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The Guerrilla Gallery:
A Rapid Ethnography about a Collaborative Public Art Installation in East Harlem

Javier E. Otero Peña

Abstract

In the heart of East Harlem, New York City, a collective of artists called the Harlem Art Collective created the “Guerrilla Gallery”: A collaborative public art installation on a construction fence, to give residents a place to express themselves through art and messages. While East Harlem is characterized by murals depicting Puerto Rican flags and political causes, these symbols were absent in the Guerrilla Gallery, which instead exhibited predominantly Mexican cultural and political symbols. Was a territorial contestation taking place through art, a sort of identity negotiation to determine who “belongs” in the neighborhood? (Zukin, 1995) This article presents an ethnographic and photographic narrative of the Guerrilla Gallery and what it means to the people who live in the neighborhood. Using rapid ethnographic assessment procedures (Low et al., 2005), coupled with photographic cartography (Ulmer, 2017), this study presents the findings of interviews and the Guerrilla Gallery. The analysis revealed that, although there were instances of aesthetic conflict occurring in the gallery, these were not exclusively related to national cultures; gender and racial conflicts were also observed. Strong expressions of aesthetic empathy were also identified in the

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artwork. The Guerrilla Gallery became a meaningful space for the community in East Harlem, who not only appreciated it because of its aesthetic value and the possibility of expression it offers, but also because residents were able to connect with their roots, strengthen their local identity and pride, express empathy and solidarity with other social groups in the neighborhood or in faraway places, and resist changes or policies that affected their everyday lives.

Keywords: public space, aesthetic conflict, rapid ethnographic assessment procedure (REAP), aesthetic empathy, murals

Image 1. The Guerrilla Gallery. April 26, 2015. The Harlem Art Collective.

I first walked by the Guerrilla Gallery in August 2015 (Image 1). A familiar face caught the corner of my eye, so I stopped to look at the wall. A series of portraits of Chespirito's characters, a Mexican comedian popular all over Latin America, were sketched with white marker over a black background. My eyes then shifted to the colorful scenery of Aztec pyramids, corn fields and flowers in the next section of the wall. Past it, a mix of wheat paste posters, scribblings, stencils and hanging signs and canvases overlapping one another extended for an additional 30 feet of wall. In the beautiful mess of art, writing and symbols, several stencils read "Post your art" both in English and Spanish. Bilingual signs on the top part of the wall read: "Guerrilla Gallery" and "By the people, for the people."

I ended up moving to East Harlem in October 2015, so I saw the Guerrilla Gallery almost daily. Drawn by the colorful artwork, I often stopped by to admire the art, enchanted by the break in the urban monotony, as Alison Young (2014) would put it. The art changed constantly, as people contributed to the Guerrilla Gallery or vandalized it. But something stood out: While it was common to see Puerto Rican flags and murals in the neighborhood, these symbols were noticeably absent from the Guerrilla Gallery. I could not help but wonder why. What does this Guerrilla Gallery mean to the diverse residents of East Harlem? Could I be witnessing a group identity negotiation to determine "who belongs" in the neighborhood? (Zukin, 1995) In the context of a New York City

undergoing constant transformation, I interpreted this Guerrilla Gallery as a metaphor for how these changes are lived, perceived and expressed by many residents in East Harlem: as the people and the circumstances changed, so did the art and the messages on the Guerrilla Gallery, which ranged from self-expression and identity to conflict and protest.

Guerrilla Urbanism and the Harlem Art Collective

The name "Guerrilla Gallery" was reminiscent of the "Guerrilla Girls," who in the 1980s anonymously protested with art and creativity against structural sexism in the New York City (NYC) art scene (Withers, 1988). Like the Guerrilla Girls, the Guerrilla Gallery also contested and altered urban elements in public view. Unlike the Guerrilla Girls, the Guerrilla Gallery encouraged contributions from the public. Bilingual signs on the wall read: "This project was organized by the Harlem Art Collective to provide the neighborhood with an inclusive, judgment-free space to exhibit their art. If you would like to display your work just nail it up! Thanks <3."

In December 2015, I had my first encounter with someone from the Harlem Art Collective (HART Collective onwards). A man and a woman had taken down the artwork and were covering the wall in white paint. I approached them and asked what they were doing, and they introduced themselves as members of the HART Collective; they were preparing the wall for the next installation. I introduced myself as a PhD student and mentioned that I was interested in studying what this mural means to the people in the neighborhood. The woman was very receptive; she offered any support I needed in order to carry out my study and suggested to come interview people during one of their "paint jams," that is, events organized by the HART Collective in which they brought paint, tools and music to work together on the Guerrilla Gallery and facilitate the participation of passers-by. She also took down my contact and added me to their email list, to find out about upcoming events and meetings of the HART Collective. It was by attending these meetings and events between the months of December 2015 and July 2017 that I would get to know the HART Collective better: they were a diverse group of people who had an interest in art and wanted to create a space for people in the neighborhood to express themselves and build community. Most of them were not professional artists; they were teachers, lawyers, writers, business owners, who had a common interest in art. The HART Collective was not a formal organization but a grassroots movement that was founded in early 2015 to, as they say in their Instagram profile: "use art as a tool to engage, educate, unite, inspire, and empower our

community" (HART: The Harlem Art Collective, n.d.). They had no formal funding sources, so they "passed the hat" among their members to pay for paint and materials that they used and shared with the public to create art. They had attempted to create the Guerrilla Gallery legally, by contacting local authorities and the owner of the lot, to no avail. They decided to take matters into their own hands and turned the construction fence into the Guerrilla Gallery, transgressing NYC Law. Appropriately, Jeff Hou calls this type of urban interventions "guerrilla urbanism", characterized by "instances of self-help and defiance" that recognize "both the ability of citizens and opportunities in the existing urban conditions for radical and everyday changes against the dominant forces in the society" (Hou, 2010, p. 15).

The Guerrilla Gallery and Public Address

People used the Guerrilla Gallery for more than just posting art: Some people scribbled their names, others dedicated messages to departed friends or loved ones. There were also political messages: the words "I can't breathe" protested the murder of Eric Garner by an NYPD officer. Another message called for justice for the 43 students who were abducted in Ayotzinapa: "vivos se los llevaron, vivos los queremos." These messages had a strong personal, social, cultural and political charge; they had a meaning to the people who wrote them and certainly to some of the people who read them. The Guerrilla Gallery was a space where publicness was created, represented and manifested: a public space for inclusive public address (Iveson, 2007). It allowed people to represent their individual and collective identities: "Community art is art that builds community" (Shapiro-Kiok, as cited by Cockcroft et al., 1998, p. 72).

Murals, Street Art, Collaborative Art

The Guerrilla Gallery was not just a mural, as it often encouraged participation from passers-by. Some participatory murals help make an artist's idea into reality (Mujica de Tovar, 2008); this one allowed each individual to express their own freely. Bublitz and colleagues identify collaborative art as being transformative, that is, it potentially improves well-being and strengthens community bonds (Bublitz et al., 2019). The HART Collective identified the Guerrilla Gallery as a collaborative public art installation. Because it was non-sanctioned art on a construction fence, the Guerrilla Gallery was ephemeral by nature: it is uncertain whether it would survive potential removal, replacement, or vandalism,

even more so if someday the values represented on the mural no longer resonate with the community (Mccormick & Jarman, 2005). It is important to clarify that by "vandalism," I mean the defacement of the art or messages on the wall, although it must be acknowledged that unsanctioned art on public or private property in public spaces can also be considered vandalism by certain people, organizations or authorities (Sălcudean, 2012; Stewart, 2008). In her exploration of the effects of street art in the social construction of public spaces, Sequeira (2017) found that artists had divided views about the ephemerality of their art: while some made efforts to preserve the art, others detached from it, claiming that after finishing the art it no longer belonged to them. It is more likely that artists have mixed feelings about their art being vandalized, but regardless of these feelings, when they create art in public, they tacitly accept that disappearance of their art due to substitution, vandalism, natural causes, or any other reason, is likely not a matter of "whether," but of "when." Of course, the likelihood of art being vandalized depends on what the art represents, where it is made, and who the public is. Murphy and O'Driscoll (2015) maintained that "when ephemeral productions appear in public space, there is no possibility that they are neutral" (p. 332). People will have their opinions about a public art installation, and in some cases might act/react based on how they feel about it. In the case of the Guerrilla Gallery, it was made on an unpainted construction fence that was showing signs of abandonment, covered with half-torn posters, "No parking" graffiti, and outdated building project signs. Through the cracks on the wall, it was possible to see the neglected lot with overgrown weeds that served as a dump for the cans and trash that litterers threw over the fence. Rather than vandalizing the fence, the Guerrilla Gallery beautified it, though it transgressed New York City laws and regulations. And in some cases, as I describe in the following sections, there were cases of vandalism towards specific art exhibited on the Guerrilla Gallery.

Mendelson-Shwartz and Mualam (2021) identified sources of conflict that may arise between artists, owners, local authorities and the audience. Many of these conflicts are related to the legal aspects regarding the art and the publicly accessible yet privately-owned property in which the art is created. Even in cities where murals are tolerated, the creation of a mural without the authorization of the property owner presents a potential risk to the artists, who could be subject to harassment by the police, fines or imprisonment. However, the police seemed to be tolerant of the Guerrilla Gallery, as I saw people contributing to it in broad daylight with police officers nearby. Mendelson-Shwartz and Mualam (2021) also identified conflicts related to the relationship between artists and individuals/community. I

witnessed a share of such conflicts, which manifested as dialogues in the Guerrilla Gallery in the form of artwork, graffiti, and vandalism.

Murals are not always made by individuals or communities; many private sector actors and governments have used murals to serve their own interests. Murals have been used for the politicization of public spaces, to alter perceptions of political domination over an area (Servigna, 2015), and to depoliticize political causes during conflict (Goalwin, 2013). Property owners/developers have coopted and commodified popular murals or street art, to justify property value speculation (Merrill, 2021).
But murals can also represent strong symbols to empower women, native communities and minorities (Latorre, 2008; Miles, 1997). Latino communities in specific have a significant relationship with murals, which they see not only as an opportunity to beautify, but also to "claim ownership," to strengthen an identity, and to resist dominant forces (Delgado & Barton, 1998). Some murals feature religious figures and are used as sacred spaces (Rojas, 2010). Not only do the symbols empower, but also give underrepresented minorities the opportunity to tell a story through art and make them feel important, proud, and visible (Sandoval & Latorre, 2008).

Murals in the Context of East Harlem

East Harlem concentrates an important share of NYC's murals (Yakas, 2015). It is a historically working-class neighborhood in NYC with a current population of over 124,000, out of which half identify as Hispanic and one-third as Non-Hispanic Blacks (Hinterland et al., 2018), although the Hispanic population may be larger as official numbers do not consider undocumented immigrants. This large Hispanic/Latino population has earned the neighborhood the nicknames of "El Barrio" and "Spanish Harlem". However, the Hispanic/Latino label is too broad, as it encompasses people of different nationalities who, despite sharing a language and a common Latino identity, have different traditions, politics and relationships to East Harlem. Of the Latino groups, the largest ones are the Puerto Rican and Mexican diasporas. The former has been a dominating group in East Harlem for almost a century, while the latter started arriving to El Barrio thirty years ago. Arlene Dávila (2004) reported that both groups have a history of conflict and solidarity: "despite their contrasting histories, positions, legal statuses, and other differences, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are jointly invested in El Barrio as a 'Latino space,' although their cultural politics sometimes directly confront one another" (p. 155).

Murals in East Harlem serve as mechanisms of struggle and resistance, and to strengthen the Puerto Rican diaspora's rootedness in the neighborhood, in the face of constant efforts of imposed neighborhood change and economic restructuring (Cardalda Sanchez & Aviles, 2001; Dávila, 2004; García et al., 2013). Murals played a key role in these resistance efforts: "Through murals, the community has found a way of expressing their own power and engaging in resistance to the racialization and linguification to which they have been subjected" (García et al., 2013, p. 146).

Cardalda Sanchez and Aviles (2001) analyzed 228 murals in East Harlem and found that most murals had a political nature, and the Puerto Rican flag was the most common element to appear: "murals, like other performative contexts, are using the flag as a national symbol to affirm the cultural identity of Puerto Ricans as a people in conflict with a dominant culture" (Cardalda Sanchez & Aviles, 2001, p. 275). Their study revealed social conflict manifested as vandalism/defacing of murals, or as "responses" (writing "colonialism" over pro-Commonwealth figure Luis Muñoz Marín), territorial dominance claims (defacing of Mexican murals on Puerto Rican-majority buildings), or "censorship" (erasing drug/violence references from murals). Sharman (2002) also shares how "the influx of Mexican migrants in the last decade has also destabilized Puerto Rican dominance, leading to similar aesthetic confrontations related more specifically to graffiti and wall art" (p. 4). One of such confrontations, what he calls "aesthetic conflict", involved James de la Vega, local muralist: "his decision to paint a small portrait of Pancho Villa was a way to welcome the immigrants, and in a way, to mark their territory. Within 24 hours it was obliterated from the wall… Puerto Ricans, angered by the homage to Mexicans, painted over his portrait" (Sharman, 2002, p. 16).

Twenty years have passed since Sharman's study, and East Harlem has changed much since then. Still, I wondered if the lack of Puerto Rican symbology in the Guerrilla Gallery was a manifestation of aesthetic conflict. Instead, I found aesthetic conflicts of a different nature, and even evidence of what could be called "aesthetic empathy," as opposed to conflict, occurring between Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and other groups, as a response to sociopolitical crises (such as the Trump election, or a zoning change proposal) that affected directly or indirectly one or all of these groups.

Methods

To capture the meaning the Guerrilla Gallery had for different residents of East Harlem, I followed rapid ethnographic assessment procedure (REAP) methods (Low et al., 2005). REAP was adapted from epidemiology studies to address the study of public spaces that are in rapid and constant change, and are especially convenient when there are not enough resources to do a long-term ethnographic study (Low et al., 2005). REAP is characterized by the triangulation of multiple researchers and ethnographic techniques (Low et al., 2005). As I did this research on my own, I could not reap the benefits of the triangulation of different researcher perceptions and approaches, but I combined and triangulated data from several sources, including individual interviews, participant observation, and historical and archival documents.

Individual Interviews

I interviewed passers-by who showed interest in the Guerrilla Gallery. The interview guide included questions about the participant's background (to identify whether they were from Mexican or Puerto Rican origin, or any other race/ethnicity), their relationship with East Harlem, and residence length. No other demographics were asked to minimize discomfort and interview length, although I did take notes on the apparent age and race of the participant. Other questions addressed the participant's perceptions of the Guerrilla Gallery, their favorite and least favorite art, whether they had participated or not, and there were also general questions about the neighborhood and 116th street. Interviews lasted around ten minutes, and were either in Spanish or English, depending on the participant's preference, and took place between April and July, 2017. I incorporated photographic cartography methods (Ulmer, 2017), which consist of a critical visual mapping that instead of attempting to document every single detail and critical conversation in a given space, seeks to identify discursive "fault lines," that is, disruptions and friction that reflect a contestation of the public space, by allowing participants to experience the images themselves (Ulmer, 2017). Photographic cartography was incorporated at two stages: first, I made a folder with photographs of details of the artwork in the Guerrilla Gallery and other murals in the neighborhood and showed these images to the participants to elicit reactions; second, I took photographs of specific sections of the Guerrilla Gallery where I identified potential "fault lines", to analyze details and changes in the artwork. Coding and analysis of the interviews was done using Atlas TI 8 for Windows (ATLAS.ti Scientific Software Development GmbH, Berlin).

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Sample

Twenty-one participants were interviewed: Fourteen women and seven men. Twelve participants were of Latino heritage (4 Mexican, 3 Dominican, 2 Puerto Rican, 2 Colombian, 1 Cuban), one was Asian, another one was European, and the rest did not identify any background other than the United States. Seventeen participants reported living in East Harlem, or having been raised and lived most of their life in the neighborhood. Those who did not live in the neighborhood came from New Jersey (3), other New York City boroughs (2) and Los Angeles (1). The apparent age of participants was: 6 in their 20s, 8 in their 30s, 5 in their 40s, and 2 appeared to be 50 years and up. All but three of these participants were interviewed during paint jams; the other three were passersby interviewed during a field visit.

Participant Observation

Following the HART Collective's suggestion, I frequented the HART Collective's "paint jams" to interview and observe participants for my study. During one of the paint jams, I sat down with artists and passers-by at a table that the HART collective placed in front of the Guerrilla Gallery and helped cut butterflies out of tin cans and paint them for the mural. I noted how passers-by interacted (or not) with the Guerrilla Gallery and with the artists and collaborators working on the artwork. I was not an outsider, as I lived in East Harlem and collaborated in the paint jams, but I was not an insider either, as I was not a member of the HART Collective. This vantage point allowed me to observe closely without standing out, and also helped me build a better initial connection with some of the interviewees, who felt at ease sitting down and sharing their thoughts and feelings about the Guerrilla Gallery while we were both cutting or painting butterflies.

Historical and Archival Documents

As I mentioned above, I did a historical photographic documentation of the Guerrilla Gallery. Although this research project was intended to finish in mid-2017, with every delay in the finalization of the study, the Guerrilla Gallery changed once more, so I took the opportunity to follow up on the art and take photographs of each iteration of the Guerrilla Gallery and included them in the analysis. As a result, the photographic documentation period, from April 2015 until April 2022, surpasses the period for the interviews and participant observation, which took place between April and July 2017. I learned about new iterations of the Guerrilla Gallery because I saw the messages on the HART Collective's

Facebook page, and tried to go to the study site and take photos at least once during each Guerrilla Gallery iteration. Although I took most of the photos I used in my analysis, I also relied on the photos that the HART Collective shared with me and that are publicly available on their Facebook and Instagram accounts. These photos were especially important for the times I was not able to take photographs, such as the very brief 2018 Guerrilla Gallery about opioid addiction awareness, and the months prior to December 2015. Documentation also included a search of newspaper articles, public social media posts, and literature related to East Harlem, murals and street art.

The Guerrilla Gallery

What follows is a chronological narrative based on the observations, interviews and analysis of the Guerrilla Gallery in East Harlem.

The Beginning (April 2015 – December 2015)

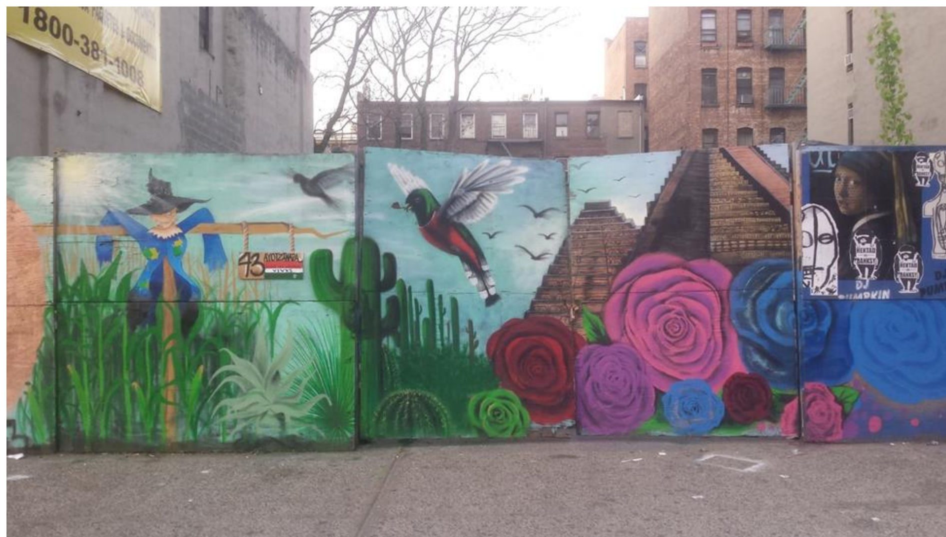

Image 2. The Mexican mural in the Guerrilla Gallery. May 5, 2015. The Harlem Art Collective.

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Image 3. "Cantinflas" (left) and "Catrina" (right), by 3rick. May 5, 2015. The Harlem Art Collective.

The HART Collective first intervened on the construction fence in April, 2015. They gathered in a house to create all the art, and then posted it on the wall at night, afraid of the police. Eventually, they would feel comfortable working publicly during the day. A section of the wall was painted blue and painted canvases were hung: flowers, landscapes, portraits, abstract art, self-promotion tags, and recreations of iconic artwork (such as Vermeer's "Girl with a Pearl Earring," on Image 2). The canvases and legends with the name and author of the art made it feel somewhat like a museum wall. "Post your art" messages were stenciled several times over the blue wall (Image 1), contrasting with the "Post no bills" stencils regularly found on construction fences. But it was the recurrent Mexican cultural symbols on the Guerrilla Gallery that caught my eye: On the central section of the wall, Aztec pyramids, corn fields, and even the Mexican flag's colors were prominently displayed (Image 2). The portrait of "Cantinflas" (the "Mexican Chaplin"), and a Catrina, a Día de los Muertos character (Image 3). On another section of the wall, the portraits of Chespirito's characters (Image 4).

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Image 4. Chespirito characters, by 3rick. October 13, 2015. The Harlem Art Collective.

According to an article in Hyperallergic (Drake, 2015), about a month after the "opening" of the Guerrilla Gallery, Mexican artist and activist Emilio Zappa covered the wall with the faces of the 43 students who disappeared in Ayotzinapa, Mexico (Image 5). This was the first of many Ayotzinapa interventions to come, as they became a recurrent ephemeral element of the Guerrilla Gallery. The Mexican community was especially appreciative of these interventions. As one interviewee of Mexican origin said:

> This one was one that I really liked the most, 'cause… it was very affecting to the Mexican community, well, mostly Mexico...These are the kids that are missing… it was really messed up… The government had something to do with it... Not a lot of people knew about it either, and it's something that needs to be known. (Female resident of East Harlem in her early 20s, born in East Harlem from Mexican parents)

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Image 5. Faces of Ayotzinapa under the artwork. August 4, 2015. The Harlem Art Collective.

Image 6. “A quién extrañas? / Who do you miss?” October 13, 2015. The Harlem Art Collective.

In October 2015, the HART Collective painted the wall black, and artists refreshed the Guerrilla Gallery with new art. A major addition was an empty space with the words "¿A quién extrañas? Who do you miss?" and a basket of chalk (Image 6). In the following weeks, people scribbled names in the blanks. Soon people started writing outside the boundaries until all the wall was covered in chalk scribblings. People wrote names of relatives they missed, possibly departed or in another city or country. Some answers recalled far away places: Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. Others referred to Harlem, El Barrio, and "the old times." These writings produced a translocal space (Low, 2017), and even a transtemporal space, where people yearned for a culture they left behind, or for how East Harlem used to be. One of the participants reminisced about the neighborhood's past:

> I remember when El Barrio was more like Puerto Ricans and stuff like that, and now we have more Mexican people here, and there are more people who are Muslim as well, Black people too, but this is mostly Spanish people, which is why it is called Spanish Harlem… And it's kind of good to have more cultures here, but then it's kind of like 'damn, I miss having… I miss it being the way it used to be. (Female resident of East Harlem in her early 20s, Afro-Cuban origin)

But not all participants had such good memories about the past. The young woman of Mexican origin cited above shared her story:

> In Middle School, I would get bullied 'cause I was Mexican… Me and my friends, it was really bad, 'cause it was a really few Mexicans that went there and it was mostly Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. Because of that, I hated being Mexican, and it took me like a really long time to accept who I am. (Female resident of East Harlem in her early 20s, Mexican origin)

Despite her experience, she assured she was now prouder than ever to be Mexican and held no grudge against those who bullied her. Instead, she insisted that, given the situation at the time of the interview (Trump had recently won the presidential elections), "now we should be more united than ever."

The invitation to participate was perceived as a very liberating and cathartic experience by many residents of East Harlem, as one participant put it: "When I was like 'who do you miss?', and they… you could write whatever you want, you know. It's like a free space, without anybody judging you like 'Oh, why would you write this, why would you write that?'" (Female resident of East Harlem in her early 20s, Mexican origin)

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Image 7. Día de los Muertos Altar. November 1, 2015. The Harlem Art Collective.

By the end of October 2015, a mural was painted on the Guerrilla Gallery, depicting a graveyard, a Halloween pumpkin, a Catrina skull, and an altar of offerings to celebrate Día de los Muertos (Image 7). The night of October 31, several photos and offerings had been placed by residents of the neighborhood, following the Mexican tradition. Almost all participants in the study expressed they liked this altar, including Puerto Rican ones, but residents with Mexican roots were the most effusive about it:

> When you're growing up in here… if your parents don't tell you about these stories of what they did back home then… you don't have a sense of direction… when I was very little, day of the dead was something that really connects back to our indigenous roots… it's a cycle that we have to continue on. (Female resident of East Harlem in her mid-30s, born in the Bronx from Mexican parents)

Mexican imagery was not perceived as a territorial claim by the Mexican residents, nor as a threat by the Puerto Rican residents of El Barrio. The Guerrilla Gallery was a translocal space that, through creativity and imagination (Appadurai, 1996), allowed people to connect to their roots. Different people used their own symbols to connect, but the space allowed all of them to coexist in harmony. There were no signs of competition for space or representation.

"EL BARRIO" (December 2015 – March 2016)

Image 8. “EL BARRIO” mural. December 15, 2015. The Harlem Art Collective.

In December 2015, the HART collective focused on the identity of the neighborhood: they divided the wall in eight equal sections. In each, a different artist painted each letter forming "EL BARRIO," each in their own style (Image 8). Some letters had a political content, such as an "R" with a peace sign and a Black kid hugging a White kid, and the "I" showing a corn cob, and the words Ayotzinapa and "Vivos loz keremoz" (Alive we want them) stenciled all around it.

During this phase, there was also an ephemeral intervention by the political collective advocating for the 43 missing students in Ayotzinapa. They put a banner with the faces of the missing students and projected their faces on a white screen (Image 9).

Image 9. Ayotzinapa projector intervention. December 13, 2015. The Harlem Art Collective.

Women's Guerrilla Gallery (March 2016 – June 2016)

Image 10. Women's Guerrilla Gallery. April 24, 2016. Javier Otero Peña

To celebrate International Women's Day, the HART collective turned the Guerrilla Gallery into a place dedicated to women's rights. The central piece in the mural was a female Taino painting, a native Puerto Rican art style (Image 10). This was the first Puerto Rican reference I identified on the Guerrilla Gallery. The phases of the moon cycle, and excerpts from Maya Angelou's "Phenomenal Woman" governed the upper part of the wall. Bilingual stencils and text boxes invited to post art, or poetry, or photographs of admired women. Among the photographs there were women of the Young Lords, Gloria DeNard, Frida Kahlo and Aretha Franklin. Messages such as "Kill your local rapist" and "Free the nipple"

were scribbled here and there. A version of the "Virgen de Guadalupe," an important Mexican religious icon, was depicted with an outline of her uterus, next to civil rights activists. A pink tree made of yarn, and bras with body loving messages also decorated the wall. The women honored on this Guerrilla Gallery crossed through identities, nationalities, races, professions, and political views, and shared the space side by side. The diversity of women honored and admired in the Guerrilla Gallery was an indicator of aesthetic empathy: while past stories had shown aesthetic conflict based on ethnicity, nationality or race occurring in East Harlem, this participatory mural showed that when there is a common threat or cause, art can serve as a bridge. This Guerrilla Gallery had a strong impact on many of the women interviewed:

> I think my favorite one was the feminism one…Cause for women… it's kinda hard to live in a society like this, you know… Very misogynous… and especially like teen pregnancy stuff…it's seen like… it's the women's fault. It's the young girl's fault. But men, or boys, also have a part in this, like, they're the ones who obviously said now, they actually wanted to have sex with the female, and just left her. (Female resident of East Harlem in her early 20s, Afro-Cuban origins)

Not everyone seemed to be moved positively by this iteration of the Guerrilla Gallery. According to the HART Collective, this Guerrilla Gallery was the most vandalized, and many art pieces were taken down or stolen (Personal communications, April 2017, and March 2022). Although it cannot be confirmed that the art disappeared because of vandalism and not natural causes (such as inclement weather), there was clear evidence of human attempts at censoring or destroying the artwork: images of naked breasts were covered in paint, and some phrases were scratched and crossed out. Aesthetic conflict was occurring not because of racial conflict as it did on Sharman's accounts (2002), but because of what appeared to be expressions of chauvinism, sexism, and conservative values. Although there were attacks, there was also a response: When two art pieces were removed by alleged vandals, seven art pieces replaced them. The HART collective did not know who was posting on the wall, nor who was vandalizing or removing the art (or for what reason). The Guerrilla Gallery had taken a life of its own.

The portrait of a White red-haired woman was constantly targeted by vandalism over the course of two weeks (See Image 11). First, A flyer of "Justice or Else" was put on her face (Image 11, left). A week later, the portrait was painted in blue. Someone wrote on the wall, next to the vandalized image: "Please RESPECT the art <3" (Image 11, center). The

next week, someone pasted on it a cover of the Nation of Islam newspaper, The Final Call, depicting a hanged Black man (Image 11, right). I interpreted this as a violent act of Black supremacists resisting White people being represented in the neighborhood.

Image 11. Vandalism of portrait of white woman over time. May 11-26, 2016. Javier Otero Peña

Other causes were also represented on the wall: Anti-gentrification organization "Movement for Justice in El Barrio" posted art and posters. The Ayotzinapa's 43 missing students ephemeral protest was also present during a weekend.

In mid-May, The HART collective wrote a question on the wall: "What would you like to see here in June?" (Image 12). Answers were varied: a couple of writings asked for earth, nature, ocean landscapes, the Amazon, while another one asked for "landscapes from my homeland". Other comments referred to concepts rather than objects: togetherness, happiness, body loving, and "how different kind of people love each other."

Image 12. "What would you like to see here in June?" May 21, 2016. Javier Otero Peña.

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Nature Mural (June 2016 – September 2016)

Image 13. Nature mural. June 3, 2016. Javier Otero Peña.

Based on people's suggestions, the HART Collective decided to make a mural about Nature. This mural presented a female face, with a forest to one side and an ocean to the other (Image 13). Animals were painted by adults and children, with varying levels of quality. This mural offered no possibilities of interactions or posting of art. However, a suggestion box was added to the side of the Guerrilla Gallery.

Someone posted this "I love PR (Puerto Rico)" gnome (Image 14), and it was liked by many of the participants. At first, I wondered if this gnome was a sort of territorial marking on behalf of Puerto Ricans in El Barrio, but no one seemed to interpret it this way, and instead saw it as a funny gesture.

Image 14. The "I love Puerto Rico" gnome. August 1, 2016. Javier Otero Peña.

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Partitioned Art (September 2016 – April 2017)

Image 15. Free style Guerrilla Gallery. September 13, 2016. Javier Otero Peña.

In September 2016, the HART collective divided the wall in 14 segments for free expression (Image 15). This led to a mix of abstract art, pop culture icons such as Wolverine of the X-Men, and an image of Jill Stein (Green Party politician) with a parrot with Bernie Sanders' head standing on her shoulder. In contiguous panels, there were depictions of Quetzalcoatl, an Aztec culture deity, and Papoleto Melendez, an East Harlem poet of Puerto Rican origin (On Image 15, the leftmost pictures on the front side of the wall). By mid-October, Papoleto Melendez's image was torn (Image 16, left), and by February 2017, his image was completely gone (Image 16, right). It is unclear whether this was due to vandalism or the force of nature (or both).

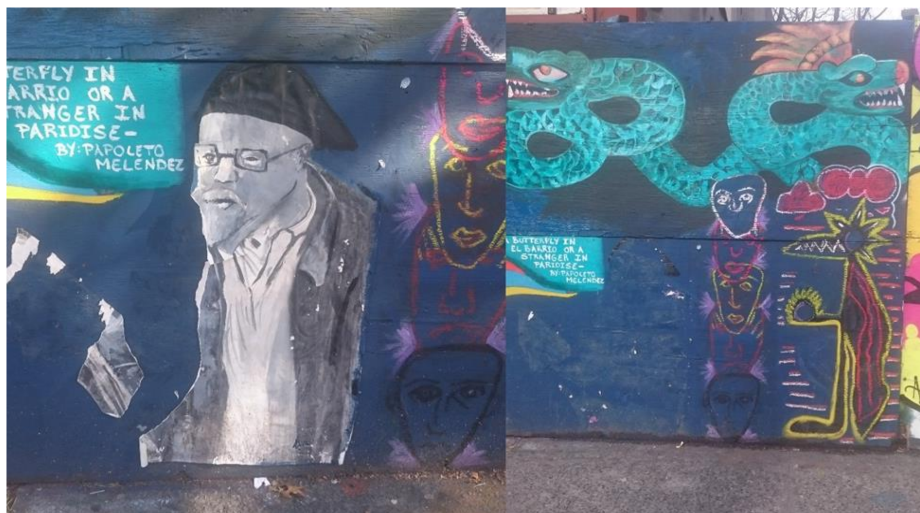

Image 16. Portrait of Papoleto Melendez over time. October 14, 2016 – February 16, 2017. Javier Otero Peña.

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There was also a reproduction of Coyolxauhqui, an Aztec artwork (Image 17), surrounded by posters about Ayotzinapa's missing students, and it had the words "MNI WICONI #NODAPL," in reference to (and in solidarity with) the Native American tribes resisting the Dakota Access Pipeline. Eventually, a small stencil of Native Americans on horses was added to different areas of the wall. This is a very special case of aesthetic empathy, because Aztec art is used to protest simultaneously for Mexican and Dakota tribe causes. It was a translocal protest: Mexican art in NYC, protesting causes in Ayotzinapa and Dakota. This aesthetic empathy symbolizes a union to resist together against similar threats, actors and overarching pressures. With the use of the #NODAPL hashtag on photos of the Guerrilla Gallery, the mural joined over 500,000 expressions of solidarity with the Dakota tribes on Instagram.

Image 17. Reproduction of Coyolxauhqui with Dakota Access Pipeline and Ayotzinapa protests. 23 September, 2016. Javier Otero Peña.

This is the last record I have of the presence of the Ayotzinapa in the Guerrilla Gallery. One of the participants expressed disappointment when the Ayotzinapa protests ceased to appear on the wall:

> I remember the 43 students… That was my favorite one, 'cause I feel really, you know, like that kinda impacted my life, 'cause… one of my family members knew one of them…It kinda hit me hard. So then, I came back for September 26th. I was like "Oh, maybe he might be here", but nobody was here. (Female resident of East Harlem in her early 20s, Mexican origins)

Image 18. Día de los Muertos altar, featuring repurposed art. October 31, 2016. Javier Otero Peña.

In October 2016, the Coyolxauhqui piece was repurposed into the altar for Día de los Muertos, which shows the fluidity of the art, and the fluctuations between Mexican symbols of political causes and cultural celebrations (Image 18).

La Migración es Beautiful (April 2017 – July 2017)

Image 19. La migración es beautiful Guerrilla Gallery. April 3, 2017. Javier Otero Peña.

After the 2016 presidential elections, the HART collective dedicated the Guerrilla Gallery to everything the Trump administration threatened, and particularly immigration. Although Trump's discourse on immigration was focused on the Mexican diaspora, participants of all nationalities expressed concern and got involved in the creation of this Guerrilla Gallery. Even Puerto Ricans and other U.S. citizens showed great concern and support, both in comments and in their artwork. As a resident from Los Angeles said:

> I love the fact that people are coming out in support of immigrants and undocumented people, and just showing that we want you to be here, we support your right to livelihood and opportunity, and... We're not gonna be scared of a tyrant. We're gonna stand up together. (Female resident of East Harlem in her 30s, born and raised in Los Angeles)

And it is this togetherness precisely which seemed to be blooming in the Guerrilla Gallery because of the common threat that Trump represented to people in the neighborhood. During a weekend in April 2017, the HART Collective organized a “paint jam.” They set up a table in front of the wall and invited people to cut butterflies out of cans and paint them. These represented monarch butterflies, a species known for its long migration cycles between Mexico and the United States; a metaphor dedicated to the Latino immigrant.

The main section of the mural (Image 19) showed another metaphor: an airplane spreading agent orange (representing Trump) over a white dove, teepees, a forest, a river, diverse women and a Latino immigrant. Although the metaphor might have been missed by some, a quote from John Hollow Horn, Brulé Lakota leader during the Sioux wars, was written next to the mural: “One day, the Earth will weep, she will cry with tears of blood. You will make a choice, you will help her or let her die, and when she dies, you too will die.” This warning/protest was contrasted by the positive/hopeful message “La migración es beautiful” next to it (Image 20). Under the phrase, a large set of butterfly wings were drawn. The sections of the wings were made of photos of East Harlem residents. These wings were meant to have people pose for photos and show their wings on social media.

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Image 20. La migración es beautiful monarch butterfly wings. May 6, 2017. Javier Otero Peña.

During the weekend, a set of canvas and paint was also made available to people who wanted to post art on the wall. People of all ages, but kids especially, painted art for the Guerrilla Gallery. Part of the art was dedicated to immigrants and U.S. foreign policy (Image 21). A kid painted an upside-down U.S. flag, with the red stripes made of hearts and the stars falling off the canvas. Another one showed the monarch butterflies flying over a wall. This Guerrilla Gallery iteration sent a strong message of togetherness and solidarity between the peoples of East Harlem.

Image 21. Immigration Guerrilla Gallery – contributions from residents. June 15, 2017. Javier Otero Peña.

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Gentrification (July 2017 – October 2017)

Image 22. The Trojan horse in East Harlem. July 26, 2017. Javier Otero Peña.

In July 2017, in view of the proposed zoning changes in East Harlem and the increasing wave of gentrification, the HART collective dedicated the Guerrilla Gallery to these issues. The central section of the wall featured a Trojan Horse arriving in the neighborhood, turning the traditional houses into high-rise buildings for the profit of rich white businessmen who circle around the horse (Image 22). Another section showed the Wall Street bull ramming through a map of the neighborhood, under a sign that read “Derecho a techo” (“right to a roof”, image 23). Between the bull and the horse, a typical landscape of East Harlem was painted: it showed people playing dominoes on the street, and a tamales street vendor right outside a taqueria. The windows above showed several flags: Puerto Rico, Mexico, Brazil, the U.S.A., El Salvador, Dominican Republic, Senegal and Egypt. This image reflected aesthetic empathy in East Harlem: different practices of Latinidad and many nationalities coexisting together. If there had been a conflict between the Mexican and the Puerto Rican diaspora, it was either long gone, or irrelevant in the face of the common threat of gentrification.

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Image 23. The bull and the Barrio scene. September 17, 2017. Javier Otero Peña.

In the Guerrilla Gallery there were also posters of local organizations, artwork, poems, newspaper articles, and the formal rezoning plan, presenting the official vision the city had for East Harlem, and the consequences it would bring to the residents. A poster invited to a march "against the Mayor's Luxury Housing Plan." A graffiti read: "Affordable… for who?," and another one in Spanish read "My home is not for sale, my family isn't either." There was a photo of Puerto Rican flags hanging from a wire, and some of the artwork of the previous gallery also remained on the wall. Despite the protests and the efforts of the people in the neighborhood to prevent the land zone changes, the legislation passed.
Fourteen out of the twenty-one interviewees identified gentrification as one of the biggest issues in East Harlem, and some of them claimed to be directly affected by it. A participant's parents had recently been kicked out by the landlord. Others were on the other side of the spectrum and identified with guilt as "gentrifiers":

> I'm white, and I definitely was nervous about moving here because people might judge me for being a gentrifier because that's what I am, if I'm being honest, but no...people have been quite friendly and I think in general New Yorkers are not that judgmental of other people. I think we're kind of doing our own thing and, if you are nice and smile that goes a long way. (Female resident of East Harlem in her early 30s, born and raised in New York City)

Not all people interviewed knew what gentrification was, although they could quickly identify the phenomenon once I described it to them. Possibly aware of this informational gap, the HART collective made an interactive section, in which they bilingually asked people: "What does

gentrification mean to you?" (Image 24). Answers ranged in terms of emotion and violence: from "displacement" and "stripping of culture," going through "they stole my home" and "can't afford to stay in the house I grew up in," all the way to "White devil" and "Get the fuck out GRINGOS." The conversation that was happening in the Guerrilla Gallery was tense, and it broke the boundaries of the wall and filtered into social media, where the HART collective expressed their position on the conflict:

> This chalk board on the #guerrillagallery is full of pain, fear, anger, hurt, sadness, and a collective desire for things to be better. For white people, it may be upsetting to see the words… written by your neighbors, and you should be upset. You should be livid, indignant, and absolutely appalled, but not at these words… At the systematic racism, and structural oppression that created them… in light of recent national events and centuries of the same old shit, we as a collective are ready to roll up our sleeves and work towards dismantling white supremacy and providing a platform for our community to fight and heal. With that being said, the next installation of the Guerrilla Gallery will be dedicated to just that." (HART: the Harlem ART Collective, 2017)

Image 24. Gentrification: What does it mean to you? August 29, 2017. The Harlem Art Collective.

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The Last Murals (October 2017 – April 2022)

The following Guerrilla Gallery was dedicated to racial justice activists, depicting portraits of Jane Elliott, Audre Lorde and Barack Obama, among others. There was also Colin Kaepernick kneeling, and a space was left for people to kneel next to him and take selfies/photos. "Conversations" kept happening on the wall; someone wrote on the portraits: On Obama, "Ex-deporter-in-chief: Skinfolk ain't kinfolk" (Image 25); on DeRay McKesson, "Sell-Out" (Image 26). The vandalizer signed: "Artists: Do your research before you make art. – A concerned brown bitch del Barrio."

Image 25. Barack Obama portrait, vandalized. April 19, 2018. Javier Otero Peña.

Image 26. "Artists, do your research before you make art." April 19, 2018. Javier Otero Peña.

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After the racial justice mural, there was one raising awareness about the environment, which featured art made with trash such as bottle caps. As weeks went by, the construction fence started to give in, and some of the panels started to fall apart, revealing the empty lot behind the fence. In the Fall 2018, a quilt made of paintings was made to commemorate the International Overdose Awareness day. This theme was particularly relevant for East Harlem, as this neighborhood has the second highest opioid overdose rate in Manhattan (Montanya et al., 2015).

In October 2019, there was another free style Guerrilla Gallery, resulting in an interesting aesthetic fusion of styles, cultures and politics. It was the epitome of aesthetic empathy and fusion in the Guerrilla Gallery (Image 27): Common cultural identity symbols ("El Barrio," "I love East Harlem"), mixed with group-specific symbols (the Puerto Rican flag, the Taino frog, the Virgen de Guadalupe, a Catrina, Aztec art, the Senegalese flag and the LGBTQ+ flag), and also with political figures and statements (Malcolm X, the PALANTE movement, the names of the exonerated 5, and a portrait of the first border policy enforcement child victim), all sharing the same short span of the construction fence.

Image 27. Free style Guerrilla Gallery, showing aesthetic empathy. October 31, 2019. Javier Otero Peña.

In the Summer of 2020, following the protests that flared after the murder of George Floyd, the medley of culture and identity of the Guerrilla Gallery was covered by the words "BLACK LIVES MATTER" (Image 28). In the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak in New York City, it became very risky to visit the study site. In December 2020 I moved away from New York City, so I was only able to follow up on the Guerrilla Gallery via the social media accounts and the mailing list of the HART Collective.

I went to the Guerrilla Gallery for the last time in April 2022 during a visit to New York City. The "BLACK LIVES MATTER" words were still covering the whole span of the construction fence. This was the first time I saw it in person, so I took photos and studied the details. I also walked around the neighborhood. East Harlem seemed changed, many businesses had closed, perhaps because of the pandemic. The Consulate of Senegal had

moved to 116th street, just a block away from the Guerrilla Gallery. The Mexican restaurant next to the gallery was no longer in business. The strip of 2nd avenue between 116th and 117th streets had adopted the new name of Mexico – Tenochtitlan Avenue, adding to the other two names that converge in that corner: Pete Pascale Place, after Italian-American personality, and Luis Muñoz Marin Boulevard, after the first Governor of Puerto Rico. I found it ironic that this new homage to the Mexican diaspora was in front of a building that used to have an emblematic Zapatista mural but was demolished to build condo apartments. As I took photos of the Guerrilla Gallery, three Black teenagers passed by and cheered at me, saying “Black lives matter!” I nodded in empathy. The broken panels on the wall had been fixed, and viewing windows had been opened, revealing the lot and what seemed to be foundations of a building in construction. The site seemed inactive, but I wondered if the lot was going to be developed soon. There were semi-effaced anti-Black Lives Matter statements, the words still legible: one said “White lives matter.” Another one read “Really? Then what about Chicago?” and another one read “Ok let’s make this all about you.”

This was possibly the end of the Guerrilla Gallery: a message as strong and relevant as “Black Lives Matter” cannot possibly be replaced without exerting a degree of symbolic violence and causing conflict in the community, which goes against the whole concept of the Guerrilla Gallery.

Image 28. Black Lives Matter mural. April 19, 2022. Javier Otero Peña.

A Meaningful Guerrilla Gallery

In my last conversation with a member of the HART Collective (personal communication, March 2022), I found out that the collective was not currently active. One of the members passed away, and during the COVID-19 pandemic, others moved out of the neighborhood and even from New York City. The email platform and Instagram account are still

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used to communicate information relevant to young artists looking for grants or opportunities in New York City, and the Facebook group became a sort of virtual museum to explore the art posted on the many iterations of the Guerrilla Gallery throughout its active life.

The HART Collective's role as a moderator stood out from my study: they chose topics to inspire the artwork, and decided when to change the subject. They created the forum for people in the neighborhood to express themselves, for as long as the space lasts. It is unclear whether the HART Collective members will continue working on the Guerrilla Gallery or if they will create other Guerrilla Galleries in the neighborhood or elsewhere, but construction fences abound in the city -and so does the need to speak up. Knowing this was a grassroots movement with no formal organization or funding, could serve as an example to other concerned residents of East Harlem and other neighborhoods of what is possible to do with few resources and some coordination.

The HART Collective was constituted by members of the community, and as such, it reflected their identities, their needs, their conflicts, and their hopes. The interviews confirmed that the art posted on the Guerrilla Gallery was meaningful to the residents of the neighborhood, who appreciated it because it was made by people from the community, and because of its aesthetic value. Many of them expressed that the Guerrilla Gallery was a positive addition to the neighborhood. But the Guerrilla Gallery was especially important to residents when it resonated with their cultural and political values: it was a transformative space, using the terms of Bublitz and colleagues (2019).

The Mexican diaspora, which concentrated much of its activity on 116th street, found in the Guerrilla Gallery a way to connect with their roots, and also to show solidarity with tragic issues happening in Mexico. The Día de los Muertos altar transformed the Guerrilla Gallery into a space of devotion, used by many in the community to honor their departed loved ones. The Guerrilla Gallery would likely have had a different identity if it had been on a different street of the neighborhood.

The Women's Day Guerrilla Gallery was especially important to women in the neighborhood who felt discriminated against. It gave them reasons to be proud and let them know they are not alone, though it also showed how threatened some men feel regarding the emancipation of women. The Immigration is Beautiful Gallery served as a place for catharsis after the Trump election, not unlike the "Subway Therapy," where 50,000 post-its were posted on subway station walls expressing feelings

regarding the election (Sointu & Hill, 2020). One of the participants was explicit about the therapeutic benefits of the Guerrilla Gallery:

> This is really good. I was having a bad day and this was therapy (laughs). Changed my outlook, yeah. I was having a difficult day 'cause I'm trying to finish something and I couldn't and I said "let me take a walk", and this really made everything better. So, art is therapy, art is peace, art is... uniting. (Long-time female resident of East Harlem in her late 40s, originally from Dominican Republic)

The Gentrification gallery also had a special meaning because so many participants were directly or indirectly affected by this issue. Local organizations took a bigger role and used the gallery to inform residents and to call for protests and meetings. This gallery also showed the underlying socioeconomic conflict that exists in East Harlem, related to fear of displacement and to some degree resentment towards richer (and whiter) new residents. These issues were exacerbated by the decision to rezone areas of East Harlem, despite the protests by the residents.

The HART Collective mentioned that one of the most important aspects of their work was the paint jams. Working on the Guerrilla Gallery during the day, as opposed to hiding at night, made the artists visible to the community and made it easier for residents to get involved and feel included in the process. It also contributed to making residents visible to each other, and express each other's views and issues. The paint jams became celebratory events in which people would sometimes spend hours painting, helping out, or just talking and watching the artists paint. They were also bittersweet at times, as people would complain about the changes, because they felt identified with the Guerrilla Gallery that was being replaced. New York City is in constant transformation at a very fast pace, and the difficulty of some residents to accept or get used to the changes in the Guerrilla Gallery make me wonder how they take the changes of the city in general. Perhaps the city and its spaces of representation (Lefebvre, 1991) change so quickly that residents cannot keep up. Taking snapshots of a fast-moving phenomenon such as the Guerrilla Gallery makes it possible to analyze these transformations and uncover the meanings and perspectives of residents regarding these ephemeral spaces of expression.

My study of the Guerrilla Gallery had three limitations that are important to mention. The first limitation is about the methods: REAP calls for triangulation of researchers, however, I was the only person collecting, analyzing and interpreting data. This limited the possibilities of exploring

the data with different perspectives and ideas. The second limitation was the availability of photographs. As I discussed earlier, sometimes changes in the Guerrilla Gallery occurred in a very short span of time. It is possible that I missed relevant interventions on the wall. I was limited to study the photographs I took and I had access to, thanks to the HART Collective. After June 2017, I only went to see the Guerrilla Gallery about once for every iteration, as I no longer lived in East Harlem so it was more difficult for me to visit the site, and also because by then I felt I had enough data to write an interesting article. However, the Guerrilla Gallery changed faster than I could write, and I felt it was important to cover each following iteration, even if only briefly. Thus, I wrote the "The last murals" section, and I am glad I was able to include it, as it allowed me to show the epitome of aesthetic fusion in the Guerrilla Gallery, as well as its likely end. The last limitation I must mention is related to this latter point: the zoning changes, the opening of the Q train line stations in Harlem and the COVID-19 pandemic all occurred between 2017 and 2022, and impacted the neighborhood in many different ways. If I had had the opportunity to interview residents during this time period, I could potentially have uncovered a change in the feelings and discourse about the Guerrilla Gallery, relative to the many changes that took place in the neighborhood.

The HART Collective was hoping to inspire others to do public interventions like the Guerrilla Gallery, to show authorities the importance of creating art in public, and to inspire art galleries to take more minority artists or to create public open-air galleries. It is too soon to tell if they succeeded at any of these goals, but what is certain from this study is that the Guerrilla Gallery stood out as a meaningful place for expression, communication, identification, information, catharsis, protest and entertainment. Before the Guerrilla Gallery, the construction fence was just a blight that contributed nothing to the community of East Harlem. Through the Guerrilla Gallery, a meaningful space was created, that adapted to its contributors and to the current events. Expressions of aesthetic fusion were identified, in which different cultures amalgamated in a single image to protest different issues. Coexisting cultures of East Harlem also coexisted in the Guerrilla Gallery, making it a reflection of its people. Solidarity was evident in the different phases of the Guerrilla Gallery, although so was conflict. The antagonism expressed towards the Women's Guerrilla Gallery and in the gentrification one indicate that there are lingering sociocultural issues that need attention. The final phase of the Guerrilla Gallery reflects empathy of the people in the neighborhood towards a pressing national issue, and it might also reflect a change in demographics. The Guerrilla Gallery has been a meaningful bulletin board of art and messages that has also served to make a

statement, to stand ground on the need for spaces of cultural and political expression. Not every community has a HART Collective to spark and moderate a conversation around arts, but we can only hope that they find their own means and inspiration to create channels to communicate, define their identities, build solidarity, and resist.

In the Fall of 2022, the HART Collective became active again, and organized a paint jam on the themes suggested by its members: radical hope, revolutionary joy, and asylum. A large piece dedicated to "Black Lives Matter" was included in their design, to keep the previous mural's message alive. On November 8, 2022, the unfinished Guerrilla Gallery was torn down and replaced by a chain link fence, marking its end. On their social media accounts, the HART Collective shared the news and promised to continue bringing art to the community:

> The day we all knew was coming is here: the Guerrilla Gallery wall has been torn down yesterday morning. After many years of neglect the wall was literally falling apart and has been replaced with a chain link fence. Even though we weren't able to finish the most recent installation, we're still so thankful that we got to have one last paint jam for old times sake ❤ Thank you to all of the artists that came out and shared your work with the community over all these years and thank you to all of the neighbors that have supported and encouraged us! This is not the end, we will find another space to continue this beautiful work and look for new ways to bring art into the public space! As always, ideas are welcome 🎧 (HART: the Harlem ART Collective, 2022)

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