¿La Voz de Quién?

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**Cover Page Footnote**
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In the summer of 2008, I watched news coverage on island Puerto Ricans' reactions to leader of the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) and Governor Aníbal Acevedo-Vilá's visit to the UN regarding Puerto Rico's colonial status. Univision and Telemundo, asked Puerto Ricans on the street about their perception of the Governor's visit, and his claim that Puerto Ricans lack self-determination in the Commonwealth's relationship with the United States. Those highlighted, primarily showed indifference to Gov. Acevedo's initiatives and expressed pessimism regarding their possibilities. Member of the pro-statehood party and President of the Puerto Rican Senate, Senator Kenneth McClintock argued that Gov. Acevedo's ploy was nothing more than an attempt at bringing positive attention to his work as governor. McClintock argued that because of his poor showing as a governor, Gov. Acevedo wanted to divert attention from the scandals and failures surrounding his tenure as governor.

Critiques of Puerto Rican political parties' performative decision making processes date back to the 1990's. In 1990, former Puerto Rican Socialist Party president, Juan Mari Bras, critiques the individualism party presidents exercised in agreeing to not support another plebiscite. The presidents of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) and the Popular Democratic Party (pro-commonwealth) agreed to challenge the plebiscite, without receiving public input. The leaders made the decision based on what they wanted and their fear that Puerto Ricans would have voted to change their status to statehood. Their decision was more out of self interest, according to Mari Bras, than out of the interest of Puerto Ricans. Such self-serving individualism negates any progress their mutual understanding might have represented. Mari Bras did not believe a decision made without consultation or discussion could provide any good opportunities or possibilities for Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico's resistance to its colonial condition was paralyzed precisely because their acts of leadership imitated imperial acts of the U.S. government on the island. These party leaders were governing without consideration for the necessities of the Puerto Rican people.

In her essay "Puerto Rican Feminism at a Crossroad: Challenges at the Turn of the Century," Margarita Mergal makes a similar critique of party leaders' perceptions of women's political participation. She examines then president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, Rubén Berrios and Vice-president Fernando Martín's belief that "nothing can be done to remedy [the lack of women's leadership in the party] because women must take care of their homes, children and husbands." Such a belief from these men presents an antiquated way of looking at the possibilities and contributions of women to the Puerto Rican independence movement. It presumes housework and family care limited women's political participation despite a history of women's involvement and leadership, like that of Lola Rodríguez de Tió, Lolita Lebrón, Julia de Burgos, among others. Lolita Lebrón, for instance, was a member of the Nationalist Party, who took part in and was arrested for a failed assassination attempt against President...
participation in politics is of particular relevance here, for the
The statement made by Berrios about women’s lack of
familia puertorriqueña as a strategic tool in calls for nationalism
the achievements of the Puerto Rican community at large and
presence, Humboldt Park/ Paseo Boricua.8 The mission reads that
Preservation of the barrio indirectly relies on nostalgia for la gran
advocate for the preservation of the heart of our barrio.”9
Berrios’ public discourse during his leadership is not the sole
example of the necessity for such a critique. In looking at the Juan
Antonio Corretjer7 Puerto Rican Cultural Center (PRCC), I will
look at the language and representation of their work in the
newsprint La Voz del Paseo Boricua. This past year, they celebrated
their 35th and 4th anniversaries respectively. The Center and the
paper also celebrated the centennial of former Puerto Rican
Nationalist Party secretary, Juan Antonio Corretjer’s birth. In light
of this celebration, the community newsprint printed articles
relating a collective history, with a narrow focus on a few individual
leaders. Examining this edition of the paper and the way the
anniversary is celebrated raises some questions: For whom is this
history being written? Whose voice do these accounts represent?
How do these accounts affect the success of community building
and, what do they say about us as scholars and activists theorizing
Puerto Rican identity?

BERROS’ PUBLIC DISCOURSE DURING HIS LEADERSHIP IS NOT THE SOLE
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PAPER ALSO CELEBRATED THE CENTENNIAL OF FORMER PUERTO RICAN
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TRYING TO FIND VOICES IN LA VOZ

For the past four years, Chicago’s Puerto Rican community
newsprint La Voz del Paseo Boricua has served as a site of
community engagement and positive cultural reinforcement.
Writers, allies and artists also cover political, community, and
artistic work of Puerto Ricans in Chicago and in other diasporic
communities. La Voz del Paseo Boricua has served as a media venue
offering a positive and engaging depiction of Puerto Ricans in
Chicago and the community with the greatest Puerto Rican
presence, Humboldt Park/ Paseo Boricua.8 The mission reads that
La Voz is “an alternative source of media that seeks to acknowledge
the achievements of the Puerto Rican community at large and
advocate for the preservation of the heart of our barrio.”9
Preservation of the barrio indirectly relies on nostalgia for la gran
familia puertorriqueña as a strategic tool in calls for nationalism
and nation building.10

The statement made by Berrios about women’s lack of
participation in politics is of particular relevance here, for the
image around the Puerto Rican family relies on maintaining
women in the domestic sphere and men partaking in political and
economic activities. It also relies on the replication of this process
that dates back to Eugenio María de Hostos’ promotion of women’s
education. For Hostos, a nineteenth-century sociologist and
advocate of Puerto Rico’s independence, women’s education was
important because they were the best examples of loyalty to the
nation.11 Their education would give women as mothers and wives,
tools to extend their form of loyalty to husbands and
children, specifically to make men greater leaders for the nation
building process. Albizu Campos, in the early twentieth century,
argued that women’s reproductive rights needed to be protected
under the same vein, because they produced the heirs to the
nation.12 The great Puerto Rican family could permit women’s
education to better aid men’s political leadership development. The
categories of ‘woman’ and ‘man’ as defined by family and nation,
centered on their roles of mother and father. Women’s roles were
defined by how they reproduced male leadership through their
wombs; their access to education had to strengthen their abilities to
maintain masculinist power. They had to instill masculinity as
defined by male dominance in their sons and husbands. They had
to raise their daughters to carry out the same role. Such a
dichotomy maintained and relied on fixed gender roles, as an either
or status, to not be questioned; heterosexist family values were the
focal point for a great nation. The family needed to be rewritten to
reflect these values, to challenge the negativity associated with
being Puerto Rican.

La Voz does bring a positive alternative media representation and
coverage of Puerto Ricans in Chicago. The nationalist sentiment
within the PRCC and its project La Voz, however, is more than
“simple identification by a national identity category, a reflexive
operation of agency and criticism, or a mode of social membership.
It is unclear for whom the monthly newsprint acts as an agent for
this change. The newsprint is a project whose founding and
dissemination is male centered. Various articles in the 4th
anniversary issue attest to this. The first was a brief statement in
which the production manager wrote that La Voz was founded on
the vision of one Puerto Rican man.13

ONE MAN’S VISION—WHAT OF THE
OTHERS?

The March 2008 issue celebrated male leaders’ struggles and
triumphs, specifically that of Juan Antonio Corretjer, for whom the
PRCC was named. A guest writer of the issue, someone familiar
with the work done at the Center, credited the 35 year success of
the organization to one man. The production manager of La Voz
followed suit.14 However, La Voz’s special issue was a bit more
complicated. PRCC’s 35th anniversary included events that
celebrated women’s legacy. The anniversary’s significant events also
included International Women’s Day, which celebrated the legacy
of Puerto Rican women. Another event commemorated women
political prisoners, entitled “Legacies of Corretjer.”15 Reading
women’s contributions as the legacy of one man’s, frames women’s
contributions through the grandeur of a male’s work.

The creation of women’s events is an example of how celebrating
Juan Antonio’s legacy has indirectly justified continued venues for
male-centered hierarchies. The expectation remains that, despite
marginal recognition of female leaders, (heterosexual) men remain
the primary foundation for nation building projects. In its mission
statement, La Voz claims to acknowledge the contributions of local
Puerto Ricans and Latinos, as well as Puerto Ricans across the country. This particular issue, as well as a number of earlier editions, would lead us to believe, however, that the contributions of the community at large are the result of specific actors: ones who are straight and male. In short, the newspaper seems to attribute its existence (and even its raison d’être) to men. Both La Voz and PRCC are founded on an anti-colonial, pro-Puerto Rican independence ideology, which necessitates critiques of their representation. Limited gender representation makes the organization and the newsprint guilty of espousing earlier forms of nationalisms that were decidedly sexist and heterosexist.

DEBUNKING NATIONALISM’S SUCCESS: PROBLEMATIZING UNCRITICAL NOSTALGIA

Heterosexism within diasporic nationalist movements and ideologies is not the Puerto Rican exception. In her essay, “Queer Aztlan,” Moraga claims Puerto Rican nationalism based efforts, such as the Young Lords’ work, have been successful. From her perspective, the nationalists’ fixed ideas and forms of taking action have kept activist work alive as evidenced in activities such as protesting “English Only” initiatives on the island, among others. The critiques of Chicano nationalism that Moraga makes in her essay parallel the limitations of Puerto Rican nationalism on various levels. The male centrism Moraga had seen in the Chicano movement, as well as nostalgia former leaders had for past work, is ever present in Puerto Rican nationalism. It is present when La Voz credits specific men for the work of many. Berrios’ comments, as cited earlier, are also examples of how male supremacy continues to be of great concern in the creation of a democratic and egalitarian Puerto Rican nationalism.

In critiquing Berrios’ opinion on Puerto Rican women’s lack of involvement, Mergal had wanted to point out the male centrism prevalent in the party as well as gendered constructions of contributions. That motherhood and wifedom limited women’s participation speaks directly to the heteronormativity prevalent in national imaginaries.

The gendering of names within the Puerto Rican Cultural Center affiliate organizations is a key example of how contributions and recognition remain gendered. The magnitude and attention each center provides is a reflection of the division of labor and presumed possible gendered contributions. The largest and most prominent entities, the PRCC proper and the alternative high school, for example, are both named after men. The alternative high school had been named after former Nationalist Party President, Pedro Albizu Campos. The day care center (a decidedly feminized space) and the Family Learning Center, Consuelo Lee Corretjer and Lolita Lebrón respectively. The divisive gendered naming of institutions within the large umbrella of the PRCC demonstrates how, even in honoring contributors, the male ego remains served, honored and revered which continues to justify their male supremacy. This naming reflects the elementary division of women as caretakers and men as greater political leaders, which maintains an imbalance of socialization and recognition that is true of diasporic enclaves like Humboldt Park and the greater Puerto Rican nation.

FOR WHOSE GLORY?

PRCC has worked on creating more visible spaces for Boricua/Latino lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual and queer (lgbtq) community members. When looking at the male-centeredness of the work, it is important to recognize the changes that give voice to groups otherwise silenced. The community also struggles with representations deviating from a traditional heteronormative model and strict gender binaries. In the Spring of 2007, PRCC’s branch STI testing and counseling center, Vida/SIDA held a Cacique and Cacica Pageant, in which trans queens and kings competed to be crowned Cacica and Cacique respectively, to then participate in the Puerto Rican Parade. Complexities exist within the process of inclusion, however, for homosexuals, bisexuals, transgenders and transsexuals.

Writing the ‘queer’ subject into the nation, as the transpageant does, on the surface, appears as progress. This aspect of community building efforts recognizes their contributions, needs and efforts in this annual event that started the spring of 2007. The way the first had been pageant reported in La Voz of May 2007, however, leaves much to be questioned. Particularly, who did the pageant serve? The queer body had historically been neglected and or treated as a symptom of barbarity and by some is still regarded as diseased for not complying with heterosexual practices and lifestyles. Jon Binnie, in his text Globalization of Sexuality, explains that full inclusion of lgbtq citizens is tokenistic. While historically queers were regarded as ostracized, new language and demonstrations of inclusion are only used by a nation to project progress. A nation that includes gays and lesbians, that grants them rights and allows them to perform does so on the same premise that it had historically marginalized them. Giving them citizenship, social membership, works to maintain power within current leadership as justified by their willingness to include the once inhuman degenerate other.

That a transpageant serves to bring attention to the STI issues suffered within the homosexual and transsexual community conflates the two and maintains the idea of the queer body as diseased. The relationship that gay men, lesbians, bisexuals and transgendered individuals have with the way medicine perceives and treats them is more than framed through disease. Historically, their sexual desires and expression had been constructed as diseased. The disease was read as biological, then psychological. While there are attempts through DNA testing and surgery to validate their existence and expression, their relationship remains framed and needing to answer to heteronormative practices. Sexuality as an expression of agency and autonomy as well as desire continuously needs to be socially read as something that can be proved through science, which denies autonomy and self-determination.

The Cacique/Cacica pageant seeks to address the need to provide more education about sexually transmitted infections. It is limiting to have the first representation of queers in this vein. Reading queers as diseased, and only included to talk about disease, maintains them as secondary citizens. This had been a groundbreaking event for the community that represented a great deal of change, however, when critically examined it represents homophobic realities that still exist. It is important to address the realities of STIs but within a vein that does not conflate the diseased body with the queer body. Also, it is important to include queers on their own terms and celebrate their efforts and contributions as non-diseased.

It is also important to think critically about how the way gender is socially read in such spheres can also be limiting and degrading. The fluidity of sexuality and gender expression, and the continued
hostility around such discussions needs to be addressed as it affects social and political initiatives. It is important to look at how bound forms of external identification do not take into consideration the reality that gender is more than a bio-determined trait. Body parts, disease, sexual organs confine the expressions and definitions of gender and, of how sexual desire is understood. In his article “Pa’la Escuelita,” Manuel Guzmán discusses the rise and fall of “La Escuelita,” a New York gay bar. Guzmán explains the complexity of descriptors of homosexual men and how, “men having sex with men,” continues to be complex because of how it is read. As he explains, descriptors “fail to take into account the manner in which actors involved in the sexual act experience and apprehend their sexual act.”20 Hetero/homo-normative readings of sexual practices, denies the agency exercised in the act, and the possibilities of the actors defining their roles for themselves. Guzmán, specifically wants to argue that understandings of sexual relations have as much to do with roles as with self-perception. What one may read as a man having sex with a man (MSM), may be read differently by those involved. The misreading affects and strains the possibilities of a good relationship between queers and the medical profession, scholarship and practice. Guzmán is addressing the fact that during the sexual act, depending on their roles, one may identify as a ‘man,’ even if socially he is not read as one. The inverse is also true, someone’s gender identity should be identified by her/his decision, not by an observer or outside party.

An article in La Voz which focuses on MSM, erases the lesbian and transman’s21 expression as integral to deconstructing the hierarchies of heterosexism. It negates the experiences and medical needs of lesbians, and bisexuals. They also have health needs regarding safe sex education and resources, something this article overlooks. Lourdes Torres, in the introduction to Tortilleras, writes, “Radical new Latina lesbian representations emerged in the 1980’s... boldly [challenging] the virtual absence of Latina lesbian representations, and created an impetus for the emergence of Latina lesbian political, creative and scholarly works in various genres.”22 Work around and supported by the Puerto Rican Cultural Center had begun to do the same thing, with queer focused spoken word events, community lectures, the formation of an lgbtq collective, a drag contest, most of which had started to take place in 2007. As Torres later explains in the anthology’s introduction, “it is not surprising to see that, in sites where dictatorships and right-wing governments rule, possibilities for lesbian expression may be limited, and expressions of same-sex desire may take a different form than in places where such expressions entails less risk.”23 She is speaking of the experience of lesbians in Latin American countries in comparison with Latinas in the United States who have, comparatively, a lesser chance of lesbians in Latin American countries in comparison with Latinas in the United States. Masculinity, anthropologist, Rafael Ramirez explains that though this is not the case, “some people [believe] that homosexuality is always a negation of masculinity.”26 Public discussions and performances in PRCC affiliated venues and events can attest to this. Emcee battles, for example, are avenues in which young men express themselves. One of the primary ways in which they express themselves, however, is by degrading each other’s expression of masculinity. It is the overarching centrality, impenetrability of male figures that needs to be disrupted without dehumanizing or devaluing members of the community and or nation.

“IF THAT’S NOT INDIVIDUALISTIC, I DON’T KNOW WHAT IS”27

To prove authenticity in the nation, to be written in, it is important to follow men’s example and leadership. In attempts to deviate from strictly male or female gender expression, for the nationalism as portrayed in La Voz and PRCC work, it is important to still ask permission of and answer to heterosexual definitions. It is important to note that Guzmán had found that sexiles left their nation because it failed to incorporate them in their national imaginary, into full unadultered citizenship.28 Puerto Rican independence leaders share similar frustrations with the United States and its negation of Puerto Ricans’ right to exercise self-determination. While in the United States, neither legislation nor emigration statehas has guaranteed more rights for Puerto Ricans, lgbtq Puerto Ricans suffer the same second-class citizenship in their limited representations. Tokenistic stories such as the transpageant coverage do not incorporate the complex history of the lgbtq leaders and community members in to the Puerto Rican national imaginary. The way the transpageant was covered relies on community members’ historic amnesia, as though Puerto Ricans have forgotten the ever-encapsulating heterosexism present in their communities, their nation, within greater understandings of Puerto Rican history. Albizu Campos used the universalistic idea of ‘la raza’ as a united race of Puerto Rican’s African, Taino and European ancestry. In universalizing he erases and negates the damage the initial construction of difference had done. Albizu Campos also negates the wealth within the difference of the complex background and influences within Puerto Rico and Puerto Rican’s cultural self-interpretation. His racialized universalism is very similar to the universalizing of community members, heterosexual and queer, which erases their historical ostracization of lgbtq individuals within a struggle that now ‘accepts’ and ‘embraces’ them. Recognition is important as is challenging heterosexism through affirming narratives.

Puerto Rican women and queer Boricuas remain on the sidelines as additives to a male centered male dominated nationalism. Such
exclusion and hierarchies reflect a bourgeois national project. The paradox of an essentialist performance of nationalism is an imitation of the imperialist project of U.S. nationalism which functions more like a tyranny. The grand narrative of PRCC male figures as leaders, visionaries and isolated messiahs of the work reflects the bootstrap ideology of rugged individualism that, as an organization, their discourse rejects. The contradiction of rugged individualism while using a discourse of collective action limits the possibilities of the organization. It discourages loyalty that seeks to strengthen the work through practicing the complexities and complications of collective processes. Narrating particular individuals as originators constructs a process of membership that lies at their discretion.

The negation of the cultural capital they have gained through education and longevity in the work, disregards the social power they possess. This, in turn, makes their authority absolute and unquestionable. Their prior impoverished identity becomes an unending victimhood that overshadows the implications of the longevity of their status within institutions like the PRCC. The unquestionable self-imposed martyrdom is ever present in public displays like murals. On a mural on a street half a mile north of Paseo Boricua, community members painted Pedro Albizu Campos as Christ. Such a depiction overlooks his Hispanophilia and melting pot racism, hiding it behind the iconic martyrdom of Christ. For some, Albizu Campos' political prisoner status eradicates his colorblind racism, masked by 'one race' ideology that mimics the United States' melting pot multiculturalism. His suffering immortalized him despite his intellectual elite approach to anti-colonialism, which attempted to strategically use nostalgia for Spain. This is a demonstration, on the part of Albizu Campos, of his own historical amnesia. That community members immortalized him without question also denotes a preference for historic amnesia when it justifies the moral capital in their performative, uncomplicated victimhood.

An anti-colonial subaltern nationalism, like Puerto Rico's, needs to challenge the documentation of a collective history that relies on historical amnesia. Using historical amnesia extends the silencing project of imperialist histories that have informed Puerto Rico's Spanish then United States' colonial status. In her text, *Queen of America Goes to Washington City*, Lauren Berlant explains, "democracies can...produce a special form of tyranny that makes citizens like children, infantilized, passive, and overdependent... based on the suppression of critical knowledge." The treatment of the citizen as a co-dependent, naïve malleable member, has led to the success of U.S. imperialism. A nationalist movement that aims to work against U.S. imperialism should work hard to not treat its members as immature, passive and overdependent.

In response to U.S. heterosexist frameworks, organizations like Queer Nation, a grassroots collective out of New York, performed queerness publicly to challenge the normalization of heterosexual practices and institutions. The organization's work queered the nation by breaking through borders which excluded them and regarding them as non-citizens. They addressed issues such as AIDS in their work, but challenging heteronormativity was not bound within diseased discourse. The organization's members had the intention of recognizing their significance in discussions of liberty and freedom. They insisted that they had the same rights to live in public, out of secrecy as did the nuclear family. Their efforts were an attempt to challenge their invisibility on their own terms. They did not seek consent, rather they demanded attention. Puerto Rican nationalism demands attention as well in a variety of respects. Imitating the progress of inclusion of U.S.'s dominant history, keeps Puerto Rican work stagnant. A Puerto Rican nationalism that relies on creating a power system similar to the one that excludes it, fails. The myth of PRCC's success is
grounded in the same essentialist masculine privileges that inform colonialism in the first place. Since disrupting boundaries remains a deconstructionist project, one has to consider the historical construction of nation-states and its implication in contemporary understandings of citizenship and nation-building, even in anti-colonial projects. Davila explains,

[The] distinction between nation and states can be traced to Herder’s eighteenth-century ideas of the “folk soul” in which nations are deemed to have a distinct essence rooted in history and tradition...the distinction...is important in order to study types of nationalism that identify with something other than a nation-state, such as those encapsulated within a greater state or constrained by a colonial relationship, as is the case of Puerto Rico.

The Puerto Rican ‘essence’ that the PRCC and La Voz try to promote is one rooted in self-determination, the knowledge that the discrimination, poverty, economic disparity Puerto Ricans in Chicago have experienced stems from how their racialization is informed by the colonial relationship Puerto Rico has with the U.S. as well as how that particular relationship constructed the economic and political conditions that required Puerto Ricans to emigrate to the mainland in the first place. Davila continues, “Cultural nationalism in Puerto Rico is a direct result of the limits imposed by colonialism...which led to the emphasis on culture as Puerto Rico’s [sovereign domain].” Davila also explains that nationalism is prompted as self-recognition as a culturally distinct nation through its representations of grassroots organizing, like the Young Lords, and Humboldt Park, especially in light of gentrification, is due to the fiestas patronales that have taken place in the park since inception.

The question of citizenship, of who is included in the national imaginary, remains gendered, raced, classed, much like the question of who has access to the right to be part of writing and constructing the definition of a Puerto Rican citizen. The act and process of writing a group of persons into the national imaginary also needs to be examined critically. Queer Nation’s work called out their exclusion by performing inclusion, something which they did not allow to be mediated by heterosexual privilege. If Puerto Ricans in Chicago follow that model in the process of addressing the other obstacles used to withhold rights from them, maybe their community building efforts could be more easily sustained. Maybe, if they practiced inclusion, the organization would have greater success in attracting and maintaining activists. Maybe inclusion, would break the current revolving door of active participants dedicating their energies to the PRCC.

NOTES
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/7445615.stm
2 Ibid 1.
4 Puerto Rico is comprised of various islands- Puerto Rico proper, Vieques, Mona, Desecheo and Culebra.
5 Mergal, Margarita “Puerto Rican Feminism at a Crossroad: Challenges at the Turn of the Century” Colonial Dilemma Critical Perspectives on Contemporary Puerto Rico, 135.
6 I am referring to Anglo-American racism against Puerto Ricans; racism within the community is another story.
7 Juan Antonio Corretjer worked with the Nationalist Party during Albizu Campos’ tenure. Poet, Secretary of Nationalist Party, he participated in various of their efforts and put his political ideas to verse as well as practice. http://www.patriagrande.net/puerto rico/juan.antonio.corretjer/biografia.htm
8 Humboldt Park is the park and district that currently has with the most visible Puerto Rican presence in Chicago. Part of that is the concentration of Puerto Rican businesses on Paseo Boricua where the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, among other organizations, is located. Paseo Boricua lies between the two iron wrought Puerto Rican flags. The contemporary correlation between Puerto Ricans and Humboldt Park, especially in light of gentrification, is due to the fiestas patronales that have taken place in the park since inception.
9 La Voz del Paseo Boricua March 2008 Vol. 5 No. 1.
14 Rodriguez, Marisol.
15 The announcement for the Jornada events was on a postcard mailed out in early March of 2008, which provided a list of anniversary events.
16 I pluralize nationalism because of the various other representations of grassroots organizing, like the Young Lords, who center their work as being led by and primarily serving men’s quest for power, not necessarily for change.
18 The Family Learning Center is a site where young mothers who did not finish their degrees can work to obtain their high school diploma; it also provides child care.
19 In Puerto Rican Nation on the Move, Duany makes the argument that Puerto Rico as a ‘nation’ is not defined by the borders and boundaries of the Puerto Rican Islands, that rather the nation is in constant movement. My use of ‘nation’ stems from that particular understanding. Duany, Jorge “Introduction” Puerto Rican Nation on the Move Identities on the Island and in the United States University of North Carolina Press, 2002: 1-11.
21 A transman is someone who identifies as a man, though he may not have been born biologically as a ‘man.’
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In an online conversation about with this project with a good friend of mine familiar with the PRCC, the person stated that the community building efforts of the leaders of this organization were an individualistic endeavor. Having been involved to a greater extent and for a longer period of time than me in PRCC activities, and having worked against the masculinist constructions of participation, this person eventually left the community.

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Davila 9.

Davila 10.


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