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Puerto Rico's Cultural Industry (Re)Construction: A Study on Vulnerable Systems, Post-Disaster U.S. Philanthropy, and Autogestión Through Puerto Rican Artists and Cultural Managers' Perspectives

Andrea Ocasio Cruz
University of Central Florida

PUERTO RICO'S CULTURAL INDUSTRY (RE)CONSTRUCTION: A STUDY ON VULNERABLE SYSTEMS, POST-DISASTER US PHILANTHROPY, AND AUTOGESTIÓN THROUGH PUERTO RICAN ARTISTS AND CULTURAL MANAGERS' PERSPECTIVES

by

ANDREA OCASIO CRUZ
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ABSTRACT

Hurricane María hit Puerto Rico in 2017, and its aftermath significantly changed the local cultural industry's funding infrastructure. Philanthropic foundations in the United States (US) have provided financial support to local artists, educators, cultural managers, and institutions after the storm for over four years. Based on semi-structured interviews with eight participants and fieldwork, this study provides insight into the colonial and neoliberal policies that progressively stripped the cultural industry's public funding infrastructure and ushered in a US-led "impromptu Institute of Culture." This study proposes that Puerto Rico's cultural industry was founded on a vulnerable system shaped by colonialism, resulting in a financial deterioration mitigated by autonomous organizing. Furthermore, I explore how artists, educators, cultural managers, and museum professionals experience the post-Hurricane María cultural industry to inform a critical evaluation of US foundations' roles within a Puerto Rican context. Through an application of disaster anthropologists' vulnerability framework and critical philanthropy literature, I provide an analysis of Puerto Rico's cultural industry, its historical and post-Hurricane María development, and a view into an alternative future.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The island of Puerto Rico, a United States unincorporated territory in the Caribbean's Greater Antilles, entered its fifth year of disaster reconstruction in September 2022. The island continues to recover from Hurricane María's devastating impact in September 2017, as federal aid distribution has been slow to reach locals (Mcleod 2022). Hurricane María intersected Puerto Rico's core like a diagonal line, entering the island's southeast shore with 155 miles per hour winds and maintaining a northwest course (Almukhtar et al. 2017). As a category four hurricane, Hurricane María devastated the island's houses, roads, and electric infrastructure, which were already impacted just two weeks before by Hurricane Irma (Rodriguez-Diaz 2018, 1). On the surface, Hurricane María may appear like a natural disaster with an inevitably destructive aftermath. However, this study follows previous disaster anthropologists and Puerto Rican scholars in framing Puerto Rican disasters as social phenomena rooted in colonialism and neoliberalism rather than atmospheric hazards (Bonilla 2020, 1-2; Lloréns 2018a, 156; Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 1999).

After Hurricane María, non-profit foundations and educational institutions from the United States that engage with arts-related programs and philanthropy acted to safeguard Puerto Rican artists and museums' financial well-being and professional development. Multiple US foundations pledged millions of dollars and created new grant programs to help the affected island's residents. For example, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Open Society Foundations, which constitute some of the largest private foundations in the history of

the United States, pledged a combined total of $55 million to rebuild a stronger Puerto Rico through different initiatives (Open Society Foundations 2017).

Foundations specifically targeted rebuilding Puerto Rico's cultural industry, creating programs to serve that purpose. For example, the Mellon Foundation contributed quick relief after the storm, helping fund the Puerto Rico Plural permanent exhibit at the *Museo de Arte de Puerto Rico* (MAPR). From 2017 to 2018, the Mellon Foundation also pooled $600,000 with Northwestern University to kickstart what became the Puerto Rican Arts Development Initiative (Trotter and Lockwood 2018). Furthermore, the Flamboyán Arts Fund was founded after 2017, created in partnership with Lin-Manuel Miranda, his family, and the Flamboyán Foundation.

The Flamboyán Arts Fund hopes to revitalize Puerto Rico by supporting multiple facets of the art community; they announced a $4 million multi-year commitment to help twelve organizations keep promoting the arts after the storm. In 2019, both the Flamboyán Foundation and the Mellon Foundation supported different organizations' grant programs. They helped fund local projects like the *MAC en el Barrio* and *Taller Vivo* programs of the *Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Puerto Rico* (MAC), in addition to funding the National Association of Latino Arts and Cultures' (NALAC) $25,000 individual artists grant (Flamboyán Foundation 2019; NALAC 2019).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, many of the same foundations extended their funds to support artists, arts organizations, and museums. For instance, the Flamboyán Foundation, the Mellon Foundation, the MAC, and independent art space K.M. 0.2. collaborated to distribute $1.1 million to 450 artists and 89 organizations in Puerto Rico through the Emergency Relief Fund (Ramos Meléndez 2020). What began as a reaction to the Hurricane María disaster has

extended to over four years of consistent philanthropic support for Puerto Rico's cultural industry from these foundations. Therefore, this study explores the construction of Puerto Rico's cultural industry and its post-Hurricane María reconstruction through eight semi-structured interviews with artists, educators, and cultural managers.

For this study, I use the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) definition of a cultural industry: "Those sectors of organized activity that have as their main objective the production or reproduction, the promotion, distribution or commercialization of goods, services, and activities of content derived from cultural, artistic or heritage origins" (UNESCO n.d.). These sectors include museums, galleries, historical sites, festivals, and libraries. This definition also captures how its practitioners may work between private and public-funded work and produce paid and unpaid labor (UNESCO 2009, 13), representing many of my participants' lived experiences.

As a Puerto Rican woman who experienced Hurricane María on the island, I became interested in researching and contextualizing Puerto Rican disasters within their sociohistorical development. With this project, I initially aimed to learn how Puerto Rican heritage identities evolved after the devastating storm caused waves of activist art. As I interviewed cultural industry practitioners, I realized that US foundations' growing role in funding projects and supporting professional development signaled a significant change in their daily and professional lives. The foundations' contributions to the local industry changed how artists, museum professionals, and educators used the public funding infrastructure and self-subsidization to support the arts and culture. Thus, I designed the study questions to explore the processes that brought Puerto Rico's cultural industry to its current state and illuminate the dimensions of a US

foundation-funded Puerto Rican cultural industry. My study asked: 1) How did Puerto Rico's colonial status influence the development of its cultural industry? 2) How have US foundations transformed the power dynamics between Puerto Ricans and US stakeholders by introducing new funding opportunities? 3) What suggestions do artists, educators, and cultural managers propose might help reconstruct a sustainable cultural industry for future Puerto Ricans?

Through these questions, I hoped to contribute new insight into the lives of Puerto Rican people actively and creatively navigating the dispossession of public funds through deeply rooted colonial and neoliberal policies. Throughout this dispossession, US foundations are stepping in as Puerto Rico's "impromptu Institute of Culture," as artist-research and participant, Luis Rivera Jiménez, termed it. I contextualize this development within the cultural industry's broad historical context and the lived experiences of local artists, educators, and cultural managers. Furthermore, I showcase their alternative solutions to rebuild a sustainable cultural industry.

To answer the research questions, I narrowed my focus to include Puerto Rico's colonial history, Hurricane María's aftermath as explained by disaster anthropology, and philanthropy as a funding source. Thus, in *Chapter Two*, I review academic literature regarding colonialism and the coloniality of knowledge, disaster anthropology, and philanthropy as an academic discourse. In *Chapter Three*, I explain the steps I took to conduct this research, such as adapting the site-based approach (Arcury and Quandt 1999), conducting virtual semi-structured interviews with eight participants, noting observations, and applying the grounded theory approach (Gobo 2008) to analyze the interview transcriptions.

In *Chapter Four*, I argue that Puerto Rico as a governed territory is a failed project of colonialism with an economic policy designed to serve local, foreign, and American capital over

its population's needs (Cortés 2018a; Marino and Faas 2020; Quiñonez-Pérez and Seda-Irizarry 2020, 91). The United States and Puerto Rico's colonial relationship is a primary factor in the deterioration of the state-based processes that should maintain infrastructure for its population's needs. To exemplify this, I explore how Puerto Rico's cultural industry and infrastructure were "set to fail in the face of environmental change" (Marino and Faas 2020, 35), resulting in a dependence on philanthropy after Hurricane María.

At the macro level, colonial policies weakened Puerto Rico's economic development and infrastructure over time (Joffe and Martinez 2016), more recently by placing strict austerity measures through the Puerto Rico Oversight, Management, and Economic Stability Act (PROMESA). A legislation passed in 2016, the federal statute PROMESA aimed to restructure the island's debt with a US Congress-appointed Fiscal Control Board (FCB). At the micro level, artists and cultural managers experience the "abandonment of the state" or neglect of their local infrastructure (Cortés 2018a). As showcased by the participants' interviews, the colonial policies have local Puerto Ricans navigating gaps in government support for the cultural industry through *autogestión* or self-management, such as leaning on support networks, creating alternative art spaces, and fostering educational and creative outlets.

Chapter Five explores the circumstances that brought numerous US foundations to support Puerto Rico's cultural industry after Hurricane María, including the role of the Puerto Rican diaspora. I also highlight how US grants and contributions have transformed elements of the cultural industry. From shaping artists' presence in the US mainland and legitimizing LGBTQ+ voices to raising concerns over reproduced power dynamics between the US and Puerto Rico, the participants' experiences in this chapter offer insights into a post-Hurricane

María cultural industry. Ultimately, I argue that US foundations and grants are not a clear-cut solution to the crisis, instead representing a system with contradictory effects on locals' experiences. Additionally, I postulate an infrastructural and values-oriented overhaul of Puerto Rico's public infrastructure as crucial for the reconstruction.

To demonstrate this, I spotlight participants' critical reflections on US philanthropic aid to show that an overdependence on US foundations may not sustainably reconstruct the cultural industry. Instead, it may perpetuate a dependent relationship and reproduce harmful power dynamics. In particular, two participants reflected on the overwhelming feelings the aid provoked, its limitations, and its implications for Puerto Rico's relationship with the United States. Thus, I invoke Alexander's (2014) interpretation of the Maussian gift and Irfan's (2021) characterization of neo-colonial philanthropy to anchor participants' concerns in the literature that engages with private foundations and donations through a critical lens. While US foundations are not the clear-cut solution, they could help reinforce participants' alternative proposals to rebuild a sustainable future for Puerto Ricans' cultural industry.

In *Chapter Six*, I conclude that as a product of vulnerable systems such as colonialism and neoliberalism, Puerto Rico's cultural industry will require a mix of public and private investments that complement the local communities' *autogestión*, which has maintained the cultural industry for years. Participants propose a reconstruction centered on strengthening future Puerto Rican generations' appreciation for the arts, critical thinking, and horizontal community initiatives rooted in sustainability.

This study contributes to the academic discourse of Puerto Rican colonialism, vulnerable systems, and philanthropy. It provides a case study on Puerto Rico's cultural industry, its

professionals' livelihoods, and the US foundations funding its reconstruction. While previous studies have explored colonialism as a vulnerable system creating failed projects, as well as illuminated philanthropic foundations' capacity to reproduce harmful structures rather than eradicate them, this project reasserts previous findings. It also highlights an understudied development in Puerto Rico that deserves closer scrutiny: The arrival of US foundations to support Puerto Rican arts and culture after a major disaster. Outside of Puerto Rico, the erosion of a publicly funded cultural sector and the integration of a grants-dependent funding system has previously produced a dismantled sector that further marginalizes its artists and cultural actors from necessary resources (Pennington and Eltham 2021, 4). Thus, this study sought to bring this evolving issue to light by spotlighting the sociohistorical conditions that caused Puerto Rico's cultural industry to depend more on *autogestión* and US foundations than its public infrastructure.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature review chapter combines relevant theories from various academic sources. For a study focused on Puerto Rico's cultural industry and its professionals' lived experiences, I reviewed the literature on colonialism and coloniality to understand the root causes of the island's protracted and compounding economic and social crises. Furthermore, I turned to the disaster anthropology literature to frame the Hurricane María aftermath as not an isolated event but a result of colonialism's vulnerabilizing effect on society. Finally, I reviewed philanthropy literature to trouble the concept, moving away from its idealized altruistic definition. Instead, this literature frames philanthropy as capable of reproducing the same social inequalities it aims to eradicate and incapable of solving problems as a catch-all solution. Like disaster management strategies that consider capital investments as pivotal to disaster-recovery planning (Garriga-López 2020), philanthropy may mask underlying social issues by measuring a community's well-being through "fiscal and capitalist indicators" (Barrios 2016, 26).

Theorizing Colonialism in Puerto Rico

Colonialism is "a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation, which makes such nation an empire" (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 243). Through colonialism, the political and economic hierarchy is predisposed to benefit white supremacist ideals, which dominate other racial categories (Irfan 2021, 4). This definition encompasses Puerto Rico's status for over five hundred years. For example, as citizens

of a Spanish colony, Puerto Ricans had little to no control over their political development. The legitimacy of their human rights was at the mercy of changing political tides. Under Spanish rule, Puerto Ricans were sometimes subjected to authoritarian Spanish governors, who ruled the island as a "besieged city" (Trías Monge 1997, 10). When the Spanish-American war culminated in 1898, the United States collected Cuba and Puerto Rico as its spoils. Thus, Puerto Rico was transferred from one colonial empire to another—a relationship that persists with little change.

Acquiring Puerto Rico as a territory was part of the United States' economic and military agenda, as the island's location was beneficial for securing state borders (Cabán 1999; Estades Font 1987, 1988; Grosfoguel 2003, 52-53). However, Puerto Rico's political and economic makeup had to be manipulated to fulfill its imposed roles as the entryway to Latin America and guard over the Panama Canal (Cabán 1999, 2). Thus, the Insular Cases were multiple 20th century Supreme Court cases with rulings that "confirmed Puerto Rico's status as a colony of the United States" (Trías Monge 1997, 50).

The Insular Cases included multiple opinions, ranging from Downes v. Bidwell in 1901 and Balzac v. Porto Rico in 1922. During the Downes v. Bidwell case of 1901, the Fuller Court ruled that Puerto Rico's designation as an unincorporated territory or possession of the United States meant that residents have no inherent entitlement to Constitutional rights outside of those considered absolutely fundamental (Trías Monge 1997, 45-48). By 1917, Puerto Ricans were considered American citizens through the Jones-Shafroth Act, but the 1922 case of Balzac v. Porto Rico further institutionalized the United States' racial and cultural discrimination against Puerto Ricans. Balzac v. Porto Rico concluded with the decision that Puerto Ricans' "alien character" as previous Spanish subjects and location in the Caribbean prevents them from

benefiting from all US Constitutional rights (Meléndez 2013, 131). In detail, United States' political and intellectual actors branded Puerto Ricans as too ignorant of the American legal system to govern their people as a US territory and too different as colonized Spanish subjects and Caribbeans to enjoy full constitutional rights (Trías Monge 1997, 46).

Through the Insular Cases' rulings, the US courts legally arranged Puerto Rico to exist outside of the constitution and with limited political autonomy to maintain control over the island, a "racialist colonial logic" that Fusté (2017, 95) recognized as previously used to legally marginalize Native Americans from their land. By legally disenfranchising the islanders, United States' economic actors took control over Puerto Rico's raw resources, imports and exports system, industrialization strategy, tax laws, and citizenship status (Dietz 2001; Ruiz Cardona 2018, 13). These policies shaped the island's development to satisfy imperial monopolies' interests rather than the locals' needs (Dietz 1979, 29).

The US has physically colonized Puerto Rico and integrated the island into colonial ideology through the coloniality of knowledge (Quijano 1992). Coloniality is reproduced through specific knowledge production that rationalizes the "political/economic structure of imperialism/colonialism" (Mignolo 2007, 452). Coloniality is the control that infiltrates through logic and hegemonic discourses (Maldonado-Torres 2016, 10). One example of coloniality in Puerto Rico is the construction of a type of cultural nationalism, which, in contrast to a nationalistic identity tied to sovereignty, creates identity through different cultural practices without resisting colonial governance (Duany 2002a). Similarly summarizing why Puerto Rico's economic and political development appears stagnated as a US Commonwealth, Fisk (2022, 202) described modern Puerto Rican governance as an institution made up of multiple layers of

internalized and externally materialized colonial power structures, built from centuries of Spanish and American control with no interest in "empowering Puerto Rican populace." In this study, I further expand on how the coloniality of knowledge influenced the development of Puerto Rico's cultural industry and set the stage for an institutionalized marginalization of contemporary artists and cultural managers.

Pertinent to this study is understanding how Puerto Rico's cultural industry infrastructure reached its current crisis and post-Hurricane María reconstruction, in which local artists, educators, and cultural managers depend on external funding to sustain themselves, their creative projects, or organizations. To frame its current crisis state and the participants' lived experiences, I turned to disaster anthropologists' characterization of colonialism as a vulnerable system (Marino and Faas 2020, 35-41). As Bonilla (2020, 1) states, expanding on Maldonado-Torres' (2016, 11) conceptualization, colonialism is a form of disaster that generates long-term destruction and failed projects (Marino and Faas 2020, 35).

Other studies also posit colonialism as a source of destruction in Puerto Rico, like Lloréns and Stanchich's (2019) study on Puerto Rico's environmental degradation. Lloréns and Stanchich (2019, 81-90) expose how US policies that invite contaminating industries to the island and affect agriculture build "the groundwork for extreme environmental degradation"; they consider Puerto Rico's history as an exploited colony and rapid industrialization (yet lack of infrastructural planning) as crucial determinants of the island's "catastrophic levels of water contamination." What began as a political strategy to extract economic and political value from Puerto Rico has now become a failed colonial project, a grim necropolis (Lloréns and Stanchich 2019, 82), where neoliberal policies dispossess island residents of their infrastructure and land by

treating them as disposable excess (Cortés 2018a, 357). This dispossession is what Garriga-López (2019, 181) characterized as the "abandonment of the state" that has left Puerto Ricans fighting to survive and maintain their cultural industry through creative outlets and peer support despite austerity policies, public budget cuts and a failed hurricane relief strategy.

In summary, colonialism and coloniality are psychologically, politically, and culturally destructive agents with a long history in Puerto Rico's development and eventual economic decline. By integrating these concepts into this study, I connect participants' lived experiences within the cultural industry crisis to the vulnerable colonial structures that set it up to eventually fail its people at an infrastructural level. The following section explores Hurricane María's destruction as part of colonialism's causal chain rather than an isolated incident. As this study also explored the cultural industry's reconstruction after María, I turned to disaster anthropology literature to further understand colonialism as a vulnerable system.

Defining Disasters and Vulnerability

The field of disaster research has been growing exponentially since the late twentieth century (Shen et al. 2018; Wang et al. 2019; Wolbers, Kuipers, and Boin 2021). Disaster anthropologists are active contributors to the field, exemplified by works like Hoffman and Oliver-Smith's (2002) *Catastrophe and culture: the anthropology of disaster*, Button and Schuller's (2016) edited volume *Contextualizing Disaster*, and Hoffman and Barrios' (2020) edited volume *Disaster upon Disaster: Exploring the Gap between Knowledge, Policy, and Practice*. Through ethnographic research and analysis, anthropologists have helped define disasters as an academic discourse (Demerath and Wallace 1957; García-Acosta 1992, 2002;

Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 1999). This section reviews relevant theories from the disaster anthropology literature, including the social phenomena perspective (Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 1999), the vulnerability approach (Bergman 2020, 317; Marino and Faas 2020, 2), and critiques of disaster relief's neoliberal ideology (Barrios 2016, 26; Marchezini 2015). Overall, the theories summarized here provided a framework for my analysis of Puerto Rico's cultural industry crisis, its reconstruction after Hurricane María through US foundations, and the sociohistorical context that predated these events' development.

Researchers have historically struggled to reach a consensus on the definition of disaster (Dombrowsky 2005; Mayner and Arbon 2015, 22). The term generally refers to "an event or force" that disrupts people's livelihoods, possibly through loss of life, property, and normative daily practices (Perry 2007, 12). Disaster researchers, especially disaster anthropologists, have a varied conceptualization of what constitutes a disaster due to the prevailing notion that they are more determined by social factors than specific geophysical characteristics (Oliver-Smith 1998; Quarantelli 2005). For example, a community's capacity for harm resistance, influenced by many historical and systemic factors, determines if an event is a disaster (Koons and Trivedi 2021, 4). Therefore, disasters will comprise a wide range of contexts in literature. These may include minor to large-scale events (i.e., differences in geographic scope) caused by longer-term (i.e., droughts) or shorter-term forces (i.e., hurricanes) that may be natural or anthropogenic in essence (Koons and Trivedi 2021, 3-4). The social phenomena perspective provides a definition that ties disasters directly to their sociohistorical roots.

According to the social phenomena perspective, disasters are socially embedded processes rather than inevitable and natural events (Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 1999). Following

the social phenomena and hazards-disaster tradition, Oliver-Smith (1986, 8) differentiates disasters from hazards. He described hazards as "destructive agent[s] from the natural and/or man-made environment," and disasters as the process through which such hazards and human groups interact (Oliver-Smith 1986, 8). By applying this theory, we can understand the Hurricane María disaster as more than a storm, but a series of protracted crises compounded by a potent hazard (Bonilla 2020, 1-2; Lloréns 2018a, 156). Furthermore, when we trace the sociohistorical context of the Hurricane María reconstruction, we see the more invisible and anthropogenic disasters of colonialism, coloniality, and neoliberalism that made the local cultural industry vulnerable and eventually dependent on external funding. The vulnerability approach complements the social phenomena perspective by explaining, through a sociohistorical lens, why and how some populations experience more destructive disasters than others.

The vulnerability approach is a relevant theoretical framework that frames how social scientists view the connections between disasters and human groups. Researchers developed the vulnerability approach approximately 40 years ago, and the framework continues to occupy the minds of scholars interested in studying disasters as socially and historically produced consequences (Marino and Faas 2020, 2). In general, the vulnerability approach argues that social, economic, political, and ideological factors have enhanced the vulnerability of populations, with some populations experiencing vulnerability more than others (García-Acosta 2002, 61; Wilches-Chaux 1993). Furthermore, it proposes that disasters are shaped by decades of historical processes and human behaviors, increasing the time-depth of disaster origins (Faas 2016, 14).

In contrast to the idea that disasters are growing more hazardous through time, the vulnerability approach proposes instead that historical circumstances (e.g., colonialism) and social-economic circumstances (e.g., inequality) incrementally expose populations to danger (García-Acosta 2002, 61). According to Hoffman and Oliver-Smith (2002, 3), a society's vulnerability will impact its behavior, organization, and risk level "far more profoundly than will the physical force of the destructive agent." We can apply the vulnerability approach to the case of Puerto Rico's 2017 hurricane season to look beyond the physical force of the hazards and understand a larger sociohistorical picture. For example, Lloréns and Stanchich (2019, 86) argued that one must look toward Puerto Rico's current colonial relationship with the United States to understand the causal chain that brought the island to a massive $72 billion debt crisis in 2015 and then the catastrophic hurricane aftermath in 2017. The case of Puerto Rico's vulnerable state is not unique, as other countries like Peru and Haiti have also developed vulnerable infrastructures through decades of extractive policies, poor urban planning, and environmental degradation tied to their colonial history (Oliver-Smith 2010, 32).

Bergman's (2020, 317) critique of the vulnerability approach stated that defining someone or someplace as vulnerable carries a "stereotyping and stigmatizing effect." Faas (2016, 23) proposed that instead of abandoning the vulnerability approach, we must engage it critically by ensuring that we highlight the pertinent historical processes that cause vulnerability rather than reducing communities to a condition of suffering that requires Western intervention (see Bankoff 2001 for criticisms on Western disaster intervention). Years later, Marino and Faas (2020) expanded on the vulnerability approach criticism and suggested how anthropologists should highlight the historical processes rather than the individual. They recommended that

anthropologists characterize certain “relationships and assemblages” as the producers of vulnerability, proposing we theorize on vulnerable systems rather than vulnerable communities (Marino and Faas 2020, 41).

Marino and Faas’ (2020) perspective on vulnerability shaped my analysis of Puerto Rico’s cultural industry crisis, connecting its support gaps, financial barriers, and economic decline to the island’s history of colonialism, a vulnerable system that creates failed projects. However, the term crisis may also obscure the “normative practices” that manifest strife and difficulty in society by portraying an issue as an error rather than part of the society’s systemic infrastructure (Barrios 2017b, 153). While I use the term crisis in this study to describe the extreme difficulties that my participants face within the cultural industry, I apply the social phenomena and vulnerability approach to acknowledge that their struggles are rooted in institutionalized systems developed over decades of US colonialism and coloniality.

This study provides an overview of the vulnerable systems that created the cultural industry crisis and the US foundations’ role in reconstructing it after Hurricane María. It proposes a critique based on the participants’ experiences. Part of my critique and participants’ responses raises the question: Are US foundations’ financial support, grants, and gifts enough to ensure the cultural industry’s sustainable reconstruction? Disaster literature also problematizes the neoliberal economic discourses prevailing within current disaster management strategies. To illustrate, both Marino and Faas (2020) and Garriga-López (2020) similarly observed how North American nation-states frame disasters as issues to be solved through “proper governance” and capital investment.

Additionally, Barrios (2016, 26) verbalized the importance of reconsidering how we measure well-being since Western ideals typically measure it through "fiscal and capitalist indicators." The disaster anthropology literature constantly questions and contests this observed invisible cultural logic that categorizes disasters and hazards as required to be mitigated through centralized military intervention, economic investment, and heightened securitization (Marchezini 2015; Marino and Faas 2020; Garriga-López 2020, 124). Thus, these works explain disaster reconstruction strategies based on financial standards as contributing to a neoliberal ideology, representing a vulnerable system.

As discussed above, disasters are not natural phenomena but a clash of vulnerable anthropogenic systems and physical hazards. How we define a successful reconstruction after a disaster is usually measured by capitalist and neoliberal standards of financial stability. Similarly, philanthropy aims to help alleviate social inequalities and reconstruct affected populations through monetary gifts. The following section problematizes philanthropy to ground US foundations' contributions to Puerto Rico's cultural industry reconstruction as beneficial in the short-term but not sustainable due to its capacity to deepen dependency and hegemonize.

Problematizing Philanthropy

To contextualize my data and understand Puerto Rico's cultural industry funding streams, I reviewed various literature on philanthropy as an academic discourse. I found that philanthropy, on the surface, represents a contribution from one party to another to improve their quality of life or social conditions. However, research shows that wealthy organizations may twist their philanthropic projects to serve the capitalist market over the collective good (Hagan

2023; Morvaridi 2012; Thompson 2018). Furthermore, scholars have exemplified how philanthropy may hegemonize society (Fisher 1983), as wealthy foundations can exercise power through their agendas and implemented solutions (Smith et al. 2022), and position their boards as experts on the issue (Thompson 2018). As evidenced by philanthropy's powerful repercussions, it is necessary to problematize it, and consider ways foundations can best leverage their funds without reproducing the same social issues they claim to eradicate.

The word philanthropy originated from the Greek language to mean love for humankind; now, it refers to the concept and act of voluntarily giving resources for a collective good (Payton 1988). Organizations and wealthy individuals usually practice philanthropy to support "research, health, education, arts and culture" (Council on Foundations 2023). Although this definition characterizes its common usage, scholars conceptualizing philanthropy as an academic discourse have struggled to pinpoint a singular definition for the term (Daly 2012; Sulek 2010; Van Til 1990). Building on previous literature, Daly (2012, 544) identified philanthropy as an essentially contested concept, as different perspectives may posit philanthropic foundations as tools for social change (Nagai, Lerner, and Rothman 1994) or centralized loci for hegemony (Fisher 1983, 223; Morvaridi 2012, 1193). From a liberalism standpoint, "philanthropy is driven by altruism" (Morvaridi 2012, 1192). However, liberalism is a political doctrine that can hegemonize and conceal discrimination by packaging it in a palatable perspective (Maldonado-Torres 2016, 5); therefore, philanthropy may not be altruistic but another instrument of oppression. Overall, what constitutes philanthropy, and its impact, sometimes depends on the political and philosophical ideology applied.

As defined in the modern day, philanthropy is generally related to advancing the collective good (Sulek 2010, 204). However, scholars have problematized the act within a globalized, capitalist, neoliberal, and colonial context to uncover potential contradictions and areas of growth (Fisher 1983; Hagan 2023; Jensen 2019; Morvaridi 2012; Saifer 2023). Indeed, philanthropy's purpose and structure have changed over the years (Cobb 2002; McGoey 2021). As wealth multiplied for some and inequalities widened for many, philanthropists began marrying market-based strategies and goals of social change—some foundations moved to call grants "investments" and frame social issues as problems that can be eradicated through better financial outcomes (Cobb 2002, 128-130; Sklair and Gilbert 2022; Thompson 2018). Philanthropists' turn to finance and market-based strategies to structure grant-making evolved into what scholars call venture philanthropy and philanthrocapitalism (Haydon et al. 2021).

Philanthrocapitalism proposes that by investing in unprofitable ventures, the wealthy will produce social benefits and create even more resources to enact social change (Bishop and Green 2008; McGoey 2021, 393). Additionally, it asserts that practical, results-based business management will foster social change more so than research initiatives (Cobb 2002, 129). Yet, scholars warn that philanthrocapitalism in practice is less altruistic than initially proposed.

First, it is thought that capitalism, a "generator of inequality" with a market-first mentality, is incompatible with social change goals (Garcia-Arias and Mediavilla 2023). Research has shown that wealthy foundations have profited from philanthropic projects and structured them around their interests (Hagan 2023; Morvaridi 2012; Sklair and Gilbert 2022). For example, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation profited from COVAX, a public-private COVID-19 vaccine distribution platform, by managing Africa's public health crisis through

"financialization and corporate incentive structures" that generated over $10 billion for Bill Gates (Hagan 2023, 337-338). The Gates Foundation also funded Coca-Cola's entry into African supply chains (McGoey 2021, 395). Second, Thompson (2018, 53) argued that philanthrocapitalism is an extension of neoliberalism by privately funding projects and imposing conditions specific to the philanthropist's interest. Neoliberalism is the privatization of state-owned sectors to ease the "free flow of capital," an ideology that ultimately prioritizes greed and accumulation over the common good (Thompson 2018, 52).

Indeed, not all foundations apply a philanthrocapitalist structure, nor do these criticisms apply to all foundations. However, they illustrate how philanthropy is not inherently good and, at times, structured to serve the interest of capitalists over the communities they supposedly prioritize. With these criticisms in mind, we can better contextualize participants' concern over US foundations' growing interest in Puerto Rico—What could they gain, either financially or socially, from building a relationship with Puerto Rico's cultural industry?

Scholars propose that philanthropy is not only a tool for extracting profits but also capable of imposing hegemonic control. The Gramscian concept of hegemony refers to the process in which the dominant class achieves consensus from the popular classes through absorption and the "neutralisation of their interests" (Mouffe 1979, 182). For example, Morvaridi (2012, 1193) asserts that Gramsci thought of philanthropy as "an instrument of hegemony" that normalized and justified elite classes' affluence. Morvaridi (2012, 1196) expanded on this theoretical orientation by analyzing the for-profit motivations and business principles that anchored the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, especially as it partnered with Monsanto to intervene in Africa's agricultural restructuring.

Not only did Morvaridi (2012) question the foundation's interest in promoting public good when it too profited from its intervention in Africa, but they also proposed that philanthropists may "sustain the ideology of market-led capitalist development" by implementing neoliberal solutions to social problems created by capitalism and neoliberalism (Morvaridi 2012, 1192-1193). To explain this, Garcia-Arias and Mediavilla (2023) propose that philanthropists have historically represented a wall between revolutions against capitalism by contributing to the "common good" but maintaining the status quo. Although it is important not to reduce all acts of philanthropy to simple hegemonic and colonial reproductions of domination (Maldonado-Torres 2016, 11), it is necessary to consider wealthy foundations within the globalized context they are situated in, with particular attention to who the main stakeholders are, and their power dynamics with their partnered population.

Scholars have theorized philanthropic foundations as actively exercising power over political and economic agendas (Smith et al. 2022), capable of reifying inequalities under the guise of depoliticized empowerment (Saifer 2023) and co-opting social movements out of organizers' control (Silver 1998). Indeed, as private institutions, foundations can determine their (de)political agenda, the recipients of their grants, and the conditions attached to the money (Smith et al. 2022, 3). Their power can also be exercised by creating dependency. Corporate philanthropy goes further from simply donating money to a cause by creating a social relationship steeped in a dependency between the foundation and its grantees (van Fleet 2012, 175).

Dependency is developed by the grantees' loyalty to the foundation for funding and the foundation gaining an organization to represent their mission and vision. Furthermore, many

philanthropic foundations portray financial wealth as an equivalent to expertise and control not only the solutions used for a problem but also how the problem is perceived (Thompson 2018, 53; Garcia-Arias and Mediavilla 2023). As Jensen (2019, 383) stated, foundations usually speak out about inequality without sharing responsibility for possibly perpetuating such injustices, creating "a problem without a villain" (Jensen 2019, 383).

Literature on philanthropy also considers different strategies for foundations to avoid reproducing social ills. For foundations interested in creating fundamental change, Masters and Osborn (2010) suggest building long-term relationships with affected communities and building a movement that belongs to the grantees and their people, not the foundation. Participatory grant-making is another option that puts local communities in charge of designing grant criteria over the donors and foundation committees (Gibson 2017, 7). By reallocating decision-making powers and resources to community partners, power could be decentralized from the so-called "experts" to people directly affected by the social issue the foundation aims to help (Harden, Bain, and Heim 2021, 3).

Some foundations may not even be structured on neoliberal and capitalist strategies as assumed by scholars' theories. Notably, Jensen (2019, 380-382) found that many of the largest US foundations actively consider local communities and organizations as the appropriate "vehicles" for enacting social change. This finding suggests a change away from neoliberal policies, in which collaborating with people over appeasing the market is prioritized, but this does not represent the end of harmful philanthropy. Foundations could still be more specific in identifying harmful policies and vocalizing how their power can also reify social injustice (Jensen 2019, 382-383).

The images of the Hurricane María aftermath inspired people (many from the Puerto Rican diaspora) to donate and send aid to the island; however, as Lloréns (2018b, 143-149) stated, the hurricane made visible the many social injustices that already existed in Puerto Rico. As the images of Hurricane María gained international attention, US foundations furthered their involvement with the Puerto Rican cultural industry. They incorporated local organizations and institutions to assist with grant-making and resource allocation, such as the Flamboyán Foundation's partnership with Beta-Local and the Mellon Foundation's collaboration with Northwestern University and the *Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Puerto Rico* (MAC). Other local organizations that received US grants or partnered with US foundations include *the Y no había luz theater company*, the *Ballets de San Juan*, *Corredor Afro*, the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP), *Fundación Comunitaria de Puerto Rico*, *Fundación de Mujeres en Puerto Rico*, and the *Fundación Puertorriqueña de las Humanidades*, to mention a few.

However, additional research is needed to identify Puerto Ricans' role in their decision-making process and the diversity in the Puerto Rican representation in foundations' leadership and collaborations. While said research question is beyond this study's scope, my conversations with local artists, educators, and cultural managers helped me identify US foundations' helpful contributions, the potential for harm, and alternative proposals for reconstructing a sustainable cultural industry.

In summary, existing literature on philanthropy questions its altruistic core, explaining how philanthropy can act as an extension of capitalism and neoliberalism (Garcia-Arias and Mediavilla 2023; Hagan 2023; Morvaridi 2012; Thompson 2018). Furthermore, philanthropy can act as a vehicle to neutralize resistance and alternative ways of being, as wealthy elites and

foundations have the resources to exert political and economic control over others (Saifer 2023; Smith et al. 2022). At the same time, philanthropic organizations have increasingly prioritized communities' role in enacting social change (Jensen 2019), especially in Puerto Rico, where US foundations have actively supported local initiatives and organizations. Nevertheless, philanthropy must be problematized to understand its potential to harm rather than alleviate social issues and to imagine alternative solutions that posit it as complementary to peoples' proposals rather than the endgame solution.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The Field Site: Puerto Rico's Cultural Industry

The project's field site encompassed six cities in The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, a Caribbean archipelago, and a United States territory. Most of my observational fieldwork and recruitment efforts occurred in the island's metropolitan area on the north to northeast side, known for holding the cities with the most significant population numbers, such as San Juan, Bayamón, and Carolina. I traveled to Puerto Rico on May 29 and stayed until June 27, 2022, to recruit potential participants, connect with stakeholders, and see local cultural organizations. I visited multiple cities and cultural organizations throughout the island (Table 1), meeting contemporary artists, museum staff, and educators. Although not all site visits produced recruitment, they expanded my network of contacts and gave me a perspective on the current state of the cultural industry.

Table 1 List of cities and locations visited

City	Location Visited
San Juan	*Museo de las Américas*
	Museo de Arte de Puerto Rico (MAPR)
	Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Puerto Rico (MAC)
	Museo de Arte y Diseño de Miramar (MADMI)
	El Lobi
	Km 0.2.
Carolina	*Museo Casa Escuté*
Caguas	Urbe-Apie

City	Location Visited
Bayamón	*Museo de Arte de Bayamón*
	Espacio Emergente
Loíza	Samuel Lind's Art Studio
Ponce	Vía Arte

The city visits exposed me to the formal and informal aspects of the local cultural industry. For example, I appreciated the collection of historically celebrated Puerto Rican artists in the *Museo de Arte de Puerto Rico*. I took note of their Puerto Rico Plural project funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. At the *Museo de Arte de Bayamón*, I recruited its director, Sarabel Santos-Negrón, and included an institutional stakeholder's perspective on the cultural sector and post-Hurricane María funding streams. Furthermore, I was invited to visit an exhibition by artist and *gestor cultural* (translates to cultural manager), Edwin Velázquez Collazo.

I accompanied Edwin as he dismantled his curated exhibition, *Cimarronas: artistas negras y afrodescendientes*, at the *Museo Casa Escuté* in Carolina. There, I learned that he occupies multiple spaces in the cultural industry, formally and informally, in his home turned into an alternative art space in Humacao, *Casa Silvana*. Conversely, I visited informal networks of art galleries in Loíza and one of San Juan's neighborhoods, Santurce. My visits to some of Santurce's alternative galleries, El Lobi and Km 0.2., showed me how artists transform a residential space into an alternative gallery as a creative response to the economic and ideological factors that bar them from receiving formal institutional support.

My conversations with a Km 0.2 volunteer led me to network with Albania Galería, a rising inclusive art space, and feature its co-director Luis in the study. Conducting in-person

recruitment at various sites in Puerto Rico helped me explore "multiple entryways" into the research topic and contextualize my participants' experiences with first-hand knowledge of the space surrounding them (Passaro 1997, 151-56). Overall, staying in Puerto Rico for almost a month allowed me to connect with people from varying positions in the local cultural industry and expose me to aspects I was unfamiliar with, such as the alternative art scene.

Data Collection: Semi-Structured Interviews and Non-Participant Observations

The primary data collection tool was virtual semi-structured interviews with contemporary artists, museum staff, educators, and cultural managers who identify as Puerto Rican. I selected to prepare semi-structured interview guides to allow for free-flowing conversations that were, at their core, structured around the research questions' themes (O'Reilly 2012, 120). The interviews were in Spanish, 30- to 90-minutes long, conducted through Zoom, and audio-recorded for transcription purposes. The eight interviews produced over nine hours of interview recordings.

The data collection period began in June 2022 and ended in November 2022. I transcribed the interviews manually and with OneDrive's Microsoft Word Online program, manually editing them for errors and translating the quoted transcription sections from Spanish to English for uniformity across the chapters. Any translation errors are my own.

The information from the virtual interviews created a data set that allowed me to understand better the participants' perceptions of reality (Fetterman 2020, 51-53). Participants contributed their unique perspectives on the cultural industry crisis, Hurricane María's influence on their work, and the US foundations that became a main funding stream for some. In addition

to sharing feelings of frustration, they also shared examples of resistance through creativity, adaptability, and community partnerships; they spoke of previous and upcoming projects they felt proud of and excited for, as well as aspirations for Puerto Rico's future. Each participant's contribution was essential to the project and thus compensated for with a $25 Amazon Gift Card funded by the Trevor Colbourn Anthropology Endowment Fund (TCAEF).

Although I planned to conduct a more thorough participant observation methodology, I decided against it to avoid spreading the COVID-19 virus during my summer 2022 trip. I substituted the participant observation method with direct observations, in which I did not attain an insider's role but still managed to use my senses to collect data (Busetto, Wick, and Gumbinger 2020). Observations were turned into written notes on my surroundings, specifically noting events occurring during my visit, alternative and formal art spaces visited, and conversations with a consenting party. For example, I gained permission to take notes during my conversation with Edwin at the *Museo Casa Escuté* as he gave a personal tour of his curated exhibition. Overall, this method complemented the data captured through the semi-structured interviews by providing additional context for the state of Puerto Rico's cultural industry and art spaces. However, the analysis prioritizes the interview data because it represents most of the information collected.

Sampling and Recruitment Methods: The Site-Based Approach

This study was conducted with participants recruited in person and through email conversations. The sample frame criteria included the following characteristics: 1) older than age 18, 2) connection to the Puerto Rican art community (i.e., through a curatorial, teaching, or artist

occupation), 3) identification with Puerto Rican heritage, and 4) currently residing in Puerto Rico. To explain, I selected people who resided on the island to narrow my research's scope and center the island's current lived-in social realities. However, I recognize that Puerto Rico's boundaries stretch far beyond its island shores (see Duany 2002a for a review on Puerto Rico's circular migration). In addition, I adapted Arcury and Quandt's (1999) site-based approach to navigate such a large community of artists, cultural managers, and educators in Puerto Rico. Finally, I integrated multiple sampling methodologies to ensure I had the flexibility to determine the sample on a rolling basis as I learned more about the local cultural industry.

Following the method's five steps (Arcury and Quandt 1999, 129-130), I narrowed the sample criteria to reflect the study's research focus, specifically on people's employment in the cultural industry. Next, I drafted a list of sites I expected to visit in Puerto Rico, leaving space for unexpected sites discovered during the visit. I then estimated at least one participant per site to be recruited, although this varied according to people's availability and interest. Before and during the data collection process, I connected with site-specific stakeholders to access the site's population, such as the Albania Galería team and the *Escuela de Artes Plásticas y Diseño de Puerto Rico*, as well as individuals whom I had mutual connections with or met the research criteria to gauge their interest. Finally, I recruited eight participants out of my preferred limit of ten, which I selected to ensure a manageable data set for the study's limited time frame. All eight participants preferred I include their names, employment, and details of artistic projects in the study.

While I was not able to recruit participants from the more central and southern cities despite my visits to the areas, I was able to recruit people from formal institutions, alternative art

scenes, and those who worked in-between, as well as people who either grew up or lived outside of the metropolitan area (Table 2). Overall, Arcury and Quandt's method served as a helpful guide for finding a small sample of representative individuals. Working in tandem with Arcury and Quandt's (1999) site-based approach, I applied multiple exploratory sampling methodologies.

Table 2 List of participant names and positions

Name	Position
Ada del Pilar Ortiz	Artist and educator with residency with the *Proyecto Viviendas y Talleres para Artistas Visuales del Municipio de Bayamón*.
Nicole Soto Rodríguez	Movement and visual artist, anthropologist, and museum worker at the *Museo de Arte y Diseño de Miramar*.
Pedro Adorno Irizarry	Artist and co-founder of the theater collective, Agua, Sol y Sereno.
Emilia Quiñones-Otal	Associate Professor of art history at the University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez Campus, and contemporary art curator.
Sarabel Santos-Negrón	Artist and director of *Museo de Arte de Bayamón*.
Luis Rivera	Artist-researcher and co-director of alternative art space, Albania Galería.
Maribel Canales	Artist and educator at the *Escuela de Artes Plásticas y Diseño de Puerto Rico*.
Edwin Velázquez Collazo	Artist, curator, cultural manager, editor for Puerto Rico Art News, and founder of alternative art space, Casa Silvana in Humacao.

My sampling methodologies included opportunistic sampling to accommodate participants recruited during my city explorations, purposive sampling to recruit those with specific professional roles or artistic interests, and snowball and convenience sampling to expand

my network through mutual relationships (Cohen and Crabtree 2006; Lavrakas 2008). For in-person recruitment, I followed a verbal script where I identified myself as a graduate-level researcher from the University of Central Florida and offered them a printed Explanation of Research form that discussed my study's aims and data collection methods. Likewise, I used a similarly pre-prepared script when recruiting through email communications. Online recruitment occurred when a mutual contact gave their permission to be contacted or when I reached out to a potential participant who met the study's sample criteria. Recruitment began in May 2022 and concluded in November 2022 once I reached data saturation and no longer identified new themes (Damyanov 2023).

Data Analysis: The Grounded Theory Approach

I produced my final analysis using a grounded theory approach to analyze the interview data. The grounded theory approach, developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), allowed me to generate an understanding of the data during the analysis process as my research questions evolved (Johnson 1990; Pettigrew 2000). I preferred the grounded theory method instead of selecting a theoretical framework at the beginning of the study design and confining myself to that selection. That method would not as easily account for evolving research aims and questions or unexpected findings. The grounded theory approach consists of 1) deconstructing the data through open coding, in which I went line by line exploring the interview transcripts for concepts and patterns, 2) constructing or assembling the data to answer my research questions and tell a story, and 3) confirming my interpretation of the data by recombing through the data (Gobo 2008, 227). As Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011, 129) proposed, one does not discover meaning

in data but assembles and interprets it. Through this chosen approach, I grounded my assemblages and interpretations of the data on my participants' perspectives (Bitsch 2005, 77).

I explored the interview transcriptions for concepts and categories that could answer my research questions. I used line-by-line coding to understand my participants' experiences in depth, challenge my initial assumptions, and encounter unexpected patterns (Charmaz and Thornberg 2021, 307). I initially expected my interview questions to yield data that could explain Puerto Rico's current heritage development after Hurricane María. However, a central theme that appeared consistently throughout most of the interviews was Puerto Rico's cultural industry crisis.

Participants spoke in detail about the economic and ideological barriers that made it difficult for artists, educators, and cultural managers to progress or maintain a stable income in the local cultural industry. Thus, I broke these findings into the code "cultural industry crisis" and re-coded until I categorized sub-codes with multiple references to the crisis across seven to eight transcriptions. Furthermore, I identified multiple references to US foundations and their role in shaping the cultural industry since Hurricane María. The analysis also produced sub-themes that complemented the main themes of crisis and US foundations with further nuance. These included sub-themes like resistance through creativity and peer support, the Puerto Rican diaspora, and hopeful aspirations for Puerto Rico's future. I used the NVivo software to organize the codes and sub-themes.

I assembled these main findings to support my analysis of how Puerto Rico's cultural industry crisis developed before Hurricane María and further illuminate US foundations' role in the industry. In essence, coding, categorizing, and analyzing the data through grounded theory

helped me build a descriptive theory (Busetto, Wick, and Gumbinger 2020, 4). The descriptive theory I propose here, first, explains the cultural industry's long-term crisis through the joys and struggles of local creatives and cultural managers, and second, postulates US foundations as not clear-cut solutions to the crisis but part of a contradictory system that must continue fostering community partnerships and incorporating locals' visions and strategies to reconstruct beyond the crisis.

Limitations

My study is limited to a sample of eight participants. Small sample sizes (less than twenty) are considered ideal for an exploratory interview-based qualitative study such as this one, as each person is treated as a case study that undergoes rigorous, in-depth interviewing and analysis (Crouch and McKenzie 2006). While I believe this sample size fits the research's purpose for those same reasons, I realize that most participants reside in or near the metropolitan area and do not represent rural Puerto Ricans' experiences. This is partly due to my housing's location in the metropolitan area during the fieldwork.

Participants from outside the metropolitan area, such as Edwin from Humacao and Dr. Emilia Quiñones-Otal from Mayagüez, offered important contributions that helped decenter the study's results away from a metropolitan-only perspective. Likewise, I was unable to recruit street artists. However, the study does include artists from the visual and performing arts, museum directors, curators, and staff, university professors, and founders of alternative art spaces and theater collectives. The study's data set provided important information regarding the cultural industry crisis, Hurricane María's aftermath, and the external funding sources.

Nevertheless, I do not frame this study's sample as representative of the whole cultural industry in Puerto Rico.

This study explores participants' perspectives on US foundations supporting the cultural industry post-Hurricane María. While the interviews represent the experiences of grantees and people who applied for grants, I did not capture the perspectives of people who manage these US grants. Therefore, this study focuses on locals' experiences with and concerns over the US foundations and opens the door for future research on Puerto Rico's cultural industry as it develops.

The grounded theory approach, as summarized by Gobo (2008), usually asks for the researcher to return to the field and collect more information by conducting follow-up interviews. While I could not return to the field and conduct follow-up interviews to confirm my findings due to time constraints, I did re-categorize my findings to ensure that my interpretations matched my participants' answers. Ultimately, I characterize my research as exploratory and rich with current perspectives on Puerto Rico's cultural industry while leaving space for future research to confirm and build upon my findings. I suggest that future research will benefit from sampling stakeholders involved with handling US foundation grants actively supporting Puerto Rico's cultural industry, as their perspective would enrich locals' perspectives on their presence and Puerto Rico's future.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUERTO RICO'S CULTURAL INDUSTRY

"Look, the artists here are always collaborative because there is a need to create, a need to express ourselves. Whether there is money or not, culture is going to keep moving," proclaimed Edwin Velázquez Collazo, artist, independent curator, and *Puerto Rico Art News* blogzine editor. With over twenty years of experience in the art world, Edwin has developed a seasoned set of skills and a rich support network to substitute for the government's lacking investment in the arts. Like other participants featured in this study, Edwin believes a funding gap exists that leaves local Puerto Rican artists and cultural managers without formal support for their projects. Specifically, Edwin noted a decline in government investment in the arts, especially compared to previous years. This observation, mentioned often by study participants, reflects an unfortunate reality: a history of colonial governance, extractive policies, austerity measures, and static cultural symbols have shaped the cultural industry's infrastructure into its current vulnerable state; one in which public funding is limited, artists self-subsidize, and US foundations are considered the primary funding source.

A toxic combination of colonial governance and neoliberal policies has prevailed in Puerto Rico since the early 2000's economic decline (Atiles-Osoria 2013, 107), with its consequences reflected in the financial and ideological struggles many local artists and cultural organizations face. Through a review of Puerto Rico's colonial history, contemporary neoliberal policies, static traditional and racist ideologies, and their effects on artists and cultural managers, I argue that the local cultural industry was unable to develop an adaptable formal infrastructure.

Furthermore, I showcase the origins of its current vulnerable state, as defined by disaster anthropologists' concept of vulnerability (Barrios 2017a; Bonilla 2020; Oliver-Smith 1999). Puerto Ricans are not inherently vulnerable, but their formal infrastructure's vulnerability is "borne of root causes—the long arcs of colonialism, development, global capitalism, and modernity" (Marino and Faas 2020, 35). Co-existing alongside such long arcs are Puerto Ricans' creative shows of resistance, as artists and cultural managers have relied on each other, their ingenuity, and artistic passions to resist economic and political dispossession. To paraphrase Edwin, Puerto Rican culture keeps moving through the collaborative spirit many in the cultural industry share.

Colonialism and the Development of the Cultural Industry

Puerto Rico's funding infrastructure for the cultural industry had been deteriorating under colonial policies and neoliberalism long before the strict austerity measure, PROMESA, passed in 2016 and Hurricane María hit the island in 2017. The cultural industry's public funding infrastructure has experienced considerable losses throughout the 2000s (Collazo Santana 2021; Hernández-Acosta and Gómez-Herazo 2020a; Hernández-Acosta and Gómez-Herazo 2020b). Luis Rivera Jiménez, an artist-researcher, curator, and writer, was keenly aware of the infrastructure's long arcs of degradation.

When asked if he perceived a notable decrease in available public funding and an increase in US private funding after Hurricane María, Luis was hesitant to characterize a dramatic difference due to the storm. For him, the storm's destruction simply sped up the public infrastructure's deterioration already set in motion years before:

> If Hurricane María did something, it was concretize the relationship we have now [with the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture]—as in, this was already coming due to many economic situations and many failures of public policy in Puerto Rico. We could already see that the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture and public funds were no longer enough to subsidize the culture.

Luis did not personally experience being an artist in the early 2000s to notice differences in public funding availability from his perspective. However, his research as a "quasi-art historian" (as he called himself) led him to learn that the public funding infrastructure began to falter after the last Puerto Rican "art boom" in the early 2000s:

> Like the ten years before María, the whole muralism boom was beginning. And that also created a particular cultural focus, where there was a mixture of private and public interests, be it gentrification, renovation of urban areas...In other words, there was something moving, and you could already see that people were beginning to look for ways to diversify where the income for cultural funds came from. […] There was a certain mobilization of the cultural infrastructure's economy which, if it was already faltering, for María it ends up totally destroyed.

The muralism boom mentioned by Luis refers to an early-2000s independent art movement where Puerto Rican artists began painting the urban landscape of San Juan with colorful murals, "transforming the city into a grand collective canvas" (Hernández Rivera 2016).

The rising popularity of muralism and urban art festivals across Puerto Rico in part reflected a growing gap between the local art scene and public institutions, widened by the worsening economic crisis. Alexis Bousquet's *Santurce es Ley*, an art festival founded in 2010, is an example of Puerto Ricans creating art "as an engine for an alternative reconstruction of the country through self-administration" (Coll Martínez 2016). As Luis said, "there was something moving" in the early 2000s, and that something was the collective efforts of local artists and cultural managers trying to create within their communities despite Puerto Rico's ballooning

debt crisis and dwindling public funds—two economic issues exacerbated by local neoliberal governance and deeply rooted colonial policies.

As can be seen, the public infrastructure for Puerto Rico's cultural industry has deteriorated over time. The cultural industry's degraded economic infrastructure is but one consequence of Puerto Rico's extensive history of US colonialism, extractive policies, and neoliberalism. Other sectors in Puerto Rico like education (Brusi and Godreau 2019), healthcare and social services (Chandra et al. 2021), and environmental infrastructure (Lloréns and Stanchich 2019) have similarly experienced funding cuts and lack of maintenance due to the financial challenges that colonial and neoliberal policies aggravate.

To better understand Puerto Rico's current state, in which US foundations serve as a major funding source for the cultural industry while public services are cut, it is necessary to contextualize how Puerto Rico's economy was set up to benefit capital over people. We can see this in the historical lack of arts appreciation noted by contemporary plastic artist and educator Ada del Pilar Ortíz. During our conversation, she connected local cultural institutions' material foundations to a larger historical pattern that suggested a devalue of art and culture in Puerto Rico:

> Something I hadn't thought about until now is how historical spaces are appropriated to create museums. Yes, there can be many reasons for that, but suddenly you realize how it works. This group wants to make a museum: "Oh, well, let's give them this building." It's good because in Puerto Rico there is a lot of infrastructure that we should make useful. But when it comes to turning [the historical building] into what the visual experience is and the appreciation of art... Those [aspects] must be considered; they are very important.

For Ada, the decision-making process surrounding Puerto Rico's art and cultural institutions has been short of designs that intentionally serve art, artists, and its audiences. "Right now, we must validate the idea of designing a building for this experience," she suggested as a solution.

As a US colony, Puerto Rico was shaped to benefit its colonial government's economic and ideological needs. Dependent on US capital and markets, bond proceeds, and federal grants and policies, the local government developed systems unable to balance its finances without said dependency (Cabán 2018, 163; Joffe and Martínez 2016, 28). Within this context, archaeologist Ricardo Alegría paved the way for Puerto Rican cultural institutions. Alegría created the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP) to preserve heritage and support the arts; however, as government-funded entities, they ultimately suffered from deprioritization (González-González 2016, 86). Ada identified art as mainly devalued in the eyes of Puerto Rico's governing bodies: "For the same community of artists, it is [valuable], it is life. But we cannot deny that we also depend on other things that do not necessarily see [art] in the same way that we see it."

Like Ada, artists Edwin and Pedro Adorno recognized the low value Puerto Rican governing bodies assigned art. "We see how there is a gap between the needs of society and what our government offers, and that is the case with the arts as well," said Edwin. Pedro, who founded the theater collective *Agua, Sol y Sereno* alongside his wife Cathy, similarly stated: "Do you value what you do? Well, obviously the values of society do not value it." However, for Pedro, the cultural industry's condition is difficult, but not pessimistic: "Above all, people understood that they have to start creating their conditions and that makes both artists and all sectors of economic development, well—we are looking for sustainability. Sustainability and sovereignty; independent of management." What Pedro described here mirrors Garriga-López's (2019, 180) description of *autogestión*, or autonomous organizing between community members to help each other "at the margins of both local and federal government" (Llenín Figueroa 2019).

After Hurricane María, Pedro noted that more Puerto Ricans moved to *autogestionar* or self-govern and create their conditions as it became clear that "nothing external, nothing exogenous, not even millions of dollars in federal funds are going to solve the problems." When asked to explain the strategies that he has seen artists use to navigate a crumbling economy, defunded schools and cultural institutions, and lack of financial support for artists, he explained the importance of creating art with heart, honesty, and commitment to telling untold stories: "I will say something very radical that no one is going to tell you, the best strategy is that of the heart, it is love. This sounds like a little new wave, like religious, but it really is. There must be a sincere commitment to sharing and generosity, to ensuring that the majority of sectors receive art and culture." While colonialism created vulnerable systems and infrastructure, Pedro and other participants showed that those conditions did not defeat Puerto Ricans' desires to create and share the arts and culture.

Highlighting Puerto Rican artists and cultural managers' resistance against total colonial dispossession not only gives insight into the colonial condition but also showcases peoples' success at creating and existing beyond colonial constraints. Museum director, Sarabel Santos-Negrón, exemplified how cultural industry's colonial roots have degraded its infrastructure over time but have not deterred Puerto Ricans' resistance to it. To explain, Sarabel referred to Puerto Rican artists' resilience as a direct marker of their historical colonial condition.

For Sarabel, Puerto Ricans' resilient formation as artists is not unique but instead shared with other historically colonized cultures. Having completed a residency with artists from countries like Mexico and others from the Caribbean islands, she felt connected to her colleagues through what she called a "colonial memory":

> I saw that resonance of that colonial past and of that economic present that made me identify that similar spirit, of staying afloat, in my residency colleagues. But it makes me think that it is because of the type of life that we have had to live, right? As a colony—what colonies do is enrich the colonizer, you know, the colony is nothing more than [...] a treasure where the owner becomes rich. I knew this [about the other Caribbean islands], but seeing it and meeting the people, I said, "wow." Then this resilient spirit, I saw it as a shared DNA of the past. Because of that memory that exists, that geographical memory, that historical memory, that colonial memory, a paradisiacal one as well, that we share in common.

From Sarabel's story, we can see that developing as an artist in Puerto Rico creates a specific experience with resistance that other colonized territories share. "I believe that Puerto Ricans have lived their entire lives in a crisis," Sarabel said, explaining why she believes Puerto Ricans are used to making do with little resources. Sarabel has created installations with items from her environment, such as plastic bags and plastic construction fences, integrating them into a critique against external investors claiming ownership over Puerto Rico.

"Because sometimes there is no money to buy what [materials] I am going to use, I use what we have within reach," Sarabel shared. "Well, that is the training of Puerto Ricans, to have to work with what there is." At an infrastructural level, Puerto Rico's cultural industry has degraded due to Puerto Rico's colonial history. Because of these colonial conditions, artists have developed a commitment to art, community, and self-management that helps the cultural industry continue to grow and thrive.

Neoliberalism and the Dispossession of Social Infrastructure

Fusté (2017, 93) proposed that, while the island's local socioeconomic circumstances have uniquely shaped the island's economic development, we cannot ignore US colonialism's link to its "contemporary neoliberal moment." With a dependency on American capital and an

intentionally limited political autonomy, Puerto Rico's public services have been unable to develop on solid economic ground. Overall, it can be argued that the foundation for Puerto Rico's cultural industry was initially laid on an unstable economic ground weakened under a neoliberal colonial administration (Atiles-Osoria 2013, 113). The economic erosion of the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP) over the decades, and participants' lived experiences through austerity measures overall, exemplify how the cultural industry's economic instability is linked to the neoliberal colonial government.

Pedro, who has worked alongside his wife and other artists through their theater collective since 1993, recognized that local cultural institutions have faced abandonment since the 1990s due to governing bodies undermining art as a valuable social contribution:

> For many years, there was contempt for the contribution of art of Puerto Rican society. After the first project in the 1950s, [Governor] Muñoz indicated that there was a very large cultural investment. Already in the 80s and 90s, there was abandonment. So, we live the transition from when the Institute of Culture had 15 million dollars in financing and now, they have a million and a half that [must] sustain all this infrastructure, all its employees.

In 2020, the Executive Director of the ICP stated that the government-funded institution had lost over $23 million through budget cuts since 2015 (Quintero 2020). The Executive Director identified the Financial Oversight and Management Board for Puerto Rico, appointed by the US Congress, as severely limiting the number of public funds allocated annually. The Puerto Rico Oversight, Management, and Economic Stability Act (PROMESA) established the Fiscal Control Board (FCB) in 2016 to restructure Puerto Rico's debt of over $70 billion in public debt alone, announced as unpayable in 2015 (Austin 2022).

According to Edwin, the budget reductions affecting the cultural industry have had a palpable impact on the local arts community. For instance, it has influenced artists' ability to

showcase their work: “The sponsorship right now is very limited. The help offered by the government, by the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture today, is basically working at almost—it does 50 or 40 [percent] of what it did many years ago and—there is no aid to be able to... Although now there are perhaps more exhibition halls, organizing an exhibition is expensive.” In detail, Edwin estimated that producing the art and organizing its exhibition could cost from six to ten thousand dollars in out-of-pocket expenses. Despite decades of experience in the cultural industry, Edwin has had to balance multiple jobs at a time to sustain his artistic projects. It is only recently in 2022 that the Mellon Foundation awarded him a living stipend, allowing him to focus on his artistic projects.

His dependence on US private grants and the charity-industrial complex suggests that Puerto Rico’s colonial government has abandoned the population in favor of serving the debt (Cortés 2018a; Garriga-López 2019, 181-182). Edwin and the many other artists and cultural managers on the island are reaping the consequences of Puerto Rico’s financial disaster by being dispossessed of their social infrastructure through austerity measures (Cortés 2018a, 362). As Cortés (2018a, 362) argued, Puerto Rico has reached a point where its colonial government views the population as a “disposable excess”; the debt is prioritized, the state and state processes are abandoned (Garriga-López 2019) and the local economy is once again oriented to serve the US market rather than its people (Fusté 2017, 110).

Dr. Emilia Quiñones-Otal, an Associate Professor of art history at the University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez Campus, exemplified through her concept of the word “resilience” how neoliberal governance inevitably led to Puerto Ricans becoming “disposable excess” after Hurricane María, as Cortés phrased it (2018a). Emilia recalled that PROMESA’s FCB first

inspired Puerto Ricans to rally against the imposed austerity measures. She noted that Puerto Ricans identified with the word "resilience" at the time, but after Hurricane María, the connotations changed: "What happens, once María comes along, the government stops acting, right? When María arrived, this became a no man's land." While the FCB's austerity measures pushed Puerto Ricans to advocate for themselves and resist imposition, Hurricane María triggered complete abandonment from the local and federal government and extremely unlivable conditions.

According to Bonilla (2020, 16), the resilience concept can be co-opted to demand communities to accept structural violence as their new normal, especially in the context of neoliberal Puerto Rico. This became apparent to Emilia after the storm. She noted that, once the government faced criticism from local and international parties for feigning an inability to help, it eagerly co-opted the term resilience to empower people:

> And [the government] did absolutely nothing, but they also folded their arms when the hurricane came. They could have done many things, including--I always say that they should have taken over the gas stations. And screw the private property. "Oh, that's private property." No, no, no. Gasoline now belongs to the people because everybody needs it to survive. So many people would not have died in this situation. [The government] begins to tell us that we are resilient and of course, how are we going to take it? We are not going to take it as empowerment. It almost feels like an insult. It's like, "Don't call me resilient, don't applaud my resilience when you're the one who's not giving me the resources to survive."

Emilia's highlight of private property further emphasized that, in the face of disaster, the government prioritized capital interests over the population's needs. Furthermore, Emilia was not the only participant to frame resiliency as problematic.

"If what resilience means is 'Making the most of the least,' well, yes, we [Puerto Ricans] a hundred percent do that," said Luis, co-director of alternative art space and community Albania

Galería. When asked about the word resilience and its association with post-Hurricane Maria survivors, Luis stated that he does not use the word but understands why the word's meaning could resonate with many Puerto Ricans. "I mean, I tell everyone that Albania was an exercise of asking, 'well, with what we have, can we make art?'" However, for Luis, the "resilient Puerto Rican artist" label is not a point of pride. Instead, it highlights having no choice but to struggle financially within a fragmented cultural industry to exist as an artist.

Luis and his peers' work with Albania Galería is an example of how Puerto Ricans resist neoliberal dispossession of social infrastructure by creating and investing in their alternative art spaces. Nicole Soto-Rodríguez, a movement and visual artist, museum worker, and anthropologist, framed alternative art spaces as born from resistance:

> I think that the spaces began to arise for that, for people interested in exhibiting what did not fit in the museums, what did not fit in the galleries. And they are basically a message for institutional spaces, as if to say that: "Even if we have to work twice as much to have a regular job, to get our money, and be able to have this alternative space, and exhibit my friends, well I'm going to do it." Because I know that my friends are quite talented and have something to say.

My visit to Santurce's alternative art spaces, such as El Lobi and Km 0.2., allowed me to see how artists invest in and transform residential spaces to fill in gaps left by the lack of public funding.

Alternative art spaces in Puerto Rico are not a new phenomenon. Segarra-Ríos (2011), for example, reviewed the evolution of alternative art spaces, collective creative projects, and public intervention measures that cropped up between the years 1999 and 2011 in Puerto Rico. He found that the number of galleries available during the early 2000s was not sufficient to support the number of artists on the island (Segarra-Ríos 2011, 60). Likewise, Segarra-Ríos found that museum institutions were not the ideal space to host emerging artists, as their

structure was mostly geared towards a segmented display of artistic disciplines. Thus, alternative art spaces have historically been artists and audiences' response to the cultural industry's infrastructural deterioration.

Self-managed spaces have garnered the attention of audiences and formal institutions alike. Nicole noted this success, stating: "I think that the institutions eventually realized that the circuit of the art movement was taking place within alternative spaces rather than exhibitions or traditional spaces. So, they had to stop for a moment and say, 'Wait, something is happening here.'" Outside of managing their independent spaces, artists also navigate dispossessed social infrastructure through mutual support. "Many of us work; we donate our time to help other artists, other colleagues that need it for their exhibitions," said Edwin. The gap left open by the lacking institutional support was evident from the way Edwin described his experience with mutual aid within the local art scene:

> I've helped with assembling art shows because that's my specialty. People have called me like, "Look, I'm going to do a show. Could you set it up for me?" And, well, let's go, I'll assemble it for you, and by inviting me out to eat we resolve it. That's how we deal, with brotherhood, with collaboration. Well, we work that way and that's how we help the country's culture survive. It's the only way, there is no other.

From his story, we can glean that Edwin's lived experience as an artist and cultural manager in Puerto Rico is one overwhelmingly defined by self-sufficiency and reliance on peer support networks to support his artistic endeavors. Moreover, he believed that waiting for the government to provide public funding would stagnate art and cultural production entirely. Overall, parallel to the local government funding cuts and privatization are Puerto Rican artists, educators, and cultural managers working to navigate and overcome such economic barriers.

Coloniality and the Puerto Rican Identity

Beyond vulnerabilizing Puerto Rico's economic system through exploitation and expropriation, colonialism also shaped Puerto Rico's cultural policy (Hernández-Acosta 2013, 128-129). According to participants, contemporary artists who create non-traditional art or highlight their African heritage continue to struggle against static cultural standards in the cultural industry. Nicole, a movement and visual artist with years of experience working in Puerto Rico's public cultural institutions, recognized this ideological weakness within local cultural institutions. For instance, she found the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP) to be stifling contemporary artistic expressions—a key factor in contemporary artists' lack of opportunities:

> My generation is living through the dismantling of the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture. We do not necessarily even appeal to the institute for any type of financial support because the ones that exist are not necessarily as viable. We also don't feel that there are the kinds of projects that existed in the 1960s and 1970s, where many artists worked with the [Institute of Puerto Rican Culture] because they had validation from this institution. They could even be given a salary; the possibility of international exposure could be offered. Now, we do not live in this reality.

According to Nicole, many of the institute's funding opportunities are no longer viable not only because of economic decay, but also due to a dissonance between what the institute deems valid Puerto Rican art and contemporary artists' emerging ideas.

When asked to define the traditional art forms she noted as usually accepted by the ICP, she listed paintings, sculptures, and engravings that tackled "safe" themes like Puerto Rican identity, colonization, or the island's political status. In contrast, she noted that performance art, installations, sound interventions, and public art were not commonly recognized by local institutions, especially if they centered on personal experiences and abstract thought or were

created for creation's sake. This blind spot alienated contemporary artists from exhibiting their work and being represented in Puerto Rico's official art history. For example, as a movement artist who uses video to capture her art, Nicole felt cultural institutions lacked information on historical Puerto Rican performance artists for her to study.

The institutionalized alienation of certain Puerto Rican artists further segmented the local cultural industry and destabilized its development into a flexible and resilient societal sector. An example of a contemporary artist forced to self-subsidize their work due to the institute's limited view on valid Puerto Rican art is Luis and his alternative art space. As a recent graduate, Luis and his peers created the alternative art space Albania Galería to make up for a lack of local galleries available and institutional interest.

"We were recent graduates; we were artists that were constantly working," shared Luis. "But many of us, even like the stars of the school, didn't see what we could do. I mean, there wasn't any gallery, or, at that time, very few galleries were interested in us. There was no interest from the Institute of Culture either." In sum, Albania Galería's existence resulted from the realization that him and his peers were graduating from what he experienced as a "failed university, within a decaying infrastructure" with minimal galleries interested in exhibiting emerging contemporary artists—especially those interested in interrogating classist, homophobic, and sexist values through art and simply existing as Black and Brown artists.

Puerto Rico's colonial roots influenced the ICP's ideological formation. Established in 1955 (only three years after the US proclaimed Puerto Rico a Commonwealth), the ICP's purpose was to disseminate Puerto Rican cultural values through institutionalized processes of preservation, promotion, and appreciation (Harvey 1993). The ICP's ideological formation was

said to be a “marriage between the Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico and intellectuals of the time” (Hernández-Acosta 2013, 2017).

The island’s main political parties, the New Progressive Party (PNP), the Popular Democratic Party (PPD), and the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), have all played a role in influencing the ICP’s development. After 1955, the ICP became a refuge for independence supporters and a symbolic tool for the administration in power: the PPD (advocating for an empowered Commonwealth status) would promote ideas of traditional Puerto Ricanness while the PNP (advocating for statehood) would argue for a universal Puerto Rican identity that would facilitate an integration into the US (Dávila 1997a, 43-58). The two parties’ stances on the definition of Puerto Rican culture and implementation of the ICP fluctuated depending on the political climate. Overall, according to Dávila (1997a, 43), both the PPD and PNP parties reproduced elitism by supporting Western ideas of high art and culture through their cultural policies.

Conservative or traditional expectations of what constitutes valid Puerto Rican art have internally influenced the local cultural industry’s direction for many years, according to artist Nicole. This problem was especially noticeable for Nicole due to her experience working for multiple cultural institutions on the island, including the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP) and the *Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Puerto Rico* (MAC):

> The country's cultural institution, which is the one that endorses what can or cannot be art, maintains a discourse about art in Puerto Rico […] rooted in a discourse from 1955, which is when it was installed as the structure of the Institute of Culture. And this has repercussions on the next generations because artists who are beyond the 1960s, those of the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s or the current ones sometimes struggle with what we want to express through our work.

Indeed, it shocked Nicole to see how stunted institutional art spaces were in terms of representing the freshest cultural expressions that contemporary Puerto Ricans had to offer. She acknowledged that the ICP does exhibit contemporary art but believes that the institute ultimately adheres to its traditional discourse. As previously mentioned, Luis' Albania Galería project resulted partly from the ICP's lack of interest in supporting contemporary artists' alternative cultural expressions. Not only are there financial constraints limiting the number of spaces where contemporary artists can express themselves, but the "idealization of Puerto Ricanness," as artist and educator Ada phrased it, further bars Puerto Ricans from creating other types of art.

According to Nicole's observations, the ICP's attempt to safeguard Puerto Rican culture ultimately limited them to a static perspective of Puerto Ricanness. Nicole's observations echo the findings of anthropologist Arlene Dávila (1997a). Dávila (1997a) argued that certain cultural characteristics were selected and preserved to differentiate Puerto Rican culture from the American "other." The ICP and its cultural policies were Puerto Ricans' attempt to resist the US' forced assimilation tactics, such as the 1902 law that forced Puerto Rican public schools to teach in English (Glass 1991). Although the ICP was created to resist Americanization, Puerto Rican cultural policies reinforced by political and intellectual actors, corporate sponsors, and the public eventually institutionalized an exclusionary definition of Puerto Ricanness, integrating the same racial hierarchies promoted within the US by erasing or dismissing Puerto Ricans' African heritage (Dávila 1997a, 61; 1997b, 91). I learned more about my participants' experiences with institutionalized racism in Puerto Rico's cultural industry when I met with Edwin for a tour of

his curated exhibition, *Cimarronas: artistas negras y afrodescendientes*, held within the *Museo Casa Escuté* in Carolina, Puerto Rico.

Due to the timing of my fieldwork in Puerto Rico and the Memorial Day holiday, I was unable to visit the exhibition during its official public run. However, I contacted Edwin to express my interest in the exhibition and he offered me an opportunity to accompany him as they dismantled it the morning after its run ended. Thus, that sunny morning in late May, I found myself walking up the stairs of *Museo Casa Escuté* behind Edwin as he juggled the museum room keys and miscellaneous materials in his hands.

We settled into the gallery space where some of the exhibition pieces were displayed. We stood in that space for about 40 minutes, as Edwin recounted his 20-year-long journey working as an Afro-Puerto Rican artist and curator. For example, he explained how he curated Puerto Rico's first ever art exhibition centered around an artistic collective of Afro-Puerto Ricans in 1996, titled *Parentesis: ocho artistas negros contemporáneos*. "Only eight artists participated," he said, and the exhibition caused such an uproar within the Puerto Rican community that the University of Puerto Rico asked him to cancel the event altogether. He recalled his memory of the university's choice with a shrug and downturn expression. Those who heard of the exhibition's title and noticed its focus on Afro-Puerto Rican artists would ask Edwin: "And why does it say black?" Their reactions were seemingly spurred by feelings of doubt, perhaps disbelieving that artistic institutions would want or need to uplift the Black heritage and aesthetic of Puerto Rican artists. Coloniality, or the knowledge production that rationalizes class, gender, and racial hierarchies from an imperial perspective, played a role in developing such ideologies.

The introduction of US control in Puerto Rico integrated a system of racial differentiation and Eurocentrism (Zoe Rivera 2020, 127) that permeated the island's cultural development (Dávila 1997a, 74). In detail, it established a distinct emphasis on racial status (Duany 2002b; Rodríguez-Silva 2012), causing Puerto Ricans to legitimize their identity by emphasizing their Spanish heritage through "Hispanicized acculturation" (Santiago-Valles 2007, 115; Schmidt-Nowara 2006, 201). The increase of white-identifying Puerto Ricans between 1899 to 2000 reflected in the US-led census is one example of how islanders adapted their identity to negotiate their "inferior" racial status imposed by the US (Loveman and Muniz 2007, 935). "Racism exists," Edwin stated, and he argued that for people to heal from it, we must create exhibitions like *Cimarronas* that accept the reality of racism in Puerto Rico.

"There is no consciousness [regarding racism in Puerto Rico] and we create it with the visual arts," said Edwin. For him, it is important for artists to be "conscious of their identity," specifically highlighting how difficult it is for Afro-descendants to recognize their identity and heal within the island's current social context. He exemplified this when he walked over to one of the artist's works, explaining how he had known her for eight years. She struggled with low self-esteem for years, he said. Thus, she rarely if ever exhibited her work. For Edwin, the negative consequences that arise from disregarding, ignoring, or pushing away Puerto Ricans' Afro-descendant roots are plentiful, ranging from identity issues and insecurities, to broken families who hide their Blackness.

The consequences of coloniality shape individuals' livelihoods and, according to artists Edwin and Pedro, reveal themselves in artistic expressions. Pedro expressed a view like Edwin's on how a lack of self-reflection shows in one's work:

> If you are one to deny your family and your last name, it doesn't make you more interesting. Being a person who is obviously denying when you have not resolved your relationship with your family, because your family was conservative and evangelical, and to withdraw from that and not heal from that, well, it shows in your work. […] No, I think, you have to forgive, you have to understand, you have to go deeper into where you came from.

Edwin and Pedro both discussed the importance of healing to understand one's identity and create art that contributes to Puerto Rican and overall Caribbean experiences. While Pedro stated, in an earlier moment, that he wants to break against the racialization of Puerto Ricans, he followed it up by stating "But I also understand that I am not *un blanquito*" or a white person. For Pedro, his social status, upbringing in *el barrio*, skin color, and memories of learning how to play music on his street corner cannot be negated even as he works to "change the possibilities of contemporary art" through the theater collective Agua, Sol y Sereno. These elements co-exist for Pedro, nurturing and influencing each other.

Under colonial circumstances, the local cultural industry developed, reinforcing interpretations of Puerto Ricanness rooted in "old stereotypes about class, race, and musical taste" that stunted equal representation of alternative cultural expressions (Dávila 1997b, 91). In conclusion, this section reasserts how colonialism not only creates an economically vulnerable society by extracting physical resources through conquest but also by reproducing cultural coloniality, a logic that naturalizes classist, racial, and gender social hierarchies in modern society through cultural knowledge production (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 243; Mignolo 2007, 478; Quijano 2007, 170-173; Zoe Rivera 2020, 127). At the same time, Nicole, Luis, Edwin, and Pedro exemplify that Puerto Ricans have historically built a cultural industry foundation beyond the vulnerable infrastructure by resisting conservative and racist Puerto Rican ideals. They have

created alternative art spaces, experimented with non-traditional art forms, curated ground-breaking exhibitions, and brought people together through music and theater.

The following chapter explores how, after Hurricane María hit in 2017, US foundations introduced new funding streams to support the cultural industry's reconstruction. I detail the US foundations' transformative effects on pre-existing issues plaguing artists, while considering participants' concerns regarding the potential harm they may cause. To understand US foundations' role in Puerto Rico, I present my participants' experiences alongside literature that problematizes philanthropy as a powerful tool that can hegemonize structures of inequality, such as capitalism, neoliberalism, and its elites' ideologies. While philanthropy is a common funding source for the arts in the North, it is necessary to consider its dynamic within a society made vulnerable through a colonial system and neoliberal policies.

CHAPTER FIVE: AMBIVALENCE IN THE POST-HURRICANE MARÍA RECONSTRUCTION OF PUERTO RICO'S CULTURAL INDUSTRY

When faced with locals' questions about his research in Polvorín, a *barrio* in Cayey, Luis sometimes found it difficult to explain his work. Locals, curious about the *Archivos del Caribe* research group gathering information in their *barrio*, would ask: "Are you kids from the university?" According to Luis, many of them were used to seeing university students investigating the area. However, the answer was not that straightforward. Luis shared: "We sometimes said, 'Yes, yes, we are from the University of Cayey.' But, in reality, we were something a little more difficult to describe for certain people, which was an independent research group that was funded by a scholarship obtained from a foundation in the United States called Monument Lab." Luis' description summarizes a new relationship that was formulated between Puerto Ricans and US-based foundations after Hurricane María decimated an already-decaying public funding infrastructure. Without consistent public funding for the arts and culture, Puerto Ricans in the cultural industry now rely more on US-based foundations than ever.

Leticia Berdecia founded the *Archivos del Caribe* project, which Luis worked on and spoke to me about, to curate an alternative vision of Caribbean history; they researched and shared photographs of "Black and Brown people in Puerto Rico often masked by history books" (Collazo Santana 2021). The US foundation, Monument Lab, with additional support from the Mellon Foundation, funded the project in 2022. Monument Lab is a nonprofit public art and history organization based in Philadelphia. They aim to disrupt the conservative, white-centered approach to history and art curation by collaborating with individuals who value dismantling

racist, homophobic, colonial, classist, and overall oppressive systemic structures. However, they were not the first choice when Leticia needed funding for her project.

According to Nicole Collazo Santana's article (2021), based on her personal experience working alongside Leticia, the group first contacted the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP) for financial support. "But like many independent organizations in dire need of government support," wrote Collazo Santana, "we could find none." Ultimately, the ICP lacked an avenue for artists, researchers, and cultural managers to request funding. Many study participants shared a similar experience, expressing that the ICP's resources, opportunities, and overall role in artists' development had shrunk exponentially over the years. As a result, Leticia, and her team at *Archivos del Caribe,* had to reach out to US grant-making foundations with similar values to kickstart the project. After Hurricane María, US philanthropies like the Mellon Foundation, the Flamboyán Foundation, Open Society Foundation, and Ford Foundation transformed the funding opportunities available for arts organizations and independent artists.

This chapter offers insight into the role US foundations, alongside the Puerto Rican diaspora, played in reconstructing the cultural industry post-Hurricane María through participants' experiences. Likewise, I highlight participants' concerns with US foundations by anchoring their questions in relevant academic literature. Finally, I showcase the participants' proposals to rebuild the cultural industry and public infrastructure for future generations.

The New Economic Engine

To contextualize US philanthropic foundations' role post-María, we must first understand what the local government did—and did not—attend to after the storm. Like other sectors, Puerto

Rico's cultural industry was heavily affected by the storm in 2017. Music and cultural festivals were cancelled (Boger, Perdikaris, and Rivero-Collazo 2019, 6), the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture faced an estimated $1.57 million in damages (Treaster 2018), and artists were left without studio spaces and employment to support themselves. For movement artist Nicole, losing her practice space and trying to return to normalcy during an emergency state was disorienting:

> The first thing that happened with Hurricane María for me was that it interrupted my daily or at least weekly practice in the studio. And that was kind of difficult because I was used to managing a work process that suddenly you no longer have and don't know when you will have it again. […] First, how do I get the energy to get up in the morning? And second, how am I going to work, under the conditions that we were working in?

Nicole recalled returning to work at the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture after the storm and being tasked with cleaning up the debris. During the aftermath, Nicole and her artist peers felt they had lost purpose, as it felt trivial to create while losing the ability to support their rent.

While the cultural industry experienced damage on different levels, reconstructing it after Hurricane María was not considered an urgent priority. Luis broke the situation down in plain terms: "The Puerto Rican cultural scaffolding was faltering, María came, and we lost the possibility to have public funds for culture because we were in a moment of crisis. And since that crisis appeared, well, it was unheard of for people to say, 'Let's take money out for the culture,' when not even the lights were working."

Hurricane María's devastation impacted the entirety of Puerto Rico's electric power infrastructure (Kwasinski et al. 2019) and created a food, water, and fuel shortage crisis that left thousands of residents (especially those in rural areas) without access to basic resources for months (Cortés 2018b, 1; García-López 2018, 103). Access to hospitals and healthcare clinics was immediately disrupted, with almost half of the public healthcare centers suffering from

inconsistent access to electricity (Michaud and Kates 2017, 5). Indeed, many sectors, including the cultural industry, were in disarray after the storm. Journalists, artists, and scholars alike have questioned the local and federal government's success in attending to the disaster's aftermath (Carbonell et al. 2019; Farber 2018; García-López 2018; Straub 2021). Nevertheless, Puerto Rican artists and cultural managers were amongst the residents left without access to food, water, and electricity; the displacement of their careers, studios, and income sources was at risk of being underserved at the local and federal levels.

When a municipal government did redistribute FEMA aid toward local museums, like in the case of the *Museo de Arte de Bayamón*, it was not considered the norm. Sarabel, the museum's director, shared that the government of Bayamón took great care of its local museums, stating that: "[The municipal government] have put museums and culture in a very important place, and they attend to those needs, something that perhaps does not happen in all municipalities." Other cultural industry professionals have similarly commented on the local government's lack of consistent support. For example, after interviewing the director of the *Museo de Arte de Puerto Rico* and the ICP's director of finance and accountability, Treaster (2018) found that cultural industry professionals were not expecting the government to assist with the million dollars' worth of damages that María caused to the ICP alone.

Over ten years ago, one could already see that artists, museums, and galleries on the island struggled to "get funds to ensure their perdurability" (my translation) (Segarra-Ríos 2012, 65). Thus, the sustainability of the local arts and cultural sectors had not been prioritized by the local government in the last decade. Due to colonialism's vulnerabilizing effect on Puerto Rico's infrastructure, Hurricane María caused major damage to a cultural industry that already suffered

from government deprioritization. This reality created the circumstances for US foundations to gain a larger role within the island's cultural industry.

Luis called US foundations the "biggest economic engine" behind the island's arts and cultural industry. Likewise, Edwin credited US foundations as primary funders in reconstructing Puerto Rico's museums and artists' financial support: "Yes, we must admit that many foundations in the United States opened—as we say in the street—their pockets. And they began to give financial help to restore many museums. They moved; they made the arrangements. And they gave the money to be able to establish the culture again and repair many of the museums that suffered damage." Furthermore, US foundations continued to support the cultural industry through the COVID-19 pandemic.

"From the United States, there was a lot of money for proposals. Like, a lot of money for proposals," said artist and educator Maribel Canales Rosario about US foundations' role during the pandemic. "So, we all began to request them. That was when I earned my first grant. […] And I was able to work even more. And regarding the help that was provided for the artists, it gave more and better opportunities to create." In Maribel's experience, the grants offered during the pandemic significantly contributed to the cultural industry during a time of crisis. We can observe a similar example of post-disaster aid in the context of Hurricane Katrina. According to Krantz (2010) and McIntosh (2019, 108), philanthropic foundations and organizations funded local New Orleans artists and cultural managers to help revitalize the hurricane-torn community. While their presence brought multiple funding opportunities for individuals and organizations, the state still witnessed funding cuts to its creative sector (Krantz 2010), and the aid dissipated

over time, lacking the needed longevity to effectively rebuild the communities (McIntosh 2019, 110).

For Edwin, Puerto Rico's US diaspora and pre-existing support network between artists and communities played an important role in lifting people up after the disaster. He also felt we could not ignore US foundations' newfound role in the reconstruction process. He credited the diaspora working in the US' cultural industry for guiding US institutions to help Puerto Rico after the storm.

From Sarabel and Edwin's perspective, Hurricane María created a situation where Puerto Ricans in the island and US mainland strengthened their networking relationships. Consequently, this created more opportunities for artists and curators to flourish beyond the island. According to museum director and artist, Sarabel: "There was a hunger to talk about the island. And I related that in part to the number of Puerto Ricans who are in the United States who are studying, working, and interested in their country. It was a way of defending the truth, the history of Puerto Rico, and they wanted to give it more presence in institutions."

Thanks to the growing connections between island residents and the Puerto Rican diaspora in the US, some island artists have gained the opportunity to "enter the mainstream," as Edwin called it. For example, Marcela Guerrero, the first Puerto Rican curator at the Whitney Museum of American Art created an opportunity for Puerto Rican artists to exhibit in New York's famous museum after Hurricane María. The exhibit, *no existe un mundo poshuracán: Puerto Rican Art in the Wake of Hurricane Maria*, opened in 2022 and is billed as "the first scholarly exhibition focused on Puerto Rican art to be organized by a large US museum in nearly half a century" (Pogrebin 2023). And as previously mentioned, acclaimed Puerto Rican actor and

writer, Luis-Manuel Miranda, organized the Flamboyán Arts Fund to distribute grants and directly support the cultural industry.

With these newly created opportunities in mind, Edwin shared: "There was much support from the United States. And we must admit, that is, we cannot deny that today much of museum institutions and other organizations' interest, at least in the field of Puerto Rican art, is because today we have many [Puerto Rican] cultural professionals inserted in those foundations and those institutions." For Edwin and Sarabel, the mainland-island connection, strengthened by Hurricane María's aftermath, explains why US foundations developed a targeted interest in aiding Puerto Rican artists after the disaster.

Previous research articles support their theories. For example, González (2020, 51) found that Puerto Ricans in the diaspora, or DiaspoRicans, understood that federal and local government aid would neglect the island residents and organized through social media to distribute resources. Likewise, Torres (2021) highlighted how Puerto Ricans in Orlando organized and advocated for Puerto Ricans on the island after Hurricane María to negotiate and concretize their tie to the Puerto Rican community. Overall, the diaspora played an important role in organizing and directing aid to reach Puerto Ricans in need after the storm.

US foundations filled in the financial gaps that the local government was unable to fill due to budget cuts and constraints. The Flamboyán Foundation, for instance, committed $720,000 in 2019 for local grant making—they gave money to organizations like Beta-Local, the *Museo de Arte de Puerto Rico* (MAPR), National Association of Latino Arts and Cultures (NALAC), and CERF+ to distribute grants to different Puerto Rican groups and for the purposes of their choice (Flamboyán Foundation 2019). Similarly, and in the same year, the Mellon

Foundation helped fund NALAC's Fund for the Arts and financially supported local organizations Nido Cultural, Beta-Local, and Corredor Afro (Mellon Foundation 2020; NALAC 2019). Since 2017, US foundations have helped distribute aid ranging from short-term mini grants for artists' emergency relief to long-term career development opportunities.

One of the problems participants commonly cited as barring their ability to create and work consistently included the local government's lack of investment in the arts. For instance, Edwin mentioned juggling numerous jobs during his decades-long career as a cultural manager. Nicole also stressed the prevalence of artists depending on multiple income sources to support their independent projects. After María, US foundations, like the NALAC, the Flamboyán Foundation, and the Mellon Foundation, created thousand-dollar grants to financially support artists.

Edwin highlighted the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for creating a program that prioritized artists' salaries. "The Mellon Foundation has given me a lot of money to promote culture," he shared, "I have a salary thanks to the Mellon Foundation, and I dedicate myself to nothing else other than doing my job and other cultural projects." In detail, the Mellon Foundation, in partnership with the *Centro de Economía Creativa* (CEC), created the Maniobra initiative. This three-year and eight-million-dollar project provides artists fringe benefits, health insurance, and a $20,000 yearly budget to spend on arts and cultural projects (Mellon Foundation 2022). Edwin, creator of the independent art space *Casa Silvana*, was one of the sixty-two Puerto Rican recipients. This type of opportunity had not been viable for island residents through public government means for many years, if not ever. Nevertheless, it became possible through this new US-funded "economic engine," as Luis termed it.

Two participants, Dr. Emilia Quiñones-Otal and Sarabel Santos-Negrón, shared their experiences with receiving unique financial support after the 2017 storm. In 2018, Princeton University and its Program in Latin American Studies (PLAS) launched a summer visiting fellowship program specifically for Puerto Rican scholars, students, and artists affected by the hurricane. The program, spearheaded by Puerto Rican scholar Arcadio Díaz-Quiñones and other Princeton faculty members, funded researchers and artists whose work related to the catastrophe (Saxon 2018). In 2019, Emilia was granted funding to conduct research at Princeton University's PLAS as a visiting fellow. The ability to work on their campus helped her tremendously in writing for the exhibition *En tierra estéril convertida*, which the *Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Puerto Rico* showcased from August 2021 to February 2022. Emilia shared:

> I went to conduct research. And that was great because it is a university with a lot of resources, probably yours too. But here [in Puerto Rico] the libraries seem to be from the seventies. In other words, you take out a book and it is very old, all full of dust. And one must be requesting an interlibrary loan and all that. Well, when I was there, at least I had the opportunity to do research to write the text for the exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art of Puerto Rico.

Like Edwin and Sarabel said, the Puerto Rican diaspora inserted in US foundations and institutions played an influential role in guiding financial resources specifically toward Puerto Ricans after the storm. Due to Princeton's targeted interest in supporting Puerto Ricans after María, Emilia and other Puerto Rican scholars and artists gained access to resources previously inaccessible to them.

The director of the *Museo de Arte de Bayamón*, Sarabel, also shared her experience with receiving external funding post-Hurricane María and showcasing her art beyond the island. Her perspective further revealed how Hurricane María's large-scale destruction stirred US foundations and institutions' interest in helping Puerto Ricans. Although she did not receive a

grant in cash, she applied and was accepted to present at the University of Virginia's *Coasts in Crisis: Art and Conversation after Recent Hurricanes* event:

> All the help [that I received post-Hurricane María] was more so being invited as a guest at universities to share my experience, lecture, and present my work. I saw that there was much interest in knowing what we were doing. Cash money, like only to invest it deliberately in what I wanted, that's not—I didn't see that. And I appreciate it, right? Because, again, it gives you purpose. For your work to be exhibited in another place and outside the context of the island so that other people can understand it, seems essential to me.

Groundscapes Displaced is one of Sarabel's art installations that traveled across the states with US institutions' economic support. She described the tiles as representations of a social landscape. "Because rubble continues to be a landscape for me," she explained, "as it is the landscape where you have no choice but to stand on." After the storm passed, Sarabel traveled between multiple towns, navigating destroyed landscapes. She photographed the rubble-strewn grounds and displayed it to the size of her mother's original house tiles, as the floor was all that remained of the home after María.

When *Groundscapes Displaced* traveled to Columbia University, the University of Virginia, and the University of Cincinnati, it reached audiences who had never seen hurricane-caused destruction. Fearful of ruining the tiles temporarily installed on their campus, the students carefully avoided stepping on them. For Sarabel, this installation allowed people outside of Puerto Rico to experience living with—and strategically avoiding—toxic rubble in their communities.

Participants expressed it is difficult to share their work with audiences outside of the island and even within it. When speaking with artist and educator Ada, I learned she felt like the local art community creates more for themselves than an external audience:

> I believe that in Puerto Rico, most of the time—without generalizing—we make art for the same people in the art world. It is very difficult for you to take a school to a museum. And for them to understand what it is, it is very difficult. We are creating art for the same artists, for the same curators, for the same *gestores*, when I think it's about sharing it with the community. With the people. But that also requires a platform to educate, and right now, what the government is doing the most is cutting art from schools. They do not encourage these studies.

Thus, it is understandable that Sarabel felt grateful for the opportunity to share a different side of Puerto Rico with stateside and international audiences that extended beyond the beach paradise façade.

After Hurricane María, US foundations and institutions' increased interest in helping Puerto Ricans tell their story and support their careers transformed the type of opportunities for island residents. The diaspora played an influential role in directing much needed aid to a sector that faced general neglect from local and federal authorities. However, participants also expressed concerns over the overwhelming number of US funds making up the whole cultural industry funding infrastructure. In the next section, I connect their concerns to scholars' problematizations of philanthropy to show that philanthropy can produce contradictory results and may not represent a sustainable solution for the cultural industry crisis.

Building Dependency and Determining Deservingness

Luis acknowledged the benefits US foundations offered as financial resources and powerful allies for non-traditional discourse and artistic expressions. However, he also reflected on US foundations' potential to exacerbate pre-existing inequalities rather than lessen them. "What are their true interests?" Luis questioned, and provided a new perspective to consider:

> So, you are telling me that my lack of resources generates resources for you and that we are going to enter a cyclical relationship of, "I need it, and you have, and you give me, and then you can get more because you give to those who don't have..." It becomes a much more toxic relationship, much more complicated than it might seem at first glance, of "how cool these American foundations want to give millions of dollars to Puerto Rico."

What Luis represented as "you" in this quote was the US foundations and institutions generating funding for local artists and organizations. In a sense, he spoke directly to them and broke down their relationship with Puerto Rico to question whether they perpetuated a familiar cycle where wealth is generated more for the foundation than for the community. A comprehensive study on the US foundations helping Puerto Rico's cultural industry has not been done, therefore, it is difficult to determine the benefits these institutions may reap from supporting Puerto Rican cultural managers, educators, and artists. Nevertheless, Luis raises a concern echoed by scholars who have problematized philanthropy and its altruistic façade.

Previous research has found large US foundations manipulate projects originally designed to contribute to the collective good to financially benefit its organizers (Hagan 2023; Morvaridi 2012; Sklair and Gilbert 2022). Philanthrocapitalist foundations may invest in marginalized communities and devastated areas, but their aims and goals are ultimately rooted in a market-first mentality (Garcia-Arias and Mediavilla 2023), one that, like neoliberal governments, prioritizes "profit over people," to quote Chomsky's (1999) title. As mentioned before, further research is needed to determine if US foundations aiding Puerto Rico's cultural industry fit a philanthrocapitalist structure and ascertain the benefits they may extract from their presence there. However, according to Alexander's (2014) analysis of Mauss' ([1954] 1990) gift exchange theory within a corporate philanthropy framework, foundations inherently extract symbolic value from their projects and grantees.

For Alexander (2014, 370-371), philanthropic donations can be understood within Mauss' gift system: Foundations may have no obvious obligation to give, but cultural organizations usually must accept their donations or risk losing their only funding, and they are also obligated to reciprocate for receiving a donation or grant. From this view, we can better understand that, while a foundation's donations and grants may be gifts, they are nonetheless gifts with certain obligations attached to them. For example, when I visited the *Museo de Arte de Puerto Rico* (MAPR), I could easily identify that the Mellon Foundation contributed to the museum because their name was visibly printed on the Puerto Rico Plural exhibit plaque, the museum's permanent collection. In essence, the more a foundation gives, the more they win honor and status (Alexander 2014, 372).

In these examples situated in Puerto Rico, the extraction may not be as obvious as the Gates Foundation profiting from the COVID-19 vaccine shortage (Hagan 2023). Still, it represents a more subtle accumulation of status that is dependent on Puerto Ricans needing their aid. For Luis, it is important that we critically consider the relationships US foundations build with Puerto Ricans. What do they gain in return? Do their interests lie in dismantling the systems that force Puerto Ricans to ask for and depend on external help? Do US stakeholders foresee their foundation's names in local museum plaques for an indefinite amount of time?

When asked about his future, Luis discussed how the future of Albania Galería rested in securing community funds and US foundations' support:

> We recently had an eviction from the house where we were. We lost our grandmother's house because of some screwed-up paperwork that happened in Puerto Rico. They are called reverse mortgages. We lost the original space for Albania Galería and so, right now we are raising funds. I am requesting these same American funds to see if we can get a space to be able to work because—And *work*, because apart from that, there isn't much infrastructure to work in other places.

Without many alternatives within the local infrastructure, Luis had to turn to US foundations to continue his work as Albania Galería's co-director. Luis, and other Puerto Ricans, are right to be wary of entering a co-dependent relationship with powerful US institutions, where others gain from their need. Indeed, US colonial governance structured Puerto Rico to depend on US capital and policies after stripping islanders of their land and political autonomy, creating an infrastructure of dependency (Cabán 2018, 163; Fusté 2017; Joffe and Martínez 2016, 28).

"On one hand, Puerto Rico would not function culturally without them," said Luis, "That is, there would literally be no projects without them. But on the other hand, well, I think we have to think and dialogue with what it means that, without them, there would be no culture?" As Luis said, American foundations giving thousands of dollars to Puerto Ricans may initially seem exciting, or like a chance to rectify previous wrongs perpetuated by the US government. However, it may also extend Puerto Ricans' dependency on US resources, a system that has persisted for over a hundred years. Foundations can benefit materially or symbolically from the interaction (Alexander 2014; Hagan 2023; Thompson 2018). Although reciprocation may be small, like the tiny text I noticed in the *Cüirtopia: Soft Crash* exhibit label thanking the Flamboyán Foundation for their contribution, it is argued to be a necessary part of receiving a grant (Alexander 2014). Not only do foundations determine what constitutes an appropriate reciprocation, they also set the qualifications individuals and organizations must try to meet to secure funding.

By controlling the power that determines deservingness, foundations and institutions may perpetuate harm—a contradiction to their original purpose of helping and reconstructing Puerto Rico's cultural industry. Foundations have the power to set their grant eligibility criteria to fit

their interests and benefit their political agendas (Smith et al. 2022, 3). Such stakeholders control who is deserving of help or empowerment, standards that may differ from the local communities' perspectives. We see an example of this power in Puerto Rico's case, where the US foundations' interest in supporting LGBTQ+ artists bled into Puerto Rico's more traditionalist cultural industry.

I learned from Nicole and Luis' lived experiences that traditional expectations for valid Puerto Rican art have alienated marginalized voices from enjoying institutional support. After Hurricane María, these ideologies did not necessarily change overnight. However, US foundations created new funding opportunities for alienated artists to carve a space for themselves. Luis identified US foundations and institutions as powerful allies helping empower Puerto Rico's emerging LGBTQ+ discourse, naming it a benefit of foundations' new presence:

> There is much focus on queer representation, in trans representation, with these new funds. And it is an American interest because it is a particular interest in the United States, now more than in Puerto Rico. In Puerto Rico—in a broad sense—I believe that the fight for LGBT rights is on a scale that is not yet at the level — […] Now it is beginning to have a formal institutional and political gathering, in which it has helped, in a certain way, to have access to these American funds that are very interested in supporting those communities.

For Luis, US foundations have the capacity to generate artistic and cultural projects that go beyond the traditional expectations of Puerto Rican art already sewn into the island's institutional lining. An example of a US foundation actively supporting the Puerto Rican LGBTQ+ community occurred in 2022. In detail, the Flamboyán Arts Fund, a foundation with offices in both Washington D.C. and Puerto Rico, financially supported Dr. Regner Ramos' *Cüirtopia: Soft Crash* exhibit in the *Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Puerto Rico* in 2022 (The Bartlett School of Architecture 2022).

The Flamboyán Arts Fund was created specifically by the foundation and Lin-Manuel Miranda's family after Hurricane María to reinvigorate the local art scene. Due to the foundation's long-standing interest in supporting LGBTQ+ issues, Dr. Ramos gained additional exposure in Puerto Rico's local art scene. Audiences were able to browse through the three-dimensional architectural designs that represented Dr. Ramos' mapping of queer Caribbean spaces.

As mentioned by Nicole in the previous chapter, contemporary artists can fall outside of local cultural institutions' support for creating within mediums and discourses not recognized as traditionally Puerto Rican. The traditional Puerto Rican cultural scaffolding is overwhelmingly patriarchal and *machista*, according to Luis, therefore generally uninterested in supporting LGBTQ+ communities. Although institutionally supported LGBTQ+ spaces and events, like the Puerto Rico Queer Filmfest, can and do exist on the island, they exist in the margins of what is considered valid Puerto Rican cultural expressions, and stakeholders struggle to create safe spaces for the community. Luis, in talking about the ideal art gallery he needed but could not find in the local cultural industry, shared:

> We said, well, "I need a gallery that is interested in emerging artists, a gallery that is interested in generating new discourses for Puerto Rico, a gallery that is interested in generating opportunities in Puerto Rico […] In other words, a space that was also interested in the art of Black people, of femme people, of queer people, of a whole type of margin that there wasn't much representation in art for, I mean, at that time. And if there was representation of the margin, it was typified. It was all that stuff like, "Oh, well look, here we have our Black artist." And, well in Albania, we were thinking, well no. We have a Black artist, but it is because we are Black ourselves.

Luis' gallery, Albania Galería, is an example of a space independently funded due to the lack of local institutional support for LGBTQ+ and radically inclusive art spaces.

Recently evicted from his grandmother's house which served as the Albania Galería's space, Luis explained he was searching for US foundations' grants to "get a space to be able to work." While Luis struggled with feeling like US foundations were his only funding choice, he also acknowledged their presence as beneficial for LGBTQ+ artists. Although US foundations and institutions transformed the resources available to local artists and museums, they also emphasized the existing power inequalities between Puerto Ricans and the US by controlling who is deserving of grant aid.

Hoarding an indefinite amount of power, whether it is used for what one believes to be morally good or unethical, is considered a characteristic of neo-colonial philanthropy (Irfan 2021, 4). Irfan's (2021, 4-6) analysis of philanthropy in the United Kingdom defines neo-colonial philanthropy as the uncritical integration of white supremacist beliefs into the grant-making and funding distribution process. These practices within a foundation may stall rather than advance racial justice.

US foundations and institutions' capacity to reproduce coloniality, an invisible logic that dehumanizes people classified as non-white (Maldonado-Torres 2016, 10), through their immense power over others was evident in Nicole's experience applying for grants after Hurricane María: "What I don't think we have discussed enough in Puerto Rico's art scene is the opportunities that started coming up [after Hurricane María] but were related to supporting Puerto Rican artists from an image that was not necessarily the reality." Nicole's critique questioned the grant criteria and processes that looked to support a specific type of Puerto Rican artist over others.

According to Nicole, while US foundation aid was offered for Puerto Ricans, some were "mounted in this vehicle of a misery discourse":

> I remember that I was nominated for a residency in [redacted], and part of the nomination process was to answer some questions to find out if my work was consistent with what they wanted. For me, it was a very difficult process, to the point where I didn't really enjoy it because it was like, "Hey, you nominated me, but you really want me to be in misery for you to accept me." And the big question was like, really condescending, and suddenly it was like: "How has your art supported Puerto Rican society?" Well, because [my art] exists, you understand? Like what else do you need from this—or [they asked]: "How much damage did you have in your studio over the next few months after María?" [If] your studio wasn't damaged and you didn't lose your job, if you weren't living in misery, then suddenly, you wouldn't be identified as an artist they wanted to support.

In Nicole's experience, a post-María US grant selected applicants based on their perception of deservingness, criteria which they control. Nicole felt some of these grants and US opportunities required one to "almost cry because they could not eat for an [institution] to say you deserved three thousand dollars."

At first glance, it makes sense for foundations to prioritize applicants with the most need, especially after a disaster. But what Nicole shared suggests that institutions and foundations perpetuated an image of Puerto Rican artists that was rooted in pain, trauma, and suffering. Requiring an "explicit focus on trauma and pain" is a characteristic of neo-colonial philanthropy by representing a "pornography of pain" rather than the community's joy and power (Irfan 2021, 5-6). It complements the colonial process of "othering," in which non-white communities are portrayed as inherently dysfunctional (Irfan 2021, 5). From my review of their press releases, US foundations like the Mellon Foundation and Flamboyán Foundation have allowed local arts and cultural organizations to use the funding for grant-making, giving the community the power to define a grant's criteria (Flamboyán Foundation 2019; NALAC 2019). While this is a step in the

right direction, Irfan (2021, 6) suggested that maintaining these practices takes time, deep reflection, and action to be fully integrated into the foundation's core processes.

Are Grants Enough? Imagining an Alternative Future

My final critique asks the question: Are US foundations enough to reconstruct the Puerto Rican cultural industry? From the very beginning of the post-Hurricane María aftermath, participants believed it was not enough. "Yes, there was more aid after María," mused art history Associate Professor and curator Emilia, "but I don't think it would have been enough." Emilia remembered the numerous grants created after Hurricane María to support artists and organizations. However, her colleagues in dire need, who applied for said grants and were eventually denied, were also fresh in her memory.

Edwin recalled that invitations to exhibit outside of Puerto Rico have become more frequent after María, but for each local artist given the chance to enter the US mainstream art scene, five hundred to six hundred other artists are fighting *a pulmones* or persistently to secure funding. "The public policy of investing more hasn't changed, but certainly there are more organizations contributing, more foundations," mused artist Pedro about the US foundations' new role, continuing, "and the problems have not yet been solved, but obviously there is more public awareness." Pedro, while recognizing the foundations' role in raising awareness for Puerto Rican artists, ultimately stated that nothing external could singlehandedly solve these problems. Thus, while US foundations have added additional support to a cultural industry weakened by colonial and neoliberal policies, participants did not generally consider it a sustainable funding infrastructure.

Depending on US private foundations to reconstruct and support Puerto Rico's cultural industry does not promise a sustainable outcome. Australia's art and entertainment sector offers an example of how a cultural industry, previously supported by government funding, cannot be sustained through grant cycles alone (Pennington and Eltham 2021, 4). Pennington and Eltham (2021, 4) described Australia's cultural industry to be a shadow of its former self, dependent on a philanthropic base that could not promise long-term or comprehensive assistance. The solution they proposed was a "total public-led reboot of the arts" where investment went into designing a sustainable and diverse cultural sector instead of for-profit market strategies (Pennington and Eltham 2021, 56).

What could a complete overhaul of the public sector accomplish for Puerto Rico's cultural industry? Participants believed that building a stronger arts appreciation curriculum in education in Puerto Rico was key to strengthening the industry. "My idea for the future of Puerto Rico's art is to, in a way, create and validate the importance of [arts] appreciation," shared Ada, who believed Puerto Rico should emulate places like the United Kingdom, where funds are specifically allocated to unite culture and arts appreciation and establish them as fundamental to their national identity. Edwin shared a similar idea, stating, "The first thing is that we have to create awareness in our society that art is an important part of our daily lives." For Edwin, educating young people about art would create a sustainable cultural industry over time:

> The other is the lack of a national educational program towards the plastic arts. The state has to get involved in bringing visual arts to schools. Why? Not everyone is going to be an artist. But we need to develop people who appreciate art. Because they are the ones who are going to consume art later. There is a gap at the national level because the arts are not promoted. And so, we artists must create the work, present it, we also have to educate the public about the need to buy art. So, you find yourself at a disadvantage because future viewers and consumers are not being created, not only of the visual arts,

> but for all types of cultural expression in this country. That is a failure that we also have within education.

Investing in arts education would help divide the labor that usually falls solely on artists and cultural managers. In addition to fostering an arts education program at a national level, participants believe public funding must contribute to the creation of spaces committed to welcoming different perspectives of Puerto Rican identity, life, and well-being.

Luis feared that without forums for critical thinking and educational reforms, then US institutions and foundations' perspectives on Puerto Ricanness would eventually overshadow all other ways of thinking and being:

> I think that Puerto Rico is going through a tough situation that is very heavy, that is changing how we define ourselves. And we don't have the tools. I mean, I don't think that, in Puerto Rico, there are enough forum spaces for critical thinking, to be able to talk about and generate the tools and discourse to think about the complicated reality we as Puerto Ricans are facing. And the two places where these two things can be generated are education and culture. And, well, we know the state of those two areas in Puerto Rico right now. Education is failing. Culture is dominated by projects that are subsidized by foundations in the United States. [...] But if we don't have the tools or the spaces to be able to do it, well, we will remain a society and group of consumers that identify by the things that are imposed on us, you know?

According to Luis, a cultural industry centralized in US foundations threatens Puerto Ricans' ability to express and develop their cultural identity without outside interference.

In turn, Emilia proposed a new role that museums could occupy to ensure future generations become more involved in the cultural industry and determining cultural projects. Emilia advocated for the decolonization of museum spaces, stating:

> But [museums] also have to start to open up somehow, to do community projects that come from the community. Instead of 'we are going to create this project for the community,' get the community itself and say, "Look, I am going to give you the museum's resources and you come here to create the projects that you need." There are 20,000 theories about that. There is one called Edu-curation as educational curatorship, as linking both elements. And instead of the curator sitting in their office doing research in

> the archives alone, it is for the community to come and join, for everyone to search, look, investigate, and review. And each person presents their perspective. I haven't seen anyone in Puerto Rico do that yet.

The strategies that participants proposed envisioned how to revitalize Puerto Rico's cultural industry beyond building a dependency on US foundations. While these ideas require additional funding and budget restructuring to bring to fruition, at their core, they advocate for a change in what Puerto Rican governing bodies value about art and culture.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

This study investigated the sociohistorical development of Puerto Rico's cultural industry and highlighted US foundations' new-found role as what artist-researcher Luis termed an "impromptu Institute of Culture." Through eight semi-structured interviews with artists, educators, and cultural managers, I found that the local cultural industry's infrastructure has existed in a protracted crisis state for decades. For many participants, the budget cuts in education, arts, and culture and the prevailing traditionalist expectations of Puerto Rican art have limited their ability to develop as artists and cultural industry practitioners.

To navigate these barriers, participants nurtured peer support networks, self-managed alternative art spaces, collaborated with local organizations and US foundations, and created art with whatever materials they could find. I concluded that Puerto Rico's cultural industry infrastructure was not founded on stable economic and social conditions due to the island's history of colonialism and neoliberal politics, thus forcing Puerto Ricans to create alternative conditions and rely on external funding. Overall, this study built upon Marino and Faas' (2020, 41) theory that colonialism creates vulnerable systems, not vulnerable populations.

Framing colonialism as a vulnerable system (Marino and Faas 2020, 41) allowed me to situate participants' struggles through public funding gaps and increasing austerity measures as consequences of a system never built to fulfill its population's needs first but the colonial government's needs. In detail, Puerto Rico's history of colonial governance has played an influential role in the economic and ideological development of the local cultural industry. The United States' extractive practices and expropriation shaped an economic system dependent on

American capital. For example, Puerto Ricans were organized to be without land, resources, or political autonomy (Maldonado-Torres 2016).

Soon after the US attained Puerto Rico in 1898, it dispossessed workers from their land and taxed local producers to "[rig] the economy in favor of US interests" (Fusté 2017, 100). One example of a persisting colonial policy created to benefit the US at the expense of Puerto Rico is the Jones Act, which imposes higher costs for goods shipped to and from the US and limits the island's ability to diversify its economy (Fusté 2017, 104; Grennes 2017, 7). The island is also subject to Congress' will, which in the past imposed drastic changes that tanked the local economy without including Puerto Rican democratic representation in the decision (Bonilla 2020, 6). Ultimately, colonial policies have led to an overwhelming dependency on foreign capital "that is not linked to the local economy," explaining Puerto Rico's inability to grow its economy (Quiñones-Pérez and Seda-Irizarry 2020, 92-93).

Even more, local political actors have dispossessed the population of social infrastructure by reproducing colonial neoliberal policies. Puerto Rican political actors that have governed the island have perpetuated tax incentives and tax havens for foreign investors, sacrificed public budgets, and privatized public services to gain a stake in the free market that would theoretically lead to economic and job growth (Quiñones-Pérez and Seda-Irizarry 2020, 89-93). According to Quiñones-Pérez and Seda-Irizarry (2020, 94), political administrations have only catered to "capital's representatives" such as bondholders through these policies; although they have claimed their implementation would benefit the public, the authors argued that economic growth is near impossible during such structurally transformative austerity measures.

Villanueva (2019, 193) argues that Puerto Rico's history of political corruption is a result of the US-perpetuated colonial dependency that drives local actors to scramble for economic power in a system that renders them powerless. Thus, stripping Puerto Rico of a sustainable foundation outside of its colonial government, the US-Puerto Rico colonial relationship not only underprepared the territory for environmental change (Marino and Faas 2020), but it also acted as a slow and long-term disaster for the cultural industry and other societal sectors (Bonilla 2020, 1; Maldonado-Torres 2016, 11). While creating the circumstances that led Puerto Rico toward political and economic disasters, the US disguises their wrongdoings under the narrative of Puerto Rican corruption—a narrative that justified their imposition of PROMESA in 2016 (Villanueva 2019, 188).

PROMESA and its Fiscal Control Board (FCB) have extended the island's austerity measures in the last six years, as evidenced by the $23 million displaced from the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP). Scholars have characterized the FCB as the United States' reification of Puerto Rico's colonial status (Cabán 2018; de Onís 2018, Garriga-López 2019; Torruella 2016). Indeed, in its quest to restructure the debt, the FCB proposed cutting the public university system's budget, as well as assets for health care, arts, education, and pension (Brusi and Godreau 2019, 238; Caraballo Cueto 2020; Garriga-López 2019, 179; Villanueva, Cobián, and Rodríguez 2018).

PROMESA's inception can be traced to Puerto Rico's exclusion from the legal processes applicable to other US states that allow filing for municipal bankruptcy, such as Chapter 9 of the Bankruptcy Code. Excluding Puerto Rico from the formal debt relief system resulted in PROMESA's design and implementation to manifest significant delays and costs at the expense

of the Puerto Rican people, as well as an unjustified attack on Puerto Ricans' political and economic autonomy (Stallone 2023, 335-338). Ultimately, PROMESA has represented a continuation of Puerto Rico's decades-long history with austerity measures and extractive policies where the people's needs are considered last or an excess that needs to be shed (Cabán 2018; de Onís 2018, 1; Quiñonez-Pérez and Seda-Irizarry 2020, 96). Through these compounding procedures, colonialism set public infrastructure in Puerto Rico to fail over time and even more in the face of a physical hazard like Hurricane María (Marino and Faas 2020, 35). Indeed, for artist-researcher Luis, it was evident that the cultural industry was deteriorating decades before Hurricane María's impact in 2017.

Colonization is not only the physical extraction of resources but can also influence people's way of thinking and being through the reproduction of coloniality (Quijano 1992). Beyond extracting economic and political value, colonialism influenced Puerto Rican cultural ideologies on art, identity, and race. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's (1984) portrayal of colonial knowledge production, rooted in Marxism, breaks it down: the dominant class within an economic structure controls the social product of others, which provides them the resources needed to control knowledge production (wa Thiong'o 1984, 23). In other words, the dominant class in a society is afforded the privilege to engage in education, the arts, and the "material basis" to develop and promote their ideology as truth (wa Thiong'o 1984, 23). With US officials and Puerto Rican political actors as the dominant class that shaped Puerto Rican cultural policies, hierarchies of race and authenticity developed to mirror US colonial rationalities (Dávila 1997a, 61; Dávila 1997b, 91-92).

Coloniality in Puerto Rico rationalized hierarchies of race that stifled Afro-Puerto Rican and Afro-descendant artists' representation at an institutional level. Artist Edwin's experience with backlash over his 1996 exhibition, *Parentesis: ocho artistas negros contemporáneos*, exemplified how even at an ideological level, colonialism destabilized the cultural industry. The exhibition debuted during an era in which Puerto Ricans' perceptions of race and identity fluctuated by did not break away from racial hierarchies introduced by coloniality: while the ICP began to recognize Afro-Puerto Rican music as part of the official cultural narrative in the 1990s, the media and heightened police surveillance deepened racial dichotomies by villainizing Black youth and neighborhoods (Godreau 2015, 34-188). Although Edwin's most recent exhibition, *Cimarronas: artistas negras y afrodescendientes*, was welcomed by the community, artists Nicole, Luis, and Edwin himself remind us that much work remains to be done to undo the prejudices that alienate contemporary artists from formal cultural institutions on the island.

Artists' inability to receive formal funding within the public infrastructure, from compounding budget cuts or incompatibility with its traditional cultural expectations, forced them to self-subsidize and rely on their peers to build their professional development. These circumstances created a need for artists to remain resilient against financial barriers. As museum director and artist Sarabel alluded to, resiliency is integral to Puerto Rican artists' development due to colonialism. However, for some participants like Emilia and Luis, resilience was not a badge of pride, but a label imposed onto them by US and local elites to redirect responsibility onto the individual. Overall, autogestión or autonomous organizing (Garriga-López 2019, 180), was a crucial part of participants' cultural industry experiences.

Puerto Ricans have and continue to resist colonial conditions through creative and community-oriented strategies. Nevertheless, as Garriga-López (2019, 181) stated, we must consider the limitations of *autogestión* and uphold governing bodies as responsible for responding to its populations' needs even beyond a disaster context. Thus, I postulate that for the cultural industry to move forward, we must move beyond *autogestión* and US philanthropy as solutions and consider how a "total public-led reboot of the arts" (Pennington and Eltham 2021, 4) could help Puerto Ricans rebuild after Hurricane María.

What began as disaster relief after Hurricane María in 2017 has evolved into multiple foundations providing millions of dollars in professional development, emergency grants, mentoring programs, and project funding. For some participants, these foundations created positive experiences, like allowing Sarabel's art installation to travel across the US and providing Edwin with a stipend. For others, these new funding streams spawned uncomfortable situations and sparked critical reflection, as such entities represent influential organizations that may reinforce dependency and harmful representations of Puerto Ricans. Ultimately, the Puerto Rican diaspora raised awareness of Puerto Rico's cultural industry crisis within the US after María. Future research could further investigate the diaspora's position within the US institutions and philanthropies extending grant opportunities to island residents. How do their positions within US foundations and institutions influence the decision-making process? In what ways might they be reinforcing colonial power dynamics or challenging them?

Alexander (2014) theorized grants as necessitating reciprocation, and we have yet to fully understand what US foundations gain and what Puerto Ricans might lose in this new relationship. Furthermore, US foundations have the power to highlight feelings of joy and

empower marginalized voices, as seen by their support of Puerto Rican LGBTQ+ artists. However, they also can impose boundaries of deservingness that perpetuate stereotypes of suffering, dysfunctional non-white communities, as per Nicole's experience. Thus, the power to decide how to distribute a significant number of resources can reproduce harmful neo-colonial practices (Irfan 2021, 5-6), a stark contradiction to foundations' initial mission of aiding. As the disaster anthropology and philanthropy literature shows, reconstruction strategies rooted in logics of economic investment can develop into neoliberalism (Garriga-López 2020; Marino and Faas 2020), and even deepen dependencies that satisfy colonial and neoliberal needs over populations (Morvaridi 2012; van Fleet 2012, 175).

For its ephemeral quality and possible harmful effects in the long-term, I found it necessary to ask: What should the next step in Puerto Rico's cultural industry reconstruction be beyond the US foundations? Participants shared visions of a more robust cultural industry, where the local government invests public funds into infrastructure for critical thinking and art appreciation, alongside education and community initiatives that placed Puerto Rican voices at the center of the reconstruction. While Masters and Osborn (2010) stated that long-term relationships between foundations and communities could generate social change if decision-making roles are decentralized, it is necessary to question if this would work in Puerto Rico's context or even be desired.

For some participants, US foundations never seemed like enough of a solution, with Luis especially expressing worry about further losing their autonomy under private philanthropy's thumb. Puerto Ricans are right to worry about external aid's longevity as an economic engine, as McIntosh (2019, 110) found that local artists from New Orleans struggled with securing funding

for their projects years after Hurricane Katrina brought a surge of philanthropic support. Instead of imagining a future where US foundations supported the cultural industry indefinitely, participants envisioned a future in which Puerto Rico's public infrastructure is oriented to serve its people. Many proposed implementing public policies to raise generations of future Puerto Ricans who will sustain the cultural industry and define their identities on their terms.

For now, I expect US foundations will continue to play a primary role in funding Puerto Rico's cultural industry, contributing to artists' livelihoods while potentially deepening pre-existing dependencies or imposing their criterion for deservingness if not careful. Additionally, Puerto Rican artists will continue to *autogestionar* or autonomously organize to define their conditions, an act that, while born from difficult conditions, does not necessarily indicate pessimism. For artist Pedro, hope, joy, and creativity are abundant within Puerto Rico's artist communities. Ultimately, we must hold local and US governing bodies equally responsible for nurturing Puerto Rico's cultural industry. As this study identified colonialism and neoliberalism as primary systematic weak points in the cultural industry, future research could further build on this study's findings and envision how a decolonial perspective that "avoids the construction of yet another singularity" might help rebuild a cultural industry that embraces a plurality of perspectives and local histories (Scauso 2021, 5). I hope this study will spark US and local stakeholders and US foundations to consider Puerto Rican voices in reconstructing the cultural industry for future generations.

APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL LETTERS

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA

Institutional Review Board
FWA00000351
IRB00001138, IRB00012110
Office of Research
12201 Research Parkway
Orlando, FL 32826-3246

EXEMPTION DETERMINATION

May 4, 2022

Dear Andrea Ocasio Cruz:

On 5/4/2022, the IRB determined the following submission to be human subjects research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Puerto Rico's Transformative Art Scene: Heritage identity transformations, resilience strategies, and future-making in Hurricane María's post-disaster context
Investigator:	Andrea Ocasio Cruz
IRB ID:	STUDY00004083
Funding:	Name: Trevor Colbourn Anthro Endowment Fund
Grant ID:	
Documents Reviewed:	• AOC-HRP-251- FORM - Faculty Advisor Scientific-Scholarly Review fillable form[55].pdf, Category: Faculty Research Approval; • Colon HRP-256 - FORM - Translation Verification - AOC (1).pdf, Category: Translation Verification; • Flyer-Study PR Heritage Art-AOC Revised 4-26-2022.docx, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Flyer-Study PR Heritage Art-AOC-SPANISH-Revised May 2 2022.docx, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Study 4083 Email Script track changes-AOC Revised 4-26-2022.docx, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Study 4083 Email Script track changes-AOC-SPANISH-Revised May 2 2022.docx, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Study 4083 Explanation of Research Document-AOC Revised April 29 2022.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Study 4083 Explanation of Research Document-AOC-SPANISH-Revised May 2 2022.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Study 4083 Face to Face Recruitment Script-AOC Revised 4-26-2022.docx, Category: Recruitment Materials;

	• Study 4083 Face to Face Recruitment Script-AOC-SPANISH-Revised May 2 2022.docx, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Study 4083 HRP-255-FORM - Request for Exemption-AOC Revised April 29 2022.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • Study 4083 Interview Questions Guide-AOC Revised 4-26-2022.docx, Category: Interview / Focus Questions; • Study 4083 Interview Questions Guide-AOC-SPANISH-Revised May 2 2022.docx, Category: Interview / Focus Questions; • Study 4083 Observation Guide-AOC Revised 4-26-2022.docx, Category: Other; • Study 4083 Phone Call Recruitment Script-AOC Revised 4-26-2022.docx, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Study 4083 Phone Call Recruitment Script-AOC-SPANISH-Revised May 2 2022.docx, Category: Recruitment Materials;

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made, and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please submit a modification request to the IRB. Guidance on submitting Modifications and Administrative Check-in are detailed in the Investigator Manual (HRP-103), which can be found by navigating to the IRB Library within the IRB system. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request so that IRB records will be accurate.

If you have any questions, please contact the UCF IRB at 407-823-2901 or irb@ucf.edu. Please include your project title and IRB number in all correspondence with this office.

Sincerely,

Kristin Badillo
Designated Reviewer

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA

Institutional Review Board
FWA00000351
IRB00001138, IRB00012110
Office of Research
12201 Research Parkway
Orlando, FL 32826-3246

EXEMPTION DETERMINATION

May 26, 2022

Dear Andrea Ocasio Cruz:

On 5/26/2022, the IRB determined the following submission to be human subjects research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review:	Modification / Update
Title:	Puerto Rico's Transformative Art Scene: Heritage identity transformations, resilience strategies, and future-making in Hurricane María's post-disaster context
Investigator:	Andrea Ocasio Cruz
IRB ID:	MOD00002918
Funding:	Name: Trevor Colbourn Anthro Endowment Fund
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• HRP-256 - FORM - Translation Verification - AOC - Modifications.pdf, Category: Translation Verification; • MOD 2918 Explanation of Research Document-AOC Revised May 17 2022.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • MOD 2918 Explanation of Research Document-AOC Revised May 18 2022 SPANISH.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • MOD 2918 HRP-255-FORM - Request for Exemption-AOC Revised May 17 2022.docx, Category: IRB Protocol;

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made, and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please submit a modification request to the IRB. Guidance on submitting Modifications and Administrative Check-in are detailed in the Investigator Manual (HRP-103), which can be found by navigating to the IRB Library within the IRB system. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request so that IRB records will be accurate.

If you have any questions, please contact the UCF IRB at 407-823-2901 or irb@ucf.edu. Please include your project title and IRB number in all correspondence with this office.

Sincerely,

Kristin Badillo
Designated Reviewer

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA

Institutional Review Board
FWA00000351
IRB00001138, IRB00012110
Office of Research
12201 Research Parkway
Orlando, FL 32826-3246

EXEMPTION DETERMINATION

October 26, 2022

Dear Andrea Ocasio Cruz:

On 10/26/2022, the IRB determined the following submission to be human subjects research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review:	Modification / Update
Title:	Puerto Rico's Transformative Art Scene: Heritage identity transformations, resilience strategies, and future-making in Hurricane María's post-disaster context
Investigator:	Andrea Ocasio Cruz
IRB ID:	MOD00003348
Funding:	Name: Trevor Colbourn Anthropological Endowment Fund
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Colon HRP-256 - FORM - Translation Verification.docx, Category: Translation Verification; • MOD 2918 Explanation of Research Document-AOC Revised Oct 17 2022 SPANISH.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • MOD 3348 Explanation of Research Document-AOC Revised Oct 12 2022.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • MOD 3348 HRP-255-FORM - Request for Exemption-AOC Revised Oct 12 2022.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • Notification of Subjects - Sep 27 2022.docx, Category: Other;

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made, and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please submit a modification request to the IRB. Guidance on submitting Modifications and Administrative Check-in are detailed in the Investigator Manual (HRP-103), which can be found by navigating to the IRB Library within the IRB system. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request so that IRB records will be accurate.

If you have any questions, please contact the UCF IRB at 407-823-2901 or irb@ucf.edu. Please include your project title and IRB number in all correspondence with this office.

Sincerely,

Kristin Badillo
Designated Reviewer

APPENDIX B: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDES IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

Title: Puerto Rico's Transformative Art Scene: Heritage identity transformations, resilience strategies, and future-making in Hurricane María's post-disaster context

Introduction:
Hello! My name is Andrea Ocasio Cruz, it's nice to meet with you today. How are you doing today?
[PAUSE]
Thank you for volunteering to be part of my research project, I really appreciate your time here.

I am about to start recording, is that alright with you?
[PAUSE]
Thank you for giving me your consent to record our interview today!

Before we start, I will summarize the project, and please let me know if you have any questions. I am an anthropology graduate student at the University of Central Florida, and this is my master's thesis. The purpose of this study is to understand how Hurricane María may have influenced Puerto Ricans' connection to their heritage, and how the art inspired by María may have bonded the community after the disaster. The goal of my research is to provide an answer for the question: how do disasters transform our connections to the past and create new sources of resilience?

Today's interview will be a conversation on your experiences as someone in the Puerto Rican art community. I will ask you questions about your thoughts on artistic expression, how you identify with Puerto Rican heritage, and your experience with Hurricane María in the last four almost five years.

Just a reminder, you may refuse to answer any question at any time, especially regarding questions about Hurricane María. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in this study at any time without prejudice or penalty.

Interview Questions Guide:

1. How did you come to be part of the Puerto Rican art community/the museum industry?
2. (ARTISTS) What type of artist would you identify yourself as? What art forms do you usually create?
3. In what ways has art or making art been part of your life?
4. Could you walk me through a day in your life in your occupation?
5. How would you describe the art community in Puerto Rico? For example, what are some of the trends you have noticed?

6. Shifting a bit to Hurricane Maria, how would you describe how the art community responded to that disaster?
7. It's been almost five years; how would you describe the art community now?
8. If you feel comfortable, I would like to ask, what was your experience with Hurricane Maria and its aftermath?
9. It's been almost five years since then, how are you doing now?
10. How would you describe your relationship with art/the art community after hurricane María?
11. (Artist) What were your sources of artistic inspiration after Hurricane Maria?
12. (Museum industry) What were your sources of support after Hurricane Maria?
13. How would you describe resilience in your words?
14. After the hurricane, there was the slogan "Puerto Rico rises," how did that make you feel as a Puerto Rican who just recently went through that disaster?
15. Thinking about identity and heritage, how would you describe your Puerto Rican heritage?
16. How have your ideas about heritage changed over the years?
17. How do you think art and heritage identity are related?
18. How do you think hurricane María impacted Puerto Rican heritage?
19. What changes do you hope to happen for Puerto Ricans in the island in the future?
20. How can the art community contribute to that change?
21. What's the next for you as an artist/in your career?

Título: La escena artística transformadora de Puerto Rico: transformaciones de identidad patrimonial, estrategias de resiliencia y la creación del futuro en el contexto posterior al desastre del huracán María

Introducción:
¡Hola! Mi nombre es Andrea Ocasio Cruz, es un placer conocerte hoy. ¿Cómo estás hoy?
[PAUSA]
Gracias por ofrecerse como voluntario para ser parte de mi proyecto de investigación, realmente aprecio su tiempo aquí.

Estoy a punto de comenzar a grabar, ¿te parece bien?
[PAUSA]
¡Gracias por darme su consentimiento para grabar nuestra entrevista de hoy!

Antes de comenzar, resumiré el proyecto y, por favor, hágamelo saber si tiene alguna pregunta. Soy estudiante de posgrado en antropología en la Universidad de Florida Central, y esta es mi tesis de maestría. El propósito de este estudio es comprender cómo el huracán María pudo haber influido en la conexión de los puertorriqueños con su herencia y cómo el arte inspirado por el huracán María pudo haber unido a la comunidad después del desastre. El objetivo de mi investigación es proporcionar una respuesta a la pregunta: ¿cómo transforman los desastres nuestras conexiones con el pasado y crean nuevas fuentes de resiliencia?

La entrevista de hoy será una conversación sobre sus experiencias como alguien en la comunidad artística puertorriqueña. Le haré preguntas sobre sus pensamientos sobre la expresión artística, cómo se identifica con la herencia puertorriqueña y su experiencia con el huracán María en los últimos cuatro casi cinco años.

Solo un recordatorio, puede negarse a responder cualquier pregunta en cualquier momento, especialmente con respecto a las preguntas sobre el huracán María. Usted es libre de retirar su consentimiento y dejar de participar en este estudio en cualquier momento sin perjuicio ni sanción.

Guía de preguntas de la entrevista:

1. ¿Cómo llegaste a formar parte de la comunidad artística puertorriqueña/la industria de los museos?
2. (ARTISTAS) ¿Con qué tipo de artista te identificarías? ¿Qué tipos/formas de arte creas usualmente?
3. ¿De qué manera el arte o crear arte ha sido parte de tu vida?
4. ¿Podría explicarme un día de su vida en su ocupación?

5. ¿Cómo describiría la comunidad artística en Puerto Rico? Por ejemplo, ¿cuáles son algunas de las tendencias que ha notado?
6. Cambiando el tema un poco al huracán María, ¿cómo describiría cómo respondió la comunidad artística a ese desastre?
7. Han pasado casi cinco años desde el huracán María; ¿Cómo describirías la comunidad artística ahora luego de este desastre?
8. Si se siente cómodo, me gustaría preguntarle, ¿cuál fue su experiencia con el huracán María y sus consecuencias?
9. Han pasado casi cinco años desde entonces, ¿cómo estás ahora?
10. ¿Cómo describirías tu relación con el arte/la comunidad artística después del huracán María?
11. (Artista) ¿Cuáles fueron sus fuentes de inspiración artística después del huracán María?
12. (Industria museística) ¿Cuáles fueron sus fuentes de apoyo después del huracán María?
13. ¿Cómo describiría la resiliencia en sus palabras?
14. Después del huracán, hubo el lema "Puerto Rico se levanta", ¿cómo te hizo sentir eso como un puertorriqueño que acaba de pasar por ese desastre?
15. Pensando en la identidad y la herencia cultural, ¿cómo describiría su herencia puertorriqueña?
16. ¿Cómo han cambiado sus ideas sobre el patrimonio/herencia cultural a lo largo de los años?
17. ¿Cómo crees que se relacionan el arte y la identidad patrimonial?
18. ¿Cómo crees que el huracán María impactó el patrimonio puertorriqueño?
19. ¿Qué cambios quisiera que ocurran para los puertorriqueños en la isla en el futuro?
20. ¿Cómo puede contribuir la comunidad artística a ese cambio?
21. ¿Qué es lo próximo que espera como artista/en tu carrera?

APPENDIX C: EXPLANATION OF RESEARCH FORMS IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA

EXPLANATION OF RESEARCH

Title of Project: Puerto Rico's Transformative Art Scene: Heritage identity transformations, resilience strategies, and future-making in Hurricane María's post-disaster context

Principal Investigator: Andrea Ocasio Cruz

Faculty Supervisor: Dr. Beatriz Reyes Foster

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Whether you take part is up to you.

The purpose of this research is to understand how Hurricane María influenced Puerto Rican art community members' (local artists, art professors, and museum staff) connections to their heritage. Furthermore, this research aims to understand artistic expressions' role in building community resilience after Hurricane María. The goal of this study is to answer our question: how do disasters transform our connections to the past and create new sources of resilience?

If you choose to participate in this study, you will be invited to an interview and to be observed during an event or activity. You are free to choose to participate in either the interview, the observation, or both. If you decide to participate in both the observation activity and the interview, please know that they do not need to be completed on the same day. When discussing your participation, the researcher will ask for your preference between completing the activities on the same day or on separate occasions. If you prefer to participate on separate occasions, then the researcher will call or email you after completing the first activity to follow-up and schedule the second activity.

The interview is expected to last 60 to 90 minutes. If you agree to participate in the interview, the researcher will ask you about your personal experiences as a member of the Puerto Rican art community, your experiences with Hurricane María, and your views on art's role in the Puerto Rican heritage and society. Also, you may discuss any topics that you think are important concerning heritage, disasters, resilience, and Puerto Rico. The interview can be completed in Spanish or English.
The interview will be held one-on-one with the researcher. It can be in-person, on the phone, or a video call through Zoom, Facetime Video, Skype, or Microsoft Teams. The in-person interview will take place in a location agreed upon by both the researcher and you. Such locations may include a private room, or a public area, like a library or coffee shop in Puerto Rico. All interviews will be in a location of your choosing. The interview is a one-time activity.

If you participate in the interview, you will be audio recorded during this study. If you do not want to be recorded, you will still be able to be in the study. Discuss this with the researcher or a research team member. If you are recorded, the audio recording and transcriptions will be kept on a password-protected computer that is only accessed by the principal investigator. The audio recording and transcriptions will also be temporarily stored within a UCF-affiliated Microsoft OneDrive and Word Online account until the transcription is completed and then stored on the researcher's password-protected computer for 5 years after study closure. All identifiers will be redacted prior to transcribing all recordings. Your audio recording will be transcribed by UCF Microsoft OneDrive and Word Online. Please note that your recording will be used by Microsoft based on their privacy policy.

If you choose to participate in the interview, you will receive a $25 Amazon gift card through email within the week after the interview as compensation. You will still receive the full $25 Amazon gift card if your interview does not last 60-90 minutes.

If you agree to be observed during an event or activity, the researcher will observe and take digital notes on your behavior and naturally occurring conversations relevant to the study for a minimum of 30 minutes

and a maximum of 2 hours. The researcher will meet with you at a time and place that you frequently attend (example: workspace, museum exhibit, or art residency program residency open-house event). The observation activity is a one-time activity.

Your consent to be observed will be requested by the researcher at least one day in advance of the observation activity through an email or phone call conversation and again before the observation begins. You are free to withdraw your consent to be observed at any time during the event or activity. You will never be audio recorded or videotaped during the observations. You will not be compensated for participating in the observation activity. The observation notes will be kept in a password protected file within a password protected computer and separate from any identifiable information.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in this study at any time without prejudice or penalty. Your decision to participate or not participate in this study will in no way affect your employment, your relationship with your employer or your relationship with the individuals who may have an interest in this study.

Identifiable private information that is collected for observational events, interviews, and post-interview compensation arrangements will be stored separately from the deidentified data. The principal investigator or UCF administrative personnel will distribute the interview compensation to your email. The UCF administrative personnel are not involved in the research study and are acting in their professional roles when distributing funded compensation. The principal investigator will request your permission to share your email address with UCF administrative personnel for compensation distribution when scheduling your interview. If you do not permit the principal investigator to share your email address with UCF administrative personnel, then you can still participate in the study and the principal investigator will distribute your compensation. If you grant permission, then your email is shared with UCF administrative personnel for compensation distribution and kept separate from other identifiable information within a UCF-affiliated OneDrive account. The UCF administrative personnel will not share or store your email and cannot access your information after distributing your compensation.

Any interview responses or observed conversation/behavior that, if known outside the research, could possibly place you at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to your financial standing or employability or reputation will never be included in the written research reports. Your contact information, age, and the characteristics of your appearance will never be included in the written research that may be published.

In all written versions of the research, your name will not be used without your permission, and you may choose a pseudonym to protect your privacy. Also, your employment affiliation or details of your artistic projects (example: specific description of paintings, sculptures, art exhibits, or poems) will not be disclosed in the written research project without your permission.

If you would like to have your name, employment affiliation, art project details, or a combination of these identifiers included in the published research, discuss this with the researcher or a research team member. The final written research project will be published through the University of Central Florida's publicly accessible Libraries Electronic Theses and Dissertations page and the STARS institutional repository where anyone can view your identifiable information. Please contact the researchers by March 31, 2023, to withdraw your consent to include your identifier(s) in the published research. Once the research is published after March 31, 2023, all identifiable information will not be able to be removed.

All data will be kept for 5 years after study closure per Florida law.

You must be 18 years of age or older, identify with Puerto Rican heritage, a member of the Puerto Rican art community as an art professor, street artist, and art curator, and currently live in Puerto Rico to take part in this research study.

Study contact for questions about the study or to report a problem: If you have questions, concerns, or complaints: *Andrea Ocasio Cruz, Graduate Student, Anthropology Program, College of Sciences, by email at* [redacted] *or Dr. Beatriz Reyes-Foster, Faculty Supervisor, Department of Anthropology by email at* [redacted]

IRB contact about your rights in this study or to report a complaint: If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or have concerns about the conduct of this study, please contact Institutional Review Board (IRB), University of Central Florida, Office of Research, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3246 or by telephone at (407) 823-2901, or email irb@ucf.edu.

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA

EXPLICACIÓN DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN

Título del proyecto: La escena artística transformadora de Puerto Rico: transformaciones de identidad patrimonial, estrategias de resiliencia, y la creación del futuro en el contexto posterior al desastre del huracán María

Investigador Principal: Andrea Ocasio Cruz

Supervisora de la facultad: Dra. Beatriz Reyes-Foster

Estás siendo invitado a participar en una investigación. Si participas depende de usted.

El propósito de esta investigación es comprender cómo el huracán María influyó en las identidades de herencia cultural de los miembros de la comunidad artística puertorriqueña (artistas locales, profesores de arte y personal del museo). Además, esta investigación tiene como objetivo comprender el papel que las expresiones artísticas tuvieron en la construcción de la resiliencia comunitaria después del huracán María. La meta de este estudio es responder la siguiente pregunta: ¿cómo los desastres transforman nuestras conexiones con el pasado y crean nuevas fuentes de resiliencia?

Si elige participar en este estudio, será invitado a una entrevista y a ser observado durante un evento o actividad. Usted es libre de elegir si participará en la entrevista, en la observación o en ambas actividades. Si decide participar tanto en la actividad de observación como en la entrevista, tenga en cuenta que no es necesario que se completen el mismo día. Al discutir su participación, el investigador le preguntará su preferencia entre completar las actividades el mismo día o en ocasiones separadas. Si prefiere participar en ocasiones separadas, el investigador lo llamará o le enviará un correo electrónico después de completar la primera actividad para hacer un seguimiento y programar la segunda actividad.

La entrevista durará entre 60 y 90 minutos. Si acepta participar en la entrevista, el investigador le preguntará sobre sus experiencias personales como miembro de la comunidad artística puertorriqueña, sus experiencias con el huracán María y sus puntos de vista sobre el papel del arte en el patrimonio cultural y la sociedad puertorriqueña. Además, puede discutir cualquier tema que considere importante relacionado con el patrimonio cultural, los desastres, la resiliencia y Puerto Rico.

La entrevista se puede completar en español o en inglés. La entrevista se realizará individualmente con el investigador. Puede ser en persona, por teléfono o una videollamada a través de Zoom, Facetime Video, Skype o Microsoft Teams. La entrevista en persona se llevará a cabo en un lugar acordado entre el investigador y usted. Dichos lugares pueden incluir una sala privada o un área pública, como una biblioteca o una cafetería en Puerto Rico. Todas las entrevistas se realizarán en un lugar de su elección. La entrevista es una actividad que se realiza una sola vez.

Si participa en la entrevista, será grabado en audio durante este estudio. Si no desea ser grabado, aún podrá estar en el estudio. Discuta esto con el investigador o con un miembro del equipo de investigación. Si lo graban, la grabación de audio y las transcripciones se mantendrán en una computadora protegida con contraseña a la que solo tiene acceso el investigador principal. La grabación de audio y las transcripciones también se almacenarán temporalmente en una cuenta de Microsoft OneDrive y Word Online afiliada a la UCF hasta que se complete la transcripción y luego se almacenarán en la computadora protegida con contraseña del investigador durante 5 años después del cierre del estudio. Todos los identificadores se redactarán antes de transcribir todas las grabaciones. Su grabación de audio será transcrita por UCF Microsoft OneDrive y Word Online. Tenga en cuenta que Microsoft utilizará su grabación según su política de privacidad.

Si elige participar en la entrevista, recibirá una tarjeta de regalo de Amazon de $25 por correo electrónico dentro de la semana posterior a la entrevista como compensación. Aún recibirá la tarjeta de regalo de Amazon de $25 si su entrevista no dura entre 60 y 90 minutos.

Si acepta que lo observen durante un evento o actividad, el investigador observará y tomará notas digitales sobre su comportamiento y las conversaciones que se produzcan naturalmente y que sean relevantes para el estudio durante un mínimo de 30 minutos y un máximo de 2 horas. El investigador se reunirá con usted en un momento y lugar al que asista con frecuencia (por ejemplo: espacio de trabajo, exhibición de museo o evento de puertas abiertas del programa de residencia de arte). La actividad de observación es una actividad que se realiza una sola vez.

El investigador solicitará su consentimiento para ser observado al menos un día antes de la actividad de observación a través de una conversación por correo electrónico o llamada telefónica y nuevamente antes de que comience la observación. Usted es libre de retirar su consentimiento para ser observado en cualquier momento durante el evento o actividad. Nunca se le grabará en audio ni en video durante las observaciones. No será compensado por participar en la actividad de observación. Las notas de observación se mantendrán en un archivo protegido por contraseña dentro de una computadora protegida por contraseña y separadas de cualquier información identificable.

Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Usted es libre de retirar su consentimiento y dejar de participar en este estudio en cualquier momento sin perjuicio ni sanción. Su decisión de participar o no en este estudio no afectará de ninguna manera su empleo, su relación con su empleador o su relación con las personas que puedan tener interés en este estudio.

La información privada identificable que se recopila para eventos de observación, entrevistas y arreglos de compensación posteriores a la entrevista se almacenará por separado de los datos no identificados. El investigador principal o el personal administrativo de la Universidad de Florida Central (UCF) distribuirá la compensación de la entrevista a su correo electrónico. El personal administrativo de la UCF no está involucrado en el estudio de investigación y está actuando dentro de sus roles profesionales al distribuir la compensación financiada.

El investigador principal solicitará su permiso para compartir su dirección de correo electrónico con el personal administrativo de la UCF para la distribución de compensación al programar su entrevista. Si no permite que el investigador principal comparta su dirección de correo electrónico con el personal administrativo de la UCF, aún puede participar en el estudio y el investigador principal distribuirá su compensación. Si otorga permiso, su correo electrónico se comparte con el personal administrativo de UCF para la distribución de compensaciones y se mantiene separado de otra información identificable dentro de una cuenta de OneDrive afiliada a UCF. El personal administrativo de la UCF no compartirá ni almacenará su correo electrónico y no podrá acceder a su información después de distribuir su compensación.

Cualquier respuesta de la entrevista o conversación/comportamiento observado que, si se conoce fuera de la investigación, podría ponerlo en riesgo de responsabilidad penal o civil o dañar su situación financiera, empleabilidad o reputación nunca se incluirá en los informes de investigación escritos.

Su información de contacto, edad y las características de su apariencia nunca se incluirán en la investigación escrita que pueda publicarse. En todas las versiones escritas de la investigación, su nombre no se utilizará sin su permiso y puede elegir un seudónimo para proteger su privacidad. Además, su afiliación laboral o los detalles de sus proyectos artísticos (ejemplo: descripción específica de pinturas, esculturas, exhibiciones de arte o poemas) no se divulgarán en el proyecto de investigación escrito sin su permiso.

Si desea que su nombre, afiliación laboral, detalles del proyecto de arte o una combinación de estos identificadores se incluyan en la investigación publicada, discútalo con el investigador o un miembro del equipo de investigación. El proyecto de investigación escrito final se publicará a través de la página de tesis y disertaciones electrónicas de bibliotecas de acceso público de la Universidad de Florida Central (UCF) y el depósito institucional de STARS donde cualquiera puede ver su información identificable. Comuníquese con los investigadores antes del 31 de marzo de 2023 para retirar su consentimiento para

incluir su(s) identificador(es) en la investigación publicada. Una vez que la investigación se publique después del 31 de marzo de 2023, no se podrá eliminar toda la información identificable.

Todos los datos se conservarán durante 5 años después del cierre del estudio según la ley de Florida.

Debe tener 18 años o más, identificarse con la herencia puertorriqueña, ser miembro de la comunidad artística puertorriqueña como profesor de arte, artista local y/o curador de arte, y vivir actualmente en Puerto Rico para participar en esta investigación.

Contacto del estudio para preguntas sobre el estudio o para informar un problema: Si tiene preguntas, inquietudes o quejas: *Andrea Ocasio Cruz, estudiante de posgrado, Programa de Antropología, Facultad de Ciencias, por correo electrónico* [redacted] *o Dra. Beatriz Reyes-Foster, Supervisora de Facultad, Departamento de Antropología por correo electrónico a* [redacted]

Contacto del IRB sobre sus derechos en este estudio o para presentar una queja: Si tiene preguntas sobre sus derechos como participante en la investigación o si tiene inquietudes sobre la realización de este estudio, comuníquese con la Junta de Revisión Institucional (IRB), University of Central Florida, Office of Research, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3246 o por teléfono al (407) 823-2901, o correo electrónico irb@ucf.edu.

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