

Immigrant Racialization and the New Savage Slot: Race, Migration, and Immigration in the New Europe

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Abstract

This review explores contemporary processes through which immigrants are categorized into shifting racial landscapes in the new Europe. Tracing the racial genealogy of the immigrant through European and Europeanist migration studies, the successive construction of overlapping tropes of the nomad, the laborer, the uprooted victim, the hybrid cosmopolite, and the (Muslim) transmigrant are examined. This history points to the perduring problematization of the immigrant as the object of national integration. If migration studies have effectively tended to racialize migrants into a new savage slot, recent ethnographies of the immigrant experience in Europe point to ways in which immigrant and diasporic groups cross racial frontiers and enact solidarity across class and cultural lines.

Contents

INTRODUCTION: THE	
RACIALIZING PROCESS	364
MIGRATION GENEALOGIES	367
The Nomad	368
The Laborer	370
The Uprooted	372
The Hybrid	373
The Transmigrant	375
CONCLUSION	376

INTRODUCTION: THE RACIALIZING PROCESS

The construction of immigration as a problem of state policy, national cohesion, racial consciousness, and academic study has repeated itself with renewed vigor at each historical moment, following each geopolitical realignment, and under each shift in the organization of capital. If colonizing powers obsessed about nomadism and the primordial mobility of transhumant populations as a persistent challenge to the stability of rule, contemporary nation-states fret over the seemingly ceaseless flows of postcolonial migrants whose ongoing transnational ties to homelands and nationalizing projects abroad call into question local national integration and unity. Such a problem, although structurally located at the contradiction between the demands of capital for socially disunited “abstract labor” and the demands of states for culturally unified “abstract citizens” (Lowe 1996, p. 13), has been historically portrayed in state immigration policy, naturalization legislation, and eugenically oriented social scientific writing as an essential characteristic of immigrant populations themselves and of their incommensurable *racial* difference. W.E.B. Dubois’ famous opening self-query, “How does it feel to be a problem?” (1989, p. 4) serves as an equally salient point of departure for groups as diverse as Black Britons and South Asian Americans similarly

struggling through the dynamics associated with structural inequality and an enduring “double consciousness” (compare Gilroy 1987, p. 11; Prashad 2000, p. vii). How such a postcolonial, racialized landscape has been lived and negotiated through immigrant social organization, political action, and cultural production in and across European national frontiers has become increasingly the object of both state attention and recent ethnographic inquiry (compare Axel 2001, Baumann 1996, Beriss 2004, Carter 1997, Cole 1997, Fikes 2000, Hall 2002, Kastoryano 2002, MacGaffey & Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000, Shukla 2003, Silverstein 2004, Suárez-Navaz 2004, Ticktin 2002, Wacquant 2005, Werbner 2002).

This review is particularly concerned with the racialization of the (im)migrant category, and the role of migration theory in processes of racial subjectification in Europe. For the purposes of this review, *race* is defined as a cultural category of difference that is contextually constructed as essential and natural—as residing within the very body of the individual—and is thus generally tied, in scientific theory and popular understanding, to a set of somatic, physiognomic, and even genetic character traits. Racialization correspondingly refers to the processes through which any diacritic of social personhood—including class, ethnicity, generation, kinship/affinity, and positions within fields of power—comes to be essentialized, naturalized, and/or biologized; “the dynamic, and dialectical representational process of categorization and meaning construction in which specific meanings are ascribed to real or fictitious somatic features” (Wodak & Reisigl 1999, p. 180; see Miles 1989; Omi & Winant 1994). Racialization thus indexes the historical transformation of fluid categories of difference into fixed species of otherness.

In spite of repeated critiques of race as a scientific concept and analytic model, race remains salient in the everyday lives of immigrants in Europe, as an inescapable social fact whose vitality and volatility only appear

to be increasing (Harrison 1995, p. 49; compare Balibar & Wallerstein 1991; Cole 1997; Gilroy 1987; Lamont 1999, 2000). Such salience is in large part due to the structural persistence of racial, racist, and racist discourses and hierarchies—a structured “racial formation” (Omi & Winant 1994) or “racial system” with potential global reach (Winant 2004, pp. 94–107)—according to which immigrants are categorized along the “color line” (Ong 1996). This racial categorization amounts to the construction of a new “savage slot” (Trouillot 1991) through which immigrants are constructed as the European nation-state’s abject, and anthropology’s increasingly preferred, exotic “others” (Dominguez 1994).

The contemporary racialization and exoticization of immigrants occurs within a shifting landscape of racial hierarchies and paradigms. If today’s Asians and South Asians in the United States participate in their reifying representation as a model minority in such a way as to further marginalize African-American populations as an enduring problem (Palumbo-Liu 1999, pp. 174–75; Prashad 2000, pp. xi, 157–83), this is largely a recent development that erases the history of the Oriental problem as an obsession of American sociological and missionary social reform efforts (Palumbo-Liu 1999, pp. 81–115). Likewise, the seemingly unproblematic category of whiteness has itself proved fluid and unstable, with the earlier racialization of Celts, Slavs, Hebrews, and other immigrants from southern and eastern Europe as the “in-between peoples” (Barrett & Roediger 1997), only recently (after 1924) giving way to their assimilation into the catchall Caucasian category (Brodkin 1998, Dominguez 1986, Jacobsen 1998, Roediger 1991, Saxton 1990). Noiriel (1996) and Paul (1997) have detailed similar processes of national integration and subsequent historical amnesia by which Italian, Polish, and Irish immigrants of earlier generations—whose potential for racial assimilation into the national workforce was the subject of previous heated social dramas—

were similarly “whitewashed” in the French and British “melting pot” (or *creuset*).

On the one hand, this reduction of racial difference to a single black-white dyad in both the United States and northern Europe has occurred through class mobility and suburbanization in parallel with the new migrations of southern Blacks and African, Caribbean, and Maghrebi postcolonials into the metropolitan proletariat in the context of restrictive housing covenants, labor discrimination, and differential rights of civic participation (Brodkin 1998, pp. 25–52; Gilroy 1987). In general, class mobility has been productive of an effective deracialization of the new immigrant middle and upper classes within the “white nation fantasy” (Hage 2000), a mode of racial imagination through which successful immigrant businessmen, athletes, and cultural producers are treated as exceptions (see Silverstein 2000). On the other hand, this “homogenizing magic” (Jacobson 1998, p. 204) derived from transformations in the national imaginaries themselves, with imperial expansion/contraction and decolonizing struggles inscribing new “others” at the center of national anxiety (see Segal 1991, p. 9).

As the racial schemata into which immigrants have negotiated their slotting have shifted, so too have the frames of xenophobic discourse and violence to which they have been subjected. Within the anthropological literature, there has been a certain amount of debate (see Stolcke 1995, Ong 1996; and the commentaries following their essays) regarding the semantic implications, political relevance, and presumptions of discontinuity that accompany terming contemporary discourses and structures of discrimination as a “new racism” [also termed “neo-racism” (Balibar 1991) and “differentialist racism” (Taguieff 1990, 1991)]. Nonetheless, there is some general sense that a discursive shift has occurred in Western Europe in which racist paradigms according a purely biological foundation to racial categories have increasingly given way to a wider presupposition of cultural

difference as the fundamental and immutable basis of identity and belonging (Banton 1996, Barker 1981, Cole 1997, Gilroy 1987, Grillo 2003, Wiewiorka 1995). In the most blatant example, the 1980s British and French antiracist discourse, which promulgated a “right to difference” for Afro-Caribbeans and Franco-Maghrebis within British and French citizenship, found itself co-opted by racist ideologues of the various National Front parties, which mobilized the critique of assimilation to bolster ethical arguments for immigrant repatriation on the justification of respecting cultural difference (Gallissot 1985, Gilroy 1990, Silverman 1992).

More precisely, immigrants in these settings are racialized both in terms of their perceived inviolable cultural difference and in terms of their presumed intimate relationship to mobility. In this respect, the particularities of individual migration processes and patterns are erased within the structuring perception of immigrant otherness and the discursive construction of said differences as a national problem. Oppositions of sedentary/nomad and rooted/uprooted that have organized the field of migration studies discussed below continue to support national fantasies and reinforce the characterization of migrant populations as nationally suspect and potentially disloyal. In New Right discourse in Belgium and the Netherlands, immigrants are reduced to a perpetual status of *allochthony* (foreignness) in relation to mirror claims to national autochthony that provide a “promise of certainty of belonging” to groups previously marginalized along class or even racial lines (Ceuppens & Geschiere 2005; compare Turner 1995). Accordingly, immigrants, by the very nature of their history of mobility, become the racialized national others par excellence, the object of a white national fantasy of dominance (Hage 2000, pp. 69–77). The shifting racialization of such immigrants within the larger discourses and practices of white supremacy reflect the uncertainties and fractures of national belonging that migrants highlight by virtue of their differential citizen-

ship and presumed permanent ties to homelands elsewhere, or what Sayad calls their “absent presence” (Sayad 1991, pp. 292–99; compare Triandafyllidou 2001, pp. 55–56). As Lowe has commented, the immigrant has served as a “‘screen,’ a phantasmatic site, on which the nation projects a series of condensed, complicated anxieties regarding external and internal threats to the mutable coherence of the national body” (Lowe 1996, p. 18).

In this schema that links race and mobility, Jews and Gypsies/Roma, as perpetually rootless, cosmopolitan, and displaced (or displaceable) populations, have historically functioned as suspect races, with their history of movement calling into question the seamless mapping of national space and the presumed fixity of national populations (Malkki 1992; compare Apter 1999, Lemon 2000). More recently, Muslim immigrants and their offspring in Europe have occupied this racialized slot. Werbner (2005, p. 8) has averred that contemporary “Islamophobia” is premised on a new racialization of European Muslims as “Grand Inquisitors” and draws on a “reflexive fear Islam conjures...of a [spiritual] super-ego gone wild.” Nonetheless, in many ways Muslims in Europe remain racially suspect (like Jews and Gypsies before them) as “witches,” as potential enemies within, with states and scholars speculating on the orientation of their ultimate loyalties, whether toward European host polities or toward particular Muslim homelands (or a more general *Dar al-Islam*) geographically and imaginatively located elsewhere (see Asad 1993; Bowen 2004; Cesari 2004; Haddad & Smith 2002; Kepel 1991, 1997; Lewis & Schnapper 1994; Nielsen 1995; Roy 2004; Vertovec & Rogers 1998; Werbner 2002; Wikan 2002). With the ever-increasing dominance of the “clash of civilizations” paradigm (Huntington 1993, Lewis 1990) as performatively enacted in the current “war on terror,” the latest icon of such fears of permanent immigrant mobility, of preternatural Islamic

transnationalism, has become the young European Muslim man, recruited to travel abroad in the duties of global *jihad*, the “foreign fighter” in Iraq. Given such national anxieties, the racialized and gendered Muslim category has increasingly been slotted as the “significant other” (Triandafyllidou 2001) of national imaginaries and promises of continental unification in the new Europe, as studies of postcolonial Muslim communities and Euro-Islam more broadly have shown (see ALSayyad & Castells 2002, Amselle 2003, Carter 1997, Cesari 1998, Hargreaves 1995, Lamchichi 1999, Leveau et al. 2002, Metcalf 1996, Nielsen 1999, Nonneman et al. 1996, Silverstein 2004, Wihtol de Wenden 1991).

To explore these transformations in the racialization of (im)migrant groups, this review offers a historical review of European and Europeanist migration studies as they intersect with the specifically anthropological archive. The connection between migration and race remains a critical concern of anthropology, from Boas’ commissioned studies of “Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants” in which he argued for the pre-eminence of cultural over biological identity diacritics (Boas 1912), through contemporary anthropological inquiries into multicultural policies and their relation to processes of reification, commodification, and racialization of immigrant cultural practices (Amselle 2003, Hage 2000, Suárez-Navaz 2004, Werbner & Modood 1997, Wikan 2002). By tracing a genealogy of different categories of the immigrant as formulated in state and scholarly discourse, this review explores how the racial logics of postcolonial immigrants and the European metropolises to which they migrate are dialectically related in and through a prior history of colonization. Ultimately, I explore the transnationalization of race itself, the growing reduction and hardening of fluid racial categories along a singular black-white spectrum that appears to be occurring not only within migrant host societies (Hage 2000, Ong 1996) but more broadly on a global scale (Winant 2004), given the reciprocal ef-

MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS AND THE NEW ANTI-SEMITISM

One related topic to the racialization of immigrants in Europe is the rise of so-called new anti-Semitism in Europe. Already the victims of racializing discourse and Islamophobic rhetoric and violence, European Muslims are now cast by certain scholars and pundits as the primary racializers and victimizers of Jewish populations. Instances of violence against Jewish persons and property by Muslim youth have occurred in France and the United Kingdom where large Jewish and Muslim populations cohabit the poorer urban peripheries. The media has, by and large, presented these attacks as further evidence of the nonintegration of Muslim immigrants and their susceptibility to imported Islamist ideologies. In this respect, the discourse on the new anti-Semitism threatens to exacerbate extant conditions of Islamophobia.

fects of return migration and transnational flows on zones of emigration (Brettell 2003, p. 48; Glick Schiller 1999; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Glick Schiller & Fouron 2001; compare Kearney 1995).

MIGRATION GENEALOGIES

The study of migration, as a racialized category of social scientific knowledge, has experienced a series of profound transformations over the past 30 years. Although the number of studies (and studies of studies) devoted to this (im)migration have increased exponentially, the category itself has become more and more restricted in scope (see Brettell 2003 and Douglass 1998 for reviews of the Europeanist anthropological literature on migration). In the first place, the category of migration has become, only since the 1950s, delineated as a distinct unit of anthropological analysis removed from larger domains of demographic and sociological knowledge (Brettell 2003, p. ix). Until then, the study of migration was generally subsumed under the study of population dynamics in general or urban spaces. Likewise, the racialization of the immigrant within European

migration studies has gradually shifted from colonial-era studies that subsumed migration under the larger study of nomadism and transhumance to the microeconomic focus on the migrant as first and foremost a mobile laborer; to a Marxist critique that be-moaned the migrant as the perpetually uprooted victim of capitalist world systems; to the postmodern celebration of the migrant as the cosmopolitan hybrid par excellence; to the contemporary focus on transmigrants, who defy nation-state frontiers in their simultaneous participation in multiple, geographically noncontiguous cultural arenas and ethnoscapas.

This review situates these successive and overlapping racial categorizations of immigration at the intersections and exchanges, junctures and disjunctures, within different traditions of European migration scholarship, emerging from different historical juridical schemata of immigration, nationality, and citizenship policy (Brubaker 1989, 1992; Hammar 1985, 1990; Pennix et al. 2004; Soysal 1994). Generally speaking, scholarship on immigration in Britain—focusing primarily on the Caribbean and South Asian cases—has been filtered through a lens of race relations, including the negotiation of cultural difference and understanding across different ethnic groups, the concomitant performance of identity, and the eventual construction of diasporas. In contrast, French scholarship—largely devoted to the condition of North African immigrant laborers and their families—has primarily focused on the relation between the immigrant and the state and on issues of socioeconomic integration and incorporation into universalist paradigms of cultural and religious expression. In the case of Turkish *Gästarbeitern* in Germany, where formal means of national incorporation have been relatively absent, studies have centered on an examination of local institution building and community responses to racist violence. Current scholarships continue to diverge in terms of their treatment of the place of ethno-religious difference within national polities,

with many scholars outside of Britain and the Netherlands expressing skepticism over multiculturalism and other particularist policies of immigrant integration (i.e., community-building programs) insofar as they fear such practices serve to racialize culture, foster sectarianism, and support patriarchal structures (see Amselle 2003, Habermas 1992, Kristeva 1993, Schnapper 1992, Wikan 2002).

In recent years, however, there has been an increasing convergence of national scholarships toward an analytical rubric of transnationalism and globalization (or *mondialisation*) as processes that simultaneously universalize and particularize immigrant polities in the context of increased European integration. Such shared concerns and similar priorities of understanding Muslim migrants in particular have led to increased collaborations of specialists of different European immigration trajectories and national traditions (compare Andall 2003, Bauböck 1994, Hamilton 1994, Hansen & Weil 2001, King 1993, Leveau et al. 2002, Lewis & Schnapper 1994, Nonneman et al. 1996, Vertovec & Rogers 1998). Drawing across these different scholarly archives, as well as across literatures on the migration process and immigrant incorporation that are often treated as separable within migration studies, I trace below the genealogies of five intersecting racializations of (im)migrants as nomads, laborers, uprooted victims, hybrids, and transmigrants.

The Nomad

Viewed historically, the rise of the nation-state as the hegemonic sovereign political actor has involved an overarching tendency to naturalize national social formations as biological races and territorialize such races into specific, bordered geographies (Malkki 1992). However, this double process of racialization and spatialization and the corresponding establishment of the naturalized, territorialized “nation” as the point of departure for the study of migration in the social and human sciences have been actually quite recent,

dating to late-nineteenth century intellectual developments and colonial conquests (Todorov 1993). In the case of France, the incorporation of France's territorial residents into a singular national subjectivity continued well into the twentieth century and arguably to this day as the colonial empire has come home (Lebovics 2004, Weber 1976).

Studies of migration conducted throughout the colonial period lent themselves directly to the projects of national construction, supporting national narratives through historical explorations of racial origins on the one hand and of nomadism on the other. Ethnological knowledge production sought to racially fix groups in the interest of imperial governance, simultaneously unfixing their physical immobility to meet the demands of varying labor needs throughout the colonies (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992, Stoler 1995). In French colonial North Africa, classicists, linguists, ethnologists, and archaeologists elaborated in particular an ethnic divide between Arabs and Berbers on the basis of different histories of migration (Lorcin 1995; Silverstein 2004, pp. 48–58). Whereas military scholars generally linked Arabs in North Africa to the invading seventh- and eleventh-century migrations from the east, Berbers, in contrast, were alternately traced to a series of earlier population movements from the Orient or across the Mediterranean. This racialization of Berbers as preternaturally mobile contributed to making them a privileged target for French colonial labor recruitment efforts (MacMaster 1993, 1997; Sayad 1994).

More than migratory origin, however, a putative sedentary/nomad racial divide was upheld by colonial scholars as a mark of differential cultural evolution among colonial populations encountered. De Tocqueville (1841, 1847), for one, delineated Arab nomadism as a premodern impediment to colonization and the French “civilizing mission.” More generally, colonial scholars understood the tribal organization of the Arabs as rep-

resenting, according to developmental models being developed by Lewis Henry Morgan (1877), an earlier order of social evolution. As a premodern nomadic pastoralist, the Arab had failed to modify the land itself, to plant crops, and to produce his livelihood. By reinforcing the image of a precolonial desert land, French colonial scholars contributed to the myth that it was *deserted*, thus justifying the colonial venture (Guilhaume 1992, pp. 232–36).

Beyond a justification for colonialism, colonial studies of tribal movements reinforced notions of nomadism as a generalizable trope for all migration. In this light, movement and mobility as a whole became seen in European racialist thought as a natural and intrinsic aspect of human life, although one necessarily hostile to the sedentary requirements of civilization. Along these lines, Hubac (1948) contrasted racialized categories of the instinctual, dynamic nomad to the civilized, docile sedentary inhabitant. Having no notion of time or space, “man-on-the-move” (*l'homme-qui-marche*) inhabited an earlier, more innocent age from which his contemporaneous city dweller had already advanced (Hubac 1948, p. 38; compare Thesiger 1959). Moreover, Hubac understood the nomad to be closer to nature not only through his lack of knowledge, but also through his everyday actions and movements, which best replicated natural rhythms and cycles. As Hubac posited this “migratory instinct” (*instinct migratoire*) to be at the root of all population movements, migration itself thus came to represent the most intrinsic of all human activities (Hubac 1948, p. 32). A similar conclusion was reached by Mauco in his foundational 1933 study of foreigners residing in France. Like Hubac, he saw civilization as a sedentarizing force, which, by removing man from his natural state, devitalizes him (Mauco 1933, p. 842).

However, although naturalizing migration via the racialized category of the nomad, Hubac and Mauco feared the persistence of nomadism in the form of contemporary

immigration. The final chapter of Hubac's book takes the form of a warning, relating the image of a Chinese student studying in Paris who participates actively in sedentary society while at the same time secretly dreaming of the days of conquest of his Mongol ancestors (Hubac 1948, pp. 160–62). Likewise, Mauco feared that the unfettered presence of lesser-evolved races on French soil constituted a weakening of the French nation and hence a "peaceful invasion" (*invasion pacifique*) (1933, p. 856). Such a portrayal dovetailed with an anti-immigrant backlash in 1930s France, with popular pundits describing immigrant barbarians as inherently threatening the metropole's economic and cultural life and calling into question the future of France (D'Hérisal 1932, Martial 1933; compare Noiriel 1996, p. 35). In this way, for Hubac, Mauco, and others, the migrant was racialized as the nomad whose place in the host society was always already problematic.

More than specifically in an interwar French analysis, nomadism served during the early years of migration studies as the preeminent racial lens through which immigrants were portrayed. Simmel's early work on the stranger (Simmel 1950) influenced later portrayals of the migrant as a "marginal man" within Chicago school understandings of a racialized conflict between mobile and sedentary populations, in which mobility (of which the immigrant was the preeminent example) was seen as directly contributing to the social disorganization of the modern metropolis (Park 1928, 1967, pp. 18–19; Burgess 1967, pp. 57–59). Such theories would have a great influence on French sociological studies of immigrant integration during the 1980s (compare Costa-Lascoux 1989, Dubet & Lapeyronnie 1992, Schnapper 1990), and the general portrayal of immigrants as mobile "outsiders" continues in the larger sociology of European race relations (compare Sniderman et al. 2000). In more general terms, early, foundational attempts to produce a robust scientific the-

ory of migration relied heavily on this racialized imagery, repeatedly equating migration with nomadism (Ravenstein 1885, Dixon et al. 1933).

The Laborer

After the 1930s, this racialized definition of immigration through the general trope of nomadism gave way to an understanding of migration in relation to economic rather than cultural evolutionary problematics. Effectively, the migrant-as-nomad became transformed into the border-crossing migrant laborer. On the one hand, this discursive shift was linked to the dismantling of imperial entities in the wake of the Treaty of Versailles and the redefinition of territorial boundaries along state-national lines. On the other hand, it was tied to increased population movements from the continental and colonial peripheries to the industrial metropolises and to increasing concerns over correlating such movements with the vagaries of the capitalist business cycle. In adapting their theoretical approaches to these new concerns, scholars produced a new racialized and gendered definition of the migrant as *homo economicus*.

The settling out of the nomad. The racial transformation of the migrant from nomad to laborer is perhaps most clearly visible in works addressing nomadism since the 1960s, in which concerns over cultural evolution and the civilizing process gave way to the concrete problematics of international state systems: economic development and sedentarization (see Kearney 1986 for discussion of these links). After 1960, a number of world conferences brought scholars, policy makers, and development workers together to focus on nomadism as a "development problem" (as a 1982 conference in Berlin was entitled). In other words, whereas the colonial literature on nomadism generalized the transhumant's experience to that of migration in general, the studies effectuated after decolonization

delinked the two categories, focusing on the tendency of nomadic populations to stop moving and settle.

In particular, at the close of World War II, the recently established international bodies of the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Labor Organization (ILO), and the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), responsible for maintaining global political economic order, initiated a series of programs and projects that targeted migration qua labor migration. From these pursuits have emerged, and continue to emerge, statistical yearbook series, population projections, bibliographies, and working papers. One example stands out in this regard. The ILO ran, under the aegis of the World Employment Program (established in 1971), a series of International Migration Projects, which sought to “improve the knowledge of the migration phenomenon so that a coherent policy could be built upon it” (Böhning 1976). Targeting the Middle East (1977–1980) and East Asia (1986–1989), the ILO published a series of country case studies as well as general reports (compare Birks & Sinclair 1979, Int. Labor Off. 1988) designed to compile data on manpower requirements and surpluses, labor movements, and various other factors related to patterns and processes of labor migration. These projects were run in cooperation with the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme and found their results borrowed and expanded on in similar studies emanating from these sister agencies (Serageldin et al. 1983).

In fact, what emerged during the period from 1945 to 1960 was a complex network of international organizations and agencies, with reciprocal ties to European regional (Council of Europe) and national organizations (e.g., France’s National Immigration Office), organized around the goals of continually quantifying and predicting world population movements and of controlling the potentially threatening tides and floods of migration streams [see Linke (1999, pp. 133–44)

for a discussion of the racialization of these metaphors and their relation to fears of “over foreignization” (*Überfremdung*)]. A 1983 World Bank project, for instance, developed an “Integrated Computer-Based Manpower Forecasting Model,” which could compile worldwide data into an easily accessible format (Serageldin et al. 1983). Likewise, the OECD’s migration-watch group billed itself as a “permanent observation system” and set its purpose to provide annual data on recent migration developments to each of its member countries (Système d’Observation Permanent des Migrations 1992). In addition, these organizations have sponsored international conferences, academic departments, and individual studies, thus mobilizing the resources of private researchers and universities. They have established ties as well with international research centers, such as the ecumenical G.B. Scalabrini Federation and the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, from which they have commissioned research projects and bibliographic data.

In the establishment of a post-World War II research network, the ties between the scientific study of migration and the interests of European capitalist states became explicit, and postcolonial immigrants arriving from the Caribbean, Africa, North Africa, and Turkey became increasingly epitomized as laborers par excellence. Although economic factors had always been considered in the study of migration, the migrant’s reduction to an aggregate of rational, individual calculi was primarily a post-1960s development. For instance, the 1968 edition of the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* applied an economic logic to all factors of migration, concluding that physical and political causes could be explained equally through a single, rationalistic model (Peterson & Brinley 1968). Such thinking culminated in the infamous push/pull hypothesis, an urban sociological theory originally formulated to explain interstate family mobility in the United

ILO: International Labor Organization

OECD: Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development

States, which gradually became elaborated in microeconomic modeling in an attempt to correlate migratory fluxes to wage differentials (for a review of this literature, see Portes & Fernandez-Kelly 1989). In a parallel manner, this confidence in the capacity of migrants, as individuals, to weigh the costs and benefits, the pushes and pulls of migrating, and make a decision on the basis of such calculations henceforth found itself officialized in the United Nations' 1953 definition of migration as the "uncoerced" movement of peoples across international borders—thus establishing a juridical distinction between economic migrants and political refugees and the formal basis through which different governmental regimes for immigrant and refugee management would be instituted. In these ways, the immigrant became effectively naturalized and gendered as the *homo economicus*.

The Uprooted

Paralleling the rise of economic rationalism within the institutional structures of the Cold War western European states was a genre of critical literature that approached migration not as the calculated choice of rational individuals but rather as a structural feature of capitalism. A growing number of European scholars, drawing successively from political economy and practice theory approaches, rejected the push/pull hypothesis, implicitly accusing it of ideologically mystifying unequal relations of domination and exploitation. For these scholars and activists, migration represented the ultimate violence of capitalist accumulation inflicted upon the poorest populations "uprooted" from their lifestyles and displaced from their homes. As such, rather than the calculating laborer, the migrant was recategorized as the uprooted victim, an equally racialized and gendered subjectivity that contrasted with the "rooted" members of reified cultures turned citizens of modern nation-states.

Capitalism and displacement. The critical perspective on migration dovetails with a number of theoretical approaches to the global reorganization of late-capitalist accumulation, including dependency theory, world systems theory, and the new international division of labor theory (see Kearney 1986 for a full review of these literatures). According to the early Marxist theories of Nikolai Nikulin, migration emerged primarily within the context of an internationalization of late capitalism and a burgeoning dependency relation between center and periphery. Ongoing imperialism fostered the importation of temporary, cheap labor to the metropole, which ensured the internal disunity of the working class, and, most importantly, stabilized the regime of capital accumulation through the maintenance of an industrial reserve army of cheap, renewable labor (Nikolinakos 1974).

In the decades that followed, several scholars attempted to apply Nikolinakos' generalizations to postcolonial immigration to Europe, maintaining a racialization of the immigrant as first and foremost a displaced proletarian (see Castles & Kossack 1973; Castles et al. 1984; Cohen 1987; Talha 1989). Castles and his British colleagues, in particular, highlighted the benefits of flexible labor for industries responding to rapidly changing markets in western European metropolises (Castles et al. 1984). Likewise, French structural Marxist anthropologists Meillassoux (1981) and Rey (1975) read migration within the functional divide between a peripheral (African) "lineage mode of reproduction" and the metropole's "capitalist mode of production," with the latter seen to rely on the former for the reproduction of migrant labor power. Migrant labor thus could be viewed as absolving core European states for the provision of welfare security, thus keeping capitalism's internal contradictions in check. In this way, immigrant labor to Europe was racialized as the "new helots" (Cohen 1987), forever displaced slaves to their capitalist masters.

Uprooting and practice. Between the subjectivism of push/pull theories and the objectivism of structural Marxism arose a third, intermediate approach to the study of migration to Europe—namely the practice approach of Bourdieu and his colleagues (compare Bourdieu 1963, Bourdieu & Sayad 1964, Bourdieu et al. 1999, Gillette & Sayad 1984, Sayad 1977). Although Bourdieu never made migration his explicit object of study, his theories of *habitus* and uprooting (*déracinement*) laid the groundwork for a particularly subtle and critical approach to the issue of human mobility. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork and surveying conducted during wartime Algeria, Bourdieu and his colleagues argued that colonization imposed a series of rational, economic norms on Algerian workers; these norms stood in distinct contrast with precolonial habitus. In this situation of cultural contact, the newly constituted Algerian laborer, habituated to living and working alongside covillagers and family, “sorrowfully experienced the cold and brutal impersonality of (the new) labor relations” (1963, p. 280). Uprooted (*déraciné*) from his traditional lifestyle, the Algerian peasant suddenly found himself inhabiting a “fully disaggregated” and “highly unstable” world in which he had to constantly relocate in order to find the work necessary to feed himself and his family (1963, p. 264; Bourdieu & Sayad 1964).

To a great extent, the racialization of the migrant as an uprooted wanderer antedated Bourdieu’s appropriation, with Mauco even utilizing the trope in his foundational study of “foreigners” (*étrangers*) in France (1933, p. 269; see Noiriel 1996, pp. 127–87, for a history of the trope in French immigration scholarship). But, as Malkki (1992) has argued, metaphors of uprooting continue to underwrite contemporary refugee and diaspora studies, as well as antiracist scholarship, across Europe, largely inspired by Bourdieu’s work (see Ahmed et al. 2003; Jacques 1985; Keller 1975; Nann 1982; Sayad 1977; Zwingmann & Pfister-Ammende 1973). Thus, in parallel

with the econometric categorization of the migrant as rational laborer, the European migration literature emerging from Marxist and practice theories has simultaneously racialized the migrant as the permanent uprooted and suffering victim of modernity.

The Hybrid

The racialization and gendering of migrant mobility—through the alternate imagery of the nomad, the migrant laborer, and the uprooted—was increasingly challenged within European migration studies with an increased focus on immigrant settlement and incorporation. With the 1974 closing of borders to economic migration throughout much of western Europe, and the resulting growth of a “permanent,” multigenerational, multi-gendered community, state concerns shifted from national sovereignty to national integrity, from the regulation of external political economic borders to the regulation of internal cultural borders. As such, new policies focused less on how to control labor flows than on how to integrate those flows already settled. In accordance with these shifts in public debate and concern, increasing numbers of studies became devoted to the question of the integration of new citizens into the socioeconomic, juridical, educational, and cultural norms of European nation-states. By the 1980s, studies previously titled *Birds of Passage* (Piore 1979) were superseded by works like *Guests Come to Stay* (Rogers 1985) and *Here for Good* (Castles et al. 1984). The result was the scholarly production of a new racial category in which migrants were slotted: the liminal hybrid epitomized by the second-generation youth caught “between two cultures.” More recently, this imputed “in-betweenness” has been generalized to all migrants and exiles, whose cosmopolitanism and capacities for cultural mediation has been celebrated in cultural studies and postmodern theory. The migrant thus becomes the model of the cultural and racial “halfie.”

The second generation. Although the tri-generational model of immigrant assimilation was first developed by sociologists and anthropologists at the University of Chicago during the 1920s and 1930s in their attempts to understand Americanization in particular and acculturation more broadly (Park & Burgess 1921, Redfield et al. 1936), it has been robustly deployed in European contexts. In this model, the first generation of migrants was deemed to continue to participate in norms of the culture of origin, the second generation existed somewhere between the two sets of norms, and the third generation largely became acculturated to the cultural norms of the area in which they were born. Deploying a practice theory version of this approach, Sayad (1977) described a similar temporal and cultural progression of Algerian emigrants from being direct representatives of their village structures to existing as individuals floating between cultural norms—to becoming members of an established immigrant community (see also Zehraoui 1994).

Following Sayad's lead and reacting to the late translation of the classic Chicago school treatises into French, French sociologists in the early 1980s increasingly portrayed the immigrant-populated areas on the French urban outskirts through the same lens of race relations as Park and his students used for inner-city Chicago. Within a few years, an extraordinary number of works were dedicated to the very sites of assimilation identified by Park & Burgess fifty years earlier: education, housing, and employment. In particular, these were addressed as problems of the second generation of North African immigrants (the "Beurs"), a group which was continually described as existing between two cultures, as "sitting between two chairs" (compare Abou-Sada & Millet 1986, Boulot & Boyzon-Fradet 1988, Gaspard & Servan-Schreiber 1984). Research centers and immigration journals shifted their focus directly to this problematic. At the government level, high councils and committees on integration were

established in order to address these issues, assure a smooth incorporation of immigrant groups into the republican model, and ensure that the ghettos described by the American scholars did not reproduce themselves in France. By the late 1980s, even the *Système d'Observation Permanente des Migrations* reports began to include a section on the "insertion of immigrants in host countries" with a special emphasis on "the second generation" (*la deuxième génération*) (compare *Système d'Observation Permanente des Migrations* 1992).

However, this shift in migration discourse, enabled by the immigration of American sociological theory into France, was more particularly tied to increased concerns over a possible interruption of the French state's "integrating motor" (*moteur intégratrice*). As American migration researchers in the 1960s noted the persistence of "urban villages" (Gans 1962) and the resurgence of "new ethnic identities" (Glazer & Moynihan 1963), so too did French scholars increasingly remark after the 1980s on the continued presence of Islam and Berber affiliations within supposedly acculturating Beur youth (compare Kepel 1991). Such anxieties were reinforced moreover by explicit Beur critiques of assimilation. Throughout the 1980s, Beur political activists, cultural producers, and community organizers declared their particular hybrid identity, their in-betweenness, to be not the liminal state implied by trigenerational theory—a transitional moment between North African and French cultural norms—but a stable, racial category of identity. If French state ideologues feared a breakdown of national identification, Beur spokesmen directly celebrated their hybridity, declaring themselves to be "Mutants torn from the McDonald couscous-steak-frites society" (Kettane 1986, p. 19). Indeed, their writings, musical compositions, and theatrical performances, although attesting to the very real problems of poverty, unemployment, and racism, celebrated such a hybridity, flaunting their multiple competencies in several different cultural idioms (Arab, Berber, French) (see

Hargreaves 1995; Hargreaves & McKinney 1997).

Ethnographies of postcolonial migration to Europe have increasingly focused on such avowals of hybridity as demonstrated within various immigrant social practices and cultural productions. The immigrant association, for instance, has become a privileged object of study, both in terms of its serendipitous provision of access for fieldworkers to otherwise dispersed and invisible communities [Diouf 2002, pp. 149–52; Silverstein 2004, pp. 11–13; Suárez-Navaz 2004; on the subject of migrant (in)visibility in relation to questions of illegality and deportability, see also De Genova 2001, Haddad & Smith 2002, Kearney 1986, MacGaffey & Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000, Smith 2003, Ticktin 2002] and also in terms of its salience as spaces of immigrant articulation and response to larger racialized ideologies and institutions (Grillo 1985, Rex et al. 1987). Such work has likewise focused on the various media productions and instantiation of multicultural difference, from Turkish news media in Amsterdam (Ogan 2001) to Algerian community radio in France (Derderian 2004), to the black British and Franco-Maghrebi production of reggae and rap music (Gilroy 1987, Gross et al. 1994). These works bear witness to how larger anthropological assessments of a “world in creolisation” (Hannerz 1987) can be similarly discovered in de facto “creolized” nation-states like France (Beriss 2004, pp. 132–33). In these ways, through state anxiety, sociological description, immigrant avowal, anthropological celebration, and corporate commodification, the postcolonial, second-generation immigrant in Europe becomes a racialized vector for the study of multiculturalism and global cosmopolitanism.

The Transmigrant

Governmental concerns over the failure of immigrant cultural assimilation in Europe—particularly since the spread of Middle Eastern conflicts from Algeria, Lebanon,

Palestine, and Turkey to Europe beginning in the mid-1980s and the social dramas overveiling in France since 1989—have been translated into larger fears over the transnationality of European Muslims, over the nature of Euro-Islam (whether it is an Islam of Europe or simply an Islam in Europe) and its implication for the future of national loyalty and participatory citizenship in European national polities (see Cesari 1998, 2004; Kepel 1991, 1997; Lamchichi 1999; Leveau et al. 2002; Lewis & Schnapper 1994; Roy 2004). Lewis (1994), for one, in his introduction to a collection on *Muslims in Europe*, contributes directly to the essentialization of Euro-Muslims as part of a singular, ahistorical Islamic world, reading back current internal debates and struggles over the adoption of Muslim practices in the European context as contemporary expressions of timeless theological debates over the meaning of *hijra* (migration). He ends the essay by recounting his surprise when meeting a Franco-Maghrebi, who explained to him, “My father was a Muslim, but I am a Parisian” (p. 18). Rather than seeing in this opposition a polysemous flexibility in the meaning of religious and geographic categories, he concludes by positing a conflict between the two irreconcilable ideological poles (compare Lewis 1990). Such postulations of a trans-historical civilizational clash point to larger national anxieties over the uncontrolled and uncontrollable penetration of the nation-state by transnational ethnic and religious movements originating from and ideologically tied to abroad.

In many ways, scholars like Lewis have contributed to the racialization of certain immigrant groups (and Muslims in particular) as preternaturally transnational, with enduring cultural orientations to homelands elsewhere. To a great extent, this focus of European migration studies indexes the decline of economic and sociological analyses of migration in favor of anthropological and political science models of diasporas, globalization, and transnationalism (see Kearney 1995 for a review of this literature). In particular, the

adoption of world systems approaches into mainstream political science challenged the ability to characterize migrations as a unidirectional flow between one nation-state and another. Instead, postnational solidarities, based on ethnicity, race, or religion, were constituted as the cultural political organization of the future. Migrants, and transmigrants in particular, have become largely iconic of such a world in which state and national boundaries are traversed by various social networks and scapes (Glick Schiller 1999; compare Appadurai 1996).

Within European migration studies, a transnational reality was asserted as early as 1981 in the formulation a “new paradigm,” in which mobility and transformation were reinterpreted as the natural state of human civilization (Kubat & Nowotny 1981). French researchers, for instance, began to question whether migratory flows were not spelling out “the end of the national” and the beginning of the “transnational” (Catani 1986) and began to explore the links between immigration and international relations (Badie 1995, Badie & Wihtol de Wenden 1994). In recent years, ethnographers have provocatively explored the ways in which various kinds of cultural and religious spaces were being mapped out in European geographies through ritualized enactments of Caribbean carnival (Cohen 1993) or Sufi processions that “sacralize alien cityscapes” (Werbner 1996, p. 310; see also Carter 1997, Mandel 1996, Metcalf 1996). These processes are central to the ways in which transnational spheres, linking Pakistan and Britain, Senegal and Italy, Algeria and France, Turkey and Germany, are constituted, leading researchers to embrace neologisms like “*Deutschkei*” (a German union of *Deutschland* and *Türkei*) (Argun 2003, p. 6) or “*Touba Turin*” (Carter 1997, p. 55) as the most adequate toponyms to describe these new trans-state entities (see also White 1997).

However, such a focus on “transpolitics” (Silverstein 2004) and its relation to migration has never been purely an academic concern.

Indeed, like the World Bank’s 1983 Integrated Computer-Based Manpower Forecasting Model discussed above, international bodies such as the ILO and the OECD have sought to develop more sophisticated and comprehensive models to account for the decreasing national framework of migration patterns and for approaching the new migrant-as-nomad theory (compare Kritz et al. 1992). In the new model, multinational corporations, regional bodies (such as the European Union), and autonomous social networks come to represent competing players for which previous state-centered theories, employed in the past, can no longer account. Such a state-level adoption of a transnational perspective must therefore be viewed as part of a larger effort to support national formations understood as threatened, particularly in the context of immigrant communities that deploy burgeoning supranational institutions and legal regimes to argue for cultural and linguistic rights in the European societies in which they live (Kastoryano 1994, 2002; Soysal 1994). More generally, in approaching Muslim immigrants and their children as transmigrants—as participating directly in a border-defying form of global Islam—European states construct an ultimate abject people, a problem not simply solvable through national integration policies. In outlining such an abject relation, migration studies and state policy collude in the representation of migrants as effectively occupying a newly exoticized and racialized savage slot.

CONCLUSION

The above genealogy of different racializations of migrants indicates the dialectical relationship between state racial formations and migration studies. Successive and overlapping racial categories of nomad, laborer, uprooted victim, hybrid, and transmigrant reflect not only transformations in scholars’ analytical tools but different articulations of global capital and national formations in colonial and postcolonial contexts.

Although the particular characteristics attributed to migrant populations have changed with each discursive shift, what remains constant is that the incipient mobility of immigrants, within the context of a European nation-state system based historically on the fixity of spatial and cultural borders [itself under threat by processes of Europeanization (Borneman & Fowler 1997)], constitutes them as a racial problem that states, scholars, and immigrant populations themselves have been compelled to address. In this respect, citizenship and multicultural policies in Europe remain the privileged contemporary sites where such problems are expressed and debated, and it is of little wonder that these areas have attracted so much recent ethnographic attention (Amselle 2003, Bauman 1996, Beriss 2004, Holmes 2000, Kastoryano 2002, Shukla 2003, Suárez-Navaz 2004, Werbner 2002, Wikan 2002).

It is tempting to conclude this review pessimistically, seeing racialization as essentially a process of the state disciplining immigrant difference and mobility into commensurable citizens and commodifiable cultures. However, one must not forget that such racial

categorization is itself productive, the condition of possibility for immigrant solidarity in and across cultural lines. It is certainly true that the histories of immigration, capital, and race have often divided diasporic and immigrant populations, producing Little Indias (Axel 2001, Shukla 2003), Arab Frances (McMurray 1997), Senegalese Turins (Carter 1997), and Turkish Colognes (Clark 1977; compare Argun 2003, p. 9); that working-class racism (Balibar 1991) and late capitalist uncertainties continue to construct migrants as “alien-nations” semantically allied with zombies and other uncontrollable monstrous forces (Comaroff & Comaroff 1999). Nevertheless, these racializations are never fixed, and crossings across racial frontiers are, in many settings, as much the norm as the exception (compare Palumbo-Liu 1999, Rampton 1995). Such crossings are the condition of possibility for solidarity (Prashad 2000), for a “new *convivencia* (living-together)” (Suárez-Navaz 2004, pp. 191–220), and it is the task of an anthropology of the present to explore the cultural conditions of not just disjuncture and difference, but also of conjuncture and convergence.

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Contents

Frontispiece	
<i>Sally Falk Moore</i>	xvi

Prefatory Chapter

Comparisons: Possible and Impossible	
<i>Sally Falk Moore</i>	1

Archaeology

Archaeology, Ecological History, and Conservation	
<i>Frances M. Hayashida</i>	43
Archaeology of the Body	
<i>Rosemary A. Joyce</i>	139
Looting and the World's Archaeological Heritage: The Inadequate Response	
<i>Neil Brodie and Colin Renfrew</i>	343
Through Wary Eyes: Indigenous Perspectives on Archaeology	
<i>Joe Watkins</i>	429
The Archaeology of Black Americans in Recent Times	
<i>Mark P. Leone, Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, and Jennifer J. Babiarz</i>	575

Biological Anthropology

Early Modern Humans	
<i>Erik Trinkaus</i>	207
Metabolic Adaptation in Indigenous Siberian Populations	
<i>William R. Leonard, J. Josh Snodgrass, and Mark V. Sorensen</i>	451
The Ecologies of Human Immune Function	
<i>Thomas W. McDade</i>	495

Linguistics and Communicative Practices

New Directions in Pidgin and Creole Studies
Marlyse Baptista 33

Pierre Bourdieu and the Practices of Language
William F. Hanks 67

Areal Linguistics and Mainland Southeast Asia
N. J. Enfield 181

Communicability, Racial Discourse, and Disease
Charles L. Briggs 269

Will Indigenous Languages Survive?
Michael Walsh 293

Linguistic, Cultural, and Biological Diversity
Luisa Maffi 599

International Anthropology and Regional Studies

Caste and Politics: Identity Over System
Dipankar Gupta 409

Indigenous Movements in Australia
Francesca Merlan 473

Indigenous Movements in Latin America, 1992–2004: Controversies,
 Ironies, New Directions
Jean E. Jackson and Kay B. Warren 549

Sociocultural Anthropology

The Cultural Politics of Body Size
Helen Gremillion 13

Too Much for Too Few: Problems of Indigenous Land Rights in Latin
 America
Anthony Stocks 85

Intellectuals and Nationalism: Anthropological Engagements
Dominic Boyer and Claudio Lomnitz 105

The Effect of Market Economies on the Well-Being of Indigenous
 Peoples and on Their Use of Renewable Natural Resources
*Ricardo Godoy, Victoria Reyes-García, Elizabeth Byron, William R. Leonard,
 and Vincent Vadez* 121

An Excess of Description: Ethnography, Race, and Visual Technologies <i>Deborah Poole</i>	159
Race and Ethnicity in Public Health Research: Models to Explain Health Disparities <i>William W. Dressler, Kathryn S. Oths, and Clarence C. Gravlee</i>	231
Recent Ethnographic Research on North American Indigenous Peoples <i>Pauline Turner Strong</i>	253
The Anthropology of the Beginnings and Ends of Life <i>Sharon R. Kaufman and Lynn M. Morgan</i>	317
Immigrant Racialization and the New Savage Slot: Race, Migration, and Immigration in the New Europe <i>Paul A. Silverstein</i>	363
Autochthony: Local or Global? New Modes in the Struggle over Citizenship and Belonging in Africa and Europe <i>Bambi Ceuppens and Peter Geschiere</i>	385
Caste and Politics: Identity Over System <i>Dipankar Gupta</i>	409
The Evolution of Human Physical Attractiveness <i>Steven W. Gangestad and Glenn J. Scheyd</i>	523
Mapping Indigenous Lands <i>Mac Chapin, Zachary Lamb, and Bill Threlkeld</i>	619
Human Rights, Biomedical Science, and Infectious Diseases Among South American Indigenous Groups <i>A. Magdalena Hurtado, Carol A. Lambourne, Paul James, Kim Hill, Karen Cheman, and Keely Baca</i>	639
Interrogating Racism: Toward an Antiracist Anthropology <i>Leith Mullings</i>	667
Enhancement Technologies and the Body <i>Linda F. Hogle</i>	695
Social and Cultural Policies Toward Indigenous Peoples: Perspectives from Latin America <i>Guillermo de la Peña</i>	717
Surfacing the Body Interior <i>Janelle S. Taylor</i>	741

Theme 1: Race and Racism

Race and Ethnicity in Public Health Research: Models to Explain Health Disparities
William W. Dressler, Kathryn S. Oths, and Clarence C. Gravlee 231

Communicability, Racial Discourse, and Disease
Charles L. Briggs 269

Immigrant Racialization and the New Savage Slot: Race, Migration, and Immigration in the New Europe
Paul A. Silverstein 363

The Archaeology of Black Americans in Recent Times
Mark P. Leone, Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, and Jennifer J. Babiarcz 575

Interrogating Racism: Toward an Antiracist Anthropology
Leith Mullings 667

Theme 2: Indigenous Peoples

The Effect of Market Economies on the Well-Being of Indigenous Peoples and on Their Use of Renewable Natural Resources
Ricardo Godoy, Victoria Reyes-García, Elizabeth Byron, William R. Leonard, and Vincent Vadez 121

Recent Ethnographic Research on North American Indigenous Peoples
Pauline Turner Strong 253

Will Indigenous Languages Survive?
Michael Walsh 293

Autochthony: Local or Global? New Modes in the Struggle over Citizenship and Belonging in Africa and Europe
Bambi Ceuppens and Peter Geschiere 385

Through Wary Eyes: Indigenous Perspectives on Archaeology
Joe Watkins 429

Metabolic Adaptation in Indigenous Siberian Populations
William R. Leonard, J. Josh Snodgrass, and Mark V. Sorensen 451

Indigenous Movements in Australia
Francesca Merlan 473

Indigenous Movements in Latin America, 1992–2004: Controversies, Ironies, New Directions
Jean E. Jackson and Kay B. Warren 549

Linguistic, Cultural, and Biological Diversity <i>Luisa Maffi</i>	599
Human Rights, Biomedical Science, and Infectious Diseases Among South American Indigenous Groups <i>A. Magdalena Hurtado, Carol A. Lambourne, Paul James, Kim Hill, Karen Cheman, and Keely Baca</i>	639
Social and Cultural Policies Toward Indigenous Peoples: Perspectives from Latin America <i>Guillermo de la Peña</i>	717

Indexes

Subject Index	757
Cumulative Index of Contributing Authors, Volumes 26–34	771
Cumulative Index of Chapter Titles, Volumes 26–34	774

Errata

An online log of corrections to *Annual Review of Anthropology* chapters may be found at <http://anthro.annualreviews.org/errata.shtml>