

book actually takes into account centuries, convincingly showing us the benefits of understanding the long-term development and nature of the *común*, which proved to be central in the violent uprisings that spread across the high plateau in the 1780s.

The author is less convincing in her historiographical and comparative arguments. In terms of the scholarship, she has read widely and knows the various literatures well. However, she pulls her punches, and her criticism is not always clear. She decries great men history and Peruvian nationalist approaches in the studies on the uprisings between Lake Titicaca and Cuzco, to the north of Charcas; with this she is referring to the focus on José Gabriel Condorcanqui, better known as Tupac Amaru, rather than on the actions of common people. She needed to be more specific on what works she had in mind (although I perhaps should thank her, as I might have been one of the targets). More importantly, she misses a great opportunity to compare her work more rigorously with the events of the Tupac Amaru phase.

Her study brings to light important differences with this phase. While anticacique sentiments motivated the townspeople of San Pedro de Condocondo and the other towns she studies, Tupac Amaru, the absolute leader of the eponymous rebellion to the north, was himself a cacique. This is one of many contrasts. It is a shame that she did not incorporate Sergio Serulnikov's incisive comparative work, published in English and Spanish, that develops these and other differences and similarities. Penry correctly stresses the need for more local approaches to the Tupac Amaru phase, offering valuable insights into local governance and the close relationship between Hispanic and Andean urbanism. Nonetheless, she fails to show how the focus on the *común* would necessarily apply to other regions and uprisings.

*The People Are King* closes with a perceptive overview of the repercussions of the *común*, from its survival during the postindependence assault on indigenous land until its role during the Evo Morales government. She probes the limitations of independence and the creole republic. This is an innovative and important study for the Andes, past and present.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-8796539

*Raza y política en Hispanoamérica.*

Edited by TOMÁS PÉREZ VEJO and PABLO YANKELEVICH. Diásporas. Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert; Mexico City: Bonilla Artigas Editores; Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2017. Notes. Bibliographies. 384 pp. Paper, €34.00.

Race is not merely an important part of politics in Latin America; it is foundational of politics itself. This is the central argument presented by Tomás Pérez Vejo and Pablo Yankelevich in their introduction to this exceptional collection of original historical essays on race, nation, and politics in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Latin America. The volume does not offer a singular narrative of how race constitutes and is constituted by politics in the region. Rather, the stated aim of *Raza y política en Hispanoamérica* is “to contribute to understanding the multiple strands of the relationships between race

and politics in *el espacio hispanoamericano*” as part of ongoing debates that seek “to understand and explain the complexity of the processes of nation making” in the region (pp. 12, 15). The editors succeed in this aim. The ten original chapters that comprise the volume offer thematically linked but empirically discrete analyses of the mutual imbrication of race making and nation making through elite projects to modernize the polities and “civilize” and homogenize the societies of postcolonial Latin America (p. 14).

In their introductory essay, Pérez Vejo and Yankelevich frame the volume by reminding readers that the development of “enlightened” liberal political thought positing the universal equality of a singular, abstract humanity emerged in tandem historically with the idea that humanity was always already “divided naturally into races of different physical, moral, and intellectual qualities” (p. 12). Racist and racist thought was thoroughly implicated in the development of liberal political thought and in the emancipatory political projects it inspired. Among those projects, the new republics of the Americas embodied constitutive tensions of political modernity: how to reconcile juridical commitments to political equality with beliefs that humanity was naturally divided into superior and inferior races with different innate capacities to be, or to become, modern political subjects.

The responses to navigating this tension were complex and variable, as Pérez Vejo and Yankelevich underline and as the collection of historical studies illuminates. A common thread, however, was the association of modernity and civilization with whiteness and of national progress with ethnoracial and ethnocultural homogenization. Across a broad range of geographic and political contexts and with myriad nuanced variations, most elites espoused antiblack and anti-indigenous views; they construed the racial-demographic composition of their populations as a “problem” that needed to be solved for national progress to unfold. Even as they recognized diverse racial origins and intermixture as constitutive of their distinctive nations—a font of irreducible, Herderian national uniqueness—they pursued political projects to minimize, displace, absorb, invisibilize, or, in some contexts, violently annihilate indigeness and blackness in pursuit of the ideal of becoming whiter and more homogenous nations in the future.

While this volume’s central themes will be familiar to students of race, nation, and politics in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Latin America, the individual chapters build on existing historiography while extending our knowledge and refocusing our analytic attention. Several chapters focus on efforts to whiten national populations through positivist, eugenics-inspired social policies that equated modernization of polities and societies with the nation’s whitening. The chapters also contribute to newer lines of research that subject the sociopolitical construction of whiteness itself to rigorous historical scrutiny. The chapters collectively illustrate the need for analysts to take seriously the context dependence and relationality of constructions of whiteness, indigeness, and blackness in order to appreciate and understand the many variations in how race, nation, and politics are articulated across the region.

Several chapters discuss selective immigration policies to show how the privileging of whiteness as a policy for national development crystallized early and persisted through most of the twentieth century while also drawing attention to whiteness’s plasticity at

different historical and political moments. In a chapter on Brazil, for example, Jeffrey Lesser notes how some policymakers pushed for subsidizing Japanese migration in the 1930s by arguing that Japanese immigrants are “even whiter than the Portuguese” (p. 367). The contested historical construction of whiteness in relation to racialized nation-making projects also comes into focus in Patricia Funes’s chapter, which illuminates the ambivalent and at-times contradictory constructions of whiteness in relation to ideas about civilization, progress, and political modernity in South America. And, in a chapter on selective immigration policy in Mexico, Yankelevich reveals how whiteness was both desired and threatening to Mexico’s hierarchically assimilationist project of *forjando patria* (in Manuel Gamio’s terminology) through *mestizaje*. The ideological privileging of whiteness in the abstract produced unsolvable tension, political ambivalence, and contradictory policies in the context of debates over whether to allow entry to the country, under what circumstances and with what exceptions, to particular European nationalities. Overall, the volume draws needed attention to the fact that constructions of whiteness were both productive of and a contested product of politics.

Even more explicitly, the chapters underscore the pervasive entrenchment of antiblackness and anti-indigenoussness as foundational to the politics of nation making across the region. This theme, which crosscuts and unifies the volume, is particularly sharply delineated in Marta Saade Granados’s account of the racialization of “moral order” in Colombia and in Marta Elena Casáu’s Arzú’s account of how political elites in Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala rejected the idea of producing homogenous modern nations through *mestizaje* and instead embraced political strategies of invisibilization, eugenics-inspired eradication, or outright extermination of indigenous or Afro-descendant populations.

The consequences of nineteenth- and twentieth-century elites’ conceptions of indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples as temporally, spatially, and politically outside the nation continue to reverberate. Race was foundational to politics in the region and remains deeply constitutive of politics today—even in ostensibly race-neutral domains. The histories recounted in this volume are not past; they continue to shape the Latin American present. This collection of well-written and provocative chapters should interest a broad readership of both generalists and specialists in Latin American history and contemporary politics.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-8796550

*Ethnopornography: Sexuality, Colonialism, and Archival Knowledge.*

Edited by PETE SIGAL, ZEB TORTORICI, and NEIL L. WHITEHEAD. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020. Photographs. Figures. Notes. Index. ix, 270 pp. Paper, \$26.95.

This highly engaging collection of essays, originating in conferences held in 2006 and 2007 at Duke University and the University of Wisconsin–Madison, respectively, defines