⁹ The area in question was a dilapidated space below the Coronado Bridge's freeway ramps to Interstate 5. Community protests in Logan Heights culminated in the creation of Chicano Park. Following the community's victorious spatial reclamation, Chicano/a artists created murals "on the support pillars of the bridge ramps," several of which were painted by the RCAF in the mid-1970s.⁹⁸⁰ In addition to the murals, the park provides community garden space and a "central pyramidal *kiosco* (kiosk)."⁹⁸¹ It continues to be an important place for Chicano/a cultural events, including "pre-Colombian *danza*" and various indigenous ceremonies.⁹⁸²

Homero Villa reads the Chicano/a artist's reconfiguration of the "intruding but monumental columns of the Coronado Bridge" as an ethnonational response to the "monolithic structures dropped into their barrio landscape."⁹⁸³ Mentioning Salvador "Queso" Torres, a Barrio Logan resident and major contributor to the Park's aesthetic design, Homero Villa writes that Torres's "vision for a monumental aesthetic makeover

[was] equally grand but countersignifying to the designs of hegemonic power that planned and built the Coronado Bridge.”⁹⁸⁴ The murals were not simply colorful illustrations that dressed up the cement walls; rather, their content and form was inextricably tied to the physical space as well as the Chicano/a history rooted in that space.⁹⁸⁵ As one of the Chicano artists who painted at Chicano Park, Esteban Villa is mindful of its social-spatial value. Although Chicano Park’s history is quite different than that of Southside Park, both public places are meaningful sites/sights of local *and* regional Chicano/a history.⁹⁸⁶ Thus, Villa’s song, “Southside Park,” addresses real claims over actual space, as well as the “more idealized aspects of the barrio park” that are conjured by the bolero’s form.

From their community and public murals, to their songs and poetry, the majority of the RCAF’s creative works are intimately connected to real space and ongoing battles over access to that space. Whether a humorous critique of social exclusion, or a cheerful reflection on the freedom of movement within the barrio, the RCAF’s murals, songs and poetry respond to Dolores Hayden’s framework for uncovering the “power” of places in the collective consciousness of a particular community. Racial and ethnic landmarks exist everywhere in Sacramento’s residential districts, public parks and school grounds; the RCAF has provided many “keys,” “legends,” and other “finding tools” for locating the Chicano/a ones. In 1983, for example, the RCAF band, Tri Casindio, released “Cruzin,” setting to music a critical remapping of Chicano/a space. Written by José Montoya, “Cruzin” continues to be performed as a song and as a poem.⁹⁸⁷ Montoya sings,

It’s not the Boardwalk
in Santa Cruz
it’s not a stroll down
Malibu
we just go cruzin’, oh yea
we just cruzin’

It’s not the Sunset
In Hollywood

we just go cruzin'
in our neighborhood
we go cruzin', oh yea
we go cruzin' ⁹⁸⁸

Montoya's lyrics are simple, but not transparent. Homero Villa interprets his use of "neighborhood" as a trope for understanding a complex, conjuncturely produced place-identity and cultural consciousness" that resonates for all Chicano/a listeners. By naming a set of "mainstream place-names"—like "the Boardwalk, Malibu, Hollywood"—Montoya invokes an "unspecified and generalized Chicano geography."⁹⁸⁹ His careful use of the pronoun "our" inserts a Chicano/a neighborhood within each of these well-known California destinations. Furthermore, because "Cruzin" is meant to be heard, the song also performs a spatial reclamation; it literally claims Chicano/a space while locating it in the real spaces of California's built environments.

Homero Villa supports the notion that "cruzin" is a remapping tool that locates Chicano/a space while creating it. Montoya's phrase, "We just go cruzin,'" for example, represents a performative act, and not merely a description of a Chicano/a pastime. Drawing on Brenda Jo Bright's, "Remappings: Los Angeles Low Riders" (1995), Homero Villa elaborates that Whittier Boulevard in East Los Angeles is a historically "Chicano part of town"—a safe place for Chicanos/as "to cruise and congregate without the worries of conflicts and infractions from Anglos and Blacks."⁹⁹⁰ Outside the Chicano/a neighborhood, however, the "cruz" continues as Chicanos/as interact with ominous forces in social space, like "police cars [that] 'cruise' principal streets to harass or intimidate the participants." Thus, "cruzin" serves as an "identity-enhancing, expressive performance" that is a collectively validating act, or a deeply contested one, depending on the area.⁹⁹¹

From a gendered perspective, "cruzin" presents another powerful intervention on public space for Chicanas and Chicana history. Historically, "cruzin" has been treated as

a Chicano pastime, especially in connection to the 1940s and the advent of Pachuquismo, a Mexican American youth counterculture that is commonly referred to as the pachuco era. Recalling José Montoya's poem "Los Vatos," many Chicano/a artists, writers and scholars have explored the relationship between Pachuquismo and Chicanidad, claiming the earlier epoch as a starting point for Chicano/a interventions on public space and other forms of social resistance.⁹⁹² Luis Valdez's 1978 play, *Zoot Suit* is chief among these comparative works. The play became a feature film in 1981 and it explores the real trial of the 1942 Sleepy Lagoon Murder case in which "twenty-two teenagers were tried for killing a Mexican teenager at a party. The group was convicted on some weak evidence and sentenced on charges ranging from assault to first-degree murder."⁹⁹³ Historian F. Arturo Rosales adds that in 1944, "an appeal resulted in reversal of charges because of the bias which permeated the first trial."⁹⁹⁴ Valdez's film also touches on the 1943 zootsuit riots, a series of confrontations between US Navy servicemen and Mexican American youth in Los Angeles.

Central to Valdez's plot is the psychological journey of "Henry Rana," the film's main character who is based on the actual trial defendant, Henry Leyvas. Between the public space of the trial and the private spaces of his jail cell, Rana battles personal demons and ultimately faces off with the film's narrator, El Pachuco, who is also Rana's alter-ego. Deeply homosocial and androcentric, Valdez's depiction of 1940s pachucos/as—from their style of dress, to their casual stroll through the public streets of Southern California—represented more than "gang" culture for 1960s and '70s Chicanos/as. José Montoya contextualized their emergence in the public sphere during the racially-charged climate of Southern California in the 1940s:

They were so angry at being called 'lazy' and being called 'Mexican'—'lazy Mexican.' That's all people heard and they were the only ones out there working. So what's that all about? So the pachuco decided he was going to be real classy and they began with how they dressed and how they talked and it caught on. But it was a resistance. A resistencia, more

than anything else. It was a resistance to that attack of being 'lazy' and 'Mexican.' To get a good tailor-made set of 'drapes' and the 'trapos', or whole suit, you had to make thirty dollars. But they wanted to out do Clark Gable in *Gone with the Wind*. And they pulled it off.⁹⁹⁵

Pachuco fashion, lingo and mannerisms were part of a bicultural phenomenon, as Montoya's reference to Clark Gable and *Gone With the Wind* (1939) suggests.

Consumer culture "hit the barrio full force" as early as the 1920s and, as Vicki L. Ruiz acknowledges, young pachucos were not alone in their "cruz" of the public sphere.⁹⁹⁶

Young Mexican American women were also "blending elements as diverse as celebrating Cinco de Mayo and applying Max Factor cosmetics."⁹⁹⁷ In *From Out Of The Shadows* (1998), Ruiz maps Mexican American women's history in the early twentieth century and claims 1940s pachucas as a major point along that timeline. Central to her analysis is the notion of syncretism and mixture—as opposed to submissive assimilation. She contends, "Mexican American women were not caught between two worlds. They navigated across multiple terrains at home, at work and at play. They engaged in cultural coalescence. The Mexican American generation selected, retained, borrowed, and created their own cultural forms."⁹⁹⁸

Nowhere is the Mexican American woman's navigation of "multiple terrains" more clear than in the 1940s figure of La Pachuca. The female equivalent to the young, zootsuit-wearing, Mexican American man, la pachuca tested the boundaries of traditional Mexican *and* US gender norms; she moved in and out of the domestic space and into the dancehalls and other nighttime gathering places. Pachucas dressed in form-fitting skirts and low-cut blouses; they coiffed their hair in dramatic pompadours and exaggerated their eyeliner; they also spoke Caló with their male and female peers.⁹⁹⁹ Their participation in this "cultural coalescence" forced cultural change in Mexican America and revolutionized a larger sociopolitical reality for all second-generation, racial and ethnic American women. Moreover, as José Montoya confirms, they paid dearly for

their encroachment on public space and their defiance of traditional divisions of gender. Recalling nights when he watched his older brother dress for a night out on the town, Montoya's reflections turned toward the consequences many pachucas' faced for their public personas:

I was a shine-boy in those years for my older brother. I used to shine their shoes. I used to see them get ready. It was like dressing a bullfighter. When they sauntered down the streets, man, it was baaaad. And the rucas—the chicks—they were the ones that took the brunt of the rejection from the parents. Because of that I think they were our first welfare mothers, and cantineras, [and] in some cases, our first prostitutes. Well these daughters that had joined with a pachuco were not welcomed back to the household. I heard the stories from my sister and I knew some of them. When she told them to me, god it was so sad.¹⁰⁰⁰

As Montoya's memories indicate, pachuco/a identity was largely a public performance; and female participation in the performance was dangerous on multiple fronts—not just the public spaces of Southern California, but also within the intra-ethnic spaces of the Mexican American home and community. Despite the significant roles that Mexican American women played in the formation of a public pachuca identity, Vicki Ruiz claims that they have been forgotten in Chicano history and scholarship: “Among Chicano historians and writers, there appears a fascination with the sons of immigrants, especially as *pachucos*. Young women, however, may have experienced deeper generational tensions as they blended elements of Americanization with Mexican expectations and values.”¹⁰⁰¹

José Montoya was sensitive to this discrepancy, treating the absence of pachucas in Chicano history and scholarship in the same way that he dealt with the absence of pachucos in US history: he painted and sketched them. In fact, one of Montoya's most celebrated images is that of the pachuco couple featured in his panel from the RCAF's 1977 Southside Park Mural. In addition to this mural, Montoya created a series of sketches and watercolor portraits of pachucos and pachucas. These pieces were central to his 1977 exhibition, “El Pachuco Art: A Historical Update.”¹⁰⁰² The subject

of a documentary by Joseph R. Camacho, Montoya's exhibit originally opened on December 09, 1977 in Sacramento, at the Open Ring Gallery on 1223 J Street.¹⁰⁰³ Camacho's film captures the opening reception, and includes many shots of the exhibit, which featured Montoya's sketches and watercolors, along with authentic photographs and artifacts that Montoya had collected from the community. The show traveled to San Francisco and Los Angeles between 1977 and '78. At each opening reception, Montoya dressed in pachuco attire, donning a zootsuit, hat, and well-polished shoes. In his performance of pachuco identity, Montoya was joined by many members of the RCAF and numerous members of the local Chicano/a community. [Fig. 10]

The display of pachuco/a art and artifacts, coupled with the Chicano/a community's performance of pachuco/a identity, culminated in a literal and figurative reclaiming of space in 1977 and '78. Camacho's film makes this point crystal clear by focusing on the response of local authorities in Sacramento during the show's opening reception. As previously mentioned, the K Street Mall was originally conceived in 1967 and was officially closed to cars by 1969, when the streets were demolished. The undertaking was significant, blocking traffic "on eight blocks of a principal downtown thoroughfare."¹⁰⁰⁴ Local city planners and officials had also commenced building the Downtown Plaza and "Old Town Sacramento." During this transition of space, J Street became a popular "cruzing" site for teenagers, Chicanos/as, and other "undesirables." Returning to the opening night of Montoya's pachuco art show, several central valley "car clubs" were prevented from entering Sacramento by local police. The irony of the circumstance—the exhibit's historical focus on 1940s pachucos/as and their battles for social-spatial equality in the public streets of downtown Los Angeles, and the denial of access to Chicano/a youth in downtown Sacramento—was not lost on Montoya.

In his address to the crowd at the Open Ring Gallery, Montoya remarked on the absence of Pachuco/a history in US history and in the collective consciousness of the

Chicano/a community. He presented pachucos/as as “the first Chicano freedom-fighters of the Chicano movement,” reconsidering them “as the prototype of Chicano cultural resistance.”¹⁰⁰⁵ According to art historian and comparative literary scholar John Tagg, the collaborative process of the exhibit transformed the event into an act of “collective remembering”; from the community members who shared their belongings and photographs with Montoya, to the group’s public performance of pachuco/a identity, Montoya infused “the imagery and symbolism of the *pachuco* into contemporary Chicano art and *barrio* life, inverting the stereotype of negation and marginalisation, and instilling pride in a new generation of *Chicanitos*.”¹⁰⁰⁶ [Fig. 11]

Now, in the twenty-first century, Chicano/a artists continue to find new ways to enact the “cruz,” remapping the spaces of everyday life in order to expose how “historical consciousness and place consciousness are inextricably intertwined.”¹⁰⁰⁷ Echoing Esteban Villa’s invitation to listeners to join him at “el Southside,” Marisela Norte asks readers to take a bus trip through a major Chicano/a thoroughfare in “Best MTA Bus Line: The number 18, yes, let’s take a trip down Whittier Boulevard”(2004). Norte also invokes José Montoya’s ethnopoetic strategy of “cruzin,” but chooses to narrow down the “mainstream place-names” of his “generalized Chicano geography.”¹⁰⁰⁸ Instead, she opts to “cruz” a specifically Chicano/a street:

For the past 44 years, the town where I live, *my* East Los Angeles, still holds me in its arms. And for those 44 years I have opted for that No. 18 bus as my sole means of transport, of *navigating* through that very same Thomas Brothers Guide (Orange County pages included) tucked underneath the seat of *your* car. ... through a bus window darkly on the Number 18, I am able to take poetic leaps and transport myself through the language of street corners and memory, imagined lives and *my* dreams of East L.A.¹⁰⁰⁹

Referencing the “Thomas Brothers Guide,” a regional atlas manufacturer that produced spiral-bound maps of metropolitan areas since the early twentieth century, Norte playfully mocks official organizations of space and western cartography.¹⁰¹⁰ She makes

clear to her readers that this is “my East Los Angeles” and her “poetic leaps” through the Boulevard convey that she is the map’s cartographer. Norte’s self-reflexive prose corresponds with Donald Bruce’s analysis of Gustave Flaubert’s “Un Coeur Simple” (1877). Describing a scene in which the protagonist, Félicité, studies a map of the West Indies and “searches in vain for her much loved and recently departed nephew,” Bruce writes that she is unable to make sense of the official map.¹⁰¹¹ Instead, Félicité “replaces this particular representation, she *remaps* it, with what she has assimilated from popular culture and personal experience.”¹⁰¹² Bruce concludes that Félicité’s remapping of the West Indies demonstrates that “there is no reality truly independent of the observer, of the observer’s methods and scale of observation, all of these being elements which are fundamentally encoded into any type of cognitive mapping.”¹⁰¹³

In turn, Norte moves along the Bus’s established route as a passenger, making sense of the trip from an alter-*Native* perspective. Her “cognitive map” transcends all spatiotemporal borders as she inserts meaningful sites/sights of personal history into the Boulevard’s existing built environment. From this vantage point, Norte recalls how the streets were and will be:

My neighborhood—framed by Yum Yum Donuts, a Fotomat, and just down the street a storefront with a hand-painted sign that reads *Neuroticos Anonimos*—why have I yet to check in? When I close my eyes, I can still see a solid gold cow on the roof of the dairy on the Boulevard. A couple of doors down I still imagine a blond woman in an aquamarine dress sitting next to a tuxedoed man with patent-leather hair. ... It’s 1968, and I am boarding the then-No. 72 bus on Whittier and Arizona ... Back in the day, you could check out the storefronts on the Boulevard and the likes of Dottie Dean, Kurly’s, the Record Inn and Victor’s Men’s Wear, where a sign still reads, “Where you shop in taste, not in haste.” Nowadays, Whittier Boulevard offers the best stretch of 99-, 98-, 97- and 89-cent stores around. ... It’s 1979, and I am boarding the bus once again at the corner of Whittier Boulevard and Soto. Years from now, the sign at Carnitas Michoacan will read, “Over 5 Zillion Sold.” This is the same sign I will one day alter to read, “Over 5 Zillion Still Ignored.” Anyway, it’s the late ‘70s, and I am busing downtown to transfer to the Number 10, which eventually will make its way toward Melrose Avenue and my first of many waitress gigs to come. ... It’s 1984, and I am crossing the bridge that links Whittier Boulevard to downtown Los

Angeles. This is probably one of my favorite views of the city. ... I am on my way to meet my chums at Clifton's on Seventh and Broadway before we work our way through gallery party after gallery party. ... It's 2003, and I am still cruising the Boulevard. There's a makeshift taqueria sandwiched between an eye clinic and a notary public on Whittier Boulevard. ... I stand at the corner of Whittier and Lorena and catch a glimpse of the downtown skyline. ... I like to think that there's a kid riding on a bus somewhere who also thinks of it as the Emerald City.¹⁰¹⁴

Norte's repetition of chronological dates acknowledges linear organizations of western history, symbolized by the predetermined and everyday route of the bus. Like making her "downtown transfer to the Number 10, which eventually will make its way toward Melrose Avenue," Norte expects western history to travel along an official course, to be divided into epochs, regions and periods of what Emma Pérez calls the "great events" of US history. But Norte's repetition also circumvents these expectations of traditional history because her "historical" dates are subjective; they inform readers of Whittier Boulevard's changes according to *her* past, present and future.

Moreover, Norte's personal landmarks also reveal acts of remapping within her mapping of Whittier Boulevard. The sign she "will one day alter to read, 'Over 5 Zillion Still Ignored'" confronts suppressions of regional difference in the "master narratives" put forth by the nation-state to "consolidate control over its citizenry."¹⁰¹⁵ Norte's "trip down Whittier Boulevard" troubles the "sanctioned European and Euroamerican historical method" and the top-down perspective of history that Emma Pérez deems Foucauldian.¹⁰¹⁶ Instead, Norte's text proposes that "there are multiple official histories as well as multiple vernacular memories" in every built environment.¹⁰¹⁷ If the bus route reflects official organization of space—the everyday, transit map of Whittier Boulevard—Norte's map of memory encircles it. She goes "cruising the Boulevard," and, like Félicité's remapping of the West Indies, she transforms "the abstract model of the atlas map into knowledge which is meaningful to her."¹⁰¹⁸

In a similar manipulation of knowledge, meaning and space, artist Helena Keefe created and exhibited “Muni Maps” in November 2007, testing the ethnopoetic boundaries of the Chicano/a “cruz.” Keefe’s maps refer to San Francisco’s public transportation system, or what locals call the “Muni.” [Fig. 12] Like Norte’s remapping of Whittier Boulevard from her seat on the bus, Keefe reconsiders the sights and sounds of six major streets in San Francisco; unlike Norte, Keefe’s remappings of space are told from the perspectives of Muni bus drivers. She explains,

San Francisco's public transportation system is a many layered and often overwhelming flow of people moving to and from all parts of the city. We depend on transit workers to keep this complex system running despite any number of obstacles they may encounter on their daily routes. Inevitably Muni operators gain an intimate familiarity with the city and accumulate a rich history of experiences as the travel their daily routes.¹⁰¹⁹

“Muni Maps” consists of six posters and several installation sites. Keefe notes that “each poster features a route map that has been annotated with an individual operator's portrait, hand-written notes, interview excerpts and related drawings — depicting the public transportation experience from the perspective of the operator.”¹⁰²⁰ Sponsored by the San Francisco Arts Commission (SFAC), “Muni Maps” was part of the SFAC’s “Art on Market Street” program and the posters were installed in “24 kiosks on Market Street between Van Ness Avenue and the Embarcadero” in-between July and November 2007. Several “Muni Maps” were also featured inside of city buses in a modified format.¹⁰²¹

To announce the public exhibit and installation sites, a text version of the maps were distributed throughout the Bay Area’s regional arts commissions. Keefe fashioned smaller portraits of the Muni drivers and superimposed each onto their individual bus routes. Additionally, on the opposite side of each modified poster, Keefe provided excerpts from the given driver’s interview. The six maps fold out accordion-style and, in its entirety, the narrative form takes on powerful meaning as an alternative map of San Francisco—now organized according to the personal memories and experiences of the

Muni drivers. “From the 15 Third Street,” for example, one Muni operator states: “I’ve known this line for a long time. I rode the 15 as a kid with my grandmother when I was little. A lot of things on 3rd street have changed but you still got Sam Jordan’s, Finley’s Mortuary, Kennedy Liquor, Golden Eagle Liquor and the Bayview Opera House. Those places have been around a long time.”¹⁰²² Echoing Norte’s repetition of dates, the Muni driver’s reflections are brimming with chronological orderings of personal history and real change over time in San Francisco’s built environment.

Continuing in the remapping *tradition*, alter-*Native* perspectives of history are at the forefront of artistic interpretations of the RCAF. In 2008, artist Stephanie Sauer published, “The Noun Painter: Works by Esteban Villa, Mapped by Stephanie Sauer.”¹⁰²³ Sauer’s project consists of a set of thirty six flash cards. Sketches by Esteban Villa are on one side of each card, while a sequence of lines are on each backside. Sauer numbered the sides with lines “V1” through “V36.” The numbers are explained by two additional cards at the top of the deck. One card is a reproduction of a handwritten note from Villa to Sauer, entitled, “Mr. Villa’s daily route. From Broadway to the American River.” He goes on to list the locations he frequents on his daily trips through Sacramento. The second card is organized by Sauer and rearranges Villa’s handwritten map in a formal type-set that matches his list of restaurants, bars, parks and cafés to the numbers on the cards. The line on “V1,” for example, signifies Villa’s route from “Tower Café to Luna’s Café,” and “V2” represents his path from “Los Jarritos to Starbucks.” The final card, “V36,” ends where Villa begins—at the “Torch Club to Luna’s Café”—and indicates that his journey through Sacramento makes a circle. Villa does not follow a linear line or adhere to a traditional narrative path, with a separate beginning, middle and end. [Fig. 13]

If one follows Sauer’s key—laying the cards down with the lines facing up and in numerical order—a map of downtown Sacramento appears. The map locates Esteban

Villa's whereabouts on a daily basis and provides context for the sketches he makes of the "people, places and things" he encounters while moving through Sacramento's built environment. Sauer's tracking system for Villa's "flight maneuvers over the Sacramento Valley with his 4"x6" drawing pad" suggests that there are many ways in which to map space. Furthermore, her introductory note, located on the opposite side of the card with Villa's handwritten map, expands on Montoya's notion of "cruzin." Alluding to the RCAF's air force persona, Sauer writes, "[Villa] continues to create a minimum of two original sketches per flight, while his adobe airplane is said to consume approximately thirty-two fluid ounces of black coffee and three pints of beer during each run. This collection is a tribute to his daily route and invites you to undertake your own mapping."¹⁰²⁴

To go "cruzin" Sacramento in search of the RCAF requires that we get in the "adobe airplane" and go. In the final chapter, I accept Sauer's invitation and embark on a journey—I go "cruzin" the meaningful sites/sights of RCAF history in downtown Sacramento. I certify their unofficial landmarks; I validate their memories of "people, places and things" that endure Sacramento's ever-changing built environment. I also locate their current hangout spots, where they reminisce about members who have passed and tell tall tales about the early years. In the twenty-first century, the RCAF has entered an important phase in their organizational history; local and regional institutions have begun to collect their documents, records, oral histories and aesthetic artifacts. But the RCAF has been ready and waiting. Through their continued arts practice and community gatherings, they have created, recreated and even rehearsed a master narrative worth collecting.

Chapter Six: Downtown RCAF: The Meaningful Sites/Sights of RCAF Art History

“In those early years she was a young chola full of pride and commitment, providing the barrio with the art and literature and the real history of the Mexican people and our Mexican culture—from before Columbus to the present. It wasn’t long before the bookstore del barrio, por abi por la calle efe—1228 F Street—to be exact, became a national and an international phenomenon. It provided books and Chicano materials to ethnic studies departments of universities in the U.S. as well in Mexico, Cuba and across Europe.” —José Montoya, “La Raza Bookstore—The Early Years.”¹⁰²⁵

Over the last forty years, the RCAF developed a diverse network of community services, educational resources and cultural centers in downtown Sacramento. From the Barrio Arts Program, the Centro de Artistas Chicanos, to Breakfast for los niños and Aeronaves de Aztlán, the RCAF also helped found La Raza Bookstore and Galería Posada. Each of these organizations occupied storefronts and offices in the Alkali Flat, the Washington Neighborhood, Southside Park, or a surrounding Chicano/a enclave.¹⁰²⁶

Alongside their contributions to Chicano/a industries and programs, they created numerous murals that celebrated Chicano/a culture and history in graphic detail. Armando Cid’s 1973 “Por la Raza United Flight,” for example, incorporated images of Quetzalcoatl onto the door casing and stucco exterior of La Raza Bookstore at 1228 F Street in the Alkali Flat. Cid combined the mural’s pre-Columbian motif with the educational agendas of the local and national Chicano Movement. The mural’s main image depicts a young Chicano in aeronautical headgear; above him the word, “Libros” is boldly printed and flanked by a contemporary Chicano on one side, and an Aztec warrior on the other. Through “Libros,” Cid suggests, the young pilot will launch into the different times and spaces of his indigenous ancestors and his present-day neighborhood. A compelling mixture of book- and street-smarts, Cid’s “pilot of Aztlán” was the perfect advertisement for the barrio bookstore.¹⁰²⁷ [Fig. 1, 2 & 3]

While the mural and its location are long gone, early RCAF murals still exist in the Alkali Flat’s Washington Neighborhood. Esteban Villa’s “Emergence of the Chicano Social Struggle in a Bi-Cultural Society” (1969) is located inside the Washington

Neighborhood Center. Likewise, one of Armando Cid's 1970s "Ollin" murals survives on the front of the Washington Square Apartments.¹⁰²⁸ Outside Sacramento's Chicano/a neighborhoods, "Emergence" and the "Ollin" mural are not well known.¹⁰²⁹ Instead, the RCAF's 1977 Southside Park Mural is recognized by scholars as a classic example of Chicano/a muralism. Since it was created in a public park, it seemingly fits the history of "community spatial actions" that have come to characterize the Chicano Movement.¹⁰³⁰

Scholars Christopher Martínez and Raúl Homero Villa have helped frame the RCAF's Southside Park Mural as a symbol of Chicano/a art history. During the 1960s and '70s Chicano Movement, Chicanos/as established a sociopolitical identity and national visibility through multiple spatial reclamations, many of which involved outdoor spaces and murals.¹⁰³¹ Martínez writes that the formation of the RCAF "coincided with the beginning of a major period of central city redevelopment in Sacramento."¹⁰³²

Sacramento's Redevelopment Plan spanned four decades—from the 1950s to the '90s—and reshaped multiple downtown districts—the West End, the Alkali Flat and the K Street Mall area.¹⁰³³ During the large-scale reconstructions of the Downtown Plaza and "Old Town" Sacramento in the 1970s, the RCAF utilized Southside Park as a "barrio-centered public space."¹⁰³⁴ Martínez likens their social, cultural and artistic "reclamation over time of nearby Southside Park" to the establishment of "People's Park in Berkeley, California (1969)."¹⁰³⁵ [Fig. 4]

Comparative literary scholar Raúl Homero Villa agrees with Martínez's interpretation of Southside Park as a "People's Park," claiming that the RCAF's mural and cultural events reflect a course of action "through which many 'People's Parks' were founded and defended by people of color, the urban poor, and other disenfranchised or marginalized groups."¹⁰³⁶ Homero Villa also links Southside Park to a "chain" of Chicano/a parks, particularly San Diego's Chicano Park.¹⁰³⁷ He validates the connection by adding that the "RCAF contributed to the development of San Diego's Chicano Park

when they painted a series of murals on the bridge pillars in 1975.”¹⁰³⁸ Oddly, he fails to note that Salvador Torres, longtime Barrio Logan resident and the “principal ‘architect of the dream’” for Chicano Park, was a classmate of Esteban Villa and José Montoya at the California College of the Arts in Oakland.¹⁰³⁹ Perhaps the RCAF’s murals at Chicano Park had less to do with spatial reclamation and more to do with an invitation from Torres.¹⁰⁴⁰ The notion merits further examination since it considers the scope of 1960s and ‘70s Chicano/a murals from the standpoint of a Chicano/a social network, one that I refer to throughout Chapters One, Two and Three.

The differences between the histories of both “Chicano” parks are numerous. While residents of Barrio Logan in San Diego fought for access to the area underneath the pillars of the Coronado Bridge, there were no major protests at Southside Park. As mentioned in Chapters Two and Three, the RCAF received city approval for the original mural in 1977, and major funding for the 2001 restoration.¹⁰⁴¹ Nevertheless, the idea of a “People’s Park” is a favorite theme for Homero Villa and important for understanding the origins of Chicano/a art.¹⁰⁴² He writes that “the collaborative and collective artistic processes manifest in many aspects of the Chicano Park struggle in San Diego have been mirrored in the work of many Chicano artist groupings.”¹⁰⁴³ He further ties the “artistic processes” that were apparent in “the Chicano Park struggle” to those “produced during and since the apogee of the Chicano political and cultural movement of the late sixties and early seventies.”¹⁰⁴⁴ For Homero Villa, the RCAF is one of the “Chicano artist groupings” that formed during the Chicano Movement and emulated San Diego’s Chicano Park in their native Sacramento.¹⁰⁴⁵

In remapping Sacramento according to the historic spaces of the RCAF and Sacramento’s Chicano/a community, I step back from the framework that Christopher Martínez proposes and Raúl Homero Villa develops for 1960s and ‘70s Chicano/a muralism. I agree that the RCAF’s Chicano/a murals produced symbolic and cultural

space that is significant to other locations of Chicano/a artistic, literary and historical creations. But their murals also reflect community struggles, spatial concerns, and artistic collaborations that are unique to Sacramento. The RCAF has had many high points in their forty-year-run; their historical trajectory is quite different than those proposed for early Chicano/a visual culture because their murals are not exclusive to a confined space or barrio, nor one particular decade of Chicano /a art history. They have also remained prolific well after the Chicano Movement. By interrogating the “People’s Park” framework in relation to the RCAF’s history, I also plan to address the idea of “mural environments” that art historian Guisela Latorre uses to categorize three major sites of Chicano/a murals. After reviewing Latorre’s framework and applying it to the RCAF, I consider other types of space for Chicano/a art. Following the 1960s and ‘70s Chicano Movement, numerous institutional spaces seemingly opened their doors to Chicano/a art, deeply impacting its production as well as its primary audience.¹⁰⁴⁶

Chicano/a communities did not wait on institutional acceptance, however. At the height of the Chicano Movement, numerous Chicano/a bookstores, galleries and centers emerged across the US Southwest. La Raza Bookstore and Galería Posada (LRGP) has provided the RCAF and other Chicano/a artists with a consistent, *indoor* venue for artistic exhibition and cultural contemplation for 37 years. LRGP’s role in the formation of Chicano/a art proposes another framework for Chicano/a (art) history: an original institutional space where Chicano/a art, literature and culture was first collected, displayed and made readily available.¹⁰⁴⁷ Along with the bookstore and gallery, the RCAF possesses several gathering places that are intimately bound to the group’s shared history; I will locate many of these hangouts in order to tap the “untapped” sources of history that Dolores Hayden claims are found in “most working people’s neighborhoods in most American cities.”¹⁰⁴⁸

Finally, as a twenty-first century Chicano/a arts collective, the RCAF continues to expand, define, and redefine Chicano/a space in Sacramento's ever-changing built environment. In this final chapter, I hope to rethink the limitations of spatiotemporal categorizations for 1960s and '70s Chicano/a murals and for the RCAF. Chicano/a consciousness is in the midst of a tremendous artistic, political and spiritual shift; I believe how *we* choose to talk about and frame foundational Chicano/a art in the twenty-first century will deeply impact its continued place and memory in the evolution of Chicano/a identities.

"At the most literal level," Christopher Martínez writes that "the form of the RCAF's artistic practice counteracts the barrio's subordination by embellishing its physical space (most notably through public mural works) and its cultural space (in the body of knowledge contained in the 'text' of their various works)."¹⁰⁴⁹ The adornment of the barrio's "physical space" was a major factor for most 1960s and '70s community and Chicano/a murals; and, as Martínez claims, the message-based iconography and imagery in the RCAF's barrio murals contained a "body of knowledge" that also shaped cultural space for Sacramento's Chicano/a community. While Southside Park Mural and the "Ollin" murals celebrated the neo-indigenous elements of the Chicano Movement, they also reinforced them. Since the murals are located in public parks, they provided context for the Chicano/a community's performance of pre-Columbian rituals and ceremonies. Thus, each of the murals contained performative qualities that facilitated the preservation and proliferation of Chicano/a cultural practices and customs.

Furthermore, these murals articulated local Chicano/a experiences of urban renewal, encroachment and community cooperation. Art historian Guisela Latorre adds, "In some instances, the successful procurement of the space for the mural signified for the artists and their communities an empowering victory over the marginalizing politics of federal urban initiatives."¹⁰⁵⁰ Southside Park was a forgotten space during the second

phase of Sacramento's redevelopment plan, and the RCAF's use of the park, through their epic mural and various cultural events, reinvigorated the outdoor space as an active site for the Chicano/a community. Meanwhile, the Alkali Flat and Washington Neighborhood were in the center of the city's redevelopment efforts; Armando Cid's "Ollin" murals played with the Nahuatl word for "change."¹⁰⁵¹ The mosaic murals honored the sun deity "Ollin Tonatiuh" or the "Movement of the Sun," but also signified the onset of the 1973—1990 Alkali Flat Redevelopment Plan and the local Chicano/a community's participation in their neighborhood's changes.¹⁰⁵²

Yet the connection Martínez seeks between Southside Park and Berkeley's "People's Park" is somewhat of a historical stretch; Homero Villa's association between Southside Park and Chicano Park is equally problematical. Unlike the RCAF's ease of access to Southside Park, Geographer Don Mitchell writes "Activists established People's Park (and baptized it in riot) as what they hoped would be an unalienated space within the city as a whole defined by alienation. As such it became a refuge for many of the outcasts of society, including the homeless."¹⁰⁵³ In 1967, UC Berkeley had acquired the land that comprises People's Park "through eminent domain ... to build dormitories." Mitchell adds, "For the next two years, the land stood vacant" and "in 1969, an alliance of students, community activists, and local merchants challenged the University and laid claim to the land."¹⁰⁵⁴ The university administration responded by "erecting a fence around the Park" to which the public "countered with mass protests that rapidly escalated into the 1969 riots that for many have come to symbolize Berkeley."¹⁰⁵⁵ In one of the riots, James Rector was shot and killed by local law enforcement on May 15, 1969. Rector was a bystander "watching the melee from the supposed safety of a nearby roof. He later died of the wounds. Another rooftop spectator, Allan Blanchard, 29, was blinded by pellets from police guns."¹⁰⁵⁶ Events like those at People's Park

reverberated across the nation; on May 4, 1970, four college students at Kent State were shot and killed and nine others were wounded by the Ohio National Guard.¹⁰⁵⁷

In reality, more similarities exist between People's Park in Berkeley, Chicano Park in San Diego, and Laguna Park in East Los Angeles, than any RCAF-related events at Southside Park. Laguna Park was the site of a historic Chicano/a rally, following the third Chicano Moratorium March against the Vietnam War on August 29, 1970. Historian F. Arturo Rosales adds that the march brought record crowds, with estimates ranging between ten and thirty thousand people.¹⁰⁵⁸ Throughout the day, minor confrontations with the police escalated and law enforcement decided to enter the rally and disperse the crowds. Three people were killed, Rosales writes, "including Rubén Salazar, a columnist for the *Los Angeles Times* and manager of a local TV station, who had exposed police brutality in the *barrios* and had demonstrated sympathy for some Chicano Movement goals."¹⁰⁵⁹

Once again, no violent acts or confrontations occurred at Southside Park between the RCAF, Chicano/a residents and law enforcement during the 1970s. In fact, the only hostile interactions that took place during the painting of Southside Park Mural were between the homeless and the RCAF.¹⁰⁶⁰ As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, Esteban Villa recalled that the homeless felt the mural and the Chicano/a community's use of the park would threaten their access. Villa explained that they eased tensions with the homeless through informal exchanges, and not through physical force or police intervention: "We said, 'I tell you what. If you guys let us paint this, we can buy you guys a bottle of wine and some beer.' We spent a lot of money buying them drinks. And they let us... they sided with us finally. True story."¹⁰⁶¹

For Martínez, the connection between People's Park and Southside Park has less to do with their historical similarities, and more to do with historical recognition. In other words, he compares Southside Park with more well-known community spatial

actions in order to affirm the RCAF's place in the Chicano Movement and Chicano/a art history. He writes,

This examination of Chicano art through the RCAF intends to provide a better understanding of the work done by artists within the Chicano art movement in Chicano barrios. This artistic collective inspired many other Chicano/a artists and artist groups, yet the RCAF has been virtually forgotten in history outside the Chicano art community.¹⁰⁶²

Although Martínez claims that the RCAF is missing in “history outside the Chicano art community,” I believe he also wants to challenge Chicano/a scholars who uphold Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco as major sites of Chicano/a art, especially in regards to muralism. Towards the end of his analysis, for example, Martínez claims that the RCAF's mural at Southside Park “transformed” the space into a “vital Chicano Park.”¹⁰⁶³ Shortly after likening the two Chicano/a parks, Martínez departs from his comparison and reasserts the RCAF's unique place in Chicano/a art history: “The RCAF holds a very distinct and significant place in Chicano art history, due in large part to its murals.”¹⁰⁶⁴ I believe Martínez perceives the RCAF as a place, a real location like Chicano Park, both of which exist on a figurative map of California's Chicano/a murals.

Certainly many Chicano/a art historians have documented the intricate web of Chicano/a murals throughout California during the 1960s and '70s, without privileging one group or place over another.¹⁰⁶⁵ Shifra M. Goldman produced a comprehensive study of California's Chicano/a murals aptly entitled, “How, Why, Where, and When It All Happened: Chicano Murals of California” (1990). Goldman arranges the murals into four broad categories, including: “Northern California,” “Mid California,” “Southern California,” and “Women Muralists.” The last grouping is not a geographical location but a designation that Goldman feels needs its own place on the map of Chicano/a art history.¹⁰⁶⁶ Goldman cites Patricia Rodriguez and Graciela Carrillo, for example, who founded Mujeres Muralistas in San Francisco during the 1970s. She also notes that Yolanda López formed another mujeres muralistas collective in San Diego to paint a

“pillar mural on Indian women during the Muralthon which revived painting at San Diego’s Chicano Park” in 1977.¹⁰⁶⁷

Within the regional categories, Goldman breaks Chicano/a muralism into more specific locations. “Northern California” includes Sacramento and the “San Francisco Bay Area.” In these cities, she highlights the RCAF, several of their murals and urban arts programs; she then mentions their early formation in the Bay Area as MALA-F, but moves onto muralists in San Francisco, like Michael Ríos, Richard Móntez, the Mujeres Muralistas, as well artists like René Yañez and Rolando Castellón both of whom helped establish the Galería de la Raza in 1971.¹⁰⁶⁸ Similarly, “Mid California” includes Fresno, “San Jose/Santa Cruz,” and “Watsonville/Gilroy.” In these cities and towns, Goldman mentions Ernesto Palomino, the founder of Fresno’s La Brocha del Valle, a nonprofit group that focused on exhibits and mural-making.¹⁰⁶⁹ Goldman also points out Eduardo Carrillo in Santa Cruz. Carrillo had worked with Montoya and Villa at CSUS before moving onto the University of California at Santa Cruz.¹⁰⁷⁰

Lastly, Southern California includes Santa Barbara, “Los Angeles County and City,” and “San Diego to the Mexican Border.” Goldman underscores the importance of Manuel Unzueta as the “inspiration and leadership for muralism in Santa Barbara.”¹⁰⁷¹ She lists ASCO, Mechicano Art Center and the Goez Gallery as important artist groups and mural producers in Los Angeles. Judith Baca and the “Great Wall of Los Angeles” are highlighted, along with Charles ‘Gato’ Félix and Estrada Courts, as two major producers and sites of Chicano/a muralism.¹⁰⁷² In San Diego, Goldman focuses on Chicano Park and the local and invited artists who painted murals there: “groups came from Santa Ana, Los Angeles (Charles Félix), and Sacramento (members of the Royal Chicano Air Force.)”¹⁰⁷³ She also extends San Diego to Tijuana, “its sister city in Mexico,” by referencing Balboa Park’s Centro Cultural de la Raza and the “Border Art Workshop/Taller de Arte Fronterizo” that organizes international collaborations.¹⁰⁷⁴ By

choosing to keep the many sites of Chicano/a muralism “geographically organized,” Goldman accounts for “the participation of numerous artists; the dynamics of interaction between individuals and the infrastructures they established to carry out their projects; and the response to local and world events by Chicano artistic communities.”¹⁰⁷⁵ In many ways, there is nothing *general* about Goldman’s “general overview of mural production.” Instead, it is the detailed record of “work done by artists within the Chicano art movement in Chicano barrios” that Martínez seeks for Sacramento and the RCAF.¹⁰⁷⁶

While Goldman’s survey of California’s Chicano/a murals suggests a multilateral approach to understanding Chicano/a art history, her point of view is hardly the rule.¹⁰⁷⁷ Raúl Homero Villa’s analysis of Southside Park as an extension of San Diego’s Chicano Park makes this clear. As previously mentioned in Chapter Three, Homero Villa emphasizes the influence that San Diego’s Chicano Park had on the RCAF by citing José Montoya’s 1976 report to the Concilio de Arte Popular. Montoya mused that Cinco de Mayo celebrations and the RCAF’s completion of their stage mural meant that Southside Park “*was finally acknowledged to be a part of our barrio—a Chicano Park.*”¹⁰⁷⁸ But, as I argue in Chapter Three, Montoya’s note contains more than a nod to San Diego; it reveals important details about Sacramento’s Chicano/a history. Southside Park was a well-known gathering place for the Chicano/a community because of several Chicano/a organizations and student groups, not just the RCAF. Montoya makes this point in his report, but Homero Villa does not address it.¹⁰⁷⁹

Additionally, Homero Villa neglects the historical footprint of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Southside Park prior to the 1970s. In fact, within walking distance of the RCAF’s mural, Southside Park contains a statue of “Father Hidalgo, the hero of the commencement of the Mexican Independence movement.”¹⁰⁸⁰ Erected in 1974, the Hidalgo monument commemorates the Mexican and Mexican American community in Southside Park during the 1940s.¹⁰⁸¹ Historians Rosana M. Madrid and Joseph Pitti write

that “the South Side Park neighborhood was the vestige of the Lower Side of town.”¹⁰⁸² Clearly referencing Ernesto Galarza’s chapter, “Life in the Lower Part of Town” from *Barrio Boy* (1971), they add that the “Isolation of the South Side barrio occurred due greatly to the destruction of the homes and buildings in the West End under the redevelopment project.”¹⁰⁸³ Over the next three decades, from the 1940s to the 1970s, Southside Park remained an “international neighborhood,” with Asian American and Mexican American residents.¹⁰⁸⁴

The Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe is located directly across the street from Southside Park and it housed one of the first locations of the RCAF’s Breakfast for los niños program in the early 1970s. But the Church also “served as an additional focal point in the South Side barrio. The original chapel, known commonly as La Capilla, was a wooden structure at 301 O Street from approximately 1941 until 1953.”¹⁰⁸⁵ Madrid and Pitti comment that “in 1958, the Iglesia was consecrated at 711 T Street, just opposite South Side Park.”¹⁰⁸⁶ While Southside Park was a nearby gathering place for Mexicans and Mexican Americans before and after Mass, Madrid and Pitti also mention the “Centro Mexicano,” a community center “owned by Mexican shareholders” that was located on V and 6th Streets as early as 1948.¹⁰⁸⁷ The community center “was sold in 1975 to a Japanese church. Thus concluded a long history of the Centro Mexicano which served all Mexicans including those from outside the immediate South Side Park barrio.”¹⁰⁸⁸

Homero Villa overlooks Southside Park’s layers of Mexican, Mexican American and Chicano/a history, choosing to compare it with the more imaginative spatial reclamations in Chicano/a literature. He examines Ron Arias’s *The Road to Tamazunchale* (1975), for example, and observes the role that public space plays in the internal travels of the novel’s protagonist, Don Fausto Tejada. An elderly man, Don Fausto moves in and out of real time and space as he approaches his mortality. Along

his journey, Fausto encounters various people including his companion Mario, a Peruvian shepherd and migrant workers. His journey ends when Don Fausto leads “a procession of his neighbors and the *mojados* to take over and magically make over Elysian Park.”¹⁰⁸⁹ Homero Villa claims that “Arias’ complex narrative mediations of Los Angeles’s Elysian Park are akin to [Esteban] Villa’s mediations upon the social semiotic tension of Sacramento’s Southside Park”¹⁰⁹⁰ Referring to Villa’s 1985 song “Southside Park,” Homero Villa’s analysis is not concerned with the actual Sacramento park or the real Chicano/a histories that took place there; rather he pursues the universal signs and symbols around which Chicano/a cultural space is produced.

Art historian Guisela Latorre is interested in the real locations and actual histories of Chicano/a murals, but she maintains San Diego, Los Angeles and San Francisco as the major sites of their production.¹⁰⁹¹ She claims that spatial reclamations of parks and other outdoor spaces during the 1960s and ‘70s Chicano Movement produced “mural environments,” where “Chicana/o artists could carve out spaces for the articulation of cultural citizenship and decolonizing creative expressions.”¹⁰⁹² Many Chicano/a artists were able to simultaneously mark and exalt Chicano/a space by using a particular iconography that Latorre calls “Indigenist imagery.”¹⁰⁹³ In Sacramento, for example, Armando Cid’s “Ollin” murals at Zapata Park “reclaimed *physical* space on behalf of the Chicana/o community,” and “asserted *metaphorical* spaces for said population.”¹⁰⁹⁴ The same argument can be made for Esteban Villa’s “Emergence” mural inside the Washington Neighborhood Center. Both Cid and Villa’s representations of pre-Columbian deities, spiritual symbols and cultural perspectives changed the meaning and the function of the spaces in which the murals were created. In other words, Zapata Park became a sacred site for cultural events based on the meaning and staging of Cid’s “Ollin” murals. Likewise, Villa’s “Emergence” mural identified and created Chicano/a cultural space at the Washington Neighborhood Center; the mural provided context for

various cultural performances and, on an everyday basis, it engaged viewers in a complex rumination on the syncretic processes that had originated Chicano/a identity. Both the content of these murals—or what Latorre calls their “Indigenist imagery”—as well as their artistic forms—or “the public nature of the community mural”—responded to “pragmatic and conceptual concerns and presented a solution to the disparity between abstract ideas and immediate needs.”¹⁰⁹⁵

Although Cid and Villa’s murals fit perfectly with Latorre’s analysis of “Indigenist imagery” in Chicano/a muralism, none of the RCAF’s Sacramento works appear in her investigation of Chicano/a “mural environments.” Instead, she claims that “Chicano Park in San Diego, Estrada Courts in East Los Angeles, and Balmy Alley in San Francisco” are “representative of the general form these environments take.”¹⁰⁹⁶ By “mural environments,” Latorre refers to areas with consistent “initiatives to create a series of murals in close proximity to one another and within a defined and limited space. These murals are not supposed to be seen as single works of art, but rather, their position and iconography should be understood in function of the surrounding murals and in relation to the space in which they reside.”¹⁰⁹⁷ Along with her assertion of an “Indigenist imagery” that is inherent to Chicano/a murals, Latorre describes spatial and relational factors that suggest Chicano/a mural environments always occur within Chicano/a barrios; and, although the relationship between the two seems self-evident, Latorre reflects on the social construction of the barrio in more detail in order to develop her concept of the Chicano/a mural environment.

She references urban planning scholar David R. Diaz, for example, who “recognized the barrio space as ‘a zone of segregation and repression.’ Nevertheless, he argued that this realm represented ‘the reaffirmation of culture, a defense of space, an ethnically bounded sanctuary, and the spiritual zone of Chicana/o and Mexicana/o identity.”¹⁰⁹⁸ Latorre also cites Homero Villa’s examination of the dual nature of the

barrio in *Barrio-Logos* (2000). Homero Villa writes that “the barrios of Los Angeles and other California cities have been real and rhetorical locations from which, and about which, to enact ideologically expressive critiques of domination, whether this comes from within or from outside their social spaces.”¹⁰⁹⁹ While the barrio is often a space that reflects systemic exclusion, both Diaz and Homero Villa contend that it is an insulated and nurturing place, where Chicanos/as rely on one another and their own resources for cultural production and spiritual affirmation.

A “mural environment,” then, responds to the needs of a given Chicano/a community, which often reflect the dual nature of the barrio; the murals are at once an expression of Chicano/a consciousness and an act of that consciousness; in other words, they are “autonomous spaces within the urban landscape” that “furnish the artists and their communities with platforms through which to critique and contest” the histories of “marginalization, dislocation, displacement, and forced migration suffered by Chicana/o and Mexican populations in the United States.”¹¹⁰⁰ In assessing the RCAF’s 1960s and ‘70s Chicano/a murals, I have often described them as manifestations of their ‘Do-It-Yourself’ mentality and working-class ethics. Furthermore, I have referred to “mural environments” in the Alkali Flat, the Washington Neighborhood and other Sacramento barrios as “intra-ethnic spaces,” or areas in which the RCAF’s murals were more culturally specific and readable by the local Chicano/a audience.¹¹⁰¹ To support my idea of “intra-ethnic space,” I have cited Esteban Villa’s 1969 “Emergence” mural inside the Washington Neighborhood Center as a definitive “intra-ethnic” mural.

Returning to Latorre’s primary locations for Chicano/a “mural environments,” she begins with Estrada Courts in Los Angeles, claiming that the local and visiting artists had “composed a mural environment that, on one hand, sought to empower the residents of this housing project through its various images about cultural and ethnic pride and, on the other, to show to the outside world that Estrada Courts was desirable place to

live.”¹¹⁰² Directed by Charles “Gato” Félix and funded through the Los Angeles Housing Authority,” the murals at Estrada Courts were intended to “counteract” the graffiti on the apartment’s common areas.¹¹⁰³ In reality, Latorre claims that the creation of murals by nonresident artists on the exterior walls of the complex, and those painted by residents and local artists on the inside walls, magnified a territorial conflict and spurred insider / outsider tensions.¹¹⁰⁴ The different styles of “Indigenist imagery” used in the interior and exterior murals revealed more than dueling narratives, however. Latorre asserts that they exposed the breadth and complexity of Chicano/a visual codes and systems of signification.

Many of the “outsider walls,” for example, transmitted clear political messages that were easily readable as universal “signifiers of Chicano/a resistance aesthetics.”¹¹⁰⁵ San Diego’s Congreso de Artistas Chicanos de Aztlán, for example, painted “We Are not a Minority” (1978; 1996) on an exterior façade. The mural features Che Guevara pointing at viewers while announcing the mural’s declarative title. As suggested in Chapter Two, the mural adapts the “Uncle Sam” image from WWII posters in which the American icon points at viewers, demanding their enlistment in the Armed Forces.¹¹⁰⁶ The reinterpretation of an American war emblem as Guevara, a leader of the Cuban Revolution, is not lost on viewers—local or visiting. Latorre also notes that “We Are not a Minority” and other external murals like Willie Herrón and Gronk’s “Black and White Mural” (1973; 1980) conveyed a highly-stylized and polished Chicano/a aesthetic that affirmed Estrada Courts as a “quintessential mural site in California.”¹¹⁰⁷

On the inside of Estrada Courts, however, Latorre claims that more “indigenist murals” were created by local artists and residents; subsequently, much of the imagery and stylistic choices pertained specifically to local viewers.¹¹⁰⁸ Alex Maya’s 1973—75 “Tribute to the Farmworkers,” for example, features four persons carrying a UWF flag; they include “a pre-Columbian Indian, a Spanish conquistador, a Mexican peasant, and

an urban Chicano. Floating above them, an apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe.”¹¹⁰⁹ Latorre writes that there is a distinct “flatness” in Maya’s representation of the figures, the pyramid that they descend, as well as his “intuitively rendered mountain landscape.”¹¹¹⁰ Latorre defers to Chicano scholar Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino who explains that the lack of depth in Maya’s mural was actually a technique that “surely appealed to the inhabitants of this housing complex because it was reminiscent of the flatness and straightforward quality of graffiti calligraphy.”¹¹¹¹

For Latorre, Los Angeles’s Estrada Courts typifies a mural environment found within a Chicano/a barrio, where murals “function as emblems and physical markers of a space exclusively allocated or altered for the needs of the Chicana/o community.”¹¹¹² Although the interior murals resonated with residents of the apartment complex and the exterior murals were geared to a broader Chicano/a audience, she concludes that all of the works were “created with the purpose of beautifying the spaces allotted to Mexican and Chicana/o communities.”¹¹¹³ When she turns her attention farther south, however, Latorre characterizes the murals at San Diego’s Chicano Park as being less decorative and more commemorative; they are “testaments to the struggles the community underwent to protect and preserve those very spaces.”¹¹¹⁴ Many of Chicano Park’s murals were not created by the community or local artists. Instead, “the mural project counted on the contributions of artists like Rupert García from the San Francisco Bay Area, the members of the Royal Chicano Air Force from Sacramento, and, in its later phases of mural production, it even included works by nonChicana/o artists like Michael Schnorr and Susan Yamagata.”¹¹¹⁵ With a large participation of nonlocal artists, Latorre claims that Chicano Park drew “visual strength” from the “collective aesthetic of its murals.”¹¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the physical space of Chicano Park played a significant role in harmonizing the divergent works: “While each individual mural has a very distinct style

and content, there is a certain degree of unity among them, perhaps due to the fact that most artists in Chicano Park had to conform to the T shape of the highway pylons.”¹¹¹⁷

Unlike the “insider/outsider” codes and styles that Latorre proposes for the murals at Estrada Courts, she argues that the range of styles, motifs and contributing artists was celebrated at Chicano Park: “Certainly, the murals were the result of a very site-specific reality in Logan Heights, but they were also part of the broader concerns that informed the artistic renaissance associated with the Chicano Movement.”¹¹¹⁸ The battles over Chicano Park were some of the most extreme in the Chicano Movement; they also occurred at the height of the public park protests in California—from Berkeley to Los Angeles. Thus, the historical site of a Chicano/a spatial victory turned culturally symbolic and, according to Latorre, it became an emblem for the entire Chicano/a diaspora.¹¹¹⁹

Yet an “insider/outsider” conflict may have occurred between Barrio Logan residents and the invited artists. As previously mentioned in Chapter Three, Alan W. Barnett examines the RCAF’s murals at Chicano Park and briefly discusses local reactions to one of their works. Over the course of nine days, Barnett writes that the RCAF created four murals at Chicano Park in 1975.¹¹²⁰ Participating artists included Esteban Villa with “Mujer Cómica,” Juanishi Orosco and his mural, “Mandala,” José Montoya’s untitled homage to the farmworking family, and a mural by Irma Barbosa, Celia Rodriguez, Rosa Linda Palacios and Antonia Mendoza. With the exception of José Montoya’s untitled mural that features a shirtless father, a fully-clothed mother and son, each of the RCAF murals included naked female bodies.¹¹²¹ Villa’s mural is the largest representation of a nude female form, serving as a ‘canvass’ for his barrage of insignias and tattoos. Latorre focuses on Villa’s mural as a synthesis of pre-Columbian systems of signification and subsequent Chicano/a calligraphy. She is also sensitive to the “problematic and patriarchal implications of male muralists inscribing signs on a

woman's body," but adds that Villa's "markings on her body are highly coded and encrypted, much like gang graffiti. ... Many of the codes and tags inscribed upon *Mujer C3smica's* body are references to the UFW and Communism, both of which were highly influential to his political consciousness at the time."¹¹²² [Fig. 5]

While Latorre closely scrutinizes Villa's use of the female body as a place for marking his territory, Orosco's rendering of the female form goes unexplored in her assessment of the mural environment at Chicano Park. Orosco entwined the female body with a male counterpart, both of whom emerge from a stalk in an agricultural field. Barnett adds that before arriving at Chicano Park to create their murals, the RCAF "had just come from a United Farm Workers' convention where they had served as security, and they say that the experience affected what they painted."¹¹²³ As Orosco's couple reaches toward a mandala shaped like the sun, the mountain range behind them reveals that they are in an agricultural field; perhaps it is a field in Sacramento or the Central Valley, and not one in San Diego.¹¹²⁴ The notion provides an interesting take on the RCAF's 'marking' of territory in Chicano Park. In a sense, Orosco created an alter-Native site within an alter-Native site. [Fig. 6]

Meanwhile, the women's mural, entitled "Female Inteligentsia" or "Women Hold Up the Universe," features clothed women with naked women and no male counterparts.¹¹²⁵ As previously mentioned in Chapter Three, Barnett claims that the Chicana artists attempted to transcend the patriarchal cultural norms of "their own people and raise consciousness" by creating a pantheon of autonomous female forms. Barnett concludes that their mural "provoked protest from the barrio. There was some resentment that the mural was done by a group of nonresident painters who imposed their imagery and could pick up and go."¹¹²⁶ Barnett does not mention any other local "resentment" of Villa, Orosco or Montoya's use of nudity. Local disfavor of the Chicana

mural leads one to suspect that tensions over “insider” and “outsider” murals pertained to the gender of the RCAF muralists.

Although Latorre does not mention any local disputes over the Chicana murals painted at Chicano Park, she selects San Francisco’s Balmy Avenue as her third mural environment because it reflects a “history of women artists in the community mural movement, including Chicanas.”¹¹²⁷ Balmy Avenue is not a barrio with defined demographic borders; it is a “short and narrow street that stretches from Twenty-fourth to Twenty-fifth Street in the Mission, sandwiched between Harrison Street and Treat Avenue.”¹¹²⁸ While a small area, it manifests a mural environment like a barrio because it is a somewhat contained space adjacent to a Chicano/a and Latino/a stronghold in San Francisco.¹¹²⁹ Balmy’s spatial limitations also accentuate the relationship between the murals, which forms through the proximity and type of walls available to artists, as well as the succession of artworks; mural production on the garages and building exteriors that make up Balmy spans over 30 years. Latorre cites Mia Gonzalez and Susan Kelk Cervantes’s 1972 children’s murals in the alleyway. Patricia Rodriguez and Graciela Carrillo also painted murals in Balmy during the ‘70s and, as Latorre mentions, René Yañez coordinated many mural projects in this side-street location.¹¹³⁰

In the 1980s, Ray Patlán and Patricia Rodriguez formed PLACA, a subsidized mural program that sponsored several murals in Balmy Avenue.¹¹³¹ In 1985, PLACA funded Juana Alicia who painted, “Te Oímos Guatemala/We Hear You Guatemala.” In addition to continuing Balmy’s tradition of a female-centered mural environment, Alicia’s work raised “awareness among the local community about the systematic violence targeted at Guatemala’s Maya communities.”¹¹³² Alicia extended the “Indigenist imagery” of the established Chicana/o aesthetic to a larger diaspora of misplaced native peoples during the 1980s.¹¹³³ Latorre writes that “the parallels between the Chicana/o/Mexican and Central American experience, including the Maya, were not lost on Chicana/o artists

and activists and, in many ways, further galvanized the legitimacy of *la causa*.”¹¹³⁴ The mural shows a Mayan woman crying out in despair as she covers the feet of her dead loved one. Interestingly, the sheet with which she covers her loved one’s feet transforms into the mountain range behind them, connecting the destruction of a people with the destruction of their homeland. Latorre writes that her scream was “heard all the way in the Mission District and its community, where Chicanas/os and Guatemalan exiles now share the same contested urban space and many realities.”¹¹³⁵ Suggesting that Alicia’s mural brought Guatemala’s genocide close to home, Latorre’s reading of the mural is quite accurate; “Te Oímos Guatemala” did in fact make the “state of terror that gripped” Guatemala and most of Central America in the 1980s a local cause, since numerous Guatemalans, Salvadorians and Nicaraguans had made the Mission District their home during the decade of civil wars and the systematic killings of indigenous peoples.¹¹³⁶

Finally, Latorre mentions in her endnotes that Alicia’s mural was destroyed by 1990, but she “replaced it with another mural, this one entitled *Una Ley Immoral, Nadie Tiene Que Cumpirla (No One Should Comply With an Immoral Law)*.”¹¹³⁷ In her new mural, Alicia maintained her reverent gaze to the south, “honoring slain Salvadorian archbishop and human rights activist Óscar Romero.”¹¹³⁸ The destruction of her first mural and creation of the new one reflects the physical reality of Balmy Avenue; Alicia created “Te Oímos Guatemala” on a garage door that eventually needed replacement. Yet the ephemeral nature of the murals is not counterintuitive to Balmy Avenue’s mural environment. The succession of public artworks reinforces its relevance to the Chicana/o and Latina/o community as a place not only to express, but to renew their commitment to local and global concerns.¹¹³⁹

In many ways, Sacramento offers an important *fourth* location for Latorre’s map of California’s Chicano/a murals. On one hand, the RCAF created a mural environment that is unique to Sacramento, especially in regards to their murals outside local

Chicano/a barrios. On the other hand, the RCAF's murals in the capital city correspond with many of the works that Latorre describes in Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco. In what follows, I examine aspects of the RCAF's mural-making that distinguishes Sacramento in both space and time from the mural environments Latorre posits for Southern California and the Bay Area; afterward, I return to the similarities between the RCAF's early murals in Sacramento's Chicano/a barrios and those that Latorre examines in order to expand her map of California's Chicano/a murals.

A significant difference between the RCAF and other Chicano/a arts collectives from the 1960s and '70s is that they created murals outside Sacramento's barrios and for a broader, interethnic audience. Latorre accounts for this type of mural production when she refers to the flexibility of the spatial and temporal borders that determine Chicano/a mural environments: "Though muralism was crucial in celebrating and strengthening the political viability of Mexican/Chicana/o neighborhoods, these public works of art did not necessarily have to be located in barrios to articulate a radical critique of the urban policies of space in California and elsewhere."¹⁴⁰ By the 1980s, RCAF murals were not exclusive to a confined space—or barrio—nor one particular decade of Chicano/a art history. In a sense, all of downtown Sacramento was the RCAF's mural environment. But while they created murals outside Sacramento's Chicano/a barrios, they maintained their Chicano/a consciousness—from their "Indigenist imagery," to their working-class approach to making murals. "Metamorphosis" (1980), L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. (1984; 1999) and their 2001 memorial fountain to Joe Serna Jr. and Isabel Hernandez-Serna reflect the RCAF's commitment to alter-Native versions of Sacramento's history.

2003's "Eartharium" is also an important addition to the RCAF's expansive mural environment because it is their most recent creation and incorporates highly encoded "Indigenist imagery." A seemingly harmless landscape, devoid of any ethnic or political

significance, “Eartharium” is housed within a state government building. Yet, as Chapter Four reveals, Esteban Villa painted a UFW Eagle within the fields of the Sacramento Valley. Juanishi Orosco and Stan Padilla also designed the landscape to accurately reflect views of the region from the mural’s exact location.¹¹⁴¹ Similar to a compass, “Eartharium” honors the “four directions” and, more specifically, the complex worldview of the Nisenan, the original inhabitants of the Sacramento Valley.¹¹⁴² The spiritual organization of history and the sacred sites to which each direction points was at the forefront of the RCAF’s vision for “Eartharium.”

In addition to their thematic choices, Orosco, Padilla and Villa relied on the collective process in creating “Eartharium.” Along with Guisela Latorre, Shifra M. Goldman, Teresa Romo and others have commented on the communal approach to Chicano/a muralism during the 1960s and ‘70s.¹¹⁴³ Each acknowledge that Chicano/a artists’ borrowed their collective strategy from the Mexican muralists, particularly David Alfaro Siqueiros; but the Chicano/a muralists’ modified the method when they included community members and other “untrained” painters.¹¹⁴⁴ This cooperative spirit still exists in the RCAF; their 2003 mural crew consisted of Rene and Nathan Villa, Nalli Padilla (DeLap), Joe and Daniel Orosco, and other second-generation members of the RCAF. Furthermore, during the design phase of “Eartharium,” the artists met daily at Art Luna’s café on N and 16th Streets.¹¹⁴⁵ Orosco recalled, “I talked with Art and said, ‘You know in the afternoons, after everyone is gone ... from three to six, I need to work here. We want to create—we want a studio in the café.’ Art turned it over to us. So we created the mural right there. Drew it out, you know, worked on it for maybe about a month or so on the design.”¹¹⁴⁶ The partnership Orosco established with Luna during the planning stages of “Eartharium” parallels the relationships that the RCAF forged with various neighborhood residents, businesses and likeminded organizations during the 1960s and ‘70s community mural movement. [Fig. 7, 8 & 9]

Yet Luna's Café is hardly a new gathering place for the RCAF. As mentioned in Chapter Four, it became the home of José Montoya's poetry series in 1987, after Reno's Café was closed. Many of the RCAF artists continue to exhibit their work at Luna's. In January 2004, I had lunch with Esteban Villa at Luna's Café. While we talked, he pointed to the artwork hanging around the room and said:

So you see the evidence of that life, time, and work—that even as we sit here at Luna's and eat lunch—there's an Armando Cid painting. Juanishi's is over there. A couple of my paintings over there. It's for real. We're not fabricating anything at all. The other thing you need to consider is don't feel like you have to recreate—to change history. Just bring it to the table: "Okay, here it is. You guys dig in." Students, teachers, children—they can look through it and decide for themselves.¹¹⁴⁷

On the RCAF's map of downtown Sacramento, Luna's Café is a meaningful site/sight of history. It is the place in which they designed and prepared "Eartharium." It is also where they continue to gather, to read poetry, display their art and to socialize. [Fig. 10]

While the RCAF's mural environment transcends the borders of Sacramento's Chicano/a barrios and the temporal context of the 1960s and '70s, their early works in the Alkali Flat and Washington neighborhood resonate with the murals that Latorre recognizes elsewhere. In fact, the Alkali Flat's Washington Square Apartments is quite similar to Estrada Courts in Los Angeles. Both are low-income residential units that received funding for murals through official channels. In both circumstances, the murals were commissioned to beautify the apartment complexes.¹¹⁴⁸ But, like Latorre suggests for the murals at Estrada Courts, Armando Cid's murals surpassed decorative purposes and inserted culturally significant "Indigenist imagery" into the common spaces of the Sacramento barrio.¹¹⁴⁹

Cid's tile mosaics were officially sponsored, but they were surrounded by RCAF murals that were not. Most of the Alkali Flat's Chicano/a murals were created through the collaborative efforts of the RCAF, local Chicano/a organizations and barrio residents. Juanishi Orosco, Esteban Villa, Ricardo Favela and Louie 'the foot' González painted

compelling murals in the interior walls of the Sacramento Concilio, Inc., at 1912 F Street during the mid-1970s.¹¹⁵⁰ Along with his 1973 mural at La Raza Bookstore, Armando Cid completed “Reno’s Mural” and “Para la Raza del Barrio” in 1976 on the exterior walls of Reno’s Café at 12th and D Streets. For these murals, Cid composed a mural team of students from the Washington Barrio Education Center at 1512 C Street.¹¹⁵¹ The Washington Barrio Education Center was an outreach program that began “with classes at the Washington Neighborhood Center in 1975.”¹¹⁵² Cid and Dr. Sam Rios worked with Sacramento City College to provide free “academic services in the Washington Neighborhood.”¹¹⁵³ Both Cid and José Montoya taught art and art related courses at the Center.¹¹⁵⁴

Cid’s murals at Reno’s Café were intra-ethnic works, marking the “ethnically bounded sanctuary” that David R. Diaz describes in his analysis of the Chicano/a barrio as a “a zone of segregation and repression.”¹¹⁵⁵ Latorre borrows Diaz’s phrasing in order to explain how Chicano/a artists “re-created” Aztlán, or the ancestral and symbolic homeland of the Chicano/a diaspora, in their barrio murals.¹¹⁵⁶ An important ethnonational claim of the Chicano Movement, Aztlán was used as a counterpoint to dominant cultural assumptions in the US that Mexican Americans and Chicanos/as were a foreign population. In terms of 1960s and ‘70s Chicano/a art, Latorre writes that “Chicana/o artists took to the streets not to search for Aztlán, but instead to *re-create* it with the aid of the public mural.”¹¹⁵⁷ Cid’s murals at Reno’s Café identified a Chicano/a refuge in the barrio, while also (re)creating the space through coded imagery and visual narratives. “Para la Raza del Barrio” was located in front of the Café’s parking lot and spanned the length of the building.¹¹⁵⁸ As its title suggests, the mural showcased the ordinary lives of working-class Chicanos/as; it included images of farmworkers, calaveras, the Virgen de Guadalupe and a mixture of Chicano/calligraphy. Cid’s students also created their own images and visual signatures in this mural, most notably Yolanda

Tarin and Joe Gonzalez, who designed a mandala-like circle that included four faces. Signing their names above two of the faces, those left unsigned may have represented Kenneth Munguia and Javier Torres, the other students involved on the project.¹¹⁵⁹

Furthermore, Tarin and Gonzalez painted a power-fist in front of a huelga eagle in the middle of the mandala-like circle. The image not only marked the Café as a working class oasis; it also politicized the space, suggesting that union organizers and other labor activists gathered at Reno's Café to discuss local issues. Undoubtedly, Reno's Café served as an informal meeting center for Chicano/a laborers and union workers, given its proximity to the Alkali Flat's business district. The Globe Mills complex was just across the street from the Café at 12th and C Streets. "One of the area's most successful enterprises," Globe Mills was a flour mill opened by the Phoenix Milling Company in 1931.¹¹⁶⁰ Also down the street from Reno's Café, the California Almond Growers Exchange "built a receiving and packing plant ... on 18th and C streets and introduced the Blue Diamond Label."¹¹⁶¹ [Fig. 11 &12]

Meanwhile on the south side of the building, "Reno's Mural" reveals the cultural values that clientele associated with the Café. Emblazoned with Indio colors and a Mexican flag, the mural also fused "Indigenist imagery" with portraits of Mexican mariachis, cantadores and references to Mexico's musical traditions.¹¹⁶² As previously mentioned in Chapter Four, Reno's Café was the original home of José Montoya's Chicano/a poetry series. "Frustrated at being denied access to [CSUS] campus facilities for poetry reading," Montoya recalled in 2002 that he "started holding 'flor y canto' sessions at a legendary local Chicano nightspot, the Reno Café, in the early '70s."¹¹⁶³ Adorning the Café's façade with images of Chicano/a musical history, Cid's mural responded to the University's rebuff; it elevated the ethnopoetic performances that took place at the bar by linking them to an ancestral past that was deeply rooted in song and lyrical expression.¹¹⁶⁴ [Fig. 12]

Although the RCAF's Chicano/a murals throughout the Alkali Flat were prolific, many works were short-lived. By the mid-1980s, the Alkali Flat was once again at the center of redevelopment efforts; this time Sacramento's Regional Transit District (RT) was installing an above ground, public transportation system known as the Light Rail.¹¹⁶⁵ Reno's Café, along with other buildings on 12th Street, was demolished to make room for one of the stations at 12th and D Streets.¹¹⁶⁶ Completed in 1987, the "Alkali Flat/La Valentina" station leaves no trace of Reno's Café or Cid's murals. But the area's identity as a Chicano/a barrio lingers. Directly down the street from the station, an obelisk protrudes from the sidewalk. Brightly tiled in geometrical patterns, the pillar announces, "Entering the Alkali Flat." In 1985, Enrique Ortiz, the Chicano student who had created "Tlaloc" at CSUS in 1972, was commissioned by the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency to design two obelisks; they include the one at 12th and C Streets, and the other at 12th and H Streets, which informs pedestrians and drivers that they are "Leaving the Alkali Flat."¹¹⁶⁷ [Fig. 13 & 14]

Ortiz also designed two tile mosaic murals for the Light Rail station's handicap entrance.¹¹⁶⁸ These murals were sponsored by the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission (SMAC) as part of the 1977 Arts in Public Places ordinance that allocated "2% of eligible City and County capital improvement project budgets ... for the commission, purchase, and installation of artworks throughout the City."¹¹⁶⁹ During the 1980s, each of the newly constructed Light Rail stations in Sacramento featured artwork by Californian artists.¹¹⁷⁰ Ortiz entitled his murals, "Servir al Pueblo," and explored the Alkali Flat's unique history as both the oldest neighborhood in Sacramento, with tree-lined streets full of Victorian houses, and its identity in the 1980s as a Chicano/a barrio.¹¹⁷¹ One of the two murals "resembles the Aztec calendar" incorporating pre-Columbian imagery, patterns and colors.¹¹⁷² In the other mural, Ortiz used a "soft blue" color on the tiles and "repeating flower designs" to create a Victorian motif.¹¹⁷³ Together

with his obelisks at the corners of 12th and C and 12th and H Streets, Ortiz's station murals are ethno-historical symbols, marking the physical borders of the Alkali Flat while celebrating its historical mixtures.

Ortiz's public artworks are not the only connection to the area's Chicano/a past, however. The Aztlán that the RCAF "re-created" in the Alkali Flat persists. Like Balmy Avenue, which continues to serve the Mission District's Chicano/a and Latino/a community despite rapidly changing demographics, the Washington Neighborhood Center (WNC) at 16th and D Streets remains a vital Chicano/a gathering place. The WNC also maintains Esteban Villa's 1969 mural, "Emergence of the Chicano Social Struggle in a Bi-Cultural Society." This work is one of the last existing murals from the 1960s and '70s community mural movement, created under the original circumstances of the era.

With no financial support from local government or other public agencies, Esteban Villa designed the mural and painted it with art students and local youth between 1968 and '69. "Emergence of the Chicano/a Social Struggle in a Bi-Cultural Society" is a national artifact and as important to civil rights history as Chicago's "Wall of Respect" in 1967. Community muralist and artist John Pounds writes that "Chicago's proud history of community murals [began] with the 1967 Wall of Respect, conceived by William Walker and executed by the artists of the Organization of Black American Culture on Chicago's South Side."¹¹⁷⁴ Despite the "Wall of Respect's" significance to civil rights history and twentieth century American art, it was destroyed in 1971, after a building fire damaged the exterior on which it was painted.¹¹⁷⁵ Portions of the original mural were salvaged and, as of 2003, stored "in supply closet at Chicago State University (on the South Side of the city)."¹¹⁷⁶ The conditions in which remaining panels of the "Wall of Respect" are maintained demonstrate a national lack of concern for murals of the community mural movement era. Recalling the fate of 1930s and '40s

WPA murals, John Pitman Weber claims that 1960s and '70s community murals must undergo a process of depoliticization that takes time. Only after several decades have passed will the ethnonational of 1960s and '70s murals become politically neutral and, thus, valued aesthetically by government and corporate agencies. He explains,

When did WPA murals become objects for conservation? The deliberate destruction or covering up of the 1930s murals, at its height during the McCarthy era, had largely stopped by the 1970s. By age forty, formerly controversial murals could be revalued as part of the common heritage. At fifty they could be celebrated, as Detroit celebrated its Rivera murals in 1986; they could be separated from their original context. At just ten years, they were no longer in style aesthetically, and their social and political context was still too remembered, too fresh to be forgiven. The community murals today are still in the awkward years.¹¹⁷⁷

Perhaps "Emergence" remains intact despite demographic and redevelopment changes in the Alkali Flat because it remains inside of a Center that the Chicano/a community and other inner-city residents have been able to retain. In fact, "Emergence" was restored in 1994. Villa also created additional panels at this time, featuring Mariachis and other cultural icons, like Tejana singer, Selina.¹¹⁷⁸ The restoration of the original mural and the creation of new panels testify to the vitality of the WNC as an active place for Chicano/a culture, and community activities.

To a large degree, the WNC owes its longevity to the community and staff's maintenance of the Center's educational and artistic programs. The WNC still offers Barrio Arts, despite ongoing attempts by the CSUS art department to cancel it entirely. As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, Barrio Arts was established by José Montoya in the early 1970s and directed by Ricardo Favela until his death in July 2007. The Program was originally conceived as a means for direct contact between inner-city youth, the elderly and the local academic community. Barrio Arts classes "had been Sac State art department electives that liberal-studies students were required to take."¹¹⁷⁹ Students in education, Ethnic Studies and other liberal arts programs took these courses as part of their degree requirements.¹¹⁸⁰ In March 2008, however, former WNC board

president Christina Mora explained in the *Sacramento News & Review* that “university officials decided to end what’s listed as Art 148 in their catalog altogether.”¹¹⁸¹ Their “reason wasn’t lack of interest,” she added; rather CSUS decided to cancel Barrio Arts because of the “death of barrio arts instructor of 20 years, Ricardo Favela, last summer.”¹¹⁸²

More than likely, Christina Mora based her opinion on an explanation given to her by art department chair Dan Frye. But CSUS had attempted to cancel Barrio Arts well before Ricardo Favela’s unexpected death. In fact the year before Favela’s passing, Dr. Sam Rios addressed the uncertain future of Barrio Arts at an RCAF event in March 2007. CSUS sponsored an exhibition of RCAF posters and contemporary works between February and March 2007 in the University Library Gallery. Entitled, “The R.C.A.F. Goes to College,” the art show and corresponding events were coordinated by Phil Hitchcock, the Director of the University Library Gallery.¹¹⁸³ On the evening of the exhibition’s closing reception, ten of the twelve artists gathered for a conversation about their work and reflections on the RCAF. Dr. Sam Rios moderated the panel and began the discussion by circulating a petition. He explained,

We’re passing a petition around to save the class and keep it as part of the art department’s curriculum and to keep it as part of Chicano Studies electives in Ethnic Studies. I’ll pass it around if you want to sign. We appreciate it. For those of you who don’t know, many years ago we started community action programs; we had Breakfast for niños, the science project, Barrio Art and a number of other programs that we initiated with students here at Sac State. [We] actually had students from Sac State cooking breakfast at six o’clock in the morning. [Whistles and laughter.] Kids are hungry! Gotta’ eat before we go to school. So, anyway, Barrio Art is the last of that—one of those programs; it’s all we have left.¹¹⁸⁴

While Dr. Rios made his plea, Ricardo Favela listened along with nine other RCAF artists. The petition was supported by other community efforts over the course of the year, and Barrio Arts continued into fall 2007. [Fig. 15] But, as Christina Mora remarked in 2008, the art department continued its campaign against the program.

In January 2008, local community members and former students of Barrio Arts attended a meeting at the WNC “with CSUS art department chairman Dan Frye and invited Sacramento Metropolitan Art Commission representatives.”¹¹⁸⁵ Frye listened to numerous statements and, sensing the general emotion of the community, chose not to cancel the class. Instead, he “reopened the class as an independent-study course.”¹¹⁸⁶ Yet status as an “independent-study” is a dubious designation for any college course; it demands that students are already aware of what “Art 148” means; it also requires that students possess flexibility in their degree programs.¹¹⁸⁷

As an independent-study, it is no surprise that Barrio Arts was threatened once again in August 2009. The new president of the WNC board, Tomás Montoya, explained via email: “I got a call from the head of the art department two weeks ago saying we had a week to get enrollment up or else the class would be cut permanently (more than likely.) We are trying to flood the art department with phone calls and letters/emails while at the same time trying to get students to enroll.”¹¹⁸⁸ Montoya also indicated that the art department set the minimum enrollment at 30 students. A high number for any college course or “independent-study,” the requirement suggests another attempt to do away with the program.

The contrast between the RCAF’s 2007 art show in the University Library Gallery and the art department’s ongoing attempts to cancel Barrio Arts illuminates the plight of all Chicano/a art, struggling for recognition in US institutions on its own terms. On one hand, Chicano/a arts, particularly Chicano/a posters, have become highly collectible for universities, libraries, museums and other institutional archives. On the other hand, the people, places and collective processes involved in the creation of Chicano/a art are often excluded from the institutional collections and, subsequently, from the public’s memory. In 1984, art historian Shifra M. Goldman observed the increasing popularity of Chicano/a posters and introduced an intellectual framework for their historical

interpretation. In “A Public Voice: Fifteen Years of Chicano Posters,” Goldman claimed that the “history of Chicano poster making” was “like that of street muralism”; both were the major forms of public art to emerge during the Chicano Movement.¹¹⁸⁹ But Goldman’s framework primarily concerns Chicano/a posters, which she organizes into two periods based upon their content and the method of production.¹¹⁹⁰ In doing so, Goldman allowed a larger academic audience to reassess their value according to “fine art” standards.¹¹⁹¹

Alongside the intellectualization of Chicano/a posters, Chicano/a artists and art historians developed several retrospectives in the 1980s. The RCAF played an active role in advancing their posters and murals in local and regional art circles during this timeframe. In 1983, they coordinated the “Progressive Mural Installation and Poster Exhibition” in the Tempo Gallery at Sacramento’s Crocker Art Museum.¹¹⁹² Through the Centro de Artistas Chicanos, the RCAF worked with Gallery Curator Dyana Curreri-Chadwick on the poster exhibit. José Montoya, Esteban Villa, Ricardo Favela and Juanishi Orosco also designed and created “Crystallizing the Chicano Art Myth” (1983), an original mural comprised of several panels for the show.¹¹⁹³ The following year, the RCAF hosted the “R.C.A.F. Mural Show” in the Robert Else Gallery located inside the art building at CSUS. The exhibit featured a documentary on the making of “Metamorphosis” (1980), and combined “major mural panels, with sketches, maquettes, and other related works.”¹¹⁹⁴ [Fig. 16]

Additionally, in October 1989, Ricardo Favela coordinated “In Search of Mr. Con Safos,” a local and regional exhibition of RCAF posters from the 1970s and ’80s.¹¹⁹⁵ He developed the show as the final project for his Master’s Degree and, in doing so, established the RCAF’s first poster catalog and resource.¹¹⁹⁶ Favela also prepared a historical review of the poster collection and commented on changing attitudes toward Chicano/a art in the late twentieth century:

As galleries and museums begin to open their doors, Chicanismo will undeniably become a distinct and unique asset to the American art scene. The RCAF Retrospective Poster Art Exhibition allowed the public awareness, exposure, understanding and appreciation of Chicano art, as well as insight into Chicano art heritage by seeing and meeting the artists which were actually involved with the production of the posters.¹¹⁹⁷

Linking Chicano/a art to its historical past, and specifically to artists of the Chicano Movement, was the central objective of Favela's exhibit. By the late 1980s and early '90s, the "multicultural" movement in the US had yielded an academic and somewhat mainstream audience for Chicano/a art, especially in California and the US Southwest.¹¹⁹⁸ Although Favela welcomed new audiences for Chicano/a art, he did not want to forsake "Chicano art heritage," or the community in which it was created and first served. "The subsequent appeal and enjoyment of the exhibit," Favela concluded, "added insight into a culture little known in the 'art world.' *But more importantly* the exhibition acknowledged the past and existing artistic Chicano accomplishments."¹¹⁹⁹

Favela's exhibition goals resonated in the curatorial choices and thematic intentions of the "first national exhibition of Chicano/a art" in the early 1990s.¹²⁰⁰ CARA, or Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation, was developed at UCLA and contextualized Chicano/a art in the politics and history of the Chicano/a civil rights movement from 1965 to 1980. In *Chicano Art: Inside Outside the Master's House* (1998), Chicana Scholar Alicia Gaspar de Alba examines all aspects of the making of CARA. This exhibit was unprecedented in its reach and national exposure; CARA traveled from Los Angeles, to Denver, Albuquerque, San Francisco, Fresno, Tucson, Washington D.C., El Paso, the Bronx and San Antonio in-between 1990 and 1993.¹²⁰¹ In addition to covering the evolution of Chicano/a posters, Gaspar de Alba writes that a mural display was "accompanied by a closed-circuit documentary entitled *Through Walls*, which presented brief interviews with some of the muralists whose work was being displayed in the slide show."¹²⁰²

The RCAF was involved in both the planning and exhibition of CARA. José Montoya served on an advisory committee and the RCAF was one of several Chicano/a art collectives to be featured in a distinct display area.¹²⁰³ Gaspar de Alba explains, “In the rooms between ‘Civil Liberties’ and ‘Reclaiming the Past’ visitors to the exhibition encountered the *grupos* installations. Each of the *grupos*, also known as Chicano art collectives, like the Rebel Chicano Art Front or Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF for short), ASCO (which means Nausea), and Los Four, merited its own *casita*, complete with three walls.”¹²⁰⁴ For Gaspar de Alba, the organization of little houses inside the “Master’s House,” or the institutional space of the museum, was also symbolic of CARA’s gender exclusions.¹²⁰⁵ Reflecting on the predominantly male membership of the collectives that were exhibited in the *casitas*, Gaspar de Alba argues that the little houses visually articulated the “canonization of these male dominant *grupos*.”¹²⁰⁶ In other words, the houses within the House conveyed mixed messages about Chicano/a art’s acceptance into the canon of American art as not only a sub-history, but as a predominantly male art history.

Despite CARA’s gendered exclusions, the national and regional momentum of the exhibit seemed to suggest that Chicano/a art was moving toward the center of American art and institutional representation. In Sacramento, the RCAF underwent its own phase of official recognition. Along with their 1980s murals, “Metamorphosis” and L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., they developed several important exhibits in the local museums, campus galleries and other established locations. For Favela, “In Search of Mr. Con Safos” documented the progression of his Chicano/a arts collective as it moved from outside to inside of what Alicia Gaspar de Alba called “The Master’s House.” He writes,

Initially RCAF poster work was viewed as rebel oriented, anti-establishment artwork done by ‘outsiders.’ Those yesterday rebels are today’s college professors, city councilmen and directors of state arts agencies. Through this all, the RCAF poster has chronicled the history of

these various changes which leaves one to wonder the impact the RCAF posters have now in terms of art and how they are viewed historically.¹²⁰⁷

“Those yesterday rebels” that Favela referred to as “today’s college professors, city councilmen and directors of state arts agencies” pertained to the RCAF’s presence in Sacramento politics, education and public art commissions. By 1989, Esteban Villa and José Montoya were professors at CSUS; Joe Serna Jr. was a rising star in local government and elected mayor by 1992; Juan Carrillo was also climbing in rank at California’s Council of the Arts.¹²⁰⁸ But while Favela suggests that the RCAF had arrived by 1989, his speculation over the “impact” of their Chicano/a posters “in terms of art and how they are viewed historically” is purposely ambiguous. Well aware of the RCAF’s increasing exposure, Favela wondered if Chicano/a art was a passing trend in the “art world,” or if wider interest would lead to real institutional inclusion.

The history of CARA’s funding elucidates Favela’s concerns. Although CARA launched in September 1990, Gaspar de Alba reveals that plans for the show actually began in 1983, with “three art history students at UCLA: Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino, Holly Barnet-Sanchez, and María de Herrera. In 1983, in conjunction with art history professors Shifra Goldman and Cecelia Klein, the students approached Edith Tonelli, then the new director of UCLA’s Wight Art Gallery.”¹²⁰⁹ The early planners of CARA wanted to emphasize “Chicano art as a distinct and influential movement ... [that was] not *Hispanic* nor *Latino* art, but serious art made in support of the Chicano civil rights movement.”¹²¹⁰ By 1984, they sought funding from the NEH, but were denied; according to Tonelli, “the funders were uncomfortable with the term *Chicano*, which some thought was inappropriate and even offensive to some members of the Mexican American community, and with the political resonance of the art.”¹²¹¹ Although their second attempt for a planning grant was awarded, Gaspar de Alba notes that it signaled “the end of NEH support for the project.”¹²¹² After submitting a request for an implementation grant,

CARA's organizers' received a rejection letter. Gaspar de Alba provides excerpts of the letter, revealing the NEH panel's reluctance to accept Chicano/a art as an expression of American culture:

The panelists understood that Chicano art arose from a variety of political movements and social causes, and therefore the political aspect of this proposal is appropriate to the subject matter. ... Even so, the panelists worried that the project makes a political statement, that it is *politics masquerading as culture*, and that the proposal contains jargon and reads like a manifesto.¹²¹³

Failing to acknowledge that *what* and *who* defines "culture" is an extremely political act, the NEH panelists based their rejection of CARA on western aesthetic standards that have long distinguished art from politics.¹²¹⁴ The NEH panel failed to recognize Chicano/a art on its own terms—as a cultural practice that emerged through politicization. In other words, they refused to accept that Chicano/a art was (and is) inherently opinionated, since it was conceived during the Chicano Movement and used for unionization, social justice causes and other acts of consciousness-raising. Although the NEH panel was appreciative of Chicano/a art's lineage, they were not willing to consider any other standards of art.

The NEH panel's decision and, in essence, power over CARA revealed that multiculturalism in the arts during the late twentieth century was extremely political. Gaspar de Alba comments on the panel's cultural preference and political privilege when she reminds her readers that "there is no such thing as an apolitical or neutral aesthetics"¹²¹⁵ Deeming an art object, practice or style as "too political" is a way in which to devalue art that deviates from traditional aesthetic standards in the US, without using language that is racially offensive, sexist, classist and / or homophobic. Often, the notion of quality is the euphemism of choice for shutting out nonwestern and nontraditional art from the "Master's House."¹²¹⁶ Gaspar de Alba cites Lucy Lippard's *Mixed Blessings* (1990) and her interrogation of "Quality" as "an exclusionary tactic, a password meant to

keep out those whose race, ethnicity, gender, and/or sexual orientation reflect a conflict of interests with white patriarchy.”¹²¹⁷ Lippard’s critique of “Quality” in the arts was first published in 1990—in the midst of the US’s multicultural movement.¹²¹⁸ But her perspective of the status quo—from institutional exclusions to incarceration rates—resonates in the twenty-first century, as she too acknowledged in her preface to the 2nd edition of her text:

In the decade between the writing of *Mixed Blessings* and the publication of this new edition, a lot has changed and a lot has remained the same. In the late 1980s there was a certain excitement about and openness to the notion of “multiculturalism”—a term that has since, inevitably, gone through some vicissitudes. ... Today, although intellectual and scholarly strides have been taken, the United States in general is shackled by a harsh and hard-hearted racism that *often seems taken for granted as a fact of life*. The abyss between rich and poor has widened. The number of incarcerated Latino, African American, and Native males and youth has grown disproportionately. ... In the arts, thanks to the multicultural boom of the late ‘80s and early ‘90s (the “next wave” after that of the late ‘60s and ‘early ‘70s), things are easier because there is less resistance to the success of artists of color. Things are perhaps harder because art-world success exacerbates individualism and diminishes communal energy. The number of recognized artists of color has certainly increased. A few have reached the upper echelons of international stardom. Many have hit the glass ceiling well known to women artists. Others have found themselves relegated to “community arts” status—a place of honor but not generally honored in this society.¹²¹⁹

While Chicano/a art had made gains in the late 1980s and early ‘90s, the limitations of multiculturalism were evident in what was funded nationally.¹²²⁰ Many Chicano/a artists also noticed the disparity between what was on display in the museums and university galleries, and who and what was being hired and acquired by major institutions.

Chicana artist Patricia Rodriguez, for example, draws parallels between the barriers Chicano/a artists’ faced during the early days of the Movement and those that continue to impede real institutional inclusion. She writes:

The Chicano art community of San Francisco also struggled in the late seventies to break through the institutional walls. René Yañez, a pioneer Chicano artist and founding member of the Galería de la Raza in San Francisco, proposed co-producing together with the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (SFMOMA) a traveling Frida Kahlo exhibit, to be

curated by Judith Kirshner and Hayden Herrera. The proposal went unanswered, until Mr. Yañez finally received this reply: "Please have Frida call the museum for an appointment."¹²²¹

Rodriguez goes on to add that "many years later," the San Francisco MOMA played a "crucial role in [Kahlo's] almost universal recognition as the most celebrated Mexican female artist in our times."¹²²² Moreover, as recently as June 2008, René Yañez coordinated the performance art installations for the SFMOMA's Frida Kahlo exhibit.¹²²³

But Rodriguez is not concerned with the mainstream popularity of a certain Mexicana artist or the occasional exhibit of Mexican or Chicano/a art; rather, she seeks to critique the contrast between the colorful smoke and mirrors displays of "multicultural" art shows and the real absence of Chicano/a artists of her generation on the staffs, boards and administrations of US museums, art academies and related institutions. While Yañez assisted the 2008 show at the SFMOMA, for example, he is not a member of their curatorial or administrative staff.¹²²⁴ He is the occasional Chicano/a curator-interloper brought inside the "Master's House" to authenticate the annual and temporary installation of nonwestern art. This kind of relationship between Chicano/a art, modern art museums and universities is the consequence of a broken line of "institutional consistency." Rodriguez explains,

During the late seventies, U.S. universities established academic programs dedicated to the study of Chicano art, culture, and philosophy. These programs responded to the growing number of Latino and Chicano students within the university system and the social/political situation outside. However, by the late eighties and during the nineties, many programs were cut back and academic inclusion became less common. This lack of institutional consistency, and the negative impact on intergenerational teaching and sharing, is detrimental to our university system and our national culture, which is extremely multicultural. If art truly is to have its place in society, American art must broaden its embrace of the arts that reflect the diversity in its universities and art study programs.¹²²⁵

While Rodriguez claims that "our university system and our national culture" are "extremely multicultural," I believe she uses the term in its truest sense: she upholds a

multicultural vision of US culture as an ongoing possibility and as a counterpoint to the failures of 1980s and '90s multiculturalism.

Performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña adds to Rodriguez's pointed critique of ongoing institutional exclusions in his analysis of the failures of multiculturalism in the arts. Despite efforts to diversify art exhibitions and publications, as well as to demand that collections include nonwestern and nontraditional art, Gómez-Peña contends that there was no essential shift in the institutional point of view: "We managed to turn the continent upside down, so to speak, and insert into the central discussion, the discourse, the terminology, and the attention toward non-Anglo-European experimental artists. We even managed to alter the funding trends a bit. But we were unable to reform the administrative structure of the art institutions. They remain largely monocultural."¹²²⁶

Back in Sacramento, the RCAF's lack of place at the local university reflected the larger predicament of Chicano/a art in the 1980s and '90s. They had made many strides in regional and mainstream visibility, but CSUS did not seem to notice. In fact, Sacramento State's University Library made no major efforts to collect RCAF art or historical records until 2007, well after the group donated its collection to UC Santa Barbara on May 05, 1988. Ricardo Favela "signed for the RCAF," after archivist Salvador Güereña approached the collective.¹²²⁷ Favela explained in 2001,

There was two main reasons we decided to go and house our archives there. Number one was very simply, they asked us. And this is something that CSUS can't get over. They never ask us. If they would have asked us they would have had it. But they never asked us because we were hidden in plain sight. ... the other reason why we decided to go with Santa Barbara was because they are the only institution I believe in the whole of the United States that has a Master's program and I believe a Ph.D. program in Chicano/a art history. So they—it was incumbent upon them to collect a very good collection of Chicano material.¹²²⁸

As Favela recalled, the RCAF remained "hidden in plain sight" at CSUS during the 1980s and '90s, despite the visibility of their murals, "Metamorphosis" and L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., as well as their participation in numerous exhibitions of Chicano/a art.

Like the obstacles that the term “Chicano” had posed in funding CARA, the politics associated with the name also hindered the institutional acceptance of Chicano/a Studies Programs. Favela’s assessment of advanced degrees in Chicano/a Studies is fairly accurate; outside UC Santa Barbara, a graduate degree in Chicano/a Studies, Chicano/a art history or any field with the term ‘Chicano/a’ is hard to find.¹²²⁹ At Sacramento State, “Chicano Studies is well established as a component of the Ethnic Studies Department,” which means students can minor in Chicano Studies but undergraduate degrees are only available in Ethnic Studies.¹²³⁰ UC Berkeley provides “four undergraduate degrees in discrete fields,” including Chicano/a Studies, “and one Ph.D. in Comparative Ethnic Studies.”¹²³¹ The University of Texas at Austin offers “a master’s degree program, and a graduate portfolio program for masters and doctoral students” from their Center for Mexican American Studies (CMAS).¹²³² Meanwhile, UCLA provides undergraduate degrees in Chicano/a Studies and as of 2008, is in the process of “establishing both Masters and Doctorate programs in Chicana and Chicano Studies.”¹²³³

The breadth and quality of a university’s collection of Chicano/a materials is directly linked to the development and proliferation of its Chicano/a Studies program or curriculum. University archivist Salvador Güereña makes this point very clear in “Archives and Manuscripts: Historical Antecedents to Contemporary Chicano Collections.”¹²³⁴ Reviewing the history and the politics of Chicano/a archives, Güereña states that “those university collections which advanced the farthest did so synchronously to the growth and sophistication of the Chicano academic infrastructure on their campuses.”¹²³⁵ UC Santa Barbara’s Chicano/a archive demonstrates the correlation. One month after the Chicano Youth Conference in Denver, Chicanos/as organized the Mexican American Studies Conference at UCSB.¹²³⁶ The meeting led to El Plan de Santa Barbara, a key planning document for all Chicano/a Studies programs

and, specifically, for the development of Chicano/a academics at UC Santa Barbara. Güereña adds that UCSB's Chicano/a collection "is the only discrete research collection that operates as part of a university library."¹²³⁷ Completely entrenched within the institutional infrastructure of the Department of Special Collections, the collected works were first named the "Colección Tloque Nahuaque" in 1968.¹²³⁸ This collection was "conceived through the initiative of members of the United Mexican-American Students and the staff of the Center for Chicano Studies."¹²³⁹ Originating through student and staff initiative, Güereña writes that the evolution of the collection "was supported by the University Library administration."¹²⁴⁰ In fact, Güereña first acquired and processed the RCAF archive through the Colección Tloque Nahuaque, since, "at that time CEMA had not yet come into existence."¹²⁴¹ Güereña explains that "in 1993, [the] scope of the archives program was expanded to include the four major ethnic groups in California, and the program adopted the name California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives, becoming an arm of the Department of Special Collections."¹²⁴² Thus, the history of Chicano/a resources at UCSB reveals a history of real institutional support.

The RCAF's collection at UC Santa Barbara also contributed to their visibility in the first multi-city Chicano/a poster show in 2000. Organized by the University Art Museum, "Just Another Poster? Chicano Graphic Arts in California" relied heavily on the RCAF posters in the CEMA collection. Between 2000 and 2003, the exhibit toured the University of Texas at Austin, the University Art Museum at UC Santa Barbara and Sacramento's Crocker Art Museum.¹²⁴³ The title of the show, "Just Another Poster" is based on Louie 'the foot' González's 1976 silkscreen, "This Is Just Another Poster," which also adorns the cover of the exhibit catalog.¹²⁴⁴ Likewise, UC Santa Barbara advertised the exhibition with an RCAF poster by Ricardo Favela that he signed "© 1975 RCAF," emblematic of the group's collective consciousness during the 1970s. Favela's poster features two calaveras dressed in contemporary clothes. One of the skeletons

holds a frame up to the other's face. Favela created the poster as an advertisement for the RCAF's Centro de Artistas Chicanos, conveyed by the text below the image: "Posters, Murales Y Clases de Arte Para la Gente." But the poster takes on new meaning as an announcement for the 2001 "Just Another Poster?" show; as the skeleton attempts to capture his colleague's image with a frame that still drips with fresh paint, the scene seems to playfully comment on the new appeal and collectability of Chicano/a art in the twenty-first century. [Fig. 17]

Amidst the success of their collection in Santa Barbara, the RCAF grew increasingly aware of their absence in the university archives and collections at CSUS. Echoing Ricardo Favela, José Montoya remarked on Sacramento State's neglect of the RCAF and the uneven development of Chicano/a Studies in general:

We've been interviewed and researched and there's very little out there that we can send our students to go and read those books—even at Sac State. For all of the things that we accomplished as the Royal Chicano Air Force, they're finally—just barely—beginning to say, "Well, you guys came from here. Why is your archive in Santa Barbara?" Well, no one asked. Now they've got new librarians who are saying, "You have to have your stuff here." So I'm having to, you know. I will give them some of the Barrio Art materials because it's still going on and still a CSUS affiliated program. The poster-making—Favela, who teaches in the art department, has turned the collection over to them—or set up an archive. Nothing is as expansive, or close to having everything we've ever done like Santa Barbara.¹²⁴⁵

As Montoya indicates, institutional efforts to collect RCAF art and records at CSUS did not get underway until their CEMA collection was well-established. Sheila O'Neil is one of the "new librarians" to whom Montoya refers as a recent advocate of RCAF archives at the University Library. As Head of the Department of Special Collections and University Archives, O'Neil joined the CSUS faculty in 1999. Following Joe Serna, Jr.'s death in 1999, O'Neil was contacted by his staff in 2000 and his "papers came to the library December 2004 and were processed during the year 2006-early 2007."¹²⁴⁶ The Joe Serna, Jr. Papers officially opened to the public on October 21, 2007.¹²⁴⁷ "During

that same month, the library hosted an exhibit titled 'Our Mayor Forever: Joe Serna, 1939-1999.'¹²⁴⁸ Along with the Joe Serna, Jr. Papers, O'Neil and her staff have prepared the Dr. Sam Rios Papers, which includes documents from the formation of Chicano Studies at CSUS, the early years of Breakfast for los Niños and the development of the Washington Barrio Education Center.¹²⁴⁹ [Fig. 18]

In-between the "R.C.A.F. Goes to College" show in February 2007 and the opening of the Serna archive in October, the University Library made another important acquisition related to the RCAF. Between August 2006 and January 2007, La Raza Galería Posada (LRGP) donated their poster and print collection to the CSUS library.¹²⁵⁰ On permanent loan, the collection includes numerous works by the RCAF and other Chicano/a artists of the region. In March 2008, the University Library exhibited a selection of the 150 Chicano/a posters that they now hold in their collection.¹²⁵¹ Former LRGP director and Chicano/a art historian, Teresa Romo, played an active role in the 2008 exhibit of LRGP's posters. Romo also participated in the 2007 "R.C.A.F. Goes to College" show, presenting an abbreviated version of her 2001 essay, "Points of Convergence: The Iconography of the Chicano Poster." This work was originally published in the "Just Another Poster?" catalog.¹²⁵² In her overview of the history of Chicano/a posters, Romo moves beyond Shifra M. Goldman's framework to discuss the impact that "fine art" status had on the iconography and production of Chicano/a posters.¹²⁵³

Commodification of the Chicano/a poster during the 1980s and '90s resulted in a fundamental shift in their function and value. Several factors were involved in moving the Chicano/a poster out of the barrio and into the galleries and archives of universities and museums; Romo is sensitive to all of these conditions, but pays particular attention to an important and, perhaps, unexpected aspect: the "nature" of Chicano/a art. She writes,

The Chicano/a poster, precisely because of its syncretism, also contributed to the development of the Chicano art movement's unique course. The early poster workshops at various universities attracted participants from other disciplines; some of them practicing artists. The posters created within *centros* also solidified the community-building aspects of the movement.¹²⁵⁴

Producing Chicano/a posters had always involved an exchange of ideas, a blending of images, and a range of techniques. Furthermore, all of these collaborations took place in a shared and multipurpose space. According to Romo, the malleable processes inherent to Chicano/a art influenced its adaption from art for the people, to art for art's sake. In terms of a Chicano/a aesthetic, then, Romo contends that the 1980s shift was not necessarily negative: "The poster format offered artists the freedom to transmit messages solely by aesthetic means—to intentionally create poster art."¹²⁵⁵

Despite the hybrid nature of Chicano/a posters, Romo concedes that "it was multiculturalism and the art market of the 1980s and 1990s that forever changed the role of the poster and fueled an explosion of imagery. ... Chicano poster makers moved from being the anonymous producers of political materials to the internationally renowned artists creating commissioned art prints."¹²⁵⁶ Recalling Ricardo Favela's 1975 poster for the Centro de Artistas Chicanos on which he signed the group's name and not his own, Romo suggests that Chicano/a arts collectives and their collaborative processes were incongruent with western fine art standards.¹²⁵⁷ In other words, Chicano/a art had become more collectible during the 1980s and '90s, but only on an *individual* basis. While multiculturalism had promised more diversity in US art museums and galleries, the category remained based on western notions of art; thus, collective arts practices and community projects did not produce fine art according to the status quo. The RCAF's art show in the University Library Gallery in March 2007 sent mixed messages. On the evening of the artists' panel discussion, Dr. Rios started the conversation by circulating *that* petition to save Barrio Arts, and the contradiction was palpable. Although CSUS had

recognized the RCAF and Chicano/a art, the university did not value the processes or places in which the RCAF and the Chicano/a community practice, teach and preserve their Chicano/a art traditions.¹²⁵⁸

For many Chicano/a artists, the multicultural market for Chicano/a posters was detrimental to the art form. Alicia Gaspar de Alba cites José Montoya, who along with his brother Malaquias, claimed that “the only true Chicano art was art that toed the political lines of el Movimiento, art of liberation, art of protest, working-class art.”¹²⁵⁹ Gaspar de Alba goes onto ask the obvious questions regarding their involvement in CARA, despite the politics of their Chicano/a art values: “Were the Montoya brothers selling out? Were these *veteranos* of the Chicano Movement, like ‘El Louie’ getting buried, killed not in action, but in contradiction? Or did they see the possibilities for Raza activism and empowerment in the exhibition?”¹²⁶⁰ The RCAF’s participation in prominent Chicano/a art shows, as well as their self-promotion leading up to these events, reveals a steady pursuit of institutional recognition. Moreover, Ricardo Favela and José Montoya conveyed a desire for institutional acknowledgement in their reflections on CSUS’s disregard for the RCAF and their establishment of the group’s archives at UC Santa Barbara.

Yet Favela and Montoya did not seek institutional approval for the sake of their individual careers.¹²⁶¹ And, as a collective, the RCAF did not view the Chicano/a community as a launching pad for their professional goals. Like Gaspar de Alba’s open-ended question suggests, the RCAF perceived mainstream exhibitions and institutional collections as “possibilities for Raza activism and empowerment.” During an interview with Juanishi Orosco and Esteban Villa regarding the making of L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., both men addressed the relevance of their community art values. Orosco began,

Our art is very conscious. Whatever we’re going to put up there has to be very true and the community has to accept it. Otherwise, we’re out of jobs; we’re yesterday’s news, instead of being very current.

[Esteban Villa added] Yes, we're judged by the community.
[Juanishi Orosco replied] Yeah, we're not judged individually. We profess that whatever we do, it's with the brushes of the community. And all these years, we would not be this successful if there had not been an acceptance of what we're doing. So we really rely on the community for what we're doing. It isn't that we rely on ourselves, like studio artists; it's a collective community; we don't separate ourselves from the community. We're a part of the community; we're interactive with the community and that's where we draw all of our inspiration and all our imagery from—what the community is doing.¹²⁶²

Drawing their inspiration and imagery from “what the community is doing,” the RCAF never internalized standards or hierarchies of western art. Despite the mainstream market for their posters and the state agencies that paid them to create murals, they remained committed to making art collectively, for and amongst the Chicano/a community.¹²⁶³

Their response to all of the institutional attention and accolades during 2007 further substantiates Orosco and Villa's sentiment concerning “the colectiva versus the individual.”¹²⁶⁴ Following the momentum of the “R.C.A.F. Goes to College” show and the opening of the Serna Archive at CSUS, several RCAF artists and members established the “R.C.A.F. Centro Dos.”¹²⁶⁵ A community-based organization, they envisioned a center like their earlier Centro de Artistas Chicanos; it would encompass a working studio and resource center for professional artists; it would include space for arts classes and workshops; it would also fund various scholarships for emerging artists. Juanishi Orosco recalled, “Juan Carrillo had turned us onto the place at the Brickhouse Gallery. ... We liked it. We liked the price. So we said, “Let's do it. We're reviving the Centro. You know that whole philosophy of the community art center, doing work for the community, doing the murals, silk-screens.”¹²⁶⁶ On August 3rd, 2007, the RCAF held their first art auction and fundraiser at their new location in the Brickhouse Gallery & Studios on 36th Street and Broadway.¹²⁶⁷ Amongst friends, local collectors and longtime members, several of the RCAF artists' auctioned off their “fine art” in order to raise money to

support the burgeoning center. Centro Dos activities continued throughout 2008, with several events like “Chicano Movie Night” at the Guild Theatre on 35th Street and Broadway. The evening featured films by Sam Quiñones, which documented several events at Southside Park during the 1970s and ‘80s, as well as Joe Camacho’s *El Pachuco: From Zoot Suits to Lowriders*.¹²⁶⁸ Camacho’s film chronicles the planning, implementation and the opening night of José Montoya’s 1977 exhibition, “El Pachuco Art: A Historical Update.”¹²⁶⁹ [Fig. 19 & 20]

The Centro Dos lasted for only two years, but its establishment in the middle of a wave of institutional recognition reveals that the RCAF remains sensitive to the ongoing politics of space and ethnic identity.¹²⁷⁰ Guisela Latorre claims that for many Chicano/a artists of the 1960s and ‘70s era, “the Chicana/o experience of marginalization and displacement proved to them that urban space was never neutral or devoid of meaning.”¹²⁷¹ The RCAF’s collective consciousness and community arts values had not always been their artistic choice or preference. Rather, their shared beliefs became essential to the group through the consciousness-raising processes inherent to collective arts practices. As Latorre explains through Chicano/a mural-making, the act of negotiating access to a wall from a building owner and then reaching a consensus with various members of an engaged community often radicalized space as a “social construct” for many Chicano/a artists.¹²⁷² Within the larger social milieu of exclusion, creating Chicano/a murals produced a shared understanding of the Chicano/a reality, largely based on a history of racial, cultural, linguistic and class exclusions.¹²⁷³ Thus, the final product—the Chicano/a mural—signified and commemorated a real and figurative intervention on such exclusions.

If Chicano/a murals produced Chicano/a space while also celebrating it, then Chicano/a bookstores and galleries were comparable creations. In Sacramento, La Raza Bookstore was the direct response to the lack of institutional space for Chicano/a letters

at CSUS. Founded in 1972 by Chicano/a students and “MEChistas” from CSUS, La Raza Bookstore offered “titles on Mexican/Chicano history, literature, psychology and also ... children’s books. Many of these titles are in English and Spanish.”¹²⁷⁴ La Raza Bookstore cemented its reputation in the Chicano/a community and at Sacramento State as the place to read, purchase and access Chicano/a scholarship during the 1970s and ‘80s. Every semester, the bookstore’s staff sent letters to CSUS professors requesting that they list and stock their course texts at La Raza Bookstore. “In turn,” the staff would request “all Raza students purchase Ethnic Study’s material from us.”¹²⁷⁵

As a rising barrio organization, La Raza Bookstore was also an important place for the RCAF’s early exhibition of posters. Armando Cid’s 1973 mural advertised its role as a “storefront academy for Chicano artists.”¹²⁷⁶ Early bookstore staff such as Philip Santos and Teresa Romo forged a relationship with local Chicano/a artists that was mutually beneficial. [Fig. 21] Chicano/a artists were able to exhibit and sell their work in a culturally significant space, and the bookstore also earned a reliable income. Between 1979 and ‘80, the Galería Posada was created in order to formally exhibit and, thus, elevate Chicano/a visual arts.¹²⁷⁷ In a whimsical version of the bookstore’s history, José Montoya emphasized the cultural and political meaning of the place in which it was first located:

In the beginning she occupied a tiny space squeezed between Johnny’s Place on the corner and Terry’s folk’s dry cleaners on the other. It had proven history, that space. It had housed the U.F.W. headquarters in Sacramento in ‘67 and ‘68. Then it became the historic C.O.P.A. office (Chicano Organization for Political Awareness) and meeting place for local MeChistas and community activists in the early Seventies and finally it became La Raza Bookstore continuing to address and incorporate into its cultural workday, the needs of the R.C.A.F, the campesinos de la union and Joe’s precinct politics. After a while, Terry’s dry cleaners was nationalized and walls came down and that would now accommodate the Galería Posada to honor the ‘patron saint’ of Chicano artistas. ... Those were the beautiful, feisty, provocative, and at times scandalous, early days de La Bookstore. Then she grew up—matured, as it were—and moved up the street and around the corner to 15th & G. Today, she is a

ravishing encantadora, having moved again to where another old barrio flourished once, por abi por la calle O.¹²⁷⁸

Reflecting on the “proven history” of “that space,” Montoya muses on the succession of political, communal, and artistic functions of the multipurpose room in which an original Chicano/a institution was first developed.¹²⁷⁹ That Montoya personifies “La Bookstore” as a woman, and specifically as a Chicana, is also appropriate, considering the organization’s history of female leadership.¹²⁸⁰ In February 2007, for example, Teresa Romo spoke about La Raza Bookstore and echoed Montoya’s rumination on “the early years.”

Upon finishing her presentation on the iconography of Chicano/a posters in the University Library Gallery at CSUS, Romo was asked by the audience to comment on her history with La Raza Bookstore and Galería Posada (LRGP). Romo explained that she joined the staff “when it was just a bookstore and had been the UFW office and then COPA.”¹²⁸¹ She also named several of the bookstore’s original founders—“Philip Santos, Pete Hernandez, Gilbert Gamino, Juan Gutierrez and Louie ‘the Foot’ as well.”¹²⁸² Romo asserted that La Raza Bookstore had always been a place for the display, sale and collection of RCAF posters. Romo recalled that in 1979, she “asked Santos if we can use the other space as a galería (when the cleaners closed.)”¹²⁸³ After writing a grant and fundraising with the college’s MEChA chapter, Romo and the staff launched the Galería Posada in 1980. “The first exhibit was of the work of Jose Guadalupe Posada, an influential, Mexican artist.”¹²⁸⁴ Soon LRGP’s exhibitions of Chicano/a art became important social events and gatherings for the Chicano/a community and for the RCAF. Sitting in Romo’s audience, LRGP co-founder Pete Hernandez added, “Even though some say that the physical movement is over, the bookstore is still alive.”¹²⁸⁵

In charting the RCAF’s history through real time and space, LRGP has been a major point of reference for the Chicano/a arts collective. From its beginning, to its

contemporary role in Sacramento's Chicano/a community, LRGP remained a central place for the RCAF to gather and to remember their shared past. In the late summer of 2006, LRGP moved to its current location on 22nd Street between J and K Streets. Over the next two years, several of the RCAF artists, including Stan Padilla, Esteban Villa and Juanishi Orosco, exhibited art work in order to sustain the organization as it endured another transition.¹²⁸⁶ In May 2008, José Montoya hosted an exhibition of his recent water colors, sketches and oils on canvass. Entitled "Affordable Art," the show paid its respects to community art, to the Alkali Flat, to the RCAF and "the early years" of the Chicano Movement. Through several mediums, Montoya offered different views of his barrio and, specifically, of the Globe Mills area where Reno's Café once stood and another old hangout, El Paso Café, remains vacant.¹²⁸⁷ Montoya talked about the show on May 15th 2008, with an audience that included Esteban Villa, Juanishi Orosco, Juan Carrillo, Juanita Ontiveros, Lupe Portillo, his son Tomás, and several others. [Fig. 22]

Asked to comment on the show's concept, Montoya explained that the idea for "Affordable Art" really started back in 1968 at Sacramento State on the day that he recited his poems "Los Vatos" and "La Jefita" for the Mexican American Youth Organization's Cinco de Mayo celebration. Montoya added that some students approached him after his performance and told him about a new program called the Mexican American Education Project. His compadre, Esteban Villa, who was sitting in the front row of his audience, nodded and agreed with him on several historical facts, but disagreed on many others. For Montoya, the story of his 2008 art show at LRGP began in 1968; it came into formation in 1969; but it really took off later on that year when he, his colleague Esteban Villa, and a handful of Chicano/a students on campus decided to call themselves the Royal Chicano Air Force, instead of the Rebel Chicano Art Front. And the rest is history. [Fig. 23, 24 & 25]

ENDNOTES

Introduction, Pages 1—23

¹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997. 39-40.

² Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas Into History*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999. 3.

³ Vito Acconci, "Public Space in a Private Time." *Critical Inquiry*. 16:4 (Summer, 1990). 900-918.

⁴ Political scientist and professor Neera Chandhoke writes about Indian megacities and the politics of urbanization in the Southeast. Assessing the role between the urban poor, informal architecture, and the formal architectures of the urban built environment, Chandhoke also analyzes western theoretical understandings of time and space and where they fail to address the subaltern experience. Particularly focusing on the "two materialist traditions" of Newton and Kant, Chandhoke writes that "Sharp criticism of the above delineated perspectives, has generated fresh insights into the dialectical nature of space. Space is now, considered to be, not only the material context for human activity, but as also the product of human activity, and which in turn, fashions activity. Thus space, it can be argued, is socially produced and socially mediated. It, at any given time is the product of social processes, and historically created space moulds and influences these processes. Everyday lives of individuals are thus shaped by their relationship to their space. The assertion of space in social theory thus provides a much needed theoretical and political context for any discussion on social practices. As the distinguished literary critic Fredric Jameson argues, 'a model of political culture appropriate to our own situation will necessarily have to raise spatial issues as its fundamental organising concern'" (Sic. 65). Jameson, "Postmodern, or the cultural logic of capitalism." (1984: 71, 89). as qtd in Chandhoke, 65.
Neera Chandhoke, "On the Social Organization of Urban Space: Subversions and Appropriations." *Social Scientist*. 21:5/6 (May-June 1993). 63—73.

⁵ Adrienne Rich, "Notes Toward a Politics of Location (1984)." *Blood, Bread and Poetry: Selected Prose, 1979-1984*. W.W. Norton Company, Inc. : New York, 1986. 217.

⁶ Urban historian Christine Boyer acknowledges the complex system of "center" and "periphery" created across the nation-state but does so through theorist Michel Foucault and sociologist Manuel Castells. Arguing that information spreads not necessarily top-down, but rather moves all around from a place of control, Boyer writes:

"Michel Foucault said it first, our epoch is one of spatial relations, we live inside a network that juxtaposes near and far, that connects points and intersections together. And Manuel Castells has referred more recently to the communication networks of the Informational Society as a "space of flows" in which messages, data, money, commodities, drugs, weapons, body parts travel physically or move electronically throughout the globe. Although local places do not disappear in this space of flows, Castells argues that they have become absorbed within the essentially placeless logic of the network. ...The places that are selected as nodes or hubs depend on a particular network's tasks and are articulated spatially by a) both the functions that the network

serves and b) the directives of their dominant elites" (20). Christine Boyer, "Violent Effacements in City Spaces." *Assemblage*. 20(Apr., 1993). 20-21.
Also see: Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, 1 (Spring, 1986): 22-27.
Manuel Castells, "The Space of Flows: Elements for a Theory of Urbanism in the Informational Society." Paper delivered at the Conference on "New Urbanism" Princeton University, School of Architecture. October 17, 1992.

⁷ Suzanne Lacy, "Love Cancer Memory: A Few Stories." *Public Art Review*. (Spring/Summer 1996). 6.

⁸ Lacy, 7.

⁹ Salazar as qtd in Lacy, 7.

¹⁰ Lacy, 8.

¹¹ Lacy, 8.

¹² With Jacques Lacan's 1936 term and definition in mind, I use "American social imaginary" as way to describe mainstream beliefs and investment in a particular set of rules, laws and understanding for using public parks, public bathrooms, and, even, transportation. Such spaces have become a part of the built environments of every US city and town since the mid-twentieth century. I also mean to suggest the extension of these values of public space to the proliferation of consumer spaces, e.g., malls, outdoor plazas, and retail clusters in which Americans of particular socioeconomic classes access such spaces in a similar way.

¹³ Lacy, 6. Lacy writes that she borrows her point of view on monumental culture in the US from critic curator Nick Capasso. See, Capasso, "That Was Then: Contemporary Commemorative Art in Greater Boston." *Public Art Review*. (Spring/Summer 1996). 20-21; 41.

¹⁴ Lacy, 7.

¹⁵ Lacy, 7.

¹⁶ Hayden, 39-40.

¹⁷ Hayden is also aware of the built environment as an extension of the canonical narratives of US history. In Chapter Five, I explore Hayden's *Power of Place* (1997), both as a text on public history and as an organization that she started in Los Angeles to capture and reclaim several lost histories of ethnic minorities and women who helped shape the built environment of downtown L.A.

¹⁸ Over the years, the meaning of the acronym, L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. has shifted slightly. In a Press Release for the mural dedication on August 23, 1984, the acronym is listed as standing for "Light Art in Sacramento with Energy Resources in Unlimited Movement." Elsewhere, "Movement," is listed as "Motion."
See, Press Release for Mural Dedication. August 23, 1984. Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Copy Courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

Gilka Romero, "Creativity Unleashed in Tunnel." *The Sacramento Bee*. Neighbor's Section. (10/21/99). N1.

¹⁹ In this case, I mean to suggest city funded artworks under the 1977 APP ordinance. As I examine in close detail in Chapter Four, the RCAF was embroiled in a battle over the designs for L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. beginning in 1980 and ending in 1984, when the plans were finally approved by the Arts in Public Places Committee of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission.

²⁰ Hayden, 39-40. The history of the "American West" to which I refer and address later on in this introduction includes the US—Mexican War of 1846-1848 and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. This treaty allotted the northern territories of Mexico to the US. I also refer to armed service histories of Mexican Americans, not only in WW II but during the Korean Conflict. Finally, I refer to the immigration histories of Mexican Americans during the 1942—1964 Bracero Program, which deeply impacted the sequential Chicano/a generation.

²¹ I am referring to Professor Gary Y. Okihiro's term from "Oral History and the Writing of Ethnic History: A Reconnaissance into Method and Theory" (1981). Later in this introduction, I elaborate on Okihiro's term and definition.

²² Emma Pérez, 3.

²³ "Program for Artwork for K Street Underpass." Dated March 1982. Author unknown. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

²⁴ Gilka Romero, "Creativity Unleashed in Tunnel." *The Sacramento Bee*. Neighbor's Section. (10/21/99). N1.

²⁵ Amongst the RCAF, the murals of L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. are not talked about as separate works. Thus, the 'north'- and 'south wall' terms are nicknames to distinguish between the two, without separating L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. into separate works of art.

²⁶ In July 1982, the SMAC Commissioners consisted of John Hansen, Jackie Caplan, Robert Else, Marjorie W. McLain, David Rible, Tere Romo, Thomas E. Small, Jr., Jaqueline Springwater and Sharon A. Walbridge. Bill Moskin was the Executive Director. In April 1983, with Moskin still serving as ED, SMAC's Commissioners were: David Rible, Jackie Caplan, Mitsuko S. Iwama, Pam Johnson, Marjorie McLain, James G. Neagle, Tere Romo, Thomas E. Small, Jr. Jacqueline Springwater, and Audrey Tsuruda. By August 1983, Rible was the only original Commissioner from 1982, with Moskin still acting ED. During the 1982 to '84 negotiations, Jennifer Dowley served as the coordinator for the APP. Moreover, in earlier tunnel negotiations from 1979, Bill Moskin is identified as the director for SMAC. This information is taken from SMAC letterhead between 1982—1983. Copies courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004. All of these historical details are further examined in Chapter Four.

²⁷ Letter to Ricardo Favela, Director of Centro de Artistas Chicanos, from Jennifer Dowley, Coordinator of Arts in Public Places. December 17, 1982, Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. Also, Juanishi Orosco corroborated this story in an interview with him and Esteban Villa on December 23, 2000. I elaborate on the APP committee's mandate in Chapter Four.

²⁸ In "Prehistory to the Goldrush," historian Steve M. Avella writes, "In Sacramento County, the two major Indian groups that dominated the region were the Nisenan and Miwok. Both of these spoke a variety of the Penutian phylum of languages ... The Nisenan, the group that occupied most of the area later encompassed by the city of Sacramento, was a branch of Maidu (sometimes referred to as the Southern Maidu)" (12). Avella adds that although the Spanish had glimpsed the Sacramento Valley from different positions, "the valley held no particular allure and early encounters were from a distance" (15). In 1808, Ensign Gabriel Moraga explored the "American River between present-day Rancho Cordova and Folsom" (15). Moraga was also responsible for the "naming of the Feather River, the Rio del Santissimo Sacramento—the River of the Most Blessed Sacrament" (16). Spanish contact continued as many "believed that California's mission chain should extend into the Central Valley" (15). But, as Avella writes, John Sutter "was the first European to establish a permanent settlement on the lands that would encompass the city" (17). Sutter stated "New Helvetia" in 1839 and, by 1840, Sutter "petitioned Governor Alvarado for Mexican citizenship and then made application for his land grant" (21). Steve M. Avella, *Sacramento: Indomitable City*. Charleston SC, Chicago IL, San Francisco CA: Arcadia Publishing, 2003.

²⁹ Emma Pérez, 3.

³⁰ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

³¹ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

³² As I investigate in close detail in Chapter Four, Scott's prisms were not well received by the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission (SMAC) or local officials from the city's Department of Engineering. See internal memo from Department of Engineering, received by City Manager's Office. Dated April 1, 1980. The Memo is intended for the City Council and provides a summary of the project and background history that indicates the tunnel's redevelopment was originally proposed as a 1976 Local Public Works Program project that would be founded through the federal government's Economic Development Administration. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

³³ <http://www.oldsacramento.com/> (Accessed December 5, 2009).

Aside from the Native Americans who cultivated and lived in the Sacramento Valley, historian Steven M. Avella writes that in 1808, Ensign Gabriel Moraga explored the "American River between present-day Rancho Cordova and Folsom" (15). Moraga was also responsible for the "naming of the Feather River, the Rio del Santissimo Sacramento—the River of the Most Blessed Sacrament" (16). Spanish contact continued as many "believed that California's mission chain should extend into the Central Valley" (15). But, as Avella writes, John Sutter "was the first European to

establish a permanent settlement on the lands that would encompass the city” (17). Sutter stated “New Helvetia” in 1839 and, by 1840, Sutter “petitioned Governor Alvarado for Mexican citizenship and then made application for his land grant” (21).

³⁴ Deb Marois, “An Economic History of Alkali Flat.” March 2003. University of California Davis. Community and Redevelopment Paper. 23-24. For more, see: <http://www.shra.org/Content/CommunityDevelopment/AlkaliFlat/AFReports/EconHist.pdf> Also see Hale Champion, “Filth, Vice, Crime Crawl Out of Blighted Areas. *The Sacramento Bee*. (November 29, 1949). 1, 11; “Blighted Areas in Constant Peril of Serious Fires.” *The Sacramento Bee*. 1, 4. Courtesy of the Sacramento Public Library: Sacramento Room. 828 I Street, Sacramento, CA 95814.

³⁵ Deb Marois explains that “by 1970, Hispanics were the largest minority group in the Alkali Flat comprising 37% of the area’s total population” (24).

³⁶ Handwritten meeting minutes dated “4-21-83” and signed “gm,” more than likely for Gina Montoya, Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

³⁷ See Document from Department of Engineering, received by City Manager’s Office. Dated April 1, 1980. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

³⁸ As I elaborate on in Chapter Four, through a series of meetings between the RCAF and the APP committee, a clear conflict over historical representation, aesthetic preference and definitions of public art unfolded. In handwritten meeting minutes that were written by Gina Montoya, some of the APP committee members are identified as “D.R.” for David Rible and another as “sangrona,” which in Spanish means “unpleasant.” The APP committee’s resistance to the RCAF’s designs in the meeting minutes primarily from “Rible y la sangrona.” In later meeting minutes that are taken by “gina” (Gina Montoya) on May 11, 1983, “Pam Johnson / David Rible” are identified. Perhaps, “sangrona” refers to Pam Johnson.

Also See, “Program for Artwork for K Street Underpass.” Dated March 1982. Author unknown. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

³⁹ Letter from Jennifer Dowley, SMAC Coordinator for the Art in Public Places Program, to Ricardo Favela, ED of the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Dated February 23, 1983. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁴⁰ Handwritten meeting minutes dated “4-21-83.” Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴¹ Gilka Romero, “Creativity Unleashed in Tunnel.” *The Sacramento Bee*. Neighbor’s Section. (10/21/99). N1.

⁴² R.E. Graswich, "Murals Pack a Hidden Punch." *The Sacramento Bee*. Metro Section (7/10/00). B1.

⁴³ Graswich, B1.

⁴⁴ Montoya and Villa invited several of their art students to join them, including Ricardo Favela, Juanishi Orosco, Juan Cervantes, Armando Cid, Max Garcia, Lorraine Garcia (Nakata), Louie Gonzalez, and others. Other artists like Stan Padilla joined the group later. In addition to the artists, the RCAF also had organizational and community members like Juan Carrillo, Dr. Sam Rios, Jennie Baca, Juanita Polendo (Ontiveros), Gina Montoya, David Rasul, and many, many more. I discuss the people who form(ed) the RCAF in great detail throughout Chapters One, Two and Three.

⁴⁵ The earlier arts organization to which I refer is the Mexican American Liberation Art Front (MALA-F). Villa and Montoya formed the group with several friends in the Bay Area while they attended art school at the California College of the Arts (CCA). I elaborate on the MALA-F at length in Chapter Two and Three.

⁴⁶ Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez, Eds. *Signs From the Heart. California Chicano Murals*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1993. 9.

⁴⁷ Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez, 9.

⁴⁸ Eva Cockcroft, et al. 2nd Ed. *Toward A People's Art. The Contemporary Mural Movement*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998. Originally published in 1977 by E.P. Dutton and Company, New York. Through close examination of artists and historians Eva Cockcroft, John Pitman Weber and James Cockcroft's 1977 text, *Toward A People's Art. The Contemporary Mural Movement*, I explore the various arts collectives and their practices in Chapter Two. Cockcroft et al, for example, mention many groups like Artes Guadalupanos de Aztlán, from Santa Fe, New Mexico, that practiced artistic uniformity to "attain a group expression;" but their primary investment was in the local, and later, regional advancement of the Chicano Movement politics (69). Although they recognize that the "submersion of individual styles in an effort to attain a group expression characterizes many mural collectives, it is not universally accepted as necessary." They cite the Bay Area's Mujeres Muralistas collective as working like "a musical ensemble. ... individuals in the group work each in her own style on separate sections of the mural" (70).

⁴⁹ In her survey of the traditional theory of arts practice, professor Amy Mullin mentions the "Kantian notion of the inspired genius" as it is applied to art appreciation: "For Kant, and for those art critics and theorists who follow him on this point, artistic inspiration comes to individuals, not to groups, and individuals can only sully their original visions when seeking to make work that is either collaborative or informed by one's politics" (194). Of course, Mullin elaborates that Kant "locates genius in individuals," and not in collections of individuals who identity as a whole toward a "purposeful pursuit." Mullin also credits Adorno, who "influenced not only [Lydia] Goehr but also [Donald] Kuspit and others in the first camp of art critics and theorists, [who] held the view that any art that attempts to intervene in the sociopolitical arena, address political issues, or indeed to communicate any particular thought to an audience is necessarily debased to

propaganda”(207). Amy Mullin, “Feminist Art & the Political Imagination.” *Hypatia*.18:4 (Fall/Winter 2003). 189-213.

⁵⁰ As discussed in Chapter Two, José Montoya’s Barrio Arts Program was launched in the early 1970s. Some sources claim it began in 1970, while other sources claim 1974; Montoya states in interviews that he started it in 1972. Barrio Arts was a required course for students pursuing teaching credentials and for most arts degrees at Sacramento State University (CSUS). Known as “Barrio Art 148,” a form of the course exists today at CSUS as an independent study. José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004). See “Biographical Sketch.” *Guide to the José Montoya Papers, 1969—2001*. http://cemaweb.library.ucsb.edu/montoya_toc.html (Accessed December 13, 2009).

⁵¹ As I discuss in Chapter Two, the RCAF produced an endless amount of poster art on behalf of the UFW and various events, boycotts and general labor awareness. Members also contributed to the UFW as organizers and union members.

⁵² Art historian Guisela Latorre examines the encoded imagery of Chicano/a murals across California in *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. As I discuss in detail in Chapters Two, Four and Six, San Francisco, San Diego and Los Angeles, among many cities in the Central Valley of California as well as in the Southwest had Chicano/a artists and arts collectives who created an iconography that is considered canonical to Chicano/a art.

⁵³ A famous photograph of the RCAF in their air force apparel accompanied a 1979 article, “Humor Plus Pride: ‘Chicano Air Force’ Flies High,” in the *Los Angeles Times*. For more see article by Charles Hillinger, from the edition: Sunday, July 22, 1979. 3, 20.

⁵⁴ Montoya added, “these were the poets, scholars, philosophers, intellectuals, and painters like us. Also a lot of Korean Vets in that group. And they were doing the history of New Mexico in the villages, oral histories. And then they would print it out in magazine. They used to pass it out. It was called ‘RESO LANA.’” José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004).

⁵⁵ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁵⁶ When I refer to Pérez’s critique of the four periods and interpretive modes of Chicano history, I purposely drop of the ‘a’ off of the term Chicano. I do so to support Pérez’s critique of 1970s Chicano history as a recreation of the “dominant modes of thinking and writing” in this era’s Chicano history (8).

⁵⁷ Pérez reviews Mexican women who were involved in the Mexican Revolution, especially in the state of Yucatan, during the 1910s. She highlights Hermila Galindo, her secretarial service under president Carranza (1917—1920) and the publication of her magazine *La Mujer Moderna* in 1951 (43-45). Next, Pérez examines Mexican- and Mexican American women in the US who participated in the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM). She then turns to Tejanas and their activism through social clubs and associations in Texas during the 1920s and ‘30s. Each location of Mexicana and Mexicana American women’s activisms, Pérez claims, resonates later during the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and ‘70s. The legacies of women’s participation in civil

rights and independence movements are not cut off by geopolitical borders. Pérez claims Chicanas participated in male-dominant civil rights groups and organizations, like Yucatecan women in Mexico during the 1910s and Tejanas in the 1920s and '30s. Engaging gender-specific strategies, like their predecessors in Yucatan and in Mexican Liberal Party, Chicanas also helped create “third-space feminism” or a spatiotemporal context in –between colonialist historiography and the approaching post-colonialist methodology.

⁵⁸ Emma Pérez draws on Hayden White’s use of the “four master tropes,” originally discussed in Kenneth Burke’s *A Grammar of Motives* (1969). According to Pérez, White “resurrected ‘The Four Master Tropes’ from Kenneth Burke’s *A Grammar of Motives* (1969)” in order to “question the ‘artistic’ elements of ‘realistic’ historiography” (Pérez, 132). The four tropes of Modern Language Theory are metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony. For more on this see Hayden White’s *Metahistory* (1973).

⁵⁹ Sic. Pérez, 3-4. The boundaries between Mexican history, Chicano/a history and Latin American history pertain to the 1845 annexation of Texas and the 1848 signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that established the US’s Southwestern states. These geopolitical borders played out in the “beginning” or origins of Chicano/a history all throughout the twentieth century as many early Mexican American and ensuing Chicano/a scholars encountered in US universities.

⁶⁰ Art historian Constance Cruz’s analysis of Chicano/a art in San Antonio, Texas, offers another critique of pseudohistorical tourist centers in “Aztlán in Tejas” (2002). Cruz explores how Chicano/a art performs within an area of San Antonio that is quite similar to Sacramento’s K Street pedestrian underpass. Cruz argues that Chicano/a representations on public walls create Aztlán—they carve out a homeland, or mark a space as being Chicano/a:

The Aztlán negotiated in San Antonio is a combination of urban and fictive space. In this context, fictive means the construction of space that caters to tourism. The city, its River Walk, and the Alamo have been marketed so well by the Chamber of Commerce that San Antonio has, to a certain extent, taken on the ambiance of Disneyland. The impact upon the many Chicanos who permanently reside in this city has been ambiguous. Service positions are generally filled with Chicano/a workers, which have led to an economic vitality within the community, but at a “price.” The cultural aspects of the community that seem to be valued by visitors are packaged in a manner that often times perpetuate stereotypes. This reductive view of Chicano/as can only lead to further misunderstandings of contemporary Chicano/a identities. (36)

Cruz’s critique of fictive space is quite useful for understanding downtown Sacramento. San Antonio’s commodification of Chicano/a history and culture as an aspect of cultural tourism in which Sacramento participates.

See Constance Cruz, “Aztlán in Tejas: Chicano/a Art From The Third Coast.” *Chicano Visions: American Painters On The Verge*. Ed., Cheech Marin. Little, Brown and Company, Inc.: Boston, New York, London, 2002. 33-42.

⁶¹ Gary Y. Okihiro, “Oral History and the Writing of Ethnic History: A Reconnaissance into Method and Theory.” *Oral History Review*. 9 (1981). 42-43.

⁶² Okihiro, 45.

⁶³ Antonia I. Castañeda, "‘Que Se Pudieran Defender (So You Could Defend Yourselves)’": Chicanas, Regional History, and National Discourses." *Frontiers*. 22:3 (2001). 117.

⁶⁴ Pérez, 7.

⁶⁵ Hayden White, *Metahistory*, 31-88 as qtd in Pérez, 7.

⁶⁶ White as qtd in Pérez, 7.

⁶⁷ White, as qtd in Pérez, 8.

⁶⁸ Pérez, 132. Endnote 26.

⁶⁹ Pérez, 132. Endnote 26.

⁷⁰ Pérez, 132. Endnote 26.

⁷¹ Specifically, *Westminster v. Méndez* was a federal court case that challenged racial discrimination in the public schools of Orange County. It involved five Mexican American fathers who claimed that their children, as well as 5,000 Mexican American children were denied full citizenship rights and forcefully separated in the public school system and districts of Westminster, Garden Grove, Santa Ana and El Modena.

⁷² Pérez, 4.

⁷³ Pérez, 4.

⁷⁴ If history is assumed as "the way in which people understand themselves through a collective, common past where events are chronicled and heroes are constructed," then Pérez contends, "Historical consciousness is the system of thought that leads to normative understanding of past events"(7). For the most part, the common "understanding of past events" is perpetuated through "discursive practice" and, subsequently, become the conventions of history.

⁷⁵ Pérez, 8. Again, Pérez is borrowing from White. "Adopting White's method, I argue that the deep structure of the historical imagination of contemporary Chicano historians has constructed a distinct knowledge of Chicano history ... As I reviewed the development of Chicano/a historical consciousness since the 1970s, I was intrigued with White's tropes and their usefulness to history's categories" (8).

⁷⁶ Pérez, 8.

⁷⁷ Pérez, 8.

⁷⁸ Pérez, 8-9.

⁷⁹ Pérez, 8.

⁸⁰ Pérez, 15.

⁸¹ Pérez writes, “A handful of Chicano historians envisioned ‘Chicano’ history just as they were being trained in the 1970s. Before the seventies, Mexican and Mexican American scholars, along with a few Euromericans, published monographs that would classify areas in Chicano/a studies, but for the most part the field of study had not yet been named ‘Chicano.’ Manuel Gamio, Paul Taylor, Ernesto Galarza, and Carey McWilliams made inroads in immigrant/labor studies. Carlos Castañeda, on the other hand, wrote volumes utilizing ecclesial records. George I. Sánchez investigated education and the overall discriminatory practices against Mexicans in the United States, while Jovita González and Américo Paredes theorized culture and folklore. These scholars, most of whom wrote during the early and middle twentieth century, laid the groundwork for an emerging Chicano/a consciousness, which seemed ‘mainstream,’ but was in fact oppositional” (9-10).

⁸² Ernesto Galarza published *Barrio Boy* in 1971. Rodolfo Acuña’s *Occupied America: The Chicano’s Struggle toward Liberation* was published in 1972. Gómez-Quiñones and Luis Arroyo reviewed published works / studies on Chicanos in “On the State of Chicano History: Observations on Its Development, Interpretations, and Theory, 1970-1974. *Western Historical Quarterly* 7:2 (1976): 155-85. Pérez also mentions Alex Saragoza in the 1980s “moved beyond the binarism of ‘them versus us.’ For Saragoza, the flaws in Acuña’s internal colonial model consisted in victimizing Chicanos by reducing their history to a binary opposition in which they were doomed to be victims and Anglos their oppressors” (12). See Saragoza “The Significance of Recent Chicano-Related Historical Writings: An Appraisal.” *Ethnic Affairs*. 1 (Fall 1987): 24-62.

⁸³ Pérez cites scholars Cynthia Orozco, Vicki Ruiz and Antonia Castañeda as having “written essays highlighting gender at the same time that they review literature” (13). The exaltation of leaders, heroes and individuals in Chicano/a Studies persists. Now, in the twenty-first century, Chicana heroines are well-known, beginning with the visibility of Dolores Huerta and the ongoing excavation of Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton, Emma Teynauca, and Josefina de Bright. On one hand, historical emphasis on leaders pertains to the major issues at hand during the 1960s and ‘70s Chicano Movement, which concerned civil liberties, representation in education, and land rights. On the other hand, the founding fathers’ paradigm of US history is at work in the tropes of the Chicano/a historical imagination. Ultimately Perez is after a ‘third space’ for history, or an area in-between dominant paradigms and subordinate replications; a space where “subjugated histories” don’t “only replicate, copy, and duplicate first world methods and tools”; (4) rather, Perez seeks a “decolonial imaginary” for Chicana/o history that exists “in between that which is colonialist and that which is colonized” (5). For Perez such a space is not a conclusion, a victory, a consequence or an outcome; instead, it is a site where multiple historical experiences and consciousnesses are enacted.

⁸⁴ Shifra M. Goldman, “The Iconography of Chicano Self-Determination: Race, Ethnicity, and Class.” *Art Journal*. 49:2 (Summer 1990). 167.

⁸⁵ Goldman, 167.

⁸⁶ Pérez ,4.

⁸⁷ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

⁸⁸ Montoya's concern over gender and the RCAF's historical record exemplifies Pérez's notion of twentieth-century Chicano/a consciousness. As a participant in the Chicano Movement, Montoya witnessed and continues to experience intellectual changes and trends in Chicano/a discourse. The late 1980s and '90s Second and Third Wave feminisms and Chicana scholarship is another 'great event' in Chicano/a consciousness and informs Montoya's historical conscience and why he requests inclusivity in the RCAF record in 2004. This argument is elaborated on in Chapter Three and does not need to be explicated in endnotes.

⁸⁹ In 2003, Padilla, Orosco and Villa painted "Eartharium" inside a building for the Capitol Area East End Complex that houses several offices for the state government. It's located at 16th and L Streets.

⁹⁰ See Steve M. Avella, *Sacramento: Indomitable City*. Charleston SC, Chicago IL, San Francisco CA: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. 15.

⁹¹ Stan Padilla, Interview. (July 12, 2004).

⁹² Avella, 15.

⁹³ As I discuss in Chapters Four and Six, the Washington Neighborhood Center continues to operate and serve the Alkali Flat community. As of December 2009, La Raza Galería Posada is still open in downtown Sacramento. Finally, a form of Barrio Arts is still provided as an elective course in the art department at CSUS. It takes place at the WNC.

⁹⁴ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000). "Baktun" is not necessarily a Mayan figure, but a unit of time in the Mayan calendar system that accounts for what is known as a long count, or 144,000 days.

⁹⁵ Okihiro, 45-46.

Endnotes for Chapter One, Pages 24—54

⁹⁶ Charles Hillinger, "Humor Plus Pride: 'Chicano Air Force' Flies High." *Los Angeles Times*. Sunday, July 22, 1979. 3, 20.

⁹⁷ The image was taken by *Times* photographer Fitzgerald Whitney. The caption states that the other RCAF members in the photo are Malaquias Montoya (José Montoya's son, and not brother), Lala Polendo (Juanita Ontiveros's sister) and "Elias Alias." In an informal conversation (December 16, 2009) with Juanishi Orosco about the photo, he clarified that "Elias Alias" was a friend of the RCAF from the community. But Orosco also claimed that he is the figure in the photo identified as Elias Alias.

⁹⁸ I purposely choose to talk about the "Korean Conflict" to respect the living memories of their service, as well as the men, women and children who were killed during this time.

Definitions of war are ambiguous. Rather than officially calling it a war, the US's "Korean Conflict" was phrased as a police proceeding in order to bypass the official steps needed for a declaration of war by Congress. Often referred to as "the Forgotten War," the Korean Conflict was a major event of the twentieth century that is overshadowed historically by WW II and the Vietnam War.

⁹⁹ I am referring to the periods that Emma Pérez posits as the Great Events of Chicano History, which include: "(1) the Spanish Conquest of 1521; (2) the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846-48; (3) the Mexican Revolution of 1910 (leading to post-revolution migrations); and (4) the Chicano/a movement of the 1960s and 1970s" (8). Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas Into History*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999.

¹⁰⁰ Pérez, 8.

¹⁰¹ Historian F. Arturo Rosales notes, "Prompted by the labor shortage of World War II, the U.S. government makes an agreement with the Mexican government to supply temporary workers, known as 'braceros,' for American agricultural work." F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1997. 279.

¹⁰² Alma M. Garcia, *The Mexican Americans*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002. 16.

¹⁰³ Harry P. Pachon and Joan W. Moore, "Mexican Americans." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 454 (March, 1981). 111-124.

¹⁰⁴ Alma M. Garcia, 31.

¹⁰⁵ Rita E. Urquijo-Ruiz adds that following the US's need for workers during the Korean Conflict, "another economic recession prompted labor unions' complaints that called for the control of undocumented immigration" (64). This measure was Operation Wetback. For more see, Rita E. Urquijo-Ruiz, "Alicia Sotero Vásquez: Police Brutality against an Undocumented Mexican Woman." *Chicana/Latina Studies: The Journal of Mujeres Activas En Letras Y Cambio Social*. 4:1 (Fall) 2004. 62—84.

¹⁰⁶ Alma M. Garcia, 31.

¹⁰⁷ George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900—1945*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. Rudolfo F. Acuña, *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation*. San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972. Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out Of The Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

¹⁰⁸ The guest worker programs to which I refer are the Essential Worker Immigration Coalition, supported by the Bush administration in 2006 and, according to Justin Akers Chacón and Mike Davis, includes large US trade and manufacturers' associations. Considered the more "liberal" proposal, the Coalition opens a guest worker program to all "sectors of production, not just agriculture" (228). The other proposed guest worker program, Americans for Border and Economic Security (ABES), is supported by

bipartisan sponsorship. It “combines increased border enforcement along with a new bracero-style program” (228). For more on the two policies, see “The Bipartisan Segregationists of Labor” in *No One Is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the U.S.-Mexico Border*. Justin Akers Chacón and Mike Davis. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2006. 226-236.

¹⁰⁹ Emma Pérez, 132. Chapter endnote 26.

¹¹⁰ Justin Akers Chacón and Mike Davis, *No One Is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the U.S.-Mexico Border*. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2006. 137.

¹¹¹ Akers Chacón and Davis, 146-147.

¹¹² Akers Chacón and Davis, 147.

¹¹³ Alma M. Garcia, 31.

¹¹⁴ Antonia I. Castañeda, 120. She borrows the phrasing from David J. Weber’s 1973 *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans*. Ed. David J. Weber. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973.

¹¹⁵ Stan Padilla, Interview. (July 12, 2004).

¹¹⁶ Pérez, 8.

¹¹⁷ Garcia, 136. Sic.

¹¹⁸ F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1997. 180-183.

¹¹⁹ To read “El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán,” see the following website:
<http://carbon.cudenver.edu/MEChA/plan-aztlan.html> (September 27, 2007).

¹²⁰ Rosales, 183.

¹²¹ Rosales, 183.

¹²² Rosales, 183.

¹²³ This political and intellectual leadership was emerging and had been emerging. In the mid-1960s, Mexican American students had been organizing in the Mexican American Political Association and also the Viva Kennedy Clubs (Rosales, 176). In Sacramento, the Sacramento Concilio, Inc. was active in labor and farmworker communities and politics; and the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) was active. “By 1967, the Mexican and the African American communities at Cal State L.A. formed their own organizations: the United Mexican American Student Association (UMAS) and the Black Student Association (BSA).”

For more see, “History of EOP.” California State University.

<http://www.calstate.edu/sas/eop/various/history.shtml> (Accessed December 19, 2009).

¹²⁴ Rosales, 183. Rosales explains that the “Mexican-origin intelligentsia” consisted of California Chicano student groups who came together in 1969 and 1970 to form “El Movimiento Estudiantil de Aztlán (MECHA—Aztlán Student Movement)” following the Santa Barbara meeting where the education plan was written and adopted (183).

¹²⁵ Both in popular culture and Chicano/a scholarship, the origins of the term ‘Chicano/a’ are constantly debated. There are several schools of thought on the term. The most accepted origination theory is that it developed from Nahuatl speakers from Mexico and their pronunciation of “Mexicano” / “Mexican” by Anglo American settlers in the early twentieth century who hired indigenous farmworkers. The ‘x’ in Nahuatl translates in English to a ‘sh.’ Thus, English pronunciation of ‘Mexican’ in Nahuatl was ‘Mesh-ican’ and the evolution of ‘Chicano.’

¹²⁶ I am referring to the various terms for Mexican and Mexican Americans in Texas, including Spanish Americans and Tejanos/as, which over time denoted different class backgrounds and generations. Also, in New Mexico, a population of peoples known as Hispanos continue to identify as separate from Mexican America. Nineteenth century Californios in California were also a class-based and ancestrally Spanish gentry. Lastly, many people of the Chicano/a community identify with indigenous heritage and separate tribal affiliations.

¹²⁷ Rosales, 183.

¹²⁸ In Chapter Six, I review the major Chicano/a Studies Programs in California, Texas and Arizona. For more on the viability of Chicano/a Studies Programs, I recommend Salvador Güereña’s essay, “Archives and Manuscripts: Historical Antecedents To Contemporary Chicano Collections.” Available on the CEMA website: http://www.library.ucsb.edu/speccoll/collections/cema/archives_manuscripts.html (Accessed on June 14, 2009).

¹²⁹ Sic. José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004). Montoya was born in 1932.

¹³⁰ By “nonimmigrant population,” I refer to the Mexican – American War of 1846—48 that changed the national borders between the US and Mexico. California and portions of what is now the US Southwest became a part of the US after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848.

¹³¹ Rafaela G. Castro, *Chicano Folklore: A Guide to the Folktales, Traditions, Rituals and Religious Practices of Mexican-Americans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. 123.

¹³² Castro goes on to add that “the Spanish language spoken by the Hispanos maintained an antiquated quality for hundreds of years because of isolation in the region” (124).

¹³³ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

¹³⁴ Considered one of the leaders of the Chicano Movement, Reies López Tijerina headed a northern New Mexico movement, Alianza Federal de las Mercedes, and worked to regain lands that were appropriated by the federal government after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. For more on Tijerina, see F. Arturo

Rosales's *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (1997), pages 154—170.

¹³⁵ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (July 6, 2004).

¹³⁶ Ricardo Favela, Interview (July 20, 2004).

¹³⁷ Ricardo Favela, Interview (July 20, 2004).

¹³⁸ Suzanne Schraith. "Ricardo Favela: Oral History Narrative" and "Oral History Transcript." California State University, Sacramento. (December 14, 2001).

¹³⁹ Schraith.

¹⁴⁰ Schraith.

¹⁴¹ *Pilots of Aztlán: The Flights of the RCAF*. Dir. Steve La Rosa. Sacramento: KVIE, Inc., 1994.

¹⁴² *Pilots of Aztlán: The Flights of the RCAF*.

¹⁴³ *Pilots of Aztlán: The Flights of the RCAF*.

¹⁴⁴ "Esteban Villa." <http://www.chilipie.com/esteban.htm> (September 09, 2004).

¹⁴⁵ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

¹⁴⁶ Chicano/a literature often makes the intellectual and creative deprivations of farmworkers more evident not only in plot lines, but also in the narrative forms and devices. Recommended literature that explores farmworkers as (what Emma Pérez would say) "social beings, not only workers" include Ron Arias's *Road to Tamazunchale* (1975), Tomas Rivera's *This Migrant Earth* (1971), and Helena Maria Viramontes's *Under the Feet of Jesus* (1995).

¹⁴⁷ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

¹⁴⁸ Castañeda, "Que Se Pudieran Defender (So You Could Defend Yourselves)': Chicanas, Regional History, and National Discourses." 130. Castañeda goes onto discuss the raced depictions of US history's memory of farmwork later on in her article, positing that "White bodies also were living in the labor camp, remnants of what I would later learn was the dust bowl migration, the "Okies." But by and large, Anglo dust bowl immigrants, immortalized by novelist John Steinbeck and photographer Dorothea Lange, not Mexican American / Mexican farmworkers, got the housing set up by the Farm Labor Administration. With the onset of the Great Depression and arrival of the dust bowl migrants, state and federal officials began deporting or "repatriating" Mexican nationals and, in some cases, Mexican Americans to Mexico" (132-33).

¹⁴⁹ Suzanne Schraith. "Ricardo Favela: Oral History Narrative" and "Oral History Transcript." California State University, Sacramento. (December 14, 2001).

¹⁵⁰ Schraith.

¹⁵¹ "RCAF Goes to College." Dir. Sam Quiñones and Anthony Flores. Sacramento: CSUS Library, March 01, 2007.

¹⁵² Stan Padilla, Interview. (July 12, 2004).

¹⁵³ Stan Padilla, Interview. (July 12, 2004).

¹⁵⁴ Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out Of The Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. 27.

¹⁵⁵ Stan Padilla, Interview. (July 12, 2004).

¹⁵⁶ Stan Padilla, Interview. (July 12, 2004).

¹⁵⁷ Dr. Sam Rios, Interview. (April 24, 2007).

¹⁵⁸ Juan Carrillo, Interview. (July 13, 2004).

¹⁵⁹ F. Arturo Rosales, 254.

¹⁶⁰ Rosales, 258.

¹⁶¹ Other UC campuses founded important journals, namely founded in 1970 at UCLA's Chicano Studies Center and "initially edited by Juan Gómez-Quiñones" (Rosales, 254).

¹⁶² Juan Carrillo, Interview. (July 13, 2004). Also, for more information on the chronology of events that established UC Berkeley's Ethnic Studies Department, see the webpage: <http://ethnicstudies.berkeley.edu/chronology/>

¹⁶³ "RCAF Goes to College." Dir. Sam Quiñones and Anthony Flores. Sacramento: CSUS Library, March 01, 2007.

¹⁶⁴ "RCAF Goes to College."

¹⁶⁵ "RCAF Goes to College."

¹⁶⁶ F. Arturo Rosales, 200-201. For more information about the Chicano Moratorium, see Rosales's text, *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*, 199—201.

¹⁶⁷ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (July 06, 2004).

¹⁶⁸ Saul Schwartz, "The Relative Earnings of Vietnam and Korean-Era Veterans." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*. 39:4 (July 1986). 565.

¹⁶⁹ F. Arturo Rosales, 175.

¹⁷⁰ F. Arturo Rosales, 175.

¹⁷¹ “History of EOP.” California State University.
<http://www.calstate.edu/sas/eop/various/history.shtml> (Accessed December 18, 2009).

¹⁷² “RCAF Goes to College.” Dir. Sam Quiñones and Anthony Flores. Sacramento: CSUS Library, March 01, 2007.

¹⁷³ I would like to thank Juan Cervantes for elaborating on his work at the CSUS EOP office in the early 1970s in an informal conversation on December 18, 2009.

¹⁷⁴ F. Arturo Rosales, 178. The interview with Carlos Montes was originally conducted by Enrique Berumen, February 06, 1994, NLCC-GP.

¹⁷⁵ Chris A. Kantar, *An Interview With Esteban Villa*. Sacramento: California State University, 1978. 2.

¹⁷⁶ On military service, Villa recalled: “The army was very interesting. I wanted to sign up to jump from airplanes like paratroopers, with the uniforms and all that—very exciting, the paratrooper. [But] I never got that because the army pulled us out of basic training at Fort Ord. This was in 1949. They pulled us out to go on a secret mission with the Atomic Energy Commission and we were all sworn to secrecy to go and be part of the atomic bomb testing in the Pacific in 1950 and ’51. And so that was kind of interesting that we participated in all the atomic bomb testing. I saw two of those giant mushrooms go off and somehow was not contaminated with radiation. Although we had radiation tests all the time. It was pretty secret and pretty dangerous, high-risk work. We were in—I felt more like a sailor in the army because of what we were doing. It was in the water army transportation service—the army transportation department.”

¹⁷⁷ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

¹⁷⁸ I choose to use “Mexican Americans” and not “Chicanos/as” here to respect the different regional uses of terminology.

¹⁷⁹ Sic, Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

¹⁸⁰ Christopher Martínez, “Reclaiming Space: Poetry, Music, and Art of the Royal Chicano Air Force.” *The Berkeley McNair Journal*. Berkeley: (1997). 1. In my own research history, I have been citing Christopher Martínez’s article, “Reclaiming Space: Poetry, Music, and Art of the Royal Chicano Air Force” from an online link to *The Berkeley McNair Journal* (1997). The University of California Academic Achievement Programs. The Berkeley McNair Program. 2515 Channing Way, Berkeley, CA 94720-2410. 510-642-8015.

¹⁸¹ Gilka Romero, “Creativity Unleashed in the Tunnel.” *The Sacramento Bee*. N1 (October 21, 1999).

¹⁸² F. Arturo Rosales explains that the early twentieth-century saw the rise of the Mexican American generation, while the 1960s saw the beginning of Chicano/a self-actualization. As Rosales notes, Chicano/a identity was definitely influenced by its predecessor: “The youth of the Mexican-American era had the most in common with

Chicano Movement activists—the generations overlapped. Certainly some of the leaders, such as ‘Corky’ Gonzales, Luis Valdez and César Chávez, straddled both eras. It is no coincidence that, in spite of the clean-cut, ‘happy days’ image projected by Mexican-American youth, their thinking greatly influenced the more rebellious Chicano era” (98). Although the Mexican American generation influenced their successors, Chicanos/as more accurately defined their ethnic identity during the Chicano Movement. Identifying as Chicano/a, instead of Mexican American, was a political act that Rosales claims negated previous categorizations.

For many Chicano/a scholars, “Mexican American-Hispanic” reflects a critical act of exclusion in US history because the term denies the historical development of Chicano/a identity; quite literally “Mexican American” and “Hispanic” negate the entire Chicano Movement. José Angel Gutierrez, for example, challenges contemporary usage of “Hispanic” in light of Chicano/a history. In *The Making of a Chicano Militant* (1998), Gutierrez argues, “We created more organizations and programs for all Chicanos than any previous generation of activists. Our record as builders of the Chicano community remains unmatched and unchallenged by the present generation of Hispanics. The contribution of the Hispanic generation so far has been to change the name of existing organizations and programs from “Chicano” to “Hispanic” (11-12). Gutierrez confronts the reconfiguration of the Chicano Movement’s advancements in U.S. society by renaming Chicano/a—a self-chosen identity—to an institutionalized category.

Richard Rodriguez explains that the rephrasing of Chicano/a identity was a political agenda in 1973 for the U.S. administration: “In 1973 ... Nixon colonized America. His administration proposed five possibilities on the affirmative action form. There is white, there is black, there is Asian/Pacific Islander, there is American Indian/Alaskan Native, and—last but not least—there is Hispanic. Initially many Mexican Americans resisted the Nixonian label. ... So many felt their story and status diminished by Nixon’s sweeping Hispanic category. Others regarded the English word as too colonial ... The purpose of Nixon’s 5 categories was to flatten differences, rather than to compartmentalize us from each other. ... Those of us who call ourselves ... Hispanic are ... in fact, merely acknowledging our Americanization” (7). Rodriguez illustrates how “Hispanic” developed in conjunction with several other ethnic categorizations after the civil rights era. By phrasing these categories as “possibilities,” however, Rodriguez reveals that he finds “Hispanic” to be an acceptable label. He further exposes his identification with the term when he claims that those who call themselves “Hispanic” are “merely acknowledging our Americanization.”

F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1997. José Angel Gutierrez, *The Making of a Chicano Militant: Lessons From Cristal*. Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1998. Richard Rodriguez, “Brave New Mundo: The Cactus Wall has fallen on Both Sides of the Border.” *Asian Weekly*. 7 (Pacific News Service July 13—July 19, 2000). http://www.asianweek.com/2000_0713/opinion2_voice_brviewmundo.html

¹⁸³ Alicia Gaspar de Alba, *Chicano Art: Inside/Outside The Master's House*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998. 8.

¹⁸⁴ The California College of the Arts was formerly known as the California College of Arts and Crafts when Villa Montoya attended in 1958.

¹⁸⁵ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

¹⁸⁶ <http://www1.va.gov/opa/feature/history/history5.asp> (Accessed on October 19, 2007). Additionally, Saul Schwartz points out the ever decreasing allotments for Vietnam Veterans: “The \$110 per month allowance for Korean-era veterans in 1954 was considerably greater, relative to tuition costs, than the \$220 per month allowance for Vietnam veterans in 1972. (U.S. congress 1974). The original GI Bill provided a monthly subsistence allowance of \$75 plus tuition and expenses. Over time, the monthly allowance has been maintained at roughly 35 percent of average monthly earnings. Tuition payments have been eliminated even though average tuition costs have risen faster than average monthly earnings (U.S. Congress 1974.)” Saul Schwartz, “The Relative Earnings of Vietnam and Korean-Era Veterans.” *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*. 39:4 (July 1986). 569—570.

¹⁸⁷ Sic, Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

¹⁸⁸ Quotation taken from the “Introduction to Chicano Art in California.” Chicano Art Resource Guide. Santa Barbara: California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives at University of California, Santa Barbara. <http://cemaweb.library.ucsb.edu/chicanoArt.html> (Accessed on October 24, 2007).

¹⁸⁹ Eva Cockcroft, et al. 2nd Ed. *Toward A People's Art: The Contemporary Mural Movement*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998. 19-22. Originally published in 1977 by E.P. Dutton and Company, New York.

¹⁹⁰ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

¹⁹¹ Villa stated in his interview that “I went in there in 1955 as a freshman, and '56. And then I dropped out for one year out of college.” Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

¹⁹² Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004), and “Guide to the Jose Montoya Collection 1969—2001: Biographical Sketch.” http://cemaweb.library.ucsb.edu/montoya_bio.html (Accessed on June 29, 2004).

¹⁹³ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

¹⁹⁴ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

¹⁹⁵ The two young artists participated in the 1966 National Farm Workers Association march from Delano to Sacramento, California. During the mid 1960s, both men contributed to farmworkers' unions and eventually the UFW. For more on the NFWA 1966 March, see F. Arturo Rosales's *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*, pages 138-39.

¹⁹⁶ Charles B. Nam, “Impact of the ‘GI Bills’ on the Educational Level of the Male Population.” *Social Forces*. 43:1 (October 1964). 28.

¹⁹⁷ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

¹⁹⁸ Montoya, introduced tortilla art in 1970, at the Mission District in San Francisco's Galería de la Raza. “Using a heated coat hanger,” Montoya “burned images of Cesar

Chavez, the Huelga eagle and his dog Spotty onto tortillas" (*The California Printmaker*, 19). These works were featured in the 1988 Funny Show for the San Francisco Arts Commission; and several are now in the collection of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives [CEMA] at the University of California, Santa Barbara. In 2004, La Raza Bookstore and Galería Posada hosted a collective RCAF exhibit which also displayed Montoya's collection of "napkin art." Along with his fine art, Montoya has spent nearly 40 years exploring and producing a body of work that incorporates unconventional forms of art, which ultimately challenge the standards of low and high cultures.

"Corn in the Service of Revolution: Great Tortilla Conspirators." *The California Printmaker*. 2007. 19.

¹⁹⁹ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

²⁰⁰ Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez, Eds. *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1993. 9.

²⁰¹ Lucy Lippard, *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America*. New York: The New Press, 1990. 12.

²⁰² By "praxis of history," I mean the processes by which a national history is organized and produced. Referring back to Emma Pérez's "Great Events of US History," she writes that "U.S. East Coast-centrism dictates how US History is taught and written, leaving Chicano history outside affected by its own great events." (132) "Euro-American" history and, by association, identity, looks east when remembering its origins. In turn, Chicano/a identity based on a western model of history is also limited to a south-north organizational praxis.

²⁰³ Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals: The People's Art*. Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press. New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1984. 408.

²⁰⁴ Alan W. Barnett, 408.

²⁰⁵ Francis V. O'Connor, "The New Deal Art Projects in New York. *The American Art Journal*. 1:2 (Autumn 1969). 58-79.

²⁰⁶ O'Connor makes a point to mention that the great scope of the WPA-FAP's impact often why "the initials 'WPA' have become erroneously associated with all four New Deal art Programs" (64).

²⁰⁷ O'Connor, 61.

²⁰⁸ In her Prologue to her important study of the removal of Richard Serra's Tilted Arc from New York's Federal Plaza in 1989, Harriet Senie surveys the institutional history that partially led to the late 1960s public art revival and the "encouragement for regional community-based art" (3). For more on the evolution of the WPA, GSA and NEA, see Harriet F. Senie *The Tilted Arc Controversy: Dangerous Precedent*. Minneapolis / London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002. 3-19.

²⁰⁹ The mural was inside the GE Building, formerly the RCA Building.

²¹⁰ For more on Orozco and Siqueiros in the US, see Jose Clemente Orozco's 1962 autobiography, *José Clemente Orozco An Autobiography*. New York: Dover Publications, 2001. The Dover Edition replicates the 1962 original. Also see Laurance P. Hurlburt, *The Mexican Muralists in the United States*. Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

²¹¹ To see this mural, please access the San Francisco Art Institute site at: <http://www.sfai.edu/page.aspx?page=34>

Also, for more on Rivera's murals in the Bay Area, please see Anthony W. Lee *Painting on the Left: Diego Rivera, Radical Politics, and San Francisco's Public Murals*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1999.

²¹² Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez, Eds. *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1993. 9.

²¹³ Shifra M. Goldman, *Dimensions of the Americas: Art and Social Change in Latin America and the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c 1994. 268-269. Goldman's excellent text on Latin American and US Latino/a art history includes several previously published (and updated) essays as well as thorough introductory materials and chapters that provide overviews of the domestic and international events (WWII, the Cuban Revolution, Civil Rights, etc.) that indelibly shaped "cultural exchanges" between the northern and southern countries on the North American continent. Her four periods include, "the Great Depression of the 1930s ... Second, in 1940, Roosevelt's 'Good Neighbor' policy, one year before the United States entered World War II and two years after Mexico had nationalized the U.S. oil companies. Third, during the 1960s renewed U.S. interest in Latin America followed in the wake of the Cuban Revolution and the development of the Alliance for Progress. ... Fourth, during the 1970s," and the Chicano Movement and "the U.S. energy needs and anxious to participate in the Mexican oil boom, used Mexican art as a means to court their southern neighbor under the guise of 'cultural awareness'" (269). Although much more specific to her conjecture, her "four periods" echo the historical framework that Perez identifies (and targets the pitfalls for) in the Great Events of US History and Chicano History's imitation of the four organizational tropes that limit history.

²¹⁴ RCAF artist, Stan Padilla received his BFA from the SFAI in 1969 and MFA in 1971. Patricia Rodriguez, co-founder of the Mujeres Muralistas also received her BFA from the SFAI in 1972.

²¹⁵ I very much appreciate Emory Elliot's 2007 Presidential Address, "Diversity in the United States and Abroad: What Does It Mean When American Studies Is Transnational?" in which he does not argue against postmodern paradigms for identity and transnationalism, but draws attention to the "many people of color [who] lived in fluid transnational cultural borderlands developing political and cultural centers of contact and exchange" throughout the twentieth century. (10) *American Quarterly* 59:1 March 2007. 1-23.

²¹⁶ Emphasis Mine. Irene Pérez, Interview, September 20, 1993. María Ochoa, *Creative Collectives: Chicana painters working in community*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. 41.

²¹⁷ I would like to add that after researching the RCAF for 4 years and living with them in Sacramento for 4 years, I now have taught at the SFAI for 3 years. I have had Patricia Rodriguez as a guest speaker in one of my classes in 2007 and 2009. I also had Juanishi Orosco attend a class on the RCAF and we met with Carlos Villa, who still teaches at the SFAI and was one of Juanishi's CSUS teachers. The Rivera mural continues its web of influence.

²¹⁸ Elliot, 10.

²¹⁹ Gaspar de Alba, 41.

²²⁰ Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez, Eds. *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1993. 9.

²²¹ Sic, Gaspar de Alba, 41.

²²² Lucy Lippard, *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America*. New York: The New Press, 1990. 7

²²³ Villa graduated from the CCA in 1961 and went to work as an art teacher at Linden High School in Linden, California, in 1962. Likewise, Montoya graduated the CCA in 1962 and taught in Wheatland and then Marysville, California.

²²⁴ Esteban Villa clarified his 1960s whereabouts in an informal phone conversation on January 14, 2008.

Endnotes for Chapter Two, Pages 55—92

²²⁵ Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out Of The Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (1998). 105.

²²⁶ The California College of the Arts was formerly known as the California College of Arts and Crafts when Villa Montoya attended in 1958.

²²⁷ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

²²⁸ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

²²⁹ Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez, Eds. *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1993. 27.

²³⁰ Sperling Cockcroft and Barnett-Sanchez, 27. For more on MALA-F and the origins of the RCAF, see Shifra M. Goldman's *Dimensions of the Americas: Art and Social Change in Latin America and the United States* (1994) 168. Or see her original essay, "A Public Voice: 15 Years of Chicano Posters." *Art Journal*. 44:1 (Spring 1984) 50-57.

²³¹ Juan Carrillo, Interview. (July 13, 2004).

²³² Stan Padilla, Interview. (July 12, 2004).

²³³ Alicia Gaspar de Alba, "Chicano Art: Inside / Outside The Master's House. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998. 40.

²³⁴ Historian F. Arturo Rosales explains the importance of *Westminster v. Méndez* in national school desegregations of the twentieth century that set precedent for many legal victories of the civil rights era. He writes that *Westminster* "had a momentous effect on the future efforts to segregate Mexican children. And, in fact, the case set a precedent for NAACP lawyers, arguing *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1964" (105). Specifically, the *Westminster v. Méndez* case involved five Mexican American fathers who challenged school segregation in Los Angeles and Orange County schools. The men claimed that their children, as well as 5,000 Mexican American children were being denied full citizenship rights and forcefully separated in the public school system and districts of Westminster, Garden Grove, Santa Ana and El Modena.

²³⁵ To elaborate on my claim that the US civil rights movement has been raced as a predominantly African American experience in the 1960s, I turn to Mitsuye Yamada's essay on the invisibility of Asian American histories of civil unrest and disobedience during the 1960s and '70s civil rights movement. In her essay, "Invisibility is an Unnatural Disaster: Reflections of an Asian American Woman," taken from the original publication of *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color* (1981), Yamada divulges an experience she had with her students in a university classroom, when she introduced them to *The Big Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Chinese American and Japanese American Literature* (1974).

Yamada claims that "one of my students blurted out that she was offended by its militant tone ... I noticed several of her classmates' eyes nod in tacit agreement. ... To my surprise, they said they were not offended by any of the Black American, Chicano or American Indian writings, but were hard-pressed to explain why when I asked for an explanation. A little further discussion revealed that they 'understood' the anger expressed by the Black and Chicanos and they 'empathized' with the frustrations and sorrow expressed by the American Indian. But the Asian Americans??" (35) Yamada's pointed critique of her students' perception of US civil rights history, particularly the absence of any Asian American experiences such as internment of approximately 120,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans during WWII, reveals the "trajectory" as opposed to the web of historical experience taught in US classrooms. I agree with Yamada's 1980s commentary and I too have experienced it in the twenty-first century. In 2009, I encountered the same rejection of Asian American oppression and exclusion from my university students, while teaching an introduction to women's studies course at the San Francisco Art Institute in fall 2009. Many felt that the "model minority" stereotype was a "good thing" (to quote one white student) for Asian Americans; others felt that late nineteenth and early twentieth century immigration policies as well as popular representations of Asians "weren't that bad" (to quote one African American student). To read Yamada's essay, see *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color*. Eds., Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1981. 35-40.

²³⁶ Vicki L. Ruiz, 105.

²³⁷ "RCAF Goes to College." Dir. Sam Quiñones and Anthony Flores. Sacramento: CSUS Library, March 01, 2007. Echoing Garcia-Nakata, Esteban Villa stated in an interview, "the need for children's art classes and the need for English-speaking classes and the need for breakfast programs—which was patterned after the Black Panthers' breakfast programs—the greatest need was right here. It was meant to be that the people said, 'Hey, we'll accept you guys.'" Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004.)

²³⁸ Juan Carrillo, Interview. (July 13, 2004).

²³⁹ Christopher Martínez, "Reclaiming Space: Poetry, Music, and Art of the Royal Chicano Air Force." *The Berkeley McNair Journal*. Berkeley: (1997). 4.

²⁴⁰ Martínez, 4

²⁴¹ Excerpting from Tomás Ybarra-Frausto's 1991 essay, "The Chicano Movement / Movement of Chicano Art" in a Smithsonian publication, Martínez raises the tropes of Chicano/a consciousness as he writes in his footnotes that "Unfortunately, there were no women artists involved in the MALA-F. But during the Chicano/a Movement, the resistance of Chicanas to the cultural oppression of the majority was matched by their resistance to the intracultural roles though which males dominated many aspects of family life and community. Chicana artists focused on their cultural identity using the female lenses of narrative, domestic space, social critique, and ceremony, which filtered these experiences, contradictory roles, and community structures" (9). I wonder whether or not Martínez would have arrived at the same conclusion that "there were no women in the MALA-F" if he had considered the Bay Area Chicano/a art scene as a whole, researching the interconnections between artists like René Yañez, Malaquias Montoya, and Patricia Rodriguez and Irene Perez. Of course in terms of its official members, no Chicanas were part of the founding. But Chicanas formed many collectives that publicly worked on murals and non-domestic art works. Clearly his concern over excluding Chicana artists from his overview of MALA-F is informed by changes in twentieth-century Chicano/a consciousness and the gains of 1970s to '90s gender equality movements. Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "The Chicano Movement / Movement of Chicano Art." Eds., Ivan Karp and S.D. Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991. 130. (128-150.)

²⁴² Later, Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez's *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals* (1990) focused on the murals of both the community mural movement and Chicano Movement.

²⁴³ Cockcroft, et al. 3.

²⁴⁴ Cockcroft et al, 3.

²⁴⁵ Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino, "Murales del Movimiento: Chicano Murals and the Discourses of Art and Americanization." *Signs Form the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Eds., Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993. 94.

²⁴⁶ Sanchez-Tranquilino, "Murales del Movimiento." 85.

²⁴⁷ Estrada Courts Housing Project is also the home of the 1978 mural, “We Are Not A Minority.” The image of Che Guevara points provocatively at the viewer, simultaneously identifying and recruiting the viewer as an insider.

²⁴⁸ The excerpt of the *Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* to which I refer is: “writers, poets, musicians, and artists produce literature and art that is appealing to our people and relates to our revolutionary culture. Our cultural values of life, family, and home will serve as a powerful weapon to defeat the gringo dollar value system and encourage the process of love and brotherhood.” I have omitted it from the manuscript because I address this portion of the *Plan* at length in the third section on gender.

²⁴⁹ Cockcroft, et al. 27. The authors claim that “Emergence” was created between 1969 and ‘70, while in an interview with Esteban Villa on July 23, 2004, he claimed that the mural was completed between 1968 and ‘69.

²⁵⁰ John Pitman Weber, “Politics and Practice of Community Public Art: Whose Murals Get Saved?” Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute and Getty Conservation Institute Symposium. (May 16-17, 2003). 7.

²⁵¹ Sic, Lucy R. Lippard, *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America*. New York: The New Press, 1990. 170.

²⁵² Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

²⁵³ Sic, Lippard, 170.

²⁵⁴ F. Arturo Rosales writes, “In Los Angeles and other California cities, a strong muralist movement emerged which. ... their original inspiration came from the social art movements of Mexican muralists such as Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco and David Alfaro Siqueiros, who pioneered the rebirth of public art in Latin America” (256).

²⁵⁵ The “link” to Mexican muralism and art history that Chicano/a artists were discovering in the 1960s and ‘70s was partially due to the murals and collaborations that Rivera, Siqueiros, and Orozco created in the US during the 1930s. John Pitman Weber, firsthand participant in the Community Mural Movement writes of the connection between los tres grandes as well as Mexican contemporaries of US artists during the 1960s and ‘70s: “The community mural movement also excited interest abroad, including Mexico, where U.S. muralists received early encouragement from both Siqueiros and Chávez Morado. Arnold Belkin, considered by some as Mexico’s last important muralist participated in the U.S. movement during the early 1970s in New York City. He later invited more than one U.S. muralist to speak at the National School of Painting and Sculpture La Esmeralda. ... Deeply influenced by a variety of contemporary aesthetic movements, the early community muralists also had organic and personal connections to older mural traditions, especially Mexico. ... It was the classical compositional approaches of the Tres Grandes that we studied—the architectonics, not the stylistic mannerisms” (4). John Pitman Weber, “Politics and Practice of Community Public Art: Whose Murals Get Saved?” Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute and Getty Conservation Institute Symposium. (May 16-17, 2003).

²⁵⁶ Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals: The People's Art*. Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press. New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1984. 408.

²⁵⁷ Certainly, Rivera's exaltation of the evolution of Mexican consciousness was informed by José Vasconcelos's *La raza cósmica* (1925) in which Vasconcelos, Secretary of Public Education under President Álvaro Obregón, put forth an analysis of modern Mexican identity that deeply shaped the country's history, literature and nationalism. *La raza cósmica* was also an important text for the Chicano Movement and its declaration of a new culture in the US Southwest that had originated in Mexican ancestry. Under José Vasconcelos's approval, Rivera and Siqueiros were both commissioned to paint the interiors of Mexico's National Symphonic Orchestra in 1920 and 1928.

²⁵⁸ Sic, Diego Rivera, quoted by Raquel Tibol, Ed., *Arte y political Diego Rivera*. Mexico City: Editorial Grijalbo, 1979. 27. Reprinted in *American Art*, Vol. 6, No. 3. (Summer, 1992), p. 102. For more on Rivera, see *My Art, My Life*. Ed., Gladys March. New York: The Citadel Press, 1960; Diego Rivera, *Portrait of America by Diego Rivera, with an explanatory text by Bertram D. Wolfe*. New York: Covici, Friede, c 1934. For more on Orozco, see *José Clemente Orozco: An Autobiography*. Trans. Robert C. Stephenson. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962.

²⁵⁹ Rafael Pérez-Torres, "Chicano Ethnicity, Cultural Hybridity, and the Mestizo Voice." *American Literature*. 70:1 (March 1998). 155.

²⁶⁰ In "Patrolling Borders: Hybrids, Hierarchies and the Challenge of *Mestizaje*," Cristina Beltran argues that "*mestizaje* represents a central trope in Chicano and Latino thought." (396). Beltran goes onto to debunk the romanticized and somewhat idolized treatment of *mestizaje*, a.k.a. hybridity, in post-Anzaldúa usage. For my purposes, I found her pragmatic summation of *mestizaje* as a guiding trope—the fifth in Emma Pérez's categorization—to be a new perspective in the discourse. See *Political Research Quarterly*. 57:4 (December 2004). 596-607.

²⁶¹ Alicia Gaspar de Alba, "Chicano Art: Inside / Outside The Master's House. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998.

²⁶² With the establishment of "Arts in Public Places" programs in urban centers like Chicago and Sacramento during the late 1970s, community murals were not subsidized by government. While Philadelphia's City Council adopted "one of the first Percent for Art Ordinances in the nation" in December of 1959, Chicago's APP ordinance was established in 1978. For more see, http://www.phila.gov/publicart/text_pages/percentforart.html <http://egov.cityofchicago.org/city/webportal/portalEntityHomeAction.do?entityName=Public+Art&entityNameEnumValue=157> (Accessed December 23, 2009).

In 1977, the RCAF was involved in the establishment of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission (SMAC) and the Arts in Public Places (APP) ordinance. For more, see "The Art in Public Buildings Program results from legislation authored by Senator Alan Sieroty and signed into law by Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr., in 1976." Standard letter from William B. Cook, Director of the California Arts Council. Dated October 19, 1982. Cema 8. Box 4 : Folder 4. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

²⁶³ Jane Weissman and Janet Braun-Reinitz, "Community, consensus and the Protest Mural." *Public Art Review*. 17:1 (Fall/Winter 2005). 21.

²⁶⁴ James Montgomery Flagg's 1917 poster was inspired by a British poster that showed Lord Kitchener in the same pose. It was used for recruitment during WWI and WWII in the US.

²⁶⁵ Sic, Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "Arte Chicano: Images of a Community." *Signs Form the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Eds., Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993. 67.

²⁶⁶ Diego Rivera, quoted by Raquel Tibol, Ed., *Arte y political Diego Rivera*. 102.

²⁶⁷ Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals: The People's Art*. Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press. New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1984. 408.

²⁶⁸ Barnett, 408.

²⁶⁹ Eva Cockcroft, et al. 2nd Ed. *Toward A People's Art: The Contemporary Mural Movement*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998. 68.

²⁷⁰ Cockcroft et al, 68-69.

²⁷¹ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

²⁷² The authors mention that Artes Guadalupanos de Aztlán, from Santa Fe, New Mexico, also practiced artistic uniformity to "attain a group expression;" but their primary investment was in the local, and later, regional advancement of the Chicano Movement politics. (Cockcroft et al, 69). Although they recognize that the "submersion of individual styles in an effort to attain a group expression characterizes many mural collectives, it is not universally accepted as necessary," they do not provide examples other than the Mujeres Muralistas. They cite this collective as working like "a musical ensemble. ... individuals in the group work each in her own style on separate sections of the mural" (70).

²⁷³ "RCAF Goes to College." Dir. Sam Quiñones and Anthony Flores. Sacramento: CSUS Library, March 01, 2007.

²⁷⁴ Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out Of The Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (1998). 105.

²⁷⁵ There is no substantial mention of the RCAF other than a side note on Esteban Villa's style being influenced Siqueiros and Orozco, page 255. Moreover, the authors conclude that as they "are discovering each month new centers of vigorous growth in community murals—places like Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Sacramento ... the examples of art style and artist organization provided in this chapter must be viewed as a limited, although representative, selection" (70). With their disclaimer in mind, the RCAF had been in existence and creating community murals since 1969—nearly eight years before the text's publication. Therefore, they could hardly be considered "new." Page numbers reflect the 1998 reissue of the text.

²⁷⁶ The date of the Barrio Arts Program's establishment is listed differently across the available sources. The date offered by the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives online "Guide to the Jose Montoya Collection, 1969-2001," states that Montoya is recognized "for his involvement in the 1974 program called *Art in the Barrio*." Yet in his interview, Montoya recalled that the date of Barrio Arts' "was 1972. And there was a lot of paperwork involved to get them those grades. First of all, we had to pick those kids up in the different areas of Sacramento. We had a lot of vans in those days, so it wasn't anything. And so that got a lot of young people." José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004). CEMA can be accessed at: http://cemaweb.library.ucsb.edu/montoya_toc.html

²⁷⁷ Art students of various backgrounds participated in the Barrio Arts Program. Birgitta McCarthy, for example, commented in 1992 that she "was intrigued with Montoya's theories about reaching young barrio children with folk art because it was something they could easily relate to, something that would stimulate them to draw out of their own identity and experience." Art as an expression of ethnic identity is a universal practice as McCarthy went on to explain that working with young people and studying "Chicano art made her think about her own Nordic culture, and what it had that was worth sharing." Mike Castro, "How Chicano Culture Influenced One Artist." *The Sacramento Bee Scene*. (April 22, 1992). 1,7.

²⁷⁸ Montoya explained, "I came to read poetry and show my work to the Chicano students [at Sacramento State University]. They weren't called MEChA at that time. They were called something else—Mexican American Youth Organization—MAYO or MAYA—something." José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004).

²⁷⁹ José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004).

²⁸⁰ MAEP originally started in 1967 with a planning grant from the US Office of Education. The "survey data" that the monies provided "formulated the basis for the projects that were awarded the following year." Excerpts taken from Eugene Morris, "SSC Foundation Director's Report On Mexican American Project Administered By The Foundation." 1973. 1. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. "Letters to Bond and Chancellor." Box 2 : Folder 59. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University Sacramento.

²⁸¹ Eugene Morris, "SSC Foundation Director's Report On Mexican American Project Administered By The Foundation." 1973. 1. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. "Letters to Bond and Chancellor." Box 2 : Folder 59. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University Sacramento.

²⁸² "General Description." *Mexican American Education Project at Sacramento State College*. Author and date unknown. 1. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. "Letters to Bond and Chancellor." Box 2 : Folder 59. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University Sacramento.

²⁸³ "General Description." *Mexican American Education Project at Sacramento State College*. Author and date unknown. 5. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. "Letters to Bond and Chancellor." Box 2 : Folder 59. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University Sacramento.

²⁸⁴ “General Description.” *Mexican American Education Project at Sacramento State College*. Author and date unknown. 5.

²⁸⁵ Duane Campbell, “A History of the Development of the Department of Bilingual/Multicultural Education at CSU, Sacramento: An Unauthorized Version.” Student Handbook: Multiple Subject Cohort. Sacramento, Ca: Bilingual-Multicultural Education Department, 2005-06. 7.

²⁸⁶ José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004).

²⁸⁷ José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004).

²⁸⁸ Dr. Sam Rios, Interview (April 24, 2007).

²⁸⁹ Dr. Sam Rios explained further on its transition between departments: “It was pretty much a Sac State phenomenon and developed through a proposal for a five year project. ... MAEP was not—the funding was not renewed by the state. It was a federally funded program. But it didn’t really get the support [that it needed] from the other departments. And then the School of Education took it over. Yet it should have been housed in the Education Department to begin with.” Dr. Sam Rios, Interview (April 24, 2007).

²⁹⁰ Dr. Sam Rios, Interview (April 24, 2007). Originators of the MAEP had plans to carry on the program as Duane Campbell adds that “a goal of the program was to develop enough faculty to sustain the program with state funds” (7). Campbell, “A History of the Development of the Department of Bilingual/Multicultural Education at CSU, Sacramento: An Unauthorized Version.” Although quite successful in the long term history of Sacramento education and multiculturalism, the MAEP underwent serious scrutiny and controversy concerning use of funds, teaching styles and enrollment procedures. In his 2004 interview, Montoya stated, “the Mexican American Project was a whole other chapter that needs to be written because Sac State won’t even recognize it. The Mexican American Project—they feel embarrassed of the department and it embarrassed Sac State, but yet we finished. And the reason [Sac State was embarrassed was] because we were doing some crazy shit. We were making demands and inserting physical promises to get what we needed. So they were not too happy, but we finished the program; we got our degrees.” The files in the “Office of the President” (1967-1973) in the Joe Serna Collection at the Special Collections Department at Sacramento State Library provide an excellent range of primary documents regarding the MAEP, its five year run, financial records, memos, legal documents and program reports.

²⁹¹ Juan Carrillo, Interview. (July 13, 2004).

²⁹² Juan Carrillo elaborated on the steps that led to his career at the CAC, demonstrating the ways in which the RCAF created social networks from which the MAEP students benefited: “It’s interesting how I ended up here [California Arts Council, Interim Director in 2004]. As we connected to groups up and down this state in the earliest years—the late ‘60s and early ‘70s—when Chicano groups began to appear, centros began to also appear up and down this state, and we met as artists. Artist groups in different cities would host a gathering and artists would come from various parts of the state and there

would be great meetings. I wish I could recreate for you the excitement, the hope, the energy of all these people who would gather—the debates, the arguments, the fist fights on occasion, even the love affairs. I mean, people were meeting each other and a world was formulating. It was a coming together of people and in that process, I think you can probably imagine—of a people coming together and creating a sense of people-hood. A lot of things are going on there as we interacted. So we began to say that we should formalize ourselves into a statewide organization. And we called ourselves, El Concilio de Arte Popular. And every centro up and down the state had two members on the board of directors, and representing Sacramento was a woman who now works for the Attorney General here in this building. Gloria Amalia Flores was her name [she is now Gloria Amalia Perez] and she worked at the California Arts Council, which was established in 1976. She came in right at the beginning, pretty much hired by Luis Valdez who was on the Council; he was appointed by Governor Jerry Brown. Gloria would be part of the RCAF circle in the sense of her presence when we met here in Sacramento and when we traveled to other places, Gloria would travel to be at those meetings as well. We had an organizational meeting at Santa Barbara that I wasn't able to attend. The idea of having a statewide organization and a board of directors developed there. And true to RCAF custom, they nominated the guy who wasn't there to represent them on the board. So I found out later that I was now on the board, representing the RCAF, our centro and Sacramento. So Gloria and I began to know each other well—this is '76, maybe going into '77. And this is following years of artists groups forming and meeting—all of this happening in maybe the '72, '73, '74 and '75. In 1977, I quit my job at Cosumnes River College. I quit teaching. This agent of social change was having very little impact on making change at that college campus. I was getting really frustrated with how I was treated and what overall impact I was making on the culture of the college. So I turned in my letter of resignation and told Gloria about it. She said, "Well, we have an opening at the Arts Council. We have a position. Would you'd be interested in interviewing for the job?" I'm thinking, "Arts Council? What would I do at the Arts Council? The state? Working for the state?" She said to at least come in and talk to them. So I interviewed and got the job and started work here on January 3rd 1978. So that's how I fell into it—by way of the RCAF, the Concilio de Arte Popular board, getting to know Gloria and then interviewing for a position." Juan Carrillo, Interview. (July 13, 2004).

²⁹³ Juan Carrillo, Interview. (July 13, 2004).

²⁹⁴ Richard Torres, "Minutes from Mexican American Education Project Advisory Committee Meeting." July 15, 1970. Courtesy of the Office of The President Collection. Box 24 : Folder 16. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University Sacramento.

²⁹⁵ Duane Campbell, "A History of the Development of the Department of Bilingual/Multicultural Education at CSU, Sacramento: An Unauthorized Version." Student Handbook: Multiple Subject Cohort. Sacramento, Ca: Bilingual-Multicultural Education Department, 2005-06. 7.

²⁹⁶ José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004). Eduardo Carrillo was not an artist of the RCAF, but deeply connected to the collective and fondly remembered in the majority of the interviews I conducted. Montoya explained his work for Barrio Arts: "Esteban was in charge of teaching silk-screen classes; Eduardo Carrillo taught muralism and taught

Barrio Arts classes for children, high school students and senior citizens.” An active contributor to local and campus community murals, Carrillo also held positions at the University of California, San Diego, before becoming faculty at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in 1972. AT UCSC, Carrillo was instrumental in the founding of UCSC’s Oakes College. He died in July of 1998. Nationally recognized as a key historical Chicano artist, Carrillo’s works have been exhibited in solo and group shows nationwide, including the 1990—’93 CARA Exhibit.

²⁹⁷ The dates of Villa’s professorship are taken from a copy of one of his resumes made available to me by the artist. The date of Montoya’s M.A. Degree and subsequent professorship is taken from the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives online “Guide to the Jose Montoya Collection, 1969-2001,” under “Biographical sketch. It can be accessed at: http://cemaweb.library.ucsb.edu/montoya_toc.html

²⁹⁸ Ricardo Favela, Interview (July 20, 2004).

²⁹⁹ Favela’s first encounter with Montoya is equally as significant to the development of the RCAF. Favela had been in the audience the day Montoya read poetry and displayed artwork. His memories convey a strongly held belief that the meetings were spiritually foreordained: “How I wound up getting with José was a thing called Cinco de Mayo that was happening here on campus—finally. And this was in 1969—’70. The following year. And I went out to the quad with my two Anglo friends, which I had been ‘pal-ing’ around with for all that year. And we went down there to the quad so I could see José’s—I saw his paintings. I said, ‘Wow, these are nice paintings, man.’ And then José was reading poetry and he read these two poems that just blew me away. And I’ll tell you why. He read ‘La Jefita,’ which is ‘The Little Mother,’ y ‘Los Vatos,’ which means ‘The Dudes.’ And when he read those, I was flabbergasted. I said, ‘How does this guy know me? How does he know where I came from? I don’t even know him, but he’s talking about me.’ Because ‘La Jefita’ was certainly my mother and the vatos were certainly the vatos I hung around with. That’s why I left Dinuba—because I was hanging around too much with the guys. And I turned to Jimbo and I was going to tell him something [but] I say, “Nah.” And I turn around over to Jerry and I go, ‘Nooo.’ And I just stood looking and I just said to myself out loud, ‘I’m going to meet this guy. I don’t know where or when, but I’m going to meet this guy.’ And about two weeks later, I had the opportunity.” Interview (July 20, 2004).

³⁰⁰ “Sacramento Concilio, Inc.” Letterhead. n.d. CEMA 8. Box 1 : Folder 24. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

³⁰¹ “Special Board Meeting—October 29, 1974.” Minutes for Sacramento Concilio, Inc. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. “State Hornet.” Box 2 : Folder 54. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University Sacramento.

³⁰² Christopher Martínez, “Reclaiming Space: Poetry, Music, and Art of the Royal Chicano Air Force.” *The Berkeley McNair Journal*. Berkeley: (1997). 4.

³⁰³ First part of quote is taken from Charles Johnson, “Centro Keeps a Low Profile.” *The Sacramento Bee*. Sunday (October 30, 1977). B6. The second excerpt is taken from Shifra M. Goldman, “How, Why, Where, and When It All Happened: Chicano Murals of

California.” *Signs Form the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Eds., Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993. 35.

³⁰⁴ Charles Johnson, “Centro Keeps a Low Profile.” B6.

³⁰⁵ Charles Johnson, “Centro Keeps a Low Profile.” B6.

³⁰⁶ In his 1977 article, Charles Johnson notes that the Centro moved in the early 1970s to a location off of Folsom Boulevard at which time Max Garcia also became its director. In 1975, the Centro “moved to its present headquarters in the Our Lady of Guadalupe School, 730 S St.” Further, at the school location, the Centro shared office space with Breakfast for Los Niños.” Centro Keeps a Low Profile.” *The Sacramento Bee*. Sunday (October 30, 1977). B6.

³⁰⁷ *Pilots of Aztlán: The Flights of the RCAF*. Dir. Steve La Rosa. Sacramento: KVIE, Inc., 1994.

³⁰⁸ “Guide to the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1999.” http://cemaweb.library.ucsb.edu/rcaf_toc.html (Accessed on December 5, 2007).

³⁰⁹ José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004).

³¹⁰ Ricardo Favela, Interview (July 20, 2004).

³¹¹ Ricardo Favela, Interview (July 20, 2004).

³¹² Christopher Martínez, 4.

³¹³ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

³¹⁴ José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004).

³¹⁵ In an interview, Juan Carrillo recalled, “When I first met Joe in 1969, he was there. He was an undergraduate student at [UC] Davis and this Political Science course opened up at Sac State and they hired Joe to teach that course. And so we all—the Fellows—took Joe’s course. Although we were only part of his larger student population, we certainly were a strong element in his class. I think that was Joe’s first year, I might be wrong—1969. It might have been his second, but I think it was his first.” Juan Carrillo, Interview (July 13, 2004).

³¹⁶ “Sacramento Mayor Joe Serna Jr. Dies: First Latino in the job, loyal ally of Cesar Chavez.” Monday, November 8, 1999. <http://sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/1999/11/08/MN62151.DTL> This article originally appeared in *The San Francisco Chronicle* (November 8, 1999). A-3.

³¹⁷ Juan Carrillo, Interview (July 13, 2004).

³¹⁸ Isabel Hernandez-Serna passed on September 19, 2000. Matt Wagar, “Fountain memorial to Joe, Isabel Serna.” *State Hornet* (October 2, 2001.) For more, see:

<http://media.www.statehornet.com/media/storage/paper1146/news/2001/10/02/News/Fountain.Memorial.To.Joe.Isabel.Serna-2419753.shtml> (Accessed on September 23, 2008).

³¹⁹ Raúl Homero Villa, "Art Against Social Death: Symbolic and Material Spaces of Chicano Cultural Re-creation." *Barrio Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. 85.

³²⁰ Juan Carrillo, Interview. (July 13, 2004).

³²¹ Juan Carrillo, Interview. (July 13, 2004).

³²² "Concilio de Arte Popular (State Coalition of La Raza Artists). Cema 8. Box 27 : Folder 12. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

³²³ "Una Junta: State Coalition de Artistas Chicanos." February 8, 1975. Draft Agenda Author unknown. CEMA 8. Box 27 : Folder 12. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

³²⁴ Juan Carrillo, Interview. (July 13, 2004).

³²⁵ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000). Also in the Introduction to "Flying under the Radar with the Royal Chicano Air Force," I quote Orosco's remarks on the Chicano/a artist network in which the RCAF participates.

³²⁶ Philip Santos, "Introduction." *La Raza's Quinceañero*. Sacramento, Ca: Tom's Printing, Inc. & La Raza Galería Posada, 1988. 1.

³²⁷ José Montoya, "La Raza Bookstore—The Early Years." Handout. Date Unknown. Sacramento: La Raza Bookstore & Galería Posada, 2004. Courtesy of the author.

³²⁸ Philip Santos, Letter to Tim Quintero. Dated, September 13, 1977. CEMA 8. Box 22 : Folder 17. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

³²⁹ Letter to CSUS Faculty by Tere Romo and Francisca Godinez. Date unknown, but letter lists "books for the academic year of 1976-1977.". Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. "La Raza Bookstore." Box 2 : Folder 23. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University Sacramento.

³³⁰ Victoria Dalkey, "Call to *La Causa*." *The Sacramento Bee*. Scene. (April 01, 1992). 5.

³³¹ Dalkey, 5.

³³² Cesar Chávez's letter is dated October 20, 1989 and is an insert within a brochure for the "In Search of Mr. Con Safos: RCAF Poster Art Exhibit," which was hosted in October

1989 at the Lankford & Cook Gallery in Rancho Cordova, California. As was typical of RCAF exhibits, monies received as donations or for poster sales went to the Barrio Arts Program and “the Art Student Supply and Materials Fund,” indicated in a press release from 1989.

³³³ *Pilots of Aztlán: The Flights of the RCAF*. Dir. Steve La Rosa. Sacramento: KVIE, Inc., 1994

³³⁴ In her 1984 article, “A Public Voice: 15 Years of Chicano Posters” and, later, in her book, *Dimensions of the Americas* (1994), Shifra M. Goldman deems Chicano/a poster art a “movement” because it was more than “a collection of individuals making posters.” The Chicano/a poster movement included “iconography, content and social function” that comprise any art movement (50). See Goldman, “A Public Voice: 15 Years of Chicano Posters.” *Art Journal*. 44:1 (Spring 1984) 50-57.

³³⁵ Max Benavidez, “Chávez Legacy: He Nurtured The Seeds of Art.” Susan Ferris and Ricardo Sandoval, *The Fight in the Fields César Chávez and the Farmworkers’ Struggle*. Diana Hembree, Ed. New York: Harcourt, c 1997.

³³⁶ José Montoya, “The Anatomy of an RCAF Poster.” *Just Another Poster?: Chicano Graphic Arts in California*. Ed., Chon Noriega. Santa Barbara, CA: University Art Museum, 2001. 32.

³³⁷ Marla C. Burns, Acknowledgments. *¿Just Another Poster?: Chicano Graphic Arts in California*. Ed., Chon Noriega. Santa Barbara, CA: University Art Museum, 2001. 8.

³³⁸ Press Release for “In Search of Mr. Con Safos: RCAF Retrospective Poster Art Exhibition.” October 1989. Lankford & Cook Gallery in Rancho Cordova, California. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission Archives, July 2004.

³³⁹ Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission Archives, July 2004.

³⁴⁰ Pedro Arroyo, “The Political and Cultural Dimensions of Chicano Art as Studied in the Work of the Royal Chicano Air Force.” Master’s Thesis. California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo. 1997, 14. Copy courtesy of Stephanie Sauer, November 19, 2009.

³⁴¹ Sic. Arroyo, 14. He cites Richard Griswold del Castillo, Teresa McKenna and Yvonne Yarbo-Bejarano, *Chicano Art Resistance and Affirmation, 1965-1985*. Los Angeles: Wight Art Gallery, University of California Press, 1990. 290. Also, as I mention in Chapter Six, Pete Hernandez was instrumental in founding La Raza Bookstore, along with Philip Santos and Tere Romo. He served as Chair of MEChA at CSUS and was active in the local Chicano Movement.

³⁴² Sic, Luis Valdez, “Twelve O’Clock High On A Wing And Acrylic.” RCAF Handout. Ed., Max Garcia. 1989.

³⁴³ *Pilots of Aztlán: The Flights of the RCAF*. Dir. Steve La Rosa. Sacramento: KVIE, Inc., 1994.

³⁴⁴ *Pilots of Aztlán: The Flights of the RCAF.*

³⁴⁵ As I elaborate on in Chapter Three, the UFW's support of all farmworkers "legal or illegal" changed significantly in the 1980s. For more, see: Mike Davis, *No One Is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the U.S.-Mexico Border*. Eds. Justin Akers Chacón and Mike Davis. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2006. 181-182.

³⁴⁶ In Gaspar de Alba's endnotes, she defines Chicano/a *rasquache* as an "artistic recycling of material culture with a vernacular Chicanesque (Chicano + baroque) flair." (243)

³⁴⁷ Gaspar de Alba, 10.

³⁴⁸ Gaspar de Alba, 11.

³⁴⁹ I am borrowing from Louis Althusser's 1970 "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in which he used the concept of "interpellation" to articulate the process of producing subjects of particular state ideologies.

³⁵⁰ Gaspar de Alba, 11.

³⁵¹ Gaspar de Alba, 11.

³⁵² Raúl Homero Villa, "Art Against Social Death: Symbolic and Material Spaces of Chicano Cultural Re-creation." *Barrio Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. 98.

³⁵³ Homero Villa, 198.

³⁵⁴ Gaspar de Alba, 10.

³⁵⁵ Ricardo Favela, Interview (July 20, 2004).

³⁵⁶ José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004).

³⁵⁷ By "populist values," I mean to suggest the RCAF's emphasis and promotion of ordinary people, their experiences and their historical memories.

³⁵⁸ Juanishi Orosco. Resume. Date unknown. Orosco's resume lists his membership in the RCAF as "1971 – Present." Courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Art Commission. Arts in Public Places files. Accessed June 2004.

³⁵⁹ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (July 06, 2004).

³⁶⁰ Dates of all listed murals are taken from slide notes from the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. Images of Armando Cid's aforementioned murals, are available on Calisphere: <http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/>

Images of Juanishi Orosco's aforementioned murals are available on UCSB CEMA Website: <http://cemaweb.library.ucsb.edu/murals01.html>.

³⁶¹ See "Washington Square Mural." Community Housing Opportunities (CHOC) announcement available through California Arts Council news site, "What's New: Armando Cid, visual artist 1943-2009." Published July 16, 2009. <http://www.cac.ca.gov/enews/files/armando-Washington-PK-mural.pdf> (Accessed November 03, 2009).

³⁶² Information on Cid's Ollin murals taken from comments on slide, "Ollin (detail)." Armando Cid, 1976-77. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb8779p43r/>

³⁶³ "Ollin (detail)." Armando Cid, 1976-77. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb8779p43r/>

³⁶⁴ See "Washington Square Mural." Community Housing Opportunities (CHOC) announcement available through California Arts Council news site, "What's New: Armando Cid, visual artist 1943-2009." Published July 16, 2009. <http://www.cac.ca.gov/enews/files/armando-Washington-PK-mural.pdf> (Accessed November 03, 2009).

³⁶⁵ Sic, Raúl Homero Villa, 189.

³⁶⁶ "Washington Square Mural." Community Housing Opportunities (CHOC) announcement available through California Arts Council news site, "What's New: Armando Cid, visual artist 1943-2009."

³⁶⁷ Sic. "Washington Square Mural." Community Housing Opportunities (CHOC) announcement available through California Arts Council news site, "What's New: Armando Cid, visual artist 1943-2009."

³⁶⁸ Josie Talamantez, Email Correspondence. November 3, 2009.

³⁶⁹ Sic. Josie Talamantez, Email Correspondence. November 3, 2009.

³⁷⁰ Homero Villa, 192-93.

³⁷¹ *Alkali Flat Review*. 2:4 (June/July 1975). 4. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 22, Folder 16. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

³⁷² The redevelopment of downtown Sacramento will be discussed in great detail in chapters 4 and 6, but it comprises several plans and two major phases. The first significant Sacramento redevelopment plan focused on the "west end" or the waterfront

area, now known as “Old Town Sacramento.” The second major Redevelopment Plan took place in 1972, with the Alkali Flat Redevelopment Plan, 1973 – 1990 (SHRA, 1991: 3-5). The working class and predominantly male ethnic groups that resided around the west end were relocated in the 1950s and ‘60s. Many left the area altogether. Numerous Chicano/a residents moved to the Alkali neighborhood, formerly a wealthier neighborhood of the city just outside the main commerce area on J and K Streets. A Chicano/a community emerged and solidified in the late 1960s and ‘70s in the Alkali Flat. They once again faced encroachment on their homes and community spaces with the 1970s Redevelopment Plan. Community organizers like Tim Quintero, former executive director for the Alkali Flat Project Area Committee, and numerous other community activists assisted the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency in creating lower income residences and public spaces in the redeveloped portions of the Alkali. The plan included the “Washington Square apartments (Section 8) – 143 units (8th, 9th, & 10th Sts. b/t D & E, 1973-74); Multi-Family Housing Scattered Sites (Section 8) –12 units (F, D & 13th 1981); and mini-park development (Zapata Park, J. Neely Johnson, 1976 & 1981).” (SHRA, 1991: 3-5).

³⁷³ Slide, “Fiestas de Maiz First Annual Celebration of Chicano Cultural Ceremonies.” Cultural Affairs Committee ca. 1976. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb3779p1q2/?layout=metadata&brand=calisphere>

Also see Deb Marois, “An Economic History of Alkali Flat.” Unpublished paper for Community and Regional Development 241. March 2003. University of California Davis. Marois’s paper is available on the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency website: <http://www.shra.org/Content/CommunityDevelopment/AlkaliFlat/AFReports/EconHist.pdf>.

³⁷⁴ John Pitman Weber, “Politics and Practice of Community Public Art: Whose Murals Get Saved?” Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute and Getty Conservation Institute Symposium. (May 16-17, 2003). 8.

³⁷⁵ Homero Villa likens Southside Park to a “People’s Park” on 191. Christopher Martínez also notes that “the sequence of events” at Southside Park is “representative of a pattern of similar community spatial actions” (5). I am unsure whether Christopher Martínez or Raul Homero Villa is the author of this quote on Southside Park from their respective article and text because neither identifies each other as a source. In my own research history, I have been citing Christopher Martínez’s article, “Reclaiming Space: Poetry, Music, and Art of the Royal Chicano Air Force” Christopher Martínez, “Reclaiming Space: Poetry, Music, and Art of the Royal Chicano Air Force” from an online link to *The Berkeley McNair Journal* (1997). <http://www.ac-nancy-metz.fr/enseign/anglais/TPE/Artistes%20engages/Chicano.htm> Also, Raúl Homero Villa’s chapter, “Art Against Social Death,” specifically pages 185—193.

³⁷⁶ The Stage has a memorial plaque for Robert Emmet Calahan Memorial dated May 6, 1934.

³⁷⁷ “Southside Park Mural.” Author and date unknown. The one page document was loose in the folder but appears to be an attachment to a grant proposal or a planning document for official review. CEMA 8. Box 7 : Folder 20. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. The Southside Park muralists included six of the RCAF artists—José Montoya, Juanishi Orosco, Stan Padilla, Esteban Villa, Juan Cervantes and Lorraine Garcia (Nakata.) Dr. Sam Rios is also listed as an artist on this project description.

³⁷⁸ Sic, Alan Barnett, 276. To the left of Villa’s panel, Juanishi Orosco created images of ojos del dios with Hopi influences, while Stan Padilla’s right side panel blends indigenous imagery with a central monarch butterfly—perhaps the prototype for the “Metamorphosis” mural that would be planned later that year and fully installed on the Macy’s parking garage by 1980.

³⁷⁹ Barnett, 276. Also, along with Rudy Cuellar, several of Villa’s sons and one of Montoya’s assisted on the project according to the “Southside Park Mural” document. Interestingly, Clara Cid, Frances Gonzalez, Juana Polendo (Ontiveros) and Jennie Baca are listed on an original project description under “Food Coordination.” That these “women’s work” is noted suggests more than a record of the group’s projected overhead for their mural’s creation. Rather, it represents accountability for all who participated—who labored—conveying that all contributions were critical to the RCAF’s social aesthetic.

³⁸⁰ Homero Villa, 189 and Christopher Martínez, 5.

³⁸¹ Emphasis Mine. Furthermore, the 2001 renovations to the Southside Park Mural were sponsored by the City of Sacramento’s Neighborhoods Department, the Parks and Recreation Department, and funded by the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency. “Renovation to Southside Park Mural.” Memo to Robert Thomas, Director of Parks & Community Services, from Solon Wisham, Jr. July 27, 1990. And “South Side Park Mural Soon to Return to its Glory.” Sic. Press Release. September 24, 2001. Courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Art Commission. Arts in Public Places files. Accessed June 2004.

³⁸² Homero Villa, 189.

³⁸³ Homero Villa, 189.

³⁸⁴ Homero Villa, 189 and Martínez, 5.

³⁸⁵ Homero Villa, 186.

³⁸⁶ Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

³⁸⁷ Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

³⁸⁸ In a telephone conversation on September 13, 2009, with Enrique Ortiz, he asked that I not refer to him as Henry, but use Enrique as his first name.

³⁸⁹ Robert Sommer, "On and Off the Wall: Mural art makes a wall something more than the side of a building." *Sacramento. City Arts* (January 1982) 57-58." CEMA 8. Box 28 : Folder 20. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

³⁹⁰ Barnett, 433.

³⁹¹ Barnett explains that "The order had come from the Chancellor of the State University System, Glenn Dumke, they were told, as the result of an 'offensive' mural done by Black students at Long Beach. Executive Order 113 required the removing of murals on all state campuses and established a moratorium on all wall art"(433). Interestingly, murals at San Jose State and San Francisco State were not removed.

³⁹² Jim Austin, "Mural does a vanishing act." *The State Hornet*. 27:28 (November 6, 1974.) Courtesy of Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission Archives.

³⁹³ Jim Austin, "Mural does a vanishing act."

³⁹⁴ Rafael Pérez-Torres, "Chicano Ethnicity, Cultural Hybridity, and the Mestizo Voice." *American Literature*. 70:1 (March 1998). 155.

Endnotes for Chapter Three, Pages 93—143

³⁹⁵ María Ochoa, *Creative Collectives: Chicana painters working in community*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. 70.

³⁹⁶ The full quote by Goldman follows: "The RCAF grew out of the Mexican American Liberation Art Front (MALA-F), a group established in 1969 by Montoya's brother Malaquias, René Yañez ... Esteban Villa, and Manuel Hernandez Trujillo. The four remained as a group only for that year, but during that year held widespread discussions among Chicano artists seeking definitions and a philosophy of Chicano art" (Sic, 52). Goldman's year is different than other accepted dates of the MALA-F's founding. Esteban Villa, for example, stated in an interview on January 07, 2004, that "Before the RCAF—the idea to organize and call ourselves, MALA-F—the Mexican American Liberation Art Front. Mala 'F'. And that was around '59." Other sources claim it started in 1965, when Montoya and Villa returned to the Bay Area on professional development scholarships. Still others claim that MALA-F was conceived in 1968 or 1969. For more see, "A Public Voice: 15 Years of Chicano Posters." *Art Journal*. 44:1 (Spring 1984). 50-57.

³⁹⁷ Christopher Martínez, 3. "Reclaiming Space: Poetry, Music, and Art of the Royal Chicano Air Force" from an online link to the essay: <http://www.ac-nancy-metz.fr/enseign/anglais/TPE/Artistes%20engages/Chicano.htm> The University of California Academic Achievement Programs. The Berkeley McNair Program. 2515 Channing Way, Berkeley, CA 94720-2410. 510-642-8015.

³⁹⁸ Tomás Ybarra-Frausto's 1991 essay, "The Chicano Movement / Movement of Chicano Art." Eds., Ivan Karp and S.D. Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and*

Politics of Museum Display. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991. 128-150. Also, as qtd in Martínez, 3.

³⁹⁹ Aside from Shifra M. Goldman's 1984 article, "A Public Voice: 15 Years of Chicano Posters" in which she mentions the RCAF's poster production and Alan W. Barnett's brief overview of their early murals in a chapter from his 1984 text, *Community Murals: The People's Art*, Martínez's 1997 analysis is the first publication that focused exclusively on the RCAF. Goldman does not mention gender issues in her brief overview of the RCAF; instead, she is primarily concerned with documenting the "Poster Collectives" that emerged across the Chicano/a diaspora during the Chicano Movement. She does mention Linda Lucero, paying particular attention to her artistic point of view as a member of San Francisco's La Raza Graphic Center (51). Meanwhile, Alan W., Barnett attempts to tackle the topic in his examination of the group; as I explore further on in this chapter, Barnett's rendering of RCAF gender relations is problematic because he does not explore the larger restrictive gender roles or patriarchal impressions of gender that ran across the entire Chicano/a diaspora—not just the RCAF. Lastly, Alicia Gaspar de Alba also comments on the RCAF as an all-male organization in her 1998 text *Chicano Art: Inside / Outside The Master's House*. Gaspar de Alba examines the making of the CARA Exhibition. In critiquing the group installations of the exhibit, for example, Gaspar de Alba, questions why no Chicana arts collective was featured. Instead, "the CARA organizers chose to highlight only ASCO, the Royal Chicano Air Force, and Los Four" (120-21). Adding that Las Mujeres Muralistas could have been included in the "grupo" exhibits, Gaspar de Alba's framing of the aforementioned groups suggests that the RCAF is / was a men's group. Gaspar de Alba's perspective of the RCAF reflects a common assumption about the RCAF outside their immediate Sacramento community.

⁴⁰⁰ Martínez, 9.

⁴⁰¹ Stephanie Sauer. Email Correspondence. November 08, 2008. I would like to thank Stephanie for reading my chapter draft and helping me rephrase my argument so clearly and directly.

⁴⁰² Emphases Mine. Martínez, 3. Through the creative ideals of MALA-F in the Bay Area, Esteban Villa, José Montoya and future RCAF members developed their own artistic values in Sacramento. Martínez explains, "Artists within the RCAF functioned as visual educators with the important task of redefining and transmitting through artistic expression the ideology of a community striving for self-determination and community empowerment" (3). In my own research history, I have been citing Christopher Martínez's article, "Reclaiming Space: Poetry, Music, and Art of the Royal Chicano Air Force."

⁴⁰³ Ochoa, 17.

⁴⁰⁴ Gaspar de Alba, 156.

⁴⁰⁵ In the *Decolonial Imaginary* (1999), Emma Pérez identifies and critiques four categories based on space (region) and time (epoch) for Chicano/a history. Each category or framework initiates or results in a particular valuing of Chicano/a history. In the first category, "Ideological/Intellectual," or "Chicanos are heroes/Intellectuals," Pérez

claims that 1960s and '70s literature and scholarship published by the Chicano intellectual class opposed the absence of Chicanos/as from US frontier history, evidenced by Walter Prescott Webb's *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* (1935). In the condemnation of "historical injustices," Pérez writes that early Chicano scholars constructed heroes, first as the border heroes and then as heroes of the Chicano Movement. With respect to early Tejana leaders like Emma Tenayuca and, later, Dolores Huerta, an emphasis on male icons like César Chávez, Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales and, to a lesser extent, Reies López-Tijerina exists in this heroic organization of Chicano/a history. Constructing an identifiable history through identifiable heroes was also a part of the Chicano/a art movement. Art historian Guisela Latorre adds to Pérez's categorical analysis when she addresses San Diego's Chicano Park and the choice of imagery. "In addition to the discourse about space and cultural citizenship that the murals expounded," Latorre writes, "another purpose of the iconographic project in Chicano Park was to provide the community with a pantheon of heroes with whom the Logan community could identify. ... these heroes, of course, would be protagonists of a revised version of U.S. history that included the participation of Mexican and Chicana/o figures" (163). Guisela Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.

⁴⁰⁶ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

⁴⁰⁷ "El Espiritual Plan de Aztlán."

<http://studentorgs.utexas.edu/MEChA/archive/plan.html>. (December 5, 2007).

⁴⁰⁸ Martínez, 2; Sic, Alicia Arrizón, "Mythical Performativity: Relocating Aztlán in Chicana Feminist Cultural Productions. *Theatre Journal*. 52:1 (March 2000). 45. Locating El Plan on the map of 1960s and '70s civil rights rhetoric, Arrizón is quick to add that "this sociopolitical ordering is not limited to Chicanas and Chicanos; it is characteristic of the overall social system that affects both men and women, Chicanos and non-Chicanos, equally" (45).

⁴⁰⁹ Gaspar de Alba, 125.

⁴¹⁰ Emma Pérez, 8.

⁴¹¹ Sic. Barnett, 164-65. Rosalinda Bolascios is Rosa Linda Palacios. Also, in an informal conversation, Juanishi Orosco added that Irma Barbosa was also a major contributor to "Mujer Cósmica and Female Inteligentsia (The Woman Hold Up the Universe)" in San Diego.

⁴¹² "Mujer Cósmica and Female Inteligentsia (The Woman Hold Up the Universe)." Esteban Villa, and left Mujeres Muralistas. 1985. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. Donald Davidson Library. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb9m3nb8pq/?query=RCAF&brand=calisphere>

⁴¹³ Barnett, 165.

⁴¹⁴ “Progressive Work of Chicano Park Murals.” October 1975. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. Donald Davidson Library. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb6290104h/?docId=hb6290104h&query=RCAF&brand=calisphere&layout=printable-details>

[The slide notes list the following as RCAF artists who participated in painting murals at Chicano Park: “Montoya, José, Organizer, Villa, Esteban, Organizer, Rodriguez, Celia, Organizer, Lerma-Barbosa, Irma C, Organizer, Palacios, Rosa Linda, Organizer, Orosco, Juanishi, Organizer, Favela, Ricardo, Collaborator, González, Louie "The Foot", Collaborator, Cuellar, Rodolfo "Rudy", Collaborator, Barajas, Sal, Collaborator.]

Also see “Progressive Work of Chicano Park Murals.” October 1975. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. Donald Davidson Library. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/sz/hb2p3007sz/files/hb2p3007sz-FID4.jpg>

Also see “Royal Chicano Air Force.” Cavada, Manuel, Photographer. August 1975. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. Donald Davidson Library. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb767nb6q1/?query=celia%20rodriguez&brand=calisp>
[here](#)

⁴¹⁵ Emphasis Mine. Alan W. Barnett, 276.

⁴¹⁶ Barnett, 276.

⁴¹⁷ Martínez, 5. Homero Villa also acknowledges the early use of the park by the Centro and the RCAF: “In an effort to wrest the park from increasing dereliction, the RCAF and Centro de Artistas Chicanos had begun to use the park as a designated site for community wide activities in the early 1970s” (188). Once again, I am unsure of the original author of much of Martínez and Homero Villa’s prose on the RCAF and Southside Park.

⁴¹⁸ “Sacramento Walk for Development Project Proposal.” No date given. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 39. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁴¹⁹ “Breakfast for Niños Progress Report.” January 15, 1972. Senon M. Valadez and Rosemary Rasul. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 39. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁴²⁰ Ricardo Favela, Interview. (July 20, 2004).

⁴²¹ “The RCAF holds a very distinct and significant place in Chicano art history, due in large part to its murals.” Martínez, 5.

⁴²² Martínez, 5.

⁴²³ Simona Hernandez, like Celia Rodríguez, studied with Esteban Villa. Hernandez explained in an email: “ I took approximately 8 college classes from Esteban Villa, and approximately 3 from Jose Montoya. I attended college at the time that the RCAF started, but didn't have time to do much with them because I had children at home. However, I participated in some of the art exhibits that they promoted in the early 70s...and in later years.” Simona Hernandez. Email Correspondence. November 13, 2009.

⁴²⁴ “Royal Chicano Air Force Band.” Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb6t1nb7cz/?query=Southside%20Park&brand=calispere>

⁴²⁵ In two Board of Directors documents, both of which have no date, Rosemary Rasul appears as a Director “at large.” In the next document, she is joined by “Juana Polendo” and Jennie Baca, amongst other additions of men. See “Centro de Artistas Chicanos List of Board of Directors.” Cema 8. Box 1 : Folder 24. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴²⁶ “Breakfast for Ninos List of Board of Directors.” Sic, n.d. Along with Lupe Portillo, who is listed as the Vice Chairman, Rosemary Rasul is listed as Sec. Treasurer. Tere Romo and Melinda Santana are listed as board members. Cema 8. Box 1 : Folder 24. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴²⁷ Among the multiple documents that list the Teresa Romo, Gina Montoya, Melinda Santana (Rasul) and Francisca Godinez as serving in various positions for the Centro de Artistas Chicanos, the Cultural Affairs Committee, Breakfast for niños and the RCAF, the online availability of archived images at CEMA also provides numerous names and dates of participation.

⁴²⁸ Martínez, 5. Sic, Homero Villa, 189.

⁴²⁹ Sic. Homero Villa, 18.

⁴³⁰ Sic, 188-89. The emphasis is Homero Villa's and the citation he provides is 1976:7.

⁴³¹ “Renovation to Southside Park Mural.” Memo to Robert Thomas, Director of Parks & Community Services, from Solon Wisham, Jr. July 27, 1990. And “South Side Park Mural Soon to Return to its Glory.” Sic. Press Release. September 24, 2001. Courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Art Commission. Arts in Public Places files. Accessed June 2004.

⁴³² Emphasis Mine. Homero Villa, 189.

⁴³³ The people's park framework to which I refer and Homero Villa uses in his 2000 textual analysis was first addressed by Christopher Martínez in "Reclaiming Space: Poetry, Music, and Art of the Royal Chicano Air Force." *The Berkeley McNair Journal*. Vol. 5 (Winter 1997). 229—241.

⁴³⁴ Originally published in *Grito del Sol* in 1978, Montoya categorized the poem under "1975" in his anthology, *In Formation: 20 Years of Joda*. Chusma House Publications: Sacramento, 1992. 115-17.

⁴³⁵ Homero Villa, 193.

⁴³⁶ Montoya, 115.

⁴³⁷ McKinley Park, which is east of the Alkali Flat is considered a wealthier suburb of downtown Sacramento. It is the site of a Chicano "reconquest." Sic. Homero Villa, 193.

⁴³⁸ Montoya, 115.

⁴³⁹ Montoya, 115.

⁴⁴⁰ Homero Villa, 195.

⁴⁴¹ Montoya, 116.

⁴⁴² Montoya, 116.

⁴⁴³ Alicia Gaspar de Alba writes that "The RCAF was committed to integrating artistic production and political action within the Chicano community. Famous for popularizing two slogans in their art, *la locura lo cura* and *aquí estamos y no nos vamos*, the RCAF encouraged Chicano artists to express their working-class sensibilities and indigenous claims to Aztlán" (Sic, 147).

⁴⁴⁴ Homero Villa, 196.

⁴⁴⁵ Montoya, 116. Although I choose not to translate Spanish into English, Montoya's poem is mostly written in Caló, a difficult dialect / vernacular for either language. The line "Que pulmones del indio, verdad?" loosely translates to, "What lungs this guy's got, right?"

⁴⁴⁶ "Announcement Poster for 'Save Joey, Leukemia Victim.'" Ricardo Favela. 1974. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. Donald Davidson Library. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb6x0nb77j/?query=joey&brand=calisphere>

⁴⁴⁷ Homero Villa, 197.

⁴⁴⁸ "Philosophy and Goals of the Centro." Centro de Artistas Chicanos. No date or author provided. Appears to be an organizational document, providing mission statement, organizational history and brief descriptions of its various programs. Cema 8. Box 1 :

Folder 9. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

In addition to the centro de Artistas Chicanos and LRGP, the RCAF operated an auto repair shop, Aeronaves de Aztlán and different graphic design / silkscreening shops throughout the 1970s and '80s. The “garage” and the design centers are also listed under “important projects of the Centro” in the document.

⁴⁴⁹ “Philosophy and Goals of the Centro.” Centro de Artistas Chicanos. nd.

⁴⁵⁰ Dr. Sam Rios, Interview (April 24, 2007).

⁴⁵¹ “Sacramento Walk for Development Project Proposal.” No date given. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 39. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁴⁵² José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

⁴⁵³ Alicia Arrizón, 45.

⁴⁵⁴ Alicia Arrizón, 45. Arrizón is quick to add that “this sociopolitical ordering is not limited to Chicanas and Chicanos; it is characteristic of the overall social system that affects both men and women, Chicanos and non-Chicanos, equally”(45).

⁴⁵⁵ Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, “Arte Chicano: Images of a Community.” *Signs Form the Heart. California Chicano Murals*. Eds., Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993. 56.

⁴⁵⁶ “RCAF Goes to College.” Dir. Sam Quiñones and Anthony Flores. Sacramento: CSUS Library, March 01, 2007.

⁴⁵⁷ Ochoa, 5.

⁴⁵⁸ R.C.A.F. Centro Dos.” Evening / Art Auction. Program. August 3rd, 2007. Personal Copy.

⁴⁵⁹ Martínez, 5. Sic, Homero Villa, 189.

⁴⁶⁰ “Southside Park Mural.” Author and date unknown. The one page document was loose in the folder but appears to be an attachment to a grant proposal or a planning document for official review. CEMA 8. Box 7 : Folder 20. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴⁶¹ Sic. “Southside Park Mural.” Author and date unknown. CEMA 8. Box 7 : Folder 20. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴⁶² Antonia I. Castañeda, 134-35.

⁴⁶³ Castañeda, 119.

⁴⁶⁴ Emma Pérez's fourth and final framework for Chicano/a history is "Gendered History," which initiates the idea that "Chicanos are also women, Chicanas" (Sic, 22).

⁴⁶⁵ "Royal Chicano Air Force Band." Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb6t1nb7cz/?query=Southside%20Park&brand=calisp> [here](#)

⁴⁶⁶ "Fiesta de Maíz, First Annual Celebration of Chicano Cultural Ceremonies." ca 1976. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb3779p1q2/?brand=calisphere>. Gloria Rangel passed away in January 2006. Her sister Irma lives in Los Angeles.

⁴⁶⁷ Sic. "Cultural Affairs Research Committee: Minutes of Meeting March 23, 1976." Gina Montoya. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 8, Folder 7. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴⁶⁸ Sic. "Cultural Affairs Research Committee: Minutes of Meeting March 23, 1976." Gina Montoya. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 8, Folder 7. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴⁶⁹ Shifra M. Goldman, "A Public Voice: Fifteen Years of Chicano Posters." *Art Journal*. 44:1 (Spring 1984). 50. The Fiesta de Maiz, with the cultural workshops and instruction in indigenous customs illuminates Shifra M. Goldman's point about the nature of Chicano Movement's "the cultural nationalist philosophy," which insisted on "the importance and glory of the brown-skinned and an emphasis on humanistic and nonmaterialistic culture and education."

⁴⁷⁰ Sic. Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "Arte Chicano: Images of a Community." *Signs Form the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Eds., Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. 64.

⁴⁷¹ Shifra M. Goldman, "A Public Voice: 15 Years of Chicano Posters." *Art Journal*. 44:1 (Spring 1984) 50-57.

⁴⁷² Sic. Alan W. Barnett, 164.

⁴⁷³ "Revised Program and Budget for Centro de Artistas." December 10, 1979. The budget was submitted to Mr. Dick Wolgamott, Office of County Executive. Signed by Francisco Godinez, Director for Centro de Artistas. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 2, Folder 11. Courtesy of the California

Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴⁷⁴ “Revised Program and Budget for Centro de Artistas.” December 10, 1979. The budget was submitted to Mr. Dick Wolgamott, Office of County Executive. Signed by Francisco Godinez, Director for Centro de Artistas. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 2, Folder 11. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴⁷⁵ Sic. “La Fiesta De Maize.” Date and Author unknown but the typewritten document was included with the CAC Meeting Minutes that Gina Montoya kept for the March 1976 meeting. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 8, Folder 7. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴⁷⁶ “Revised Program and Budget for Centro de Artistas.” December 10, 1979. The budget was submitted to Mr. Dick Wolgamott, Office of County Executive. Signed by Francisco Godinez, Director for Centro de Artistas. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 2, Folder 11. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴⁷⁷ “Cena, musica and children’s skits” means supper, music and a program. In 1976, this event took place at St. Joseph’s at F and 8th Streets. Sic. “Cultural Affairs Research Committee: Minutes of Meeting March 23, 1976.” Gina Montoya. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 8, Folder 7. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

Also see, “Día de las Madres’ Celebration.” Centro de Artistas Chicanos, May 1978. Photo description lists the following as organizers: Rasul, Rosemary, Organizer; Rasul, David, Organizer; Romo, Tere, Organizer; Montoya, Gina, Organizer; Favela, Clara, Organizer. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. Donald Davidson Library. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb867nb81z/?query=Dia%20de%20las%20madres&rand=calisphere>

⁴⁷⁸ Laura E. Pérez, *Chicana Art: the politics of spiritual and aesthetic altarities*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000. 97.

⁴⁷⁹ Sic. Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, “Arte Chicano: Images of a Community.” *Signs Form the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Eds., Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. 64.

⁴⁸⁰ Laura E. Pérez, 96.

⁴⁸¹ “Revised Program and Budget for Centro de Artistas.” December 10, 1979. The budget was submitted to Mr. Dick Wolgamott, Office of County Executive. Signed by

Francisco Godinez, Director for Centro de Artistas. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 2, Folder 11. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴⁸² Cultural Affairs Committee members like Clara Favela, Gina Montoya, Tere Romo, Lupe Portillo as well as David Rasul, (Enrique) Henry Ortiz, and Juanishi Orosco are listed “among other community members” on the WNC altars. “Ofrenda’ for Día de los Muertos.” October 1978. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: [http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb0r29n95j/?query="D%C3%ADa%20de%20los%20Muertos"%20Community%20Altar%20&brand=calisphere](http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb0r29n95j/?query=)

Also see, “Día de los Muertos” Community Altar and Ceremony.” October 1978. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: [http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb9h4nb8cd/?query="D%C3%ADa%20de%20los%20Muertos"%20Community%20Altar%20&brand=calisphere](http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb9h4nb8cd/?query=)

Also see, “Dia de los Muertos - 1st Annual Procession, Announcement Poster.” 1975. Ricardo Favela. Courtesy of California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives, Dept of Special Collections, Donald Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb7g5010q7/?docId=hb7g5010q7&query=RCAF%20Muertos&brand=calisphere&layout=printable-details>

⁴⁸³ Laura E. Pérez, 95.

⁴⁸⁴ Ybarra-Frausto, 65.

⁴⁸⁵ Laura E. Pérez, 94. Kay Turner, *Beautiful Necessity: The Art and Meaning of Women’s Altars*. New York: Thanes and Hudson, 1999.

⁴⁸⁶ Martínez, 9.

⁴⁸⁷ “Revised Program and Budget for Centro de Artistas.” December 10, 1979. The budget was submitted to Mr. Dick Wolgamott, Office of County Executive. Signed by Francisco Godinez, Director for Centro de Artistas. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 2, Folder 11. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴⁸⁸ Ybarra-Frausto, 59.

⁴⁸⁹ Laura E. Pérez writes that although “partly articulated through Catholic visual culture, altar-installations ... allow for the unorthodox reshaping, appropriation, or rejection of, Christian, patriarchal beliefs” (94). Typically conceived as folk art, and not as installation or performance art, the Chicana altar is a gesture “that reclaims cultural practices in the

face of their historic devaluation in Eurocentric circles and that critiques patriarchal limitation in Mexican and Mexican American cultures.” In the evolution of Amalia Mesa-Baines well-known altar installations, Pérez explores how the contemporary practice and visibility of altars in the public space of the museum shifted their value in the Chicana/o aesthetic.

⁴⁹⁰ Ybarra-Frausto, 64.

⁴⁹¹ *Alkali Flat Review*. 2:4 (June/July 1975). 4. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 22, Folder 16. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara. Jennie Baca was Dr. Sam Rios’s sister. She passed away during the summer of 2006.

⁴⁹² LRGP Founder Philip Santos and Armando Cid are the only 2 Chicanos to have directed the organization.

⁴⁹³ Teresa Romo was also chief curator for the Mexican Museum of San Francisco’s Mexican collection in 2005. She received the 2004 California Arts Council Director’s Award. Patricia Beach Smith, “Former Galeria Posada director wins arts honor.” *The Sacramento Bee*. Sunday Ticket. (January 30, 2005). 39.

⁴⁹⁴ Cathy Cassinos-Carr, “Marisa Gutiérrez.” *Sacramento*. (June 2005). 88.

⁴⁹⁵ Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino, “Murales del Movimiento: Chicano Murals and the Discourses of Art and Americanization.” *Signs Form the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Eds., Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993. 97-98.

⁴⁹⁶ Shifra M. Goldman, “How, Why, Where, and When It All Happened: Chicano Murals of California.”. *Signs Form the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Eds., Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993. 46-47

⁴⁹⁷ Shifra M. Goldman, 47.

⁴⁹⁸ The Mujeres Muralistas were an official collective throughout the decade of the 1970s. Ochoa writes that she focuses on the “period between 1973 and 1975, when the core artists Graciela Carrillo Irene Pérez and Patricia Rodríguez created murals on Balmy Alley, then joined with Consuelo Méndez to paint *Latinoamerica, Para el Mercado*, and *Rhomboidal Parallelogram*”(33).

⁴⁹⁹ Ochoa, 40.

⁵⁰⁰ Ochoa, 3.

⁵⁰¹ Ochoa, 3.

⁵⁰² Martínez, 5.

⁵⁰³ Other Mujeres Muralistas murals include *Para el Mercado* (1974), *Fantasy World for Children* (1975), and *Rhomboidal Parallelogram* (1975). Ochoa provides the details of the *Latinoamerica* commission: “In 1974 a commission from the Model Cities Program for their Mission District office provided both the opportunity and the funding for the artists who would form Mujeres Muralistas” (41). For more about the mural, *Latinoamerica*, and its construction see Ochoa’s text, pages 41—53.

⁵⁰⁴ Ester Hernández interview excerpted from Ochoa, 44. The interview was originally conducted on September 17, 1993.

⁵⁰⁵ Emma Pérez, 22.

⁵⁰⁶ Emma Pérez elaborates on the problems that western history posed to women of color activists, scholars and artists: working social change in the 1979s and ‘80s and the multiple sites of identity for women of color and history-telling: “Although historians of women questioned traditional history that excluded women, excluded the way gender carved history, women of color historians questioned how feminism, too, had its flaws; hence the early studies in my first three categories feared that feminism would neglect race. The gendered history that many women of color contemplated, however, claimed that one could not study women of color without reflecting upon the intersections of race and class with gender.” (22)

⁵⁰⁷ Emphasis Mine. Ester Hernández interview excerpted from Ochoa, 43. The interview was originally conducted on September 17, 1993.

⁵⁰⁸ Gaspar de Alba, 125.

⁵⁰⁹ Gaspar de Alba, 121. Gaspar de Alba paraphrased Yolanda López from an interview she conducted with the artist in January 1994. Gaspar de Alba’s use of Shifra Goldman’s work is taken from, “Mujeres de California: Latin American Women artists.” *Dimensions of the Americas: Art and Social Change in Latin America and the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 215.

⁵¹⁰ In “Quest for Identity: Profile of Two Chicana Muralists,” Amalia Mesa-Baines interviews Judy Baca and Patricia Rodriguez. I find that Mesa-Baines does an excellent job of presenting an objective recount of Chicana artists in the Movement. In *Signs Form the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Eds., Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. 68—83.

⁵¹¹ Stan Padilla, Interview. (July 12, 2004).

⁵¹² Gaspar de Alba, 124.

⁵¹³ Emma Pérez, 22-23.

⁵¹⁴ Emma Pérez adds, “Teresa Córdova’s comprehensive, thorough thought-piece on Chicana feminism from the 1970s to the 1990s is one of the few essays from a consciously heterosexual perspective that do not relegate Chicana lesbians to the margins, but rather integrate and acknowledge the contributions by Chicana lesbians to a more radical feminism. Gloria Anzaldúa, Alicia Gaspar de Alba, Deena González,

Cherríe Moraga, Carla Trujillo, and Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano, however, were the first to dare to broach the topic of Chicana lesbians within Chicana/o Studies." *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas Into History*, 1999. 22.

⁵¹⁵ María Ochoa writes that Nieto-Gómez's 1974 research found "that during this period, 70 percent of Chicanas dropped out of high school by the tenth grade" (3). Additionally, Ochoa notes Marta Cotera's 1976 historical scholarship on Chicana heritage in the US in her footnotes to chapter one of her text. See Ochoa, *Creative Collectives: Chicana painters working in community*, 2003. 29.

⁵¹⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, "'Yo Soy La Malinche': Chicana Writers and the Poetics of Ethnonationalism." *Callaloo* 16:4 (Autumn, 1993). 868.

⁵¹⁷ Pratt, 868.

⁵¹⁸ Challenges to Chicano/a identity positioned as a "normative male subject" were not only creative but theoretical. Locating the multiple sites of influence that Gloria Anzaldúa's 1987 work, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, had on the map of frontier, Chicana/o, and Cultural Studies, Sonia Saldívar-Hull also credits other Chicana scholars who contributed to the establishment of Chicano/a Studies. She writes, "*Borderlands* offered a view of our América through the lens of a woman-identified woman. The feminism that *Borderlands* advocates builds on the gendered articulations of women like Marta Cotera and Anna Nieto Gomez, whose early feminist speculations appear in the anthology *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings*. Chicanas were theorizing in the 1960s and 70s, and with Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga's interventions in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color, transfronterista* (that is, a transnational feminist, a *transfrontera feminista*) consciousness built new coalitions with other U.S. Latina and U.S. women of color." Sonia Saldívar-Hull, "Introduction to the Second edition." *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. Gloria Anzaldúa. 2nd Ed. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, c 1987. 1.

⁵¹⁹ Anna Macías, *Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico to 1940*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982.

Also it is important to mention Shirlene Soto's *Emergence Of The Modern Mexican Woman: Her Participation in Revolution and Struggle for Equality 1910—1940*. Denver: Arden Press, Inc. 1990.

⁵²⁰ Macías, 49.

⁵²¹ Elizabeth Salas, *Soldaderas in The Mexican Military: Myth and History*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989.

⁵²² Antonia I. Castañeda, 119. Emma Pérez addresses the inadequacies of the 'reintegration' of Chicana history into the great events of Chicano history stating that "integration of Chicanas into Chicano studies requires more than merely a topical addition of 'woman.' She critiques Alma García's "Studying Chicanas: Bringing Women into the Frame of Chicano Studies" and her "tacked-on" approach, which Pérez finds "does not integrate gender with race and class, but rather leaves women outside of the main topic" (23). Pérez notes that she and García "have charted similar rules of formation," (or four categories for historical analyses in Chicano/a history, but argues

that their “conclusions do not coincide.” For more on Alma García’s “Studying Chicanas: Bringing Women into the Frame of Chicano Studies,” see *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race and Gender*. Ed. Teresa Córdova. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993. 19—29.

⁵²³ Arrizón, 19.

⁵²⁴ I refer to López’s “Portrait of the Artist as the Virgin of Guadalupe” (1978), “Margaret F. Stewart: Our Lady of Guadalupe” (1978) and “Victoria F. Franco: Our Lady of Guadalupe”(1978). “Nuestra Madre” is dated 1981—’88 and is an acrylic on masonite work. For more on López’s early work, see Laura E. Pérez, 273.

⁵²⁵ Arrizón, 31.

⁵²⁶ Gaspar de Alba, 125. She adds that “Judith F. Baca and Yolanda M. López upheld the Marxist ideologies of el Movimiento that focused on class and worker solidarity central to liberation and ... affirmed a racially inscribed identity of resistance; they were also deeply concerned with gender inequalities and issues of autonomy and sexual and vocational fulfillment.”

⁵²⁷ Lorraine Garcia Nakata. Email correspondence. October 24, 2008. The RCAF Retrospective took place from April 9th through June 25th 2005. In her Artist’s Statement, Garcia Nakata, the diptych was created in February 2004.

⁵²⁸ Victoria Dalkey, “Up, up and away: Exhibit celebrates Royal Chicano Air Force’s anniversary.” *The Sacramento Bee*. (June 2005). 13-14. Dalkey also writes that the inclusion of Herrera Rodríguez’s altar, as well as the work of Irma Lerma Barbosa and Lorraine Garcia-Nakata, in “an RCAF show is a new but welcome wrinkle.” Alluding to a more heated debate over the exhibiting Chicana artists in the RCAF’s anniversary show, Dalkey evades further details.

⁵²⁹ Victoria Dalkey, “Up, up and away: Exhibit celebrates Royal Chicano Air Force’s anniversary.” *The Sacramento Bee*. (June 2005). 13-14.

⁵³⁰ Lorraine Garcia Nakata. Artist Statement. February 16, 2004.

⁵³¹ Laura E. Pérez, 298.

⁵³² Laura E. Pérez, 272-273; 298.

⁵³³ Victoria Dalkey, “Up, up and away: Exhibit celebrates Royal Chicano Air Force’s anniversary.” *The Sacramento Bee*. 2005. 13-14.

⁵³⁴ Laura E. Pérez mentions that Herrera Rodriguez is known for her “1970s collaborative work with the San Jose-based artists collective RCAF” (152).

⁵³⁵ Celia Herrera Rodríguez is well known for her conceptual installations and performance work, particularly her 1998 exhibit, “La ve p’atras (She Who Looks Back” as Visionary,” at Stanford University. For more, please see: <http://www.stanford.edu/dept/ida/Celia.html>. Also, Laura E. Pérez examines Herrera

Rodríguez's installation "Altar a las Tres Hermanas: Antes de Colón, Colonialism, Después de Colón," and the performance, "What Part Indian Am I?" which was "originally developed for the Institute of American Indian Art Museum in Santa Fe in 1994" (151).

⁵³⁶ Shifra M. Goldman, "How, Why, Where, and When It All Happened: Chicano Murals of California." *Signs Form the Heart. California Chicano Murals*. Eds., Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993. 40-41.

⁵³⁷ For more, please see: <http://www.stanford.edu/dept/ida/Celia.html>. (Accessed November 17, 2009).

⁵³⁸ Herrera Rodríguez's exhibit took place at the C.N. Gorman at U.C. Davis from January 5—March 31, 2006.

⁵³⁹ Sic. Cherríe Moraga, "Sola, pero bien acompañada: Celia Herrera Rodríguez." C.N. Gorman Museum, University of California Davis. January 3, 2006. Accessed online November 17, 2008:
<http://gormanmuseum.ucdavis.edu/Exhibitions/Previous/CHR/CHR.htm>

⁵⁴⁰ Sic. Cherríe Moraga, "Sola, pero bien acompañada: Celia Herrera Rodríguez."

⁵⁴¹ Moraga writes, "Of special significance here at the Gorman, with its history of exhibition of California Indian work, Celia Herrera Rodríguez, has created a chain of tobacco ties as a prayer for 'Grandma Flora' (Jones), the leader of the Winnemem Wintu who passed away in 2003. Reflecting on the installation and the elder Florence Jones, the artist states: "She symbolizes the meaning and energy of female water that emerges from the earth, because that was one of her strongest prayers in the latter part of her life. Part of her teaching was to foresee that the waters were coming; that we needed to keep the sacred fires burning to keep waters in balance. Everything the California elders had predicted has come to pass: AIDS, the eruption of Mount St. Helena, the culture of chaos that has so deeply affected our communities, the tsunamis...Katrina." Cherríe Moraga, "Sola, pero bien acompañada: Celia Herrera Rodríguez." (2006).

⁵⁴² Victoria Dalkey, "Up, up and away: Exhibit celebrates Royal Chicano Air Force's anniversary." *The Sacramento Bee*. (June 2005). 14.

⁵⁴³ Mike Davis, 281—282. Davis explains that during the 1970s, the UFW pressured California's Democratic governor Jerry Brown "to push through the Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975, a state version of Roosevelt's National Labor Relations Act of forty years prior." The ALRA had created a "sense among farmworkers that, with a seemingly pro-union governor in the office, the tide was finally turning in their favor." Davis writes that the reality was "labor militancy in the fields" had led to the UFW victories. (281). Mike Davis, "Making Borders History. *No One Is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the U.S.-Mexico Border*. Eds. Justin Akers Chacón and Mike Davis. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2006.

⁵⁴⁴ Davis, 282.

⁵⁴⁵ Victoria Dalkey, "Up, up and away: Exhibit celebrates Royal Chicano Air Force's anniversary." *The Sacramento Bee*. (June 2005). 14.

⁵⁴⁶ Sic. "Revised Program and Budget for Centro de Artistas." December 10, 1979. The budget was submitted to Mr. Dick Wolgamott, Office of County Executive. Signed by Francisco Godinez, Director for Centro de Artistas. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 2, Folder 11. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁵⁴⁷ Sic. "Revised Program and Budget for Centro de Artistas." December 10, 1979. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. CEMA 8 Box 2, Folder 11. Courtesy of the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁵⁴⁸ "La Raza's Quinceañero." Catalogue coordinated by Alonzo Davis. Tom's Printing, Inc.: Sacramento, Ca. 1988. Additional information in the publication notes that funding for this catalogue was provided by grants from the California Arts Council, NEA, Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission and membership monies.

⁵⁴⁹ Josie S. Talamantez, "RCAF Pasandola Con Gusto: A validation of the present; remembrances of the past; and a tribute to the future." *EL CÁNTARO!* 1:2 (January – March 2003). 2.

⁵⁵⁰ In her article, Talamantez named Barbosa, but not Garcia-Nakata and Herrera Rodríguez. The list Talamantez provides includes, "Jose, Esteban, Ricardo Favela, Rudy Cuellar, Juan Carrillo, Juan Cervantes, Armando Cid, Louie 'The Foot' Gonzales, Max Garcia, Stan Padilla, Juanishi Orosco and Irma Barbosa, among others." Perhaps, her oversight of the other Chicana artists initiated the "wrinkle."

⁵⁵¹ In her explication of the exhibit sections, Talamantez notes that the "Remembrances of the Past" portion presents "the stories of extended members of the RCAF, who earned their wings for community contributions." She then makes a request to her readers: "If you are a member of the RCAF or have been part of the ranks of the 'Force,' ... please contact LRGP." With the original date of the show in mind, one wonders if the community call created problems for the art exhibit. In an interview with Juanishi Orosco in July 2004, he talked about the exhibition and sheds light on the "wrinkle" that Dalkey contends the inclusion women artists' created: "We started talking about that exhibit, god, must have been four years [ago] by now. I mean we started talking about it and trying to formulate it. This is when Marisa Gutierrez was the director [of LRGP] and she wrote a grant for it to the Rockefeller and got forty thousand dollars, seed money. And so far, that's all they've been able to get. What the design was—it's a retro on the work of the RCAF and then it was to be a national tour. And so she got that, the Rockefeller grant was the seed money to get other monies, [but] nothing germinated. The board is not proactive on that or a lot of this and so we're really pissed off and we're almost going to call it off. But one thing with the new crew over here [at LRGP] they're going, "No, we want one more shot at this." And so we said, "Well, we have to bring in René ." If we're going to do this at all, it's got to be with René or we're not going to do it." And so they did. So we brought in René . We had several meetings with René and then a lot of

indecisions and indecisiveness, and kind of lost focus; we wanted it to be the whole bag and they're going, "You can't do the whole bag.

Josie Talamantez Cid of the California Arts Council, you should talk with her. She's Armando Cid's wife. And in the early conception of this RCAF exhibit, she was part of it because there were other components. There are two components. One component was the visual works; the other component was the historical documentation. Josie, in those days, in the early development of this thing, went to every one of us and interviewed each one of us—not only on tape, but also on video. She has all that. [It's] just incredible. I haven't seen it yet but I can just—she spanned maybe a half of a year doing that. So she had that body of knowledge and we're still not sure what the hell we're going to do with it. And then when René came into it, he had to feel us out to see where we were at and then he had to kind of feel out what he could do with it or not. So he came back into town maybe about a month ago and he said, "Okay, this is it. Take it or leave it." So he laid out his plan to me and José and the staff and Gina." Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (July 06, 2004).

⁵⁵² I borrow art historian Jennifer A. González's use of Hayden White's term, "mythic narrative," in her analysis of personal memory and autotopographies—or "spatial representations of identity" (133). Explaining "recollection" as a process, González writes, "What Hayden White has called a 'mythic narrative,' which 'is under no obligation to keep the two orders of events, real and imaginary, distinct from one another.' The 'mythic narrative' is contrasted by White with 'historical representation,' which 'belongs to the category of what might be called 'the discourse of the real,' as against the 'discourse of the imaginary,' or 'the discourse of desire.' Yet the discourses of the 'real,' the 'imaginary,' and 'desire' become entangled in individual memory" (142). Jennifer A. González, "Autotopographies." *Prosthetic Territories: Politics and Hypertechnologies*. Eds. Gabriel Brahm Jr. and Mark Driscoll. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995. 133—149. González cites Hayden White's *The Content and the Form* (1987).

⁵⁵³ González, 133.

⁵⁵⁴ In Ochoa's historical analysis of the Comadres Artistas, she writes, "Members whose interviews are included in this volume are Barbosa, Carmel Castillo, Laura Llano, Mareia de Socorro, and Helen Villa. Lucy Montoya Rhodes served as the collective's administrator and was also interviewed for this project" (59). Oddly, there is no mention whatsoever of Simona Hernandez, despite Ochoa's acknowledgment that there were six original members: "Barbosa contacted six other artists and invited them to participate in the [1992] exhibition" (59).

An original member of the collective, Simona Hernandez developed a website for the group that provides a record of her original participation as well as several images. I would like to thank Simona for taking the time to correspond with me and direct me to the resource: <http://www.co-madresartistas.20m.com/>

⁵⁵⁵ Ochoa, 60.

⁵⁵⁶ Ochoa, 10-11.

⁵⁵⁷ "Introduction. *Papelitos Guardados: Theorizing Latinades Through Testimonio.*" (19). The Latina Feminist Group, *Telling to Live: Latina Feminist Testimonios*. Durham and London: Duke University, 2001.

⁵⁵⁸ “Introduction. *Papelitos Guardados: Theorizing Latinades Through Testimonio.*” (9). Although I agree with Ochoa’s framework, her delivery sustains / perpetuates sexism. If Ochoa relies on an independent lens to “highlight the pivotal role of Chicana/o artists in the fight for self-determination,” her treatment of the Chicano Movement evades any direct eye-contact with its sexism. Reflecting on this critical juncture in Chicana/o consciousness, for example, Ochoa entitles the subsection “Movements.” Ochoa writes that despite Chicana urgings to expunge the “misogynist tendencies embedded in the emergent liberation movement, their arguments went unheeded.” She claims that although “occasional gestures were made toward a construct of a Chicana/o liberation movement that included mujeres as compatriots ... for the most part agency, especially within the leadership of El Movimiento, was limited to ‘carnales y chingónes”” (18). Making the appropriate nods to the accepted categories of analysis, Ochoa does not rock the boat; rather, she restates the patriarchal order—the “traditional hierarchal family structure”—from a cultural insider’s perspective; “Carnales y chingónes” translates a specific ethnic and cultural consciousness in which Ochoa situates and privileges the Movement’s gendered fault lines.

⁵⁵⁹ Ochoa, 16;29.

⁵⁶⁰ Irma Barbosa interview excerpted from Ochoa, 68. The interview was originally conducted on August 22, 1994.

⁵⁶¹ Stephanie Sauer. Email Correspondence. November 08, 2008. Once again, I would like to thank Stephanie for all of her assistance and editing of this chapter.

⁵⁶² Ochoa, 68-69.

⁵⁶³ Sic, Gaspar de Alba, 126.

⁵⁶⁴ Ochoa 69.

⁵⁶⁵ Ochoa, 69.

⁵⁶⁶ Stan Padilla, Interview. (July 12, 2004).

⁵⁶⁷ Shifra M. Goldman, “The Iconography of Chicano Self-Determination: Race, Ethnicity, and Class.” *Art Journal.* 49:2 (Summer 1990). 167.

⁵⁶⁸ Shifra M. Goldman, 167.

⁵⁶⁹ Shifra M. Goldman, 167.

⁵⁷⁰ Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, “Arte Chicano: Images of a Community.” *Signs Form the Heart: California Chicano Murals.* Eds., Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnett-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. 67.

⁵⁷¹ Ochoa, 69.

⁵⁷² Irma Lerma Barbosa interview excerpted from Ochoa, 69-70. The interview was originally conducted on August 22, 1994.

⁵⁷³ Ochoa, 69-70.

⁵⁷⁴ Ochoa, 64.

⁵⁷⁵ Ochoa, 65. Esteban Villa, "Introduction." 3. *Co-Madres Artistas: Story/Visions from the Cactus Tree: A Catalogue of Fine Art*. Sacramento: California Arts Council.

⁵⁷⁶ Gaspar de Alba, 156.

⁵⁷⁷ On March 1st 2007, during the Sacramento State's exhibition, "The RCAF Goes to College," located in the University Library Gallery, nine of the 12 RCAF artists participated in a round table discussion. Juan Carrillo was also in attendance, although he did not begin to self identify as an artist until recently in 2006. Not present were Max Garcia, Irma Lerma Barbosa and Louie 'the foot' Gonzalez. This event was also the last time that the RCAF artists were (for the majority) together while Ricardo Favela was alive.

⁵⁷⁸ "RCAF Goes to College." Dir. Sam Quiñones and Anthony Flores. Sacramento: CSUS Library, March 01, 2007.

⁵⁷⁹ I would like to acknowledge another point of view shared with me by my advisor, Dr. Leisa D. Meyer, on the identity "camp-followers." Adeleitas, Dr. Meyer writes, "were often family members of soldiers, or mistresses of soldiers, who often provided the labor necessary to support the military force – including laundry, cooking, etc. In other words, the whole notion of 'camp-follower' is itself a construct that was (and continues to be) used to discount women associated with a military force as merely 'prostitutes' or 'whores' and therefore as of no worth or due any consideration by soldiers and officers, etc." Email Correspondence, June 18, 2009.

⁵⁸⁰ Chela Sandoval, "U.S. Third World Feminism: The Theory and Method of Oppositional Consciousness in the Postmodern World." *Genders* 10 (Spring 1991). 1-24.

⁵⁸¹ I am referring to Christopher Martínez's endnote to which I refer at the beginning of this Chapter.

⁵⁸² Martínez, 3.

⁵⁸³ Gaspar de Alba, 125.

Endnotes for Chapter Four, Pages 144—191

⁵⁸⁴ Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out Of The Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (1998). 105.

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- ⁵⁸⁵ Ben Keppel, "Introduction: A Historian Reads *Toward a People's Art*." *Toward A People's Art*. 2nd Ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998. xxvii.
- ⁵⁸⁶ Charles Hillinger, "Humor Plus Pride: 'Chicano Air Force' Flies High." *Los Angeles Times*. Sunday, July 22, 1979. 3, 20.
- ⁵⁸⁷ John Pitman Weber, "Politics and Practice of Community Public Art: Whose Murals Get Saved?" Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute and Getty Conservation Institute Symposium. (May 16-17, 2003). 5.
- ⁵⁸⁸ Pitman Weber, 9.
- ⁵⁸⁹ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).
- ⁵⁹⁰ Esteban Villa, Interview (December 23, 2000).
- ⁵⁹¹ Rafael Pérez-Torres, "Chicano Ethnicity, Cultural Hybridity, and the Mestizo Voice." *American Literature*. 70:1 (March 1998). 156.
- ⁵⁹² For the Capitol Area East End Complex project, the RCAF painted a ten foot high soffit at the Block 171 building's exit to L Street, "representing holistic health in the form of a bio-compass of the Sacramento Valley and beyond, from the Sierra foothills to the Pacific coast. The design, incorporating vital color representing spirit, creativity, healing, and elements of earth, air, fire, water, motion and light, the four seasons, sun and moon, the balance of cycles, is centered on Sacramento as a place where the rivers meet, creating a 'Sacrament,' a special place." Excerpt take from description on the website of the Capitol Area East End Project:
<http://www.eastend.dgs.ca.gov/ArtProgram/Royal+Chicano+Air+Force+Mural.htm>
(Accessed on February 27, 2009.)
- ⁵⁹³ Guisela Latorre notes that Judy Baca "saw the Chicana/o mural movement not as a separate current but rather as a later phase of the same creative phenomenon" (33).
- ⁵⁹⁴ Guisela Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. 9.
- ⁵⁹⁵ Specifically, Latorre mentions José Clemente Orozco's 1930 mural "Prometheus" at Pomona College and David Alfaro Siqueiros's 1932 mural "Portrait of Present-Day Mexico" in Santa Monica, California. She also nods to the several murals Diego Rivera completed in San Francisco during the era.
- ⁵⁹⁶ Latorre, 18-19.
- ⁵⁹⁷ Latorre goes onto claim that the 1930s murals created in California by Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco and David Alfaro Siqueiros "all offered a politicized modernist vocabulary that was previously unfamiliar to the current artistic scene in California and the rest of the country" (10).
- ⁵⁹⁸ Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

⁵⁹⁹ Latorre, 4.

⁶⁰⁰ Latorre, 35.

⁶⁰¹ Although 1970s Chicano/a artists identified with many of the political philosophies and the class consciousness that the Mexican muralists' espoused, the majority of their community murals were not government-funded. Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals: The People's Art*. Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press. New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1984. 409.

⁶⁰² Sic. Eva Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez, *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. 9.

⁶⁰³ Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals: The People's Art*. Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press. New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1984. 408.

⁶⁰⁴ Department of Labor website. Accessed January 21, 2009.
<http://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/1983/03/art1full.pdf>

⁶⁰⁵ Eva Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez, *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. 14.

⁶⁰⁶ Cockcroft et al, *Toward a People's Art: The Contemporary Mural Movement*. 28-29.

⁶⁰⁷ Sic. Cockcroft et al, *Toward a People's Art: The Contemporary Mural Movement*. 1.

⁶⁰⁸ Cockcroft et al, 4; 3. Artist contributors to the "Wall of Respect" include Jeff Donaldson, Wadsworth Jarrell, Barbara Jones, and Carolyn Lawrence. These individuals were founding members of the artist group, AfriCobra—along with Norman Parish, Eliot Hunter, and William Walker. Parish, Hunter and Walker went onto form the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC). Most scholars agree that the "Wall of Respect" attempted to inspire South Side Chicago's Black community with images of black success, creative genius, and resistance. Portraits included Muhammad Ali, John Coltrane, Nina Simone, Marcus Garvey, and Malcolm X. Moreover, OBAC facilitated a "Visual Art Workshop" where the images were approved by the community. During the mural's brief existence, neighborhood "children would offer to explain 'our' wall to the growing number of visitors, naming each portrait and symbol" (4). It was destroyed in 1971.

⁶⁰⁹ Cockcroft et al, 3. In addition, scholar and artist Michael D. Harris adds that "Because the *Wall of Respect* was to belong to the community, the OBAC artists agreed that there would be no signatures to draw attention to individuals, which would also protect the artists from media exploitation and police harassment ... Individualism was subordinated to group effort and communal benefit." (26) "Urban Totems: The Communal Spirit of Black Murals." *Walls of Heritage / Walls of Pride: African American Murals*. Eds., James Prigoff and Robin J. Dunitz. Pomegranate Communications, Inc: San Francisco, 2000.

⁶¹⁰ Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals: The People's Art*. Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press. New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1984. 68.

⁶¹¹ Barnett, 68.

⁶¹² José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

⁶¹³ Ann Reed, "Local Professor Takes Art To Youngsters in Barrios." *The Sacramento Bee*. Thursday. March 16, 1972. B6.

⁶¹⁴ Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

⁶¹⁵ Author and date unknown. Document on details of "Emergence." Cema 8. Box 17 : Folder 3. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶¹⁶ Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals: The People's Art*. Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press. New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1984. 67.

⁶¹⁷ Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

⁶¹⁸ Author and date unknown. Document on details of "Emergence." Cema 8. Box 17 : Folder 3. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶¹⁹ Alan W. Barnett, 67.

⁶²⁰ Sic. Alan W. Barnett, 67.

⁶²¹ Alan W. Barnett, 67. Although Barnett claims that the aesthetic choices that Villa and his mural team made in "Emergence" express an earthy yet ethereal Chicano/a consciousness, he fails to mention an important artistic influence that would only support his analysis. Villa's use of large human forms, or "flesh and bone rendered roughly by big patches of color," is a reference to several murals created by Mexican muralist, José Clemente Orozco. Both Orozco's 1926 mural "The Trench" and "Prometheus" (1930) used large-scale human forms and nakedness to expose the epic struggles of man against himself, society and nature. "The Trench" is located at the National Preparatory School in Mexico City and "Prometheus" is located at Pomona College in California.

⁶²² Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

⁶²³ Latorre, 35.

⁶²⁴ <http://www.akathecenter.com/mission.html>. (Accessed 03/08/2009).

⁶²⁵ In *From Out Of The Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (1998) Vicki L. Ruiz examines the multiple intersections of Mexicana networking, unionizing and socializing in Texas, California and the southwest. She also acknowledges the strategic relationship that Chávez crafted with the Catholic Church and his union: "During the grape boycott of the late 1960s and 1970s, Chávez and his United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (later the UFW) utilized tactics, such as the

secondary boycott, national support committees, and identification with the Catholic Church” (132). Associating the farmworkers' union and plight with Catholicism gave the UFW a moral high ground and appealed to a demographic outside of the immediate farmworking and Chicano/a community. F. Arturo Rosales's *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (1996) also furthers the point that Ruiz touches on: “Because the union membership was predominantly Catholic, the leaders saw Catholic clergy as indispensable in maintaining spirituality and the moral high ground during the upcoming Sacramento march” (140). Additionally, Rosales's text includes several fascinating images that highlight the union members and participants kneeling in prayer and marching with various clergy.

⁶²⁶ Alan W. Barnett, 68.

⁶²⁷ Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

⁶²⁸ Deb Marois, “An Economic History of Alkali Flat.” University of California, Davis. March 2003. 12. Marois cites:

Historic Environment Consultants. (June 1981). “Non-Residential Building Survey Project Report.” Sacramento, CA.

Sacramento Chamber of Commerce. (1925). “Industrial Survey of Sacramento.” Sacramento, CA.

For more, see:

<http://www.shra.org/Content/CommunityDevelopment/AlkaliFlat/AFReports/EconHist.pdf>

⁶²⁹ “Narrative History of Mexican/Chicano Community of Sacramento.” 29. Compiled and written by Rosana M. Madrid. Sacramento Ethnic Community Survey Project. Sacramento History Center, July 23, 1984. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009.

⁶³⁰ Lance Armstrong, “Cannery Row Built Sacramento Legacy: The history of the city's canneries dates back to the late 19th century.” *The Sacramento Union*. (May 8, 2008). <http://www.sacunion.com/pages/education/print/9673/> (Accessed 03/08/2009).

⁶³¹ I credit this phrasing of Villa's artistic interpretation to Stephanie Sauer's 2008 work, “The Noun Painter,” in which she maps the work of Esteban Villa.

⁶³² Villa subtly communicated this in a humorous anecdote about the reactions that many university students had when they attended classes at the WNC: “I would bring them here and they would ask, ‘What are doing out here? I thought we signed up for a mural class.’” Although a soft jab at the pretense of the university artist-in-training, Villa's wisecrack reaffirmed his community arts philosophy and his Chicano worldview. Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

⁶³³ “Primera Epoca: The Awareness of the Militant ‘60s.” Author and date unknown. The introduction appears to be the beginning of a local history of the RCAF's Chicano/a murals. Cema 8. Box 17 : Folder 3. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶³⁴ First part of quote is taken from “Primera Epoca: The Awareness of the Militant ‘60s.” The second portion is from José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

⁶³⁵ Sic. Guisela Latorre, 8.

⁶³⁶ Jaime Diaz, “Reno’s Café An Improbable Arena For This Chicano Poetry Festival.” *The Sacramento Bee*. Wednesday, February 28, 1979. Cema 8. Box 14 : Folder 5. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶³⁷ “Oral History Interview with Ricardo Favela.” By David B. Lemon, CSUS. November 6, 2001. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009. Also it is worth mentioning that as of 2008, Montoya continues to sponsor the Thursday night poetry series at Luna’s Café on 16th and N Streets.

⁶³⁸ In his interview, Ricardo Favela described the Centro’s history in excellent detail: “We had a nonprofit organization and I was the director of the *centro* [which was established in] 1972 because that’s when we received our first check from the county of Sacramento. Ten-thousand dollars to start the *centro artistas Chicanos* and the very first director of the *centro artistas Chicanos* was a guy named Max Garcia. And Max—we’re not administrators, we’re artists, right? And somebody came out of the street and says, “Hey is this check your guys?” It was a ten-thousand dollar check that was out in the gutter and Max had lost it. He hadn’t even told us about it. And so but anyway, he ran his stint for awhile and he wasn’t very good at it, so then I was elected. And I was at least a little bit more responsible. And I really didn’t want to do it but I did it because it was necessary. We had to do it. We had to have somebody that was going to direct the outfit who knew or was part of the outfit.

So consequently, José is the one that talked me into it, doing the directorship for the *centro*. And I did that for—1974 to 1980? Because then Esteban and I developed the Royal Chicano Air Force graphics department, so to speak; that we did. He and I decided to work in graphics. We were a good team and we did that for two years; and then we brought the *centro* back because we had space next door and so we brought the *centro* in. That one that I’m talking about is the very last site that we had, which was on Franklin Boulevard.

We had three sites with *el centro*. The first site was on Folsom Boulevard, the second was at the Holy Angels—I think which is on 7th and S. It was a church. The *Virgen de Guadalupe* Church and that was where there were classrooms, [but] back then they were abandoned. And Manuel Ferrales, who we had helped with his campaigning to become the first Mexican council member in the city of Sacramento, he offered us the rooms. And we picked up two rooms. So started the *centro* there.

Then from there, we moved to the one over on Franklin and that’s where we finished up. We officially finished that up around 1986. The graphics and the *centro* both were ended by 1986 or ‘87 because I—as I left the site—I didn’t like the feeling I had about leaving the site. I felt that we should have maybe found another site but there was too much interaction detrimental to the group; so we pretty much decided that we couldn’t kick a dead horse. And so we stopped.” Ricardo Favela, Interview. (July 20, 2004).

⁶³⁹ Charles Johnson, "Centro Keeps A Low Profile." *The Sacramento Bee*. 1979. Cema 8. Box 1: Folder 3. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁴⁰ "Personnel Directory of the Centro de Artistas Chicanos, Inc." Cema 8. Box 1 : Folder 3. The narrative that precedes the address listings notes that, "In 1978, the Centro de Artistas Chicanos lost its sanctuary at Our Lady of Guadalupe's Holy Angels School and was forced to move its operation to several other locations." Some of these other locations are indicated by *Sacramento Bee* reporter Charles Johnson as including a "flexible space on Folsom Boulevard," and then in 1975, "the operation was moved to its present quarters in the Our Lady of Guadalupe School, 730 S Street." By 1982 it was officially housed off of Franklin Boulevard.

⁶⁴¹ Sic. "Narrative History of Mexican/Chicano Community of Sacramento." 33. Compiled and written by Rosana M. Madrid. Sacramento Ethnic Community Survey Project. Sacramento History Center, July 23, 1984. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009.

⁶⁴² Sic. "Narrative History of Mexican/Chicano Community of Sacramento." 33. Compiled and written by Rosana M. Madrid. Sacramento Ethnic Community Survey Project. Sacramento History Center, July 23, 1984. Project Director was Joseph Pitti, Ph.D. Ethnic Survey File. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009.

⁶⁴³ "Primera Epoca: The Awareness of the Militant '60s." Author and date unknown. The introduction appears to be the beginning of a local history of the RCAF's Chicano/a murals. Cema 8. Box 17 : Folder 3. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁴⁴ Time photo by Fitzgerald Whitney, 1979. Image from Charles Hillinger, "Chicano Air Force' Flies High." *Los Angeles Times*. Sunday. Part 1. (July 22, 1979). 3. The individual painting the mural is Juan Cervantes. An unidentified assistant mixes paint.

⁶⁴⁵ Shifra M. Goldman, "How, Why, Where, and When It All Happened: Chicano Murals of California." *Signs From The Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Eds. Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. 35-36.

⁶⁴⁶ I borrow from Marcos Sanchez Tranquilino's notion of the "barrio-developed conventions for encoding information," or the placa-system, which "provides timely and vital details in a quick visual format to the inquiring street reader" (59). See, "Space, Power, and Youth Culture: Mexican American Graffiti and Chicano Murals in East Los Angeles, 1972-1978." *Looking High and Low: art and cultural identity*. Eds. Brenda Jo Bright and Liza Bakewell. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1995. 55—88.

⁶⁴⁷ Latorre, 141.

⁶⁴⁸ Gaspar de Alba, 99.

⁶⁴⁹ Ricardo Favela, Interview. (July 20, 2004).

⁶⁵⁰ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (July 06, 2004).

⁶⁵¹ Cid's Ollin murals were created through the redistribution of city funds for the redevelopment of Zapata Park and SHRA's Washington Square Apartments. They continue to exist because they are tucked away in a corner of a lingering Chicano/a barrio in downtown Sacramento.

⁶⁵² John Pitman Weber, 8-9.

⁶⁵³ Jane Weissman and Janet Braun-Reinitz, "Community, consensus and the Protest Mural." *Public Art Review*. 17:1 (Fall/Winter 2005). 21.

⁶⁵⁴ Jane Weissman and Janet Braun-Reinitz, "Community, consensus and the Protest Mural." *Public Art Review*. 17:1 (Fall/Winter 2005). 22.

⁶⁵⁵ Reflecting on the tensions between public space and private property, Guisela Latorre examines the whitewashing of Willie Herrón's 1972 mural, "The Wall that Cracked Open," and its subsequent restoration. Painted in reaction to the nonfatal stabbing of his younger brother, Herrón's infamous mural was located in a Los Angeles alley, "right above the location of the attack" (115). The "Wall that Cracked Open" is critical to Chicano/a art on multiple levels—from the role that placas play in identifying real and figurative Chicano/a space (what western art discourse deems 'graffiti'), to its fusion of Catholic, pre-Colombian and Chicano/a iconography. The mural also functioned on a very literal level, marking the site of a local tragedy and, therefore, serving an immediate audience. In 1999, Latorre states that Herrón's masterpiece became "the target of the Los Angeles Department of Public Works Graffiti Abatement Program" (116.) Although the city "assured artists that legitimate artwork such as community murals would be spared," Herrón's mural was "covered up with gray paint" later on in the year. Latorre concludes that Herrón's fusion of multiple genres proved offensive to city officials and the mural "hovered within that uncertain territory between muralism and graffiti, and, consequently, between established art practices and street youth culture" (116).

⁶⁵⁶ John Pitman Weber, 8.

⁶⁵⁷ John Pitman Weber, 7.

⁶⁵⁸ Dr. Sam Rios, Interview (April 24, 2007). In a phone conversation with Enrique Ortiz on September 13, 2009, he informed me that he no longer goes by the name "Henry," but prefers, "Enrique."

⁶⁵⁹ "State College Mural." *The Sacramento Bee*. March 19, 1972. 3. In the *Bee's* "Leisure" section, a blurb on Ortiz's mural states, "Henry Ortiz, a senior majoring in art at Sacramento State College, recently completed this mural in the college's Administration Building. Having a special interest in Pre-Columbian art, which he has used for themes for many of his paintings, he selected Tlaloc, the Mexican rain god for his subject. The project was submitted to and approved by Dr. John R. Cox, dean of campus facilities. To call attention to the completion of the mural, the artist painted his face ... with the same

design featured in the center of the painting. He appeared that way on campus for several days. “

⁶⁶⁰ Jim Austin, “Mural does a vanishing act.” *The State Hornet*. 27:28 (November 6, 1974.) Copy courtesy of Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission Archives, July 2004.

⁶⁶¹ Jim Austin, “Mural does a vanishing act.”

⁶⁶² Sic, Austin.

⁶⁶³ Jim Austin, “Mural does a vanishing act.”

⁶⁶⁴ Barnett, 433.

⁶⁶⁵ Esteban Villa, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁶⁶⁶ Barnett writes that the CSU order and enforcement of the mural whitewashing had deeper implications about intellectual censorship: “The questions of free expression in a public institution and the ability of students and faculty to pursue regular curricula without administrator interference remains at issue”(433).

⁶⁶⁷ Barnett, 433.

⁶⁶⁸ Ed Mendel, “Drabness of City His Battleground.” *The Sacramento Bee*. A1. Cema 8. Box 10 : Folder 20. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁶⁹ Janet Walls, “Chicano Art Takes off In Royal Fashion. *The State Hornet*. Thursday, April 5, 1984. 5. Cema 8. Box 28 : Folder 20. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁷⁰ Letter to Mayor Phil Isenberg from Ricardo Favela, Director of the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. November 10, 1978. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁶⁷¹ Ed Mendel, “Drabness of City His Battleground.” *The Sacramento Bee*. A1. 1978. Cema 8. Box 10 : Folder 20. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁷² Mendel, A1, 1978. Cema 8. Box 10 : Folder 20. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁷³ Ed Mendel, A2, 1978. Cema 8. Box 10 : Folder 20. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁷⁴ Sic. Letter to Mayor Phil Isenberg from Ricardo Favela, Director of the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. November 10, 1978. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁶⁷⁵ Barnett, 433.

⁶⁷⁶ Kurt Kuss, "Archival Gems." *Floor2Floor*. 11:2 (Spring 2006). Library, Sacramento: California State University. 2.

⁶⁷⁷ Kuss, 2.

⁶⁷⁸ Ramiro Arceo, "Artist to sign mural 21 years later." *State Hornet*. October 13, 1999. Available online: <http://www.csus.edu/hornet/archive/fall99/issue07/news02.html> (Accessed March 01, 2007).

⁶⁷⁹ Dr. Sam Rios, Interview. (April 24, 2007).

⁶⁸⁰ Sic. Emphasis Mine. "I. Mural Chronology." No date or author provided, but the document is attached to a letter from Henry Lopez, Director of the Mural Committee for the Sacramento Concilio, Inc., to President James Bond, dated June 15, 1977. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 3, "Mural Proposal." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁸¹ Sic. "I. Mural Chronology." No date or author provided, but the document is attached to a letter from Henry Lopez, Director of the Mural Committee for the Sacramento Concilio, Inc., to President James Bond, dated June 15, 1977. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 3, "Mural Proposal." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁸² Joe Serna, Jr., was president of the Sacramento Concilio Inc. at the time of Henry Lopez's letter to President James Bond in 1977.

⁶⁸³ "I. Mural Chronology." The chronology of events leading up to "La Cultura" mural's destruction also adds that Members of the Art Department sent a letter to the campus planning committee in December 1974 objecting "to murals being removed without their consent." They also proposed a three step procedure: "(1) Fine Arts Committee (2) Campus Planning Committee (3) President." I believe that this was in response to the Executive Order and Bond's enforcement. Letter Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 3, "Mural Proposal." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁸⁴ Sic. "II. Statement of Need." No date or author provided, but the document is attached to a letter from Henry Lopez, Director of the Mural Committee for the Sacramento Concilio, Inc., to President James Bond, dated June 15, 1977. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 3, "Mural Proposal." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁸⁵ In the documents and articles of the era, I found no information about the dedication phrase that Dr. Rios recalled in his interview. However, the mural committee meeting minutes indicate that an original dedication phrase was painted on the first "La Cultura"

mural, which was a quote of Benito Juarez: "In fact, the inscription by Benito Juarez, President of Mexico, at the bottom read, El Respeto al Derecho Ajeno es la Paz (The route to peace is respecting the rights of others)." From "II. Statement of Need." Attached to a letter from Henry Lopez, Director of the Mural Committee for the Sacramento Concilio, Inc., to President James Bond, dated June 15, 1977. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 3, "Mural Proposal." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁸⁶ I. Mural Chronology." No date or author provided, but the document is attached to a letter from Henry Lopez, Director of the Mural Committee for the Sacramento Concilio, Inc., to President James Bond, dated June 15, 1977. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 3, "Mural Proposal." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁸⁷ Handwritten meeting minutes. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 3, "Mural Proposal." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁸⁸ Handwritten meeting minutes. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 3, "Mural Proposal." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁸⁹ Letter to President James Bond from Henry Lopez, Director of the Mural Committee for the Sacramento Concilio, Inc., to President James Bond, dated June 15, 1977. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 3, "Mural Proposal." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁹⁰ "II. Statement of Need." No date or author provided, but the document is attached to a letter from Henry Lopez, Director of the Mural Committee for the Sacramento Concilio, Inc., to President James Bond, dated June 15, 1977. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 3, "Mural Proposal." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁹¹ Sic. Mass letter by Steve F. Arvizu. Dated November 24, 1971. Courtesy of Office of the President Collection. Box 24 : Folder 21. "Mesa Directiva 1971." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁹² Mass letter by Steve F. Arvizu. Dated November 24, 1971. Courtesy of Office of the President Collection. Box 24 : Folder 21. "Mesa Directiva 1971." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁹³ "Mesa Directiva: Chicano's Move for Parity at SSC." *The State Hornet*. December 7, 1971. Courtesy of Office of the President Collection. Box 24 : Folder 21. "Mesa Directiva 1971." Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

⁶⁹⁴ Ramiro Arceo, "Artist to sign mural 21 years later." *State Hornet*. October 13, 1999. Available online:<http://www.csus.edu/hornet/archive/fall99/issue07/news02.html> (Accessed March 01, 2007).

⁶⁹⁵ Victoria Dalkey, "Call to *La Causa*." *The Sacramento Bee*. Scene. (April 04, 1992). 5.

⁶⁹⁶ While Philadelphia's City Council adopted "one of the first Percent for Art Ordinances in the nation" in December of 1959, Chicago's APP ordinance was established in 1978. "At that time, Chicago was one of the first municipalities, and the largest, to legislate the incorporation of public art into its official building program. Today, there are more than 200 similar programs in cities throughout the United States, due in large part to the success of the Chicago ordinance." For more information, please see:
http://www.phila.gov/publicart/text_pages/percentforart.html
<http://egov.cityofchicago.org/city/webportal/portalEntityHomeAction.do?entityName=Public+Art&entityNameEnumValue=157>

⁶⁹⁷ "The Art in Public Buildings Program results from legislation authored by Senator Alan Sieroty and signed into law by Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr., in 1976." Standard letter from William B. Cook, Director of the California Arts Council. Dated October 19, 1982. Cema 8. Box 4 : Folder 4. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁹⁸ According to a documents from the Centro de Artistas Chicanos while it was established on Franklin Boulevard, the Centro "received CETA employment monies under Title II and VI. They also received money from various city and county sources, from revenue sharing, from the National Endowment of the Arts, California Arts Council and small contributions." Sic. "The Centro's Management & Resources."

Further, from 1980-1981, the Centro had a representative on the Sacramento Arts Commission, as evidenced in a 1976—1983 timeline of the Centro's activities. Cema 8. Box 1 : Folder 9. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁹⁹ "Oral History Interview with Ricardo Favela." By David B. Lemon, CSUS. November 6, 2001. Ethnic Survey File. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009.

⁷⁰⁰ According to Redevelopment Agency files from 1976 and '78 that detail "Project No. 6" of the Alkali Flat Neighborhood Development Program, "\$825,000 was used to carry out NDP activities for the first year in a two-block target area bound by 8-10-D-E Streets. One hundred and forty three new apartments for low and moderate income families were built to replace the 62 substandard dwelling units and warehouses formerly in the area." The Washington Square apartment complex is the site of both of Cid's Ollin murals. "Alkali Flat n.d.p." Redevelopment Agency 1976 File, and "Alkali Flat: community development" from Housing and Redevelopment Programs November 1978 File. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009.

Furthermore, the Ollin murals predate the establishment of Sacramento's 1977 Arts in Public Places regulation that designates "2% of eligible City and County capital improvement project budgets be set aside for the commission, purchase, and installation of artworks throughout the City." "Art in Public Places." Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission Website. <http://sacmetroarts.org/art-in-public-places.html>. (Accessed on April 19, 2009).

⁷⁰¹ Favela explained the RCAF's involvement in the APP ordinance in more detail: "The art taxation for new buildings that are being done in the city of Sacramento. It used to be where redevelopment and corporate agencies could get away with it by incorporating landscaping and calling it art. So we kind of narrowed it down and said, 'no, this is for actual art work, you're gonna support artists and you're gonna pay them for art in your work either as part of your construction or as part of an additive thing—but you're going to pay a percentage of your—we had to do this politically through the city counsel, through then city councilman Lloyd Connely, who's now a judge, Phillip Isenberg, who was councilman, [and] is now just finished being an assemblyman ... and then Joe Serna ... Joe Serna was our inside man because he was RCAF." Sic. "Oral History Interview with Ricardo Favela." By David B. Lemon, CSUS. November 6, 2001. Ethnic Survey File. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009.

⁷⁰² "Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission Announces a Competition for Art Work for a New City Parking Structure." No date but deadline was October 28, 1977. Cema 8. Box 2 : Folder 18. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁰³ Community development consultant Deb Marois notes that "In the 1950s, the city established the Sacramento Redevelopment Agency to take advantage of new federally funded urban renewal programs and thus began a forty-year undertaking to restore the central city" (19). Marois, "An Economic History of Alkali Flat." March 2003. University of California Davis. Community and Redevelopment Paper. <http://www.shra.org/Content/CommunityDevelopment/AlkaliFlat/AFReports/EconHist.pdf>

⁷⁰⁴ Commonly known as the West End, the riverfront district in downtown Sacramento was impoverished and dilapidated by the 1960s; once a thriving center for commerce between the waterway and railroad, the West End was also home to "single men living in flophouses [who] provided a huge labor pool" (23). Marois adds that "every morning, agricultural trucks would line up to transport workers to outlying farms, ranches, mines and logging camps. [But] as farms increasingly mechanized, the need for labor decreased and the area increasingly became home to bars, vagrants and the poor" (23). Interview with Burnett Miller, March 04, 2003).

In addition to the area's shifting economy, "City leaders wanted to transform Capitol Avenue into 'a beautiful boulevard worthy of the dignity that should accompany a state capital entrance'" ("Redevelopment Brings Dramatic Changes to Capital." *The Sacramento Union*. (June 27, 1965) H16-H17. As qtd in Marois, 23). Marois also notes that during the 1960s, the redevelopment of the west end saw "the construction of the Federal Office and Courts Building, the widening of Capitol Mall, state and commercial office building, parking structures, garden apartments and a 15-story high rise, and a shopping complex" (23-24). Although hopes for revitalization were high, the creation of the I-5 onramp created huge battles and "it proved difficult to attract investment to the area"(24). Thus, the idea "for a historic center eventually gained support resulting in the creation of 'Old Sacramento.'"

⁷⁰⁵ Marois notes that by 1965, nearly \$19 million of new construction was completed or underway within the area along the Capitol Mall. Macy's was also the tenant

“Redevelopment Brings Dramatic Changes to Capital.” *The Sacramento Union*. (June 27, 1965) H16-H17. As qtd in Marois, 23).

⁷⁰⁶ “Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission Announces a Competition for Art Work for a New City Parking Structure.” No date but deadline was October 28, 1977. Cema 8. Box 2 : Folder 18. Original sources differ on the amount available for the public art. According to the SMAC announcement for the competition, \$150,000 was available. But In 1980, Jane Goldman reported for *Sacramento Magazine* that “the four works represent a total expenditure of \$165,000. Roughly 2 percent of the cost of the cost of constructing the garage itself” (41). “Art Against the Wall.” *Sacramento Magazine*. (8/80). Cema 8. Box 27 : Folder 33. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁰⁷ Jane Goldman, “Art Against the Wall.” *Sacramento Magazine*. (8/80). Cema 8. Box 27 : Folder 33. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁰⁸ Press Release from the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. June 10, 1980. Cema 8. Box 16 : Folder 10. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

Furthermore, the RCAF was paid \$36,000 for “Metamorphosis,” and was one of four “of the 31 proposals” that was selected by SMAC. Stan Padilla painted the bottom and top levels. Juanishi Orosco painted the second level and Esteban Villa was in charge of the third level. Jane Goldman, “This mural hopes to break down walls to communication.” Special to the Union. *The Sacramento Union*. Thursday (July 17, 1980). E1, E10. Cema 8. Box 29 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁰⁹ Goldman, 43. “Art Against the Wall.” *Sacramento Magazine*. (8/80). Cema 8. Box 27 : Folder 33. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷¹⁰ Latorre, 57.

⁷¹¹ Goldman, 47. “Art Against the Wall.” *Sacramento Magazine*. (8/80). Cema 8. Box 27 : Folder 33. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷¹² Rancho Seco is a nuclear power generating station owned by Sacramento Municipal Utility District. Commercially operative in 1975, Rancho Seco operated until 1989, when it was closed by public vote. Decommissioning activities have been underway since 2005. <http://www.smud.org/en/about/pages/history-1980s.aspx> (Accessed May 22, 2009).

⁷¹³ Steve M. Avella, "Prehistory to the Goldrush." *Sacramento: Indomitable City*. Charleston SC, Chicago IL, San Francisco CA: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. 12.

⁷¹⁴ Stan Padilla claimed in *Sacramento Magazine* that "Metamorphosis" symbolized larger changes in definitions of art: "Art can be anything," muralist Padilla explains. "It can be a pretty thing on the wall. It can be a rusted metal. But our vision of the world is one of a process of education. Things come and go, but what is constant is change." Jane Goldman, "This mural hopes to break down walls to communication." Special to the Union. *The Sacramento Union*. Thursday (July 17, 1980). E1, E10. Cema 8. Box 29 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷¹⁵ Michael D. Harris, "Urban Totems: The Communal Spirit of Black Murals." *Walls of Heritage / Walls of Pride: African American Murals*. Eds., James Prigoff and Robin J. Dunitz. Pomegranate Communications, Inc: San Francisco, 2000.

⁷¹⁶ Harris, 30.

⁷¹⁷ Harris adds that during this time "many murals by black artists had become more personal than communal and their subject matter was often more socially critical than inspirational, more decorative than political" (30). But his analysis of African American muralism's evolution is not one-dimensional; he explores the multiple ways in which the public art practice continues to renew itself and its social aesthetic, most notably in the late '90s and the proliferation of "graffiti." After the 1990s and what he calls a "Fin de Siècle," Harris deems the street art as the new "Insurgency: Urban Spraycan Calligraphy," likening its "renegade spirit" to that of the *Wall of Respect's* communal and local origination" (40-42).

⁷¹⁸ Eva Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez, *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. 14.

⁷¹⁹ Pitman Weber, 9.

⁷²⁰ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

⁷²¹ "RCAF Inter-City Mural Project." Centro de Artistas Chicanos document dated June 16, 1980. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 5. The entire list includes: Stan Padilla, Juan Orosco, Esteban Villa, Ricardo Favela, Jose Montoya, Freddie Gonzalez, Conrad Miranda, Lorraine Garcia, Andra Somara, Dennis Vincent, Elias Baca, Nathan Villa, Mountain Lion Padilla, Ken Knolles, Richard Montoya and Lonnie Miramontes. Also a handwritten name appears, Alfredo Diaz Sanchez.

Further, Jane Goldman adds that "during the six weeks of actual painting in June and July, a crew of 15 invited the public to share the experience of creating a work that they feel represents 'humanity as a whole.'" Goldman, 43. "Art Against the Wall." *Sacramento Magazine*. (8/80).Cema 8. Box 27 : Folder 33. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷²² Michael Harris asserts that “the political and communal consciousness of the early black murals was not present in the content of many subsequent murals” that were officially funded in cities like Chicago, once agencies for public art were established (29).

⁷²³ Tomás Ybarra-Frausto and Shifra M. Goldman, *Arte Chicano: A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of Chicano Art, 1965—1981*. Berkeley: Chicano Studies Library Publication Unit, University of California, 1985. 53. As qtd in Latorre, 36.

⁷²⁴ José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004).

⁷²⁵ Ernesto Galarza, *Barrio Boy*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971. 197.

⁷²⁶ “Metamorphosis” had in fact participated in something much more significant: it was built on “sacred” site of the Chicano Movement. This mural is not the only examples of this important phenomenon. In 1974, artist Tomie Arai of City Arts Workshop created the “Wall of Respect for Women” in New York’s Lower Eastside. The mural was widely accepted by the working-class women who resided in the area. But as Cockcroft et al point out in *Toward A People’s Art*, “The muralists discovered that the location of their Wall of Respect For Women had been a historical rallying place for women strikers in the early days of the labor movement. It had become such a site again. In 1975, the Lower Eastside Women’s Coalition of Gouverneur Hospital used the mural as the location for a rally to kick off the International Women’s Day March” (131).

⁷²⁷ Aztlán is a mythic place (now the U.S. Southwest) where the Chicano/a diaspora originated.

⁷²⁸ Constance Cruz, “Aztlán in Tejas: Chicano/a Art From The Third Coast.” *Chicano Visions: American Painters On The Verge*. Ed., Cheech Marin. Little, Brown and Company, Inc.: Boston, New York, London, 2002. 33.

⁷²⁹ *Pilots of Aztlán*. 1994.

⁷³⁰ Deeply influenced by the working conditions and injustices their communities faced in the fields, factories, and barrios, RCAF members developed a critique of labor, education and politics. They contended that the growers, labor bosses, legislatures, and public had failed to protect and respect farmworkers and their families. They evidenced this failure with the inadequate representation of Chicano/a history and culture in local school systems—both secondary and at the university level. RCAF artists believed that the absence of Chicano/a history in the education systems originated in the broader inequalities of U.S. history. They shared these beliefs with all artists and activists involved in the civil rights movement, thinking the U.S. denied certain chapters of its history. Ben Keppel observes, “History—as subject and as process—was of first importance to the Movement and its muralists. It held this privileged place because those within the Movement were not merely seeking a redress of specific grievances, but wanted to enact fundamental change in society. History, as transmitted in schools and through other social institutions, had been little more than a ‘fabrication of the past out of the accepted myths of the present.’ History-making would be democratized and America better able to address its most serious problems once those who had been forgotten or reviled were remembered and respected.”

Ben Keppel, "A Historian Reads *Toward A People's Art*." Introduction. *Toward A People's Art*. 2nd Ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998. xxix.

⁷³¹ Press Release for Dedication on August 23, 1984. Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Copy Courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷³² Robyn Eifertsen, "Sacramento Risks Losing its Historical Mural Collection to Vandalism. *The Sacramento Bee*. Neighbor's Section. (6/19/1997). N1.

⁷³³ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁷³⁴ Interestingly, a letter from Juan Carrillo indicates that Villa had previously looked into obtaining official access to the underpass. In 1978, Carrillo was an administrative assistant at the California Arts Council, and his letter to Villa provided explicit instructions on how to go about receiving official right of entry. Nevertheless, Villa did not wait for Carrillo's elaborate response—which is literally dated the day before Villa painted in the tunnel.

Letter to Esteban Villa from Juan Carrillo. Dated November 8, 1978. Carrillo identifies himself as an administrative assistant for the California Arts Council. In his response to Villa's inquiry he writes, "I have inquired at the Department of Transportation in regards to your proposed use of the walls under Interstate 5 for a mural project. It appears as though this request is not out of line and has often been granted throughout the state. What is required is..." Carrillo goes on to list a series of steps with advice in a two page letter. Cema 8. Box 2 : Folder 21. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷³⁵ Letter to Ricardo Favela, Executive Director for Centro de Artistas Chicanos, from Bill Moskin, Executive Director from SMAC. Dated July 26, 1979. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷³⁶ "K Street Underpass." The document is undated but is on "Roger Scott Group" letterhead and signed by Roger Scott. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷³⁷ Juanishi Orosco. Email correspondence, April 04, 2002.

⁷³⁸ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2009).

⁷³⁹ According to a memo from 1980, Scott's prisms were not well received by the SMAC or local officials from the city's Department of Engineering. Document from Department of Engineering, received by City Manager's Office. Dated April 1, 1980. The Memo is intended for the City Council and provides a summary of the project and background history that indicates the tunnel's redevelopment was originally proposed as a 1976 Local Public Works Program project that would be funded through the federal government's Economic Development Administration. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷⁴⁰ Document from Department of Engineering, received by City Manager's Office. Dated April 1, 1980. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷⁴¹ "Program for Artwork for K Street Underpass." Dated March 1982. Author unknown. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁴² "Program for Artwork for K Street Underpass." Dated March 1982. Author unknown. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁴³ "Underpass Mural Project: For the City of Sacramento, Calif." Dated July 15, 1982. From the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷⁴⁴ Deb Marois, "An Economic History of Alkali Flat." March 2003. University of California Davis. Community and Redevelopment Paper. 24.

⁷⁴⁵ Marois, 24.

⁷⁴⁶ In an undated description of the "K Street Underpass" by Roger Scott, he explains the prisms as "sculpture in space." He adds that the reflective surface on the tile mandalas "will not only reflect the prism lights, but will signal to the pedestrian that they are walking thru two reflectors which again reminds them of passing through time and space. In essence, this part of the tunnel becomes a 'time warp.'" Sic. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷⁴⁷ Letter to Ricardo Favela, Executive Director of Centro de Artistas Chicanos, from Jennifer Dowley, SMAC Coordinator for Art in Public Places Program. Dated December 17, 1982. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁴⁸ Letter to Ricardo Favela, Executive Director of Centro de Artistas Chicanos, from Jennifer Dowley, SMAC Coordinator for Art in Public Places Program. Dated December 17, 1982. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1.

For awhile, the APP committee and SMAC moved forward with the collaborative design, as long as Scott developed "a full scale mock-up of 3 prisms to verify the technical feasibility of the prism system." This was indicated by a summary of the July 15, 1982 meeting. SMAC letterhead. Handwritten note states that the summary was sent to commissioners 8/4 and "they will vote 8/11 or 8/12." Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷⁴⁹ In July 1982, the SMAC Commissioners consisted of John Hansen, Jackie Caplan, Robert Else, Marjorie W. McLain, David Rible, Tere Romo, Thomas E. Small, Jr., Jaqueline Springwater and Sharon A. Walbridge. Bill Moskin was the Executive Director. In April 1983, with Moskin still serving as ED, SMAC's Commissioners were: David

Rible, Jackie Caplan, Mitsuko S. Iwama, Pam Johnson, Marjorie McLain, James G. Neagle, Tere Romo, Thomas E. Small, Jr. Jacqueline Springwater, and Audrey Tsuruda. By August 1983, Rible was the only original Commissioner from 1982, with Moskin still acting ED. This is according to SMAC letterhead between 1982—1983. Copies courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷⁵⁰ Letter from Jennifer Dowley, SMAC Coordinator for the Art in Public Places Program, to Ricardo Favela, ED of the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Dated February 23, 1983. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷⁵¹ Letter from Jennifer Dowley, SMAC Coordinator for the Art in Public Places Program, to Ricardo Favela, ED of the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Dated February 23, 1983. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷⁵² Handwritten meeting minutes dated “4-21-83” and signed “gm,” more than likely for Gina Montoya, Centro de Artistas Chicanos.

Additionally, some of the APP committee members are identified as “D.R.” for David Rible and another as “sangrona,” which in Spanish means “unpleasant.” The APP committee’s resistance to the RCAF’s designs in the meeting minutes primarily from Rible y la sangrona. In later meeting minutes that are taken by “gina” on May 11, 1983, “Pam Johnson / David Rible” are identified. Perhaps, “sangrona” refers to Johnson. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁵³ Handwritten meeting minutes dated “4-21-83” and signed “gm,” more than likely for Gina Montoya, Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁵⁴ Handwritten meeting minutes dated “4-21-83.” Gina Montoya for the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁵⁵ The initials, “E.V.” were listed next to the comment. Handwritten meeting minutes dated “4-21-83.” Gina Montoya for the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁵⁶ Handwritten meeting minutes dated “May 11, 1983.” Gina Montoya for the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁵⁷ Letter from Jennifer Dowley, SMAC Coordinator for the Art in Public Places Program, to Ricardo Favela, ED of the Centro de Artistas Chicanos. Dated April 26, 1983. Cema 8. Box 8 : Folder 1. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988.

California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections.
University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁷⁵⁸ "Information of K Street Underpass Mural." Dated August 1, 1983. From the SMAC. Author Unknown. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷⁵⁹ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000). Orosco is referring mainly to David Rible as an artistic peer. Rible is a well-known glass artist in the area and also a recipient of APP commissions, with several sandblasted glass sculptures at Sacramento's Hyatt Regency Hotel. Robert Else was a longtime professor of Art at CSUS, from 1950 to 1979. Now a Professor Emeritus, he served on the Board of Trustees of the Crocker Museum.

Reflecting on the opposition he faced for the "glass prism" concept, Orosco added, "I was amazed that they were resistant to it. I mean hostile. In fact, one of them was a glass artist. I was suspicious that he wanted to do it and of professional jealousy. They attacked it on purely artistic merits and were very vocal and very acidic. Their body language was like the three monkeys—hear no evil, speak no evil, see no evil. The panel was totally closed off. I was angry because it was a panel of our peers [including] Robert Else, who was a CSUS professor, and a couple others. About five to seven artists and arts administrators that were picked by the Arts Commission of Sacramento. Arts in Public Places convened individual panels for all commissions."

⁷⁶⁰ Negotiations for renovations to L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. began as early as January 1990, when SMAC Executive Director Wendy A Ceccherelli sent a letter to Wendy Saunders at Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency, indicating that she had "met with Juanishi Orosco." They discussed the conditions of the murals and the original agreement between SMAC, APP and other city agencies. The project was shelved, again, until 1997, when Juanishi Orosco submitted a complete report with photographs to SMAC's APP Coordinator Linda Bloom on January 15, 1997. By 1998, budgets were being created for a \$40,000 investment (\$20,000 from the APP Maintenance Fund and \$20,000 from the SHRA.) Work began in spring of 1999. L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. was formerly rededicated on October 14, 1999. All copies courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷⁶¹ Gilka Romero, "Creativity Unleashed in Tunnel." *The Sacramento Bee*. Neighbor's Section. (10/21/99). N1.

⁷⁶² "So I was thirty five at the time when they rejected the prism, which was an integral part of the wall. I had a hard time accepting that one component's rejection. I wanted to redesign the whole thing because the absence of that one part changed the entire design. But they said, 'No, take it or leave it.' I had to paint a design that I really didn't want to—my plan B—otherwise we would have lost the contract. We didn't make it public because I never wanted to make a big issue out of it because we needed the contract. If we didn't accept the terms, they'd yank it and seek other artists. So we stepped outside, and went back in and accepted." Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁷⁶³ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁷⁶⁴ Sic. Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁷⁶⁵ Copy of Juanishi Orosco's redesign sketch from 1999. Copy was provided by Juanishi Orosco on July 06, 2004.

⁷⁶⁶ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁷⁶⁷ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁷⁶⁸ Romero, "Creativity Unleashed in Tunnel." *The Sacramento Bee*. Neighbor's Section. (10/21/99). N1.

⁷⁶⁹ Esteban Villa, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁷⁷⁰ Esteban Villa, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁷⁷¹ Esteban Villa, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁷⁷² Esteban Villa, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁷⁷³ Esteban Villa, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

⁷⁷⁴ Rafael Pérez-Torres, 155. He primarily addresses the 1956 film *Giant*, Tino Villanueva's poem "Scene from the Movie 'Giant'" (1993), and Oscar Acosta's novels *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* (1972) and *The Revolt of the Cockroach People* (1973).

⁷⁷⁵ Rafael Pérez-Torres, 155-56.

⁷⁷⁶ Rafael Pérez-Torres, 155.

⁷⁷⁷ I am aware of the implications of using *mestizaje* as only an aesthetic and/or cultural tactic, disregarding the racial hierarchy it suggests. In "Patrolling Borders: Hybrids, Hierarchies and the Challenge of *Mestizaje*," political scientist Christina Beltrán asserts that "*mestizaje* represents a central trope in Chicano and Latino thought" and, subsequently, there are numerous positions on its meaning in current Chicano/a Studies scholarship (597). Still, most scholars agree that *mestizaje* originates in a combination of racial and historical references that fall somewhere between José Vasconcelos's 1926 text, *La Raza Cósmica*, and Gloria Anzaldúa's 1987 text, *Borderlands / la Frontera: The New Mestiza*. The synthesis of materials ranging from an early twentieth century Mexican philosopher and a late twentieth century Chicana theorist is not lost on scholars who examine *mestizaje* as a process like hybridity. Beltrán, for example, goes on to note that "Anzaldúa recognizes that she is participating in an historical and ideological tradition that extends back at least as far as José Vasconcelos' 1926 book *La Raza Cósmica*" (597). Anzaldúa's conscious nod to Vasconcelos is based on the interracial platform he constructed as a critique of Eurocentric models for racial superiority: "He called it a cosmic race, *la raza cósmica*, a fifth race embracing the four major races of the world. Opposite to the theory of the pure Aryan, and to the policy of racial purity that white America practices, his theory is one of inclusivity. At the confluence of two or more genetic streams, with chromosomes constantly "crossing over," this mixture of races rather than resulting in an inferior being, provides hybrid progeny, a mutable, more

malleable species with a rich gene pool. From this racial, ideological, cultural and biological cross-pollination, an 'alien' consciousness is presently in the making—a new *mestiza* consciousness, *una conciencia de mujer*. It is a consciousness of the Borderlands (98).

Anzaldúa's "new *mestiza* consciousness" is a state of mind that intuitively navigates between all borders of difference—not just racial ones. She deems this ability, "*la facultad*," or "a higher level of consciousness to which border people have access" and that "the experience of homosexuality" also provides a "particularly powerful location to cross cultures and bridge communities" (Beltrán 604). Yet Beltrán finds the "privileged insight and advanced evolution" of the border dweller and the queer to be a problematical categorization because it reproduces "already-existing narratives of romantic identification and exclusion" (604; 595). "In her effort to subvert dominant narratives of power," Beltrán argues, "Anzaldúa seeks more than equality for her *mestiza* subjects" (604-05). The elevated site of the *mestiza/o* suggests an exalted site, or subject-hood, reminiscent of the individualism found in western paradigms. Beltrán's criticism of hybrid frameworks like Anzaldúa's "new *mestiza* consciousness" warns Chicano/a scholars, artists, writers and practitioners that "*mestizaje* will always fall short as an alternative approach to theorizing so long as it continues to reify categories rather than calling our understanding of subjectivity into question" (606). Further, Literary critic Cyrus R. K. Patell also identified the problems hybridity posed to the postmodern subject when only perceived as a strategy of resistance to dominant paradigms: "While hybridity can help to break the impasse of the either/or logic of hyphenation, it remains rooted in a binary mode of thinking" (177).

Because of the fluidity of *mestizaje*—its changeable nature—Rafael Pérez-Torres argues that "the term *mestiza* is not a fixed signifier but serves as 'a *tactical subjectivity* with the capacity to recenter depending upon the kinds of oppression to be confronted'" (Chela Sandoval, as qtd. in Pérez-Torres, 157.) Pérez-Torres draws on Chela Sandoval's concept of oppositional consciousness to claim that *mestiza* consciousness is in actuality a strategy that's always moving, mixing and redefining. As a process, and not a fixed status or actual subjectivity, "*mestizaje* does not mark a paradigmatic quest for self-definition; it enacts that self-definition in multiple ways" (172). The ways in which *mestizaje* may perform "self-definition" are quite powerful, according to Pérez-Torres since *mestizaje* has "capacity to effect change through the various systems of power—discursive, repressive, militarized, ideological—*mestizos* contest. The terrains crossed by *mestizo* and *mestiza* bodies form a topos shaped by strategies of survival and triumph. *Mestizaje* thus becomes a means of weaving together the traces of a historical material legacy and the vision of a potential subjectivity" (157). Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands / La Frontera*. 2nd Ed. Aunt Lute Books: San Francisco, 1991.

Also see, Christina Beltrán, "Patrolling Borders: Hybrids, Hierarchies and the Challenge of *Mestizaje*." *Political Research Quarterly*. 57:4 (December 2004). 595-606. Cyrus R. K. Patell's "Comparative American Studies: Hybridity and Beyond." *American Literary History*. 11:1 (Spring 1999). 166-186. Chela Sandoval, "U.S. Third World Feminism: The Theory and Method of Oppositional Consciousness in the Postmodern World." *Genders*. 10 (Spring 1991). 1-24.

⁷⁷⁸ Homi Bhaba, *The Location of Culture* (1994) as qtd. in Cyrus R. K. Patell's "Comparative American Studies: Hybridity and Beyond." *American Literary History*. 11:1 (Spring 1999) 177.

⁷⁷⁹ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2005).

⁷⁸⁰ Restoration of Southside Park Mural was sponsored by the City of Sacramento Neighborhood Services Department, Parks & Recreation, Council District 4 and “funded by the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency.” Press Release. September 24, 2001. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

⁷⁸¹ Documents from the SMAC archive indicate that as early as 1990, community residents of the Southside Park Neighborhood Association were contacting Mayor Heather Fargo about possible renovations. Memo to Cindy Norton, Administrative Assistant to Heather Fargo. Sandra Samaniego, Member of the Southside Park Neighborhood Association. July 13, 1990. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004. Furthermore, Samaniego continued to speak on behalf of the Neighborhood Association in the *Sacramento Bee* in August 1990 and in support of restoration. See Richard Fruto, “Loyalty and pride: City’s melting pot has devoted residents.” Neighbors Section. *The Sacramento Bee*. (08/30/90). N1-2.

⁷⁸² Serna was mayor from 1993 until his death in 1999.

⁷⁸³ Matt Wagar, “Fountain built in late mayor, wife’s honor.” *The State Hornet*. CSUS. (October 3, 2001). A7.

⁷⁸⁴ Wagar, A7.

⁷⁸⁵ Wagar, A7.

⁷⁸⁶ Wagar, A7.

⁷⁸⁷ Wagar, A7.

⁷⁸⁸ <http://www.eastend.dgs.ca.gov/ArtProgram/Royal+Chicano+Air+Force+Mural.htm> (Accessed June 23, 2009). The Capitol Area East End Complex was developed and voted upon throughout the 1990s. In the 1960s, the State of California purchased “42 blocks for downtown state office campus.” The CAEEC was developed from this original land purchase. <http://www.eastend.dgs.ca.gov/AboutTheProject/default.htm> (Accessed June 25, 2009).

⁷⁸⁹ See endnote 788 and Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

⁷⁹⁰ Orosco explained, “Basically, it was off of restoring Southside Park Mural and we got—I got contracted by Tamara Thomas from L.A. [She’s a] big time art consultant out of L.A. And because there was a newspaper article that she saw, [and] she was putting together the artwork for the [building’s] east end project; and she called me and said, “I have a contract on here for a mural at the east end project. You want your name on it?” Just like that, just like that—straight up. You know and we were still working on Southside Park renovations and I was taking—you know, I had to take a step back from the wall [and] take a minute, and go like, “Yeah, how much?” She told me how much and I said, “Yeah.” And then I said, “Who do you want? Do you want the group mural or what do you want? You tell me what you want and we’ll put it together. We’ll do it that way.” Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (July 06, 2004). The RCAF was commissioned at \$30,000. The entire budget for the CAEEC public artworks was \$2.8 million.

⁷⁹¹ “Art Program.” <http://www.eastend.dgs.ca.gov/ArtProgram/default.htm> (Accessed June 25, 2009).

⁷⁹² Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (July 06, 2004).

⁷⁹³ “I did the whole top; the whole—the Hopi Twins, everything that’s above land I did. I did all the background, all the sky. [Stan Padilla] did the landscape. He did the rainbow. And they actually asked us to come back and redo that and we thought, “That’s really a small rainbow.” And I said, “Yeah it kind of is.” But by then, the construction—we were in there during the construction of the building. So we had to go in with the work crew—hardhats and the whole works.” Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (July 06, 2004).

⁷⁹⁴ Artist Statement available online: “For the Capitol Area East End Complex project they designed a figurative mural, painted on the ten foot high soffit at the Block 171 building's exit to L Street, representing holistic health in the form of a bio-compass of the Sacramento Valley and beyond, from the Sierra foothills to the Pacific coast. The design, incorporating vital color representing spirit, creativity, healing, and elements of earth, air, fire, water, motion and light, the four seasons, sun and moon, the balance of cycles, is centered on Sacramento as a place where the rivers meet, creating a “Sacrament”, a special place.” <http://www.eastend.dgs.ca.gov/ArtProgram/Royal+Chicano+Air+Force+Mural.htm> (Accessed June 23, 2009).

⁷⁹⁵ Historian Steven M. Avella writes that in “September 1808, Ensign Gabriel Moraga left with 13 soldiers from Mission San Jose to explore the rivers, locate Indian settlements, and scout for possible mission sites” (15). Avella adds that after naming the American River between present-day Rancho Cordova and Folsom, “*Las Lagas* (literally ‘the wounds’ to commemorate the suffering of Christ),” he named “the Feather River,” the “Rio del Santissimo Sacramento—the River of the Most Blessed Sacrament” (16). Steven M. Avella, *Sacramento: Indomitable City*. Charleston SC, Chicago IL, San Francisco CA: Arcadia Publishing, 2003.

⁷⁹⁶ Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

⁷⁹⁷ Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

⁷⁹⁸ Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

⁷⁹⁹ “The last mural we did was one at the state building. I don’t know if I showed it to you. It’s a 360 [mural]. I forget the name of the building but it’s at the corner of 15th and L Street. The mural [is in the Department of General Services, State of California Building and] was finished this year—2003 or ’04. Anyway, it was me and los tres grandes. Or los tres juniors: Me, Juanishi Orosco, and Stan Padilla. We’re the architects of the mural. It’s called, “Eartharium.” Earth-Arium because it just shows the four directions, the elements. It’s a pretty safe mural. Even still, I put the huelga eagle where I wasn’t supposed to. But it’s still hidden ... in the field—in a green field. But anyway, it was like a figure, the amount was \$30,000 or something like that.” Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 14, 2004).

Endnotes for Chapter Five, Pages 192—245

⁸⁰⁰ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997. 7.

⁸⁰¹ Alicia Gaspar de Alba, *Chicano Art: Inside / Outside the Master's House* (1998.) 10.

⁸⁰² Gaspar de Alba, 10.

⁸⁰³ Gaspar de Alba, 10.

⁸⁰⁴ In “The Past in the Present: Culture and the Transmission of Memory” (2004), sociologist Ron Eyerman defines “master narrative” in a way that I find useful for explaining what I mean by ‘master narrative of American history.’ He writes, “All nations and groups have founding myths, stories which tell who we are through recounting where we come from. Such narratives form ‘master frames’ and are passed on through traditions, in rituals and ceremonies, public performances which reconnect a group, and where membership is confirmed. Within this process, ‘we’ are remembered and ‘they’ are excluded” (162).

Urban Historian Dolores Hayden elaborates on the master narrative of historical development that has shaped the local histories of ‘American’ cities and towns: “For many years, urban history was dominated by a kind of “city biography” that projected a single narrative of how city leaders or “city fathers”—almost always white, upper- and middle-class men—forged the city’s spatial and economic structure, making fortunes building downtowns and imposing order on chaotic immigrant populations. This narrative tradition in urban history bore many similarities to the ‘conquest’ histories of the American West” (Hayden, 39-40).

⁸⁰⁵ Esteban Villa, Interview (January 07, 2002.)

⁸⁰⁶ “The politics of identity—however they may be defined around gender or race or neighborhood—are inescapable and important aspect of dealing with the urban built environment, from the perspectives of public history, urban preservation, and urban design” (Hayden, 7).

⁸⁰⁷ Donald Bruce, “Remapping Knowledge: *X Marks the Spot*, but on which Map? *SubStance* 71/72 (1993). 54.

⁸⁰⁸ Bruce, 56.

⁸⁰⁹ “Charting any space (social, physical, or cognitive) raises questions about the adequacy of representation; indeed, many postmodern commentators argue that there are no true maps because no representation is truly authentic, let alone totalizing. Increasingly, the referent of knowledge (the empirical, demonstrable, objective world) is qualified, though undoubtedly still ‘there’ at the level of everyday reference. Increasingly, we find ourselves confronted with phenomena that are objectively verifiable but ontologically ambiguous, be it at the micro or the macro level” (Bruce, 56).

⁸¹⁰ Pérez, XIII.

⁸¹¹ “Deconstructing systems of thought and the manner in which they frame Chicana stories—whether linearly, which is the sanctioned European and Euroamerican historical method; or vertically, which is Foucauldian; or cyclically, which is pre-Colombian—is my task” (Pérez, XIII).

⁸¹² Bruce, 56.

⁸¹³ Bruce, 54.

⁸¹⁴ Hayden, 39.

⁸¹⁵ The three projects included a memorial to Biddy Mason, a nineteenth century slave woman who specialized in midwifery and local medicine. Mason’s legacy is recovered via the Power of Place project in 1987, with a public workshop at UCLA that culminated in a 1989 installation of historical timelines and artistic interpretations on the site of Mason’s homestead for public tours. The street on which the memorial was located has National Register Historic District status. The Power of Place project continued its public histories focus, designing and planning a project around Los Angeles’s Embassy Auditorium, where labor unions often held meetings, and early women labor leaders such as, Rose Pesotta, Luisa Moreno, Josefina Fierro de Bright organized seamstresses, garment workers and other women workers of the 1930s. The final project involved plans for a surviving block of what was an important flower market for early Japanese American merchants in Little Tokyo, now the site of small businesses. Of the three projects, only the Biddy Mason memorial was completed, yet the two other projects led to important workshops between historians, community members and artists. The histories of the other two locations and the people who used them are also recorded in Hayden’s text.

⁸¹⁶ Bruce, 56.

⁸¹⁷ David Glassberg, “History and Memory: Public History and the Study of Memory.” *The Public Historian*. 18:2 (Spring 1996). 11.

⁸¹⁸ The driver’s license campaign to which I refer was led by New York governor Eliot Spitzer in September 2007. Danny Hakim, “Spitzer Dropping His Driver’s License Plan.” *New York Times*. Region. (November 14, 2007). <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/14/nyregion/14spitzer.html>. (Accessed May 26, 2008).

⁸¹⁹ The “Secure Fence Act” was signed by President Bush in October 2006 and it is projected that 153 miles of the fencing will be complete along the US-Mexico border in South Texas by December 2008. For more, see Ralph Blumenthal, “Some Texans Fear Border Fence Will Sever Routine of Daily Life.” *New York Times*. (June 20, 2007). www.nytimes.com. (Accessed on May 10, 2008).

⁸²⁰ Mike Davis, *Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the U.S. Economy*. Verso: New York, 2000. 27. Davis quotes Peter Andreas’s “Sovereigns and Smugglers: Enforcing the United States-Mexico Border in the Age of Economic Integration,” Ph.D. diss., Cornell University 1999. 12.

⁸²¹ Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderland / La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. 2nd Ed. San Francisco, Aunt Lute Books, 1999. 25.

⁸²² Gloria A Ramírez, Ed., *La Voz de Esperanza*. 18:6 (July/August 2005). 2.

⁸²³ *La Voz* and many news reports on the 2005 event also note that the protest was ironic because the archway includes many other quotes like, "The kind of community that people dream—rich and poor, white, brown and yellow all living together." Reflecting Baldwin Park's unique heritage, the monument contains several "quotes in English, Spanish, Gabrielino, Chumash, Luiseño and is a layering of indigenous, Spanish and mestizo history from the local community." Gloria A Ramírez, Ed., *La Voz de Esperanza*. 18:6 (July/August 2005). 2.

⁸²⁴ David Pierson, "A Monumental War of Words." *Los Angeles Times*. (June 25, 2005). <http://articles.latimes.com/2005/jun/25/local/me-baldwin25> (Accessed July 9, 2009).

⁸²⁵ Pierson, "A Monumental War of Words." *Los Angeles Times*. (June 25, 2005).

⁸²⁶ For more information about Judy Baca's statements on Danza Indigenas, please see: http://www.sparcmurals.org/sparcone/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=209&Itemid=124&limit=1&limitstart=3

⁸²⁷ In *No One Is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the U.S.-Mexico Border* (2006), Mike Davis mentions that "The 'border,' in the first instance, was not the line drawn by the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers in the aftermath of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, but the genocidal violence that Jacksonian democracy unleashed on the Southwest" (21). Davis's point is that there are many tangible factors involved in making imaginary dividing lines real. Justin Akers Chacón and Mike Davis, *No One Is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the U.S.-Mexico Border*. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2006.

⁸²⁸ James Clifford, "Notes on Travel and Theory." *Inscriptions 5: Traveling Theories, Traveling Theorists*. 5 (1989). 2. Santa Cruz: Center For Cultural Studies & University California Press. http://humwww.ucsc.edu/Cultstudies/PUBS/Inscriptions/vol_5/clifford.html

⁸²⁹ As a social theory, self-reflexivity pertains to the idea of one's self influencing / deciding one's interpretations of experience. The self is the reference point from which conclusions of an external experience are decided upon. Self-reflexive prose pertains to the writing of one's self into the intellectual criticism in literary analyses or interpretation of the historical record. For more on the social concept of self reflexivity: O.J. Flanagan, "Psychology, progress, and the problem of reflexivity: a study in the epistemological foundations of psychology." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*. 17 (1981).375-386. Also, in fictional writing, 'self-reflexive' prose refers to moments when the author points out the fictional nature of his/her work.

⁸³⁰ Adrienne Rich, "Notes toward a Politics of Location." *Blood, Bread, and Poetry: Selected Prose 1979-1985*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1986), 219-220.

⁸³¹ Hayden, 39.

⁸³² While Luna remapped the interior of the Modern Museum of Man, artists Guillermo Gómez-Peña and Coco Fusco also challenged western paradigms for indigenous peoples outside the institutional space of the natural history museum. In March 1992, Gómez-Peña and Fusco entered a cage, dressed in a fusion of indigenous garb—from a grass skirt and animal masks, to shiny metal necklaces and bones. The performance piece took place in Irvine, London, Madrid, Minneapolis, and at the Smithsonian in Washington D.C. Many bystanders thought the exhibit was real. For more, please see: Anna Johnson, “Artists Guillermo Gómez-Peña and Coco Fusco speak with Anna Johnson on shaking conceptions of ethnicity and identity in their seminal *The Year of the White Bear*.” *BOMB*. 42 (Winter 1993). <http://www.bombsite.com/issues/42/articles/1599> (Accessed 08/03/2009).

⁸³³ Gaspar de Alba, 10; Jane Blocker, 21. “Artifact Piece” was first exhibited in 1985 and ’87 at museums in San Diego; it was performed again in 1990 for New York’s “The Decade Show: Frameworks of Identity in the 1980’s.” The Decade Show took place between three museums: Harlem’s Studio Museum, the New Museum of Contemporary Art and the Museum of Contemporary Hispanic Art.

⁸³⁴ Jane Blocker, “Failures of Self-Seeing: James Luna Remembers Dino.” *Journal of Performance and Art*. 23:1 (January 2001). 21.

⁸³⁵ Luna’s signs are quoted in Blocker, 21.

⁸³⁶ Blocker, 21.

⁸³⁷ Congress passed the Indian Appropriations Act in 1851, making way for the establishment of the first “Indian” reservations in Oklahoma. President Grant also oversaw the establishment of numerous Indian reservations during the late 1860s. The national perception of an “Indian problem” spread as the US expanded and Anglo American settlers ‘encountered’ Native American tribes in the new US west.

⁸³⁸ James A. Luna, “I’ve Always Wanted to Be an American Indian.” *Art Journal*. 51:3 Autumn, 1992). 19—27.

⁸³⁹ Luna, 22.

⁸⁴⁰ Luna, 24.

⁸⁴¹ Luna, 26.

⁸⁴² It’s interesting to note that Clifford’s “new” take on theory’s transnational trajectories references Black Elk of the Oglala Sioux. He writes that for Black Elk, “the Black Hills of North Dakota and especially Harney Peak formed the center of the world. Black Elk traveled to Chicago, New York, Paris and London. He also said that wherever you are can be the center of the world. Centers and borders, homes and other places, are already mapped for us. We grow, live across and through them” (6). James Clifford, “Notes on Travel and Theory.” *Inscriptions 5: Traveling Theories, Traveling Theorists*. 5 (1989).

⁸⁴³ Donald Bruce, "Remapping Knowledge: *X Marks the Spot*, but on which Map? *SubStance* 71/72 (1993). 54.

⁸⁴⁴ Guiding tropes of past eras include the early twentieth century's Eugenics Movement that shaped scientific research and popular literature in the US and England.

⁸⁴⁵ Hayden, 84. Also, Hayden lists the specific fields she draws from in her interdisciplinary approach: the humanities, architecture, and landscape traditions in geography and environmental psychology," to "politics (based on work on space in the social sciences and economic geography)" (15).

⁸⁴⁶ Hayden, 9.

⁸⁴⁷ Hayden, 102-04.

⁸⁴⁸ Hayden writes that "all the spaces mapped here connect into a narrative path that follows economic development up to 1940 in downtown" (104). Also, she draws on Frederic Jameson's *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. Post-Contemporary Interventions*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991. 91-91.

⁸⁴⁹ Hayden, 102.

⁸⁵⁰ Hayden, 104.

⁸⁵¹ Hayden, x.

⁸⁵² Hayden notes that many attempts were made to use the Mason homestead for community services and historical preservation throughout the twentieth century. After her death, Mason's grandson unsuccessfully tried to turn the building into a center for African American youth. In the 1970s, Enola Ewing and Miriam Mathews also attempted to honor Mason's founding of the Los Angeles African Methodist Episcopal Church but were not able to do so. For more see pages 169-171.

⁸⁵³ Hayden, 169.

⁸⁵⁴ Hayden, 139-144. Hayden adds that Mason "won freedom for herself and 13 others."

⁸⁵⁵ Hayden, 9-10.

⁸⁵⁶ Hayden writes: "The parking lot was owned by the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency, a public agency engaged in vast land clearance and rebuilding enterprises in nineteen parts of the city" (170).

⁸⁵⁷ Hayden writes that when the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency "realized that the site for the Broadway Spring Center included the historic site of the Mason homestead, they asked if it might be possible for The Power of Place to sponsor some kind of commemoration as part of the new development" (170-71).

⁸⁵⁸ Hayden's chapter on the Bidy Mason memorial is preceded by an excellent chapter on Bidy Mason's history, "The View from Grandma Mason's Place," 138—167.

⁸⁵⁹ Hayden, 181.

⁸⁶⁰ Hayden, 187.

⁸⁶¹ Hayden, 187.

⁸⁶² Hayden, 218-219.

⁸⁶³ Hayden, 220.

⁸⁶⁴ Hayden, 220. In addition to the "Omoide no Shotokyo (Memories of Little Tokyo)," timeline, "the Japanese American National Museum opened in May 15, 1992," and in the former site of the Buddhist temple. For more on the artists' timeline, please see: http://www.publicartinla.com/Downtown/Little_Tokyo/omoide1.html

⁸⁶⁵ Hayden writes that "During World War II, Japanese Americans lost Little Tokyo completely. Forcibly relocated, most inhabitants were first transported to the Santa Anita Racetrack ... The empty buildings of Little Tokyo became 'Bronzeville,' home to African Americans from the South who had migrated to Los Angeles in search of wartime jobs in defense industries" (215).

⁸⁶⁶ Hayden, 76.

⁸⁶⁷ Hayden, 77.

⁸⁶⁸ Elizabeth G. Grossman, "A place for everyone." *The Women's Review of Books*. 13:2 (Nov., 1995). 24.

⁸⁶⁹ Grossman, 24.

⁸⁷⁰ Hayden 170.

⁸⁷¹ Emphasis mine. Grossman, 25.

⁸⁷² Hayden writes that the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency approached The Power of Place in 1986, "when they realized that the site for the Broadway Spring Center included the historic site of the Mason homestead." She adds that they asked if the organization would "sponsor some kind of commemoration as part of the new development" (170-71).

⁸⁷³ Grossman's critique of Hayden's "hagiography" also recalls Emma Pérez's analysis of the heroic framework in Chicano History and, specifically, in the histories of the Chicano Movement. In the *Decolonial Imaginary*, Pérez takes issue with Chicano histories that emulate western paradigms by focusing on individual figures, typically Rudolfo 'Corky' Gonzales, César Chávez and Reies López Tijerina. In attempt to interrupt the stereotypes of Mexicans in most American histories of the west and also to combat historical exclusions, Pérez claims that Chicano scholarship reinforced the 'founding

fathers' model of US history, which perpetuates patriarchy and sexism, failing to truly grasp an equitable history (Pérez, 15).

⁸⁷⁴ Grossman, 25.

⁸⁷⁵ Hayden, 189.

⁸⁷⁶ Hayden, 193.

⁸⁷⁷ Hayden, 192-93.

⁸⁷⁸ Sic. Hayden, 193.

⁸⁷⁹ Hayden, 195.

⁸⁸⁰ Hayden, 196.

⁸⁸¹ Hayden, 196.

⁸⁸² Hayden 196. Hayden also notes that “both Moreno and Fierro were targeted” in the 1940s by government crackdowns on “Popular Front organizations” (197). “Fierro de Bright left for Mexico in the late 1940s; Moreno fought deportation but eventually left as well” (197).

⁸⁸³ Hayden 204-207.

⁸⁸⁴ Alicia Arrizón, “Mythical Performativity: Relocating Aztlán in Chicana Feminist Cultural Productions. *Theatre Journal*. 52:1 (March 2000). 28.

⁸⁸⁵ Arrizón writes, “In Amado M. Peña’s *Mestizo* (1974), a tripartite head represents the cultural mixture embodied in the Mexican identity as the product of the union of the Spanish and pre-colonial cultures. The tripartite face situates the Chicano male body in the middle, between the Mexican and US sides. The overlap of the faces defines mestizaje as the intersubjective and collective experience of intercultural negotiation. The dialectic embodied by the tripartite head dramatizes the relations between colonizers and the colonized, emphasizing not detachment, but rather an understanding of the plural subjectivity of mestizaje” (27-28).

⁸⁸⁶ “Judith F. Baca addresses these grammars and revisits the tri-headed figure, but in her art the feminization of the subject is key. In *La Mestizaje* (1991), Baca places the Chicana mestiza between the Indian/Mayan configuration and the figure of the Spaniard. Both Peña and Baca seek to authorize the cultural hybridities that have emerged as the result of historical transformations. While both artists reinscribe the three distinct cultural legacies (Chicano, indigenous, and European) at once, Baca goes a step further. *La Mestizaje* transgresses the authorial power of the genders, unseating the masculinist, dominant grammars of *El Plan*’s marked body.” (28-29)

⁸⁸⁷ In her historical essay on the three women, Hayden provides biographical details. Rose Pesotta was born in Russia, arriving in Los Angeles via New York in 1936 (192). Luisa Moreno was Guatemalan and came “to New York with an artistic husband in 1928”

(195). She worked as a seamstress and labor leader in Florida and San Antonio, Texas, before Los Angeles. Josefina Fierro de Bright was born in Mexico in 1920 and grew up in farmworker camps in Madera, California. She studied at UCLA, dropped out to become an organizer and was the executive secretary of El Congreso (196-197).

⁸⁸⁸ Hayden is also aware of continued power of the Embassy Auditorium's "place" in the historical consciousness of local area residents as well as historians. She includes an excerpt of an address made by historian Albert Camarillo at the 1991 workshop: "Camarillo from Stanford, who was working on a biography of Moreno, focused on her and her protégé, Fierro de Bright. 'When I realized I'd be standing on the very stage she spoke from, there was no question that I would come today'" (200).

⁸⁸⁹ Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "Interrogating 'Whiteness,' Complicating 'Blackness'; Remapping American Culture." *American Quarterly*. 47:3 (September 1995) 428.

⁸⁹⁰ Fisher Fishkin, 428; 430.

⁸⁹¹ Fisher Fishkin, 430. The term "eye-dialect" refers to the written representation of an individual, a group or a region's accent and/or colloquialisms. These accents are usually heard and not seen. Although there are disagreements over what comprises an eye-dialect, it is often used as a literary technique. American authors like Mark Twain, Zora Neale Hurston and others have employed forms of eye-dialect in many of their works.

⁸⁹² Fishkin draws on George Lipsitz's notion that "whiteness" had been the unmarked category against which difference is constructed" because it "never has to speak its name," or "acknowledge its role as an organizing principle in social and cultural relations" (369). George Lipsitz, "The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: Racialized Social Democracy and the 'White' Problem in American Studies." *American Quarterly*. 47:3 (September 1995) 369-387.

⁸⁹³ Fisher Fishkin is referring to *New Essays on Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Eds., Eric Sundquist. New York, 1986. Robert Stepto's essay, "Sharing the Thunder: The Literary Exchanges of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Henry Bibb, and Frederick Douglass," is included in this anthology.

⁸⁹⁴ Fisher Fishkin, 431.

⁸⁹⁵ Fisher Fishkin, 447.

⁸⁹⁶ Fisher Fishkin, 448.

⁸⁹⁷ Fisher Fishkin, 447. On 449, Fisher Fishkin cites Trey Ellis's article in *Callaloo*, "The New Black Aesthetic," which investigates "the middle-class backgrounds of many of the most prominent black rappers, artists whose cultivation of underclass personae mask their own decidedly nonunderclass roots." Further, she pays attention to Ellis Cose's *The Rage of the Privileged Class* (1993) which presents commentary from "black executives" who challenge the class-based essentialization of what is and is not 'black.'

⁸⁹⁸ Fisher Fishkin, 447.

⁸⁹⁹ Fisher Fishkin, 450.

⁹⁰⁰ Fisher Fishkin writes that “the 1990s brought a new willingness to acknowledge and understand the interplay of intellectual traditions and voices that made African American letters what they are” (450). She demonstrates her point with Michel Fabre’s 1990 study, *Richard Wright: Books and Writers* (Jackson, Mississippi, 1990) from which she draws her reference regarding to whom Wright was reading and responding. For more, see Fisher Fishkin, 450.

⁹⁰¹ Fisher Fishkin, 451.

⁹⁰² Dyson as quoted in Fisher Fishkin, 451. Selected from an unpublished paper, “Language, Race and Identity,” presented at the “Power of Language,” Mark Twain Memorial Fall Symposium in Hartford, CT. October 1994.

⁹⁰³ In a comparatively short three pages, Fisher Fishkin reiterates the point that “American culture always was, and continues to be, in Albert Murray’s phrase, ‘incontestably mulatto.’” The restatement of her essay’s previous work provides an opportunity to expose that this incontestable fact is in fact widely disputed. She mentions other books put forth in the 1990s that advocate the foundational history of American’s “Anglo-Saxon civilization,” as well as texts that make xenophobic arguments about “national suicide” vis-à-vis multicultural policies and the rhetoric of “tenured radicals.” (454).

⁹⁰⁴ Fisher Fishkin, 456.

⁹⁰⁵ Fisher Fishkin, 455.

⁹⁰⁶ Louisiana’s Act 87 of 1908 made interracial unions and cohabitation between blacks and whites illegal. Arkansas modeled their statute after that of Louisiana in 1911; Tennessee also passed a ‘one-drop’ statute in 1910. Other states include Mississippi in 1917, North Carolina in 1923, Virginia in 1924, Alabama and Georgia in 1927, and Oklahoma in 1931. For more, please see: Pauli Murray, Ed. *States’ Laws on Race and Color*. Athens: University of Georgia, 1997. Frank W. Sweet, *Legal History of the Color Line: The Rise and Triumph of the One-Drop Rule*. Palm Coast, FL: Backintyme, 2005. “One Drop Rule.” Online Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture. <http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=5365> (Accessed July 20, 2009).

⁹⁰⁷ As *Plessey v. Ferguson* (1896) indicates, racial segregation and its enforcement occurred prior to the twentieth century’s state statutes. According to F. James Davis in (1991), the one drop rule continues to play a role in the US’s political, cultural and public consciousness. See F. James Davis, *Who is Black? One Nation’s Definition*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991.

⁹⁰⁸ Fisher Fishkin, 454.

⁹⁰⁹ Fisher Fishkin, 454.

⁹¹⁰ Emphasis Mine. Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996. ix-x.

⁹¹¹ Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996. ix-x.

⁹¹² Saldívar's global remapping is limited as well, not accounting for Asian American and other transnational perspectives.

⁹¹³ José David Saldívar, *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 19.

⁹¹⁴ Saldívar, 17-19.

⁹¹⁶ Saldívar, 37.

⁹¹⁷ Saldívar, 29.

⁹¹⁸ Saldívar, 29.

⁹¹⁹ Saldívar, 97.

⁹²⁰ Saldívar, 37. He uses Raymond Williams's 1973 *The Country and the City* to demonstrate another layer of the suppression of regional "difference" in the Anglocentric literary tradition. Deeming the conflict a "city-country opposition," Williams believes that the conflict "is clearly connected with the distinctions between 'metropolitan' (core) and 'provincial' (peripheral) cultures." Williams also believes this belief system to be rooted in "the sixteen-century," implying conquest of the Americas.

⁹²¹ Saldívar, 37.

⁹²² Saldívar, 37. By remapping rhetoric I mean land-based terminology.

⁹²³ Saldívar spends the majority of his chapter on Paredes examining his novel *George Washington Gomez*, which was published in 1990, but started in 1936 and complete by 1940, but he also reviews Paredes's "*With His Pistol In His Hand*": *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1958).

⁹²⁴ Saldívar quotes Paredes on page 18.

⁹²⁵ Please see endnote 29 for my definition of 'self-reflexive' prose.

⁹²⁶ Saldívar, 39. He borrows the historical circumstances of Paredes's text from Héctor Calderón's 1991 article, "Texas Border Literature: Cultural Transformation in the Words of Américo Paredes, Rolando Hinojosa and Gloria Anzaldúa." *Dispositio*. 26/41 : 13-28. 15.

⁹²⁷ Saldívar, 39-40.

⁹²⁸ Saldívar, 39.

⁹²⁹ Saldívar, 159. Nineteenth century writer and political leader, José Martí originally published “Nuestra América” in Mexico City’s *El Partido Liberal* on March 5, 1892.

⁹³⁰ Saldívar, 159. He lets readers know that in addition to the questions, the focus of his chapter is on two historical and literary examples of “frontier modernism,” namely John Gregory Bourke and his 1894 essay, “American Congo,” and María Amparo Ruiz de Burton’s post-1848 novel, *The Squatter and the Don*. Saldívar’s reading of Bourke and Ruiz de Burton’s prose continues to shape scholarly thought and instruction on the frontier, literatures of the west and Chicano/a Studies.

⁹³¹ Saldívar, 38.

⁹³² Saldívar, 159.

⁹³³ Saldívar, 160.

⁹³⁴ I would like to thank Latino/a art historian and curator, Anthony Torres, for his email correspondence and help with understanding Saldívar’s theoretical jargon. Responding in an electronic correspondence on May 07, 2008, Torres wrote, “Manichaeon allegory refers to the vast numbers of people in which binary and discursive oppositions are constructed for creating both images of ‘others’ as well as those doing the creating or ‘othering.’ However, one critical issue is how combating those binaries and construction of ‘difference’, reinforces or legitimate those constructions [that is what my exhibition is against]. The critical thing is this, that such binary construction and the ‘phantasmatic’ projections that inform them are never stable and definitive, since differences exist within, between, and cross-over the constructed categories (borders)” (sic).

⁹³⁵ Dyson as quoted in Fisher Fishkin, 451. Selected from an unpublished paper, “Language, Race and Identity,” presented at the “Power of Language,” Mark Twain Memorial Fall Symposium in Hartford, CT. October 1994.

⁹³⁶ Saldívar, 38.

⁹³⁷ Please see endnote 29 for my definition of ‘self-reflexive’ prose.

⁹³⁸ Saldívar, 40.

⁹³⁹ Saldívar elaborates that “the *corrido*, as Paredes has taught us, is sung by Chicanos who live throughout the U.S.-Mexico borderlands in the southwestern United States. Its function is to reconcile individual experience into a collective identity” (61).

⁹⁴⁰ Saldívar, 62.

⁹⁴¹ Saldívar, 59.

⁹⁴² José Montoya, “Pobre Viejo Walt Whitman.” *In Formation: 20 Years Of Joda*. 2nd Ed. Aztlán: Chusma House Publications, 1992. 1.

⁹⁴³ Fisher Fishkin, 450.

⁹⁴⁴ Saldívar notes Montoya's "anxiety of influence" (58).

⁹⁴⁵ I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear;
Those of mechanics--each one singing his, as it should be, blithe and strong;
The carpenter singing his, as he measures his plank or beam,
The mason singing his, as he makes ready for work, or leaves off work;
The boatman singing what belongs to him in his boat--the deckhand singing on the
steamboat deck;
The shoemaker singing as he sits on his bench--the hatter singing as he stands;
The wood-cutter's song--the ploughboy's, on his way in the morning,
or at the noon intermission, or at sundown;
The delicious singing of the mother--or of the young wife at work--or of the girl sewing or
washing--Each singing what belongs to her, and to none else;
The day what belongs to the day--At night, the party of young fellows, robust, friendly,
Singing, with open mouths, their strong melodious songs.

Walt Whitman, "I Hear America Singing." *Leaves of Grass*. 1900 91.

⁹⁴⁶ Chilean writer and politician, Pablo Neruda is considered one of the most important poets and writers of the twentieth century. He won the Nobel Peace Prize for Literature in 1971. Olivia Castellano, "Valor y Locura: The Poetic Space of José Montoya." *In Formation: 20 Years Of Joda*. 2nd Ed. Aztlán: Chusma House Publications, 1992. XI.

⁹⁴⁷ Fisher Fishkin, 448.

⁹⁴⁸ Emphasis Mine, Saldívar, 58.

⁹⁴⁹ José Montoya, Interview (July 05, 2004.)

⁹⁵⁰ Saldívar, 58.

⁹⁵¹ Saldívar, 58.

⁹⁵² Ricardo Favela, Interview (July 20, 2004).

⁹⁵³ José Montoya, "La Jefita." *In Formation: 20 Years Of Joda*. 2nd Ed. Aztlán: Chusma House Publications, 1992. 9.

⁹⁵⁴ Montoya, 9.

⁹⁵⁵ José Montoya, "La Jefita," 6.

⁹⁵⁶ Montoya, 6.

⁹⁵⁷ Saldívar, 59. Saldívar is also mindful of Montoya's figurative use of the pachuco, adding that he "creates out of the pachuco a model of social resistance to assimilation into U.S. society and a 'dialectic of difference' (Saldívar 1990) from traditional Mexican views" (59) By "traditional Mexican views," Saldívar refers to Mexican philosopher Octavio Paz's 1961 essay, "The *Pachuco* and Other Extremes," included in his larger

manuscript, *The Labyrinth of Solitude and Other Writings* (1961). Paz interpreted the pachuco/a identity as negation, as opposed to convergence, of two national cultures, races and geopolitical realities: "The *pachuco* does not want to become a Mexican again; at the same time he does not want to blend into the life of North America. His whole being is sheer negative impulse, a tangle of contradictions, an enigma. Even his very name is enigmatic: *pachuco*, a word of uncertain derivation, saying nothing and saying everything. It is a strange word with no definite meaning" (Paz, 14). Paz's thoughts on Pachucismo were not well received by Chicano/a thinkers, poets, artists and activists in the 1960s and '70s, as José Montoya also claimed that Paz "blew it with the pachucos, but he did make a retraction, finally. Later on in his life, he apologized. He had no idea of the persecution and the reason why these guys were organizing without even knowing that they were organizing." José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

Montoya's sentiment toward Paz's shortsighted remarks on pachuco/a identity is echoed by comparative literary scholar Román de la Campa, who also challenges the unilateral direction of Paz's thinking. In his Foreword to Mike Davis's *Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the U.S. City* (2000), de la Campa writes, "Latinos are already deeply American, they derive from a North/South divide that is yielding a new geography, and they are thoroughly engaged in the project of further defining what Americanness means" (Sic. xviii).

de la Campa writes this insightful observance in response to literary author and cultural commentator Richard Rodriguez and his assertions in *The Hunger for Memory* (1982). de la Campa deliberately challenges Rodriguez's more assimilationist perspective with the infamous Mexican nationalist perspective of Octavio Paz in 1961. He argues that Paz failed to see the ancestral ties between pachucos and Mexicans, choosing instead to label their existence as a watered down version of the 'real' thing. de la Campa's critique is powerful: "Stumbling into one's double is always a startling but telling experience. It happened to Paz in a city whose rich Mexican heritage should not have been a surprise to him" (xviii).

⁹⁵⁸ Saldívar, 61.

⁹⁵⁹ At the time of Saldívar's publication, several publications of RCAF interviews were available, chiefly Steve La Rosa's film, *Pilots of Aztlán: The Flights of the RCAF* (1994). Additionally, Ricardo Favela's Master thesis, which entails biographic notes and a history on the RCAF's formation at CSUS has been available at the CSUS library since 1989. Montoya, Favela and all other RCAF members were available to Saldívar for interviews and reflections on Chicano/a poetry.

⁹⁶⁰ Including Saldívar's publication on José Montoya's poetry, Montoya is a staple in many literary and interdisciplinary analyses, including: Aida Hurtado's *The Color of Privilege: Three Blasphemies on Race and Feminism*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996 and Raúl Homero Villa's *Barrio-Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. His papers and art collections are archived at CEMA in UC Santa Barbara's Davidson Library; and he served as Poet Laureate of Sacramento, California, in 2002.

⁹⁶¹ Saldívar, 85.

⁹⁶² Saldívar, 85. Using Amalia Mesa Bains's concept, Saldívar explains the aesthetics of the "domesticana" as opposite to "minimalism and camp sensibility." Rather Lomas

Garza's work is characterized by an "aesthetics of abundance, her embellishments of home altars, *cumpleaños fiestas* (birthday celebrations), *tamaldas* (tamale making gatherings), and *curandera* ritual practices." In his endnotes, he cites Amalia Mesa Bains's essay, "Chicana Chronicle and Cosmology: The Works of Carmen Lomas Garza," from Lomas Garza's *In a Piece of My Heart / Pedacitos de mi corazón*. New York: Free Press, 1991.

⁹⁶³ Saldívar, 86.

⁹⁶⁴ Saldívar, 86.

⁹⁶⁵ Saldívar, 78. He cites Juan Bruce-Novoa's 1974 essay, "The Space of Chicano Literature." *Retrospace: Collected Essays on Chicano Literature*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1990. 95. Additionally in his endnote following his reference to Bruce-Novoa's essay, Saldívar writes, "Suffice it to say in this chapter [on Lomas Garza] I want to move away from an exclusively phenomenological poetics and focus our attention on the spatiality of social life, the actually lived and socially produced space of geography and the relations between them" (206).

⁹⁶⁶ Saldívar, 78.

⁹⁶⁷ Saldívar, 78. Also, I feel it's appropriate to note that scholars dealing with canonical convention and traditional expectations have been wrestling with what's missing from the historical narratives and literary tales of "America" for quite some time. It's easy to think that revisionist history and deconstructions of the American literary canons began after the civil rights era because of the work of minority scholars, who created Ethnic Studies Programs and more specific departments once they arrived on university campuses. But the entire twentieth-century is brimming with moments in which people of various classes, races, genders and sexualities demanded inclusion and representation in a myriad of ways. I write this to ensure readers that I am aware of the multiple antecedents that led to the Chicano Movement, and, more specifically, influenced the RCAF's efforts in Sacramento to increase, and then, maintain Chicano/a visibility. But as I explored the ways in which academics used remapping throughout the 1990s as a theoretical tool to discuss canons and rethink US historiography, I was fascinated by their emotive and rather intimate musings in their scholarly work. Fisher Fishkin's insertion of Michael Eric Dyson's memories on growing up reading Richard Henry Dana while listening to Motown, and Saldívar's discovery of the new world of New Haven seemed the most compelling moments of their scholarship. Clearly, Saldívar is drawing on a Chicano/a scholarly tradition in which the author / scholar "testifies" to his or her experience, which concerns the documentation of the historical presence of the Chicano/a diaspora before nineteenth century geopolitical border changes. For more on the historical framework of testifying in Chicano/a history, The Latina Feminist Group's *Telling to Live: Latina Feminist Testimonios*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001.

⁹⁶⁸ There were also claims over actual space that continue to inform contemporary Chicano/a consciousness. In 1970, Chicano/a residents of San Diego's Logan Heights "drew their line in the sand," mobilizing "to stop the bulldozers" from building a Highway Patrol station on land that was previously designated for the creation of a public park. The area in question was a dilapidated space below the Coronado Bridge's freeway ramps for Interstate 5. Community action in Logan Heights culminated in the creation of

Chicano Park, and epitomizes numerous Chicano/a communities across the Southwest embroiled in battles over land rights. Following the community's victorious spatial reclamation, Chicano/a artists created murals "on the support pillars of the bridge ramps." In addition to the murals, the park includes community gardens and a "central pyramidal *kiosco* (kiosk)." It continues to be a central place for Chicano/a culture practices, including "pre-Colombian *danza*" and various indigenous ceremonies (172-174). Homero Villa reads the reconfiguration of the "intruding but monumental columns of the Coronado Bridge" as complicated responses to the "monolithic structures dropped into their barrio landscape" (178). Mentioning Salvador "Queso" Torres, a Barrio Logan resident and major contributor to the Park's aesthetic design, Homero Villa writes that Torres's "vision for a monumental aesthetic makeover [was] equally grand but countersignifying to the designs of hegemonic power that planned and built the Coronado Bridge"(177-78). The murals were not simply colorful illustrations that dressed up the cement walls; rather, they're content and form is inextricable tied to the physical space as well as the history of that space. Homero Raúl Villa, "La Tierra Mía, Logan Heights, Aztlán." *Barrio-Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. For a complete account of the creation of Chicano Park, see Homero Villa's complete section, 172-186.

⁹⁶⁹ Homero Villa, 186.

⁹⁷⁰ Esteban Villa, "Southside Park." *Heartaches & Jalapenos*. RCAF Airwaves Records, 2008.

⁹⁷¹ Homero Villa, 188.

⁹⁷² Sacramento's Downtown Plaza Mall opened in 1971 and is an indoor shopping center that connects to an outdoor shopping district, known as the K Street Mall. Both malls represent several redevelopment projects undertaken originally by the Sacramento Redevelopment Agency in the 1950s, now known as the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency. The projects also included private companies and commercial builders. From the late 1960s through the 1990s Sacramento's built environment was dramatically altered. The Downtown Plaza was also refurbished and reopened in 1993.

⁹⁷³ Homero Villa, 186.

⁹⁷⁴ Homero Villa, 186-87.

⁹⁷⁵ Homero Villa, 187.

⁹⁷⁶ Homero Villa, 187. Because Villa's song offers no reasons "for hating the mall," Homero Villa deduces that the "source of inspiration for this drastic feeling resides in an implicit understanding of the semiotic resonances of the K Street Mall for the Southside Park users"(187). Elucidating his point, Homero Villa uses Mike Davis's characterization of "pseudopublic places" that, like Sacramento's Downtown Plaza, "are full of invisible warning signs warning off the underclass 'Other.'" Although architectural critics are usually oblivious to how the built environment contributes to segregation, pariah groups—whether poor Latino families, young Black men, or elderly homeless white females—read the meaning immediately"(Homero Villa, 187).

Yet the notion that Southside Park is an inviting gathering place for several marginalized communities also pertains to the layers of history bound up in that space. Well before Villa's 1985 corrido, the RCAF and Chicano/a community had reclaimed the park in 1977. Citing Alan W. Barnett, Homero Villa notes that in "the shadow of Sacramento's downtown gentrification," or the construction of the Plaza, Old Town and the K Street Mall, "the park in the midst of the barrio had been neglected and was the hangout of junkies and winos until the RCAF painted the old concrete structure and then proceeded to turn it into the site of its Mexican and *indio* ceremonies each year" (Homero Villa, 189; Alan Barnett, 276). Displaced populations in Sacramento had previously claimed the park before the arrival of the RCAF, presenting conflicts between marginalized groups. Esteban Villa recalled that "winos and alcoholics and prostitutes were in this park. And they didn't want us here at all. They said, "What do you people want? Go back to the university." Villa's statement is ironic in relation to Homero Villa's reading and use of Mike Davis's framework on "pseudopublic places." The homeless viewed the RCAF as outsiders—as the "university" encroaching on their space. And yet, as Villa and Montoya indicated in their interviews, the RCAF was not well received by the Art Department at CSUS in the early years. In an ironic twist, they were "homeless" at the university, but represented institutional power to the dispossessed when they reclaimed the park. The irony does not contradict Homero Villa's interpretation, however; he simply doesn't account for the historical succession—the layers of meaning—attached to Southside park by its history of public use. Esteban Villa, Interview (June 23, 2004.) Homero Villa cites Mike Davis's *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. New York: Verso, 1990. 226.

⁹⁷⁷ Homero Villa, 187.

⁹⁷⁸ Homero Villa, 192.

⁹⁷⁹ Homero Villa, 172.

⁹⁸⁰ The RCAF painted several murals and the artists include: José Montoya, Esteban Villa, Juanishi Orosco and Celia Rodriguez.

⁹⁸¹ Sic. Homero Villa, 174.

⁹⁸² Sic. Homero Villa, 174.

⁹⁸³ Homero Villa, 178.

⁹⁸⁴ Homero Villa, 177--78.

⁹⁸⁵ Homero Raúl Villa, "La Tierra Mía, Logan Heights, Aztlán." *Barrio-Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. For a complete account of the creation of Chicano Park, see Homero Villa's complete section, 172-186.

⁹⁸⁶ For more on the different histories of Southside Park in Sacramento and Chicano Park in San Diego, please see Chapter Two, pages 66-67.

⁹⁸⁷ Esteban Villa, "Southside Park." *Heartaches & Jalapenos*. RCAF Airwaves Records, 2008. The liner notes of the 2008 CD, written by Juan M. Carrillo add that "In the 1980s, [Villa] and his compadre, José Montoya hooked up with Maestro Rudy Carrillo and formed El Trio Casindio." "Cruzin" was published in Montoya's 1992 anthology of poems, *In Formation: 20 Years Of Joda*.

⁹⁸⁸ José Montoya, "Cruzin'." *In Formation: 20 Years Of Joda*. 2nd Ed. Aztlán: Chusma House Publications, 1992. 243. "Cruzin'" is part of the song collection of Montoya's RCAF-affiliated band, Tri Casindio.

⁹⁸⁹ Homero Villa, 199.

⁹⁹⁰ Homero Villa quotes Brenda Jo Bright's interview with a Chicano low-rider "afficionado," who stated, "Cruising was a tradition ... it was a Chicano alternative to Disneyland. It brought Raza together from all parts of Southern California. It was unequaled entertainment for a minimal price" (Homero Villa, 198). Originally in Brenda Jo Bright, "Remappings: Los Angeles Low Riders." *Looking High and Low: art and cultural identity*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995. 99.

⁹⁹¹ Homero Villa, 198.

⁹⁹² "Pachuquismo" typically is used to refer to the Mexican American slang called Caló. However, "pachuquismo also connotes a set of cultural markers and social systems—from dress, to speech and mannerisms. "Chicanidad" also is used in this way to reference the dynamic process of Chicano/a culture. Also, José Montoya wrote, "El Louie" in 1969, chronicling the tragic hero of a pachuco's life and death during the 1940s, the Korean War and poverty.

⁹⁹³ F. Arturo Rosales, 103.

⁹⁹⁴ Rosales, 103.

⁹⁹⁵ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

⁹⁹⁶ Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out Of the Shadows: Mexican Women In Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. 50.

⁹⁹⁷ Ruiz, 54.

⁹⁹⁸ Ruiz 67.

⁹⁹⁹ The standard description of the *pachuca* is evidenced by Rafaela Castro when she writes a fairly substantial account of the origin of this "Mexican subculture," including the typical mention of the Zoot Suit Riots of 1943; she then provides a snippet that identifies *pachucas* as "the girlfriends of or those who hung around with *pachucos*. Their behavior was loud and brash; they smoked cigarettes in public, wore lots of eye make up ... speaking *pachuco* and scandalizing their families" (Castro, 179). For more see, Rafaela G. Castro, *Chicano Folklore: A Guide to the Folktales, Traditions, Rituals and Religious Practices of Mexican Americans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

¹⁰⁰⁰ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

¹⁰⁰¹ Ruiz, sic. 53.

¹⁰⁰² According to a postcard for the exhibit, Montoya's show took place on December 9, 1977. The exhibit traveled to Galería de la Raza in San Francisco's Mission District in 1978 and, later, to Los Angeles, specifically 5312 Whittier Boulevard in May 1978.

¹⁰⁰³ Joseph R. Camacho, Dir. "El Pachuco From Zoot Suits to Lowriders." Berkeley, CA: Island Film Works, ca 1983. <http://www.worldcat.org/wcpa/ow/271285567>

¹⁰⁰⁴ Homero Villa, 186.

¹⁰⁰⁵ John Tagg, 192. Also, Montoya wrote in the original program for *Pachuco Art: A Historical Update 1977*: "This show, and the documentation here-in is my contribution toward vindicating whom I consider to be the first Chicano Freedom Fighters of the Chicano Movement."

John Tagg, "The Pachuco's Flayed Hide: Mobility, Identity, and *Buenas Garras*." (1990). *Grounds of Dispute: Art History, Cultural Politics and the Discursive Field*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992. 183—203.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Tagg, sic. 192.

¹⁰⁰⁷ David Glassberg, 17.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Homero Villa, 199.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Emphasis Mine. Marisela Norte, "Best MTA Bus Line: The number 18, yes, let's take a trip down Whittier Boulevard." *American Quarterly*. 56:3 (September 2004). 507.

¹⁰¹⁰ Originated in Oakland, California, in 1915 by cartographer, George Coupland Thomas and his brothers, "Thomas Guide" is a series of maps, atlases and other points of interest of metro areas throughout the US. The company moved to Los Angeles in 1940 and Irvine in 1950. Upon Coupland Thomas's death in 1955, the company remained in the Thomas Family, until it was purchased in 1999 by the Rand McNally & Company.

¹⁰¹¹ Bruce, 50.

¹⁰¹² Bruce, 51.

¹⁰¹³ Bruce, 52. Gustave Flaubert originally published *Three Tales (Trois Contes)* in 1877, which includes "A Simple Heart." Félicité is the protagonist of the aforementioned short story that tells of unrequited love, class divisions and Flaubert's opinions of altruism.

¹⁰¹⁴ Norte, 509-510.

¹⁰¹⁵ David Glassberg, 12. Glassberg also writes: “We attach histories to places, and the environmental value we attach to a place comes largely through the memories and historical associations we have with it” (17).

¹⁰¹⁶ Pérez, xiii.

¹⁰¹⁷ Glassberg, 13.

¹⁰¹⁸ Bruce, 50.

¹⁰¹⁹ Helena Keffe, “Muni Maps, 2007.” <http://www.helenakeeffe.com/> (Accessed July 23, 2009).

¹⁰²⁰ Keffe, “Muni Maps, 2007.”

¹⁰²¹ Keffe, “Muni Maps, 2007.”

¹⁰²² Excerpt from Helena Keffe’s printed “Muni Maps, 2007.”

¹⁰²³ Stephanie Sauer, “The Noun Painter: Works by Esteban Villa, Mapped by Stephanie Sauer.” Co-Pilots Productions: ArtLyrics, 2008.

¹⁰²⁴ Sauer, “The Noun Painter: Works by Esteban Villa, Mapped by Stephanie Sauer.”

Endnotes for Chapter Six, Pages 246—294

¹⁰²⁵ A loose leaf document written by José Montoya. The date is unknown but it was available at La Raza Bookstore and Galería Posada in January 2002, when the bookstore was located in the Heilbronn Mansion at 7th and O Streets. I had gone to LRGP with Esteban Villa for a tour of meaningful sites of RCAF history.

¹⁰²⁶ The Washington Neighborhood falls within the Alkali Flat district. Also, Aeronaves de Aztlán was an automotive co-op administered by the RCAF’s Centro was located at 3670 Sacramento Boulevard. In 1979, Juan Cervantes and Louie ‘the foot’ Gonzalez painted a corresponding mural on the garage’s façade. Aeronaves represents one RCAF location outside a major Chicano/a district in the city and, in 1979, inside an emerging Chicano/a commercial strip.

¹⁰²⁷ “Por la Raza United Flight.” Armando Cid. April 22, 1973. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. Donald Davidson Library. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/sj/hb729009sj/files/hb729009sj-FID4.jpg>

¹⁰²⁸ The WNC maintains Esteban Villa’s “Emergence of the Chicano Social Struggle in a Bi-cultural Society” (1969), while Armando Cid’s 1970s “Ollin” murals endure on the façade of the Washington Square apartments. For more on “Emergence,” please see Chapter Two and Chapter Four. The first “Ollin” was completed between 1973 and ‘74 on the façade of the Washington Square apartments, located at the corners of 10th and

E streets. On the back of this housing complex, Cid and his crew created the other “Ollin” between 1976 and ‘77. For more on the history of the Washington Neighborhood Apartments, Zapata Park and Armando Cid’s “Ollin” murals please see Chapter Two.

¹⁰²⁹ Although Southside Park Mural solidified the RCAF’s place in Chicano/a history, they continued to gain exposure outside of Chicano/a art circles and social networks. When Sacramento passed an Arts in Public Places Ordinance in 1977, the RCAF emerged as principal public arts organization. In 1980, they completed “Metamorphosis” and shortly after, L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. in 1984. Both of these murals were painted in the more interethnic, spaces of downtown Sacramento. Following the 1980s, the RCAF entered an era of renovations with L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M. in 1999 and Southside Park Mural in 2001. This restoration phase also ushered in the twenty-first century, which the RCAF commemorated with two substantial public artworks; the Joe Serna Jr. Memorial Fountain (2001) is located at a major entrance to Sacramento State University (CSUS) and honors the passing of two key members of the RCAF. Finally, “Eartharium” (2003) is housed within a building of the Capitol Area East End Complex (CAEEC) and is two blocks west of the State Capitol.

¹⁰³⁰ Scholars to which I refer include Eva Cockcroft, John Pitman Weber and James Cockcroft in *Toward A People’s Art: The Contemporary Mural Movement*. (1977; 1998); and Alan W. Barnett’s *Community Murals: The People’s Art* (1984). Also, Christopher Martinez writes that “the sequence of events of this particular park history are representative of a pattern of similar community spatial actions in the late 1960s and 1970s, through which may ‘People’s Parks’ were established by people of color, the urban poor, and other marginalized groups” (5). Martínez then offers an endnote that describes Chicano Park in San Diego as a “battle over urban Chicano park space” and sites the RCAF’s contributions—both as muralists and musicians with Tri Casindio—as well as Marilyn Mudford and Mario Barrera’s documentary “Chicano Park” (1998).

Also, Raúl Homero Villa likens Southside Park to a “People’s Park,” “the sequence of events of this particular park’s history are representative of a pattern of similar grassroots spatial actions in the late 1960s and 1970s, through which many ‘People’s Parks’ were founded and defended by people of color, the urban poor, and other disenfranchised or marginalized groups, the most recognized of these being in Berkeley” (191). As I indicate in my endnotes to Chapter Two, I am unsure whether Christopher Martínez or Raúl Homero Villa is the author of the quote on Southside Park from their respective article and text because neither identifies each other as a source. In my own research history, I have been citing Christopher Martínez’s article, “Reclaiming Space: Poetry, Music, and Art of the Royal Chicano Air Force” from an online link to *The Berkeley McNair Journal* (1997).

<http://www.ac-nancy-metz.fr/enseign/anglais/TPE/Artistes%20engages/Chicano.htm>
The University of California Academic Achievement Programs. The Berkeley McNair Program. 2515 Channing Way, Berkeley, CA 94720-2410. 510-642-8015.

¹⁰³¹ Raúl Homero Villa writes that on April 22, 1970, Barrio Logan residents staged a large-scale protest at the site of Chicano Park (172-184). Civic actions abound in Chicano Movement history. On March 3, 1968, over 1,000 high school students in Los Angeles walked out of Abraham Lincoln High School. They were joined by other students from four adjacent high schools. On February 28, 1970, the Second National Chicano Moratorium took place in Los Angeles with 6,000 participants. Also, on August 29, 1970, the Third National Chicano Moratorium was held at Laguna Park in Los

Angeles with estimate attendance between 10,000 to 30,000. During the conflicts with the police, journalist Rubén Salazar was killed. For more information, see F. Arturo Rosales's chronological timeline in *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1997. 280-281.

¹⁰³² Martínez, 4.

¹⁰³³ Historian Steve Avella writes that following the 1950s and '60s development of surrounding suburbs in Sacramento, many families and downtown residents moved out of the West End area. The West End soon "provided affordable housing for nearly 10,000 transients—mostly men over the age of 55, pensioners, people of color, and other minorities. There were also businesses and entertainment venues that catered to city clientele. The West End functioned as a labor market for those who needed cheap workers for the canneries, the fields and other assorted jobs" (127). After the 1963 push to redevelop the riverfront area, many former West End residents moved to the Washington Neighborhood and Alkali Flat. Thus in 1972 and '73, when redevelopment came to these neighborhoods, many resident groups formed to protect the communities that had formed there; the RCAF was a part of the citizen activism.

¹⁰³⁴ Martínez, 5.

¹⁰³⁵ Martínez, 5.

¹⁰³⁶ Homero Villa, 191.

¹⁰³⁷ Homero Villa, 184-189. Marilyn Mulford's "Chicano Park" (1989) Eva Cockcroft's "The Story of Chicano Park" (1992) is seminal works on Chicano Park that Homero Villa and Guisela Latorre reference. Eva Cockcroft, "The Story of Chicano Park." *Chicano Border: Culture and Folklore*. Ed. José Villarino and Arturo Ramírez. San Diego: Marion Publishing, 1992. 145-163. Marilyn Mulford. Dir. *Chicano Park*. United States: Redbird Films. 1989

¹⁰³⁸ Homero Villa, 189.

¹⁰³⁹ The California College of the Arts was formerly known as the California College of Arts and Crafts when Villa Montoya attended in 1958.

Shifra M. Goldman writes, that Salvador Torres "was educated in the 1950s at the College of Arts and Crafts in Oakland at the same time as José Montoya and Esteban Villa" (52). She also adds that the Chicano Park "pillars were painted by local and *invited* artists" (Emphasis Mine, 52). Shifra M. Goldman, "How, Why, Where, and When It All Happened: Chicano Murals of California." *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. eds., Eva Sperling-Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. 23—55.

In a 2004 interview, Esteban Villa commented on a recent conversation he had with Sal Torres, which supports the idea of a Chicano/a social network that was first established in the formative years of the Chicano Movement and across California and the US Southwest. He remarked, "Today, Salvador Torres—Sal Torres from San Diego's Chicano Park—called me on my cell phone. I was driving for coffee here this morning. And he just came out of nowhere and it was pretty good to hear from him. We talked. We didn't talk about anything other than, you know, just kind of like how we were doing

and those things. But it's ironic you pointing out San Diego and he called me this morning. And he says, "I'm going to call you back." Because we had gone years—we can go years and years and years—without any phone calls. And he just called. Got the number from José and so it was really good to hear from Sal. He's the one that started Chicano Park in San Diego." Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 14, 2004).

¹⁰⁴⁰ Referencing Sal Torres's invitation to the RCAF to paint murals at Chicano Park, I allude to the insider / outsider conflicts that emerged in the 1960s and '70s Chicano/a mural renaissance. Art historian Guisela Latorre describes one such tension at Estrada Courts in Los Angeles. She borrows from Chicano scholar Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino 1991 Master's Thesis, "Mi Casa No Es Su Casa: Chicano Murals and the Barrio Calligraphy as Systems of Signification at Estrada Courts 1972—1978." Sanchez-Tranquilino had conducted interviews with local residents who resented the "outsider" artists that Chicano artist and organizer Charles "Gato" Félix brought to the project with money received from the Los Angeles Housing Authority. Latorre writes, "Sanchez-Tranquilino noted that the residents and the artists there had different criteria and motivations in mind. Residents and local youth who worked on the murals there regarded the intervention of the invited artists as somewhat of an infringement on their territory, and as recounted by Estrada resident Alex Maya, they resented that 'artists from San Diego, San Francisco, the long-hairs from City Terrace who made those weird murals [Gronk Willie Herrón] ... have all these good walls.'" Sanchez-Tranquilino, 73 as qtd in Latorre 146.

¹⁰⁴¹ For more on Southside Park mural's creation and restoration please see Chapters Two and Three of my dissertation. Restoration of Southside Park Mural was sponsored by the City of Sacramento Neighborhood Services Department, Parks & Recreation, Council District 4 and "funded by the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency." Press Release. September 24, 2001. Copy courtesy of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission, July 2004.

¹⁰⁴² Homero Villa, 184. I agree with the connection Homero Villa makes between the figurative / symbolic spaces that Chicano/a murals occupy in Chicano/a consciousness and the real spaces in which Chicanos/as struggled in order to establish a Chicano/a aesthetic that is quite different from the privileged space of western art history.

¹⁰⁴³ Homero Villa, 184.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Homero Villa, 184.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Homero Villa, 184.

¹⁰⁴⁶ By "institutional space," I mean to suggest modern art museums, university archives and library collections, as well as other official places where important records and cultural contributions are kept and displayed. As I will explore in this chapter, institutional spaces opened up to Chicano/a art and artists during the 1980s and early '90s; but as many have argued, permanent inclusion in the canons of American art, history, etc., remains a goal for Chicano/a artists.

¹⁰⁴⁷ As previously mentioned in Chapters Two and Three, La Raza Bookstore was established by the RCAF and Chicano/a student organizations from Sacramento State University (CSUS) in 1972.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Dolores Hayden, 9-10.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Martínez, 4.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Guisela Latorre, 141.

¹⁰⁵¹ For more on Cid's "Ollin" murals and Zapata Park, please see Chapters Two and Three.

¹⁰⁵² Local historian and community development consultant Deb Marois writes that following the 1960s redevelopment of the West End, which catalyzed a relocation of people to the Washington Neighborhood and Alkali Flat, the city rezoned the Alkali Flat in 1972. Following West End redevelopment, Marois explains that in the Alkali Flat, "conditions had only worsened since the 1960s; many homes had exposed wires, tarp covered roofs or had been boarded up and padlocked, to support the plan, the City abandoned its unsuccessful effort to stimulate the creation of a commercial district through private developers and rezoned the Alkali Flat in September 1972" (29). Local residents and community outreach workers formed a community organization, The Alkali Flat Project Committee (PAC) to "prevent displacement of local residents by providing new housing" (29). Together with the RCAF, the Cultural Affairs Committee and other concerned citizen groups, they brokered housing and common space deals with the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency. In August 11, 1975 Emiliano Zapata Park was officially opened; the RCAF's "Ollin" murals—one of which faces Zapata Park—were used by the Cultural Affairs Committee for the staging of seasonal ceremonies. By 1976, Zapata Park was a key site for cultural celebration and community gatherings. In Chapter Three I explore the Cultural Affairs Committee's use of Zapata Park and Armando Cid's Ollin Murals.

For more, see:

<http://www.shra.org/Content/CommunityDevelopment/AlkaliFlat/AFReports/EconHist.pdf>

¹⁰⁵³ Don Mitchell, "Introduction: The Fight for Public Space: What has Changed?" *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York: Guilford Press, 2003. 7.

Parts of Mitchell's book appear in article form in "The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy." *Annals of the Association American Geographers*. 85:1 (1995) 108-133.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Mitchell, "The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy." *Annals of the Association American Geographers*. 85:1 (1995). 108-09.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Mitchell, 109.

¹⁰⁵⁶ "California: Postscript to People's Park." Monday, Feb. 16, 1970. *Time*. Author unknown. <http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,904149,00.html> (Accessed August 23, 2009)

¹⁰⁵⁷ “Documenting the May 1970 Kent State Shootings.” May 4 Collection. Special Collections and Archives at Kent Main Campus Library.
<http://www.library.kent.edu/page/11247>

¹⁰⁵⁸ F. Arturo Rosales, 200.

¹⁰⁵⁹ F. Arturo Rosales, 202-03.

¹⁰⁶⁰ As cited in Chapter Two, Esteban Villa explained that Southside Park “was a dump. Nothing but winos and alcoholics and prostitutes were in this park. And they didn’t want us here at all. They said, “What do you people want? Go back to the university. This is our park and you’re going to take it away from us.” [We said] “No, we want to make it better.” Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

¹⁰⁶¹ Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

¹⁰⁶² Martínez, 1.

¹⁰⁶³ Martínez writes, “The importance of the mural in helping to transform this once decaying city park into a vital Chicano park must be emphasized” (5).

¹⁰⁶⁴ Martínez, 5.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Eva Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez edited, *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals* (1990) which includes Tomás Ybarra Frausto’s definitive essay, “Arte Chicano: Images of a Community.” 55-67. Along with many other publications addressing the origins of Chicano/a art and the various regions, Ybarra-Frausto and Shifra M. Goldman also prepared a critical art history, *Arte Chicano: A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of Chicano Art, 1965-1981*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Shifra M. Goldman, “How, Why, Where, and When It All Happened: Chicano Murals of California.” *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. eds., Eva Sperling-Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. 23—55.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Goldman, 40.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Goldman, 35-36. She adds that the Galería de la Raza was a “germinal force for Bay Area muralism.”

¹⁰⁶⁹ Goldman, 41.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Goldman, 43.

¹⁰⁷¹ Goldman, 43.

¹⁰⁷² Goldman, 45-47.

¹⁰⁷³ Goldman, 52.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Goldman, 52-53.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Goldman, 53.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Martínez, 1.

¹⁰⁷⁷ CARA is another multilateral framework for Chicano/a art history in terms of Chicano/a art exhibitions. In the early 1990s, following Goldman's article, the national exhibition, "Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation, 1965—1985," traveled across the US, beginning at UCLA's Wight Art Gallery on September 9, 1990 and closing at San Antonio's Museum of Art on August 1, 1993. The show attempted to frame Chicano/a art according to the politics and history of the Chicano Movement; it also organized displays called, "Regional Expressions," "Reclaiming the Past," and "Civil Liberties." In-between these rooms, Chicana scholar Alicia Gaspar de Alba writes, "visitors encountered the *grupos* installations. Each of the *grupos*, also known as Chicano art collectives, like the Rebel Chicano Art Front or Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF for short), ASCO (which means Nausea), and Los Four, merited its own *casita*, complete with three walls, columned doorways, zinc roofs, and chain-link windows. Within these metaspaces, the *grupos* set up assemblages representing their collective ethos during the Chicano Art Movement." Gaspar de Alba, *Chicano Art: Inside / Outside The Master's House*.(1998). 3-4. Gaspar de Alba comments on the RCAF and other collective installations on pages 146—153.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Homero Villa, 189. The emphasis in Montoya's excerpt is made by Homero Villa indicated in the citation he provides: "(1976:7; emphasis added)"

¹⁰⁷⁹ Montoya's report reads: "Traditionally [Cinco de Mayo] involves a collective effort on the part of all the Chicano community organizations, college MEChAs, and high school MAYAs to organize a big Jamaica [bazaar] plus Mercado [market] at Southside Park." José Montoya (1976:7) as qtd in Homero Villa, 189. I would also like to add that in Chapter Five, Ricardo Favela recalls Cinco de Mayo celebrations on campus at CSUS as early as 1969—70, where Montoya read his poetry. Campus Cinco de Mayo celebrations were organized by MEChA, the Sacramento Concilio, and other groups.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Sic. "Historic Landmarkers and Sites of Chicano/Mexican Community." Compiled and written by Rosana M. Madrid. Project Director Joseph Pitti, Ph.D. Sacramento Ethnic Community Survey Project. Sacramento History Center, July 23, 1984. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009.

¹⁰⁸¹ Sic. "Historic Landmarkers and Sites of Chicano/Mexican Community." Also, while touring the RCAF's Southside Park Mural in June 2004, Esteban Villa pointed to the monument and explained, "That's the Mexican father Hidalgo. That was done by the Mexican community—not the Chicano community but the Mexican community." Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

¹⁰⁸² Sic. "Narrative History of Mexican/Chicano Community of Sacramento." 31.

¹⁰⁸³ Sic. "Narrative History of Mexican/Chicano Community of Sacramento." 31. Compiled and written by Rosana M. Madrid. Project Director Joseph Pitti, Ph.D. Sacramento Ethnic Community Survey Project. Sacramento History Center, July 23, 1984. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009.

Also, Madrid cites an unpublished MA Thesis as a source for her claim about Southside Park. See Paul Leurenberger, "Urban Renewal, Motivations and Impact: A Case Study." CSUS. (1982) p. 278.

¹⁰⁸⁴ "Narrative History of Mexican/Chicano Community of Sacramento." 31.

¹⁰⁸⁵ "Narrative History of Mexican/Chicano Community of Sacramento." 32.

¹⁰⁸⁶ "Narrative History of Mexican/Chicano Community of Sacramento." 32.

¹⁰⁸⁷ "Narrative History of Mexican/Chicano Community of Sacramento." 32.

¹⁰⁸⁸ "Narrative History of Mexican/Chicano Community of Sacramento." 32—33.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Homero Villa, 158.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Homero Villa, 191. Also see Homero Villa's "Marvelous Re-creations: Utopian Spatial Critique in *The Road to Tamazunchale*" in *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*. 23:1 (Spring 1998). 77-94.

¹⁰⁹¹ Latorre acknowledges that her three site-specific case studies are not definitive models of the Chicano/a "mural environment" (142).

¹⁰⁹² Latorre, 142; 140.

¹⁰⁹³ Latorre, 140. Latorre explains what she means by "Indigenism" and "Indigenist" as opposed to "indigenous" and "indigeneity" in her introduction: "Generally speaking, 'Indigenism' refers to the act of consciously adopting an indigenous identity—which may otherwise not be fully self-evident—for a political or strategic purpose. The Indigenist posture often seeks to overturn historical processes in order to exact radical change. Indigenism as an ideology, however, can operate in favor but also against the needs of native peoples themselves, and thus one must be cautious when resorting to it. ... *Indigeneity*, as understood in this book, will refer to the organic expressions that emerge from the indigenous communities themselves, which may or may not have anything to do with the official Indigenism often espoused by nation-states" (2-3). Latorre believes that Indigenist aligns with a particular politicization but she acknowledges that "we could argue that in colonial and postcolonial contexts, any expression of indigenous culture is inevitably Indigenist and thus political because consciously or not, it counters dominant culture" (3).

¹⁰⁹⁴ Latorre, 141.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Latorre, 142.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Latorre, 142.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Latorre, 142.

¹⁰⁹⁸ David R. Diaz, *Barrio Urbanism: Chicanos, Planning and American Cities*. New York: Routledge, 2005.3. As qtd in Latorre, 143.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Homero Villa, *Barrio Logos*, 15 as qtd in Latorre, 143. Also, according to Latorre, Homero Villa “explains the various processes by which the spatial designation of the barrio was imposed on Mexican and Chicana/o residents in California but was nevertheless also utilized by these communities as a space for cultural and political expression” (143).

¹¹⁰⁰ Latorre, 143.

¹¹⁰¹ Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino was, I believe, the first scholar to describe ‘intra-ethnic’ Chicano/a murals as “visible to everyone, but readable by only a few.”

¹¹⁰² Latorre, 146.

¹¹⁰³ Latorre, 146.

¹¹⁰⁴ Latorre 148.

¹¹⁰⁵ Latorre, 147.

¹¹⁰⁶ In Chapter Two, I mention the US WWII posters of Uncle Sam. These were inspired by James Montgomery Flagg’s 1917 poster, which adapted a British poster of Lord Kitchener in the same pose.

¹¹⁰⁷ Latorre, 147.

¹¹⁰⁸ Latorre, 148-49.

¹¹⁰⁹ Latorre, 150.

¹¹¹⁰ Latorre, 149.

¹¹¹¹ Latorre, 148-49. She borrows from Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino’s Master’s Thesis, “Mi Casa No Es Su Casa: Chicano Murals and the Barrio Calligraphy as Systems of Signification at Estrada Courts 1972—1978.” Also, Charles “Gato” Félix completed “Sacrifice Wall” (1974) with local Varrio Nuevo Estrada (VNE) gang on a wall at the main entrance to Estrada Courts. Latorre writes that “this mural occupied the threshold between two spaces that separated the mural work in the housing complex. It possesses the flat Mesoamerican design elements that characterized some of the interior works as well as the rather finished and polished quality of the other murals facing the boulevard” (Latorre, 152-53).

¹¹¹² Latorre, 144.

¹¹¹³ Latorre, 155.

¹¹¹⁴ Latorre, 155.

¹¹¹⁵ Latorre, 158.

¹¹¹⁶ Latorre, 158.

¹¹¹⁷ Latorre, 158.

¹¹¹⁸ Latorre, 158.

¹¹¹⁹ Latorre also writes that Chicano Park is “perhaps the site of one of the most ambitious community mural environments of our era”(155).

¹¹²⁰ Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals: The People’s Art*. Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press. New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1984. 164—165.

¹¹²¹ Barnett, 164—165.

¹¹²² Latorre, 119. Also she cites Ricardo Favela as co-muralist on the 1975 work; but Juanishi Orosco assisted Villa on “Mujer Cós mica.”

¹¹²³ Barnett, 163.

¹¹²⁴ Juanishi Orosco, “Mandala.” October 1975. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. Donald Davidson Library. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/jr/hb5t1nb6jr/files/hb5t1nb6jr-FID4.jpg>

¹¹²⁵ Sic. I am unsure of the title of this mural. I choose to use the title that is used in the online slide notes for the archive of RCAF photographs from UCSB’s collection at CEMA.

¹¹²⁶ Barnett, 164-165.

¹¹²⁷ Latorre, 165. Additionally, in her chapter immediately following Chapter Four, “The Chicana/o Mural Environment,” Latorre reflects on “Gender, Indigenism, and Chicana Muralists.” She examines Chicana and Latina contributions to and disruptions of the traditional Chicano/a aesthetic. For more, please see pages 176—210.

¹¹²⁸ Latorre, 164.

¹¹²⁹ Latorre writes that Balmy is in close a location “where Chicana/o/Latina/o art had traditionally flourished,” such as the Galería de la Raza and the Precita Eyes Mural Arts center on 24th Street (164). Since the 1970s, she adds Balmy Avenue has also become a sought-after location for visitors coming to the city of San Francisco,” and although the Mission District is demographically changing, culturally it remains “predominantly Chicana/o/Latina/o” (164-65). Also for more on the changing demographics of San Francisco’s Mission District, see Latorre page 171.

¹¹³⁰ Latorre, 165.

¹¹³¹ Latorre, 165. Latorre writes that Rodriguez and Patlán received a grant from the Zellerbach Family Fund which assisted them in commissioning artists like Juana Alicia to create Balmy Avenue murals (165).

¹¹³² Latorre, 166.

¹¹³³ Juana Alicia is Chicana artist originally from New Jersey and raised in Detroit. Latorre writes that she “moved to the San Francisco Bay Area in the 1980s and quickly became involved in the Chicana/oLatina/o mural movement in the area” (166).

¹¹³⁴ Latorre, Sic. 168.

¹¹³⁵ Latorre, 168.

¹¹³⁶ Alicia’s mural implicated the US’s involvement in the period known as “la violencia” in Guatemala, since “many of the troops that carried out the attacks on the Maya had been trained under the U.S. Alliance for Progress program”(Latorre, 168). The systematic genocide of Mayan peoples in Guatemala during the 1980s occurred because of the “militarization of villages,” according to anthropologist Victoria Sanford. This militarization was due to the civil protest against the dictatorship and military takeover of the government. The US was involved in the training—or militarizing—of Guatemalans through the CIA and funded by the United Fruit Company to prevent Guatemala’s drifting further to the left. For more on Guatemala’s “la violencia,” please Victoria Sanford, *Buried Secrets: Truth and Human Rights in Guatemala*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

¹¹³⁷ Latorre, 262.

¹¹³⁸ Latorre, 262.

¹¹³⁹ Some of these murals include Susan Kelk Cervantes’s “Indigenous Eyes: War or Peace,” which Latorre does an excellent close reading of and provides background on its creation. See pages 169—171. “Indigenous Eyes” replaced a former mural, “Indigenous Beauty” (1984) by Nicole Emmanuel. The earlier work was “destroyed when the garage door it was painted on was in need of replacement” (169).

¹¹⁴⁰ Latorre, 144.

¹¹⁴¹ <http://www.eastend.dgs.ca.gov/ArtProgram/Royal+Chicano+Air+Force+Mural.htm> (Accessed June 23, 2009). Juanishi Orosco stated, “me and Stan we’re like, “Landscape;” we saw it. I mean, we started talking about it and we were true to the purpose. So east is east and west is west. So it’s oriented true. [Stan and I said,] “So we got the four directions going here, so let’s paint the valley and the four directions pristine.” Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (July 06, 2004).

Additionally, Esteban Villa stated, “it just shows the four directions itself—north, east, south, west. We’re standing in Sacramento and you’re looking at the four directions. This is looking east and you can see the Sierra Nevada over there and the river, the American River, coming up there towards like where you live and then some of

the foliage—like a poppy, the state’s flower. You see it there. And then there’s—and then Stan could tell you more of the animals and the plant life that you would see.” Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004).

¹¹⁴² In most Native American religious systems, the four directions are an integral part of the individual and community worldview. Sacramento’s indigenous peoples, known as the Nisenan, organized space and time in reference to the four directions. Mountain ranges like the Sutter Buttes, located to the north of the Sacramento Valley, are spiritually sacred, a landmark of sorts that marked a historical beginning. In his overview of “Prehistoric Sacramento,” for example, historian Steven M. Avella writes, “The Nisenan found the meaning of their world through religious symbols and myths. Mountains like Mount Diablo and the Sutter Buttes were invested with religious significance. Like every society, the Nisenan had myths to explain the reasons for existence and the purpose of life. Creation stories include the activity of a trinity of beings: a huge turtle that brought the earth up from the bottom of the sea, a world creator who fashioned the land, and the coyote, a human spirit who did both good and bad in bringing about the human race”(14).

Also, The Nisenan and Miwok were the “two major Indian groups” living in the Sacramento Valley long before Spanish settlement and the arrival of John Sutter in 1839. Avella writes that the Nisenan Indians were a part of the Maidu, and that they “occupied strategic areas along rivers.” four out of their ten village sites were located “in present-day Sacramento alone: Momel at present-day Fifth and Richards, Samor at Fifth and J, Yalis at 30th and B, and another at today’s city plaza. Unfortunately, native names were ignored by European settlers, thereby erasing memory of their presence in the area for many years” (12). The Plains-Miwok “lived south of the Consumnes River.” Neighboring Nisenan villages in present-day Sacramento, Avella describes the relationship as uneasy. On the naming of the Sacramento River, Avella explains that Ensign Gabriel Moraga reached “the American River between present-day Rancho Cordova and Folsom” in September 1808. Avella adds that “His most significant move, in terms of the future state capital of California, was his naming of the Feather River, the Rio de Santissimo Sacramento—the River of the Blessed Sacrament” (15-16).

“European penetration continued” throughout the early and mid nineteenth-century, Avella writes (16). By the 1830s, “the Sacramento Valley was increasingly well known, but visited only by transients looking for pelts.” Land grant petitions, etc. Conflict with the Nisenan and Miwok increased but more deadly than armed warfare was actual contact. “In 1833, tribes’ numbers were decimated by a devastating epidemic of malaria, brought by Hudson Bay Company trappers. The disease obliterated whole villages of the Nisenan and forced survivors into the hills. One estimate suggests that nearly 75 percent of the native population died during this plague. ... Scholars disagree over the number of Native Americans living in the Central Valley region of Sacramento. By 1839, however, the year Augustus Sutter appeared to claim the lands that would make up the future city, the numbers were smaller than they had ever been before” (16-17). Steven M. Avella, *Sacramento Indomitable City*. The Making of America Series. Arcadia Publishing: Chicago, 2003.

¹¹⁴³ I am referring to Shifra M. Goldman’s 1984 article “A Public Voice: 15 Years of Chicano Posters.” *Art Journal*. 44:1 (Spring 1984). 50-57 and Teresa Romo’s 2001 essay, “Points of Convergence: The Iconography of the Chicano Poster.” *Just Another Poster? Chicano Graphic Arts in California*. Ed., Chon Noriega. Santa Barbara, CA:

University Art Museum. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001. 92-115.

¹¹⁴⁴ The quote to which I refer is taken from Ybarra-Frausto and Goldman's 1985 *Arte Chicano* and I mention it in Chapter Four: "The notion of an artistic team collaborating on a public mural can be found in the early writings of [David Alfaro] Siqueiros; however, the inclusion of (often untrained) community participants as painters appears to be unique to the U.S. street mural movement of the 1970s." Tomás Ybarra-Frausto and Shifra M. Goldman, *Arte Chicano: A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of Chicano Art, 1965—1981*. Berkeley: Chicano Studies Library Publication Unit, University of California, 1985. 53. As qtd in Guisela Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. 36.

¹¹⁴⁵ Luna's Café is caddy corner to the government building on 16th and L Streets in which "Eartharium" is housed.

¹¹⁴⁶ Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (July 06, 2004).

¹¹⁴⁷ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004).

¹¹⁴⁸ The Los Angeles Housing Authority sponsored Charles Félix's mural campaign at Estrada Courts and Cid's "Ollin" murals were paid for through the Sacramento Redevelopment and Housing Agency (Goldman, 45; Latorre 146-47). According to a 1976 report by the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency: "One hundred and forty-three new apartments for low and moderate income families were built to replace the 62 substandard dwelling units and warehouses formerly in the area." "Project No. 6: Alkali Flat Neighborhood Redevelopment Program." (28) Report by SHRA, 1976. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009.

¹¹⁴⁹ The Washington Square Apartments are flanked by a preexisting park and, as Shifra M. Goldman notes, "when Sacramento Park changed its name to Zapata Park in 1975 due to the efforts of the community activists and Centro artists. Cid did a mosaic mural there"(35). Goldman, "How, Why, Where, and When It All Happened: Chicano Murals of California." *Signs From The Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Eds. Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990.

¹¹⁵⁰ For more on these murals, please see Chapter Four.

¹¹⁵¹ Armando Cid passed away on July 13, 2009. According to details provided with the images of the Reno's Café murals from the CEMA Archives. Cid had four main assistants: Juanishi Orosco confirmed that the crew was made up of Cid's students from the Washington Barrio Education Center. Telephone conversation with Juanishi Orosco on September 10, 2009.

¹¹⁵² "Pamphlet for the Washington Barrio Education Center" date unknown. The Pamphlet lists Armando Cid as the main contact for the center. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 49. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

¹¹⁵³ “Pamphlet for the Washington Barrio Education Center” date unknown. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 49. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

¹¹⁵⁴ “1978 Summer Session Schedule.” Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. Box 2 : Folder 49. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University, Sacramento.

¹¹⁵⁵ David R. Diaz, *Barrio Urbanism*. New York: Routledge, 2003. 3. Quoted in Latorre, 143.

¹¹⁵⁶ As previously discussed in Chapters One and Two, El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán (1969) reconfigured Chicano identity, geographically invalidating the immigrant status or foreign-born connotations attached to the term. The original text reads, “In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage but also of the brutal ‘gringo’ invasion of our territories, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlán from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny.” Latorre claims that “By citing the existence of an ancient homeland in Aztlán—the Mexica place of origin according to their mythohistorical accounts—Chicanas/os found a way to retake the territory lost in the nineteenth century while adhering to Indigenist aesthetics in the process” (145). But the “retaking” of territory was not necessarily a seditious act; rather, for Chicano/a artists, reclaiming the land often meant reinvigorating the barrio’s walls. To read “El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán,” see the following website: <http://carbon.cudenver.edu/MEChA/plan-aztlan.html> (September 27, 2007).

¹¹⁵⁷ Sic. Latorre, 146. Moreover, Latorre contends that mural dedications symbolically performed spatial reclamations (171). Upon completing murals, Chicano/a artists and their communities dedicated the work with elaborate ceremonies involving blessings, Danza Indigenas, and various addresses from the artists and community. While “Mural environments like Estrada Courts, Chicano Park, and Balmy Avenue provided physical and tangible means by which communities could reclaim or transform urban spaces to fit their needs,” Latorre explains “the mural dedication operated as a more *performative* form of mural environment” (Sic. Latorre, 171). The dedication of a mural and the cultural events that took around it are symbolic “takeovers.” but such performances are as powerful and as meaningful as the physical occupations and protests that have come to define Chicano Park in San Diego and People’s Park in Berkeley. Her analysis is insightful and helpful for creating real connections between divergent “Chicano” parks.

¹¹⁵⁸ “Para la Raza del Barrio” (detail) 1976. Armando Cid, with muralists Kenneth Munguia, Javier Torres, Yolanda Tarin and Joe Gonzalez. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. Donald Davidson Library. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/jg/hb4199p1jg/files/hb4199p1jg-FID4.jpg>

¹¹⁵⁹ “Para la Raza del Barrio” (detail) 1976. Armando Cid, with muralists Kenneth Munguia, Javier Torres, Yolanda Tarin and Joe Gonzalez. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives.

Department of Special Collections. Donald Davidson Library. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/97/hb3m3nb497/files/hb3m3nb497-FID4.jpg>

¹¹⁶⁰ Deb Marois, "An Economic History of Alkali Flat." March 2003. University of California Davis. Community and Redevelopment Paper. 15.

¹¹⁶¹ Deb Marois, "An Economic History of Alkali Flat." March 2003. University of California Davis. Community and Redevelopment Paper. 15.

¹¹⁶² I would like to add that in addition to creating a plumed serpent, or Quetzalcoatl, in "Reno's Mural," Cid also designed a swastika. The swastika was very popular in 1970s Chicano/a murals throughout California and was a prominent image in the 1971 mural, "Quetzalcoatl" at Chicano Park. This mural was a collaborative creation by Guillermo Aranda, Mario Acevedo, Victor Ochoa, Salvador Torres, José Cervantes, Tomas Castañeda and others. Latorre explains that the muralists placed the swastika "between the two Maya figures, but rather than making references to Nazism and anti-Semitism with its inclusion, . The artists of this mural were seeking to reclaim the symbol from its infamous past and recall its original meaning of prosperity and good fortune that originated in India. This symbol also occurred in the Americas and was often used by the Maya and Diné (Navajo)" (160).

¹¹⁶³ "This Poet Won't Rest On His Laurels: Sacramento's poet laureate reveals his artistic influences, his adventures as a young man and why he wears those clothes." Inside the City-Central Edition. (July 2002) 10—13. Author unknown.
http://www.insidepublications.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=53&Itemid=18

¹¹⁶⁴ In a 1973 poem, "Barrio Landmark," Montoya touched on the vital role public gathering places played in the creation of local Chicano/a consciousness. Referring to another lounge in the barrio that was near Zapata Park in the Washington Neighborhood, he writes: "The Alkali Club / Opens at six in the / Morning and more than / Once from an all-night / Bout with love, wine / Or intellect, I have / Found myself there / At the pallid hour / One with the straggling / Dead on that corner / Of desolation / At 10th and E." "Barrio Landmark." *In Formation: 20 Years Of Joda*. 2nd Ed. Aztlán: Chusma House Publications, 1992. 83.

¹¹⁶⁵ <http://www.sacrt.com/rtataglance.stm> (Accessed on September 22, 2009).

¹¹⁶⁶ Ortiz designed the obelisks in 1985. The Light Rail began operation in 1987 and the Alkali Flat / Valencia Station opened in 1987. Telephone conversation with Enrique Ortiz, September 13, 2009.
<http://www.shra.org/Content/CommunityDevelopment/AlkaliFlat/EconHist.pdf> (Accessed September 13, 2009).
<http://www.sacrt.com/rtfactsheets.stm> (Accessed September 13, 2009).

¹¹⁶⁷ Telephone conversation with Enrique Ortiz on September 13, 2009.

¹¹⁶⁸ When Sacramento Regional Transit redesigned the station in 1987, Ortiz explained in that his murals were altered to fit the new handicap onramp. Telephone conversation with Enrique Ortiz on September 13, 2009.

¹¹⁶⁹ “Art in Public Places.” Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission Website. <http://sacmetroarts.org/art-in-public-places.html> (Accessed on April 19, 2009).

¹¹⁷⁰ In fact, “at 21 of the stations, installations reveal the work of 26 artists—all but 1 from California.” The Light Rail station art installations were primarily funded through the Sacramento Regional Transit District’s \$250,000 allocation, “but also helped by the National Endowment of the Arts, State of California and private individuals. The Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission coordinated the projects.” From “Public art with public transportation.” *Sunset Magazine*. (September 1987). Copy courtesy of Enrique Ortiz.

¹¹⁷¹ Details from Images in *American Craft Magazine* (June / July 1988) 67. Copy courtesy of Enrique Ortiz.

¹¹⁷² Kimberley Petite, “Artist creates legacy in intricate tiles.” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*. (Friday April 3 1987). 12. Copy courtesy of Enrique Ortiz.

¹¹⁷³ Petite, 12.

¹¹⁷⁴ John Pounds, “Hey! Are There Any Murals Around Here?” *Public Art Review*. 17:1 (Fall/Winter 2005). 16—19.

¹¹⁷⁵ For more on “The Wall of Respect,” please see: <http://www.blockmuseum.northwestern.edu/wallofrespect/main.htm>

¹¹⁷⁶ I would like to thank Lindsay Gardner who conducted research on the “Wall of Respect” in 2003. Gardner and I met at the SFAI in a course I was teaching on Urban Remapping. Gardner shared her experience with “The Wall of Respect” with me. Completing research in Chicago during the summer of 2003 for her thesis on Gwendolyn Brooks, Gardner was able to see and photograph panels of the original mural that had ended up at Chicago State University. What follows is her narrative of the events and condition of the artifact: “The remaining panels of the Wall were being stored in supply closet at Chicago State University (on the South Side of the city)- not at Northwestern. I had to go through a very long chain of people to find the right people who knew anything about it. I think (but I can't quite remember exactly) they were in the Art/Art History department's building. When I visited, they literally unlocked a closet door, and slid the panels out one by one where they were sitting, unprotected, unpreserved next to mop buckets and other random storage closet type things. It was a strange experience to say the least. The panels (masonite, I think) were probably about 3-4 feet high, rough shapes and sizes, and in varying condition...fading paint, peeling layers, crumbling corners, etc.” Sic. Email correspondence with Lindsay Gardner. September 09, 2009.

¹¹⁷⁷ Pitman Weber, 14.

¹¹⁷⁸ In an on-site interview, Esteban Villa pointed at the new panels and said: “That’s Selena [and] Mariachis. These are the ballet folklorico dancers. That’s, I think her name

is R. Beth Williams, she's a black soul singer." Esteban Villa, Interview. (June 23, 2004). Selina Quintanilla-Pérez was shot to death in March 1995.

¹¹⁷⁹ Liz Cazares, "Re-found art: Appeal to Sac State officials helps save teetering barrio art class." *Sacramento News & Review*. Frontlines. (March, 27, 2008). 14.

¹¹⁸⁰ "RCAF Goes to College." Dir. Sam Quiñones and Anthony Flores. Sacramento: CSUS Library, March 01, 2007.

¹¹⁸¹ Cazares also adds that the WNC "relies on the student support and \$500 per semester in financial support that comes through CSUS to continues the barrio art program" (14).

¹¹⁸² Cazares, 14.

¹¹⁸³ Juan Carrillo explained that "The RCAF was invited to put together contemporary work for this exhibit. The University has 150 posters of the RCAF in its collection. They wanted to tie the two in. So Phil Hitchcock and Sally Hitchcock of the Library have been very helpful in making this happen. I worked with them. I was asked by the artists to be the coordinator for the show." Taken from "RCAF Goes to College." Dir. Sam Quiñones and Anthony Flores. Sacramento: CSUS Library, March 01, 2007. The collection of RCAF posters and contemporary art on display at the University Library Gallery ran from February 2nd until March 3rd 2007.

¹¹⁸⁴ "RCAF Goes to College." Dir. Sam Quiñones and Anthony Flores. Sacramento: CSUS Library, March 01, 2007.

¹¹⁸⁵ Cazares, 14.

¹¹⁸⁶ Cazares, 14.

¹¹⁸⁷ Cazares, 14.

¹¹⁸⁸ Sic. Tomás Montoya, Email correspondence (August 29, 2009).

¹¹⁸⁹ Shifra M. Goldman, "A Public Voice: 15 Years of Chicano Posters." *Art Journal*. 44:1 (Spring 1984). 50. Also, as previously mentioned in Chapter Two, Goldman's (1994) *Dimensions of the Americas: Art and Social Change in Latin America and the United States* offers this essay again in chapter form.

¹¹⁹⁰ Goldman asserts that the "history of Chicano poster making, like that of street muralism (the other public art form that arose simultaneously), can be divided into two periods: from 1968 to 1975; and from 1975 to the present" (50). She characterizes the first wave of poster-making as "totally noncommercial," specific to the "individuals and groups who made the posters, the purposes they served, the audiences they addressed, the facilities that were established to promote poster making, and the collectives that flourished" (50). The 1975—1984 period of posters grew more conscious of the community at large and, as Goldman writes, "Crucial to this second period is the changing perception of the Chicano role in the United States, and in the international arena" (50). Referring to the emergence of "Third World liberation struggles," Goldman's

temporal category accounts for the Chicano Movement's expanded worldview in the late 1970s and early '80s, as Chicano/a artists extended their "Indigenist imagery" and political consciousness to the plight of Central and Latin America's indigenous peoples (50).

Goldman also maintains her reference to Chicano/a murals in the first temporal category she posits for posters. She writes, for example that "A high sense of idealism was intrinsic to the 1968-75 period. It explains the emphasis on community-oriented and public art forms like poster making and muralism." (50). Likewise she claims that the "Los Angeles area led in mural production, while the Bay area and Sacramento led in poster making" during the 1968-75 period (50-51). As she progresses into the second phase of poster production, her attention to muralism drops off.

¹¹⁹¹ Towards the end of her article, Goldman comments on the "Changing Directions" of Chicano/a poster-making in 1984. Claiming that after 1975, Chicanos "entered the middle class, attained professional or business status, and established a stake in the status quo" (56-57). She explains that during this shift, the first ruptures between a previously united Chicano/a art front emerged, with some artists maintaining original, grassroots principles, and others opting for more commercial viability (57). At this time, the Chicano/a artists who remained committed to Chicano/a art principles voiced their disfavor of the change: "Malaquias Montoya sounded an admonishing note about the cooptation of Chicano art and the transformation of its focus from 'liberation' to 'validation'" (57). Thus, In 1984, Goldman concluded that "the future of the Chicano poster will depend on the individual consciousness of each artist" (57).

¹¹⁹² "Centro de Artistas Chicanos: Progressive Mural Installation, May 14—June 26, 1983." Press Release / Announcement." Copy courtesy of Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission Archives, July 2004.

¹¹⁹³ "Centro de Artistas Chicanos: Progressive Mural Installation, May 14—June 26, 1983." Press Release / Announcement." Also see "Crystallizing the Chicano Art Myth," 1983. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. Donald Davidson Library. University of California, Santa Barbara. Available on Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/tp/hb5w1009tp/files/hb5w1009tp-FID4.jpg>

¹¹⁹⁴ Sic. "News Release: R.C.A.F. MURAL SHOW." March 30, 1984 in the Robert Else Gallery. Copy courtesy of Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission Archives, July 2004.

¹¹⁹⁵ As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, "In Search of Mr. Con Safos: RCAF Retrospective Poster Art Exhibition" was hosted in October 1989 at the Lankford & Cook Gallery in Rancho Cordova, California. As was typical of RCAF art shows, all donations and money from poster sales went to the Barrio Arts Program and "the Art Student Supply and Materials Fund," indicated in a press release from 1989. The exhibit also traveled to the Millicent Rogers Museum in Taos, New Mexico in January 1992. Copies of both press releases are courtesy of Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission Archives, July 2004.

¹¹⁹⁶ Ricardo Favela, "RCAF Retrospective Poster Art Exhibition: The Historical, Social and Political Implications, In Search of Mr. Con Safos." Master's Thesis. California State University Sacramento. Spring 1990.

¹¹⁹⁷ Ricardo Favela, Master's Thesis, "'RCAF Retrospective Poster Art Exhibition: The Historical, Social and Political Implications, In Search of Mr. Con Safos.'" Master's Thesis. California State University Sacramento. Spring 1990. 5.

¹¹⁹⁸ By "multiculturalism" and the multicultural movement, I am referring to the late twentieth century establishment of Ethnic Studies, Women's Studies and other academic programs on university and college campuses, following the 1960s and '70s civil rights era. I am also thinking about the push of government programs like CETA that created channels for minority artists and cultural workers to enter into more mainstream positions in US public agencies—libraries, social services, public arts commissions, etc. I will also explore multiculturalism as a concept throughout this chapter.

¹¹⁹⁹ Emphasis Mine. Ricardo Favela, Master's Thesis, 1990. 5.

¹²⁰⁰ Alicia Gaspar de Alba, *Chicano Art: Inside / Outside The Master's House*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998. 96.

¹²⁰¹ Gaspar de Alba provides a chronological listing of CARA's travel dates at the end of her text.

¹²⁰² Gaspar de Alba, 3.

¹²⁰³ Gaspar de Alba, 99.

¹²⁰⁴ Sic. Gaspar de Alba, 3.

¹²⁰⁵ Gaspar de Alba refers to the group exhibits as the "men's rooms" because of the gaping absence of women's art and collectives from the show (145). Moreover, she considers the inside and outside of the casitas, arguing that the domestic sphere and Chicana practice of altar making was appropriated in the "Men's rooms," as the group exhibits created shrines to the featured collectives. Gaspar de Alba concludes that the structure of the entire show underscored male privilege by, "the fact that they (and no others, and certainly not any women's collectives) deserve to be memorialized as dearly departed ancestors or heroic pioneers of the Chicano Movement" (147).

¹²⁰⁶ Sic. Gaspar de Alba, 147.

¹²⁰⁷ Sic. Ricardo Favela, Master's Thesis, 1990. 2.

¹²⁰⁸ As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, Juan Carrillo was hired in 1978 at the California Arts Council. He became the Deputy Director of Programs and ended his 27 year career as the Interim Director in 2004.

Also, around the time of Favela's comments in his Master's Thesis, the RCAF was featured as an 'Outsider' turned 'Insider' arts group in Sacramento's newspaper. In a 1989 news article entitled, "Outsider Chicano artists now insiders," *Sacramento Bee* writer John Robin Witt describes the RCAF's earlier encounter with institutional

recognition and their commitment to grassroots and community arts practices: “Nearly 20 years ago, members of the Royal Chicano Air Force were considered a revolutionary force in Sacramento art circles. On Thursday, their works will go on display in one of the city’s most Establishment galleries. ‘It is very curious irony,’ chuckled city councilman Joe Serna, who donated his Curtis Park garage two decades ago as a studio for RCAF-produced political art. ‘Twenty years ago we were outsiders. Now we are insiders.’ Serna will serve as co-sponsor for the RCAF retrospective Poster Art Exhibit ... The event, which plumbs the work of some of the area’s most important Chicano artists, will benefit the Barrio Art Program, which fosters creative expression in some of the city’s most economically depressed areas. ... Despite the RCAF’s newfound respectability, Montoya said the group has not lost that early sense of playfulness. ‘We’re having to rev up our fleet of ‘adobe airplanes’ and flying into areas that are strange to us: corporate America.’” John Robin Witt, “Outsider Chicano artists now insiders.” *The Sacramento Bee*. Metro. October 24, 1989. B1, B4. SMAC.

¹²⁰⁹ Gaspar de Alba, 91.

¹²¹⁰ Gloria Ohland, “CARA,” *L.A. Weekly* (September 1990):14—20. As qtd in Gaspar de Alba, Sic. 91.

¹²¹¹ Alicia González and Edith Tonelli, “*Compañeros and Partners: The CARA Project. Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Eds., Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991. 274. As qtd in Gaspar de Alba, 92.

¹²¹² Gaspar de Alba, 92. In moving forward with CARA funding, following the NEH’s lack of support, Gaspar de Alba writes that funding came from “the UCLA Art Council, the UCLA Chancellor’s Challenge in the Arts and Humanities, and the Rockefeller Foundation” (95). After funding the implementation phases through these sponsors, and through the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, CARA planners were able to secure the remaining money from the Andy Warhol Foundation, the Lila Wallace-Reader’s Digest Fund and other corporate backers (95). Gaspar de Alba also notes that a “larger and unexpected NEA grant came through, as well as monies from the California Arts Council, the City of Los Angeles Cultural Affairs Department, the 1990 Los Angeles Festival, and *La Opinión*. The education packets were sponsored by the Anheuser-Busch Companies and the Rockefeller Foundation. A year after CARA opened, the catalogue was published with the help of a Getty Grant Program” (95).

¹²¹³ Sic. Gaspar de Alba, 92. Gaspar de Alba cites a letter from Thomas H. Wilson to Edith Tonelli, dated May 18, 1989. It is available in the CARA Archives at UCLA.

¹²¹⁴ The RCAF viewed mural-making, poster production and their other art practices as an implementation of their ethnonational platform and community agendas. Treating art as a task—as a contribution to the collective efforts of the organization, the RCAF valued art as a political act not only in terms of its content, but also in terms of its process. In “Feminist Art and the Political Imagination” (2003), Amy Mullin explores the differences between political art and art activism and her findings are helpful for understanding the RCAF’s commitment to the collective arts practice. Challenging what she believes is widespread disregard of feminist art in western art criticism and histories, Mullin claims that feminist art is underrated because it is evaluated on an “either/or” basis. Either it is

dismissed by art critics and theorists who believe “that art and politics should not be combined in ways that involve artists making art about politics,” which includes “artists working in their art toward political change, and artists working with activists in their art-making” (192). Or, on the other hand, feminist art is accepted for its “combinations of art and politics,” but the critical acceptance pays no “attention to the artistic dimension of the works” (192). The bottom line, Mullin contends, is that feminist art is either valued for its political message or disregarded because of it; but in either case, it is never aesthetically appreciated.

Mullin claims that the disregard for feminist art’s “artistic dimension” pertains to its activist origins—not simply because it is “too” political. She notes Lucy Lippard’s work—specifically, her 1984 essay “Trojan horses: activist art and power”—and her observation that “‘political’ art tends to be socially concerned and ‘activist’ art tends to be socially involved” (192). The socially-involved tendency of feminist art is what diminishes its aesthetic value in the eyes of the western art world and its coded industry. Mullin elaborates on Lippard’s definitions:

“‘Political art’ is not a broader umbrella term, but instead designates art that explores political subject matter, but is not made in a way that involves political action. ‘Activist art’ also explores political topics, but is distinguished from political art in its greater concern with the politics involved in both the creation and reception of the art. Activist artists actively seek public participation in both areas, and generally do not make a sharp distinction between *the process* or creating a work and the product. Activist art is, therefore, political in two senses, while political art is political only in its subject matter. ... this makes activist art the more common target for those who oppose bringing political concerns to one’s art-making .” (203)

The importance of process—of community involvement and consciousness-raising through murals, arts workshops and education is central to the RCAF’s worldview. Many of their Chicano/a murals of the early community mural movement epitomize definitions of political art, protesting the oppression of Chicanos/as as workers, social beings and as a culture. In fact, removed from their historical context, Chicano/a murals have become icons of political art and, along with the power-fists and other images of the Black civil rights movement, they are often examined, written about and categorized irrespective of their activist past and the collaborative processes involved in their creation. For more, please see:

Amy Mullin, “Feminist Art & the Political Imagination.” *Hypatia*, 18:4 (Fall/Winter 2003). 189-213. Lucy Lippard, “Trojan horses: activist art and power.” *Art after modernism: rethinking representation*, ed. Brian Wallis. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984.

¹²¹⁵ Gaspar de Alba, 169.

¹²¹⁶ I am paraphrasing Gaspar de Alba’s claim that “Quality functions as a euphemism for racism, sexism, heterosexism, and ethnocentrism” (169).

¹²¹⁷ Gapsar de Alba, 169.

¹²¹⁸ Lucy Lippard, *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural American*. 2nd ed. The New Press, New York: 2000.

¹²¹⁹ Emphasis Mine. Lippard, "Preface to the New Press Edition." iv.

¹²²⁰ In 1989, amidst the planning and implementation of CARA and other Chicano/a arts exhibitions, the NEA was embroiled in a backlash against multicultural trends in funding. Gaspar de Alba adds the late 1980s and '90s "was the heyday of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) controversy when conservatives in Congress targeted the work of gay and lesbian artists, particularly that of Robert Mapplethorpe, Marlon Riggs, Ron Athey, Holly Hughes and Annie Sprinkle, as 'obscene,' 'vulgar,' 'immoral,' 'indecent,' and therefore unworthy of federal support" (94). Both Jesse Helms and Pat Buchanan made the arts and what the NEA was funding a "moral" issue according to their conservative values of what is and is not American art. Controversy in public art occurred all throughout 1989, which was also the year that Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc* (1981) was removed from the New York Federal Building Plaza. Following the systematic campaign against the federally commissioned sculpture by William Diamond, *Tilted Arc* was cut up into pieces and removed. Diamond became head of the General Service Administration in 1985, under Ronald Reagan.

For more, see Harriet F. Senie, "Prologue." *The Tilted Arc Controversy: Dangerous Precedent?* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002. For more on the history of public art controversy, Marjorie Heins, "Public art, Censorship, and the Constitution." *Public Art Review*. 6:1(Fall/Winter 1994). 10—12; Richard Serra, "Art and Censorship." *Writings/Interviews*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 214-223.

¹²²¹ Patricia Rodriguez, "Pioneer Chicana/Latina Artists: Creating Institutional Inclusion." *Blaze: Discourse on Art, Women and Feminism*. Eds., Karen Frostig and Kathy A. Halamka. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007. 91.

¹²²² Rodriguez, 91.

¹²²³ For more on Yañez's involvement in the SFMOMA's "Open Space" in conjunction with the Kahlo exhibit, please see: <http://blog.sfmoma.org/?tag=rene-yanez> Also, please see: <http://www.sfmoma.org/events/1242.1>

¹²²⁴ René Yañez is co-founder of San Francisco's Galería de la Raza and was a Rockefeller Fellow in 1974, which led to his apprenticeship at the De Young Museum. Subsequently in 1975, he was curator of traveling exhibitions at the San Francisco MOMA. As recently as 2006, Yañez was the national curator for "Chicano Visions: American Painters on the Verge," the latest national tour of Chicano/a art sponsored by major corporations and Cheech Marin. Along with his work at SomArts in San Francisco, Yañez has been running the Great Tortilla Conspiracy with his son Rio Yañez from 2006 until the present. For more, please see: <http://www.chicano-art-life.com/curator.html> Or:<http://www.galeriadelaraza.org/eng/exhibits/archive/artists.php?op=view&id=11&media=info> (Accessed on October 3, 2009).

¹²²⁵ Rodriguez, 94.

¹²²⁶ Guillermo Gómez-Peña, Art-Mageddon to Gringostroika: A Manifesto Against Censorship." *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art*. Ed., Suzanne Lacy. Bay Press: Seattle WA, 1995. 97.

¹²²⁷ I would like to thank CEMA Director Sal Güereña for clarifying the date of the RCAF archives at UC Santa Barbara. In email correspondence Mr. Güereña explained, “the date that the RCAF archives were established here was May 5, 1988. Ricardo Favela signed for the RCAF. At that time CEMA had not yet come into existence, and my archival work was being done through the Colección Tloque Nahuaque. In your dissertation you date the acquisition of the RCAF archives to 1993; that was the date when we expanded our reach to the four ethnic groups, but the RCAF came in five years earlier than that based on the signing of the gift agreement.” Sic. Email Correspondence. February 22, 2010.

¹²²⁸ ”Sic. “Oral History Interview with Ricardo Favela.” By David B. Lemon, CSUS. November 6, 2001. Ethnic Survey File. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009.

¹²²⁹ Sal Güereña provides a clear and comprehensive overview of the institutional collections of Chicano/a Studies—history, literature, and important antecedents. From the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley, to the collection at UC Los Angeles, Güereña also notes Stanford University’s “acquisition of Chicano manuscript collections” primarily engaged with farmworker history and the University of Texas’s “Mexican American Library Project within the Benson Latin American Collection.” Across the several collections, Güereña points out that each has a particular historical trajectory that also explains the unique focus of the materials.

Güereña also traces the histories of Chicano/a collections that predate the 1970s and were not necessarily a part of Chicano/a resources at the given university, until the late twentieth century when previous collections were reconsidered. The reexamination of preexisting archives pertains to ideological shifts in institutional cultures within US libraries. Güereña provides an excellent and clear overview of the historical processes that first denied, excluded and eventually rethought Chicano/a literature, history and art as material worth preserving.

To Güereña, an important misperception of Chicano/a literature concerns its origins. Güereña argues that twentieth-century Chicano/a literature “had its genesis in the American Southwest during the 16th Century and continues to the present.” Along with “a cadre of literary critics including Lomeli, Ortego, Paredes, and Rodriguez,” Güereña also mentions George I. Sánchez and Carlos Castañeda’s contributions to the discovery and preservation of early Mexican American writers. He argues that the absence of early Mexican American literature determines Chicano/a invisibility in U.S. history:

One might ask, if this Chicano literary tradition is as long lived as it claimed to be, why has it not gained much more visibility and stature within the broader orbit of American literature? The historical records demonstrate amply that there was no shortage of works done by talented Hispanic writers who were active throughout the Southwest, including, for example, Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà’s *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* (1610), the works of Francisco Palou such as *Noticias de la Nueva California* (1874), and innumerable corridos, religious plays, folktales and poems. [Yet] scant attention was given to Southwest colonial literature written by Hispanics [because] the presence of a dual language in much of this literature largely relegated its study to Latin American and Mexican literary critics. Written works penned and published in the Spanish language were disregarded. There was a similar disinterest by scholars in

oral literature. Meanwhile there was a strong predisposition towards the European literary tradition.

The exclusion of Mexican American literature from the American literary canon is typically explained as a language issue. Social values and dominant myths, however, underlie the notion of exclusion via language. In *Magical Urbanism* (2000), Mike Davis uncovers the long history of linguistic exclusion in the U.S. Citing Midwestern German language schools and newspapers that “came under attack” after World War I, Davis writes, “Most Americans are deeply confused about the relationship between language, nationality, and citizenship. Despite the widespread belief that the Pilgrim Fathers or Continental Congress legislated English as an official language, linguistic diversity flourished in the United States”(140). As Nebraska passed an “English Only” amendment in 1920, which was intended for German American communities, Davis writes:

“English Only was cloned back to life in Miami in 1980 as part of the angry back lash against the Mariel exodus from Cuba. It quickly spread virally to California . . . and was tacked onto the state constitution with the support of 73 percent of Anglo voters in 1986—despite its violation of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which implicitly guaranteed the status of Spanish in the conquered borderlands of Mexico.” (140-41)

Xenophobic reactions to immigration waves are constant and cyclical. The ongoing English Only movements that Davis cites are one expression of the U.S.’s attempt to define its citizenry nationally. Nationalist concerns depicted in linguistic differences project a particular racial anxiety onto Mexicans. Güereña argues,

“Mainstream literary historians . . . had a long history of ignoring Chicano writings perhaps due to a perceived linguistic obstacle. However, Cecil Robinson attributes this lack of interest to a socio-political polarization of the White and Chicano society which resulted from a rejection of the Chicano in and by this country. . . . the image of the Mexican in popular literature of the day reveals more openly than most records of the time the naïve and cocky sense of superiority with which young America regarded itself. The “greaser” provides a most apt foil for the projection of such an inflated self-image and the dime novels are full of incidents in which Saxon intelligence, strength, and purity of motive triumph over the guile and treachery of the degenerate “yellow belly.”

Cecil Robinson’s *With the Ears of Strangers* (1963) and Carey McWilliams’s *North From Mexico* (1949) demonstrate Güereña’s point nicely. While Robinson explores Anglo encounters with Mexicans in early American literature, Williams reveals cultural inaccuracies that result from immigration differences between Mexicans and Europeans. Examining American writers, such as Charles Lummis and Mary Austin, Robinson notes, “Mexico, its culture and its people, has been from the early nineteenth century an unavoidable presence in westward moving America” (vii). The “unavoidable presence” of Mexican America in Anglo America’s imaginings of the Southwest is expressed in the racial anxiety that colored literary characterizations of the local peoples: “These early writers often allowed themselves to express quite unabashedly their distaste for Mexicans on purely racial grounds”(69).

Although McWilliams mentioned literature that exemplifies cultural misrepresentations between Mexican and Anglo Americans, his work mainly focused on sociological evidence concerning immigration patterns. Reflecting on the Mexican American “difference” in U.S. society over time, McWilliams emphasized their unique relationship with the U.S. border:

“Most Americans have been taught to think of immigration as a process by which Europeans picked up bag and baggage and came “to these shores.” . . . the Atlantic crossing was of the utmost psychological and sociological importance; it was a severance, a crossing, and abrupt transition. But Mexican immigrants . . . have been drawn to the borderlands by a feeling of continuity, of gradual transition . . . the protective mantle, of a familiar environment.” (62)

As McWilliams discerned the racial anxiety of Anglo American writers, he also presented several factors of “difference”—like immigration—to explain “the Mexican problem” in the American imagination (188). McWilliams claims that “the Mexican problem” is actually not a problem; rather it is a result of the U.S. failure to debunk its own misleading, dominant historical myths:

“The use of this deceptive catchall phrase has consistently clouded the real issues by focusing attention on consequences rather than on causes. Actually the basic issues have always had to do with Anglo-Hispano relations in a particular historical setting as influenced by a specific set of cultural, economic, geographical, and social forces. Once these factors are seen in proper perspective . . . the elusive character of “the Mexican problem” vanishes into thin air.” (189)

Using the remainder of his book to dispel inaccuracies, and putting various social circumstances into “proper perspective,” McWilliams concluded that future relations between Mexican and Anglo Americans will be a matter of choice: “Like the peoples of the world, the borderlands will either face the future ‘one and together’ or they are likely to find themselves siftings on siftings in oblivion” (189). The fact that much of the Chicano/a experience continues to be marginalized in U.S. history American canons suggests that McWilliams’s more discouraged forecast has been realized.

For more, please see: Mike Davis, *Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the U.S. City*. London and New York: Verso, 2001; Cecil Robinson, *With Ears of Strangers: The Mexican in American Literature*. 2nd Ed. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969; Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the US*. 2nd Ed. New York: Praeger, 1990.

¹²³⁰ At CSUS, students can minor in Chicano Studies, but undergraduate degrees are only available in Ethnic Studies. For more, please see: <http://www.csus.edu/chicano/> (Accessed on October 4, 2009).

¹²³¹ From UC Berkeley’s Department of Ethnic Studies website. Please see: <http://ethnicstudies.berkeley.edu/programs/> (Accessed on October 15, 2009).

¹²³² From University of Texas at Austin’s CMAS website: <http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/cmas/index.php> (Accessed on October 06, 2009).

¹²³³ From UCLA’s website for the César Chávez Department of Chicano and Chicana Studies. Please see: http://www.chavez.ucla.edu/7_graduate.htm (Accessed on September 28, 2009).

¹²³⁴ Salvador Güereña, “Archives and Manuscripts: Historical Antecedents To Contemporary Chicano Collections.” *Collection Building*. 8 (Neil Shuman Publisher, 1988):3—11. Also, see, Salvador Güereña, “Archives and Manuscripts: Historical Antecedents to Contemporary Chicano Collections.” *Alternative Library Literature*,

1988/1989: *A Biennial Anthology*. Eds., Sanford Berman and James P. Danky. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1990: 193-200.
Available on the CEMA website:
http://www.library.ucsb.edu/speccoll/collections/cema/archives_manuscripts.html
(Accessed on June 14, 2009).

¹²³⁵ Sal Güereña, "Archives and Manuscripts."

¹²³⁶ The Chicano Youth Conference in Denver, CO, took place in March 1969 and the conference at Santa Barbara followed in April.

¹²³⁷ Sal Güereña, "Archives and Manuscripts."

¹²³⁸ Sal Güereña, "Archives and Manuscripts."

¹²³⁹ Sal Güereña, "Archives and Manuscripts."

¹²⁴⁰ Sal Güereña, "Archives and Manuscripts."

¹²⁴¹ Sic. Sal Güereña. Email Correspondence. February 22, 2010.

¹²⁴² Sal Güereña, "Archives and Manuscripts."

¹²⁴³ The "Just Another Poster?" exhibit was hosted at the Jack S. Blanton Museum of Art at the University of Texas in Austin from June 2 to August 13, 2000. The show was exhibited at UC Santa Barbara's University Art Museum from January 13 through March 4, 2001. It was hosted at the Crocker Art Museum in Sacramento from June 20 until September 14, 2003. La Raza Bookstore and Galería Posada cosponsored this exhibition. For more information, please see the exhibition catalogue, *Just Another Poster? Chicano Graphic Arts in California* (2001).

¹²⁴⁴ In the 2001 catalogue for "Just Another Poster," professor and Chicano/a art historian Chon Noriega provides an insightful review of the poster's origination and its role in the 2000 exhibit:

"This exhibition borrows its title from that of the 1976 silkscreen by Louie 'The Foot' González: '*This is Just Another Poster*.' In González's poster the upper case silhouetted letters float over a multicolored background, thereby juxtaposing two predominant and somewhat antithetical artistic styles: the abstract and the conceptual. In this way, González identifies poster art as an interface between these two styles and between the larger historical modes with which they are often associated, modernism and postmodernism, respectively." (20)

Noriega goes on, but ultimately, the flexibility that he reads into the poster's meaning / function / value basically originates in its syncretic nature. Mixing and blending multiple artistic techniques—from the fine art essence of the brush stroke of the letters, to the ephemeral quality of poster-making, González also plays with words and the obvious and not so obvious message of the poster. Noriega is sensitive to all of these. For more see Noriega, "Postmodernism: Or Why This Is Just Another Poster." *Just Another Poster? Chicano Graphic Arts in California*. Ed., Chon Noriega. Santa Barbara, CA:

University Art Museum. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001. 20-23.

¹²⁴⁵ José Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

¹²⁴⁶ Sic. Sheila O'Neil, Email Correspondence. (October 1, 2009).

¹²⁴⁷ "A Celebration for the Opening of the Joe Serna, Jr. Papers." Loose flyer handout, Oct. 21, 2007. Personal Copy.

¹²⁴⁸ Sic. Sheila O'Neil, Email Correspondence. (October 1, 2009).

¹²⁴⁹ Likewise, in the Office of the President files, numerous materials on the Mexican American Education Project at CSUS are in excellent condition and organization. California State University, Sacramento. The Library, Department of Special Collections and University Archives.

¹²⁵⁰ I would also like to note that during the "R.C.A.F. Goes to College" exhibit, José Montoya hosted an evening film screening of Joseph R. Camacho's "El Pachuco From Zoot Suits to Lowriders" ca. 1983. The film was a documentary of José Montoya's 1977 Pachuco Art: A Historical Update. Upon his passing, Camacho had bequeathed his documents and films to Stanford University. Until this 2007 screening, Montoya had never seen the film. He stated this fact at the CSUS screening. Listing for the film is available on worldcat at: <http://www.worldcat.org/wcpa/ow/271285567>

¹²⁵¹ The University Library Gallery at CSUS held the exhibit of the RCAF posters in the library's collection from March 14 to April 19, 2008. La Raza Galería Posada donated their poster collection for preservation to the CSUS library between August 2006 and January 2007. On permanent loan, the library invited Teresa Romo to help curate the exhibition.

¹²⁵² Teresa Romo, "Points of Convergence: The Iconography of the Chicano Poster." Presentation, February 22, 2007. "The R.C.A.F. Goes to College: A Collection of R.C.A.F. Posters and Contemporary Art." University Library Gallery, CSUS. Romo informed the audience that her presentation was largely based on her 2001 essay, "Points of Convergence: The Iconography of the Chicano Poster." *Just Another Poster? Chicano Graphic Arts in California*. Ed., Chon Noriega. Santa Barbara, CA: University Art Museum. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001. 92-115.

During her presentation, Romo's temporal categories echoed Goldman's earlier framework; but she sharpened the characteristics of posters from the "1965 period." She emphasized their political dimension, since Chicanos/as primarily created the "graphic work for the UFW." Romo added that by the 1970s, most Chicano/a posters were created through "artist collectives."

¹²⁵³ In her essay, Romo temporal designations include, "To Seize the Moment: The Chicano Poster, Politics, and Protest, 1965-1972"; "Synthesis: The Chicano Poster and Cultural Reclamation, 1972-1982"; and, "Selling the Vision: The Chicano Poster as Art: 1983-Present."

Like Goldman, Romo contextualized Chicano/a posters with Chicano/a murals as the major artistic developments of the 1960s and '70s Chicano Movement. Both were

message-based art forms that functioned primarily for working class, Chicano/a communities: “Evolving from the Chicano sociopolitical agenda, murals and posters shared many of the same social aesthetic goals and iconography.” But, as Romo explains, “the poster became the prominent voice for many Chicano/a artists due to its accessible technology, portability, and cost-effectiveness” (92).

¹²⁵⁴ Sic. Romo, 112.

¹²⁵⁵ Romo, 112. Romo’s overview of the shift in poster-making is thorough. She explains that after funding bases changed—“the demise of CETA and the decrease in government arts funds, the *centros* began to seek alternative funding sources” (108). Poster sales and customization generated revenue. She also pays particular attention to Self-Help Graphics in Los Angeles and artist Richard Duardo who “created hundreds of posters for international advertisers and art galleries” (109). Shifra M. Goldman also cites Duardo as a critical figure in the commercial trend in Chicano/a poster art during the 1980s. See Goldman, “A Public Voice,” (1984). 57.

¹²⁵⁶ Romo, 112.

¹²⁵⁷ Although Romo terms 1983 to the present as “Selling the Vision,” she argues that the introduction of new (or nonpolitical) imagery into Chicano/a art as well as the ability to make individually-serving creations was/is not a lessening of the art form. Rather, Romo perceives the change as a part of Chicano/a art’s development: “The greater artistic freedom claimed by Chicano poster artists in recent years has not only expanded the study of Chicano iconography, but has also contributed to the continuing redefinition of ‘Chicano art’” (112).

¹²⁵⁸ Not only had they been officially allowed into a space that was frequently denied to them during the 1970s, (since Esteban Villa and José Montoya chose to exhibit student art with their professional works), the 2007 exhibit of RCAF posters and contemporary works was also curated by Phil Hitchcock, the University Gallery’s director. “RCAF Goes to College.” Dir. Sam Quiñones and Anthony Flores. Sacramento: CSUS Library, March 01, 2007.

¹²⁵⁹ Gaspar de Alba, 99. Also, Shifra M. Goldman cites Malaquías Montoya who “sounded an admonishing note about the cooptation of Chicano art and the transformation of its focus from ‘liberation’ to ‘validation’” during the 1980s. See Goldman, “A Public Voice,” (1984). 57.

¹²⁶⁰ Sic. Gaspar de Alba, 100. As Gaspar de Alba notes, José had participated on an advisory committee for CARA and both men had pieces in the show; the RCAF was also one of the featured arts collectives. See Gaspar de Alba, 99-100. By “El Louie,” she refers to José Montoya’s 1969 poem.

In her examination of the 1990s CARA Exhibition, Alicia Gaspar de Alba sifts through a great deal of internal conflict between the exhibit curators, planners, artists and other committees that struggled over the definition of Chicano/a art. Malaquías Montoya wrote “A Critical Perspective on the State of Chicano Art,” in *Metamorfosis* “ten years earlier and later reprinted in *Cambio Cultural*.” In this essay, Malaquías “names two schools of Chicano/a artists (a third group is discounted as opportunistic): those who think they can effect changes within the art world by participating in mainstream events

and those who have remained true to the 'original goals,' 'original aspirations,' and 'original intentions' of the Chicano Art Movement." Further, Malaquías felt a great shift away from original values in Chicano/a art during the 1980s. Likewise, José Montoya published a personal statement in *Imagine* "during the organizational period of CARA," where he describes the "Chuppy," or the "Chicano urban professional who buys hi-tech prints and flaunt their status. ... Young Chicano artists are not interested in proselytizing, art is no longer a tool to organize; it should be to make money. ... What is sadder yet, is to see *veteranos* going in that direction" (99—100). Carmen Lomas Garza was a veteran artist of the Movement who, as Gaspar de Alba mentions, was "criticized by *veteranos* of the Chicano Art Movement ... for having 'chosen a different way of focusing her work,' preferring to portray the 'more socially conscious nature' of Chicano/a art 'over more confrontational and political work'" (101). Lomas Garza's *monito* series was perceived by her detractors as culturally relevant, but "'very safe' and the kind of stuff that is very welcome in the Smithsonian Institution or [other] large museums."

Clearly, defining Chicano/a art in the CARA Exhibit reflected a larger debate taking place in the Chicano/a art community. Gaspar de Alba organizes the debate, which encompassed broad "generational, ideological, and vocational differences within the Chicano/a segment of the Advisory Committee," into

"two overarching and conflicting visions of representation: the *veterano* view and the view of the 'new kids on the block.' We can say that, in general, the *veteranos* stressed what I call an *essentialized* level of representation in which Chicano/a identity is determined by differences without and similarities within its community, specifically looking at the ways that race, language, religion, and class work in opposition to the 'national' American identity. In contrast to the White Anglo-Protestants of the dominant culture, Chicanos/as honored their Native American heritage, Spanish language, Mexican customs, and Catholic faith. ... The 'new kids on the block,' on the other hand, advocated what I see as an Americanized level of representation in which Chicano/a identity extends outside of its essentialist demarcations and finds an affinity with political crosscurrents in mainstream culture, particularly issues of gender, sexuality, and artistic license that actually oppose the 'essential' Chicano/a identity. Feminists, gays and lesbians, and those seeking to make 'art for art's sake' rather than for social change clashed with the patriarchal revolutionaries of Chicanismo." (101-02)

Although Gaspar de Alba's framing of the great debate in Chicano/a art (what it is and what it is not) is bold and relevant, it is only *one* way of viewing the Chicano/a art paradigm. For example, I don't see any difference between what she terms "Veterano" essentialization and the "new kids on the block" as a more "Americanized" representation. The DIY mentality of the Chicano/a artists during the 1960s and '70s that was expressed as a working-class ethic by José Montoya, is very much so related to or influenced by American imaginings of Horatio Algiers and the American Dream ethos. Veterano artists were deeply engaged in cross-cultural references during the Chicano Movement. Teresa Romo's assertion of the syncretic nature of Chicano/a posters exemplifies my point.

The mixture with which Gaspar de Alba describes the "new kids on the block" connection to "political crosscurrents in mainstream culture" was and is not exclusive to this group—or succession—of Chicano/a artists; rather, it is a constant feature—a universal ingredient—of Chicano/a art. Hybridity—interracial and intercultural exchanges, influences and convergences—had always been a part of Chicano/a art.

The RCAF valued low-brow forms of art production—from silkscreen posters to community murals with regular household paints—partly because these means were the only means that they could afford to create art for social change. Such institutional poverty put the RCAF in everyday interaction with “Feminists, gays and lesbians” who also used art as an activist approach to political representation. Esteban Villa recalled that “in the beginning,” (during the RCAF’s formative years at Sacramento State University, “women joined RCAF activism because, see the good old boys at Sac State didn’t allow women professors in their groups because they didn’t value women’s opinions equally. So many of these women on campus began hanging around with us. And other faculty would say to them, ‘What are you doing with them? They’re a bunch of socialist, communist, collective activists. What are you doing?’ And they would brush it off because the women were seen as—also like us, as misfits, as a minority. So they’d say, ‘Well we’re minorities too.’ ‘But dear, you can’t hang around with them boys over there.’ [Women’s] reputations were often questioned” (Esteban Villa, Interview on January 07, 2004).

Moreover, in his description of the central themes that “Emergence of the Chicano Social Struggle in a Bicultural Society” confronts, Villa posited an unusual or seemingly atypical battle between religion, specifically Catholicism and its relationship to the UFW, a central organization amongst the RCAF. In his reading of the central figure in “Emergence,” Villa asks, “what’s more important, church or state? Should a country be run by the religion, the church, god, or should it be run by the courts and the state? So that’s what that is right there and then behind it is the farmworkers’ struggle.” Artists of the RCAF also occasionally “clashed with the patriarchal revolutionaries of Chicanismo” in their representations of Chicano/a consciousness. The point of my interjection is not to dispel Gaspar de Alba’s notion of veteranos and “new kids on the block” as framework for thinking about intergenerational tensions in the Chicano art movement; rather, I think that the definitions and the boundaries of veteran identity are just as porous—as malleable—as those of sequential Chicano/a artists.

¹²⁶¹ Tracking the proceeds of most RCAF art exhibit throughout the 1970s, ‘80s and ‘90s through their poster and leaflet announcements indicates that all sales and donations were distributed to organizations like the WNC or programs like Barrio Art.

¹²⁶² Emphasis Mine. Juanishi Orosco, Interview. (December 23, 2000).

¹²⁶³ Orosco’s notion of painting “with the brushes of the community” is fundamentally opposed to notions of the western aesthetic that value the “artistic genius” of the individual and does not believe that such genius is possible in group or communal productions. See Introduction and notes regarding Amy Mullin’s discussion of Kantian notions of artistic genius as they inform western aestheticism. Amy Mullin, “Feminist Art & the Political Imagination.” *Hypatia*.18:4 (Fall/Winter 2003). 189-213.

¹²⁶⁴ Esteban Villa, Interview. (January 07, 2004). Villa went onto add that “it was okay because even though we’re a collective, you can identify my style of art against José’s, Juanishi’s, Cid’s, Cervantes, Max Garcia and so on. So it’s okay.” Villa explained that Chicano/a art collectives did not practice the artistic uniformity of other 1960s and ‘70s groups.

¹²⁶⁵ During the summer of 2007, José Montoya, Juanishi Orosco, Juan Cervantes and Stan Padilla, as well as several organizational members like Juanita Ontiveros and Dr.

Sam Rios formed “Centro Dos.” in the summer of 2007. The Centro Dos also included second generation RCAF members like Tomás Montoya.

¹²⁶⁶ “The Pilots of Aztlán: The RCAF Flies Again.” Dir. Steve de la Rosa. ViewFinder Program. Sacramento: KVIE, Inc., 2008. For more on the online transcript of the shirt documentary, please see, http://www.kvie.org/programs/kvie/viewfinder/rcaf_flies_again/default.htm (Accessed October 17, 2009).

¹²⁶⁷ “R.C.A.F. Centro Dos.” Evening / Art Auction. Program. August 3rd, 2007. Personal Copy.

¹²⁶⁸ “RCAF Centro Dos Presents: Chicano Movie Night at the Guild Theatre.” Program. June 26, 2008. Personal Copy.

¹²⁶⁹ Joseph R. Camacho, Dir. “El Pachuco From Zoot Suits to Lowriders.” Berkeley, CA: Island Film Works, ca 1983. Please see endnote 223.

¹²⁷⁰ Following a series of other fundraisers and exhibitions, the RCAF has suspended the Centro Dos in order to devote more attention to the Washington Neighborhood Center (WNC), Barrio Art and La Raza Bookstore and Galería Posada (LRGP). The efforts put forth in 2007, however, were not lost; Tomás Montoya went onto become the director of the WNC; José Montoya, Juanishi Orosco and Juanita Ontiveros remained board members for LRGP and work to preserve several of its original features.

¹²⁷¹ Latorre, 141.

¹²⁷² Latorre is addressing site-specificity in Chicano muralism in order to locate the process of politicizing space in Chicano/a consciousness: “The site specificity of murals implied that the space was a critical component of the artwork to the degree that the mural would be incomplete without it” (141). Latorre’s understanding of the “site specificity” of Chicano/a murals resonates for all public art and, in particular, for late twentieth century public art controversies. From George Sugarman’s *Baltimore Federal* (1977) to Richard Serra’s *Tilted Arc* (1989), public art in the US has a long history of conflicts over site-specific works and, really, their site contingent designs. For a thorough but short overview of the history of public art controversy in the US, see Michael Hallinan, “Art Hits the Wall: Property Rights vs. Artistic Expression.” *Public Art Review*. 6:1 (Fall/Winter 1994). 6—9.

¹²⁷³ In *Mixed Blessings* (1990) Lucy Lippard comments on the creative power and potential of intra-ethnic neighborhoods, echoing Latorre’s thoughts on the barrio as an essential Chicano/a mural environment:

“Without minimizing the economic and psychological toll of racism in this country, and without exaggerating the strengths that have resulted in survival, it is still possible to recognize the depth of African, Native American, Asian and Latino cultural contributions... the exclusion of those cultures from the social centers of this country is another mixed blessing. Drawn to the illusory warmth of the melting pot, and then rejected from it, they have frequently developed or offered sanctuary to ideas, images and

values that otherwise would have been swept away in the mainstream.”
(5)

Lippard's assertion of the “mixed blessing” of racial, social, gender and class exclusions in the arts and in the US in general is provocative but helpful for understanding the RCAF's ease with painting Chicano/a murals outside and inside of Sacramento's official public spaces. Their arts practice had been nurtured in Sacramento's barrios for years prior to their mainstream exposure. They had been exhibited, esteemed and collected by the cultural and artistic centers that were established by Chicano/a students, activists and leaders during the 1960s and '70s era.

¹²⁷⁴ Letter to Tim Quintero, Director of Alkali Flat Project Area Committee, from Philip Santos, La Raza Bookstore Board of Directors. September 13, 1977. Cema 8. Box 22 : 17. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

¹²⁷⁵ Sic. Letter to CSUS Faculty by Tere Romo and Francisca Godinez. Date unknown, but letter lists “books for the academic year of 1976-1977.”. Courtesy of the Sam Rios Papers. “La Raza Bookstore.” Box 2 : Folder 23. Department of Special Collections and University Archives. California State University Sacramento.

¹²⁷⁶ I am directly quoting the title of Manuel Valenica's “Storefront Academy for Chicano Artists.” *The Sacramento Union*. (Monday, Sept. 17, 1973). A2. Cema 8. Box 28 : Folder 16. Courtesy of the Royal Chicano Air Force Archives, 1973—1988. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. Department of Special Collections. University of California, Santa Barbara.

¹²⁷⁷ Originally developed as intra-ethnic spaces, Chicano/a bookstores and art galleries emerged throughout California and the US Southwest during the 1960s and '70s Chicano Movement. The Galería de la Raza was founded in 1970. Self Help Graphics was also established in Los Angeles during the early 1970s, LRGP is a contemporary of these two organizations.

¹²⁷⁸ Jose Montoya, Interview. (July 05, 2004).

¹²⁷⁹ La Raza Bookstore and Galería Posada (LRGP) has moved all over downtown Sacramento throughout its 37-year career. By the early 1980s, LRGP moved from 1228 F Street to a space on 15th and G Streets. Following two decades of redevelopment in the Alkali Flat, multi-family housing units were built along F Street, replacing the former building at 1228 F Street in which LRGP began (“Redevelopment Plan Alkali Flat Project No 6”). By 1991, LRGP “left the neighborhood, relocating to the other side of downtown” (Marois, 40). The move to 7th and O Street was significant. Orchestrated by Joe Serna Jr., LRGP took possession of the Heilbron Mansion, “graciously donated from the Wells Fargo Bank” (“La Raza Galeria Posada Brochure” n.d.). Housed within the Heilbron Mansion for over a decade, the LRGP board and staff sold the building in 2004 to the State of California and moved into an enormous, renovated warehouse space at 15th and R Streets. By 2006, the decision proved to be the wrong one due to the high cost of the space (Stephen Magagnini, “Latino center on the move.” *Metro. The Sacramento Bee*. August 1, 2006. B4). Yet Juanishi Orosco, José Montoya, Juanita Ontiveros and former leaders of LRGP like Francisca Godinez, reemerged to ensure its

survival. LRGP has been located at 1022-24 22nd Street between J and K Streets since the fall of 2006.

For more on the sale of the Heilbron Mansion and LRGP's 2004 move, see Stephen Magagnini, "Latino center on the move." *Metro. The Sacramento Bee*. (August 1, 2006). B1, B4. Also, Magagnini lists the year of LRGP's move as 1992.

For more on the redevelopment plan's impact on LRGP in the early '80s, see: "Redevelopment Plan Alkali Flat Project No 6." See Alkali Flat Redevelopment, Administrative Files. Courtesy of the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. January 2009. Also, see Deb Marois, "An Economic History of Alkali Flat." March 2003. University of California Davis. Community and Redevelopment Paper. 40. I cite a brochure that is in my possession: "La Raza Galeria Posada Brochure." Sic., n.d.. Taken from the 7th and O Street location in 2002.. Personal Copy.

¹²⁸⁰ Please see Chapter Three for more on the history of Chicana leadership at LRGP.

¹²⁸¹ Teresa Romo, "Points of Convergence: The Iconography of the Chicano Poster." Presentation, February 22, 2007. "The R.C.A.F. Goes to College: A Collection of R.C.A.F. Posters and Contemporary Art." University Library Gallery, CSUS.

¹²⁸² Teresa Romo, "Points of Convergence: The Iconography of the Chicano Poster." Presentation, February 22, 2007. "The R.C.A.F. Goes to College: A Collection of R.C.A.F. Posters and Contemporary Art." University Library Gallery, CSUS.

¹²⁸³ Teresa Romo, "Points of Convergence: The Iconography of the Chicano Poster." Presentation, February 22, 2007. "The R.C.A.F. Goes to College: A Collection of R.C.A.F. Posters and Contemporary Art." University Library Gallery, CSUS.

¹²⁸⁴ Sic. "Introduction." Philip (Pike) Santos. *La Raza's Quinceañero*. La Raza/Galería Posada. Tom's Printing, Inc.: Sacramento, Ca, 1988. Personal copy.

¹²⁸⁵ Pete Hernandez speaking at Tere Romo's presentation on February 22, 2007 in the University Library Gallery at CSUS. After Romo finished, she took questions from the audience. Pete Hernandez identified himself and offered several insights into the history of LRGP. Romo also informed the audience that Hernandez had been the "Chair of MEChA" at the time and helped raise money to launch the Galería Posada in 1979-'80.

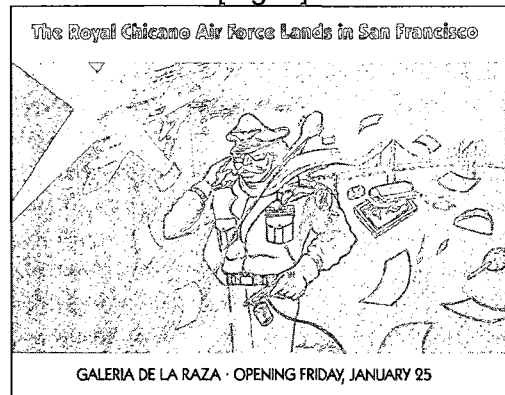
¹²⁸⁶ Stan Padilla exhibited contemporary works at LRGP during the fall of 2006. Esteban Villa exhibited a selection of portraits in spring 2007. José Montoya followed in the spring of 2008. Lastly, Juanishi Orosco held a retrospective in the summer of 2009.

¹²⁸⁷ José Montoya. Artist Address. La Raza Galería Posada. May 15, 2008.

IMAGES

Images for Introduction:

[Fig. 1]



RCAF Postcard for Poster and mixed media show in 1991 at the Galería de la Raza in San Francisco, Ca. Curated by René Yañez. Juanishi Orosco design. Copy courtesy of Juanishi Orosco.

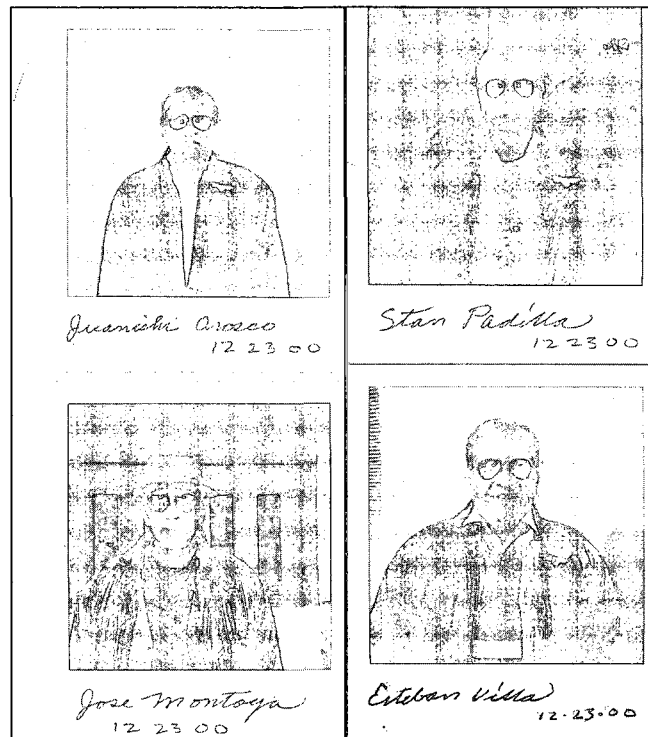


Postcard for RCAF retrospective show in 2005 at La Raza Galería Posada in Sacramento, Ca.

[Fig. 2]



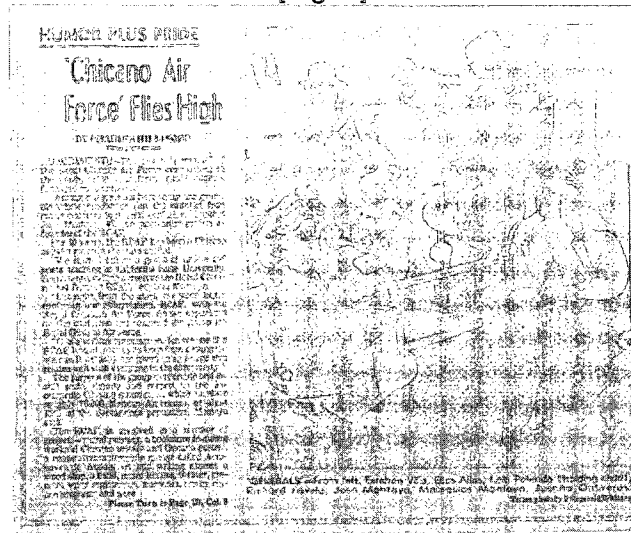
RCAF Postcard. Design by Rene Villa. 2004.



Polaroid Photographs given to me by Esteban Villa on December 23, 2000.

Images for Chapter One:

[Fig 1.]



1979 LA Times article by Charles Hillinger. Photograph by Fitzgerald Whitney. Article courtesy of Esteban Villa.

[Fig. 2]

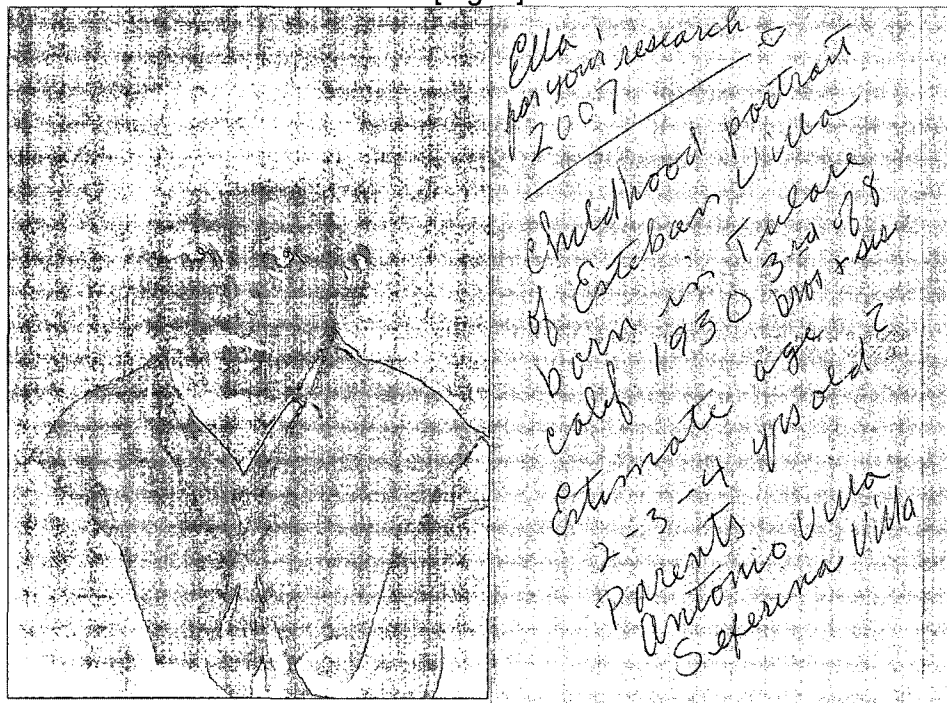
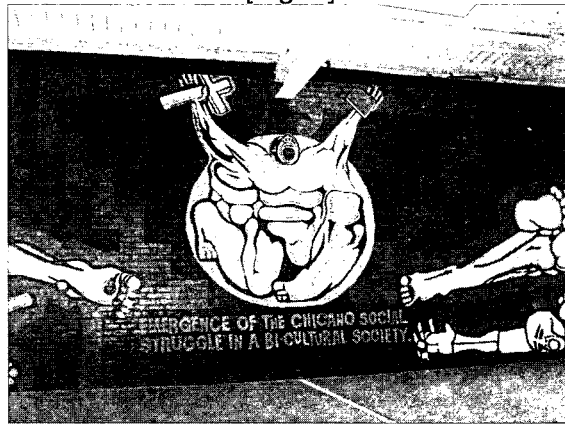


Image of Esteban Villa as child. Inscription by Villa. Courtesy of Esteban Villa.

Images for Chapter Two:

[Fig. 1]



Detail of Emergence, WNC. 2004. My photo.

[Fig. 2]



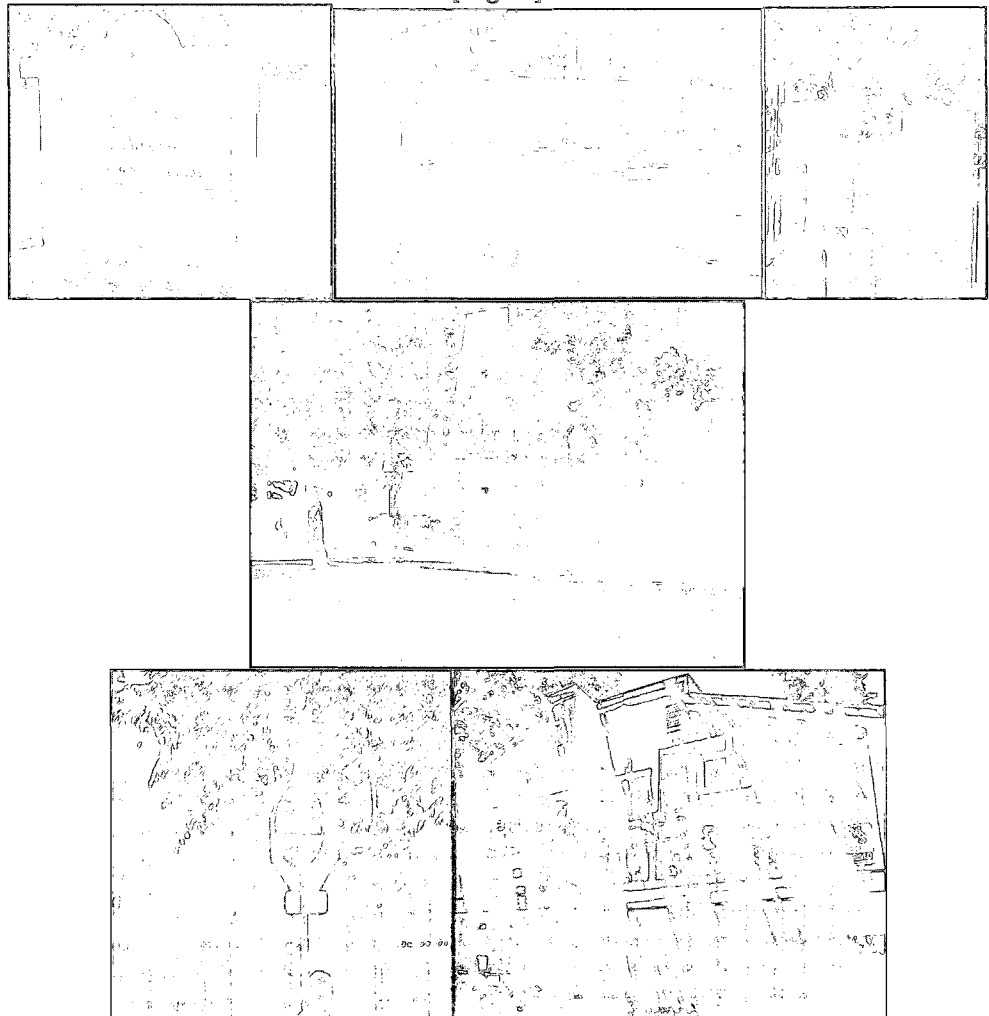
"In Search of Mr. Con Safos." Ricardo Favela, 1989. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/ms/hb1m3nb3ms/files/hb1m3nb3ms-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 3]

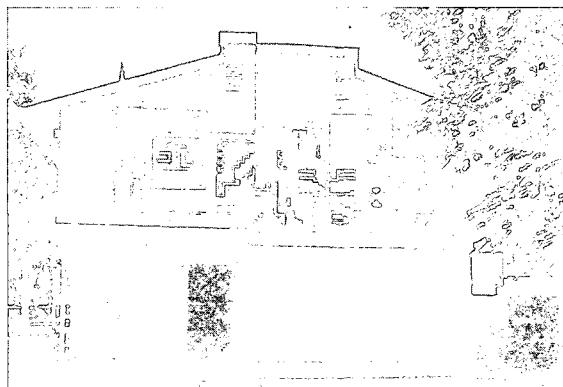


"Huelga! Strike! - Support the U.F.W.A." Ricardo Favela, 1976. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/38/hb7f59p338/files/hb7f59p338-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 4]



Images of the original Ollin Murals from 2007. My photos. Top Left: Zapata Park & the Ollin Mural on the posterior façade of the Washington Square Apartments, before removal in 2008. An installation of the tiles Enrique Ortiz created for the Alkali Flat / La Valentina Light Rail Station. Bottom: "Ollin" mural on anterior façade.

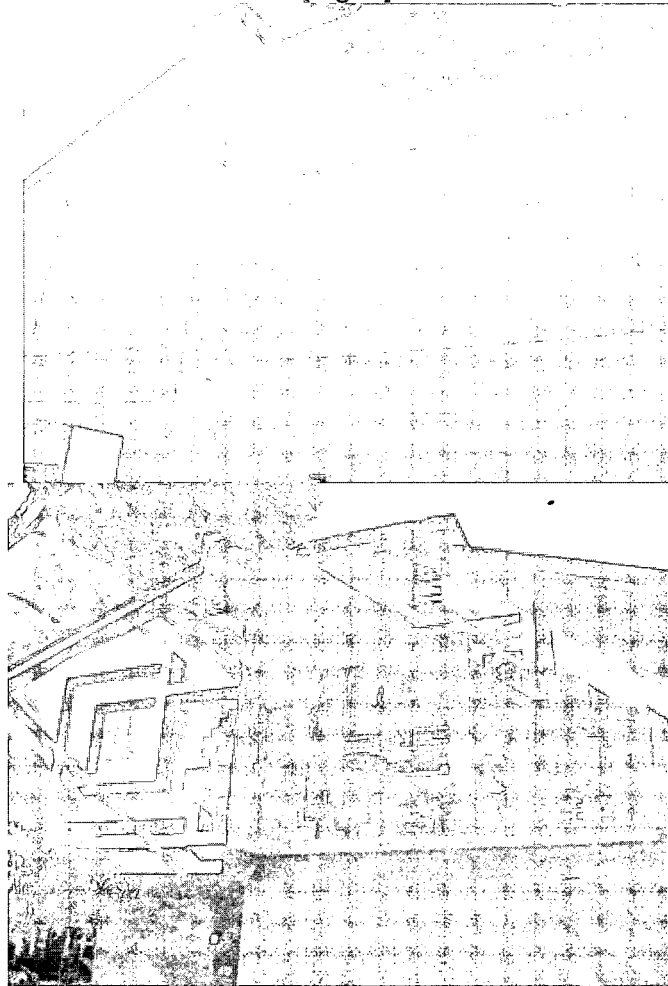


Armando Cid, "Ollin" Anterior Façade. Date on slide: 1976-1977.

Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Callisphere:

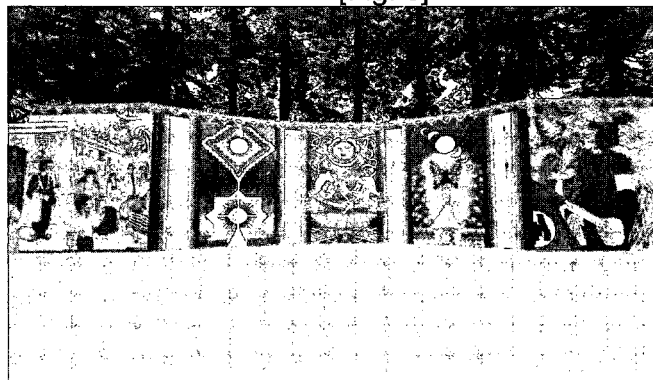
<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb7q2nb6zx/?query=Ollin&brand=callisphere>

[Fig. 5]



Top: Site of former "Ollin" mural on posterior façade of Washington Square Apartments.
Below: Condition of "Ollin" mural on anterior façade of Washington Square Apartments.
Both photos courtesy of Stephanie Sauer. October 28, 2009

[Fig. 6]



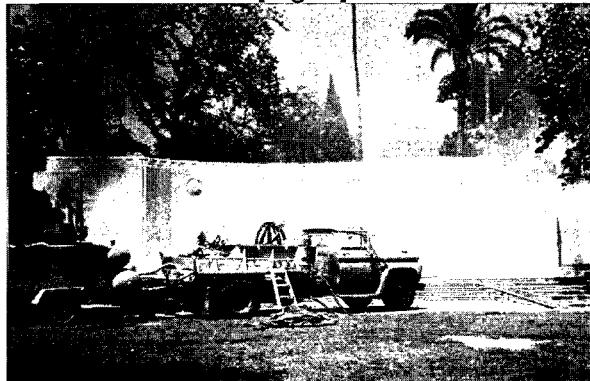
Southside Park Mural. Photo courtesy of Alex McDonald, 2007.

[Fig. 7]



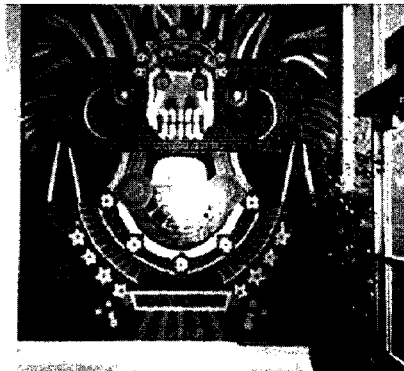
"Mural In Progress." 1976. Lorraine Garcia (Nakata) painting female figures on each end of Southside Park Stage. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/bj/hb0z09p0bi/files/hb0z09p0bi-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 8]



"Sand Blasting Operation." Southside Park Stage. Ca. 1976-1977. City of Sacramento, Organizer. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/vc/hb909nb8vc/files/hb909nb8vc-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 9]



Henry Ortiz, "Tlaloc." 1972. My photo. 2002.

Images for Chapter Three:

[Fig. 1]



Esteban Villa, "Cosmic Woman/Mujer C6smica" and Female Inteligentsia (The Women Hold Up the Universe). RCAF and Mujeres Muralistas, Artist 1985. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/pg/hb9m3nb8pq/files/hb9m3nb8pq-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 2]



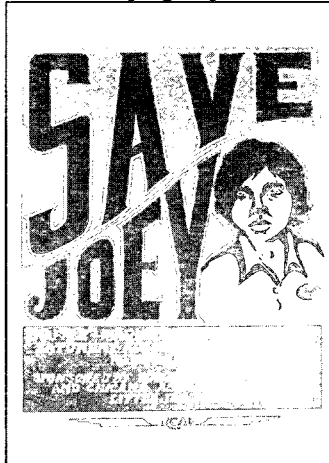
Rosalinda Palacios. "Progressive Work of Chicano Park Murals." October 1975. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/4h/hb6290104h/files/hb6290104h-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 2 cont.]



Celia Rodriguez and Rosalinda Palacios. "Progressive Work of Chicano Park Murals." October 1975. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/sz/hb2p3007sz/files/hb2p3007sz-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 3]



"Announcement Poster for 'Save Joey, Leukemia Victim.'" Ricardo Favela. 1974. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/7i/hb6x0nb77i/files/hb6x0nb77i-FID4.jpg>

[Fig 4.]



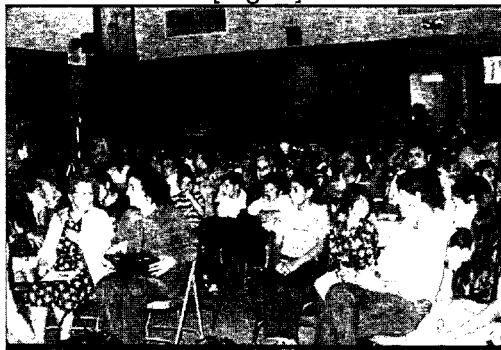
"Fiesta de Maíz, First Annual Celebration of Chicano Cultural Ceremonies." Ca 1976 Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/q2/hb3779p1q2/files/hb3779p1q2-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 4 cont]



"Royal Chicano Air Force Band." Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
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[Fig. 5]



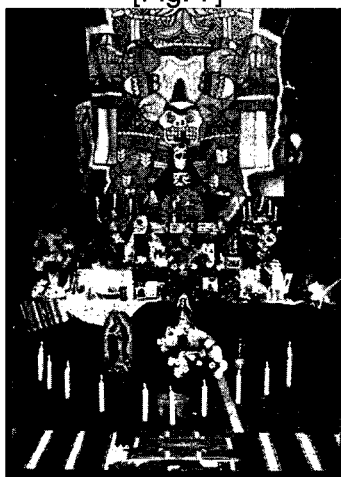
"Día de las Madres' Celebration." Centro de Artistas Chicanos, May 1978. Rosemary Rasul, David Rasul, Tere Romo, Gina Montoya and Clara Favela. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb867nb81z/?query=Dia%20de%20las%20madres&brand=calisphere>

[Fig. 6]



"Ofrenda" for Día de los Muertos. October 1978. Creator/Contributor: Clara Favela, Gina Montoya, and Tere Romo. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb0r29n95i/?query=%22D%C3%ADa%20de%20los%20Muertos%22%20Community%20Altar%20&brand=calisphere>

[Fig. 7]



"Día de los Muertos Community Altar and Ceremony." October 1978 Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb9h4nb8cd/?query=%22D%C3%ADa%20de%20los%20Muertos%22%20Community%20Altar%20&brand=calisphere>

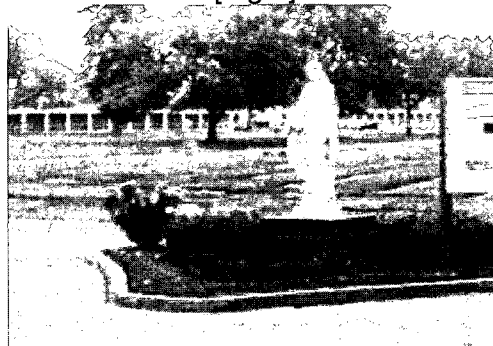
[Fig. 8]



“Dia de los Muertos - 1st Annual Procession, Announcement Poster.” 1975. Ricardo Favela. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:

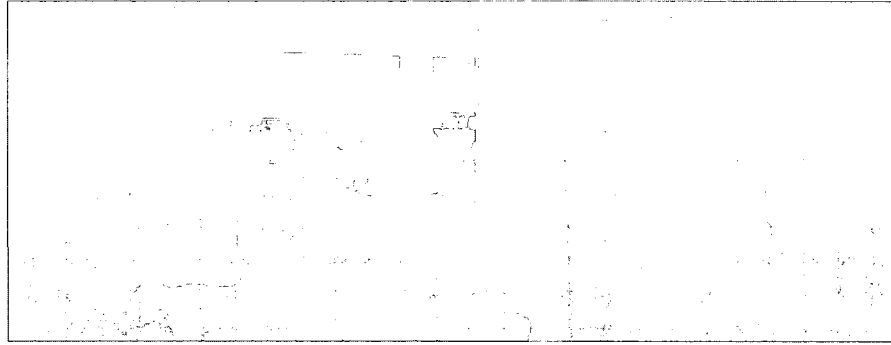
<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb7q5010q7/?docId=hb7q5010q7&query=RCAF%20Muertos&brand=calisphere&layout=printable-details>

[Fig 9]

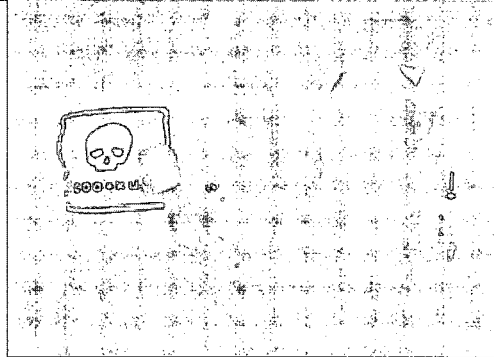
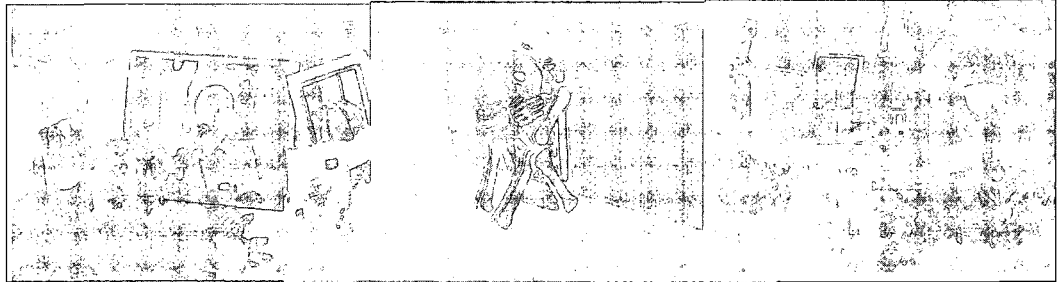


Dia de los Muertos at St. Mary's Cemetery. Sacramento CA. November 2006. My photos.

[Fig. 9 cont.]

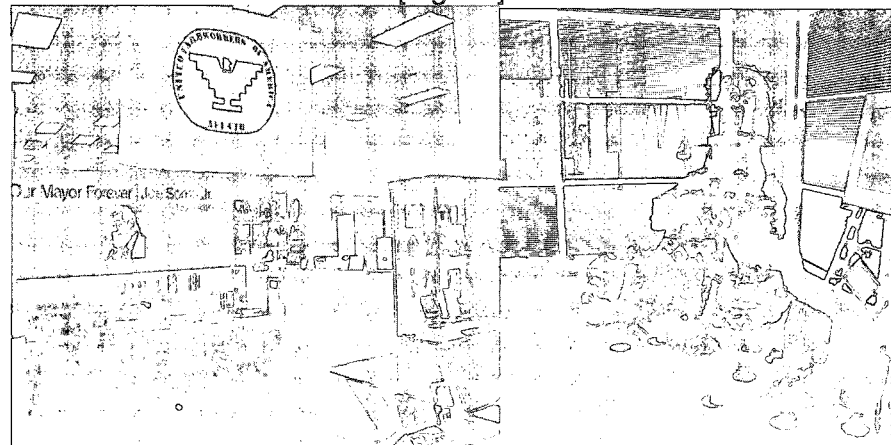


Left: Lupe Portillo during the construction of altar on the statue of the holy family. Right: Community gathering at altar for Mass. 2006. My photos.



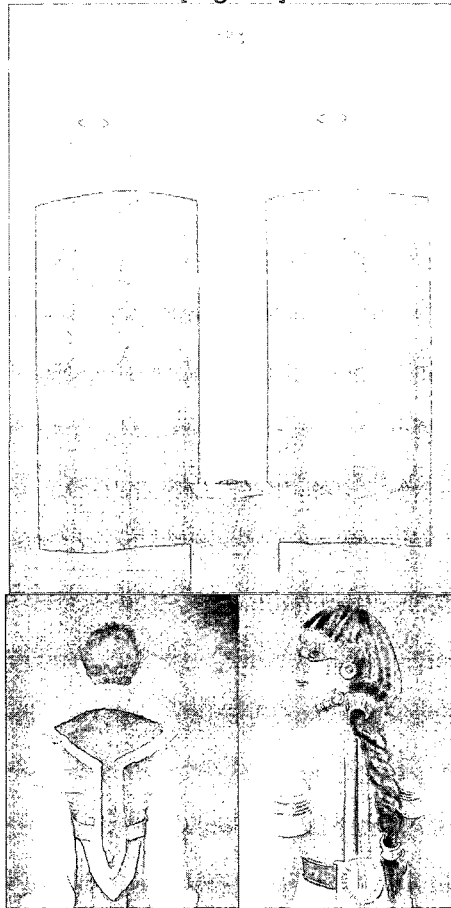
Details of completed altar. Below: Armando Cid during the 4 directions and Mass. My photo.

[Fig. 10]



Serna Altar at the Serna Archives. University Library. Department of Special Collections. CSUS. April 3, 2008. Altar directed by Josie Talamantez. My photos.

[Fig. 11]



Arte! - An Evening of Celebration of Latino Artists. Hosted by Hispanics in Philanthropy Gallery One, San Francisco. December 5th, 2006. Images Courtesy of Lorraine Garcia Nakata.

[Fig. 12]



"Sacra-Momento." Irma Barbosa. 1987. Taken from LRGP's Quinceñero Catalog.

Chapter Four Images:

[Fig. 1]



Esteban Villa, Ricardo Favela, and Louie Gonzalez. "When Your Mother Asks You Who You Are." Ca., 1975-1976. Sacramento Concilio Inc. Farmworker Program, Dining Hall, 1911 F Street, Sacramento, CA. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/0w/hb7779p40w/files/hb7779p40w-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 2]



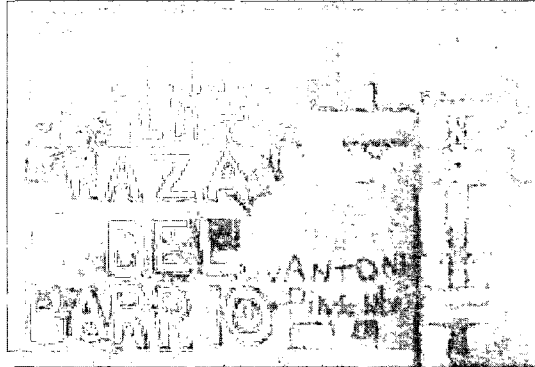
Juanish Orosco and Malaquias Montoya. "Sacramento Concilio, Farmworkers Program Building Mural." 1974. Collaborator Mike Negrete. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/f2/hb709nb7f2/files/hb709nb7f2-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 3]



Armando Cid, "Reno's Mural." ca., 1976. Parking lot wall of Reno Club at 12th Street, Sacramento, CA. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/3x/hb1r29p03x/files/hb1r29p03x-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 3 cont]



Armando Cid, "Para la Raza del Barrio." ca. 1976. Detail.
Reno Club, 12th Street, Sacramento, CA. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/rd/hb5h4nb5rd/files/hb5h4nb5rd-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 4]



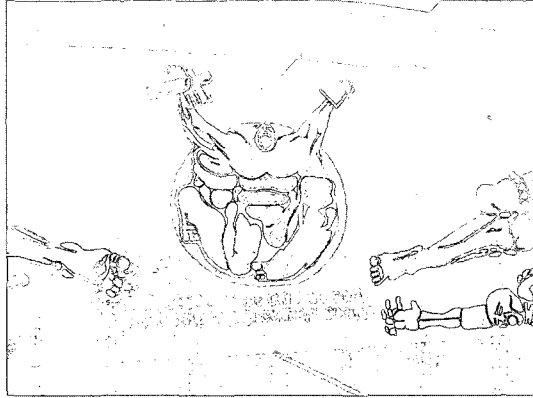
"One More Canto" Poetry Reading. Cultural Affairs Committee, Organizer Tere Romo and José Montoya. February 27, 1979. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/h1/hb2q5006h1/files/hb2q5006h1-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 5]



Preparation of Wall For Mural. California State University Sacramento Barrio Art, Organizer. June 1981. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/vr/hb5779p1vr/files/hb5779p1vr-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 6]



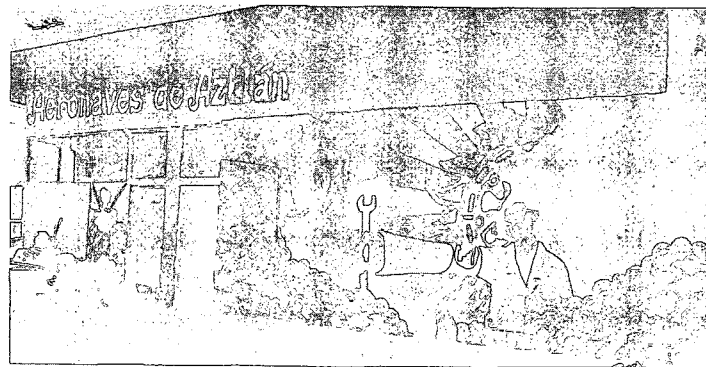
"Emergence." June 23 2004. My Photo.

[Fig. 7]



Image from Charles Hillinger, "Chicano Air Force' Flies High." *Los Angeles Times*. Sunday. Part 1. (July 22, 1979). 3. Time photo by Fitzgerald Whitney, 1979. The individual painting the mural is Juan Cervantes and an RCAF apprentice.

[Fig. 7 cont.]



Luis "The Foot" Gonzales and Juan Cervantes (RCAF):
Aeronaves de Aztlán. 1979. Sacramento.

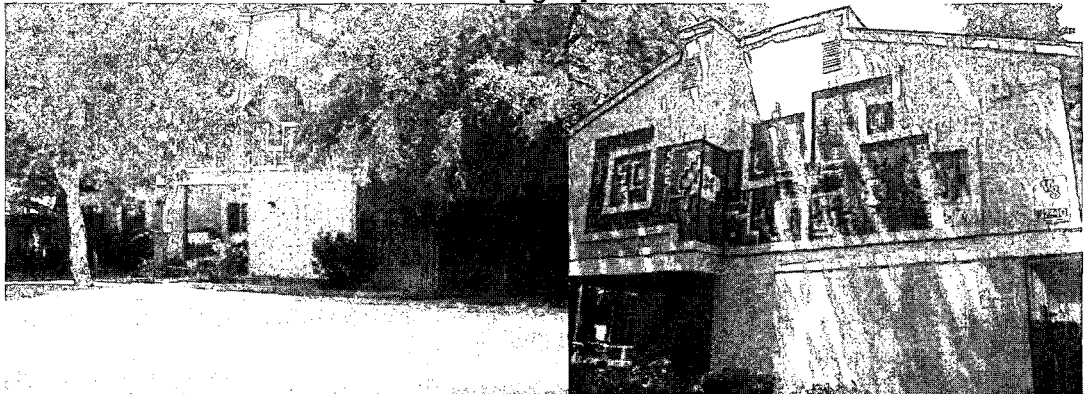
Image from Alan W. Barnett's book, *Community Murals: The People's Art* (1984). 277.

[Fig. 7 cont]



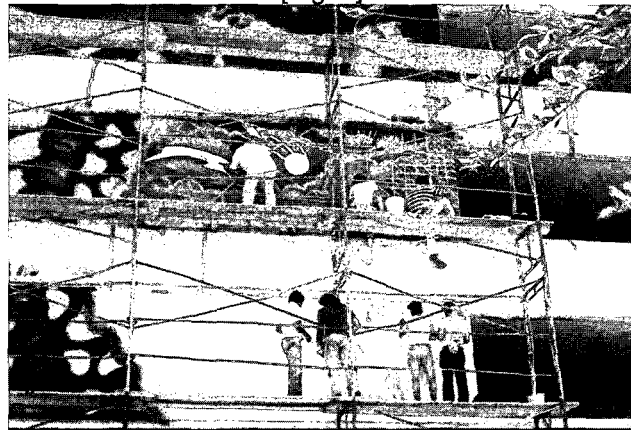
"Aeronaves de Aztlán Automotive Co-op Mural ." Juan Cervantes, ca. 1978-1979. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb3v19p1ct/?brand=calisphere>

[Fig. 8]



Left: Ollin Mural facing Zapata Park. Right: Ollin Mural. Washington Square Apartments. My photos. February 2008.

[Fig. 9]



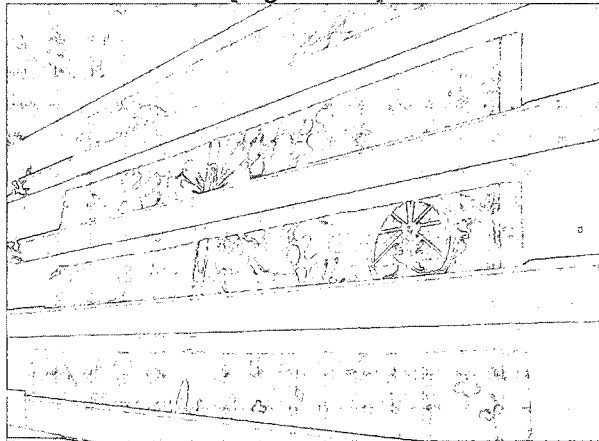
Metamorphosis in Progress. Royal Chicano Air Force.ca. 1979-1980. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives, Dept of Special Collections, Donald Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara. <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb7n39p4js/?query=butterfly&brand=calisphere>

[Fig. 9 cont]



Metamorphosis Orosco, 1980. California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives, Dept of Special Collections, Donald Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara
<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb558009bv/?query=butterfly&brand=calisphere>

[Fig. 9 cont]



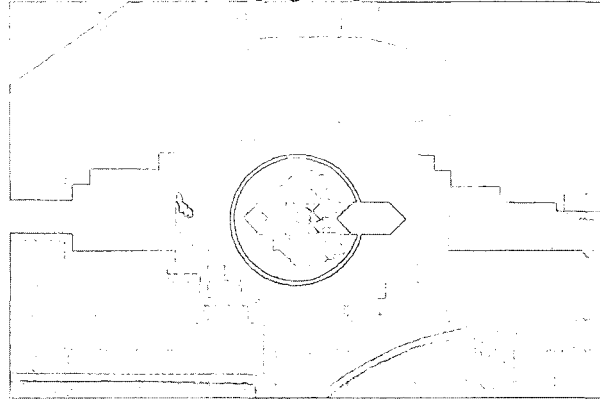
Metamorphosis. January 07, 2002. My Photo.

[Fig. 10]



Images of L.A.S.E.R.I.U.M., 1984. Juanishi Orosco's South Wall. Orosco took these photos in 1997 as evidence for the need for repair. Courtesy of Juanishi Orosco, July 06, 2004.

[Fig. 11]



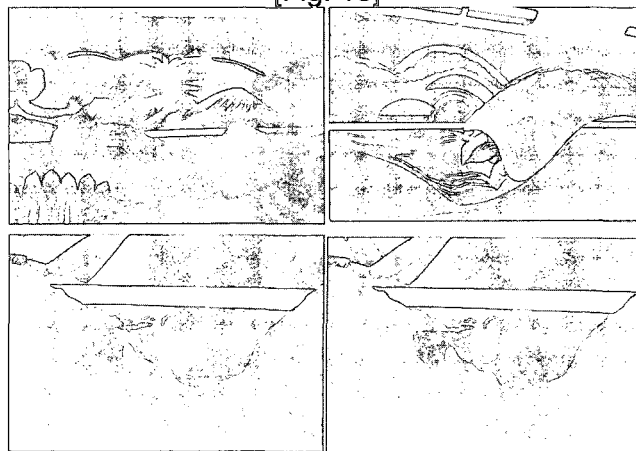
"I painted the prism. So it's a painting instead of how I conceived it." Juanishi Orosco, interview. (December 23, 2000). Orosco's South Wall detail of the s. December 2000. My photos.

[Fig. 12]



Orosco's South Wall details. December 2000. My photo.

[Fig. 13]



Orosco's South Wall details. December 2000. My photos.

[Fig. 14]



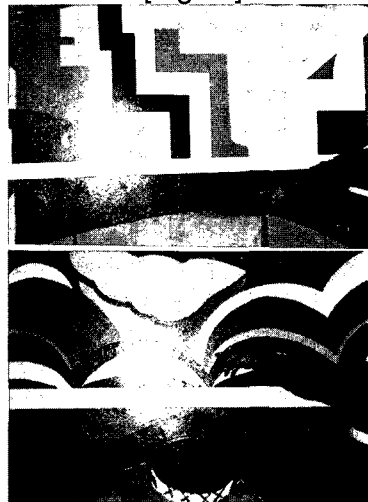
Orosco's South Wall details. December 2000. My photos.

[Fig. 15]



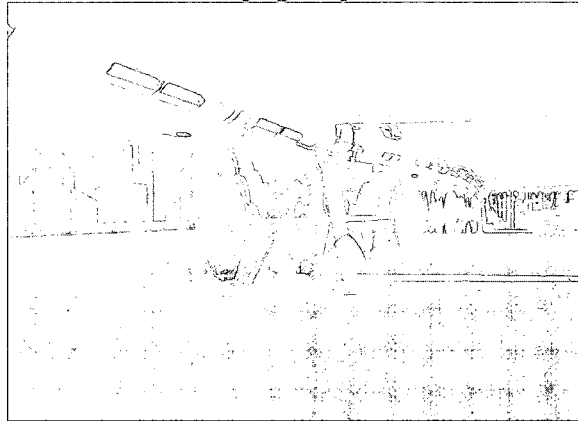
Esteban Villa's North Wall details. December 2000. My photos.

[Fig.16]



Villa's North Wall details. December 2000. My photos. Farmworker truck next to geometric shapes that symbolize the destruction of the West End and creation of Old Sacramento. Below, Villa points to the "apple pie" image with jalapeño filling.

[Fig. 17]



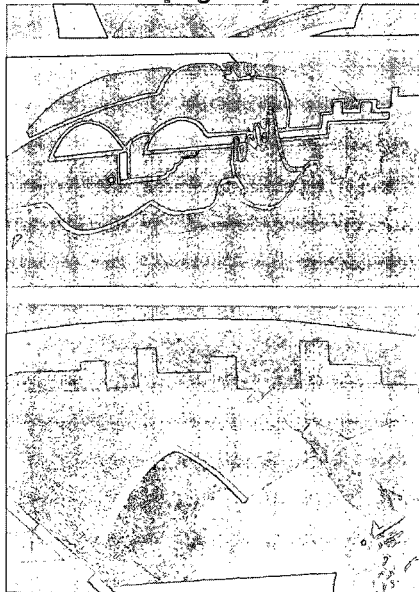
Another view of the farmtruck. December 2000. My photos.

[Fig. 18]



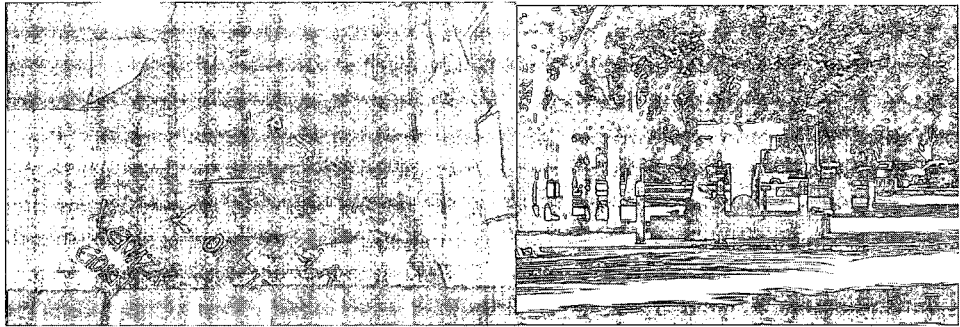
ET in stars. Villa's North Wall details. December 2000. My photos.

[Fig. 19]



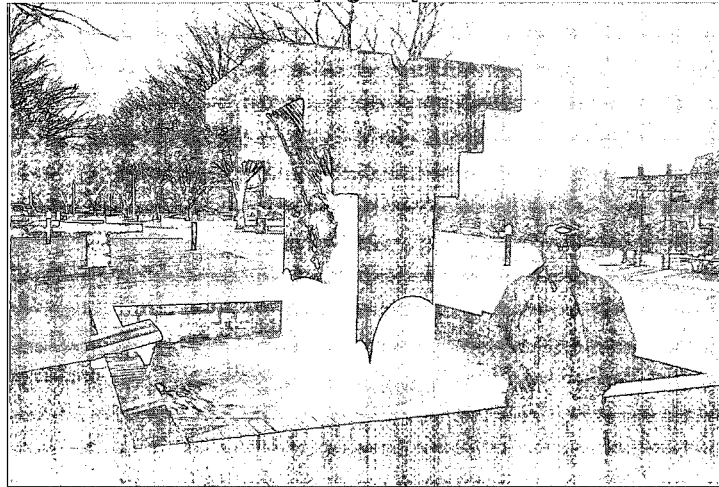
Villa's North Wall details. December 2000. Man with gun or guitar. Villa pointing out the UFW eagle hidden in his impression of the Sacramento skyline. My photos.

[Fig. 20]



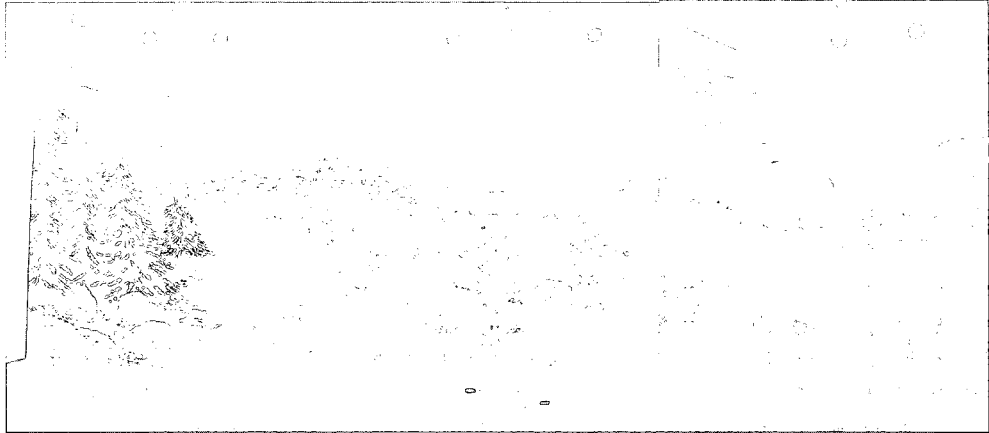
Esteban Villa at Serna Memorial Fountain. June 23, 2004. My Photo.

[Fig. 21]



Esteban Villa at Serna Memorial Fountain, January 07, 2002. My Photo.

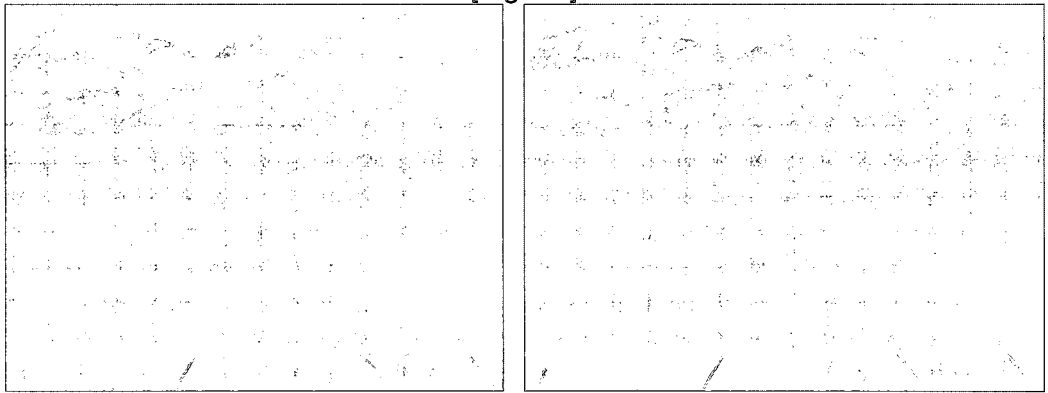
[Fig. 22]



Eartharium. Details of Capitol East End Project.

<http://www.eastend.dgs.ca.gov/ArtProgram/RCAF+Mural+1.htm>(Accessed June 24, 2009).

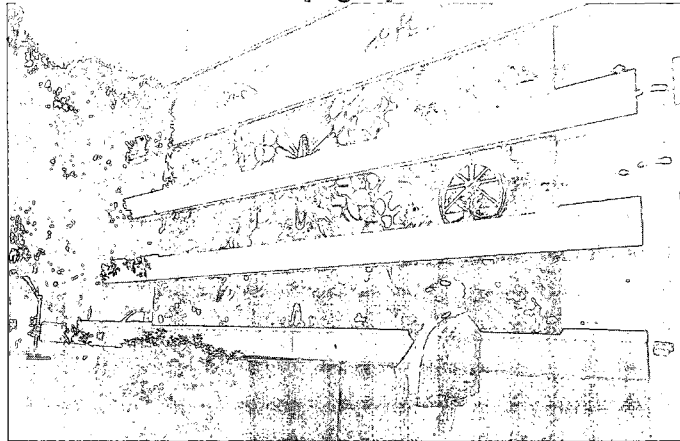
[Fig. 23]



Villa's UFW Eagle in west section of "Eartharium." June 23, 2004. My Photos.

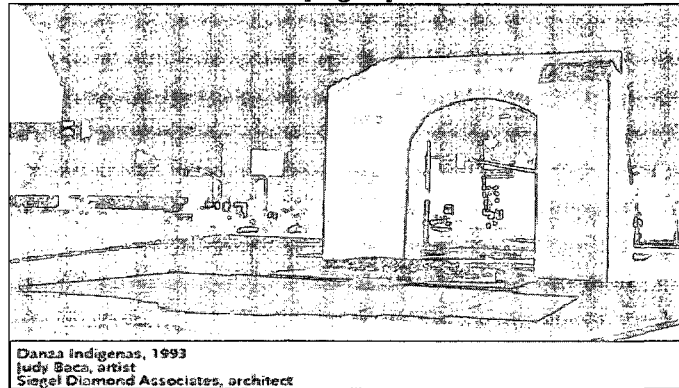
Images for Chapter Five:

[Fig. 1]



Esteban Villa in front of "Metamorphosis." My photo. January 07, 2002.

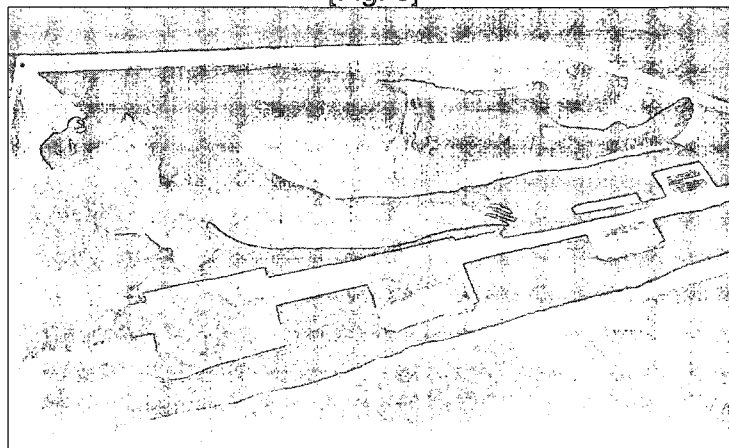
[Fig. 2]



Danza Indigenas, 1993
Judy Baca, artist
Siegel Diamond Associates, architect

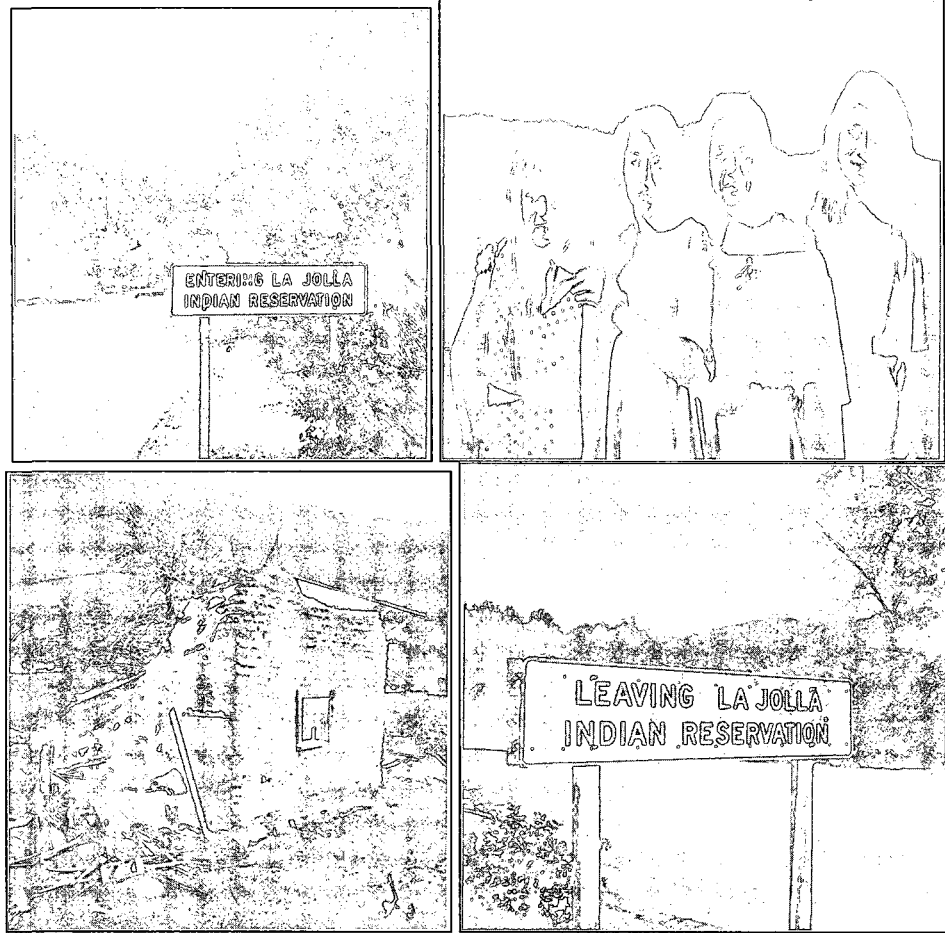
Judith Baca, "Danza Indigenas," 1993. Baldwin Park, Ca. Metro Rail Station.

[Fig. 3]



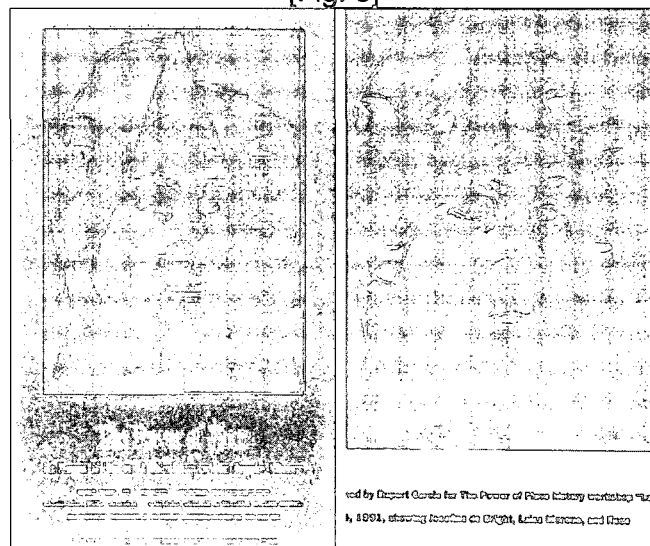
Artifact Piece was first staged in 1987 at the Museum and Man, San Diego. Luna also performed the piece for The Decade Show, 1990, in New York

[Fig. 4]



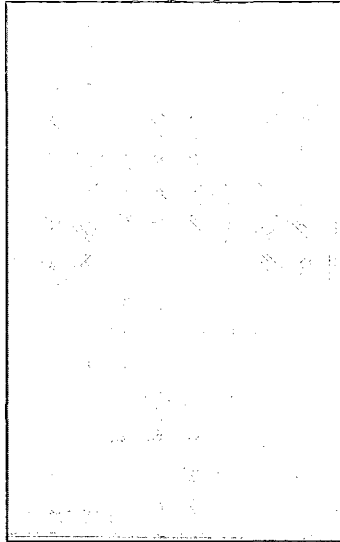
Images from James A. Luna, "I've Always Wanted to Be an American Indian." *Art Journal* 51:3 (Autumn 1992). 19–27.

[Fig. 5]



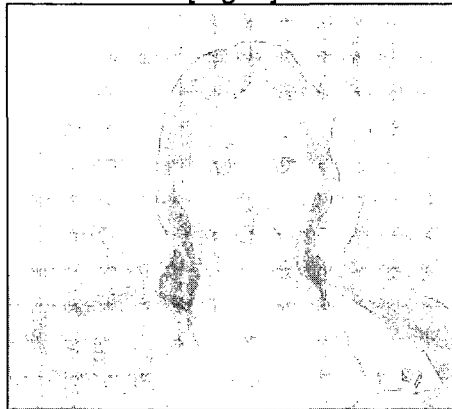
Rupert Garcia, "The Power of Place," 1991. Taken from Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997.

[Fig. 6]



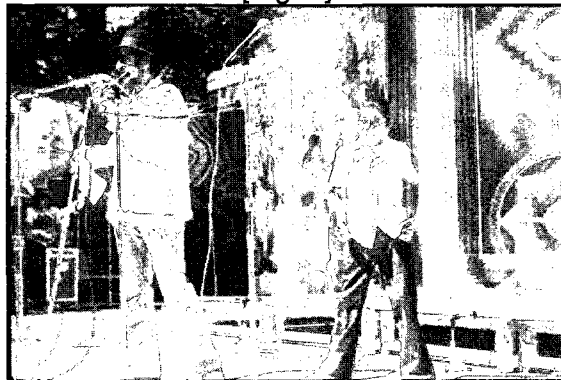
Amado Peña, "Mestizo." Silkscreen. 1974.

[Fig. 7]



Judy Baca, "La Mestizaje." Charcoal drawing. 1991.

[Fig. 8]



José Montoya, Cinco de Mayo Celebration at Southside Park. Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/96/hb109nb396/files/hb109nb396-FID4.jpg>

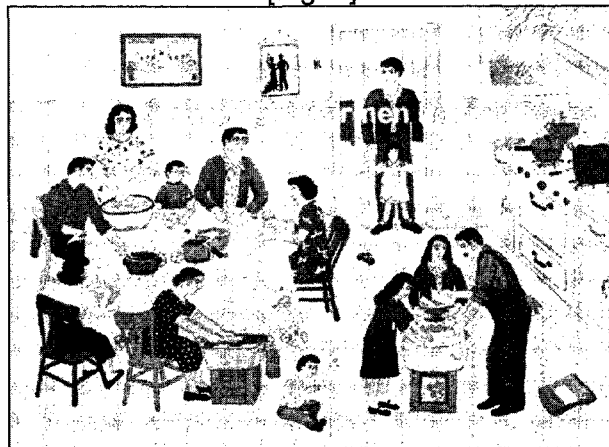
[Fig. 8 cont]



Fiestas Indigenas at Southside Park, 1978-79. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:

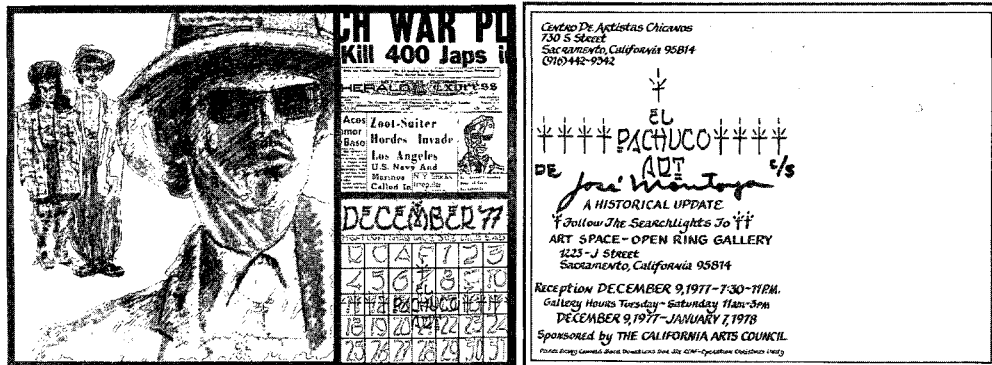
<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb1q2nb2z4/?query=Fiestas%20Indigenas%20at%20Southside%20Park%20&brand=calisphere>

[Fig. 9]



Carmen Lomas Garza, "Tamalada." 1988.

[Fig. 10]



Front and Back detail of 1977 Exhibition Announcement Card for José Montoya's "El Pachuco Art: a Historical Update." Copy courtesy of Juanishi Orosco.

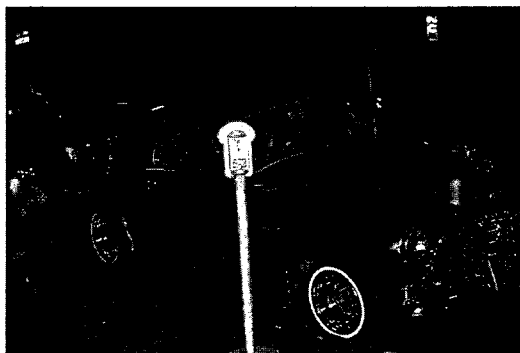
[Fig. 10 cont]



"Pachuco Art: An Historical Update" Art Exhibition. December 9, 1977. Open Ring Gallery, Sacramento, CA. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb9d5nb8kv/>

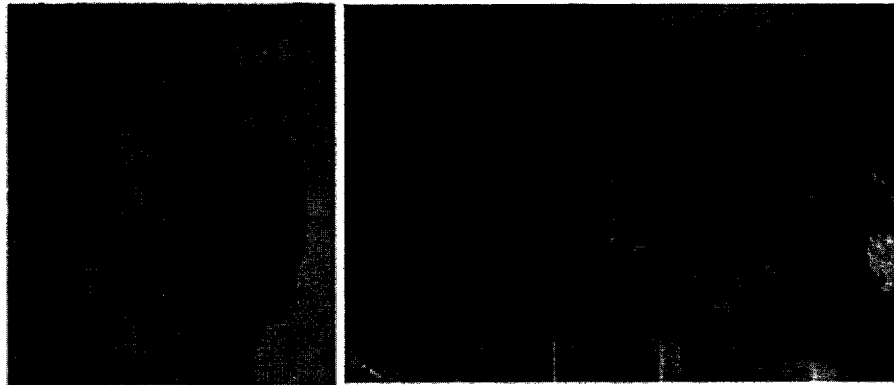


"Pachuco Art: An Historical Update" Art Exhibition. Open Ring Gallery, Montoya and Rene Yañez. December 9, 1977. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb00000682/?query=open%20ring%20gallery&brand=calisphere>



"Pachuco Art: An Historical Update" Art Exhibition. December 9, 1977. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb5x0nb6hw/?query=open%20ring%20gallery&brand=calisphere>

[Fig. 11]



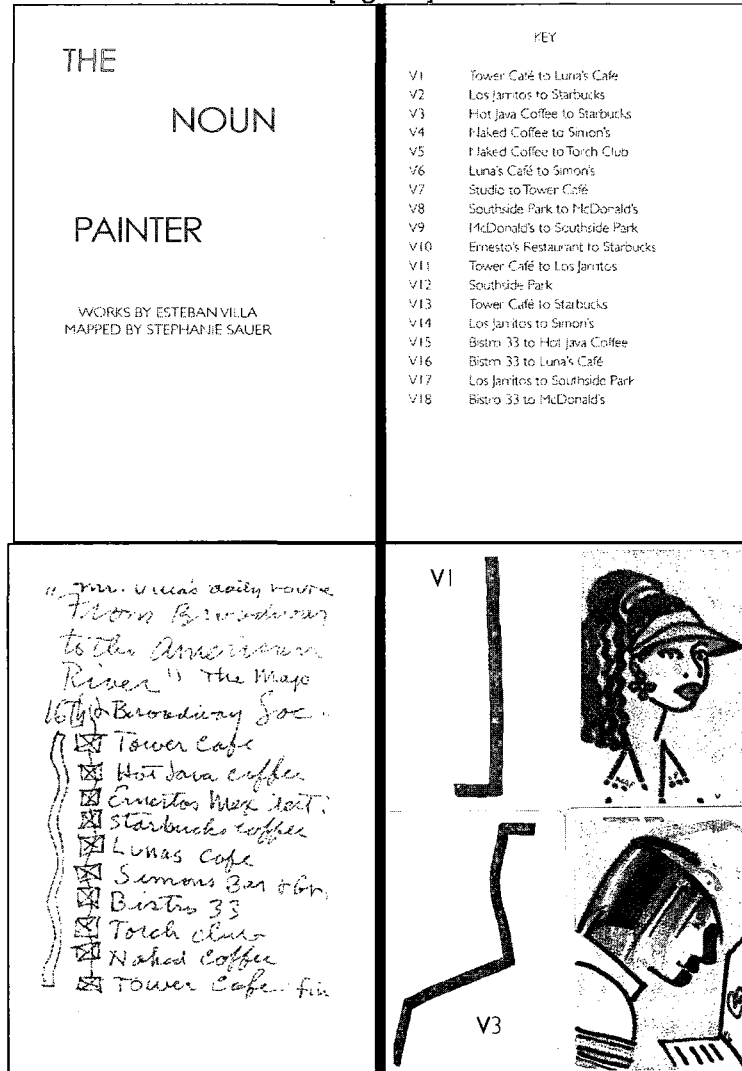
First screening in Sacramento of "El Pachuco: from zootsuits to lowriders," 1983. February 2007 screening. My photos. The second screening was in June 2008 at Sacramento's Guild Theatre and for the Centro Dos's Chicano Movie Night.

[Fig. 12]



Helena Keffe, "Muni Maps," 2007.

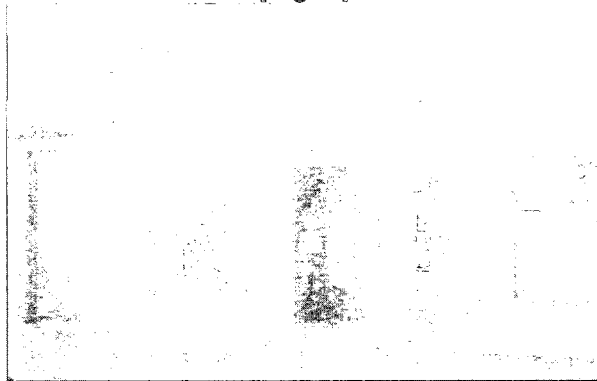
[Fig. 13]



Details of Stephanie Sauer's "Noun Painter" (2008).

Images for Chapter Six:

[Fig. 1]



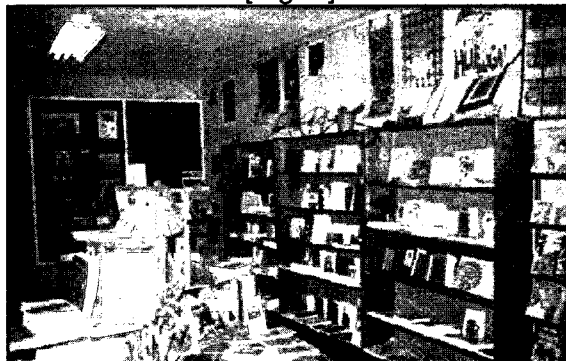
“La Raza Bookstore.” Organizers Phillip Santos and Tere Romo. ca. 1979. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/r1/hb729009r1/files/hb729009r1-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 2]



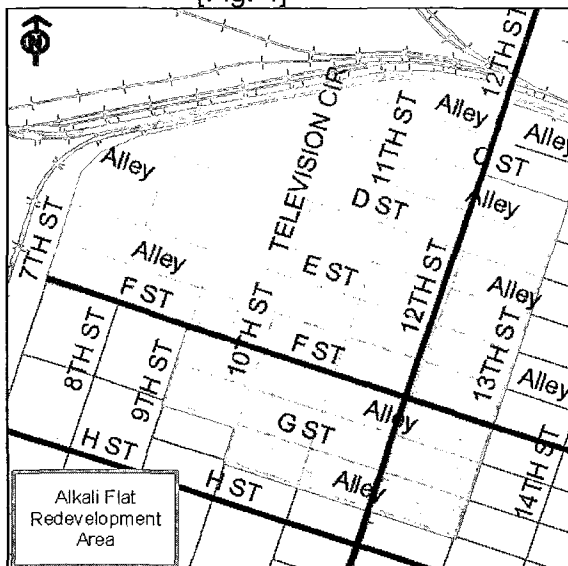
“Por la Raza United Flight.” Armando Cid. April 22, 1973. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/sj/hb729009sj/files/hb729009sj-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 3]



Inside Shot of La Raza Bookstore. ca. 1979. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/ng/hb700010ng/files/hb700010ng-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 4]



On Northside, the Alkali Flat is bound by the Southern Pacific Rail Yards. On the southside, 7th Street and G Streets; 12th and 13th Streets make up its east and west boundaries. The Washington neighborhood is inside the Alkali Flat on E and 10th and 9th Streets. Image taken from Sacramento Housing & Redevelopment Agency website:

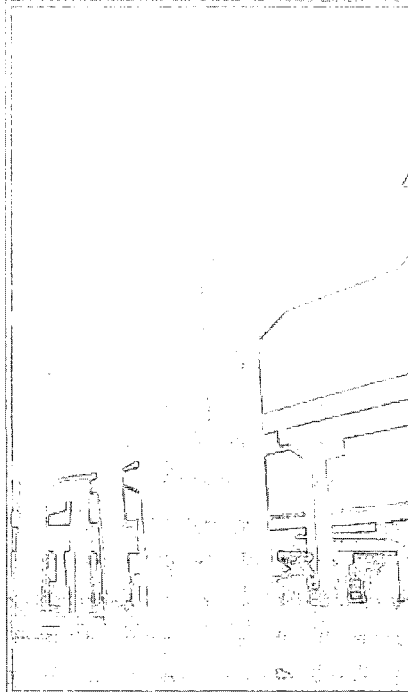
<http://www.shra.org/Content/CommunityDevelopment/AlkaliFlat/AlkaliFlatTOC.htm>.

[Fig. 5]



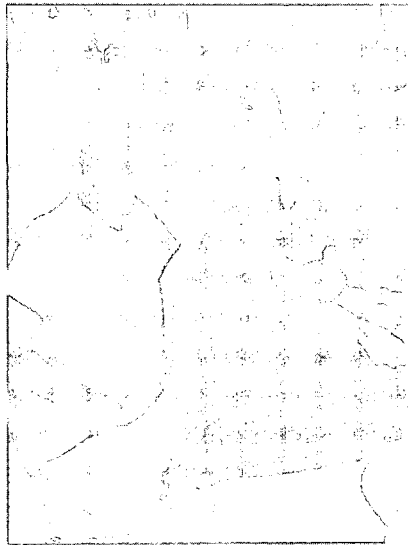
“Female Inteligentsia (The Women Hold Up the Universe)” 1975. Chicano Park Mural by Celia Rodriguez, Irma Barbosa, Rosa Linda Palacios, Antonia Mendoza and of the RCAF. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://www.chicanoparksandiego.com/murals/enlarged/fig44.html>

[Fig. 6]



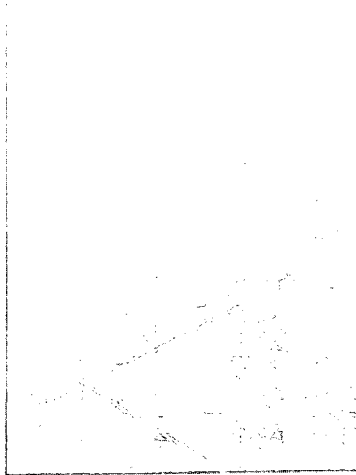
Juanishi Orosco, "Mandala." October 1975. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/ir/hb5t1nb6jr/files/hb5t1nb6jr-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 7]



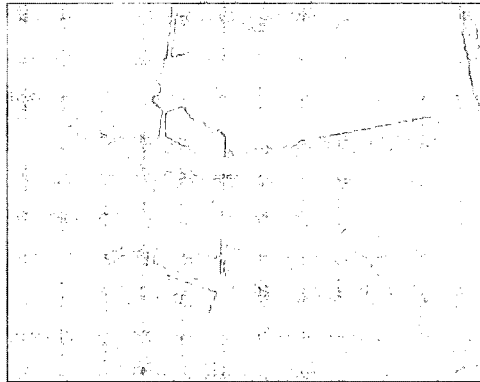
"Eartharium" mural crew breaks for lunch at Luna's Café. January 2003. Image courtesy of Juanishi Orosco.

[Fig. 8]



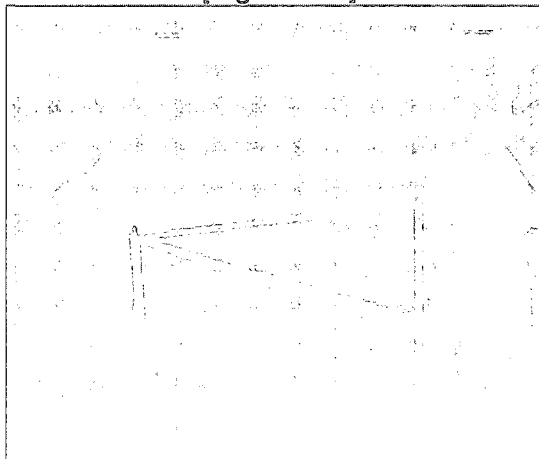
Juanishi and Joe Orosco. January 2003. Image courtesy of Juanishi Orosco.

[Fig. 9]



Nalli and Stan Padilla break for lunch. January 2003. Image courtesy of Juanishi Orosco.

[Fig. 9 cont]



Juanishi Orosco on scaffolding. January 2003. Image courtesy of Juanishi Orosco.

[Fig. 10]



Esteban Villa's CD Release Party at Luna's Café. February 15, 2008. My photos. Above left: Villa on guitar. Above right: Juan Carrillo. Below left: Juanishi Orosco. Below right: Esteban Villa, Pete Vega and David Rasul in black jacket.

[Fig. 11]



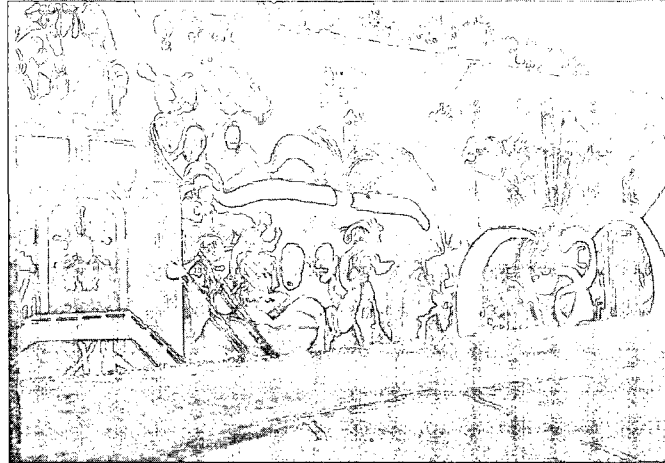
"Para la Raza del Barrio" (detail) 1976. Armando Cid, with muralists Kenneth Munguia, Javier Torres, Yolanda Tarin and Joe Gonzalez. Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/jg/hb4199p1jg/files/hb4199p1jg-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 11 cont]



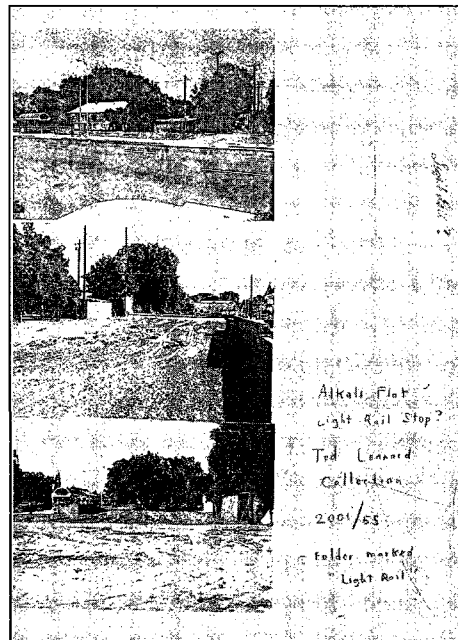
"Para la Raza del Barrio" (detail) 1976. Armando Cid, with muralists Kenneth Munguia, Javier Torres, Yolanda Tarin and Joe Gonzalez. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere:
<http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/97/hb3m3nb497/files/hb3m3nb497-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 12]



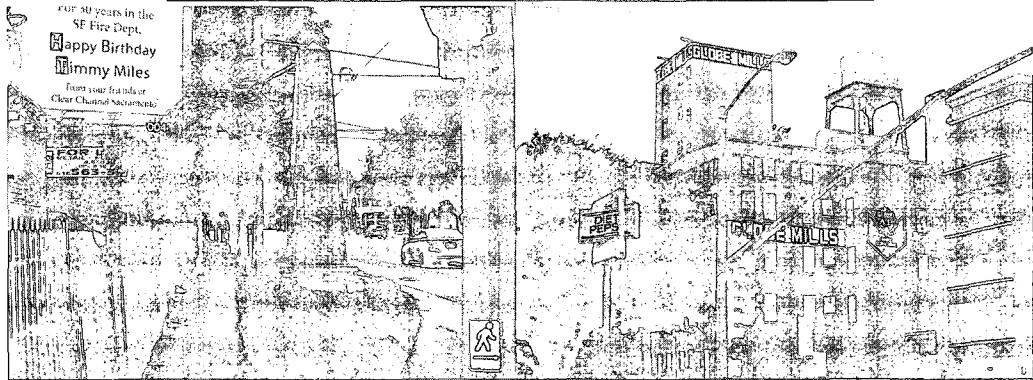
Armando Cid, "Reno's Mural." 1976. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/7z/hb709nb77z/files/hb709nb77z-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 13]



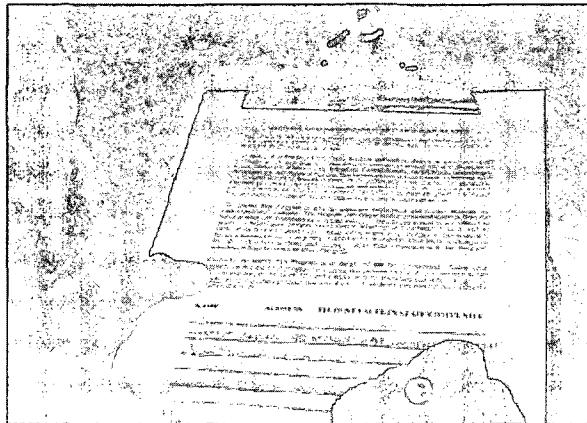
12th Street Corridor between C and D Streets during Alkali Flat/ La Valentina Station construction. Copy courtesy of the Ted Leonard Collection at the Center for Sacramento History. 551 Sequoia Pacific Boulevard, Sacramento, CA 95811.

[Fig. 14]



Enrique (Henry) Ortiz's 12th and C Street Obelisk Right: Globe Mills, restored and private residential building. My Photos. September 12, 2009.

[Fig. 15]



Petition for Barrio Arts. Juanishi Orosco is signing the petition. March 01, 2007. My photo.

[Fig. 15 cont]



The RCAF Panel. March 2007 Panel. Left: Stan Padilla is reading the petition; Juanishi Orosco sits next to him. Right: Armando Cid is taking out his glasses and sits next to Loraine Garcia-Nakata. My photos.

[Fig. 16]



Poster Exhibition and Work in Progress for Mural "Crystallizing the Chicano Art Myth" 1983. Crocker Art Museum. It looks like Montoya and Orosco are at mural painting. Also in other images available the date is inaccurately listed as 1987. Image Courtesy of CEMA at UCSB and Calisphere: <http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/data/13030/tp/hb5w1009tp/files/hb5w1009tp-FID4.jpg>

[Fig. 17]



Announcement for UC Santa Barbara "Just Another Poster?" Exhibition in 2001, featuring 1975 RCAF Poster. Copy courtesy of Esteban Villa.

[Fig. 18]



Left: Lobby of Department of Special Collections at CSUS and Serna Exhibit. Right: Sheila O'Neil meeting with retired professor, LRGP supporter and RCAF historian, Graciela Ramirez. April 7, 2008. My photos.

[Fig. 19]



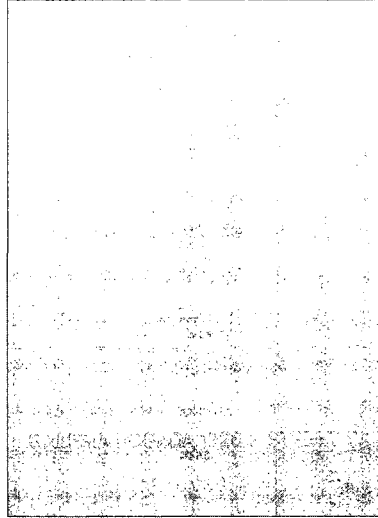
Art Auction for Centro Dos. August 03, 2007. Above: José Montoya and Dr. Sam Rios. Below: Juanishi Orosco. David and Melinda Rasul. My photos.

[Fig. 20]



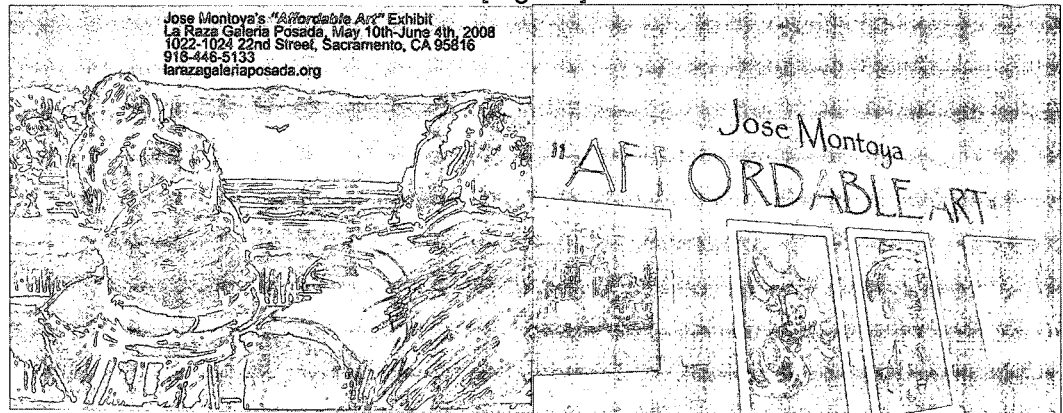
Program for Chicano Movie Night. June 26, 2008.

[Fig. 21]



Original poster sale announcement from 1981. Courtesy of Esteban Villa.

[Fig. 22]



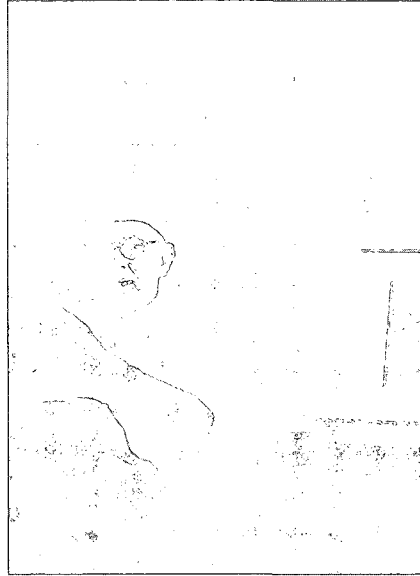
Right: Postcard for show. José Montoya's spring 2008 art show at La Raza Galeria Posada.

[Fig. 22 cont]



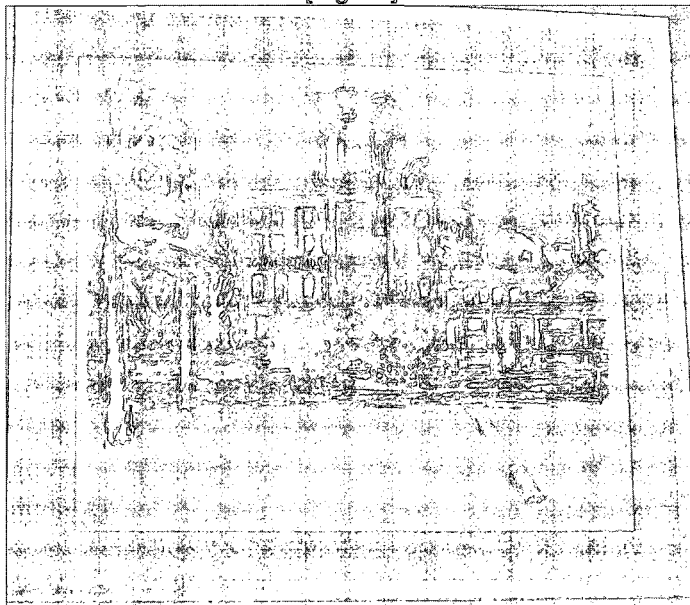
Esteban Villa and Juanishi Orosco outside LRGP before Montoya's talk. May 15, 2008. My photos.

[Fig. 22 cont]



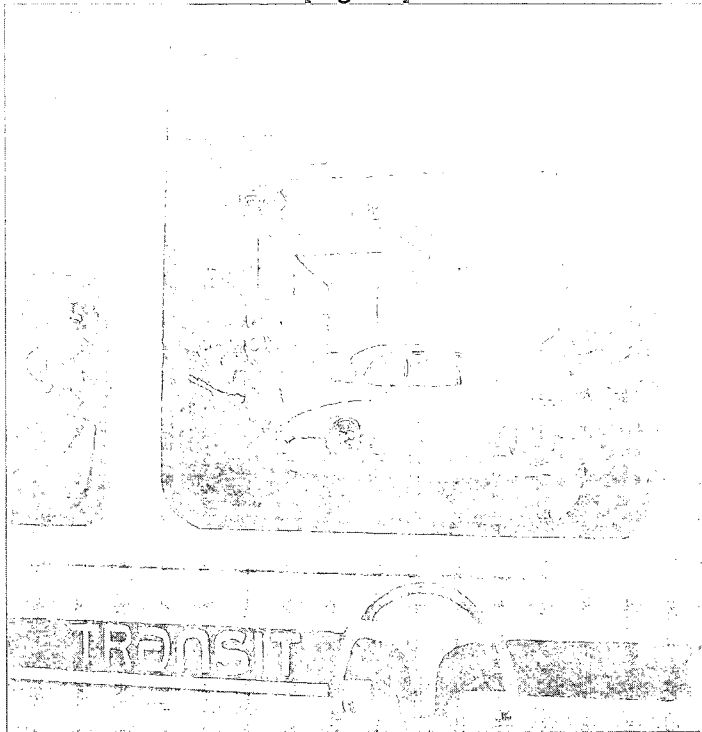
José Montoya, May 15 2008 at LRGP. Addressing crowd on affordable art and his water color series on the Alkali Flat. My photo.

[Fig. 23]



Water Color of Globe Mills from the parking lot of El Paso Café. © José Montoya. Spring 2008. exhibit at LRGP. My photo.

[Fig. 24]



Oil On Canvass. José Guadalupe Posada riding to work with state workers on the light rail. © José Montoya. Spring 2008 exhibit at LRGP. My photo.

[Fig. 25]



Stephanie Sauer & Esteban Villa's Book Party at LRGP. presenting on "The Noun Painter." May 28, 2008. Courtesy of Sam Quiñones. From left to right: Juan Carrillo, Juanita Ontiveros, Ricardo Macias, José Montoya, Graciela Ramirez (in pink). Stephanie Sauer sitting next to Esteban Villa. Juanishi Orosco, Ava Carrillo, Wayne Cook, Simona and Eddie Hernandez. Sheila O'Neil, Tomás Montoya (with hat). Ella Diaz.

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“Flying Under the Radar with the Royal Chicano Air Force: The Ongoing Politics of Space & Ethnic Identity” (May 2010) Advisor: Dr. Leisa D. Meyer

M.A., American Studies, The College of William and Mary, 2002

“1500 by 1939 by 1998—These are the Measurements of Malinche’s Body: An Analysis and Review of Twentieth-Century Interpretations of Nationality” Advisor: Dr. Richard Lowry

B.A., American Literature, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1999

Academic Positions

Visiting Lecturer. The School of Interdisciplinary Studies. San Francisco Art Institute

- Humn-201-2—Looking South to North: Subaltern Perspectives in Western Civ., 1519—1950, Spring 2010
- US-500-1 & EMS-500-1—Urban Remapping: Identity & Memory in the 21st Century City, Fall 2009
- SOCS-100-1—Introduction to Women’s Studies, Fall 2009
- CS-301-4: Disposable Bodies & the Art of Provocation, Spring 2009
- US-100-1/ENGL-101-4: Tourism in Question: The Production of Space in Selected Case Studies, Spring 2009
- US-520-1/CS-520-1: Urban Remapping: Identity & Memory in the 21st Century, Spring 2008
- SOCS-100-01: Introduction to Women’s Studies: Intellectual Traditions & Contributions of Women in the Arts, Fall 2007
- US-220-2: Tourism in Question: The Production of Space in Selected Case Studies, Spring 2007
- US-200-01: Urban Remapping: Historical & Contemporary Creative Interpretations, Fall 2006

Teaching Fellow. Women’s Studies & American Studies Programs. The College of William and Mary

- WMST 290/AMST 350: Chicana Literature, Spring 2005
- AMST 350/INTL 390: Japanese & American Culture, Fall 2004
- WMST 480: Independent Study on Chicano Literary Canon, Fall 2004
- WMST 205: Introduction to Women’s Studies, Spring 2004

Teaching Assistant. American Studies Program. The College of William and Mary

- AMST 202: Introduction to American Studies: History of American Film, Spring 2003
- BLST-INDS 491: Black Film, Spring 2002

Honors, Prizes, and Awards

- Southern Regional Education Board. Dissertation Fellowship, 2004-2005
- College of William and Mary. Distinction in Comprehensive Exams, 2003
- College of William and Mary. American Studies Graduate Fellowship, 2000-2004
- University of California, Santa Cruz. Dean's Undergraduate Award, 1999
- University of California, Santa Cruz. Honors in Major & College Honors, 1999
- University of California, Santa Cruz. Humanities Undergraduate Research Award, 1999

Selected Papers, Talks, Conferences

- Planning Committee Member. "The Question is Known: (W)here is Latin American/Latino Art?" Symposium for Arts Exhibition. San Francisco Art Institute. April 19, 2008.
- Presenter. "Validating Tortilla Art." Panel. SomArts Center. San Francisco, Ca., April 12, 2008.
- Presenter. "Documenting the Undocumented Experience: Temporary and Immigrant Workers in the Twenty-First Century." Hispanic Cultural Organization. The College of William and Mary. October 27, 2004.
- Presenter. "La Gente Chicana Tiene Tres Madres: The Three Main Tropes of the Chicana Experience." Women's Studies Forum. The College of William and Mary. April 06, 2004 & April 12, 2005.
- Panel Participant. "Task Force on Race and Ethnicity." Student Affairs Division Meeting. The College of William and Mary. Spring 2003.
- Presenter. "Remapping the City: The Royal Chicano Air Force and the Murals of Sacramento." Graduate Symposium. The College of William and Mary. January 25, 2002.
- Presenter. "Where's Your Space?" WIP Conference. University of Richmond. April 21, 2001.
- Presenter. "Where's Your Space?" American Studies and Women's Studies Lecture Series. The College of William and Mary. March & April 2001.
- Presenter. "The Writing on the Wall: The Royal Chicano Air Force's Tunnel Murals." Graduate Symposium. The College of William and Mary. January 26, 2001.

Publications

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- "On the Border of the South." *Jota: La Ciudad*. 2(2004): 11.

Service and Governance

- Chair. Arts Exhibition Committee. Annual Festival de la Familia. Sacramento, Ca. September 2007—April 2008. (Previous Co-Chair September 2006 to April 2007)
- Galería Planning Committee & Volunteer. La Raza Galería Posada. Sacramento, Ca. August 2006—December 2007.
- Ombudsperson. Hispanic Cultural Organization. The College of William and Mary. January 2004—May 2005.