

# POST-REVISIONIST SCHOLARSHIP ON RACE

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*DIPLOMA OF WHITENESS: RACE AND SOCIAL POLICY IN BRAZIL, 1917–1945.* By Jerry Dávila. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003. Pp. 292. \$64.95 cloth, \$21.95 paper.)

*SHADES OF CITIZENSHIP: RACE AND THE CENSUS IN MODERN POLITICS.* By Melissa Nobles. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000. Pp. 248. \$49.50 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

*RACIAL REVOLUTIONS: ANTIRACISM AND INDIAN RESURGENCE IN BRAZIL.* By Jonathan W. Warren. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001. Pp. 363. \$64.95 cloth, \$21.95 paper.)

*INDIAN AND NATION IN REVOLUTIONARY MEXICO.* By Alexander S. Dawson. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004. Pp. 240. \$45.00 cloth.)

## INTRODUCTION

Beginning in the late 1950s and peaking in the 1980s and 1990s, a revisionist wave of scholarship focused on dismantling myths of Latin American “racial democracy.” Scholars emphasized the insidiously disempowering effects of egalitarian myths and documented pervasive inequality and racism.<sup>2</sup> By the late twentieth century, most scholars had

1. The author thanks Roger Kittleson for comments on an earlier draft. Deep gratitude is also owed to Karin Roseblatt, both for comments on this particular essay and for insights provided in an ongoing dialogue on the subject of race in Latin America.

2. The revisionist approach was pioneered by Latin American, especially Brazilian, social scientists at mid-century. See for example: Florestan Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazilian Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); Florestan Fernandes and Roger Bastide, *Branços e negros em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1959); Magnus Mörner, ed. *Race and Class in Latin America* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970). One might also include Tomás Robáina Fernández, *El negro en Cuba, 1902–1958: Apuntes para la historia de la lucha contra la discriminación racial* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1990). Some of the best and most influential examples of revisionist work by scholars based in the United States are: George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos*

reached a consensus on some basic principles underlying all critical race scholarship: Race is a contingent social and historical construct; racial identities are not simply determined by ancestry or phenotype. We generally agree that other factors, such as economic class, social context, and political mobilization contribute to shaping how people identify racially (though we do not always agree which factors have been the most important).

So much has been written on race in Latin America that one might understandably wonder whether there is anything important left to study and debate. Yet, building on these basic insights, new contributions to the literature continue to bring up original lines of inquiry, thus demonstrating the ongoing vitality and even urgency of the topic. There are indeed many questions waiting to be explored, questions that get at the core of how race is “made” and how race has shaped citizenship in modern nations.

If the books reviewed in this essay can be considered representative of a new trend, then a post-revisionist scholarship is emerging that focuses on the production of racial knowledge. This literature considers the interaction of bureaucratic institutions with social and intellectual movements in modern nation-states, leading us toward a fuller understanding of the institutionalization of racial inequality and its cultural

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*Aires, 1800–1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1980), and *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle For Equality, 1886–1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Richard Graham, ed. *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974; reprint with a new preface and bibliography, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993). Some recent books might arguably be grouped with the revisionist literature, given their strong emphasis on the negative effects of the racial-democracy myth, or might be classified as more in the post-revisionist vein because of the innovative methodology they employ; these include Michael Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo Brazil, 1945–1988* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); France Winddance Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998), among others. The revisionist literature produced in the United States has incurred the ire of some Latin American and European scholars who accuse U.S. academics of imposing North American racial assumptions on distinct Latin American realities. See for example Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant, “On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason,” *Culture and Society* 16 (1996): 41–51. For a nuanced, though polemical, critique of the revisionist approach to race, see Alejandro de la Fuente, “Myths of Racial Democracy: Cuba 1900–1912,” *Latin American Research Review* 34 (3): 39–73 (1999). De la Fuente does not consider egalitarian racial “myths of racial democracy” to be exclusively paralyzing and disempowering for Latin Americans of African descent; he views such discourses as at once empowering and disempowering. Similar views are increasingly common among the latest generation of scholars, though most would not go as far as he does in emphasizing the positive aspects of Latin American racial discourse.

underpinnings. These books examine how specific state entities—such as school districts, census bureaus, and Indian bureaus—have produced and disseminated knowledge about race. They are also unified by a common argument that citizenship has been implicitly and explicitly racialized, and that race has served to constrain the full exercise of citizenship. The best post-revisionist scholarship, moreover, moves beyond the revisionists' emphasis on denunciation and takes a more nuanced view of how elite intellectuals and popular forces have interacted in the making of race.<sup>3</sup>

#### PRODUCING RACIAL KNOWLEDGE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Historian Jerry Dávila's fine recent book, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945* examines how elite intellectuals, politicians, and educational bureaucracies interacted to shape public education in an urban school system. His research focuses on education reform in Rio de Janeiro, 1917–1946, whereby “an emerging white medical, social scientific, and intellectual elite turned their assumptions about race in Brazil into educational politics” (3). He argues that intellectuals projected their views about racial degeneracy “into Brazilian society in ways that typically worked to the disadvantage of poor and nonwhite Brazilians, denying them equitable access to the programs, institutions, and social rewards that educational policies conferred” (3–4).

Dávila deftly shows how Rio's public schools served not only as institutions for disseminating knowledge *to* children, but also as laboratories for producing knowledge *about* them. School reformers collected detailed anthropomorphic data on schoolchildren and used it to produce statistics inscribed within a eugenic framework that associated health and scholastic aptitude with whiteness. Dávila casts a critical eye on school-based hygienic, medical, dental, and nutritional initiatives. On the one hand, Dávila admits, these programs did benefit poor children's lives directly. But Dávila emphasizes the programs' more ominous aspects, whereby children “were reduced to objects of science, subjects of experiments whose conclusions were used as scientific proofs

3. Some scholars who exemplify the post-revisionist trend include Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919–1991* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation For All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation and Revolution, 1868–1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Greg Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); and the contributors Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, eds., *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

to sustain a system of assumptions about class and race that discriminated against the majority of public schoolchildren" (51).

Dávila provides examples of how reformers, in their efforts to uplift "the Brazilian race" by expanding educational access, ultimately reaffirmed racial hierarchy and discrimination. For example, admissions to the highly competitive Teachers' College depended on assessments of intelligence and health that favored young women who conformed to a eugenic ideal. In primary schools, moreover, educational testing and tracking prevented most poor nonwhite students from advancing academically. Dávila shows that the Estado Novo's purge of school reformers did not change the racial assumptions of the reform movement. Whitening ideals, he argues, were manifest in the Estado Novo's huge nationalist rallies featuring schoolchildren's choral performances of music written by Heitor Villa-Lobos.

Dávila defines race as a "metanarrative." Yet, his own methodology reveals an unresolved tension between this post-modern approach and a more essentialist, phenotypically-based understanding of race. This tension is most apparent when he compares photographs of teachers over time to argue that "Afrodescendants" were increasingly excluded from the teaching profession. I do not necessarily doubt his conclusions, nor do I mean to single this book out for special criticism given that this tension runs through most of the scholarship on race. But I would have welcomed a discussion on his part of the racial assumptions undergirding his methodology. He assigns to himself the authority to discern who was "Afrodescendant," yet the subjects of these photos would not necessarily have agreed. His surprisingly uncritical use of the labels "Afrodescendant" and "non-white" throughout the book allows him to largely sidestep thorny questions about racial identity and categorization.

#### MAKING AND CONTESTING RACIAL CATEGORIES IN CENSUSES

Political scientist Melissa Nobles focuses precisely on these thorny questions in her engrossing book on Brazil and the United States, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics*. She argues that "census-taking is one of the institutional mechanisms by which racial boundaries are set" and that "racial enumeration itself creates and advances concepts of race, bringing into being the racial reality that census officials presume is already there, waiting to be counted. Ideas of race, in turn, shape public policies" (xi).

Nobles shares with Dávila an interest in how intellectuals sought to use state institutions as tools for producing racial knowledge. I was most intrigued by Nobles's historical accounts of how nineteenth- and twentieth-century social scientists influenced the creation of census

categories in both the United States and Brazil, especially the category mulatto, in order to obtain statistics that would support particular scientific theories and political projects. In the United States, nineteenth-century theorists of polygenesis successfully lobbied to include mulatto in the census. These intellectuals sought to generate mortality statistics in order to prove that the interbreeding of ostensibly separate species inevitably results in a frail mixed race. They believed that both blacks and mulattos were destined to die out. In Brazil, the census was also used as a forum for theorists of whitening. Francisco José Oliveira Vianna and Fernando de Azevedo wrote influential texts that accompanied the 1920 and 1940 censuses respectively. But Brazilians, in contrast to most North American theorists, came to advocate racial fusion as the best way to whiten the nation. Thus, in both countries the census was used as a scientific tool for ideologies of whitening, but from distinct perspectives. The science, in both cases, was influenced by politics: In the United States, segregation hardened the North American population into distinct races separated by the one-drop rule, and "mulatto" disappeared from the U.S. census after 1920, while in Brazil intellectuals and populist politicians increasingly characterized Brazil as a unified "racial democracy." They preferred the terminology of "color" for classifying Brazilians, as it implied that all Brazilians, whatever their complexion, belonged to one national race.

The importance of the census for politicians and activists is also discussed in a fascinating chapter on two very different social movements that emerged in the 1990s to pressure for changes in census categories. In the United States, the multiracial movement sought official recognition for those of mixed African and European heritage, causing consternation to civil rights advocates who feared a decrease in numbers of blacks. The implementation of civil rights legislation has depended on clear-cut, mutually exclusive, unquestioned categories such as "black" and "white." Nobles argues that both sides of the debate, the multiracial advocates and the established black civil rights activists, reinforce racial essentialism. Even the category "multiracial," she points out ironically, "presupposes monoracial identities" (133).

In Brazil, meanwhile, black activists in the 1990s advocated a bipartite racial model more like that of the United States. Among other demands, they campaigned to revise the census's intermediate *pardo* category, which they consider to be a factor in a systematic overcount of white Brazilians and undercount of black Brazilians. Brazil, they have argued, is predominantly black and in the process of becoming more so. In order to prove their argument, they need numbers that only a census can provide. Both the black activists in Brazil and the multiracial activists in the United States have realized that the knowledge produced by the census depends on the categories that the census employs.

The two movements pursue seemingly opposite goals, yet both have viewed the census as a key site of contestation in their struggles for recognition.

*Shades of Citizenship* follows a long tradition of U.S.-Brazil comparative scholarship.<sup>4</sup> This tradition has been enormously productive in revealing the historically and geographically contingent nature of North Americans' common-sense assumptions about race. Yet this otherwise strong book also exemplifies one limitation of this comparative literature, which too often isolates Brazil from Spanish America, where comparable processes have also played out. Nobles makes few references to research on Spanish America or the Caribbean. Moreover, in order to bolster a questionable and unnecessary assertion that the United States and Brazil are unique when it comes to census categories, she makes the misleading comment that "neither Colombian, Cuban, nor Dominican Republic censuses count by race or color" (180). In fact, Cuban censuses consistently have done just that, while those of other Latin American republics have done so intermittently.<sup>5</sup> Counting by race currently seems to be on the rise in Latin America.<sup>6</sup> Presumably, social scientists and social movements have influenced the creation of census categories in those countries too.

Nobles makes only brief references to Indians, who in Brazil were subsumed under the category of *pardo* in 1980. In leaving Indians largely out of her story, Nobles follows in the footsteps of the earlier revisionists. The revisionist race scholarship, with certain exceptions, focused mainly on people of African descent and their oppression by white-dominated societies, with the unintended implication that race is really only a topic of concern to black people. Indians and heavily indigenous societies were usually studied in terms of ethnicity or class rather than race. Likewise, Asian and European immigrants have generally been discussed in terms of ethnicity.<sup>7</sup> Some of the new post-revisionist

4. See for example Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986); Anthony Marx, *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of the United States, South Africa, and Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Thomas Skidmore, "Toward a Comparative Analysis of Race Relations since Abolition in Brazil and the United States," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 4 (1): 1–28 (1972), and "Bi-Racial U.S.A. vs. Multi-Racial Brazil: Is the Contrast Still Valid?," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25 (2): 373–385 (May 1993); Robert Brent Toplin, *Freedom and Prejudice: The Legacy of Slavery in the United States and Brazil* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974).

5. George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 155–157, 205–207; Alejandro de la Fuente makes use of the Cuban census data on race in *A Nation for All*.

6. Personal electronic correspondence from George Reid Andrews, 3 September 2004.

7. On ethnicity and race, see Peter Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America* (London: Pluto Press, 1997). The ethnicity research on indigenous peoples and immigrants has

research, however, broadens the scope of critical race scholarship by considering all racial groups and definitions within its purview.

#### CREATING AND CONTESTING INDIAN IDENTITY

*Racial Revolutions: Antiracism and Indian Resurgence in Brazil* by anthropologist Jonathan Warren does consider the implications of adding an indigenous category to the Brazilian census. *Racial Revolutions* asks why the Brazilian Indian population has dramatically increased in areas of the country where they had been widely presumed to be extinct. The author focuses on “post-traditional” Eastern Indians in Minas Gerais and Espiritu Santo, whose Indianness is often questioned because they do not resemble “the romanticized savages of colonial nostalgia” (31). He attributes the resurgence of the Indian population in large part to “racial identity shifts” prompted by a combination of factors. Along with the addition of *indígena* to the Brazilian census, other factors include the decline of repressive policies previously aimed at “exorcising” Indianness from Brazil; the state’s backing of land claims for some indigenous communities; and the emergence of an indigenous rights movement organized and backed by the Catholic Church, academics, and international NGOs.

Warren notes that the political and cultural climate for Brazilian Indians has improved as state institutions—including schools and the census, among others—have increasingly conceptualized the Brazilian national population as multiracial rather than racially fused (a change that is also taking place in Spanish-American countries). Some previous “disincentives” to Indianness have been removed. But Warren insists that significant obstacles to asserting Indian identity still persist in Brazil. He seeks to disprove the “racial huckster” thesis, according to which false Indians “are gravitating toward Indian identities due to state-provided material incentives” (31). His argument resonates with recent research by historians and anthropologists in Spanish America, who have encountered various historical examples of hegemonic discourse that denied the authenticity of any Indian who was urban or semi-educated.<sup>8</sup>

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produced brilliant scholarship too extensive to summarize here. One of the most exciting new areas of inquiry into ethnicity, which has many points of intersection with the race literature, is research on the identities of Asian immigrants. See for example Jeffrey Lesser, ed., *Searching for Home Abroad: Japanese Brazilians and Transnationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

8. See for example Nancy P. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters: Race, Region, and Local History in Colombia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 120; de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, 306–14; Jeffrey L. Gould, *To Die in this Way: Nicaraguan Indians and the Myth of Mestizaje, 1880–1965* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 48.

Warren discusses the role of the church and NGOs in the building of an indigenous rights movement, in light of current social movement theory. He traces the roles played by professional anthropologists in formulating various nefarious state policies towards Indians. Warren places his findings in the context of ethnographic research across the Americas, rather than assuming Brazil's uniqueness.

The other researchers considered in this review all rely mainly on bureaucratic archives and publications for their evidence, thus limiting their ability to gauge the effect of official policies on everyday life. According to historian Thomas Holt's influential formulation, however, "it is precisely within the ordinary and everyday that racialization has been most effective, where it *makes* race."<sup>9</sup> Ethnographers such as Warren interact with their living subjects, gaining a privileged view into how individuals constitute and racialize their own identities. Warren uses this access to delve into the experiences, practices, and discourses of Indians and some non-Indians. Through systematic interviews and direct observation in three rural indigenous communities and one urban neighborhood, he examines the process whereby some Indians constituted new communities after being forcibly dislocated from ancestral lands. He interviews people about racial categories, daily life, and racism. He recounts how some individuals went from identifying themselves as *caboclo* or *pardo* to "Indian."

Ultimately, however, his ethnographic description is not as rich as I would have hoped. I was captivated by the communities themselves, and would have welcomed a much thicker description. For example, I would have liked to know more about a dispute over racial authenticity that divided one of the communities into opposing camps; this dispute could have been used to explore complicated issues about identity and communal power dynamics. Instead, Warren devotes much of the book to denouncing racism and racist policies. Comparing the discourse of white, black, and Indian informants, he concludes that most white and black Brazilians share a discourse of racial democracy, while only Indians explicitly question the racial order; thus the Indians provide Brazil's only critical subaltern voice. This argument seems suspiciously neat; I suspect that a thicker ethnography might have indicated greater complexity.

#### BEYOND BRAZIL

From these three books, we know that in Brazil elite intellectuals, social movements "from below," and external actors such as NGOs and

9. Thomas C. Holt, "Marking: Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History," *American Historical Review* 100 (1):14 (February 1995), emphasis in the original.

foreign academics have all contributed to shaping the state institutions that have played key roles in race-making. Meanwhile, what about the rest of Latin America? Race scholarship has not been limited to Brazil; important work on race is being done for almost every country of Latin America. Here I will limit myself to discussing only one example, a monograph book on Mexico. Historian Alexander Dawson's book, *Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico*, focuses on an intertwined set of state institutions, intellectuals, and social movements that sought to remake "the Indian." He locates his discussion of race within the scholarly literature on "everyday forms of state formation" in Mexico and the rest of Latin America. His analysis is more nuanced, and less one-sided, than any of the books considered above.

Dawson follows Alan Knight and other revisionists on *indigenismo* in noting the paternalism and shortcomings of the *indigenistas*. Mexican *indigenistas* viewed Indians as "proto-citizens, incapable of rising to the level of citizen without state tutelage" (xx). According to revisionist critics, *indigenistas* exhibited a fundamentally racist disdain for the living breathing Indians whom they sought to transform. But for Dawson, this racism is only part of the story. Dawson parts company with the revisionists when he argues that some *indigenistas* undermined and challenged an essentialist view of the Indian. He probes the internal tensions within *indigenismo* and reveals tensions between these intellectuals and the state that they served. At the same time, he emphasizes that *indigenista* social scientists helped expand and strengthen the state.

Dawson recounts the history of educational establishments created by *indigenista* social scientists working within state bureaucracies, beginning with the short-lived and ill-fated Casa del Estudiante Indígena in the late 1920s. Dawson shares with Dávila and Nobles an emphasis on how social scientists used state institutions to produce racial knowledge. *Indigenistas* sought not only to train indigenous youth to become communal leaders and agents of indigenous modernization, but they also tried to use the school to prove a scientific point: Indians are not biologically inferior; Indians are capable of modernization. With the replacement of the Casa in the early 1930s with local boarding schools located in and near their students' communities, *indigenista* education faced local pressures on the part of both indigenous communities and non-Indian politicians. Dawson recounts the various local and national political pressures that shaped *indigenismo* as Lázaro Cárdenas came to power. By this time, some *indigenistas* working within the bureaucracy had adopted a Soviet-influenced analysis of Indians as "oppressed nationalities," which did not mesh well with Cárdenas's populist efforts to build a tightly unified nation-state. Cárdenas saw the Indians' problems more in class terms. He publicly and repeatedly manifested

his respect for Indians' dignity and equality, but many of his functionaries were more concerned with expanding their power than with promoting Indians' welfare.

Ultimately, many of Cárdenas's populist impulses were undermined by local forces and subsequent presidential administrations. Moreover, according to Dawson, the indigenistas were never successful in remaking the common-sense Mexican definition of the Indian as racially immutable and inferior (his main evidence for this assertion is that the word *indio* remained a common slur). Indian representatives to indigenous congresses and students trained in indigenista boarding schools, however, "used the forums created by revolutionary Indigenismo to talk back to the state" (xxi). These new indigenous political actors, known as *indigenas capacitados*, both challenged and consented to their own domination. In mediating between the state and their communities, they exercised their citizenship through the state's corporatist framework and negotiated the terms of their own domination. In doing so, they ultimately contributed to the state's stability. According to Dawson, they embodied hegemony.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The post-revisionist research considered above has effectively documents the interaction of state entities, social movements, and intellectuals in the production of both esoteric and common-sense racial knowledge, and thus in the very "making" of the racial categories that have shaped modern life throughout the Americas. Their insights illuminate some of the ways that citizenship and nation-state formation have been racialized.

Much still remains to be studied. For example, several of the authors considered here mention that racial categories vary regionally within countries, but these scholars do not probe the spatial dimensions of race. As other research has indicated, racial labels have often been geographic ascriptions denoting place of origin within the nation; in any given Latin American country, citizens' racial identities are shaped in part by whether they are from "the backwoods," the sierra, or the tropical coast.<sup>10</sup> Particular places within the nation are commonly ascribed their own racial characteristics. Scholars are only just beginning to examine this racialization of geography; more studies are needed of topics such as cartographic institutes, map-making expeditions, and

10. De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*; Peter Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters*.

regionalism.<sup>11</sup> Unlike some other recent scholars of race, who have shown how race is conjointly constructed with gender and sexuality, none of the scholars considered above attempt a systematic gender analysis.<sup>12</sup> New research is re-examining topics such as the racial ideology of the independence leaders and the political agency of ostensibly excluded nineteenth-century racial groups.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, much remains to be studied regarding the interaction of state institutions with peoples' "ordinary and everyday" beliefs and practices. Of the scholars discussed in this essay, only Warren considers how ordinary people inhabit and reproduce racial knowledge on a daily basis, and even his exploration of this topic is limited. Fortunately, additional post-revisionist literature has started examining the racialized dimensions of various realms of everyday life, such as popular culture and consumption.<sup>14</sup>

Research on race remains an urgent imperative for scholars of Latin America. Latin American activists and politicians have started moving away from a model of national racial unity that suppresses racial difference as a precondition for citizenship. Instead, they increasingly

11. I would welcome more inquiries along the lines of Benjamin S. Orlove, "Putting Race in its Place: Order in Colonial and Postcolonial Peruvian Geography," *Social Research* 60 (2): 301–36 (Summer 1993); Raymond B. Craib, "A Nationalist Metaphysics: State Fixations, National Maps, and the Geo-Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82 (1): 33–68 (February 2002), although the latter article does not specifically address race. See also Aims McGuinness, "Searching for 'Latin America': Race and Sovereignty in the Americas in the 1850s," Gerardo Rénique, "Race, Region, and Nation: Sonora's Anti-Chinese Racism and Mexico's Postrevolutionary Nationalism, 1920s–1930s," and Barbara Weinstein, "Racializing Regional Difference: São Paulo versus Brazil, 1932," all in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, ed. Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Roseblatt (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

12. On intersections of race, gender, and sexuality in modern Latin America, see for example Sueann Caufield, *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early-Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Sarah Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1870–1854* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*; Eileen J. Suárez Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870–1920* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, "Sexuality and Biopower in Chile and Latin America," *Political Power and Social Theory* 15 (2002): 229–262.

13. Some examples include: Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*; Marixa A. Lasso, "Race and Republicanism in the Age of Revolution, Cartagena, 1795–1831" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 2002); Alfonso Múnera, *El fracaso de la nación: región, clase, y raza en el Caribe colombiano (1717–1821)* (Bogotá: Banco de la República and Ancora Editores, 1998); James E. Sanders, "'Citizens of a Free People': Popular Liberalism and Race in Nineteenth-Century Southwestern Colombia," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 84 (2): 277–313 (May 2004).

14. See for example Peter Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), among others.

propose a multicultural model of national diversity. This trend, driven by both local and global pressures, is controversial and complex. It has been manifest in constitutional and institutional reforms as well as in myriad social programs. But these initiatives aimed at eliminating racism and empowering indigenous and black communities have been implemented unevenly. Reforms face resistance from entrenched sectors who benefited under the previous policies. Continual research is necessary in order to carefully document any effects that these changes are having (or not) on institutionalized racial hierarchy, subjective racial identities, economic inequality, and everyday practices of racial discrimination.

Academics who work in and on Latin America are not simply detached observers. Scholars participate in the current controversies and reforms. The innovative new books discussed here remind us that earlier generations of scholars also participated in school reform, census categorization, and state policies towards blacks and Indians. Scientific theories have influenced, and have been influenced by, the common-sense racial prejudices of each era. As we continue to document the errors of our predecessors, our own complicity in both institutional and oppositional race-making must necessarily be the subject of continual reflection and debate.