NONE OF THE ABOVE

PUERTO RICANS IN THE GLOBAL ERA

EDITED BY FRANCES NEGRÓN-MUNTANER
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CHAPTER 16

Will the “Real” Puerto Rican Culture Please Stand Up? Thoughts on Cultural Nationalism

Raquel Z. Rivera

Few polemists set out to prove that their ancestors invented blood sacrifice, the sexual double standard, or the ambush.

Sidney Mintz, Caribbean Transformations

Hay cultura establecida y cultura estableciéndose. [There is established culture and culture establishing itself.]

Vico C, Interview with Author

Few people will disagree that arroz con gandules is part of Puerto Rican culture, but few will agree that mangú or rape are also a part of it. Are reggaetón, hip-hop, and punk as much a part of Puerto Rican culture as danza, plena, and jíbaro music? Is boricua culture a selective agglomeration of our collective virtues or does it also include our worst vices? How do we deal with the fact that what looks like a “virtue” to one person can appear as a “vice” to another? The answers to these questions vary greatly as arguments regarding what Puerto Rican culture is have been (and are still) central to the most cohesive discourse of boricua community building, namely, cultural nationalism.

Regardless of one’s location, cultural nationalism has profoundly impacted the life of Puerto Ricans in the island as well as in the diaspora. Its twentieth- and twenty-first century–versions have operated as direct responses to U.S. colonialism. But despite its potentially apparent conceptual unity, cultural nationalism has been anything but a monolithic force and has been formulated from diverse quarters: popular culture, literature, the pro-independence movement, and the colonial government, among other sectors.
For independentistas, cultural nationalism has been intricately tied to the struggle for national sovereignty. The "defense" of Puerto Rican culture has been viewed by most independentistas as a means, as well as an end, of attaining political independence from the United States. According to this perspective, a vibrant national cultural identity will further the goal of independence, and, at the same time, the attainment of independence for the island will insure the preservation of a vibrant national culture. From this point of view, a strong and distinct Puerto Rican culture is theorized as inassimilable to U.S. culture.

Cultural nationalism has also been championed by sectors that do not favor independence, including the Puerto Rican government itself (in both its pro-statehood and pro-commonwealth manifestations). Incidentally, the local colonial government has at times been the most influential promoter of the dominant strand of cultural nationalism, with all its racist, classist, xenophobic, patriarchal, and homophobic shortcomings. In these cases where cultural nationalism is not linked to the project of political independence, the "defense" of Puerto Rican culture is an end unto itself and serves a multiplicity of interests and institutions.

The use of culture as a consensual mechanism has been the object of much critique over the last decade. As Carlos Pabón points out, pro-independence cultural nationalists have been guilty of defining Puerto Rican culture in highly problematic terms—which oftentimes can barely be differentiated from the positions of anti-independence cultural nationalists. However, as Luis Fernando Coss rightly retorts, it is also true that the pro-independence camp has been the driving force behind the scholarship dedicated to documenting workers’ and environmental struggles, the student and women’s movements, migration, and racism. Just like Puerto Rican culture is not homogenous or monolithic, neither is cultural nationalism—not even the brand of cultural nationalism coming from independentistas.

Despite their differences, a basic tenet of all cultural nationalists is “defending,” celebrating, or nourishing the national culture, a struggle that has most often been described as preserving and nurturing Puerto Rican customs and traditions—the “roots” of Puerto Rican culture. But how those roots are defined and defended, which roots are reclaimed, which roots are suppressed, and which roots are invented has varied greatly depending on the specific cultural nationalist discourse that has been deployed, and there has been little discussion about these important differences. In this chapter, I explore the various ways—often contradictory—in which Puerto Rican culture has been defined from within the ranks of cultural nationalism.

Cosa Nuestra de Barrio (Our Barrio Thing)

One of Puerto Rico’s better-known rappers, Vico C, proudly said in his 1993 hit “Base y fundamento”:

Yo no me paso copiando de los morenos, señor
Si todos saben que lo que yo tengo es mucho sabor
Hago su moda, pero es a mi estilo, tú ves
Por eso tengo navaja de doble filo, bebé.

[My music is not just a copy of that of African Americans
Everyone knows I've got plenty of flavor
I follow the trend they started, but I do it in my own style
That's why my blade is double-edged.]

Vico C's statement was undoubtedly a direct response to the frequent criticism directed by narrow-minded cultural nationalists—which were, and still are, numerous—toward rap music in the island: that it was a foreign product that local young people had mindlessly copied, a tool of U.S. imperialism that was corrupting the national culture. Vico rebuffed their charges by arguing that rap music had ceased to be “foreign” once he, and artists like him injected their local flavor and style into it.

In a song released shortly after “Base y fundamento,” another island-based rapper, Eddie Dee, tackled the same cultural nationalist criticisms, making reference to Vico’s song, but building a completely different argument.

Yo si copio de los morenos
Porque si no copio de ellos
De quién voy a copiar
¿De Tavín Pumarejo?

[I do copy African Americans
Because if I don’t copy them
Who am I going to copy?
Tavín Pumarejo?]

Instead of trying to assuage the cultural nationalists’ fears, Eddie confirmed them. However, he dismissed their accusations as unimportant. After all, he needed to draw musical inspiration from somewhere, and what had been officially defined as national culture—which he mockingly equated to the clownish jíbaro TV character made popular by Tavín Pumarejo—was certainly not providing it. The jíbaro imagery flaunted by the dominant strand of cultural nationalism as the epitome of Puerto Rican culture meant nothing to him. If being truly Puerto Rican is being like a jíbaro—meaning not urban and, at least in the case of the mythical jíbaro, white—then Eddie preferred to model himself and his music in the image of African Americans.

Cultural nationalism was undoubtedly an influence for all parties involved in this example. The criticisms aimed at rappers were based on an approach to cultural nationalism that branded locally-produced rap as foreign, inauthentic, impure—a threat to the “real” Puerto Rican culture. But Vico’s and Eddie’s rebuttals were also informed by a century-long legacy of cultural nationalism under U.S. colonialism.

The value that Vico placed on Puerto Rican cultural expression and his belief that a worthy musical product cannot be a mere mimicry of a “foreign” cultural expression, but must be reworked through local “style” and “flavor,”
is a product of cultural nationalism. So is the way in which he upheld in that song his working-class origins as an integral part of Puerto Rican culture, ("Tengo mi clase, mi base y fundamento.") Vico's lyrics are an example of how cultural nationalism has fostered the creation of a local youth and class-based musical expression in the form of rap, which draws linkages with similar social sectors outside the island's borders, but consciously building upon a local cultural foundation. There is pride in the local legacy, but also an openness to incorporating selected cultural influences from outside of the island's borders.

Ah...but then we have Eddie Dee who explains his preference for African American culture through his inability to identify with the mythical jíbaro figure, which certain strands of cultural nationalism have proclaimed as the ultimate symbol of Puerto Ricanness. This is an example of how cultural nationalism has promoted a mythology based on racial hierarchies that has led this young man to reject part of the cultural legacy of Puerto Ricans. By upholding that mythical white jíbaro imagery and marginalizing Puerto Rican blackness, cultural nationalism has led young Puerto Ricans like Eddie Dee to search for their blackness outside the realm of Puerto Ricanness. Blackness is indeed hard to recognize and celebrate when "we think of ourselves as Europeans, as indigenous people, anything but black," as bomba singer Nelie Lebrón Robles says.8

Twenty-something-year-old Iván Ferrer explains his musical career as being partly a search for himself as a black Puerto Rican. A former member of island-based hip-hop (rap) group Boricua Bomb Squad, he is currently part of the New York-based bomba group Alma Moyó. In his words:

Through hip hop, I was trying to connect to my blackness. But in order to connect to that blackness, I felt I couldn't fully connect to my Puerto Ricanness. Through bomba I feel like I can connect to both.9

Like Eddie Dee, Iván Ferrer also felt compelled to look outside the realm of narrowly defined "real" Puerto Ricanness for a vehicle of artistic expression that better allowed room for his experiences. Rap music's close identification with blackness, defined in terms of the African American experience, for years served the purpose for him. Years later, Ferrer found bomba music and dance to be an even more appropriate vehicle to fully explore his black Puerto Ricanness.

**Raíces (Roots)**10

Let's now consider bomba as another example. A musical and dance tradition that emerged among Africans and their descendants in Puerto Rico around the seventeenth century, its contemporary fate can serve to further illustrate the debates regarding the "real" and "authentic" expressions of Puerto Rican culture.

How would bomba be different today had the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña (Institute of Puerto Rican Culture) not taken it upon itself
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How would bomba be different today had the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña (Institute of Puerto Rican Culture) not taken it upon itself
distancing scheme . . . which renders them anachronistic and/or frozen in
time, and thus of little relevance to a world of rampant cultural change.”13

Though some bomba practitioners embrace the genre’s folklorization,
others are ambivalent or even outright opposed to it. For example, New
York-based band Yerbabuena is described in their website as follows:
“Yerbabuena is an important part of the struggle to develop and promote
identity through living Puerto Rican musical traditions such as bomba, plena
and música jíbaro. Yerbabuena reclaims the Puerto Rican music branded
‘folkloric,’ refusing to accept its packaging as frozen-in-time museum pieces,
only vaguely connected to contemporary culture. Instead, they make gor-
gorous music that incorporates past and present. Yerbabuena taps right into
the core of who we are.”14

Both folklorists and their critics are concerned with identifying, under-
standing, and nourishing the “roots” of bomba. But while some are most
interested in the preservation of the past (not that there is always consensus
on what things looked like then, or even exactly when and where “then” was)
others focus on the integration between past and present so that bomba is not
merely an attempt to recreate a tradition but an actual “living tradition.”

Throughout the 1990s and even to this day, various groups in Puerto
Rico—made up in large part by people in their twenties—have taken it upon
themselves to promote bombazos, in order to rescue the interactive element
that was neglected for so many years but is at the heart of bomba.15 Here, the
defense of the “roots” promoted by cultural nationalism injects greater
vibrancy to the bomba traditions being promoted by encouraging greater
audience participation.

Nevertheless, problems persist. Because wide, heavy, ankle-length skirts
were promoted for decades by the official definition of bomba as a requisite for
women dancers, some women today do not dance at bombazos unless the
“right” kind of skirt is available. In other words, bomba is not perceived as a
come-as-you-are affair, because you need a costume (inspired by nineteenth-
century plantation garb) in order to participate. Here is an example where cul-
tural nationalism’s attempts to rescue the roots and define authenticity freezes
the tradition in time and hampers spontaneity. In this case, the long skirt re-
quizzes in a society where most women are not wearing one at a given time kills
what should be one of the most important aspects of bomba—dancing your
heart out to the beat of the drums (figures 16.1, 16.2, and 16.3).


diasporicans

The appeal by the dominant strand of cultural nationalism to mythical roots
where our African heritage is marginalized has fostered and perpetuated
racial inequalities among Puerto Ricans.16 Ironically, it is also partly respon-
sible for rap and reggae’s vibrancy in Puerto Rico. Since racial pride and the
acknowledgment of contemporary urban realities was hindered by the jíbaro
mythology and the marginalizing of black culture, then young Puerto Ricans
longing to come to terms with their blackness sought cultural alliances with
African Americans, New York Puerto Ricans, and other people from the Caribbean.

And speaking of New York Ricans, cultural nationalism—despite its shortcomings—has proved key in the way in which buricuas have survived in the United States and made sense of their experiences. Though the Eurocentrism of the first generations caused friction between them and African Americans, the effect has decreased over time. As the second and third generations of Puerto Ricans in New York came up, influenced by their interactions with African Americans and the larger U.S. society, they largely spliced the Puerto Rican cultural nationalist discourses with the legacy of the civil rights and black power movements. Out of that history, hip hop culture and rap music developed in 1970s New York City, with the foundational participation of Puerto Ricans, African Americans, and West Indians.

U.S.-based hip-hop culture and African Americans have greatly influenced the racial, ethnic, and national consciousness of young Puerto Ricans in the last three decades, both in the United States and in Puerto Rico. Conversely, the racial, ethnic, and national identities of Puerto Ricans have left a deep imprint on U.S.-based hip-hop culture and African Americans.

New York Puerto Rican rap artists may have grown up away from the island, but cultural nationalism has still been a central influence in their lives.
The outcome has been internationally known New York Puerto Rican artists like Fat Joe (Joseph Cartagena) using Afrocentric Muslim religious and philosophical imagery in his songs, and at the same time choosing the image of a cockfight for his 1995 album’s front cover, and visibly participating in the movement to get the U.S. Navy out of Vieques.17 That is how we can have artists like Tony Touch, also known as the Taíno Turntable Terrorist, sampling Albizu Campos’s voice at the beginning of his commercially
successful album *The Piece Maker* and claiming a Taíno identity, and the late rap star Big Pun (Christopher Ríos) using a few lines from “La Borinqueña” in his hit song titled “100%.” Cultural nationalism also informs Hurricane G and La Bruja’s celebration of espiritismo and santería traditions as links to their peoples, roots, and ancestors.

These artists’ identities as Puerto Ricans, however, do not preclude them from also sharing with African Americans an ethno-racial and class-based identity as people of color living in the United States’ inner cities. And while many Puerto Ricans identify this way, others go a step further in breaching the most commonly held assumptions regarding the boundaries between African Americanness and Puerto Ricanness.

Don Divino, a Puerto Rican rapper who is currently affiliated with the very politicized African American duo Dead Prez and who used to be part of the Shanghai Assasin hip-hop group in Puerto Rico, identifies himself as a black person who shares a common blackness with African Americans. The same goes for hip-hop journalist Edward Rodríguez and dancer Rocafella
(Ana García-Dionisio). In their view, identifying as black, an identity category shared with African Americans, takes nothing away from their Puerto Ricanness.

Likewise, some African American hip-hop artists and enthusiasts talk of Puerto Ricans as “their people” or as fellow black people. Davey D, an African American DJ and writer who grew up in New York and has for years lived on the West Coast, says in an article discussing the ethno-racial dynamics within hip-hop:

> Offentimes when people from NY say Black they were automatically including Puerto Rican. For the most part there are many Puerto Ricans who aside from the language looked Black as far as the mainstream was concerned. The relationship between the two groups has always been tight. Hence when Hip Hop first emerged it naturally included our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters who participated on all levels. Historically speaking that relationship had always been tight because of our shared drum based culture. It wasn’t coincidental that you had a Puerto Rican brother, Felipe Luciano who was down with the original Last Poets. NY is such that Blacks and Puerto Ricans find they have each other in their family.

M-1 and Sticman of Dead Prez put it the following way in an interview with *In the House Magazine*: “The people of Puerto Rico are African descendants, in the same way that the so-called slaves that they brought to [the United States of] America. That’s why we understand we are the same people and we are happy to see our brothers representin’ themselves.”

The most common versions of cultural nationalism, both among Puerto Ricans and among African Americans, usually do not envision African American and Puerto Rican identities as intersecting. But since culture and identity are not circumscribed to assumptions about what should be, in practice these identity categories do intersect. They have historically fed off of each other and continue to do so.

Of course, once again we go back to the effects of this legacy of cultural nationalism often pulling in different directions. While cultural nationalism has made it possible for U.S.-raised Puerto Ricans who participate in hip-hop art forms not to be ashamed of the legacy and history of their ethnic community, the racist streaks in certain approaches to cultural nationalism are partly responsible for many of the unnecessary and debilitating frictions existing between African Americans and Puerto Rican hip hop enthusiasts.

**Us and Them**

> Lo importante para el nacionalismo es la creación de un “nosotros” que pueda oponerse a un otro, un reverso negativo, de cuyo repudio dependa la afirmación de la identidad nacional.
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THEM

[What is important for nationalism is
the creation of a “we” that can stand
in opposition to an other, a negative reverse,
so that through rejection national
identity can be affirmed.]
Carlos Pabón, “De Alto a a Madonna.”23

Track 20 of Sietenueve’s debut album El progreso (2003) is called “Jíbaro-jop.”24 It starts with the first few notes of a danza that comes to a jarring stop with a record needle scratch. A few more introductory bars fea-
turing strings and a flute interspersed with the characteristic sound of the coqui and a gravely voice singing a barely melodic “le lo lai le lo la la” are cut off by a sound reminiscent of machine gun fire. The song’s chorus comes in:

Es claro soy de campo
Un jíbaro de lejos
Pero está bien jodío
Si te crees que soy pendeño
Sietenuve, EA Flow
Las dos ceibas musicales
Comenzó la revolución de jíbaros reales.

[Clearly, I’m from the countryside
A jíbaro from far away
But you’re really mistaken
If you think I’m a fool
Sietenuve, EA Flow
The two musical ceibas
The revolution of real jíbaros has begun.]

In the first verse, EA Flow reminisces about growing up in the Caguas countryside. He celebrates the linguistic peculiarities of the area and constructs rich metaphors from images of the landscape and neighborhood residents. The chorus then comes in once again. The second verse is Sietenuve’s turn to shine:

Al yankee no me arrodillo
Ni le he rendido respeto
Si aquel Domingo de Ramos
No me lo saco del pecho
Y no es cuestión de racismo
Pero yo dao no me quedo
Si doy el tajo al racismo
Y después el fruto no veo.

[I don’t kneel in front of the Yankee
I’ve never given him respect
Because I can’t tear from my heart
That Palm Sunday
It’s not a question of racism
But if you hit me, I’ll hit you back

[Get out of my way, I’m not a Puerto Rican
If you think I’m going to kiss you
That’s a joke, you’ll never hear my mother’s voice
Just because you think you’re better than me
I’m not going to give you my respect
Or you’ll find me in the streets of Caguas
Yankees, back off from my land
Or you’ll find me in the streets of Caguas
Here’s a question: what do you want from me?]

[Out of my way, I’m not a Puerto Rican
If you think I’m going to kiss you
That’s a joke, you’ll never hear my mother’s voice
Just because you think you’re better than me
I’m not going to give you my respect
Or you’ll find me in the streets of Caguas
Yankees, back off from my land
Or you’ll find me in the streets of Caguas
Here’s a question: what do you want from me?

Sietenuve]
If I cut down the fruit
But then its taken away.]

At this point in the song, it is clear that both Puerto Rico-based artists are proponents of cultural nationalism and pro-independence politics. We may think we know more or less where the song may be heading, until a few verses later when Sieteneuve proudly announces,

Que un cibaeño aguzao en esto no come cuento
Coño, despierta boricua, a construir nuestro sueño
¿Porqué juzgar al vecino?
Si el que nos da de comer echa en mi patio el veneno.

[This quick-witted man from El Cibao won’t hesitate
Damn it, wake up Boricua, let’s build our dream
Why judge the neighbor?
If the one feeding us is spilling poison in my backyard.]

A Puerto Rican-born child of Dominican parents thus highlights his commitment to Puerto Rican national liberation by boasting that he is a cibaeño aguzao—a sharp-witted man from El Cibao, Dominican Republic. Considering the rampant discrimination and ill feelings existing toward Dominicans in Puerto Rico, it is doubly significant that Sieteneuve actually opts for flaunting his Dominicaness. To add even more complexity to the matter, Sieteneuve is not explaining that he is Puerto Rican, though his parents are Dominican. He is proudly celebrating that he is Puerto Rican and Dominican—not any less of one, because he is also the other. Hundred percent jibaro real. Hundred percent cibaeño aguzao.

The song concludes with lighthearted banter from both artists. Sieteneuve dedicates the song to all the “jibaritos y jibaritas y los cibaeños aguzaos,” and he proceeds to commend the latter for knowing how to appreciate “un buen plátano” (plantains) “con mantequilla, sucebollitas, queso frito, salami . . .” (with butter, onions, fried cheese, and salami . . .). We can imagine Sieteneuve savoring as his voice trails off with sweet recent memories of his mangú-filled gastronomic reality as a jibaro real/cibaeño aguzao in his “Borinquita bella.”

Dominicans frequently find themselves placed by Puerto Ricans in the “them” category, but not always, as the song by Sieteneuve and EA Flow shows.25 For these young cultural nationalists, “us” and “them” can in this case be transformed into a loving and combative “us,” an “us” unafraid to explore differences but, more than anything, interested in establishing commonalties and solidarities. This tendency is not only to be found in Puerto Rico; it is also flourishing in New York.

**Borinquen and Quisqueya on the Hudson**

During the last four years, there has been a renewed interest among young New York Puerto Ricans in bomba, very much premised upon cultural
nationalism’s championing of our roots. But breaking with the stifling assumptions of the dominant approaches to cultural nationalism, New York *bomberos* have cultivated close musical and personal relationships with Dominican *paleros*, whose music is often featured at *bomba* events and vice versa.

An event in 2002 in honor of deceased Dominican traditional musician and dancer Santiago “Chago” Villanueva—tragically murdered that same year by New Jersey police officers while he suffered an epileptic seizure—featured *palos* and *salves* by Pa’ 1o Monte, Palo Mayor, and La 21 División, and concluded with a *bomba* set by Yerbabuena. These groups have (or have had at one point or another) members of the *other* ethnicity. The presence of Dominican *paleros* at the Rincón Criollo (also known as La Casita de Chema) in the Bronx has come to be regularly expected, either to play *palos* during *bombazos* or to participate in the *bomba* jam. Likewise, Dominican *paleros* are often featured at the Julia de Burgos Cultural Center and Carlito’s Café in El Barrio at events organized by Puerto Ricans and where Puerto Rican music tends to be the main attraction.

In order to celebrate *bomba*, Dominican musicians or Dominican music need not be excluded from the mix. On the contrary, through their close musical interaction, Puerto Rican and Dominican musicians have begun to honor the similarities between the traditions. *Palos* songs to Candeló intimately connect with the sensibilities of Puerto Rican *espiritistas*. Singers and composers explore through their creative output the possible existing links between Anaíz in Puerto Rico and the spirit called Anaíza in the Dominican Republic. Drummers study the striking resemblances between the rhythmic patterns of the drum known as *catalán* in Dominican *gagá* and certain variations of the *bolondre* rhythm in Puerto Rican *bomba*. Nearly half of *bomba* group Alma Moya’s members are Dominican; the same is true of the all-women’s musical collective Yaya—of which I am a member—dedicated to both *bomba* and Dominican *salves*.

In July 2003, one of the musicians that shined the most at master *bomba* drummer Tito Cepeda’s homage at The Point community center in the Bronx was a 23-year-old woman named Manuela Arciniegas. A blossoming *primo* (lead drum) player and a student of Cepeda, it was the first time that many of the masters present had seen her play. Those present emotively celebrated her accomplishments and progress with affection and pride. More experienced drummers such as Camilo Molina-Gaetán (a 13-year-old virtuoso) and Obanílú Allende (another young master drummer, 21 years old) stepped away from the *primo* so that she could play. They both danced for her, challenging and also encouraging her with their looks and gestures. Out of all the women present—very few of whom can play drums—Manuela was the only one bestowed the honor of playing the *primo*. She is also a Dominican woman raised in the Bronx.

National identity and traditions are sometimes celebrated by both New York Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, but without neglecting the connections (historical, present, and potentially future) among Caribbean nations.
WILL THE “REAL” PUERTO RICAN CULTURE PLEASE STAND UP?

Cultural nationalism has been often formulated from perspectives that promote inequality, repress creative expression, and do not contribute to the formation of a more just, fun, diverse, and fulfilling society. But that does not mean that the proverbial baby needs to be thrown out with the bath water. As long as U.S. colonialism exists and as long as Puerto Ricans identify as Puerto Ricans, cultural nationalism can potentially serve as a valuable means and ends.

I am all for cultural nationalism’s defense of Puerto Rican traditions and roots as long as the past is viewed with a critical perspective and not a delusional nostalgia. As long as patriarchy, class exploitation, racism, xenophobia, and homophobia do not keep being reproduced. As long as we acknowledge that contemporary culture is what it is, not what we would like it to be. As long as we recognize that culture is not static and that in order to grow and respond to a community’s needs, it changes continually. And I am all for celebrating our Puerto Rican “roots” as long as we accept that there has not been, there is not, and there will never be a homogenous Puerto Rican culture.

National identity and the diverse expressions of Puerto Rican culture are what they are, regardless of our opinions or approval. That does not mean that we cannot argue for or against a certain existing aspect of Puerto Rican culture (whether a long-standing tradition or a recent addition). What does not make sense is arguing that because we do not approve of it, a certain phenomenon is not part of the “real” Puerto Rican culture—which, unfortunately, has been a frequent strategy deployed by cultural nationalists. Sexism and homophobia are long-standing traditions within Puerto Rican culture. Just because they are traditional and our forebears practiced them does not mean that they are venerable or that we need to follow them.

“If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences,” said W.I. Thomas. True indeed. Puerto Rican culture, like any other national culture, may be a social construction, but it is also absolutely real. And it is a contested terrain in perpetual flux.

NOTES

3. The pro-independence movement has also included proponents who are not nationalists, but internationalists. Examples include the Socialist Party of the early twentieth century and the contemporary Taller de Formación Política.

7. "Cosa nuestra de barrio" is the title of a song by Vico C.


10. *Rasies* is the title of a 2001 Banco Popular documentary dedicated to the two Puerto Rican musical genres most closely related to Afro-Boricua traditions: *bomba* and *plena*.


