

# GLOBALIZATION AND APPROPRIATION IN LATIN AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC

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*DIVINE UTTERANCES: THE PERFORMANCE OF AFRO-CUBAN SANTERÍA.*

By Katherine J. Hagedorn. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001. Pp. xvi + 296. \$58.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

*SHAPING SOCIETY THROUGH DANCE: MESTIZO RITUAL PERFORMANCE*

*IN THE PERUVIAN ANDES.* By Zoila S. Mendoza. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. Pp. xv + 285. \$54.00 cloth, \$29.00 paper.)

*BRAZILIAN POPULAR MUSIC AND GLOBALIZATION.* Edited by Charles

A. Perrone and Christopher Dunn. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. Pp. xii + 288. \$55.00 cloth.)

*DEBATING THE PAST: MUSIC, MEMORY AND IDENTITY IN THE ANDES.*

By Raúl R. Romero. (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2001. Pp. vii + 188. \$37.50 cloth.)

*PAPER TANGOS.* By Julie Taylor. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.

Pp. xxi + 124. \$39.95 cloth, \$13.95 paper.)

The terrain traversed by many recent studies of popular music and dance—especially “world music” and the music of non-Western regions—is by now a familiar one. Key processes and concepts that draw the scholar’s attention when studying such music, in contexts in which capitalist relations of production have a dominant or growing role, include the following inter-linked themes (in which for “music,” please read “music and dance”):

—*appropriation*, or the idea that subordinate musical styles may be taken over, often in modified or “mainstreamed” form, by superordinate classes, often linked to commercial and/or nationalist endeavors

—*folklorization*, or the constitution of a musical entity objectified as folklore, frequently by middle-class intellectuals and/or state institutions, also often linked to commercial and/or nationalist endeavors

—*commodification*, or the idea that appropriated and/or folklorized musical styles may be increasingly subjected to the pressures of the capitalist marketplace

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—*hegemony and resistance*, or the idea that certain values and styles become more or less commonsensically dominant, but that a cultural terrain is constituted in which such dominance may be contested

—*tradition and modernity*, or the idea that cultural struggles and debates around a given musical style draw on notions about what is traditional and what is modern, frequently creating something seen as combining elements of both

—*authenticity and imitation*, related to the previous dualism and again, albeit perhaps in more overtly value-laden terms, referring to debates about whether music is seen as proudly rooted in an authentic, pure, original (and often national or ethnic) past or whether, in slavish imitation, it adopts “foreign” fashions

—*global and local*, or the idea that there are forms of music and dance which are more or less specific to a given locality in which culture, territory and social reproduction strongly overlap; and that these relate in complex ways to other musical (and non-musical) forms which have a global and deterritorialized spread in which culture, territory, and social reproduction are far from coterminous

—*identity and expressive form*, or the idea that various identities—ethnic, racial, national, sub-cultural, gender—both shape and are themselves shaped by styles of musical expression

This matrix of ideas, by no means confined to the study of popular music, forms the conceptual toolbox from which scholars tend to select their theoretical materials. The authors of the work reviewed here are fairly typical—with the notable exception of Julie Taylor, who has written an innovative and distinctive text. However, although the empirical case material is fascinating and often brilliantly presented, I got little sense, first, that these theoretical ideas were much more than a commonsense background and, second and not surprisingly, that much advance had been made in how to deploy these concepts. I will review briefly how various authors in the works under review use the concepts outlined above.

Charles Perrone and Christopher Dunn’s collection starts with their very useful, concise, yet comprehensive historical overview of Brazilian popular music. Central to their concerns is the tension between ideas of authenticity and imitation. They trace how claims about the relative weight of each emerged in debates about bossa nova, Tropicalism, rock, and soul music. Yet there is little reflection on the terms of the debate itself. Roberto Schwarz, the Brazilian cultural critic who developed some key ideas about authenticity and imitation in his essays, is given only passing mention (19). Schwarz argued that the question of imitation assumed such salience in Brazilian society not because Brazil is any more imitative than anywhere else—in a world of globalized mass media it is difficult to say who is imitating whom—but because it is a society with massive social inequality, in which the elite is able to tap with relative ease into global currents of consumption and thus be truly (not imitatively) modern, while the bulk of the population finds this harder

(Schwarz 1992). Such a theory helps elucidate why music, such as that of the *Tropicália* movement, which seemed to bridge this gap (without necessarily reconciling its disparities), while initially controversial, was successful and also wide open to appropriation by nationalist projects that sought to mask social inequality. In a society in which the cultural practices of the elite and the masses seem so at odds, musical styles that dramatize symbolic elements from both realms elicit both controversy and acceptance. Furthermore, one can see why music is a practice that lends itself easily to such bridging as these cross-class hybrids (which are also hybrids of tradition and modernity and of roots and foreignness) can be created relatively cheaply (although in the case of Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil's Tropicalism it did imply the expense of electric instruments).

Some of the volume's authors do grapple with these issues. In his essay, Dunn notes that Roberto Schwarz produced an influential analysis of *Tropicália* (76) and observes that later critics suggested that the movement derived "its critical effect precisely from its refusal to resolve historical contradictions" (77), but his essay moves off in a different direction—without, for example, broaching the question of the relationship between critical effect and popular appeal. Liv Sovik's short but sweet essay on Veloso discusses the theme in more depth. She argues that Veloso has been mainstreamed into an establishment figure, because, while in the 1960s his music daringly mediated highly disparate tensions between authenticity and imitation and between aesthetic expression and commercialism, more recently the conciliation of these tensions has become normal in a world where "the industrial production of culture is taken for granted" (101), and Veloso's mediation of the tensions also becomes normalized.

Other authors in the Perrone and Dunn collection document the importance of ideas of authenticity and imitation to musicians and music consumers, but they tend to be descriptive in their approach. John Murphy, for example, exploring mangue beat in Recife, focuses on the band Mestre Ambrósio. He documents how the musicians, who came from backgrounds in rock and jazz, began to take local styles and modernize them with careful attention to their idea of roots: they underwent a process of self-discovery (of their own roots). He concludes that on the basis of their musical formation, individual artists filter a series of global and local influences to produce a new sound. This may be true, but it hardly gives us a theoretical grasp on why artists filter as they do, or what is seen by them as a valuable and creative way to filter.

A more intriguing lead comes from Idelber Avelar's essay on Brazilian heavy metal music. He compares the concept of time as manifest in the music of Milton Nascimento and that of heavy rock band Sepultura. During the dictatorship, Nascimento was first linked with the pro-

democracy movement; after 1984 he became associated with the centre-right civilian government. His nostalgic evocations of the region of Minas Gerais and its capital Belo Horizonte relied on modernist concepts of time as involving progress and development, rural-urban migrations, and shifts from tradition to modernity. This squared nicely with nationalist concepts of time and modernization. It also provided a context for the emergence of heavy metal, made famous with *Sepultura*, which negated ideas of progress, nostalgia for a lost past, and indeed time itself; this found an audience among disaffected working- and middle-class youths. Avelar's clever insight into the temporal evocations of music could perhaps have been located more broadly in ideas about time and modernity. Modernist views of time rely on the idea of rupture from tradition to modernity, a break which provides the possibility of nostalgia and a hankering after authenticity (Robertson 1990). Nationalism also relies on such ideas about time, and as has often been noted, wears a Janus face, looking back to tradition and forward to modernity at the same time (Bhabha 1994).

These connections alert us to the fact that the dualisms modernity/tradition and authenticity/imitation are themselves globalizing constructs that invite us to reflect on how the process of their globalization fares at the turn of the twenty-first century. In post-modern refractions of these dualisms, the mutually constituting constructedness of modernity and tradition, the palimpsestual interweaving, in which each forms the semi-erased ground for the other, becomes more evident, partly because of the self-conscious processes involved in the commodification of their traces and the often ironic and knowing references to the past involved in the appropriation of tradition. Also, the nation-state loses some of its dominance as the frame within which these dualisms are deployed—transnational processes of the migration of people, goods, and symbols—decenters the nation.

Perrone and Dunn and their authors do not venture much into these reflections, and the result is a volume that is less adventurous and more predictable than it might have been. The striking self-consciousness of Murphy's Mestre Ambrósio musicians might have been theorized as a product of their post-modern location in global circuits of musical commodities. John Harvey might have gone further in his analysis of the 1960s *Tropicália* band, *Os Mutantes*, which has been revived by U.S. hipsters in the 1990s. He ends his chapter by asking whether this revival is typical of a modernist, primitivist appropriation of "Third World" music or whether the hybridizing, ironic, and critical music of *Os Mutantes* in effect derails such an appropriation and shows that the hipsters have a more "sophisticated" relationship to otherness (120). Harvey leaves the question open, but it seems clear to me that these are

not mutually exclusive options. Post-modern appropriations work precisely in a knowing and ironic mode; this may be sophisticated, but it does not stop it from being a post-modern form of primitivism.

Another example of an analysis of commodification which could have gone further is Piers Armstrong's chapter. He ends his analysis of the ideology of Bahian cultural organization and the musical group Olodum by arguing that the group's rise to fame is premised on ethnic affirmation with African diasporic dimensions, but is also inextricably linked to global consumerism. He does not oppose local ethnicity to global consumerism, as both ethnic revivalism and consumerism are "different revelations of globalism," but he does tend to see these as opposed forces, posing Olodum's problem as one of "how to preserve a differential ethnic reality in the face of globalization" (190). But as he himself has in a sense just argued, contemporary forms of capitalism can work well with ethnic difference, which is a resource both for production (ethnically marked labor) and consumption (ethnically marked commodities).

Since the Brazilian nation is taken rather for granted in this volume, what emerges is a model of globalization in which the global is "out there" as a series of external influences which then impinge on a ready-made local scene and are adapted and resignified there, creating a diversity which goes against ideas of simple cultural homogenization through globalization (a well-established theme which is reiterated throughout the book). In this respect, it is notable that little space in the book is devoted to Brazilian migrant communities and Brazilian music outside Brazil itself. In the end, the book stands in a national frame. One learns a great deal about Brazilian music—and fascinating it is, too—but less about globalization. Facts which speak to the decentering of the nation appear: Sepultura are internationally popular; Os Mutantes have been revived by 1990 U.S. hipsters; Bahian reggae is inspired by Jamaican music in dynamics that by-pass classic centre-periphery oppositions (see chapters by Godi and Pinho). But these isolated phenomena do not cohere into a theoretical approach that sees the local and the global in a continuous process of mutual constitution. Dunn recounts how the Tropicalism movement was strongly linked to notions of blackness, both in local (Bahian) and in transnational (Jamaican and U.S.) versions. He invokes Paul Gilroy's ideas about diaspora to frame this analysis (Gilroy 1993), but we get rather little sense of a continuous movement of ideas and people in all directions—movements which can, of course, be discursively construed as local or global or both—and more of a sense of global influences being filtered through local sensibilities. Undoubtedly the latter process occurs although it is important to emphasize that those local sensibilities are themselves formed through global processes—but it is only one aspect of globalization.

Allied to this model of globalization is a tendency to see hybrids as cultural critiques of the nation. In relation to Afro-Brazilian appropriations of Black Atlantic culture, Dunn argues that “cultural processes related to a transnational diasporic hybridity would function as a critique of an established notion of hybridity (e.g., *mestiçagem*) associated with national identity” (83). Osmundo de Araújo Pinho and Antonio dos Santos Godi both see Bahian reggae in a similar light, although Pinho is cautious about over-stating the case (203). The idea of diasporic hybridity as contesting essentialist, bounded identities has been elaborated by such as Homi Bhabha (1994), Gilroy (2000) and Stuart Hall (1996). Dunn puts a Latin American twist on this by showing how a diasporic version of hybridity can challenge standard, nationalist versions of hybridity that are based on notions of the syncretic synthesis of bounded identities in a dialectic of reconciliation (see also Young 1995). But various critics have also pointed out that hybridity itself, even in diasporic forms, may sit easily with post-modern forms of power, which no longer rely on binary divisions and dialectical reconciliation (seen as operating primarily within the colonial context and the nation-state), but are themselves based on shifting and hybridizing networks (Hardt and Negri 2000). In this light, it would have been interesting to explore in more depth what kind of critiques Tropicalism and reggae have managed to articulate.

Katherine Hagedorn’s book is about processes of appropriation, but it also addresses globalization. She looks at the “folkloricization” of Afro-Cuban *santería* in Cuba, by which she means the making folkloric (secular, commercial) of something that has already been constituted as “folklore.” In this case, *santería* had been under the ethnologist’s folklorizing microscope since Fernando Ortiz’s studies of it in the early twentieth century. As folkloricization involves the staging of *santería* events for international tourists and the provision of initiation ceremonies for some of the more dedicated foreigners, the dynamics of globalization inevitably enter into the picture.

Hagedorn’s volume is a great read (and the accompanying compact disc a good listen). She gives a fascinating account of the travails of doing fieldwork in Cuba under various forms of surveillance. She also interweaves some of her personal involvement with *santería*, first as musical experience and later as religious devotion, describing her own initiation into *santería*, and this gives the book an intimate and engaging feel. She has a sensational and nail-biting chapter, based on interviews with María Teresa Linares and her husband Argeliers León, both sometime directors of the Conjunto Folklórico Nacional de Cuba (CFNC), in which she recounts the dramatic tensions that arose over the white intellectual folkloric appropriation of the practices of poor black Havana *santeros* (ritual specialists of *santería*) and that resulted in

one angry *santero* drawing a revolver on Linares and shooting her several times. Some chapters do not seem to have a clear function on the whole—such as the one on Fernando Ortiz—but one comes away from the book with a clear and detailed idea of what *santería* is, how it operates in Cuba, and what its social context is. Hagedorn gives a powerful account of how Afro-Cuban religious culture has been appropriated as a folkloric image of a supposedly raceless, classless society in which racial hierarchy still exists.

The key theoretical contribution Hagedorn makes is the idea that the performative element of *santería* blurs the boundaries between the sacred and the profane contexts in which the religion is practiced. She describes, for example, a typical *Sábado de la Rumba* (rumba Saturday) performance by the CFNC, the group that forms Hagedorn's key case study. She categorizes the people present as foreign tourists, *aficionados* (younger dancers who want to join the group), *jineteros* (young black marketeers) and *creyentes* (older religious practitioners). Each group responds to the performance in different ways and is treated differently by the dancers. The performance itself is very varied, including dances from salon, carnival, and *santería* contexts. For some on-lookers, it is a purely secular occasion, for others (e.g., the *creyentes*) it has more religious overtones. The difference between a sacred and a secular performance is not easy to define, although *santería* devotees insist there is an important difference, which Hagedorn concludes is essentially one of the intent of the participants. The point is that, despite a history of folkloricization, in which the CFNC took it upon itself to present stylized versions of *santería* rituals and dances and tried to impose its ideas of competence and professionalism on poor *santeros* who, it seems, may have "chosen" to participate under pain of being sent to the cane fields, and despite the commercialization of *santería* as a tourist attraction, there remains the authentic experience of *santería* religiosity that is centrally defined by the possession of the devotee by a deity. This authentic experience is intimately connected to the fact that *santería* ritual involves intense physical embodiment. Even in the staging of religious dances "the divinity of any given expression remains nearby, if not at the forefront of, the performance," because in both folkloric and religious contexts, the "origins of the musical articulations and physical movements are kept in mind, and in body" (117).

Hagedorn is respectful of both the authentic *santería* experience and the folkloric one, which, after all, she spent most of her time researching. Part of her respect for the latter, however, comes from the fact that it still embodies traces of the original. A nostalgic politics of authenticity hovers here which risks grounding value in origins. It is not quite clear if Hagedorn values the authentic religious experience itself (which could adhere to all kinds of new and hybrid practices) or the authentic,

original forms of *santería* worship. Also problematic is the implication that the body, in its simple physicality, operates as the guardian and repository of this authenticity. Hagedorn avoids this insofar as she notes that origins are “kept in mind” as well as in the body, but there is a tendency (reinforced by vivid descriptions of her own spontaneous physical reactions to Afro-Cuban music) to privilege the body as a natural entity: “the memory of the sacred is translated through the body. The body is where ‘sacred’ and ‘secular’ meet, where the boundaries are blurred” (77). The problem is that Hagedorn never discusses embodiment in a theoretical way, but there are hints here of a mind/body dichotomy which does not cope adequately with the performative and unfinished processes of the constitution of the embodied person. That certain performances in secular contexts evoke religious feelings that are found more fully in other sacred contexts is important, but I am not sure that the body can be privileged as the means by which this happens, even if it is true that religious affectivity is lent power through its embodiment. When viewed in terms of processes of globalization, Hagedorn’s insight translates into the familiar idea that globalizing processes are lived by embodied persons in terms of their existing cultural schemas, (which are then subject to creative transformation); thus for *creyentes*, tourist performances evoke religious feelings. Hagedorn is less forthcoming, however, on how the nature of religious feeling may itself change as a result of its evocation in such secular contexts.

Zoila Mendoza’s book focuses on ritual dance associations in San Jerónimo, a village near Cusco, tracing changes in them from the 1920s. She sets these changes firmly in the context of modernization, agrarian reform, nation-building, mass media popularization of Andean culture, and tourism. She convincingly shows that dance groups and ritual activity actively shaped processes of change, rather than passively reflecting them. She emphasizes the constitutive power of performance in changing ethnic and class categories. Her historical and ethnographic work is truly impressive and the picture of ethnic, class, and moral distinctions she produces through her focus on dance is not only rich and fascinating, but an excellent insight into the Andean world.

Raúl Romero explores music in the valley of Mantaro, also in the Peruvian highlands, but more ethnically homogeneous (*mestizo*) than Mendoza’s Cusco context. He focuses on three main musical performances and contexts: rural rituals subject to folkloric appropriation; musical ensembles (the *orquesta típica*) first formed in the early twentieth century with clarinet, harp, and violin; and musical trends among migrants to Lima. He outlines the debates about authenticity and past origins that surround the music. What was the original form of the *huaylas* dance (a carnival dance derived from an old threshing ritual and now the subject of folklore symposia) and how should it be

performed? How many saxophones, if any, should there be in an *orquesta típica*? (Romero does not outline a specific debate for the Lima context.) The book ends with a chapter on national and local state institutionalization of folklore and the emergence of a dominant construct of “Wanka culture” in the Mantaro Valley.

Despite some excellent passages, Romero’s book is less satisfying than Mendoza’s. Much of the book is descriptive and the contribution of some sections to an overall argument seems minimal at times. The debates he describes seem arcane, their terms not always clear (e.g., in the case of the *huaylas*) and their relevance in the overall context of life, even musical life, in the Mantaro Valley even less so. Who is debating with whom is often obscure. The fact that the image of Wanka culture has managed to dominate musically in Lima and as a concept of regional culture in the Valley itself makes the relevance of these internal debates unclear.

In terms of the toolbox of concepts I outlined above, Mendoza and Romero are most concerned with processes of appropriation, folklorization, and debates over authenticity, although globalization also makes an appearance. Mendoza details how cultural institutions were founded in Cusco in the 1920s by middle-class intellectuals, steeped in various currents of *indigenismo*, who defined folkloric dance and musical repertoires with a keen eye on authenticity and ethnic identity (some dances were “indigenous,” others “*mestizo*”). She then describes how in San Jerónimo from the 1940s to the 1990s, different *comparsas* (ritual dance associations) emerged that were also identified as relatively “*mestizo*” and “indigenous,” even if the members of both were *mestizos*. Romero also describes the activities in Lima of José María Arguedas, who became a key figure in the folklorization—and recording and mass dissemination—of Andean culture. Authenticity was key for him too, but this was based on region, not ethnicity; dances and songs had to retain their “original” regional form.

This is all interesting stuff, but it is descriptive, rather than analytical, of processes of folklorization and appropriation. The dynamics driving the process are not brought out. Why were middle-class intellectuals so concerned with authenticity and with defining indigenosity? Schwarz’s ideas are relevant here. Some of Michael Taussig’s reflections on the mutually constituting nature of ideas of civilization and savagery could have been interesting as well (Taussig 1987; Taussig 1993). The links could have been brought out between folklorization and the tension in Western and Western-influenced cultures between enlightened progress and romantic tradition, perhaps focusing on Latin American or Andean refractions of those links.

When it comes to globalization, both Mendoza and Romero have some interesting material. Mendoza notes that the processes of

folkloric appropriations under way in Cusco were linked to transnational trends in that direction and particularly European notions of folklore (54). She also describes how younger people in the town have formed new *comparsas* that use styles from Puno, which are seen as more indigenous, yet more modern because they are part of the internationally popular "Andean" music. They combine these with cumbia and salsa, popular on the Peruvian coast and also internationally, which are also seen as modern partly because of their "indecent" (i.e., sexually modern) dance styles. These interesting intersections between tradition/modernity, indigenosity/blackness, and decent/indecent sexuality are noted, but not really developed.

Romero is more adventurous in arguing that the Andes has been "Westernized" since the sixteenth century (24) and notes that, via the film industry, "global music" was current in the Andes from the early twentieth century (135). Romero makes this point to argue that tradition and modernity are not simply opposed, particularly in the Mantaro Valley where regional identity and Wanka culture are both proudly progressivist yet also seen as rooted, and where local musicians are quite open about playing in both classical symphonic orchestras and *orquestas típicas* both in Lima and in the Valley. Whatever the flaws in his book, Romero brings this point home powerfully. His view of globalization as a centuries-old process, in which the twentieth century is "only" distinguished by "the role of the mass media" (134), does not do justice to the processes entrained by those media and the commodification of culture. It does not begin to grapple with theories of post-modernity or the thesis of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000) that the nature of globalization has changed fundamentally. This might, for example, alter his view of "resistance and hegemony" (25) according to which resistance in the Mantaro Valley is a process of constructing a regional culture which is different from other "cultural paradigms" (26). Not only is it far from clear in this formulation what the hegemony consists of, or against what resistance is being directed, but it is highly contestable that simply maintaining a notion of cultural difference is anything to do with resistance in a political sense. On the contrary, it may be seen better as a politics of conformity, as participating in what Richard Wilk (1995) calls a "structure of common difference" in which difference becomes the basic currency and is organized into certain acceptable structures, of which "regional culture" is a good example.

*Paper Tangos* is a completely different sort of book, requiring a different kind of response. It touches on many of the themes discussed so far, but not in an analytic mode. Taylor refers to globalizing processes: to tango's international popularity, the exile of many Argentineans; to appropriation, tango as existing in a world of dance classes and dance teachers, as much or more than in a world of ordinary people dancing;

to identity, the gender dynamics of tango lyrics and tango dancing, the disappearance (she uses the word advisedly in the Argentinean context [68]) of blackness in Argentina and tango; to authenticity, as a positive quality in people's evaluations of tango dancing. But none of these themes is developed in relation to existing bodies of literature (the bibliography is just a couple of pages long). The book is an intensely personal reflection on Taylor's life in Argentina and her encounters with tango teachers and dancers. She reflects at length on the gendered relations of power that occur in the dance and how these relate to her relationship with her father. Violence is a key theme: in her life, in tango dancing, and in Argentinean society. The body is also a central theme, and Taylor brings out the physicality of embodiment in her writing better than either Hagedorn (who does no mean job in that respect) or Mendoza (who takes a more analytic approach).

Taylor's book is a refreshing read: evocative, intimate, and with a real ability to effect a transfer of the ethos of music and the physicality of the dance from the page into the reader's mind. This is refreshing because these two things often get lost in academic writing about music. I read *Paper Tangos* last in the set of books reviewed here, and it helped fracture the slight sense of déjà vu that was beginning to envelope me. The other four texts have plenty of great material in them—Mendoza's book stands out for its coherence, rich ethnography, and fine depiction of social distinction—but the conceptual apparatus deployed in them looked a little second-hand, worn and, above all, underdeveloped in relation to the cultural processes described.

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