Sixty-fourth Congress of the United States of America:

At the Second Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the fourth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and sixteen.

AN ACT

To provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That

States of America in Congress assembled, That the laws of the United States, and waters of the United States, and the laws in this Act shall be held applicable to the island of Porto Rico and to the adjacent islands as above mentioned.

Sect. 2. That no law shall be made whereby any person of life, liberty, or property shall be taken away from any person therein the equal.

That in all criminal cases the assistance of counsel for his defense shall be provided, and the accused shall be confronted with the witnesses against him, and shall be permitted to obtain witnesses in his favor.

That no person shall be held to answer in the process of any court; and no person for the sake of punishment, nor shall be compelled to admit himself.

That all persons shall before conviction be held by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses when the proof is strong or the presumption great.
PROGRAM

Thursday, October 15, 2015

6:00pm - 6:15pm
Opening and Welcome

6:15pm - 7:15pm
Keynote address
To Be or Not To Be: Puerto Ricans and Their Illusory U.S. Citizenship
Hon. Juan R. Torruella, U.S. Court of Appeals

7:30pm
Reception
Friday, October 16, 2015

8:30am - 9:00am
Breakfast

9:00am - 9:30am
Introductory remarks
Mapping the Legal Debates over the 1917 Jones Act Citizenship
Charles Venator-Santiago, University of Connecticut

9:30am - 11:15am
Plenary presentations (Panel A)

11:30am - 12:45pm
Concurrent presentations (Panels B & C)

12:45pm-1:30pm
Lunch

1:30pm - 2:15pm
Keynote address
The Unresolved Constitutional Issues of Puerto Rican Citizenship
Rogers Smith, University of Pennsylvania

2:30pm - 4:30pm
Concurrent presentations (Panels D, E & F)

4:30pm - 6:00pm
Closing reception
Panels
Friday, October 16, 2015

Introductory Remarks - 9:00am, Location: Auditorium
Mapping the Legal Debates Over the 1917 Jones Act Citizenship
Charles Venator-Santiago, University of Connecticut

Panel A - 9:30am - 11:15am, Location: Auditorium
Citizenship in U.S. Territories: Constitutional Right or Congressional Privilege?
Neil Weare, We The People Project

The Jones Act of 1917 and the Puerto Rican Immigrant Exception, 1917-1948
Charles Venator-Santiago, University of Connecticut

Citizenship and Equality in an Age of Diversity: Reflections on Balzac and the Indian Civil Rights Act
Sanford Levinson, University of Texas

Discussant: Christina Duffy Ponsa, Columbia University

Panel B - 11:30am - 12:45pm, Location: Auditorium
Puerto Ricans and U.S. Citizenship in 1917: The Imperatives of Security
Bartholomew Sparrow and Jennifer Lamm, University of Texas

Silvia Álvarez Curbelo, University of Puerto Rico

Santiago Iglesias, U.S. Citizenship, and Universal Manhood Suffrage in Puerto Rico
Sam Erman, University of Southern California

Discussant: Sheila I. Vélez Martínez, University of Pittsburgh

Panel C - 11:30am - 12:45pm, Location: SB327
Meanings and Uses of U.S. Citizenship for Puerto Ricans in the United States
Lorrin Thomas, Rutgers University

Dual Consciousness about Law and Justice: The Battle for Puerto Ricans’ U.S. Citizenship in Hawai‘i
Susan K. Serrano, University of Hawai‘i

“They are still aliens without knowing it:” Puerto Rican U.S. Citizenship Ambiguities and the Nationality Act of 1940
Daniel Acosta Elkan, Bowling Green State University

Discussant: José E. Cruz, University at Albany (SUNY)
Keynote address - 1:30pm - 2:15pm, Location: Auditorium
The Unresolved Constitutional Issues of Puerto Rican Citizenship
Rogers Smith, University of Pennsylvania

Panel D - 2:30pm - 4:30pm, Location: SB327
Citizen, Racialization and Empire
Pedro Cabán, University at Albany (SUNY)

Citizenship and Race under the Jones Act:
Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands
Luis Galanes-Valdéjuli, Universidad de Puerto Rico
Jorge Capetillo-Ponce, University of Massachusetts

The Foraker Act, Albert Beveridge, and the Rhetoric of Americanity
Darrel Wanzer-Serrano, University of Iowa

Limitations of the Jones Act: Racialized Citizenship & Territorial Status
Nelson Torres-Ríos, Hostos Community College (CUNY)

Panel E - 2:30pm - 4:30pm, Location: Auditorium
“We Like Mexicans Laborers Better:”
Citizenship and Immigration Policies in the Formation of Puerto Rican Migrant Farm Labor in the United States
Ismael García-Colón, College of Staten Island (CUNY)

Colonialism, Citizenship, and Migration:
Puerto Ricans and the United States”
Edgardo Meléndez, Hunter College (CUNY)

Puerto Ricans: Citizens and Migrants – A Cautionary Tale
Carlos Vargas-Ramos, Hunter College (CUNY)

Panel F - 2:30pm - 4:30pm, Location: SB326
WWI and the Jones Act: The Links Between the Great War and U.S. Citizenship for the People of Porto Rico in 1917
Harry Franqui-Rivera, Hunter College (CUNY)

Teresita Levy, Lehman College (CUNY)

The Breakdown of Party Politics and the Challenges of Colonial Citizenship: The Fracturing Coalition, the Nationalist, and the Liberal Party, 1932-1940
Geoff Burrows, Seton Hall University
Panelist Presentations and Profiles

Daniel Acosta Elkan  
Bowling Green University

Silvia Álvarez Curbelo  
University of Puerto Rico

Geoff Burrows  
Seton Hall University

Pedro Cabán  
University at Albany, SUNY

Samuel Erman  
University of Southern California

Harry Franqui-Rivera  
Hunter College, CUNY

Luis Galanes-Valdejuli  
University of Puerto Rico

Jorge Capetillo-Ponce  
University of Massachusetts

Ismael García-Colón  
College of Staten Island, CUNY

Sanford Levinson  
University of Texas

Teresita Levy  
Lehman College, CUNY

Edgardo Meléndez  
Hunter College, CUNY

Susan K. Serrano  
University of Hawai‘i

Rogers Smith  
University of Pennsylvania

Bartholomew Sparrow  
University of Texas

Lorrin Thomas  
Rutgers University

Nelson Torres-Ríos  
Hostos Community College, CUNY

Juan R. Torruella  
First Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals

Carlos Vargas-Ramos  
Hunter College, CUNY

Charles Venator-Santiago  
University of Connecticut

Darrel Wanzer-Serrano  
University of Iowa

Neil Weare  
We The People Project

Discussant Profiles

José E. Cruz  
University at Albany, SUNY

Christina Duffy Ponsa  
Columbia University

Sheila I. Vélez Martínez  
University of Pittsburgh
“…They are still aliens without knowing it”:  
Puerto Rican U.S. Citizenship Ambiguities and the  
Nationality Act of 1940  
Daniel Acosta Elkan

A number of cases reveal that Puerto Ricans with fathers holding foreign citizenship were, as of 1939, considered not to have received U.S. citizenship under the Jones Act and related laws unless they took action to achieve it. This paper will focus on the question of formal, legal citizenship for *boricuas* during this period, as well as the narratives of incomplete belonging that arose from the debate around reforms proposed by Congressman Vito Marcantonio. This 1939 bill would have granted birthright citizenship to all Puerto Ricans born “under the American flag,” regardless of parentage. The paper will be grounded in both the legislative record surrounding Marcantonio’s proposal and the Nationality Act, as well as a number of cases that show the various contours of citizenship exclusion. The paper will provide a sense of why the Nationality Act came into being, what aspects of Puerto Rican citizenship irregularities it corrected, and what new issues it brought about for those *boricuas* wishing to live outside of United States territory in the wartime context.

Daniel Acosta Elkan is a PhD candidate in American Culture Studies at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. His dissertation project, “The Colonia Next Door: Puerto Ricans in the Harlem Community, 1917–1948,” places El Barrio in the context of the various racial and ethnic communities in Harlem and considers the ways in which activism took place in the spaces between these groups. The project is centrally interested in how “citizenship,” broadly conceived, was or was not a part of this discourse and activism, as well as the ways in which post-WWII decolonization efforts affected barrio-organizing efforts. Elkan currently resides in the Bay Area of California, and has taught classes in American Culture Studies, Ethnic Studies, and History.

Silvia Álvarez Curbelo

La militarización de la ciudadanía: Opinión pública, guerra y ciudadanía en Puerto Rico (1916-1918)

La aprobación del Acta Jones, que extendió en 1917 -con ciertas acepciones y limitaciones- la ciudadanía de Estados Unidos a los puertorriqueños, es susceptible de abordajes diversos que enfatizan o bien en el guion político criollo, las urgencias geopolíticas, los rumbos del capital en la agroindustria de la isla, o en la aceptación -no exenta de disensos y ansiedades por parte de Estados Unidos- de su rol imperial, entre otros. Otra capa de complejidad se ilumina con la intervención de Estados Unidos en la Primera Guerra Mundial al confirmar, por un lado, la importancia de la isla como baluarte estratégico y, por el otro, la incorporación masiva de los soldados isleños en la llamada a las armas. A partir de la premisa general de que la figura de la guerra contornea la historia de Puerto Rico durante el siglo 20, mi ponencia presta atención al proceso de articulación de opinión pública que se escenifica en la prensa puertorriqueña en torno al Acta Jones. Destaco cómo el tema de la ciudadanía se enmarca en el cuadrante de la militarización que, lejos de servir de factor disonante, alienta –con excepciones que habremos de considerar- la aceptación mayoritaria de la ciudadanía. Desde los tópicos del tributo de sangre colonial, la lucha por la civilización frente a la barbarie y el arrojo y la galanura militar, presentes en el discurso público y en los archivos de la memoria desde al menos los años postreros del siglo 18 y que se reaniman a lo largo del siglo 20, los principales periódicos del país conformarán un discurso de ciudadanía heroica, mitigadora de las desigualdades, prejuicios y ambigüedades que, tanto el estatuto Jones como las nuevas rutinas, materialidades y dependencias post 1898, comportan para los puertorriqueños.

Silvia Álvarez Curbelo is Professor of Communications at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus. She is a historian and is a founding member of the Asociación Puertorriqueña de Historiadores (Puerto Rican Association of Historians). She is curator of the Entresiglos, Puerto Rico 1890-1910 exhibition, and the permanent exhibition of the history of San Juan, Puerto Rico, at the Museo de San Juan (San Juan Museum). She is currently director of the Centro de Investigaciones en Comunicación (Center for Communications Research) at the University of Puerto Rico. In 2004-2005, she was the Wilbur Marvin Fellow at Harvard University’s David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies. Among her publications are: Senado de Puerto Rico, Ensayos de historia institucional, 1917-1992 (1992); Del nacionalismo al populismo (1993); Historias vivas: historiografía puertorriqueña contemporánea (1996); Ilusión de Francia: Arquitectura y afrancesamiento en Puerto Rico (1997); Hispanofilia: Arquitectura y vida en Puerto Rico 1900-1950 (1998); Los arcos de la memoria: el ’98 de los pueblos puertorriqueños (1999), Ética y retórica en la comunicación política (2001), Un país del porvenir: el discurso de la modernidad en Puerto Rico (Siglo XIX) (2001), Comunicación, Ciudadanía y Democracia (2004) y Frente a la Torre: Ensayos del centenario de la Universidad de Puerto Rico (2005).
The Breakdown of Party Politics and the Challenges of Colonial Citizenship: The Fracturing of the Coalition, the Nationalists, and the Liberal Party, 1932-1940
Geoff Burrows

This paper argues that the inability of existing political structures—local or federal—to provide timely and lasting relief from the twin forces of hurricanes and economic depression had serious consequences for each of the four major political parties operating on the island. To demonstrate the breakdown of party politics, this paper will consider the electoral success of the pro-statehood coalition in the 1932 and 1936 elections; the rise and decline of a revolutionary wing of the Nationalist Party led by Pedro Albizu Campos; and the breakup of the Liberal Party during the debate that consumed island politics following the assassination of Police Commissioner Francis E. Riggs and the introduction of the Tydings Bill in 1936, and the Ponce Massacre in 1937. Taken together, the collapse of the coalition, the Nationalist Party, and the Liberal Party during the 1930s had significant effects on participatory democracy on the island. In addition to altering local political alliances, this breakdown facilitated both the rise of the New Deal in Puerto Rico (the PRERA and PRRA) and the eventual electoral success of the populist-minded Popular Democratic Party—which not only won the 1940 elections, but also dominated Puerto Rican politics through the 1960s. As the tumultuous times of the 1930s reveal, the colonial status of U.S. citizenship in Puerto Rico is marked by challenges and limits not experienced by other U.S. citizens.

Geoff Burrows is a scholar of transnational U.S. history who focuses on the exchange of ideas, policies, and people between the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean. He holds a PhD in History from the CUNY Graduate Center and is currently working on a book based on his dissertation, The New Deal in Puerto Rico: Public Works, Public Health, and the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, 1935–1955. Based on original research at the National Archives and Research Administration, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Archivo General de Puerto Rico, and the Fundación Luis Muñoz Marín, it is both a story of how the New Deal helped configure Puerto Rico’s rapid transformation from an agricultural to an industrial society between the 1930s and 1950s, and part of a larger—and largely untold—story of Puerto Rican participation in the New Deal and World War II. A longtime resident of New York City, he lives in New Jersey with his wife, Vanessa, and daughters, Charlotte and Ysela.
Citizenship, Racialization, and Empire
Pedro Cabán

In this paper I will discuss legal discourses, records of court proceedings, and influential academic treatises that preceded the adoption of the Jones Act in 1917 in which Puerto Ricans were increasingly defined as a distinct alien race among a group of other inferior “alien races.” In the aftermath of the War of 1898, Puerto Ricans were initially cast as distinguishable from the larger population of subjugated racialized people who were considered genetically deficient. Puerto Ricans were not constructed as a colonial subject that was inherently and genetically incapable of understanding and exercising the privileges of U.S. citizenship. The subordination of Puerto Ricans as colonial subjects was justified because of their presumed cultural deficiencies or their foreign racial hybridity, both of which impeded their ability to comprehend Anglo-Saxon principles and values. These deficiencies in the Puerto Rican colonial subject justified denying them equality under the prevailing legal construction of citizenship.

Pedro Cabán is Professor and Chairperson of the Department of Latin American, Caribbean, and U.S. Latino Studies at the University at Albany, SUNY. Cabán specializes in the development of race and ethnic studies as academic disciplines, racial formations and U.S. political development, and the political economy of U.S.-Puerto Rico relations. He has directed Latino studies departments and programs at Fordham, Cornell, Rutgers, and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He also served as Vice Provost for Diversity and Equity at SUNY System administration. He is the author of Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898-1932, and has published dozens of articles, book chapters, and review essays. A past president of the Puerto Rican Studies Association, he has also served as associate editor of the interdisciplinary journal Latino Studies; senior editor of the Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States; and consultant and author for The Latino Experience in U.S. History. He is the recipient of Ford Foundation doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships.
This paper explores the Iglesias’s role in the substance and passage of the Jones Act. Iglesias was a steadfast advocate of U.S. citizenship from before U.S. annexation until the end of his life. Naturalization, he argued, would bring islanders benevolent U.S. protection from colonial officials on the island and their superiors in the Bureau of Insular Affairs in Washington. When looming U.S. entry into World War I made ungenerous treatment of Puerto Ricans into a military liability, Iglesias and the American Federation of Labor appeared on the brink of securing collective naturalization. But then colonial officials added a disfranchisement provision, which caused Iglesias and the Federation to begin a furious lobbying campaign.

Sam Erman is Assistant Professor of Law at USC. A scholar of law and history, his research interests include citizenship, territorial status, constitutional change, antidiscrimination law, racial construction, historical memory, and administrative and popular constitutionalism. His current book project, *Citizenship Ends: Puerto Rico and the Constitution in an Age of Empire*, places three remarkable Puerto Ricans’ efforts to win U.S. citizenship at the center of a new historical narrative that treats the final unraveling of Reconstruction and the start of empire as a single story.
That Puerto Ricans became American citizens in 1917 has been attributed by many to the need for soldiers as the U.S. entered the First World War. Such belief has been enshrined in Puerto Rican national mythology. Reducing the issue of citizenship to a need for manpower for the military only obscures complex imperial-colonial relations built upon racial structures of power. The need for soldiers was unrelated to the granting of citizenship in 1917. I place the decision to extend U.S. citizenship to the people of Puerto Rico within domestic, national, and international politics to frame the passing and meaning of the Jones Act for the Wilson administration and local leaders in Puerto Rico within the context of the war. Moreover, local leaders understood the value of military service as an enfranchisement and bargaining tool in view of Wilson’s new diplomacy, which, among other things, promised self-determination. Puerto Rican elected officials, political figures and the local press equaled collective military service with collective citizenship seeking to advance their respective political goals.

**Harry Franqui-Rivera** is a historian and researcher at Centro, the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College, CUNY. His recent work includes “A New Day Has Dawned for Porto Rico’s Jibaro”: “Manhood, Race, Military Service, and Self-Government during WWI”; “National Mythologies: U.S. Citizenship for the People of Puerto Rico and Military Service”; and “Puerto Rican Veterans and Service Members’ Wellbeing and Place within the Diaspora.” He has a forthcoming book, *Fighting for the Nation: Military Service and Modern Puerto Rican National Identities*, University of Nebraska Press. He specializes in 19th and 20th century Puerto Rican, Caribbean, Latino, and Latin American History. He addresses issues of race, gender, and identity within imperial-colonial relations, nation-building projects, the creation of national identities, and the impact of military institutions in society, culture, and politics.
Citizenship and Race under the Jones Act: Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands
Luis Galanes-Valldejuli and Jorge Capetillo-Ponce

The Jones Act is usually defined as the act through which citizenship was granted to Puerto Ricans. What is usually not mentioned is the fact that the signing of the Jones Act (March 2, 1917) coincided in time with the U.S. taking possession of the nearby U.S. Virgin Islands (March 31, 1917)—who were in time also granted citizenship ten years later, in 1927. The ambiance of political uncertainty existent in the two territories, provoked by the ambivalent language the Jones Act of 1917 and the Congress Act of 1917 employed in their definitions of “citizenship,” will provide fertile ground for the emergence of multiple narratives of citizenship and debates over the “civic” and “cultural” competence of their inhabitants for full incorporation. Drawing on Aihwa Ong’s work, we will argue that the citizenship that was granted to Puerto Ricans and Virgin Islanders in 1917 and 1927, respectively, was a “blackened citizenship.”

Luis Galanes is Professor of anthropology at the University of Puerto Rico at Cayey. He is also Co-Director of the University of Massachusetts Boston-University of Puerto Rico at Cayey (UMASS-UPRC) Caribbean Institute. His theoretical interests have centered on highlighting the complexity of local discourses about identity, nationalism and nativism, as they emerge at the intersections between race, gender, colonialism and tourism. At a geographical level, his research has mainly centered on the area of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, both US and British. His latest publications include “Are We There Yet?: The Tension between Nativism and Humanism in Fanon’s Writing” (2007); “Del Pacífico al Caribe: apuntes sobre la diversidad cultural y las prácticas escriturales centroamericanas” (2008); “Immigration and Identity in the U.S. Virgin Islands” (2014, with Jorge Capetillo); “The Undecided Hero: Reflections on status plebiscites and constitutional conventions in two US possessions in the Caribbean, Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands” (2015, with Jorge Capetillo); Malinchismo and Misogyny in Fanon’s Black Skin, White Mask: Reading Fanon from the Hispanic Caribbean (2015).

Jorge Capetillo-Ponce is Associate Professor of Sociology and Research Associate at the Mauricio Gaston Institute for Latino Community Development at University of Massachusetts at Boston. He is also Co-Director of the University of Massachusetts Boston-University of Puerto Rico at Cayey (UMASS-UPRC) Caribbean Institute. Professor Capetillo-Ponce finished his doctoral studies in Sociology at The New School for Social Research in New York City. Before joining UMass Boston in September of 2002, Dr. Capetillo-Ponce worked as Executive Director of the Mexican Cultural Institute of New York City and as advisor to Latino grassroots organizations in New York City. He publishes on issues as race and ethnic relations, immigration, media, and US-Latin America and Caribbean relations. Dr. Capetillo-Ponce is the editor of the books Images of Mexico in the U.S. News Media and Migrant Marginality: A Transnational Perspective (with Glenn Jacobs and Philip Kretsedemas); and author of several books and articles on these issues, including Deciphering the Labyrinth: The Influence of Georg Simmel on the Sociology of Octavio Paz; Foucault, Marxism, and the Cuban Revolution.
“We Like Mexican Laborers Better”: Citizenship and Immigration Policies in the Formation of Puerto Rican Migrant Farm Labor in the United States
Ismael García-Colón

This paper examines the role of the U.S. Federal Government in shaping Puerto Rican migration to U.S. farms. I argue that colonialism, immigration policies, and U.S. agrarian labor regimes define the citizenship of Puerto Rican farmworkers in relation to the immigration policies of guestwork. The Jones Act created in practice an ambiguous status for Puerto Rican migrants by granting U.S. citizenship to colonial subjects in a time when citizenship still meant being White and Anglophone. In addition, the importation of Mexican braceros beginning in the First World War tended to shape people’s perceptions of farmworkers as “foreign.” Puerto Ricans were and are constantly asked, challenged, and suspected by mainstream society of being “illegal aliens.” These perceptions had a lasting effect through the World War II, the H-2 Program, and apple growers’ resistance to the use of Puerto Rican workers during the 1970s. The study of the formation of the Puerto Rican farm labor force offers a unique opportunity to explore how U.S. colonialism, the political economy of agriculture, and low-wage labor are related to projects of citizenship and immigration.

Ismael García-Colón is Associate Professor of anthropology at The CUNY Graduate Center and the College of Staten Island, CUNY. He is a historical and political anthropologist with interests in political economy, oral history, migration, and Caribbean, Latin American and Latina/o studies. He is the author of Land Reform in Puerto Rico: Modernizing the Colonial State, 1941-1969 (University Press of Florida, 2009). His work has also appeared in Latin American Perspectives, CENTRO Journal, and Latino Studies. His research explores how development policies formed and transformed modern subjectivities in Puerto Rico during the mid-20th century. He is currently writing a book on the Puerto Rican experience in U.S. farm labor and its relation to the formation of the colonial state in Puerto Rico, the political economy of agriculture, and the discourses and practices of immigration.
Citizenship and Equality in an Age of Diversity: Reflections on Balzac and the Indian Civil Rights Act
Sanford Levinson

The Jones Act raises interesting theoretical questions for a constitutional lawyer, as does a correlative 1924 Act extending citizenship to Native Americans born on reservations. Most directly, they challenge any facile notion of “equal citizenship,” as do, for that matter, other aspects of the American constitutional order; after all, it is easy enough to demonstrate that “second-class citizenship” is built into the text of the Constitution itself, and citizenship per se has never brought with it a set of identical entitlements (as seen most clearly with regard to voting). Moreover, both need to be read within the context of how the American constitutional order deals with the reality of deep pluralism within the social order. Our national motto, of course, is e pluribus Unum, roughly translated as out of plurality, unity. Is pluralism simply a temporary way path on the way to a single notion of “Americanism,” or do we really embrace the fact of significant differences among the various peoples that constitute, in a suitably complex manner, the “American people”? With regard to Puerto Rico, this question is raised most clearly with regard to language, though the Balzac case of 1922 also concerns interesting questions about the degree of tolerable pluralism in systems of criminal justice. Similar questions are raised by the very short 1924 act in which Congress conferred statutory birthright citizenship on American Indians born on reservations, which had been denied, as a constitutional matter, in the earlier case Elk v. Wilkins. As with Puerto Rican citizenship (at least while on the island itself), is Indian citizenship, at least where Indians choose to remain residents of reservations, identical in all relevant respects to more general “American citizenship” with regard to full enjoyment of all of the Bill of Rights? The Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 quite clearly establishes that the answer is no; certain traditional group rights involving religion take precedence over the Establishment Clause. We are, as a constitutional culture, more comfortable speaking about individual rights than group rights, but the issues raised by both Puerto Rico and Native Americans importantly concern the latter. Could Congress set as the price of Puerto Rican statehood, say, the adoption of English as the primary language, or would it be only “necessary and proper” to recognize the genuine difference between Puerto Rico and the rest of the United States in this regard and to accept Puerto Rican autonomy over such matters as language—and, therefore, truly recognize that the modern United States is multi-national and (at least) bi-lingual country)?

Sanford Levinson holds the W. St. John Garwood and W. St. John Garwood Jr. Centennial Chair at the University of Texas Law School; he is also a professor in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin. This fall, he is a visiting professor at the Harvard Law School. He is the co-editor of Processes of Constitutional Decisionmaking, which is the only constitutional law casebook to have extensive coverage of The Insular Cases, as the result of attending a conference at the Yale Law School organized in 1998 by Christina Duffy Ponsa. Among his books are Wrestling with Diversity (2003); Our Undemocratic Constitution (2008); Framed: America’s 51 Constitutions and the Crisis of Governance (2012) and, most recently, An Argument Open to All: Reading the Federalist in the 21st Century (2015). He was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2001.
“The Undisputed Right to Intervene”:
Farmers, U.S. Citizenship, and Political Participation in
Puerto Rico, 1917–1940
Teresita Levy

Although the U.S. citizenship that was granted to Puerto Ricans in 1917 was a limited one, it ironically resulted in widespread interest in political affiliation and increased participation in the colonial state. This paper will argue that Puerto Rican farmers defined U.S. citizenship as an opportunity to prosper, both economically and politically, from the colonial relationship between the island and the mainland. Farmers across the island believed that citizenship gave them “the undisputed right to intervene” in those issues that affected their everyday lives. Their participation in island-wide associations, agricultural leagues, and economic cooperative societies guaranteed them access to the legislative processes in San Juan and Washington. As ciudadanos americanos of Puerto Rico, farmers successfully lobbied for beneficial legislation and federal funding, met regularly with high-level officials, and testified in Congressional committees. Puerto Rican citizens on the mainland, in contrast, enjoyed no such access. The experiences of the farmers of Puerto Rico suggest that the meaning of limited citizenship should be reconsidered to reflect the access to the state that the ciudadanos on the island worked to achieve. Doing so will provide a nuanced understanding of the fluidity and complexity of the relationship between an empire and its subjects.

Teresita Levy is Assistant Professor in the Department of Latin American, Latino, and Puerto Rican Studies at Lehman College of the City University of New York and the associate director of the Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Her book *Puerto Ricans in the Empire: Tobacco Growers and U.S. Colonialism* (Rutgers University Press, 2014) uses the expansion of tobacco leaf production for the U.S. market to argue that Puerto Ricans participated in all areas of the colonial structure imposed on the island after 1898.
Colonialism, Citizenship, and Migration: Puerto Ricans and the United States
Edgardo Meléndez

This paper examines the construction of U.S. citizenship in Puerto Rico and its relationship to Puerto Rican migration to the United States. It departs from the perspective that Puerto Rican migration to the United States must be understood within the specific context of U.S. colonialism and citizenship in Puerto Rico. It analyzes how whether Puerto Ricans could enter the borders of the American polity was an important issue in the debates regarding the future status of the territory and its inhabitants since the United States took Puerto Rico in 1898; specifically in the debates around the Treaty of Paris in 1898, the Foraker Act of 1900, and in the Supreme Court’s Downes v. Bidwell. It also explores how the issue of the right to enter the United States was related to the grant of citizenship in 1917 under the Jones Act and how it was also present in the Supreme Court’s decision in Balzac v. People of Porto Rico, where the Court defined the contours of U.S. citizenship on the island. The paper then examines how the grant of citizenship influenced the process of Puerto Rican migration to the United States, including the character of migration (from an organized one based on labor contracts to an individual one by migrants moving on their own to New York City) and the important role played by the colonial state in this movement of people to the metropolitan territory (particularly after 1945).

Edgardo Meléndez is Professor at the Department of Africana and Puerto Rican/Latino Studies at Hunter College. His publications include: Puerto Rican Government and Politics: A Comprehensive Bibliography (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000, awarded the 2000 Outstanding Academic Title byChoice Magazine); Partidos, política pública y status en Puerto Rico (Ediciones Nueva Aurora, 1998); Puerto Rico en “Patria” (Editorial Edil, 1996); Movimiento anexionista en Puerto Rico (University of Puerto Rico Press, 1993); Colonial Dilemma: Critical Perspectives on Contemporary Puerto Rico, co-edited with Edwin Meléndez (South End Press, 1993); and Puerto Rico’s Statehood Movement (Greenwood Press, 1988). He has also published in several academic journals. His book manuscript on Puerto Rican Migration Policy and Politics in Puerto Rico and the United States is currently under review by an academic press. He is currently working on issues related to Puerto Rican migration, political incorporation, and citizenship.
This paper will examine the underexplored history surrounding the collective naturalization of Puerto Ricans in Hawai‘i in 1917. Using law as its focal point, the article will explore Territory of Hawai‘i case law interpreting Puerto Ricans’ right to vote following the Jones Act’s passage, alongside ongoing efforts by Puerto Rican plantation laborers to protest unfair labor conditions and gain a measure of political and economic power. Rather than rejecting the law as a tool of only the powerful, or blindly embracing the law as a silver bullet, Hawai‘i’s Puerto Ricans embraced what W.E.B. Du Bois termed a “double consciousness” about their experience with the law and rights assertion. Drawing on Critical Race Theory insights, and through archival research, this paper will explore how Puerto Ricans, despite their small numbers and lack of political clout, successfully asserted their claims to citizenship in the same courts and legal climate that regularly contributed to their subjugation. The paper will therefore investigate the laws and practices that racialized and subjugated Puerto Ricans in Hawai‘i; their responses, particularly in asserting their rights as U.S. citizens; and the impacts of the collective naturalization of Puerto Ricans.

Susan Serrano is the Director of Research and Scholarship at Ka Huli Ao Center for Excellence in Native Hawaiian Law at the William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai‘i. Ms. Serrano teaches in the Law School’s legal writing program and writes about the legal and political impacts of U.S. colonialism on territorial peoples. Prior to joining the faculty at the Law School, Ms. Serrano served as the founding Research Director of the national Equal Justice Society and practiced civil rights law at non-profit organizations in the San Francisco Bay Area. Ms. Serrano has published extensively in the areas of civil rights, critical race theory, implicit bias, reparations, Native Hawaiian rights, and U.S. colonialism, including Collective Memory and the Persistence of Injustice: From Hawai‘i’s Plantations to Congress—Puerto Ricans’ Claims to Membership in the Polity, 20 S. Cal. Rev. of Law and Soc. Just. 353 (2011).
The Unresolved Constitutional Issues of Puerto Rican Citizenship

Rogers Smith

For largely dishonorable reasons, the Jones Act created a form of U.S. citizenship for Puerto Ricans that is constitutionally ‘second-class’ in all of citizenship’s most important legal dimensions: how citizenship is acquired; the political and civil rights it confers; and how it can be renounced. Puerto Ricans lack 14th Amendment birthright citizenship; they lack federal voting rights and have curtailed Bill of Rights protections; and they cannot expatriate themselves without giving up Puerto Rican residency. Legal and political contests over these limitations have only intensified over the last quarter century. They will not end until the quasi-colonial status of Puerto Rico is ended through statehood or independence, a decision best made by Puerto Ricans themselves. The paper further compares the status of citizenship in the different American territories with each other and with some brief comparisons to French territories.

Rogers M. Smith is the Christopher H. Browne Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Associate Dean for the Social Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania, and Chair of the Penn Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism. He is the author or co-author of many articles and seven books, including Political Peoplehood (University of Chicago Press, 2015), Still a House Divided: Race and Politics in Obama’s America with Desmond S. King (2011), Stories of Peoplehood: The Politics and Morals of Political Membership (2003), and Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History (1997). Civic Ideals received six best book prizes from four professional associations and was a finalist for the 1998 Pulitzer Prize in History. Smith was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2004 and of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 2011.
Puerto Ricans and U.S. Citizenship in 1917: The Imperatives of Security
Bartholomew Sparrow

Why were Puerto Ricans granted U.S. citizenship on March 2, 1917? We argue that the passage of the 1917 Jones-Shafroth Act was foremost a matter of U.S. national security. Realizing that the situation in Europe demanded U.S. entry into the First World War, members of Congress, the Wilson administration, and the Navy Department realized they had to secure Puerto Rico in order to protect the Panama Canal and acquire the manpower in order to fight a global war and protect the Western Hemisphere. Through a review of primary sources, as manifest in congressional hearings, the personal papers of prominent members of Congress, and the materials of Wilson’s military advisers, our analysis follows that of the Insular Cases: that from the late 19th century onward U.S. military planners had visions of the United States becoming a world power and having a global navy able to move back and forth from the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Not only did the U.S. have racial and commercial objectives for its dominance of its island empire, it especially had military goals—and here, in the early 20th century, Puerto Rico was indispensable to those goals.

Bartholomew Sparrow is Professor of Government at the University of Texas at Austin where he studies American Political Development. He is the author of The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire (2006) and, most recently, The Strategist: Brent Scowcroft and the Call of National Security (2015). He is also the author, co-author, or co-editor of five additional books and a contributor to several edited collections, including Reconsidering the Insular Cases: The Past and Future of the American Empire (2015). He has received fellowships from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute, the Shorenstein Center on the Media, Politics and Public Policy, and the Fulbright Program, and he has been awarded the Franklin L. Burdette and Leonard D. White prizes from the American Political Science Association. Sparrow is a graduate of Dartmouth College and received a PhD in Political Science from the University of Chicago.
The Meanings and Uses of U.S Citizenship for Puerto Ricans in the United States
Lorrin Thomas

My presentation will offer a panoramic view of the meanings and uses of U.S. citizenship for Puerto Ricans across a variety of times and places. I will explore how migrants in the early New York community debated the power of their citizenship; how the claims and assumptions about citizenship evolved during the years of radical youth activism in the 1960s and 1970s; and how the discourse of Puerto Rican anti-imperialism—with implicit and explicit critiques of U.S. citizenship—persisted through the end of the 20th century among, for instance, nationalist activists in Chicago’s Humboldt Park and U.S.-based opponents of the United States military’s control of Vieques. Finally, I will consider the question of how the resonance of Puerto Ricans’ U.S. citizenship may be affected by developments in national-level politics in the 21st century, such as the rising significance of the Puerto Rican vote in Florida and the increasing pressure for Congress to address the question of Puerto Rico’s status.

Lorrin Thomas is Associate Professor and chair of the History Department at Rutgers University’s Camden Campus. Her research explores ideas about rights and equality in the twentieth century Americas. Her first book, Puerto Rican Citizen: History and Political Identity in Twentieth Century New York City (University of Chicago Press, 2010; winner, Saloutos prize of the Organization of American Historians and honorable mention, Casa de las Américas prize and Puerto Rican Studies Association book prize), traces the complex meanings of citizenship for Puerto Ricans in the United States. Professor Thomas is currently writing a book on the Puerto Rican struggle for civil rights, with Prof. Aldo Lauria Santiago, to be published in 2017. She is also researching a new book project on the politics of human rights in the Americas in the wake of the social and political movements of the 1960s.
Limitations of the Jones Act: 
Racialized Citizenship & Territorial Status

Nelson Torres-Ríos

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico provides for internal self-governance which operates much like a state. However, Puerto Ricans, although “U.S. citizens,” do not have representation in Congress with voting power, but are subject to Congressional action. Puerto Ricans have served in the armed forces, but can’t vote for the Commander-in-Chief. This ambiguity raises several questions: (1) Does the federal Constitution allow the citizens residing on the island the same rights as in the states, such as the ability to run for President? (2) Is Puerto Rico part of the United States? (3) What role does the Supreme Court play in defining the relationship between Puerto Rico, its citizens, and the federal government? These controversies originate from the U.S. use of different socio-political strategies to acquire new territories as in the case of the Northwest Ordinance, the Louisiana Purchase, and the Treaty of Paris, which may provide the legal and political framework that address the limitations of U.S. citizenship for island born Puerto Ricans and the current political status of Puerto Rico.

Nelson Torres-Ríos is a graduate of SUNY Binghamton with a BA in English, a Master’s in Counseling Psychology from College of New Rochelle, and a Juris Doctor from Rutgers University. He was recently admitted to the New York and New Jersey Bars. He is currently an Assistant Professor at Hostos Community College with more than ten years of experience educating New York City youth in community colleges, and non-profit/for-profit organizations such as the former National Puerto Rican Forum, where he taught GED and ESOL, and the Building Futures Program housed at Job Corps in the South Bronx, where he taught Job Readiness, GED, and Juvenile Criminal Prevention. He currently teaches Criminal Justice and Evidence at Hostos College. He has authored several articles in the National Institute for Latino Policy and El Diario regarding Affirmative Action, Criminal Procedure, and Miranda Rights. His areas of interest specifically include Criminal Justice and Constitutional Law with emphasis on the evolution and the implications of the United States-Puerto Rico political relationship, and the limitations of citizenship under the Jones Act.
To Be or Not to Be: Puerto Ricans and their Illusory U.S. Citizenship

Honorable Juan R. Torruella

Are Puerto Ricans born in Puerto Rico, especially those who continue to reside in Puerto Rico, truly U.S. citizens in the full constitutional and legal sense? Judge Torruella considers this question in light of Puerto Rico’s history under first Spain and then the United States and the nature of the citizenship conferred on Puerto Ricans by each. He will draw upon a wide array of sources, from Dred Scott v. Sandford to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and take aim at diverse targets, from President-cum-Chief Justice Taft and Yale scholars of yore to the current U.S. Congress, along the way to his provocative conclusion.

Juan R. Torruella is an active judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit. He was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and received a Bachelor of Science degree in economics from the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania in 1954 and a law degree from Boston University School of Law in 1957. Judge Torruella earned an LL.M. from the University of Virginia School of Law and an M.P.A. from the University of Puerto Rico School of Public Administration in 1984. In 2003, he received a Master of Studies (M. St.) degree in Modern European History from Magdalen College, Oxford University. Judge Torruella was appointed to the U.S. District Court for the District of Puerto Rico in 1974 and served as chief judge from 1982-1984, until his appointment to the First Circuit. He served as chief judge of that court from 1994-2001. Judge Torruella has authored 1,674 published opinions, including 99 concurrences and 149 dissents. He is also the author of two books related to the subject of this conference, The Supreme Court and Puerto Rico: The Doctrine of Separate and Unequal (1984) and Global Intrigues: The Era of the Spanish-American War and the Rise of the United States to World Power (2004), as well as a novel, La sombra larga del sol de mediodia (2009).
Puerto Ricans: Citizens and migrants – A cautionary tale
Carlos Vargas-Ramos

This paper addresses the transformations in migrant political behavior as they move between countries, and how citizenship is exercised in the process. It highlights the limits of formal citizenship in the exercise of membership rights in given political communities. Using survey data from a probability sample drawn from a municipality in Puerto Rico, evidence shows how political activity decreases when circular migrants sojourn in the United States, a country in which they are citizens, but it is indistinguishable from non-migrants when in Puerto Rico. While these U.S. citizens remain at the margin of the political system in the U.S., they are fully engaged in Puerto Rico’s. Citizenship may be a necessary condition to exercise rights of political membership, but it is not enough. A laissez-faire disposition from state and political institutions and an emphasis on individual-based efforts sidelines newcomers to migrant-receiving polities.

Carlos Vargas-Ramos is a Research Associate at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies (Hunter College-CUNY), where he works on the impact of migration on Puerto Rican political behavior, political attitudes and orientations. A political scientist by training, Carlos is co-editor, along with Anthony Stevens-Arroyo, of Blessing La Politica: The Latino Religious Experience and Political Engagement in the United States published by Praeger in 2012. He also co-edited with Edwin Meléndez Puerto Ricans at the Dawn of the New Millennium, published by the Center for Puerto Rican Studies in 2014. His most recent peer-reviewed article “Puerto Ricans and transnationalism: a critical empirical assessment” is forthcoming in CENTRO: The Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies. Another article, “Migrating race: migration and racial identification among Puerto Ricans,” was published in Ethnic and Racial Studies in 2014.
Mapping the Legal Debates over the 1917 Jones Act Citizenship

Charles Venator-Santiago

This lecture will provide a detailed overview of the history of the enactment of the extension of U.S. citizenship to Puerto Rico, paying particular attention to the enactment of the 1917 Jones Act. In addition, the lecture will situate the intellectual contributions of the invited speakers within this history. The main objective of the lecture is to both frame the larger conference themes (and related scholarship) for participants who may be unfamiliar with the subject and to set the stage for a focused conversation on the main theme of the conference.

The Jones Act of 1917 and the Puerto Rican Immigrant Exception, 1917-1948

The Jones Act of 1917 provided for the collective naturalization of the Puerto Rican citizens and the residents of the island, but did not change Puerto Rico’s territorial status for the purposes of U.S. citizenship and naturalization laws. Congress subsequently enacted a series of corrective amendments to the Jones Act and ultimately included a provision in the Nationality Act of 1940 extending the rule of jus soli to Puerto Rico. The Nationality Act of 1940 essentially established that Puerto Ricans who acquired a U.S. citizenship prior to 1940 were considered naturalized citizens, whereas those who acquired U.S. citizenship after January 12, 1941 acquired a native-born status. A 1948 amendment to the Nationality Act further established a denaturalization exception for Puerto Ricans who were naturalized prior to 1940. This paper examines the legal history of the conferral of an immigrant exception on Puerto Ricans naturalized between 1917 and 1940, as well as the ensuing debates over the conferral of an immigration exception to protect Puerto Ricans residing in Latin America from denaturalization.

Charles R. Venator-Santiago is Associate Professor with a Joint Appointment in the Department of Political Science and El Instituto: Institute for Latino/a, Caribbean and Latin American Studies at the University of Connecticut. His most recent book is Puerto Rico and the Origins of U.S. Global Empire: The Disembodied Shade (Routledge 2015). He is currently conducting research on the legal histories of the extension of U.S. citizenship to U.S. territories and the relevant status debates.
The Foraker Act, Albert Beveridge and the Rhetoric of Americanity
Darrel Wanzer-Serrano

In this paper, I examine Indiana Senator Albert Jeremiah Beveridge’s highly anticipated “Government for Porto Rico” speech given in support of the Foraker Act on March 29, 1900. Upon starting in the Senate in 1900, Beveridge rose to national fame as the “orator of imperialism.” Partially reflecting dominant national (Republican) narratives, Beveridge’s “Government for Porto Rico” reinforced some of the same racist logics seen in his earlier “Philippines Speech,” yet tempered by his own particular version of constitutionalism and vision of civil religion. Through his interpretation of America’s founding document, Beveridge crafted a nation authorized—by that document and by the natural supremacy of Anglo-Saxon-blooded Americans—to pursue colonialism and ensure that the “elemental, racial development” of American global supremacy flourished. Contextualizing the speech within the broader Foraker Act debate and his private struggles, and utilizing archival materials from the Albert Beveridge Papers, I engage in a close reading of Beveridge’s speech to demonstrate the unique features of a rhetoric of Americanity that shaped future debates over Puerto Rico’s status.

Darrel Wanzer-Serrano is Assistant Professor of rhetoric and public advocacy in the Department of Communication Studies and a founding member of the Latina/o Studies Minor Advisory Board at the University of Iowa. His research is focused on the intersections of race, ethnicity, and public discourse, particularly as they relate to formations of coloniality and decoloniality in the U.S. He recently completed a project on the New York Young Lords with the first scholarly monograph on the organization, The New York Young Lords and the Struggle for Liberation (Temple University Press, 2015). He also edited The Young Lords: A Reader (New York University Press, 2010), a sourcebook of primary texts on the group; and he has published numerous articles on the organization and other topics. He is currently working on a new book project, tentatively titled Possession: Crafting Americanity in Congressional Debates over Puerto Rico’s Status, which examines the formation of coloniality and the rhetoric of Americanity within the first twenty years of U.S. entanglement with Puerto Rico.
Citizenship in U.S. Territories: Constitutional Right or Congressional Privilege?
Neil Weare

Absent the 1917 Jones Act, would people born in Puerto Rico today be U.S. citizens? A similar question is presented in Tuaua v. United States, a federal lawsuit brought by residents of American Samoa, who the federal government labels with the inferior status of “nationals, but not citizens, of the United States.” Tuaua argues that the 14th Amendment’s guarantee of birthright citizenship extends throughout the territorial sovereignty of the United States: States, Territories, and the District of Columbia. The status of people born in American Samoa today has parallels to the status of Puerto Ricans prior to the 1917 Jones Act: neither citizens nor aliens. As a so-called “non-citizen nationals,” the Tuaua plaintiffs face barriers to the rights and opportunities enjoyed by other Americans. The denial of birthright citizenship in American Samoa today is as unconstitutional as it was in Puerto Rico prior to the Jones Act.

Neil Weare is President and Founder of We the People Project (www.equalrightsnow.org), a non-profit that advocates for equal rights and representation for the more than 4 million Americans living in U.S. territories. Raised in Guam, he worked for Guam’s non-voting Delegate Madeleine Bordallo prior to attending Yale Law School. In February 2015, Weare argued Tuaua v. United States before the D.C. Circuit, making the case for equal citizenship in U.S. territories. He clerked on the Alaska Supreme Court for Justice Morgan Christen, now a Judge on the Ninth Circuit. He is an associate at Trister, Ross, Schadler & Gold, PLLC, a boutique firm that specializes in political law for non-profit organizations. His commentary has appeared in the Washington Post, CNN.com, the Huffington Post, HuffPost Live, and other media outlets.
Discussants

José E. Cruz

José E. Cruz is Associate Professor in the Political Science Department at the University at Albany-SUNY. His first book, *Identity and Power: Puerto Rican Politics and the Challenge of Ethnicity*, published by Temple University Press, explored the relationship between ethnic identity, political mobilization, and political empowerment. Dr. Cruz has worked as a research consultant for the Center for Puerto Rican Studies and has been an expert witness in the area of voting rights for the U.S. Department of Justice. Dr. Cruz is currently working on three projects: a history of Puerto Rican political participation in New York City during the period from 1960 to 1990, an analysis of diasporic citizenship focused on the history of the Luis Muñoz Rivera Memorial Association, and a comparative analysis of social movements focused on the Centro Social (re)Okupado de Autogestión La Quimera in Madrid, Spain.

Christina Duffy Ponsa

Christina Duffy Ponsa is the George Welwood Murray Professor of Legal History at Columbia Law School. Professor Ponsa’s work focuses on constitutional law and American legal history. She is the co-editor of *Foreign in a Domestic Sense: Puerto Rico, American Expansion, and the Constitution* (Duke University Press, 2001), and the author of articles and essays on the constitutional implications of American territorial expansion. Professor Ponsa holds a JD from Yale Law School (1998) and a PhD in history from Princeton University (2010). Before joining the Columbia faculty in 2007, she served as a law clerk to Judge José A. Cabranes on the Second Circuit Court of Appeals and to Justice Stephen G. Breyer on the United States Supreme Court.

Sheila I. Vélez Martínez

Sheila I. Vélez Martínez is the Director of the Immigration Clinic and Associate Clinical Professor of Law at the University of Pittsburgh School of Law. Professor’s Vélez Martínez work focuses on migration to and from Puerto Rico, immigrant remittances, Latino and Latina Critical Legal Theory and legal education. Professor Vélez Martínez has been writing recently about immigrant remittances to and from Puerto Rico during the recent financial crisis and the increased migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States. Her work *Remittances from Puerto Rico: Unsuspected Transnational Locality in Times of Crisis* was published by the *Journal of Race, Gender and Poverty* in 2014. In this paper she used remittances sent internationally from Puerto Rico to explore how, if in any way, the recession and accompanying austerity measures have affected the immigrant community in Puerto Rico. She is currently working on a follow up paper *Migration and Remittances Between Puerto Rico and The United States during The Crisis: An Inversely Proportional Relationship* where she documents how migrant remittances patterns between Puerto Rico and the United States defy global remittance flow patterns. She has also published works regarding women and migration in Puerto Rico and writes frequently on issues related to Latino and Latina Critical Legal Theory. She is a member of the Board of the Latino and Latina Critical Legal Studies Inc. (LatCrit) and affiliated member of the Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Pittsburgh.
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The Centro Library and Archives is devoted to collecting, preserving and providing access to resources documenting the history and culture of Puerto Ricans. Established in 1973 as a component of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, the Centro Library and Archives was dedicated to activist and educator, Evelina Lopez Antonetty in 1986. The Centro Archives, known as the Archives of the Puerto Rican Diaspora, were formally established in 1989. The collections include books, current and historic newspapers and periodicals, audio, film & video, manuscripts, photographs, art prints, and recorded music. The Library and Archives provides services and programs to the scholarly community as well as the general public. Constituents are diverse and come from the United States and abroad. The Library and Archives facilitates access to information on its holdings through the City University's online public catalog or CUNY+. It also provides research and information assistance via phone and email.